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**LAND POLICY IMPLICATIONS IN RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION:
THE DYNAMICS AND DETERMINANT FACTORS OF RURAL-URBAN
MIGRATION IN ETHIOPIA**

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Dedicated to:

My father, Merigeta Haddis Gebeyehu (1931 – 2003)

You will forever be remembered for all the sacrifices you made to make me who I am today; you are my professor remaining in me as a model and hero.

ABSTRACT

The traditional and agrarian livelihood of the rural people of Ethiopia is highly entangled with land. With majority of the citizens living in rural areas and depending on agriculture, the need to secure a piece of land led to increased fragmentation and diminishing of holdings. With low urbanization rate, the issue of rural-urban migration remained unnoticed for some time. Recent dynamics in movement of people, however, signaled that rural-urban migration is becoming a concern and bringing about observable changes in both rural and urban settings. Without intending to advocate neither in favor nor against rural-urban migration, the research attempted to examine if the present land policy and inadequate rural development efforts contributed to increased rural-urban migration.

After analyzed quantitative and qualitative data from five case studies, the findings showed that households with low landholding size tend to have one or more migrants in cities. Migrants often associated their movement to towns with lack of land. Despite government's assumption that the land policy deterred movement to urban areas, many of the rural youth, landless and poor with increasing shortage of land could not afford staying in rural areas. Although there has been a progressive move towards improving land tenure security of rural people through use right registration and certification, the land policy of the country has still been receiving critics mainly for its restrictive transfer rights.

The research results identified that rural people have very few or no alternatives if they plan to engage in non-agricultural activities. With inadequate government support to develop non-farm activities in rural areas, shortage of capital, absence of skill and poor infrastructure continued to constrain effort of individuals to change and diversify occupation. In this circumstance, rural-urban migration appeared to be a vibrant option. The migrants experienced some problems during transition to urban areas, the majority reported relatively positive changes in their life in post-migration period though.

Taking into consideration the factors and growing rate of rural-urban migration, it is important reassessing the land policy to address land transfer and tenure security issues. With improved land policy, it is possible to promote land consolidation and create viable farms providing jobs in rural areas. At the same time, non-agricultural activities should be introduced and expanded in rural areas as part of an integrated rural-development effort. Alternative non-agricultural activities in rural areas would definitely provide a position for youth and landless to make decisions on rural-urban migration by choice. In the meantime, rural-urban linkage could be strengthened on a mutual benefit basis.

Key words: rural-urban migration, land policy, land tenure security, rural-development, and Ethiopia

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Die traditionelle landwirtschaftliche Existenzgrundlage der Bevölkerung in Äthiopien ist maßgeblich mit dem Landflächenbesitz verbunden. Da die Mehrheit der Bevölkerung in ländlichen Gebieten lebt und von der Landwirtschaft abhängig ist, führte die Nachfrage nach Landbesitz zu einer erhöhten Fragmentierung und zu einer verringerten Landbesitzfläche. Aufgrund des niedrigen Urbanisierungsgrades blieb die Problematik der Landflucht für längere Zeit unbemerkt. Jüngste Entwicklungen in der Bevölkerungsmobilität weisen jedoch auf sichtbare Veränderungen sowohl in städtischen als auch in ländlichen Gebieten hin. Ziel dieser Forschungsarbeit war die Untersuchung, ob unbeabsichtigte Auswirkungen der Bodenpolitik sowie mangelnde ländliche Entwicklungsmaßnahmen zu einer erhöhten Landflucht führen, wobei eine neutrale Position im Hinblick auf die Land-Stadt-Migration eingenommen wurde.

Die Ergebnisse quantitativer und qualitativer Untersuchungen von fünf Fallbeispielen bestätigen, dass Haushalte mit geringem Landbesitz dazu tendieren, mindestens einen Abwanderer aufzuweisen. Die Migranten begründen ihren Umzug in die Stadt vorwiegend mit mangelndem Landbesitz. Entgegen der Annahme der Regierung, dass die Bodenpolitik dem Umzug in städtische Gebiete entgegen wirke, können es sich Jugendliche, Landlose und Arme angesichts der zunehmenden Landknappheit nicht mehr leisten, in ländlichen Gebieten zu leben. Obwohl ein Registrierungs- und Zertifizierungsverfahren entscheidend zur Verbesserung des Besitzanspruchs für die ländliche Bevölkerung beigetragen hat, muss sich die Bodenpolitik des Landes weiterhin Kritik aussetzen, insbesondere hinsichtlich der eingeschränkten Übertragungsansprüche.

Die Forschungsergebnisse zeigten, dass die Bevölkerung des ländlichen Raumes wenig oder keine Alternativen hat, nicht-landwirtschaftliche Tätigkeiten auszuüben. Aufgrund unzureichender Unterstützung seitens der Regierung bei der Entwicklung alternativer Erwerbstätigkeiten führen der Mangel an Kapital, fehlende Qualifikationen und eine schlecht ausgebaute Infrastruktur zur Einschränkung individueller Bemühungen, das Beschäftigungsfeld zu ändern oder zu diversifizieren. Unter diesen Bedingungen erschien die Stadt-Land-Migration als eine geeignete Alternative. Die Auswertung der Forschung bestätigte positive Veränderungen nach erfolgter Migration, auch wenn viele Migranten über Probleme während der Übergangsphase berichteten. Unter Berücksichtigung der aktuellen Dynamiken der Land-Stadt Migration legte die Studie der Bodenpolitik nahe, sich der Problematik der Landübertragungsrechte und des Besitzanspruches anzunehmen. Mit einer verbesserten Bodenpolitik können eine Flurbereinigung gefördert und wachstumsfähige landwirtschaftliche Betriebe mit neuen Arbeitsplätzen geschaffen werden. Gleichzeitig sollten nicht-landwirtschaftliche Tätigkeiten als Teil integrierter ländlicher Entwicklungsmaßnahmen gefördert werden. Dies würde die Position der Jugendlichen und der armen Bevölkerung stärken, sodass sie ihre Entscheidung, vom Land in die Stadt zu ziehen, aus freiem Willen treffen können. Gleichzeitig könnte die Verknüpfung zwischen städtischen Zentren und ländlichen Regionen zum beiderseitigem Nutzen gestärkt werden.

Schlüsselwörter: Land-Stadt Migration, Bodenpolitik, Besitzanspruch, ländliche Entwicklung und Äthiopien

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ACRONYMS AND GLOSSARY

Acronyms

ADLI	Agriculture Development Led Industrialization
ANRS	Amhara National Regional State
APC	Agricultural Producers' Cooperatives
BMAF	Bavarian Ministry of Agriculture and Forest
CSA	Central Statistics Authority
Derg	A name given to the Military Government of Ethiopia (1974 – 1991)
EEA/EEPRI	Ethiopian Economic Association/Ethiopian Economic Policy Research Institute
EEPRI	International Food Policy Research Institute
EPRDF	Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Front
FDRE	Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
FDREPRC	Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia People's Representative Council
GTP	Growth and Transformation Plan
ILD	Instituto Libertad y Democracia
MOA	Ministry of Agriculture
MOFED	Ministry of Finance and Economic Development
MOI	Ministry of Information
MOTI	Ministry of Trade and Industry
MSME	Micro, Small and Medium Enterprise
ONRS	Oromia National Regional State
PA	Peasant Association
PASDEP	Plan for Accelerated and Sustained Development to End Poverty
SDPRS	Sustainable Development and Poverty Reduction Strategy

SNNPRS	Southern Nations Nationalities and Peoples Regional State
TNRS	Tigray National Regional State
TUM	Technische Universität München (Technical University of Munich)
UN	United Nations
UNECA	United Nations Economic Commission for Africa
UNGA	United Nations General Assembly
USAID	United States Agency for International Development

Glossary

Addis Ababa	Capital city of Ethiopia and main migrants survey area
Boditi	Capital of Damot Galie Woreda and selected urban area for data collection
Damot Galie	Name of the woreda selected for rural data collection
Hawassa (Awassa)	Capital City of the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Regional State and data collection area
Kebele	Lowest administrative and geographic unit or level found under a woreda
Sodo	Capital of Wolayta Administrative Zone and selected urban area for data collection
Wolayita	Name of the Administrative zone of the study area and people
Woreda	An administrative structure equivalent to a district

CHAPTER ONE : INTRODUCTION

1.1. Synopsis

This chapter of the dissertation provides a scene on the demographic and livelihood characteristics of the rural population of Ethiopia. It shows how the demographic situation has been changing over time and reveals the dominant livelihood of rural people. It also discusses evolution of land tenure systems during different regimes in the last one century and at present. There are also sections giving some insights on the current land policy and possible and observable factors of rural-urban migration.

This chapter states the problems that relate to the current land policy and rural-urban migration, shows significance of the study by establishing linkages between policy issues and observed problems and articulates the objective and specific purposes of the whole study. The hypothesis examines relationships between land policy and rural-urban migration as well as rural development issues. To determine the direction of the study, major research questions are identified. The research questions serve as pillars of the overall survey. Eventually, this chapter provides with an outline of the other chapters to be included in the dissertation.

1.2. Population and Livelihoods

With a 2.6 percent annual growth rate, the number of Ethiopia's population climbed over 80 million in 2012. This figure was about 40 million when the first ever census was conducted in 1984. The doubling of the population number in 28 years tells the seriousness of the growing pressure on the country resources and alerts for the way forward.

The current settlement pattern shows that over 80 percent of the people of the country live in rural areas. Like other least developed countries, the majority of these rural residents depend for their livelihood on agriculture. Supporting this, Herrmann and Svarin (2009) indicated that 75 percent of the least developed countries' populations lived in rural areas and 71 percent of the labor force of these people was involved in agriculture at the turn of the millennium. Moreover, Witten (2007) quoting EEPRI (2001) revealed that about 75 percent of the rural population do not have adequate land to farm and support their livelihood.

The other impressive settlement pattern is that 88 percent of the rural people concentrated in the highlands, which represent 45 percent of the country's about one million km² area. This puts the average density of the population in the highlands at 144 people per km². With this high density of settlement, it is possible to understand that how land holding of a person could diminish over time.

Crop production and livestock rearing have been widespread activities that the majority of rural people practice in the highlands, although this has been a sort of subsistence due to diminished

holdings and low productivity. Only few people are engaged in activities such as artisan, mason, weaving, and other off-farm micro-enterprises. The highland areas particularly have no big farms or industries to provide labor market to the poor. These all contributing factors left the rural people with very few options. Of these few options, rural-urban migration could happen to be one possible choice. Strengthening such a hypothesis, Morrissey (2007) indicated that the diminishing of productivity of land and its shortage could be the most common cause of rural-urban migration in Ethiopia.

1.3. Land Tenure and Property Rights

Ethiopia experienced different kinds of land tenure systems and property rights that could be characterized with the nature of regimes governed the country in the last century and so. Like any other countries, Ethiopians had to go through customary laws to administer their land until government written laws came to enforcement. According to Solomon (1994), Emperor Minilik II pioneered the modernization process and formulated binding land laws in 1907, in the land tenure systems history of the country. However, given limited government structures and continued influence of customary institutions, the laws were mainly implemented in Addis Ababa city.

Emperor Hailesilassie, who came to the throne some years after the death of Minilik II, went further to change the customary land tenure systems to a more formalized government-led land tenure system. The Emperor had a consolidated land decree in 1932. The land decree included private land ownership/freehold as a legally recognized land tenure system in article 44 of the 1955 constitution (Solomon, 1994). However, there had been a lot of criticism about the Emperor land policy. It was characterized as a feudal system, where few landlords could own large tracts of the countries fertile areas. The subordination of tenants by landlords and the growing disparity in ways of life between the tenants and landlords had given a rise for a country-wide demand for change. Landholding-unfairness driven demand eventually led to the downfall of the Monarchy.

EEA/EEPRI (2002), quoted in Haddis (2005), mentioned the following:

“The situation changed when the regime of Emperors had ended with a new move towards seeking a reform in the whole political system of the country. This had led to the control of power by a revolutionary military government and subsequently declaration of ‘land-for-tillers’ which brought about land redistribution among tenants, but only with a use right. Since 1975, after the overthrow of the Emperor Hailesilassie regime by Derg, the Ethiopian Government monopolized the land ownership, leaving the people with usufruct rights to land”

Although Emperor Hailesilassie’s regime was known for benefiting few landlords, the constitution and land laws provided a bundle of rights ensuring property rights to private landholders. The Derg regime, however, removed most of the rights by introducing a communist system and declaring land as a state property. EEPRI (2001), quoted in Witten (2007), mentioned that *“The Soviet Union-backed military dictatorship from 1974 to 1991 nationalized all land, redistributed the*

majority of rural land and, in the process, created new forms of land rights and, quite probably, extinguished almost all former land rights.”

Rahmato (1984), cited in Holden and Ghebru (2011), revealed that the military regime’s land tenure reform in 1975 introduced user rights to farming households. All tenants and landlords were provided with a maximum of 10 hectares of land per a household. It is important to understand that 10 hectare is a maximum land size ceiling and such a big size of holding could only be available in sparsely populated areas. The reform prohibited sale, mortgage and rental of lands. It was the government leading the land allocation exercises for the landless from that day on. Land redistribution was one of the features of the Derg land policy. With an intention of accommodating land requests of new generations, the Government used to allocate land by confiscating part of old holdings through land redistribution campaigns. This land taking exercise had deteriorated property rights and tenure security.

The Derg’s socialist ideology brought about a collective farming system and the formation of cooperatives. As a result, significant number of peasant associations facilitated the consolidation of farms and organization of peasants to producer cooperatives. The cooperatives movement was supposed to allow mechanized farming systems to flourish on the consolidated farms. Alongside, villagization took place to bring residential places to structured villages with an aim of providing infrastructures and utilities to the rural communities. However, both collective farming and villagizations happened with very little consent of the rural communities. The coercive land consolidation was a clear manifestation for the disappearing tenure security and increasingly weakening property rights.

Coercive actions and the growing dictatorship of cooperative leaders led to increasing dissatisfaction of the members. With internal and external influences, the Derg was forced to shift its ideology to a mixed economy at the verge of its end. This shift allowed cooperative members to dismantle their associations and go back to individual farming. The situation led to redistribution of consolidated farm lands. Nevertheless, the changes in the economic policy had not brought changes in the land tenure systems of the country except disintegrating previously consolidated cooperative farms to individual level holdings. Land continued to remain a state property.

The Derg regime was criticized for moving half a million people from the highlands to the lowlands following the 1985 drought. Drought affected highlanders were forced to leave their area and settle in a new environment. The resettlement was done without consultation with the settlers and the host residents. Those drought- and food-shortage-weekend people hardly adapted themselves with the harsh hot weather, diseases, lack of infrastructure, poor housing, and different cultural settings. Children and other vulnerable people paid their lives due to diseases and long distance travels; conflict with indigenous communities re-displaced many of the settlers; and some suffered separation from families. The quick move toward resettlement forced settlers to abandon their old holdings and occupy other communities’ land. Here, the situation indicates that tenure security and property rights were violated at both departure and destination places. The people were forced to leave their holdings and to occupy other’s.

Following instability in political ideology and expanding internal war, the time of the military leadership eventually ended. The Ethiopian Peoples’ Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) took power after overthrowing the Military Government in 1991. Coming with a Marxist political

ideology and considering Ethiopia's complex land tenure issues, the EPRDF Government did not want to rush to land tenure changes. Rather with a new Constitution, land was declared to stay under public ownership vesting use rights to individuals and community landholders (FDRE, 1995).

However, tenure security and property rights remain concerns in the EPRDF regime too. Land redistribution and land takings without adequate compensations and low transaction levels remained challenges of the land policy that was enacted and endorsed in 1997 based on the Constitution's provisions. Regions took land administration responsibilities to enact and implement corresponding regional laws. However, following critics on tenure security, the Federal Government amended the land proclamation in 2005 by introducing some land administration components helping to improve tenure security. Regions also amended their proclamations accordingly and started to survey, register, and certify individual holdings. Under public ownership of land, with varying regional laws, the certification has been expected to allow holders to lease whole or part of their land for limited period of time. However, most of regional laws still require rural habitation to maintain user rights.

1.4. The Current Land Policy and Rural-Urban Migration

In 1997, the Rural Land Administration Proclamation of the Federal Government of Ethiopia reaffirmed land to remain a public property (FDREPRC, 1997). The current Ethiopian Government has been arguing in favor of such a land tenure system since it took power in 1991. According to the Ethiopian Government, if sale of land is allowed through private ownership, the poor farmers would end up with landlessness after the rich grabbed all the land; and there should be a land tenure system protecting the land of the poor from acquisition by land grabbers (Crewett et al, 2008). However, there has never been adequate explanation how far the available land could provide livelihood options and ensure food security by preventing rural-urban migration. The argument does not explain why the poor are wanted to stick to their small and fragmented plots of land, and does not justify the potential relationship with alternative off-farm activities either.

Some studies conducted in the area of rural-urban migration in Ethiopia came up with two types of thoughts. The first thought tries to conceptualize low levels of rural-urban migration because of the public ownership land policy that forces the peasants to stay on their land. Desalegn (1999), quoted in Solomon and Mansberger (2003), indicated that the current land policy is a trap that kept the peasants on their land and in agriculture, and restricted their mobility than giving a chance for alternative livelihood options. The other thought does not agree with the above statement. It rather argues that because of this land policy many have been forced to leave their places and reside in urban areas. According to the later thought, although the land policy aims at keeping peasants on their land, on the contrary rural-urban migration has been increasing due to deteriorating livelihood options as result of climate change and land fragmentation (Morrissey, 2007).

In 2005, the Federal Rural Land Administration and Use Proclamation No.456/2005 (FDRE, 2005) introduced some improvements in the land administration system including land surveying, registration and land use rights certifications. Four of the nine regions subsequently enacted corresponding laws. The other pastoral and lowland regions are also expected to enact their own

laws in the years to come. The general content of the proclamations at regions and federal level appears to be similar, but some regions gave a longer period of land transfer through renting. Nevertheless, all maintained the core principle of state ownership untouched (ANRS, 2007; ONRS, 2007; SNNPRS, 2007; and TNRS, 2007).

The revised land proclamations opened a room for a bit relaxed landholding and use rights. With identifications of size and boundary and certification of parcels, the holders started to feel better tenure security. With the exception of the Amhara Region, which allowed whole holding leasing up to 25 years, the majority of other regional proclamations provided time-bound and size-limited rent out rights,. Although the certification with improved use rights may increase holders' tenure security and encourage investments on land, there is no evidence that the fragmentation rate of land will slowdown. Land holders through inheritance rights would continue offering some segments of their plots to children who may still plan to depend on agriculture.

The rural part of Ethiopia has two major and distinct livelihoods - crop and livestock production in the highlands and nearly pure mobile livestock rearing system in the lowlands. The highlands can further be divided into production potential and food insecure areas. However, both productive and food insecure areas faced with population pressure as a threatening problem. The growing density in population has been necessitating split of existing holdings or encroaching to natural resources and communal grazing lands. When encroaching to natural resources and communal areas becomes restricted due to regulatory activities, the pressure on existing family plots would increase.

Despite the critics and political propaganda against the previous regime on resettlement, the current EPRDF Government has re-introduced a resettlement program providing plots of farming land in the lowlands and relatively sparsely populated areas in the early 2000s. The landless and unproductive farmers from the highlands were invited to settle in areas where land is available as long as they clear bushes, and construct their own houses. Most of settlement areas were good in productivity and somehow depending on rain-fed agriculture, but lack the basic health, education, water, and transport infrastructures. The Government put some incentives like free transport to the new areas, food aid for some months, and a couple of years' use right on old holdings in their original place until they get settled and make final decisions to live in the new areas.

The resettlement program, however, was not a long lasting practice by both the Government and settlers. It demonstrated that it would not help to serve as an alternative and sustainable land source for the landless. As it was observed during the Derg regime, the resettlement rather harmed tenure security of people at both origins and destination places. Unhappiness of the host communities due to land taking and damage on natural resources led to conflicts with the settlers in some places. It was also a costly activity for the Government to move millions of landless and resettle in new areas.

In a situation where options of accessing land through encroaching to natural resources and communal areas and moving to other rural areas is not any longer sustainable, the continuation of land subdivision to accommodate the landless could remain inevitable. Nevertheless, with the diminishing size of individual holdings, subdivision cannot guarantee land availability forever. Many literatures are now indicating that some households could not afford subdividing their land to children any more. Rather some families would see as an option to provide job on their farms

so that children can work with them. Unless the holdings cannot provide the minimum adequate food and non-food requirements, the poor may not tolerate living with a situation leading to aggravating poverty and food insecurity. The existing situation, therefore, indicates that rural-urban migration is becoming a last resort for the landless and the poor. Although the land policy was thought to control rural-urban migration, it is apparently leading to a cumulative effect of migrants' overflow to towns.

The rural economy lacks diversification in terms of providing different non-farm job opportunities and absorbing the excess labor from the agricultural sector. The tradition to stay as an agrarian economy remains to be perceived as the only option. Some of the measures taken so far such as resettlement could not provide a sustainable solution to the increasing population density in the rural areas. With the diminishing land holding size and low carrying capacity of the agricultural sector, rural-urban migration happens to be the major way many youth would go for.

1.5. Problem Statement

Land tenure insecurity, fragmentation of holdings, limited livelihood options and deteriorating living conditions in rural areas of Ethiopia:

With 2.6 percent annual rate of population growth, the rural land capacity to accommodate the increasing number of population has been diminishing. Peasants have kept on sub-dividing their small plots of land to share to their children as the only means of livelihood. This has been aggravating the magnitude of fragmentation of land, significantly affecting the productivity and income of each household. Ethiopian Government's policies and strategies seemed to have overlooked the growing population pressure and increasing land fragmentation (World Bank, 2006).

Following the growing population pressure and fragmentation of land, many peasants remained subsistent; and in some cases they are unable to feed themselves from own production throughout the year. With restricted transfer rights on land and lack of appropriate promotion and extension services for different income generating activities, the peasants could hardly practice other alternative livelihood options. Subsequently this situation is most likely to lead to vulnerability to any kind of disaster shocks and climate changes. With weakening resiliency to disaster or climate change, the rural people dependency on aid has been escalating. The food assistance reports of the country shows that the number of rural people regularly receiving assistance has increased from 4.5 million in 2005 to 7.5 million under the National Productive Safety Net Program launched for the period from 2010 to 2014 (EFPRI, 2013). Although the regular food assistance recipients were supposed to be self-sufficient by 2015, that plan is still far from realization. In addition, the number of emergency food beneficiaries due to drought and other disasters counts about three million every year. According to USAID (2014), "as of August 2013, the Government of Ethiopia reported that 2.7 million people in Ethiopia faced acute food insecurity". This brings up the total number of food beneficiaries over 10 million annually, which is over 10 percent of the total population of the country.

With government ownership of land, the land tenure system provides only use rights to the farmers. Given the responsibility of the Government to allocate land to those who reached 18 years and above and other landless rural residents, land redistribution was used as a mechanism to accommodate such demands. Uncompensated land taking for land redistribution has been significantly eroding tenure security. Moreover, land confiscation in the name of public use failed to provide appropriate compensations. Limited transfer rights reduced the option of rural residents to try other non-farm activities and prevented land consolidation practices.

The hypothesis of this research work base itself on thoughts, which see land policy issues in relation to rural-urban migration. The land policy is either forcing the poor to lead below subsistence life with their fragmented and small plots of land or triggering rural-urban migration as a last resort. Recent land holding data of the country shows that over 50 percent of the rural households make a living on less than 0.5 hectare of land (CSA, 2012). The average crop productivity remains about 1.6Mt per a hectare. Thus, one can easily imagine how a production from below half a hectare can feed an average-household of five to six people in a year.

Moreover, it is also possible to predict some of the major factors having something to do with land policy and rural-urban migration. Among many factors, it is somehow possible to theorize that food and livelihood insecurity, lack of job opportunity, conflict and instability, bad land governance, natural disasters and climate change, population pressure, and poverty could be either push or pull factors instigating rural-urban migration. However, the role of each factor in initiating and aggravating rural-urban migration could differ, but many of them are linked to each other.

In Ethiopia, relatively urban areas have better access to utilities, infrastructure and services than the rural. The population statistics of big cities indicates that there have been alarming increases in numbers of residents in the last two decades. The birth rate of urban areas is usually lower than rural, but the population number has been growing up dramatically. According to World Bank (2008:10), the fertility rate of women in Addis Ababa decreased from 1.9 to 1.4 in five years (2000-2005) and 37 percent of the inhabitants are not born in Addis Ababa. These 37 percent of inhabitants joined Addis Ababa through migration from other areas. Half of these migrants came from rural areas (ibid. 14). One can easily guess from such a situation that rural people have been joining cities because of various reasons. The relatively developed urban areas could appear to be attractive places for some of the rural people.

“Urban population growth is generally far more rapid than total population growth, with about half the urban growth accounted for by migrants from the rural areas. Developing country cities are growing far more rapidly than those in the developed countries” (Todaro and Smith, 2009).

Nevertheless, the urban-areas are not in a position to accommodate all the migrants. Big cities have been experiencing mal-functioning utilities, inadequate infrastructures, increasing informal settlements, deteriorating sanitation, shortage of housing, crimes and insecurity, prevailing HIV/AIDS and other diseases, and deepening poverty. With a rapidly increasing number of residents, existing cities are expanding in an unplanned way by creating informal settlements around peripheries. The extraordinary thing, with the deteriorating cities' situation even, rural-migration seems to be continuing.

The rural poor are at a cross road choosing between two bad things. They have to decide either to stay on their highly fragmented, small, and unproductive land and lead a difficult life or confront a new environment and a bunch of problems in the existing urban situation.

1.6. Objectives of the Study

Although Ethiopia is known for its big proportion of rural population, mobility of people from one geographic location or economic activity to the other has not been adequately assessed. As this study aims at researching an overlooked big aspect – rural-urban migration experiences in one rural administrative area, the result is expected to contribute for initiation of broader studies assessing land policy implications in rural-urban migration trend of the country as a whole.

The overall objective of this study is to examine any potential linkages between land policy and rural-urban migration by taking into consideration rural-development aspects.

The study will address the following specific objectives:

- Assess the dynamics in landholding arrangements and associated economic implications.
- Examine development efforts and available economic options in rural areas.

1.7. Research Hypothesis

Although some people argue in favor of the current public-ownership land policy and use right to holders by mentioning that it controls distress rural-urban migration and avoid accumulation of land in the hands of few, the practical situation shows that the policy can only keep the rural people on their farms as long as it is possible to provide adequate land for farming. With increasing fragmentation and diminishing of farming plots, the number of people leaving their places and going to urban areas has been increasing. The deepening poverty, shortage of alternative livelihoods and very limited other income sources in the rural areas would push the poor to cities.

Rural-urban migration could have been seen as a normal process if it was managed through appropriate development policy options. An appropriate rural development policy is an imperative component either to consider changing the land policy or working with the existing land policy. Meaning: the land policy change alone cannot bring the required changes without having an appropriate rural development policy in place. Nevertheless, an appropriate rural development policy can still have some level of positive impact even under the existing land policy. Based on this general perception, it is possible to come up with the following research hypothesis.

Hypothesis 1: Ethiopia's land policy influences the dynamics of rural-urban migration in ways unanticipated by the policy.

Hypothesis 2: If the Government does not put in place appropriate rural development policies and implementation mechanisms, which provide the poor with alternative non-farming livelihood, the rural poor continue choosing rural-urban migration as a major alternative.

1.8. Research Questions

This study has planned to base the data assessment and analysis on eight research questions listed below. The research questions start with land policy context and general perceptions on migration, assess the practical situation, go further to specifics, and eventually examine the link among the major implementation and policy level issues.

- i. *What is the level of tenure security under the country's land policy context?* In a federal state arrangement, where land administration responsibility is vested in regions, this question assesses legal instruments at different levels in relation to land transfer rights.
- ii. *How do the land holding arrangement and population pressure lead to increased fragmentation of parcels and decreased holding size?* With certain restrictions of land transfers and much dependency on agriculture, it is important to examine the level of holding fragmentation and sizes. This question helps to understand the level of carrying capacity of farming lands as a result of the growing population and existing land policy and establish a link with possible consequences.
- iii. *What are the perceptions and reactions of people in the study areas, scholars, and policy makers about rural-urban migration?* This question tries to assess the understanding level of different groups of people who have direct connections to rural-urban migration issues. Based on the perception level of these different groups of people, the question also examines their reaction towards the dynamics and extent of rural-urban migration.
- iv. *How much the current land policy of Ethiopia has been instrumental in instigating or controlling rural-urban migration?* This is the core point of the study providing an opportunity to respondents to make an analysis of rural-urban migration in the current land policy perspective. As a major element of land policy considerations, this question will try to address land tenure security issues in relation to migration. It assess how level of tenure security affects rural-urban migration as a whole.
- v. *What are the determinants forcing the rural people to urban migration?* This part of the research question helps to make a detail analysis of the major pull and push factors of migration and assess the extent of these factors. The factors will also be examined to know if they are linked to land issues.
- vi. *What are the consequences and benefits of rural-urban migration?* This question will help to examine the results of rural-urban migration in its positive and negative sides. This question is also supposed to provide answers for the question "*why people migrate?*" It assesses the benefits the migrants and other people in the rural areas gain from migration. The question also assesses any consequences faced due to migration.

- vii. *What other alternatives the rural people had before making decisions for migration?* Even though there should be factors pushing and pulling people for rural-urban migration, it is assumed that the decision for migration is obviously made after looking at different options. Assessing and examining other options in the rural areas is assumed to help measuring the existing opportunities in rural areas versus the magnitude of rural-urban migration. This is also an important point to provide suggestions and recommendations in strengthening available options in rural areas.
- viii. *How could the current rural-urban migration issues be approached in land and rural development policies?* This part leads to solutions by collecting perceptions, suggestions, and comments about appropriate land policy options and rural development strategies.

1.9. Significance of the Study

Abate (1995), quoted in Ezra and Kiros (2001:749), revealed that adequate research has not been conducted on migration in Ethiopia. Although there have been some studies conducted to indicate the types and extent of rural problems and the linkage to urban areas, very little has been done to research the causes and extent of rural-urban migration in Ethiopia. As a tradition of facilitating a forum to review pros and cons of existing land policy has not yet developed, many researchers seem to refrain from doing studies related to land policy and land tenure systems in Ethiopia. Moreover, although the issues of rural-urban migration have been getting a growing attention, few studies done thus far could not adequately show land policy implications on the topic.

Unless a thorough assessment and analysis is done to investigate the potential relationship between rural-urban migration and land policy, decision makers and other entities would continue working without accommodating such an important element for the way forward. Neglect on the issue of rural-urban migration will definitely negatively affect future policy decisions and implementation of those policies. If internal migration is not given due attention and addressed as part of the overall rural development strategy as timely as possible, it would go beyond control and happen to be an impediment for development policy decisions and implementations.

Moreover, studies focusing on problems caused by policy decisions would enable to show what is apparently happening on the ground. Although it might be difficult to show land policy problems bluntly due to its sensitivity, making scrutiny on the challenges like rural-urban migration would enable to alert policy makers by showing the other side of the problem.

With such important factors and significance, this research aims to investigate land policy implications on rural-urban migration and identify associated determinant factors. By showing how the current land policy relates to tenure security, land transfer, land fragmentation, landholding size, and consequently resulting in factors, the research will establish a link between land policy and rural-urban migration. The result of this study will alert various stakeholders to revisit policies, initiate more studies, and develop strategies on how to deal with rural-urban migration issues. This study is hoped to be a breakthrough to stop the silence and bring up such an important issue to the attention of researchers, academia, policy makers, and implementers.

1.10. Structure of the Thesis

The dissertation will have five major sections including introduction, literature review, methodology, result, and conclusion parts. The whole body of the study paper will have ten chapters organized in the following manner.

Chapter one provides with background information of the country's population and livelihood pattern, land tenure systems and property rights, current land policy issues and perceptions on rural-urban migration. The observed problems are also discussed to show how the current land tenure system has been leading to diminished holdings and eventually causing unplanned rural-urban migration. Objectives, research hypothesis, research questions and justifications about the relevance and significance of this study are also included in this chapter.

The second chapter, as part of literature review, provides impressions on the countries land tenure systems in different regimes including the Imperial era, the Derg period and the current Government. In this chapter, relevant literatures are reviewed and summarized to show changes in land tenure systems over time and the natures of governing bodies and situational requirements. Reading this chapter, it is possible to understand how complex the country's land tenure systems were and what a controversial land policy still exists. Reviewing the country's land policies helps to establish linkages with rural-urban migration providing starting points for discussions in the subsequent chapters.

Chapter three also conceptualizes rural-urban migration as part of the literature review of the study. Different models and decision factors of rural-urban migration are assessed and seen in various perspectives and contexts. This chapter also assesses experiences, examines factors and manifestations and weighs benefits of rural-urban migration in developing countries. Eventually, it reviews observations and studies on rural-urban migration in the Ethiopian context.

The **fourth chapter** is supposed to serve as a platform to probe policy issues and rural-urban migration relations. Based on literature reviews under chapter two and three, this chapter inspects ideas articulated to show how land policy and rural development interventions affect rural-urban migration. Tenure security, land fragmentation and livelihood options are seen to establish a causal-effect relationship with rural-urban migration. The rural development concept also addresses comprehensive approaches and issues and alternative non-farm activities in dealing with migration.

Chapter five is the research methodology part, which deals with methods of data collection, analysis and modeling. This chapter shows the design of the survey including data types, data sources, what instrument to use for data collection and the type of analysis to be employed. It also gives sufficient details on the type of questions, sampling methods, ways of data compilation and analysis.

Chapter six is about the result of the study, but mainly focusing on the extent of land policy and land tenure rights in Ethiopia. It will show the level of tenure security that rural landholders have been enjoying and missing. It will also come up with landholding sizes of respondents, their

livelihood types, and property rights implications. Finally, this section of the result reveals landholders' and government bodies' perception on the land tenure systems and see ways how to deal with the problems identified.

Chapter seven is the second part of the result, which deals with findings on perceptions of respondents and trends of rural-urban migration. It assesses the understanding of rural-urban migration by rural people, experts, researchers and policy makers. This chapter also presents trends of rural-urban migration to indicate how dynamic and important matter it is. While identifying factors of migration, this chapter further examines the relationship between land availability and migration. In addition, benefits and problems of migration are also thoroughly discussed.

The eighth chapter will assess the linkages between land policy and rural-urban migration. It will analyze the existing land policy provisions in terms of use right of land and movement of rural residents. The findings in this chapter may also capture rural development related landholding factors, which practically lead to rural-urban migration.

Chapter nine assesses rural development policies showing how relevant they are in providing farming and non-farming job opportunities. The chapter investigates the adequacy of available non-farming activities in absorbing landless youth and poor. The chapter also includes sections identifying opportunities and challenges of non-farming activities. It also looks at a glance the relevance of other policies in facilitating or impeding non-farming activities.

The last and tenth chapter of the dissertation provides conclusions about the findings and tends to suggest recommendations based on findings. The conclusion and recommendations part gives particular emphasis to land tenure and development policy issues in relation to rural-urban migration.

CHAPTER TWO : REVIEWING HISTORICAL AND CURRENT LAND TENURE SYSTEMS IN ETHIOPIA

2.1. Synopsis

The land tenure systems of Ethiopia were characterized as the most complex in landholding arrangements and property rights during the Monarchy regimes before 1975. Following a land reform, state ownership of land was introduced in the Military (Derg) regime. After the fall of the socialist ideologist Military junta, land remained controversially a public property with use rights to individuals and communities with the EPRDF Government. Reviewed literatures in this chapter provide an overview of how different land tenure systems coexisted and eventually became under a state ownership system during different forms of government structures.

2.2. Communal and Private/Feudal Land Holdings under the Monarchal Regimes

The long time traditional and customary-rules-led land tenure systems started to give space to government administered and written land laws during the Emperor Minilik II era. Although the Emperors before Minilik II had power to administer land, there were no evidences showing that they had written and legally binding laws. In 1907, Emperor Minilik II introduced the first land law of the country (Solomon, 1984). One can imagine that with limited capacity and undeveloped government structures, the law could only be enforced in urban areas mainly in Addis Ababa. With diverse cultural, ethnic, and religion background, acquainting citizens to modern land laws was obviously a difficult activity.

Emperor Minilik II's land law served as a foundation for Emperor Hailesilassie to come up with a comprehensive and constitution based land law. Witten (2007:158) indicated that Emperor Hailesilassie introduced a Constitution and a new Civil Code that amended ancient customary laws in the modernization history of Ethiopia. Compared to the Emperor Minilik II era, Emperor Hailesilassie moved one step forward to establish civil service institutions to enforce the Constitution and the Civil Code in most parts of the country. The new laws paved a way for private property regime development and protection. The Emperor had consolidated the land decree in 1932 and included private land ownership/ freehold as a legally recognized land tenure system in article 44 of the 1955 constitution (Solomon, 1994).

Literatures indicated that during the kings' time, particularly in the 19th and the 20th centuries, there were different kinds of landholding systems in the country. Although the state has some sort of control in all land tenure systems of the highlands, peasants and landlords were using and owning land under different arrangements namely: communal (*rist*), grant land (*gult*), freehold (*gebbar*), church (*samon*), and state (*maderia, mengist*) (Crewett et al, 2008:7). Although the land tenure systems in Ethiopia were said to be too many and very complex in nature during the imperials era, there were some distinct and major landholding arrangements (MONGABAY, 2013).

The Northern highland parts of the country had an ownership system called *rist*, which provided usufruct right to community members and prevented transfer of land outside of the clan (Crewett

et al, 2008). Rahmato (1984:17) indicated that the *rist* system in the North was also seen as a communal ownership system and according to him writers like Cohen and Weintraub prefer to call it kinship land tenure system. The management responsibility of the *rist* land was vested in elders representing and consulting the kinship of the areas (Hoben, 1972, quoted in Crewett et al, 2008:8).

Under the *rist* system, all male and female descendants of community members were entitled to own a holding and maintain a usufruct right (MONGABAY, 2013). The *rist* system had a customary administrative arrangement with “hereditary, inalienable, and inviolable” nature of land ownership right disallowing selling, mortgaging or bequeathing as a gift share of holdings outside the family (ibid.). In the *rist* system, individuals were entitled to a usufruct right with establishment of kinship relationship in the community, but were not allowed to sell or mortgage or bequeath. The possessors, however, can lease to others (Rahmato, 1984:17).

The aristocratic group in the North and civil servants and military of the King in the South were provided with a *gult* landholding, on which these few elites collect taxes and tributes from the peasants (Bereket Kebede, 2002; Cohen and Weintraub, 1975; Pausewang 1983; Aberra Jemberre, 2000; and Dejene Aredo, 1999; cited in Crewett et al, 2008:9). According to MONGABAY (2013), *gult* land is granted by the Monarchy and provincial officials for services provided as a compensation and salary on which the land owners collect tribute and use labor as an in-kind payment from the peasantry. The *gult* rights, however, were abolished in 1666 (ibid.).

The other major land holding arrangement called *gebar* was introduced in 1941 as a freehold (Donham, 1986: 38, cited in Crewett et al, 2008). Nevertheless, individuals who were holding large tracts of land under the *gebar* arrangement were receiving labor and tributes from tenants. As a result of tax reform, many peasants were able to pay taxes directly to the government (Donham, 1986, quoted in Crewett et al, 2008:9). Land lords also managed to collect produces from the land by arranging a sharecropping system, which force the tenants to give out up to half of what they produced to the landlords (Pausewang, 1983, cited in Crewett et al, 2008:10).

The Government and the Ethiopian Orthodox Church were also the major land owners in the country. Holding about 12 percent of the country’s cultivable land, the Government had two types of ownership. The one directly registered under the state was called *mengist* land while the other portion granted to government officials, war veterans, and other patriots in lieu of a pension or salary was named as *maderia* land (MONGABAY, 2013). The Government maintained reversionary right on *maderia* land, the grantees can use for life time though (ibid.). Holders of *maderia* land could themselves operate or rent out to tenants (Rahmeto, 1984:20). The Church, on the other hand, owned 10 to 20 percent of the cultivable land, which was called *samon*. Farmers cultivating the church land used to pay tribute to the church (MONGABAY, 2013).

While discussing about these different kinds of land tenure systems arrangement in the highland parts of the country, it is important not to ignore the low land areas comprising nearly 60 percent of the country’s land. The lowland areas are inhabited by pastoralists following the traditional practice of transhumance (MONGABAY, 2013). The pastoralists have their own tribal based customary institutions managing land and other natural resources to ensure that all community members benefit from these resources (ibid.). Although the highlanders were not able to push into the lowland areas because of malaria, big companies including foreign sugar cane plantations were

able to enter the pastoral areas in the 1950s and as a result “the loss of grazing land to these concessions significantly affected traditional migration patterns for grazing and water”(ibid.).

According to Kebede (2002), few landlords grabbed and underutilized the country’s land by leaving the poor with tenure insecurity and arbitrary evictions. Under the *gult* and *gebar* land holding arrangements, land lords were able to continue a feudal system particularly in the southern part of the country. Although the Constitution and the Civil Code were seen as a big step toward modernization and development of private property, the land tenure system appeared to be a tool to benefit few elites and deprive the majority poor. Most of these landlords live away from their holdings and deploy tenants to plough the land and pay tributes to the owners. The land lords had the right to decide on payments and evict tenants if they like (Pausewang, 1983, cited in Crewett et al, 2008). Rahmato (1984:26-27) estimated the proportion of absentee landlords between 10 and 42 percent in different provinces mainly in the South. The absentee landlords did not deal with tenants on the rental arrangement; rather their local delegates manage the deal.

The *rist* system had a communal nature and was administered by customary laws. There were very few cases of tenancy on minority groups under the *rist* system in the North; whereas the *gult* system was mainly on absentee landowners and tenants relationship covering 65 to 80 percent of the landholdings in the South (MONGABAY, 2013). The absentee land owners used to collect from the tenants up to 50 percent of the produces (ibid.). Rahmato (1984), quoting survey of the Ministry of Land Reform of 1971, indicated that the proportion of tenancy holding in *rist* system was 13 percent in Gojam, nine percent in Gonder and seven percent in Tigray provinces.

Rahmato (1984:27) pointed out that smallholding agriculture was the feature of the traditional landholding arrangements during the kings’ time. Although a substantial portion of the land was held by big landlords and the state, the land lords used to rent out to tenants in small plots so that the poor operate smallholding agricultural activities. The situation shows that the land grab by few landlords did not help to modernize the country’s agricultural production system although large scale private farms were introduced in the 1960s (ibid.).

The prevailed inequality between landlords and tenants became the major change factor to overthrow the Monarchy and bring new ideas to the political landscape of the country. The inequality in landholding also played a negative role in agricultural productivity (Kebede, 2002). The few elites were not able to cultivate all their holdings as they rather focused on grabbing more tracts to signify their status. Grievances on such kind of unfair landholding, disparity in wealth distribution, and feudal oriented land tenure systems led to a regime change (ibid.). Increasing fragmentation of holdings in the North and lack of tenure security and high renting price of land for the poor in the South had highly affected the agricultural production system (MONGABAY, 2013). Stagnation of the agricultural economy and lack of integration to rural development was increasingly associated to the land tenure system of the country. University students and other literate segments of the society started to request for land tenure reforms and eventually for a regime change (ibid.).

2.3. Public Ownership Land Tenure Systems - from 1975 to Present

2.3.1. Land under the Derg/Military Regime – 1994 to 1991

The Military assumed power by abolishing the Monarchy rule and by establishing a provisional government in 1974. The major step taken by the Military junta was changing the Monarchy land tenure system.

“On March 4, 1975, the Derg announced its land reform program... and nationalized rural land without compensation, abolished tenancy, forbade the hiring of wage labor on private farms, ordered all commercial farms to remain under state control, and granted each peasant family so-called ‘possessing rights’ to a plot of land not to exceed ten hectares”. (MONGABAY, 2013)

The change in the land tenure system was a major breakthrough that gave the poor and tenants free use access to the rural land. However, the Military Government kept land ownership under the jurisdiction of the state. Marxist ideology dominated Military Government transferred all ownership of land to the state (Kebede, 2002). The land reform was seen in suspicion in the Northern part, where *rist* system and communal management system was preferred than state ownership, but welcomed in the South where tenants were freed from paying tributes to land owners. In pastoral areas, since the proclamation of the land reform gave use right for grazing land, the pastoralists did not see the change as a threat (MONGABAY, 2013).

The new land tenure system eliminated all kinds of private ownerships on land and introduced a new system, which provides use rights (Witten, 2007:158). The Derg land proclamation had strict articles preventing land sale, mortgage or lease and bequest, but allowing use right transfers to primary family members only upon death of the head of the household (Crewett et al, 2008:12). The proclamation also prohibits using hired labors on the land with an intention to ensure that landlord-tenant relationship is permanently abolished (ibid). Although the land reform avoided the unfair relationship between landlords and tenants, the Military Government stood against the right of private property by enacting a declaration removing private land ownership rights from individuals and communities. Under the slogan “*land for tillers*”, all private lands were confiscated and a huge land redistribution exercise was launched in the highland parts of the country.

EEPRI (2001), quoted in Witten (2007:158), mentioned that the Military Government of Ethiopia nationalized and redistributed rural lands by introducing new forms of land rights. Witten also reminds that the Military Government was a close friend of the socialist Soviet-Union Government. The change in the land tenure systems has followed similar experiences of other countries in different parts of the world. Literatures also resemble the Ethiopian land reform of the 1974 with many countries like Iran, Japan, the Republic of Korea, Taiwan and China, which had the major land tenure system changes after World War II (Deininger and Binswanger, 1999:256).

Derg enacted a proclamation (Proclamation No. 31/1975) endorsing land as a public property by abolishing tenancy relations and confiscating holdings from the previous owners (Crewett et al, 2008:12). With state ownership of all rural lands, farmers were given only use rights with limited size of holdings. The tenants enjoyed such a landholding arrangement and associated rights compared to the situation they were in during the Monarchy land tenure systems. On the contrary,

it was devastating for the landlords who were forced to give away most of their holdings and left with a maximum holding of 10 hectares per a family. Rahmato (1984), cited in Holden and Ghebru (2011), expressed the situation that the military regime's land tenure reform in 1975 introduced user rights to farming households. All tenants and landlords were provided with a maximum of 10 hectares land per a household. The reform prohibited sale, mortgage and rental of lands (ibid). Although this 10 hectare of ceiling per a family was put in the laws, the majority of farmers were not in a position to access 10 hectare because the real circumstance in the highlands was not allowing getting adequate land to meet the maximum allocation.

Following the land reform, Peasant Associations (PAs) were given a responsibility of allocating land for young families and new comers. This led to a redistribution of land, which increased fragmentation and eroded tenure security (MONGABAY, 2013). Consequently land redistribution became a redundant practice during the Derg time. Although land redistribution started with the change of the tenure system in 1975, the practice continued on the basis that land belongs to the government and all needy should get a plot of land through government allocation systems. The land redistribution exercise resulted in retaking of land from individuals to accommodate the landless, which apparently happened to demonstrate that use right is not an adequate tenure security. The frequent land redistribution during the Derg regime remained a serious fear of the peasants as it occurred three times in 12 years (Rahmato, 2008, cited in Brauw and Mueller, 2011). Derg established local level committees under PAs to oversee the movement of peasants and allocate lands of absentees to others who are in need of farming land (Crewett et al, 2008:13).

The first decree on farm workers cooperatives establishment was declared in 1960, during the time of King Hailesilassie with an aim of accelerating the growth of the agricultural sector (Veerakumaran, 2007:8). After the takeover of power by the Derg, proclamation no. 71/1975 which was declared to give legality to PAs had also included some provisions about the establishment of service and producers cooperatives; but later the Cooperative Societies Proclamation No. 138/1978 was issued to include different kinds of cooperatives such as housing cooperatives (ibid.: 10). After some years, the socialist Derg introduced Agricultural Producers' Cooperatives (APC), which in some areas brought together farming plots, draught animals and other resources of the peasants.

The APCs was established within PAs' administrative boundaries, providing responsibilities to the PA committees to organize farmers under cooperatives (Crewett et al, 2008:13). Studies quoted in Crewett et al (2008:13) also indicated that PAs' chairpersons in most cases became default APCs' chairpersons with an intention of using their position to promote APCs (Alemneh Dejene, 1987; Bereket Kebede, 2002; Kirsch et al, 1989) through direct and indirect coercions (Bereket Kebede, 2002; Fekade Azeze, 2002; Pausewang, 1991) although membership to APC was theoretically on voluntary basis (Alemneh Dejene, 1987). Rahmato (1992:13) also pointed out that although some landless and those living on insufficient land or marginal areas requested to be organized in cooperatives, many were not interested to join, but their best land was assigned to cooperatives forcing them to become members.

As a result of allocation of fertile areas, water points and pasture areas to cooperatives, large number of households were evicted from their holdings. MOA (1989c), quoted in Rahmeto (1992:20), revealed that 488,000 households were relocated and 196,000 households were made landless in favor of cooperatives in the 1980s. This situation clearly demonstrated that the use

rights of the farmers were violated to promote cooperatives and to achieve Derg's political objectives. Similarly collectivization in producers' cooperatives abolished individuals' holdings violating basic democratic rights (Veerakumaran, 2007).

Despite the biases and special supports, the cooperative enterprises remained unpopular and less efficient (Rahmato, 1992:20). The APCs could not bring the intended agricultural growth through collectivization; rather their productivity was below the subsistence individual framings (Bereket Kebede, 2002; Brüne, 1990; Clapham, 1988; Kirsch et al 1989; Pausewang 1991; cited in Crewett et al, 2008:13). Eventually, the Derg regime announcement of mixed economy in 1990 allowed farmers to abandon or join cooperatives freely (MONGABAY, 2013).

Along with promoting cooperatives, the Derg regime introduced resettlement and vilagization programs in the 1980s following consecutive droughts. According to MONGABAY (2013), the resettlement moved about 1.5 million people from densely populated to sparsely occupied areas of the country. On the other hand, villagization campaigns forced millions of rural farmers to reconstruct their houses as a result of Derg's claim of facilitating social services and efficient use of resources (ibid.). The campaign on villagization was also considered as a way of promoting agricultural cooperatives to improve the agriculture sector by applying improved technologies (ibid.).

Both resettlement and villagization programs infringed land use rights that were given to the farmers during the land reform. Settlements during the Derg period were conducted without the consent of both the settlers and host communities (Rahmato, 2007:38). Those who were relocated in resettlement programs had to occupy other individuals and communities' land. Such forced settlements did not sustain for a longer time. Many settlers were also forced to abandon settlements and return to their home (ibid.).

The villagization forced people to leave their areas and get away from farming and grazing lands and gave limited access to other natural resources (MONGABAY, 2013). Villagization in Wollayita, for example, was unsuitable and had disrupted the cropping pattern and strategies as the farmers were relying on perennial crops like enset and coffee (Rahmato, 2007:37).

“The verdict on villagization was not favorable. Thousands of people fled to avoid villagization; others died or lived in deplorable conditions after being forcibly resettled. Moreover, the program's impact on rural peasants and their social and economic well-being remained to be assessed. ... In the long run, analysts believed that villagization would be counterproductive to a rational land use system and would be damaging ecologically. Concentrating people in a central area would, in time, intensify pressure on available water and grazing and lead to a decline in soil fertility and to a poorer peasantry.” (MONGABAY, 2013)

2.2.2. Land under the Government of the Ethiopian People Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) – 1991 to Present

With the fall of the Derg regime, citizens who were bored of the socialist ideology were expecting changes in the whole economic system of the country although the Ethiopian People Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) was known for its Marxist experience during the whole struggle period of 17 years. Deiniger et al (2007:5) mentioned the situation that the need for a private land ownership system was not realized after the overthrow of the Marxist regime. Nega et al (2003:2) revealed that Ethiopia remained the only country to keep the 1975 land reform as is in Africa, some exceptional steps were taken on land redistribution though.

The 1995 Constitution, which was endorsed under the EPRDF Government, declared land to remain a public property. The Constitution provided citizens with use rights ensuring the right of every Ethiopians to access land as long as they want to engage in agricultural activities. The Constitution put the premise for land ownership as follows:

“The right to ownership of rural land and urban land, as well as of all natural resources is exclusively vested in the state and the peoples of Ethiopia. Land is a common property of the nations, nationalities and peoples of Ethiopia” (FDRE, 1995, Article 40(3))

Studies confirmed that the land provisions in the Derg proclamation and the 1995 constitution have a lot of resemblances in terms of ownership and use rights (Nega et al, 2003; Rahmato, 2004; Ege 1997; Kassa and Manig, 2004) , but the use right in the EPRDF Government does not prohibit leasing out holdings and hiring labor and nor does it put restrictions on a maximum holding size (Adal, 2001, cited in Crewett et al, 2008:15). The Constitution clearly mentioned that sale or exchange of land by individuals is not allowed (FDRE, 1995, Article 40(3)). Gebreselassie (2006), quoted in Ambaye (2012:5) indicated that constitutionalizing the land issue effectively closed any openings for change in the land policy. The EPRDF Government, thus, affirmed land to remain a state property, but with a bit relaxed use rights compared to the Derg Regime.

“While it is not the practice in most countries to specify issues of land ownership in the constitution, in Ethiopia, this issue has been made a constitutional matter on account of the special role land plays in the economic and social life of Ethiopian society. (MOFED, 1995:23)

2.2.2.1. Land Policy Debates

There are critics against the current land tenure system. Keeping the rural land under state ownership discourages investment and subsequently leads to low production, food insecurity, and weak economy (Oakland Institute, 2011:12). However, EPRDF led government firmly argues that privatization of land exposes the poor to massive land sales and eventually to unplanned and distress migration (MOFED, 1995:24). According to a policy document of the Ethiopian Government (MOI, 2001:71-72), sale of land may allow private investors to buy the land of the small holders and use capital intensive technologies than engaging the available labor for farming. This will lead to a displacement of people and a loss of labor which is the major resource of the country. If there is an argument that investors could plan to operate labor based agriculture, they

literally continue what the small scale agricultural system was doing and there will not be added value as a result of land transfer (ibid.).

The EPRDF Government also argues that mortgage of land to create capital is not a feasible option in small scale agriculture areas (MOI, 2001:78-79). As the rural land is very fragmented and small in size, the big banks are not in a position to provide credit services using land as collateral. Given limited distribution of commercial and other banks and high transaction costs, none of the banks would be interested to provide credit to the smallholders. The Government policy document rather suggests promoting group borrowing from rural finance services as an alternative and feasible option to raise capital for small scale agricultural activities (ibid.).

Other groups disagree with such a justification of government. They believe that it was possible to devise integrated agricultural development interventions like credit services to the poor to avoid distress sales than preventing land transfers based on such an assumption (Deininger and Binswanger, 1999). The suggested group borrowing mechanisms in the Ethiopian Government policy document tend to strengthen Deininger and Binswanger's advice, but the policy document seemed to assume agriculture as the main and probably the 'only' source of livelihood in the existing situation of the rural economy. If there is a possibility of promoting rural financing and group borrowing in the absence of collateral, the landless could benefit from such opportunities before being displaced. Although various points have been raised, there was no policy debate involving different opinions happened officially because land tenure issue is already a constitutional matter which is not left for an open discussion.

On the one hand, the Ethiopian Government also tried to justify the need to protect land in the highlands from capital intensive investment in a way that such investments can happen in the low land areas without causing displacement of farmers (MOFED, 1995:25). According to MOFED's document, investors can use lease provisions to access uncultivated land in the low land regions although infrastructure is not yet developed in these areas. Apparently land acquisitions by big investors through lease arrangements have also displaced smallholders and communities in the lowlands (Rahmato, 2011:37). The Government may argue that the people in lowlands are sparsely settled and consultation was made in a decision to transfer the land to commercial farms, but there are still critics that the land transfer was not done in a transparent way, nor it did consult communities (ibid.).

On the other hand, MOFED (1995:25) mentioned the possibility of facilitating land lease between farmers and investors¹ in the highland areas as well. Since the land laws allow farmers to rent out part of their holdings to investors from 10 to 20 years, investors may wish to establish big farms in the highlands. The nature of such farmers could be capital and labor intensive enabling the small holders to work on a part time basis (ibid.). This policy document, however, has not indicated how investors can have a consolidated farming after renting-in fragmented plots from different smallholders.

¹ Investors in the Ethiopia rural and this study context are individuals or companies who bring in capital, knowledge, skill and technology to develop land and engage in agricultural activities.

Solomon and Mansberger (2003:4) put the Ethiopian Government's argument against private ownership of land as '*paternalistic*' proposition. The Ethiopian Government thinks that private ownership system could lead to free and high level land transactions, which obviously results in distress sales by the poor. This in turn necessitates migration to urban areas and causes social problems. The poor eventually cannot retrieve their lands after lost from their hands. The Ethiopian government policy document, however, tends to associate the displacement of farmers to loss of labor and capital because the capital to be used to buy land could be invested on agricultural inputs and technologies and integrated to the existing immense labor resource (MOI, 2001:78-79). Moreover, strengthening this argument of government another policy document states that since the country has an agricultural development policy promoting labor intensive technology, the land policy should be seen as an instrument allowing the smallholders to utilize their labor (MOFED: 1995:23).

The Constitution (FDRE, 1995 (4-5)) ensures the right of citizens to access land for farming. Based on these constitutional provisions, local authorities exercised land redistributions to respond to requests coming from the landless. Many literatures criticize the EPRDF Government on its land redistribution practices. According to Brauw and Mueller's (2011:6), although after 1991 the holders were thought to have a permanent use right (Benin and Pender, 2009), land redistributions took place in some parts of the country. Benin and Pender's (2009) study also showed 73% of the villages in the Amara Region went through a minimum of three redistributions since 1991. The redistributions occurred not only to allocate land for the landless, but also local authorities took land in the name of public uses related to government institutions and urban development (Brauw and Mueller, 2011). Moreover, a study indicated that out of the sampled local level administrative units, 93% in Amhara region, 83% in Tigray, and 50% in the South and 25% in Oromia experienced at least one land redistribution since 1991 (Deininger et al, 2007).

A policy document produced by MOFED (1995:23), tending to defend land redistributions conducted in the 1990s, stated that the Government has the power to conduct land redistribution whenever deemed necessary to ensure that unutilized plots are turned into use and those who would like to engage in agriculture can have access to land. Despite this point and redistribution practices for some time, the Ethiopian Government hinted the need to recognize the concerns on land redistribution and guaranteed that land redistribution will not happen for 20 to 30 years (ibid. 26). Although there is a possibility that land redistribution happens to allow the landless youth to access land, efforts will be made to reduce the rate of land redistribution (MOI, 2001:81-82). The later policy document of the Government also reaffirmed that land will not be distributed frequently and there is an assumption that rapid economic growth could provide alternative jobs for the rural landless (ibid.).

Both the Ethiopian Government policy documents (MOFED, 1995:26) and (MOI, 2001:83) attempted to justify that although with reduced rate of land redistribution the landless may remain with little options to access land, rapid economic developments in the country would help to create job in industry and other non-agricultural sectors. There is no clear indication in the documents that the expected industry and other non-agricultural rapid developments would cover rural areas as well. Arguing against critics of restricted movement of people leading to fragmentation of land, these policy documents assume that the landless could move to areas where jobs are available. In addition, the policy documents also put resettlement to areas where land is available as an option to be promoted (ibid.).

As the state ownership of land with repetitive land redistribution tend to erode tenure security, informal land markets could operate in a hidden way allowing sale or exchange of land. For example, according to a study by Braum and Mueller (2011), over five percent of the samples in the study areas purchased land in 2004 and about five percent in 2009. Although the situation indicates that there are interests among the land holders to engage in land transactions, the rate of land transfers remain very low because of lack of an enabling environment to do so. Braum and Mueller (2009) indicated that the proportion of the samples who practiced sharecropping was relatively higher – 15 percent in 2004 and 18 percent in 2009.

According to Gebresilasie (2006), UNECA is one of the international organizations criticizing the Ethiopian land policy. An economic report of Africa revealed that the Ethiopian Government land policy has been a reflection of a centralized and top-down approach, which has not taken into consideration the need of the farmers, civil society, and businesses. The report suggested that something should be done to improve the land policy and subsequently to avoid policy impediments in the development of some of the economic sectors (UNECA, 2002, quoted in Gebresilasie, 2006).

Nevertheless, the Ethiopian Government considers the above criticism against the Ethiopia land policy as a baseless and wrong perception (MOI, 2001:90). According to the Ethiopian Government, the land policy is an instrument enabling all citizens to access agricultural land, contributing for the economic growth of the country and ensuring that development efforts involve and benefit the people. The Government tends to associate some of the observed problems like redundant redistribution of land to implementation problems, which could be corrected in the course of time (ibid.). In general, the Government seems to be determined to reject any criticism against the current land policy with a belief that government has a constitutional responsibility to protect it from any kind of changes as a result of wrong perceptions (MOFED, 1995:24).

The land policy of Ethiopia seems to remain a controversial issue. Like other matters governed under the Constitution, bringing up land tenure issues to open forums and political debates has been seen as dealing with a delicate issue. However, there have been articles and reports commenting on land issues. Many of the literatures reflect that the current land tenure system lacks clarity on individual rights and is unable to provide adequate tenure security. There is a fear that absence of clear property rights may give opportunities for the development of informal land markets (Deininger and Binswanger, 1999:261). According to Magel (2013), a land policy should guarantee tenure security while considering a wide perspective of human equality, dignity, justice and sustainable development.

2.2.2.2. Land Administration Practices under the Current Land Policy

In 1997, the Federal Government issued a land proclamation delegating a responsibility of land policy to the regions (Deininger et al, 2007:5). As land has already been constitutionalized as a state property, the Federal Government left the remaining administrative responsibilities for regions. Subsequently regions formulated their own land administration and use proclamations. As the Constitution states that land belongs to the people, regional governments have the responsibility to administer land on behalf of the people (MOFED, 1995:23).

Although the EPRDF Government continued to resist the introduction of private ownership system, some level of flexibility loosening the tight land administration system has been observed. In 2005, the Federal Government issued the Rural Land Administration and Land Use Proclamation No. 456/2005, which came up with new provisions allowing measuring, registering and certifying individuals' landholdings (Tamrat, 2009). The proclamation also hinted the possibility of claiming individual holdings from communal lands (ibid). The Government introduced land registration and use right certification processes, which allowed the rural households in the highlands to have a legal evidence for land ownership. The certification aims at improving the protection of rights on land during disputes, reallocation and other similar incidences. The registration process was rated free from gender and wealth biases and hoped to increase investment (Rahmato, 2008, Deininger et al 2008, cited in Brauw and Mueller, 2011:6).

Regional land proclamations allow land users to rent out their holdings, but implementation regulations put specific restrictions and arrangements for different regions. For example, in the Oromia Region, land users can lease out half a holding, while in the Southern Nations, Nationalities, and People's (SNNP) Region, the farmer should make sure that his/her remaining holding is enough to produce sufficient production for annual consumption (Zewdu and Malek 2010:9). All regional proclamations confirm that land holders have use rights including renting out, but most of them limit the period of lease and size of land a holder can lease out (Crewett et al, 2008:16).

The restrictions on land transfers through rental and lease arrangement could prevent allocation of land through market and affect appropriate utilization of land (Deininger and Binswanger, 1999:265). If land transfer was left without restrictions, those who are not able to cultivate could transfer their holdings to others and would avoid underutilization. As discussed above, the Government is determined to protect the farmers from displacement happening as a result of distress sale of land. Likewise, long time and whole holding lease has also been seen as something leading to displacement of the smallholders. The same literature suggests that although the Government is trying to control distress sales and speculative purchases, there were options like putting a cap on the maximum land size to be purchased or rented in by individuals. The Government can also encourage the poor to cultivate and avoid distress sales by facilitating credit services for inputs (ibid).

Although there have been some improvements in the land administration sector, the land transfer issue remains unclear. The provisions of regional land proclamations, except Amhara, provide inadequate space to exercises lease arrangements. The Ethiopian Government's policy documents seem to recognize problems associated to long time leasing and the need to work on such issues to improve the environment for land lease arrangement between investors and farmers (MOFED, 1995:25, MOI, 2001:77). Many studies support that the longer the lease period is, the higher the investment on land (Jacoby, Li, and Rozelle, 1998, cited in Deininger and Binswanger, 1999:259).

Regions amended their land proclamations to implement land registration, surveying, and certification (Deininger et al, 2006:6). Although the Federal Land Use and Administration Proclamation No. 456/2005 was issued to replace Proclamation No. 89/1997 in 2005, the regions had already enacted and replaced their own laws or they were in the process of drafting proclamations (ibid). The regions, particularly Tigray, started the land surveying and registration

process before the proclamations were approved. It is the regions who normally include detail implementation of activities in their proclamations (ibid).

The first land surveying and registration process was simple and done using local materials (Deininger et al, 2006:5). The certification process aimed to improve tenure security of the holders and seemed to reduce uncertainties that developed in the users mind due to recurrent redistributions. Deininger et al (2007:5) also revealed that the big regions in Ethiopia started land certification in 2003 with an aim of reducing tenure insecurity. Studies indicated that about 63 percent land users nationally did not see the advantage of certification, but 73 percent landholders in Tigray were aware of the advantage (EEA/EEPRI, 2004, quoted in Deininger et al, 2006:7). A report prepared to show achievements of the first year Growth and Transformation Plan (GTP) of the country revealed that out of 13.5 million households in the highlands, 10.2 million which is about 76 percent received first-level certificates (MOFED, 2012:91). The reported percentage of first-level² landholding certification coverage varies from document to document and from literature to literature. For example, IS Academy (2012:4) put the number of households who received first level certificate at 15 million. This figure covers the entire highland and some low land areas.

The first-level landholding certification practice was simply identifying parcels using cheap and traditional measurement methods and as a result four of the highland regions were able to cover large areas. *“In what is one of the largest, fastest, and most low-cost processes to record rural land rights globally, Ethiopia’s four main regions have, over a period of three to five years, registered some 25 million rural parcels”* Deininger et al, 2012:6). The recording of rights was found to be participatory and enabling the poor and women to protect their use rights (ibid.). The measurement and registration of parcels in the first-level land certification was mainly done by land administration committees elected from the communities (IS Academy 2012:5). These committees were trained by *woreda* land administration offices (ibid.).

The Ministry of Agriculture and regional states in collaboration with donors and implementing agencies introduced a land surveying and registration method using technologies like hand held and RTK GPS, orthophotos, satellite imageries and GIS. According to MOFED (2012:19), a total of 600 thousand households received second-level³ land certificates with polygon maps showing coordinates of parcels. Although the coverage in first-level land certification seemed to be good, there was no systematic way of land transfer updating and using special reference systems (IS Academy 2012:4). The second-level land registration with special data is expected to improve the land information system of the country. According to Deininger et al (2007:11), 80 percent of farmers contacted for a research purpose showed interest for second level land certificates with sketch of parcel maps.

² First level landholding certificate is a simple certificate which identifies owners and number of parcels they possess with some natural boundary demarcations.

³ Second level land certificates transform the first level certificates to a geo-referenced maps showing coordinates of each parcel.

Although adequate and representative research is required to measure the benefit of land certification in terms of tenure security, some studies are showing results of improved productivity of crops and better management of land (Deininger et al, 2008, quoted in IS Academy 2012:5). Landholders have already developed a perception that land certification encourages planting of high value trees and investing on soil and water conservation measures, ensures compensation during expropriations and improves women's position and incentive in land renting (Deininger et al, 2007:15). The certification may help land administration institutions of government to monitor land transactions and narrow down spaces for informal markets. If holdings are registered and legalized, there would be minimal chance for the informal market to operate. Nevertheless, these all depend on capacity and determination to implement legal provisions.

CHAPTER THREE : CONCEPTUALIZING RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION

3.1. Theories on Rural-Urban Migration

Various scholars put forward some theories about rural-urban migration based on contexts and time of migration occurrences. The popular model of Harris and Todaro (Todaro, 1969, 1970, 1976 and 1986, and Harris and Todaro, 1970; quoted in Cornwell and Inder, 2004:2) indicated that the rapid movement of people from rural to urban areas is a result of expectation of better wage in urban areas and desire to improve economic situations. This model believes that the center of the drive for rural-urban migration is future expected wage in urban areas. If rural areas were able to provide competitive wage, migrants could stay with their families and lead undisrupted life. This model, however, has to prove how the rural communities get information and analyze future wage differentials and make decisions with uncertain expectations. Harris and Todaro tend to assume that rural residents have an opportunity and a capacity to predict and analyze income differentials between urban and rural areas.

Some studies indicate that the Harris and Todaro model is more of a micro-economic model, which relates to individuals' behavior (Sjaastad, 1962; Todaro, 1969, 1976; DaVanzo, 1981; quoted in Ezra, 2001:751). Individuals make a decision for migration when they think the expected economic benefits in urban areas outweigh existing and to be incurred economic costs. Todaro (1969), quoted in Ezra (2001:751), revealed that migrants calculate expected earnings to make sure that a wage rate at their destination is high enough to bear opportunity costs. With even high urban unemployment rate, rural migrants make decisions for migration as long as there is an expected wage differential.

Despite the Harris and Tadaro's *individual-level model*, other studies came up with a theory relating migration to households' decision. The *household-level model* argues that in developing countries a household has to decide on one or more family member's migration for the sake of sustenance, livelihood improvement, and risk diversification (Lauby and Stark, 1988, quoted in Ezra, 2001:751). The migrants, in this case, shoulder a bunch of responsibilities to support family members remaining behind. This model understands migration decisions beyond individual level income improvements, because of high involvement of family members in terms of receiving benefits from the migration and using migration as a means of minimizing and diversifying risks. Stark (1991), cited in Ezra (2001:751), considers families as principal agents to make decisions on migration. Advocates of this model indicate that migration is a survival strategy in an environment where livelihoods are not in a position to support livings and a number of risks are threatening the wellbeing of the families (Stark, 1991; Stark and Bloom, 1985; Lauby and Stark, 1988; Rosenzweig and Stark, 1989; and Massey et al, 1993; quoted in Ezra, 2001:751).

Supporting the household-level model, Rhoda (1983:38) revealed that in developing countries, heads of households often make migration decisions in spite of the long perceived individual-level decision theories. Keeping in mind the high influence of families on migration, Rhoda analyzed further and examined three models to answer why migration decisions are made: the models being: "the human capital or cost-benefit approach"; "the expected income model"; and "the inter-

sectoral linkage model” (ibid). With supporting the household approach, the author considered Harris and Todaros model as well in the analysis.

The Human Capital or Cost-Benefit model of Sjaastad (1962) assumes that migration decisions take into consideration benefits to enjoy and costs to incur at present value. This model considers that beyond looking at costs and benefits in monetary terms, locational differences are calculated to include ‘*psychic costs*’ to face with a new environment at destination (Rhoda, 1983:38). The things to be considered in this model seem to happen in a normal circumstance where there is no any other additional risk factors that influence migration decisions.

The *Expected Income Model* is known as Harries and Todaro’s model (Rohda, 1983:39). The main distinction between the *Human Capital or Cost-Benefit model* and Harries and Todarro’s *Expected Income Model* is that the *Human Capital* calculates costs and benefits at present value whereas Harris and Todaro’s model assumes predicted future values (ibid.). Rhoda (1983:39) assessing Todaro’s (1969, 1978) *Expected Income Model* mentioned that the Todaro model considers migration decisions to be based on future values than present actual wage rates. The *Expected Income Model* relates the flow of rural-urban migration with expected high wage rate in urban areas despite any considerations on growing urban unemployment. According to this model, migrants always relate urban wages with future improvements and compare it with currently prevailing rural wages. However, unless there is a mechanism that migrants collect and analyze data, such decisions on migration stems from already developed positive perceptions that urban wage rates always remain better in contrary to the situation in rural areas.

The third model that Rhoda (1983) brought up is the *Intersectoral Linkage Model*. According to Hirschman (1958); Johnston and Kilby (1975); Mellor (1976); Bell and Hazell (1978); quoted in Rohda (1983:40), rural and urban areas are interconnected by forward and backward linkages that make one to depend on the other and allow continued interaction mainly for economic reasons. The agriculture sector in the rural areas gets farm inputs, tools, machineries and transport services from the urban industries and the urban areas in turn expand their industrial activities based on increasing demands from the rural areas. Although development in rural areas highly contributes to an improved economic situation in urban areas due to inelastic nature of demand for rural-produced goods, development in rural areas cannot outweigh the vibrant economic situation of urban areas. As a result, the urban economy tends to create more jobs inducing rural-urban migration (ibid).

De Soto (2000), quoted in Solomon and Mansberger (2003:13/17), considers migration action as a well thought decision made by migrants. Migrants make such a decision by comparing their current situation with opportunities at destination. De Soto argues that instinct decision has little influence; rather well calculated scenarios determine whether to go out or stay behind. If migrants make decisions based on calculated scenarios, the analysis and decision may be made at individual or group level (ibid.). De Soto’s perception on migration seems to relate to the *Human Capital or Cost-Benefit model* in terms of migrants’ decision based on current wage comparison of rural and urban areas. De Soto also tends to acknowledge that there are situations the *household-level model* works in making decisions for migration.

Bhatia (1979:414) showed hours of work as one of the factors determining migration decisions besides expected incomes. Migrants could look for options on how to use extra hours that exceeds

from rural agriculture labor requirement. Whether urban current and expected wage rate increases or not, there still be high rural-out migration if there is surplus labor in the agriculture sector (ibid). Bhatia's theory hints to pose more questions to investigate why the rural sector left residents with excess hours. Of course, the rural people should seek additional job if they have extra hours, but it may not solely for the sake of spending the extra time. If they have time, they may wish to generate more income as well.

The studies reviewed above came up with models theorized based on decisions on migration. These models tried to provide analysis on the decision makers and why migration decision is made. Whether decisions are made by individual migrants themselves or their family, all models showed that migration is mainly driven by economic factors. Nevertheless, all of these models seem to overlook other social, political, and contextual circumstances although economy could come first to make decisions based on comparisons of incomes at destination and original departure places. There are actually few studies which revealed that non-economic issues are also important while analyzing rural-urban migrations. Barnum (1976:760) referred to Caldwell's study (1969b), which was conducted in Africa and indicated migration could be a result of changes in the political environment and other social factors. Caldwell (1969b) also revealed that a weakening family condition in the rural area may involve extended families elsewhere to facilitate migration (ibid).

3.2. Rural-Urban Migration in Developing Countries

Sheng and Tacoli (2004), quoted in Zewdu and Malek (2010:3), revealed that the movement of people in developing countries is mainly from rural to urban areas. Most of the time, the rural-urban migration involves the poor who are looking for an additional income and trying to escape poverty. Sheng and Tacoli's observation leads to such a conclusion that rural areas in developing countries are largely constrained with push factors and are not in a situation to serve as an attractive destination for migrants from urban areas.

Studies conducted in developing countries indicated that high rates of natural population increase, land distribution problems, weak employment opportunities and inadequate income in rural areas lead to migration decisions. In addition large difference between the rural and the urban areas in services and living conditions strengthen decisions for migration (Bilsborrow, Oberai, and Standing, 1984, Firebaugh, 1979, International Development Research Centre, 1977, Peek, 1980, and Shaw, 1974; quoted in Bilsborrow et al, 1987:191).

The rural poor take rural-urban migration as a coping strategy against poverty in developing countries (Zewdu and Malek, 2010:3, quoted in Sheng and Tacoli, 2004). This in turn gave an opportunity for those remained behind to access more tracts of land and increase productivity in agriculture. Such movement of people can be seen as a good balance and a good alternative to skip subsistence farming and engage in a more vibrant productive sector. This observation proves that decision for migration is more of a household-level decision than individual-level in developing countries (Lauby and Stark, 1988, quoted in Ezra, 2001:751).

Beyond the perception that the rural poor migrates to urban areas in search of better income, there are a theory about better-off people migrating to urban areas. This thought relates migration of the

rich with seeking of better life, income diversification, and change of occupation in developing countries. Abdurehman et al. (2009), quoted in Zewdu and Malek (2010:14), revealed that pastoralists in Ethiopia tend to establish a business opportunity in urban areas when their livestock number increases. With the livestock number increase, the marketing opportunity opens up leading the pastoralists to the urban areas. Such movement of rich farmers to urban areas could also happen with crop producers as they may wish to engage in urban business and modern life, which they may not access in rural areas. Thus, the need to shift to non-farm activities and seeking of better life also pushes the well to do ones to urban areas.

In developing countries, rural-urban migration is also seen as an important activity in allocating labor from one sector to the other. Lewis (1954) and Ranis and Fei (1961), quoted in Cornwell and Inder (2004:2), see the movement of labor from a subsistence to an industrial sector as an important component for development. It is obvious that the growing urban areas in industry, service and other sectors may not find adequate labor force in urban areas alone. In order to attract more labor from rural areas, they have to give attractive wage that can convince the rural migrant to give up their long time farming practice and environment. As discussed earlier the movement from rural to urban areas frees up land for those who would like to plough bigger plots and increase labor productivity.

However, urban areas seem to face challenges to accommodate rural migrants although the industry and service sectors' growth creates jobs. As many urban areas may fail to take into consideration the rate of inflow of people with a growing economy, they would end up with problems to provide adequate accommodation, utilities, and services to the dramatically increasing population. Cornwell and Inder (2004:2) revealed that the last few decades experienced high population growth in urban areas. For instance, the urban population in least developed countries escalated from 26.1% in 1975 to 40% in 2000. The authors brought up the fast rate of urban population growth would couple with the poor infrastructure and services in developing countries. In addition, the authors argued that despite some positive development aspects, unplanned population increase would also bring congestion, pollution and crime (ibid).

In the least developed countries, industries and other non-farm job creating sectors are mainly located in urban areas. With increasing population pressure, per capita land holding in rural areas has been diminishing. Had not some segment of the rural people moved to urban areas, the rural areas' problems of carrying capacity would have soared more than what is known this time. It sometime happens to be a sharing of problems and opportunities to each other. When the rural-urban migration comes as an opportunity to provide labor to the non-farm sectors, it brings together lots of problems to both urban areas and migrants themselves. Cornwell and Inder (2004:2) indicated that the overloading of population leads to the creation of slums, which lack water supply and sanitation. This would in turn lead to prevalence of diseases and other associated problems, which may also backfire to the rural areas.

If rural-urban migration is something inevitable and even important to supply labor to the urban areas, there should be a threshold point to control such a movement before it goes beyond a certain limit. When the urban areas continue to grow with small and big scale businesses, rural migrants will continue to move in search of labor with no or little emphasis to the bad living conditions at their destination. This may finally lead to labor concentration in the urban areas, creating big rate of unemployment with increasing urban population pressure. The situation puts the urban areas in

a different situation turning their position from employment hubs to places where unemployed population could largely be found. Strengthening this assumption, Harris and Todaro's (1970:4), quoted in Cornwell and Inder (2004), indicated that rural-urban migration continues despite diminishing job opportunities in urban areas. When urban areas try to devise ways to create jobs to reduce unemployment, the situation would happen to be an attractive package inducing migration from rural areas.

3.3. Driving Factors and Manifestation of Rural-urban Migration

The driving factors for migration could be immense and different for various situations. With changing circumstances in rural areas, migrants or/and their families need to weigh and compare pros and cons before making a final decision for migration. Todaro (1969); Harris and Todaro (1970), quoted in Ellis (1998:16), perceive migration decisions as individuals choices while Lauby and Stark (1988), quoted in Ezra (2001:751), understand it, in developing countries, as a household decision on one or more family member's migration.

Despite levels of decisions, studies conducted on migration agree that there are important factors that would lead to migration decisions. Zewdu and Malek (2010:9) indicated that rural urban migration in Ethiopia could be triggered by low income generated in the agriculture sector and need to diversify activities in other sectors. However, the majority of cases in Ethiopia show that the poor have more inclination for migration than the rich. Unlike experiences in other countries, with diminishing income opportunities, the poor tend to migrate than the rural rich in Ethiopia (De Haan et al, 2000, cited in Zewdu and Malek, 2010:15). Hence, the nature of the factors would happen to be more of problem driven.

While some Authors (Bigsten, 1996, Larson and Mundlak, 1997) see job seeking as a prime determinant of migration, others (Stark and Levhari, 1982, Katz and Stark, 1986, Stark, 1980, Collier and Lai, 1986) consider risk spreading and rural capital imperfections as important factors (Ellis, 1998:16). As it was discussed earlier, these two perceptions would hold true if separately examined in relation to situations of migrants. The job seeking factor seems to refer poor migrants who have no other alternatives and would like to use the unproductive and surplus labor in rural areas to generate income somewhere else. Whereas the risk spreading factor would refer rural residents who would experience risk of losing what they have because of uncertain circumstances unless they diversify activities in urban areas. The risk diversification could also refer to the better-off who would like to invest, but constrained with limited choices in rural areas.

Nevertheless, migration leads to diversification of activities in both rich and poor migrants' cases. But the diversification may not be a voluntary exercise for the poor. It is rather the only choice to skip poverty. According to Hart (1994), cited in Ellis (1998:7), on the one hand, it is a matter of survival and desperation that leads to diversification; on the other hand, it is a matter of choice and opportunity that provokes people to move out of their usual job and look for other alternatives. Hence, migration and diversification go along with each other, but for different purposes: for the poor as a mechanism of survival and for the rich as a means of wealth accumulation.

Zewdu and Malek (2010) argue that improved agricultural productivity could facilitate rural-urban migration with growing non-farm activities. This assumption seems to show increasing capacity

and opportunity with growing agricultural output per person. Those who are able to hold adequate farming land could strive towards improved productivity by using their available labor and investing on agricultural inputs. Again investing on non-farm activities depends on available opportunities in rural areas. This idea seems to contradict with a theory revealing that rural-urban migration improves productivity per person because of increasing or not diminishing holding sizes.

Despite the type of people migrating and levels of decisions made, the reviewed literatures so far showed that rural-urban migration has push and pull factors although the extent could differ contextually. In general, most of the migration studies indicated that economic factors are the most important determinants for decisions (Brigg, 1973; Connell et al, 1977; Dejong and Gardner, 1981; Findley, 1977; and Simmons et al, 1977; quoted in Rhoda, 1983:41). The combination of economic push factors such as unemployment and underemployment, shortage of farming land, and weakening livelihood and economic pull factors particularly high wages in urban areas lead to migration (Rhoda, 1983:41). Fragmentation of farm lands, landlessness, low productivity, lack of non-farm activities, and in general poverty are the major factors pushing the poor to towns (Gete et al., 2008b; Girma et al., 2008; and De Haan et al., 2000; quoted in Zewdu and Malek, 2010). Likewise, better job opportunities, availability of non-farm activities, better living conditions and services and promising improvement prospects in urban areas could serve as pull factors.

Ellis (1998) also mentioned the above and more other factors like seasonality, risk, market failure and disasters to be affecting and disrupting livelihoods as push factors influencing to leave rural areas. Food crises happened to be a major factor for rural-out migration either. Bigsten (1996), quoted in Ellis (1998:16-17), indicated income differentials as pull factors and showed a situation in Kenya where high wages in urban areas as pull factors combining with push problems in rural areas to instigate migration, but the case was vice versa in Egypt. These all different factors have direct relationship with economic factors. Both push and pull factors separately and in a combination force individuals to make decisions for migration.

Rural-urban migration seems to use existing relationships between rural and urban settings. Although the relationships between the rural and urban settings are of multidimensional, the economic linkage is more likely to govern the biggest part. Tacoli (2004:2) describes the rural urban linkage components as income, access to market, agricultural and non-agricultural goods, population growth and distribution, agricultural land, occupation, and urbanization. Both rural and urban areas need a linkage for mutual benefits. One needs the other due to reasons revolving around Tacoli's linkage factors. In a review made earlier, this type of rural-urban relationship was seen as one of the models described as Intersectoral Linkage (Rhoda, 1983:40). The rural-urban linkage through these and other factors facilitates movement of people. When rural-urban interaction increases, the mobility rate of people from rural to urban areas speeds up. Moreover, the increasing mobility goes beyond a linkage and brings about transformation of the rural areas (Zewdu and Malek, 2010:5).

Migration is also a source of income for migrants' families remained behind in rural areas. When someone from a family migrates to urban areas, the rest of the family members hope to receive some remittances although the separation brings some costs. Usually in addition to improving migrants' situation, the income from migration helps to cover costs of daily life and to tackle poverty of rural households (Dorosh et al., 2011:45). Migrants are expected to provide support to elders remaining behind during food crises (Ezra and Kiros, 2001:763). Migrants, thus, shoulder

responsibilities of covering their own living costs, supporting families back in rural areas and saving money to improve and diversify livelihoods. Such family related responsibilities after migration imply that migration decisions are made at a household level, but may not be fully justifiable.

It is also important to identify between seasonal and permanent migrations to describe the aforementioned family ties. Some migrants may move to urban areas seasonally when their labor is not required for agricultural activities. This kind of seasonal migration is a strategy to use their labor efficiently and to maximize income. Bigsten (1988 and 1996); Lageman (1989); and Andrae (1992); quoted in Ellis (1998:7), indicated that family members work in urban areas during slack periods of agricultural activities and return back to their families' farm when their labor is needed. This kind of migration continues from season to season as a circular migration. These observations strengthen Bhatia's (1979) suggestion of extra-hours as a factor of migration. Seasonality of agricultural activities and other farm size related justifications seem to strengthen the theory of extra-hours as a factor for migration.

3.4. Benefits and Challenges of Rural-Urban Migration

Zewdu and Malek (2010:5) put rural-urban migration as a mechanism by which workforces are reallocated to different sectors. With a growing population pressure and diminishing farm lands, the agricultural sector could reach to a threshold level; where productivity tends to decline and the people start to experience shortage of productive assets mainly land. Bhatia (1979:414) indicated that there would be extra-hours, which the agriculture sector cannot absorb; the surplus hours are most likely to be used in other sectors through migration. Those who feel deprived may look for non-agricultural activities as alternative areas. These new alternatives are mainly available in urban areas. With surplus hours in the agriculture sector, better wage rates in other sectors could happen to be major factors leading to a decision for migration (ibid.). Unlike the poor, as it was mentioned in previous sections, some well-to-do ones could also migrate with a different aim. But both the rich and the poor have one thing in common – the reason for their migration is mainly economic although this economic factor forces them to migrate for different purposes.

Ellis (1998:7), based on Rempel and Lobdell (1978), Murray (1981), Stichter (1982), and Heyer (1996), mentions those households having migrant members working away from them as '*split families*' and describe their livelihood strategies as '*straddling*' over rural and urban sectors. Migrants keep up their connection with their family members in rural areas for various reasons. Unless there is a special reason preventing from coming back, migrants return to urban areas without totally detaching themselves from their original places and families. Responsibilities to support parents and children, marriage, kinship, and some economic reasons contribute for maintaining connections with rural areas. Lucas and Stark (1985), Stark and Bloom (1985), Valentine (1993), and Hoddinott (1994), cited in Ellis (1998:7), affirmed that urban migrants maintain strong connections with their families in rural areas.

According to Rempel and Lobdell (1978) and Hoddinott (1994), quoted in Ellis (1998:16), with varying amount and frequencies, 80 to 90 percent of migrants send remittances to their families.

Migrants do not move to cities only to run away from poverty, but also make that migration decision with responsibilities of shouldering their families' problems.

“In the family contract model, remittances are part of a long-term implicit contract between parents and children that includes investment in education, migration, remittances and inheritance (Hoddinott, 1994).” (Ellis 1998:16)

Nevertheless, there are situations where migrants send remittances not only to support families; but also to invest the money on assets, which will finally serve the migrants themselves. Lucas and Stark (1985) and Hoddinott (1994) described such an investment as a preparatory strategy for a fallback position in case the urban economy does not continue to provide job. Ellis (1998:16) also mentioned that migrants use the money earned in urban areas to improve their asset status in rural areas. Although the ownership remains with the migrants, such investments are most likely to help rural families in one way or the other.

Studies indicate that rural-urban migration provides a tremendous amount of support to the rural economy. Rural families could use remittances to cover food costs, invest on agricultural inputs, build fixed assets, and access services such as education and health. Brauw and Mueller (2011) revealed that rural-urban migration in Ethiopia helps the rural people to improve agricultural practices, increase income and get access to education and other services. Taylor and Lopez-Feldman (2010) indicated that as a result of income from migration, in rural China households introduced new technologies for agricultural activities and continued investing on their land.

Although migration takes away labor from the agricultural sector, the remittances provide investment capacity to enhance the agricultural productivity (Rozelle et al, 1999 and Taylor et al, 2003, quoted in Taylor and Lopez-Feldman 2010). Out migration is seen as a mechanism to generate money for investment and to minimize risks during production failures in a situation where there is no credit service or an insurance scheme to support rural households (Taylor and Lopez-Feldman, 2010).

Moreover, there are suggestions indicating that rural-urban migration helps to balance income between rural and urban areas as rural areas could benefit from remittances and urban areas absorb excess labor from rural areas (Byerlee, 1974:561). The development of urban areas in industries, services and other non-farm activities increases the demand for labor, brings changes in the wage rate and attract more migrants. Byerlee (1974:557) considers migration as an integral part of socio-economic development, which allocates labor and human capital to different sectors and regions.

Overall, reviewed literatures above affirmed that rural-urban migration has a lot of benefits to render to rural areas. Rural-urban migration is one of the major sources of non-farm incomes, which is transferred to rural households through remittances (Ellis, 1998:23). This seems to lead to a conclusion that rural-urban migrants make decisions for migration due to economic factors and they support rural families in post-migration period.

With all these benefits, there are also challenges coming along with migration. The change in environment may result in economic and social problems. According to Dorosh et al. (2011:45), the migrants face shortage of money to cover their travel costs and to use as a start-up capital in a new working area. Unless they have a pre-established contact and support in urban areas, they

have to also cover living costs until they get job. In addition, social cost is very importantly a challenge that migrants would face. Unlike rural areas, the social tie in urban areas may not be strong. The social capital is an important component for migrants (ibid.)

Migration could be hindered by various factors. In a rural family where there is no sufficient work force to handle agricultural activities, it might be difficult to make a decision for migration (Dorosh et al, 2011:45). Migration decisions could also be affected by policy issues such as land holding. According to Brauw and Mueller (2011:4), the migration of rural people may involve decision in landholding in a way that migrants need to be sure that their land will not be expropriated as a result of migration.

3.5. Rural-Urban Migration in Ethiopia

“In Ethiopia, the level of urbanization is lower than Sub-Saharan average, but is proceeding at a fast pace. Ethiopia’s urban population is estimated at 16 percent in 2007 (CSA 2008), while in Western, Middle and Eastern Africa the urban population share in 2005 already reached 42, 40 and 22 percent, respectively” (UN Population Division, 2009, quoted in World Bank, 2008:10)

Although very little is known about the pattern and rate of rural-urban migration in Ethiopia, available few literatures considered migration as an issue that has not yet grown to a serious problem. The low proportion of people living in urban areas seems to keep migration issues at a low profile. The World Bank document (2008), quoted in Brauw and Mueller (2011:3) indicated that in Sub-Saharan Africa, where 36 percent of the population live in cities, Ethiopian urban residents remained below 16 percent. There might be various reasons for this level of low urbanization in Ethiopia, but according to Abate (1995), cited in Ezra and Kiros (2001:749), adequate research has not been conducted on migration in Ethiopia due to lack of data.

Although Ethiopia is one of the least urbanized countries in Sub-Saharan Africa, current trends show that with accelerated movement of people, urbanization is expected to increase from recent years 16 percent to 27 percent in 2035 (UN Population Division, 2009, quoted in World Bank, 2008:10). The movement of people from one area to the other has been a relatively old activity and trend in Ethiopia, but increasing urban population growth was observed, for instance at 3.8 percent from 1994 to 2007 (World Bank, 2008:10).

With steadily growing population in the highland areas, the people used to move to low land areas and towns either to expand agricultural activities or to try a different occupation by their own (Rahmato, 1989, quoted in Ezra and Kiros, 2001:749). The population pressure and diminishing landholding size in the highlands of Ethiopia necessitated movement of people to sparsely populated areas of the lowlands. Recurrent droughts and growing food insecurity pushed residents to leave their areas. The movements were also supported by the Government. During the 1984-85 famine, about 600,000 settlers moved to agricultural potential areas (ibid).

Given the country’s agrarian dominated economy and undeveloped land transaction experiences, the reported low level of urbanization should not be seen as a surprise. The diminishing carrying

capacity of land and deteriorating living conditions in rural areas could no longer allow urban areas to remain at such a low expansion rate. EEA/EEPRI (2002:158), quoted in Witten (2007), revealed that 75 percent of rural people in the Tigray Region of Ethiopia do not have enough land for production supporting a living. Although 85 percent of the Tigray people depend on farming, they have to somehow look for ways to support their living. These could be seasonal migration, remittance, assistance, etc. (ibid.).

Zewdu and Malek (2010:12) ascertained that rural-rural migration was used to be the most single type of migration followed by rural-urban migration in Ethiopia. People also migrate from one city to the other and from urban to rural areas. Development history tells that following industrialization and developed urban services, rural farmers made their ways to cities. Better incomes and living conditions attracted most of the rural migrants to join urban areas (ibid). A study conducted by Bezu and Holden (2013:4) in South Ethiopia indicated that among the surveyed 600 households, the youth in 58 percent of the households revealed that they would like to move to urban areas for salaried employment and education. With scarcity of farming land, most of the youth in rural areas were found to be less interested for rural agricultural activities (ibid.).

Based on the Ethiopia Rural Household Survey conducted by the Addis Ababa University, Brauw and Mueller (2011:18) indicated that 72 percent of households in the study sample had at least one individual aged 15 year left rural areas from year 1999 to 2009. The period of the study is wide, but is an indicator that rural families potentially could have members leaving them for various reasons. If 72 percent of households have one or more migrants leaving them, there is a high potential that significant proportion of these migrants could join urban areas.

A study conducted on seasonal migration in the Amhara Region of Ethiopia (Gete et al., 2008b) showed that the young and single men tend to migrate seasonally because they do not have land to work on and means of subsistence to establish their own livelihood. Land policy and other related political decisions may force subsistent farmers to tie themselves with a piece of land and avoid being away. Nevertheless, with the new generation remaining landless and land fragmentation reaching to an unaffordable level, migration to urban areas is something that every desperate rural residents would like to embark on. In the mentioned study, in the Amhara Region, 55 percent of the respondents who are young and single migrate seasonally (ibid). (Gete et al., 2008b), quoted in Zewdu and Malek (2010:9), concluded that significant proportions of farmers are almost ready for seasonal migration and activity diversification in the Amhara Region.

There are evidences showing that internal migration is growing in Ethiopia although rural-rural migration dominating the rate (Zewdu and Malek 2010:14). Due to low attention to migration issues, data on demographic dynamics is not specifically and adequately available for studies in Ethiopia. Nevertheless, few of the available studies reveal that the rural people in Ethiopia migrate to run away from poverty, environmental stresses, war, famine, and economic crises (Krokkfors, 1995; Abate, 1995; quoted in Ezra and Kiros, 2001:749). As it was discussed in the previous sections looking at factors of migration, Ethiopian migrants are also most likely to face similar problems pushing them towards migration.

Available studies indicate that rural-urban migration in Ethiopia is a suitable mechanism to improve own and families' living standards and to relax land constraints in the rural areas (Brauw and Mueller, 2011:3). Most of the studies agree that the Ethiopian rural areas are characterized by

weak socio-economic conditions, unreliable weather for agricultural activities, poor infrastructure and environmental degradation (Demeke and Regassa, 1996, cited in Ezra and Kiros, 2001:752 and Brauw and Mueller, 2011:6). With these all problems, rural-urban migration rate in Ethiopia still seems to be low, but is picking up to become a serious issue.

The Ethiopian rural areas have been experiencing a lot of problems pushing their residents towards migration. Many households normally have seasonal migrants expected to supplement family incomes (Ezra and Kiros, 2001:750). Although population pressure and food insecurity have been increasingly becoming obvious push factors, lack of access to farm land is the major problem, which force most people to leave their areas (Abate, 1989, cited in Ezra and Kirso, 2001:750). The reviewed studies showed that shortage of land is the bottom-line causing rural-urban migration in Ethiopia. Rahmato (1984), quoted in Ezra and Kiros (2001:750); Cohen et al. (1988); Ezra (1997, 2000); and Berhanu and White (1998), summarized that the Ethiopian rural-urban migration is a result of a combination of many factors, but land fragmentation, landlessness, land degradation, and agricultural policies appear to be the leading ones.

The rural people who are mainly dependent on agriculture confront with chronic and acute problems related to environmental degradation and production failures. According to the Oakland Institute (2011:10), Ethiopia passed through 15 severe droughts since 1965. If we make simple calculation, the frequency of the drought occurrence was in every 3.6 years in 55 years' time on average. The same document revealed that the Food Security Risk Index of 2010 rated Ethiopia as one of 10 countries under extreme risk. The situation here shows the increasing magnitude of the vulnerability of the country to climate change over time. When this couples with population pressure and low landholding size or landlessness, the situation gets more severe forcing many rural people to make decisions for migration.

The Oakland Institute (2011:10) indicated that demographic, climatic and technological factors caused food insecurity in the country. Most importantly, the same document revealed that policy related issues such as land tenure, access to market, and poor off-farm employment opportunities are underlying factors leading to food insecurity. Although these all policy and implementation level problems could be mentioned, all of them imply that the rural people do not have adequate capacity to produce sufficient food for their own consumption. Land becomes an important policy issue here, but not exclusively the only factor. Shortage of land can be analyzed in terms of policy and lack of off-farm alternatives. The document, however, brought up issues that should go together (ibid.).

Morrissey (2001:28) strengthening this observation revealed that lack of land left many people unproductive and eventually led them to migration. Shortage of land in the highlands has been acknowledged by the current and previous governments, but both governments preferred resettlement of the landless people to western and southern lowland parts of the country where land is available (The Oakland Institute, 2011:14). Since the resettlements were not done by the migrants themselves, many of them returned back because of conflicts and diseases (ibid). Both the current and previous governments assumed that people's need for land can be addressed wherever the land is available without taking into consideration environmental, social, cultural and political factors.

Some literatures also showed the influence of the current land policy of Ethiopia on migration. Dorosh et al. (2011:46) revealed that in Ethiopia where land was nationalized, the mobility of the rural people was constrained by limited transfer rights on land. Although the current land policy allows land transfers, there are still restrictions limiting movement of people (ibid.). Zewdu and Malek (2010:9) put a recommendation indicating the need to loosen policy restrictions and allow movement of people in the following way.

“There is an urgent need for policymakers to understand that migration and mobility are livelihood strategies and not threats to social order. Significant numbers of peasants are desperate and have already showed their need to diversify their livelihood by seasonal/temporary migration.” (Zewdu and Malek, 2010:9)

3.6. Concluding Remark

The reviewed literatures proved that there is a strong relationship between rural-urban migration and land policy. Although migration factors could vary based on contexts, most of the literatures agree that there are both push and pull factors leading to a decision for migration. Migration renders both opportunities and challenges. Urban areas happen to be better options for job despite many problems exacerbating with increasing movement of people from rural areas. Experiences in developing countries showed that migration to urban areas benefit and affect both migrants and families remaining behind.

Ethiopia happens to have the lowest urbanization in Sub-Saharan Africa, but the increasing rate of population growth indicated that the demography structure changes rapidly. Although there are many factors pushing people from rural areas, land shortage appears to be significant cause for leaving rural areas. The literatures mentioned land fragmentation, restrictions in land transactions and absence of non-farm activities as factors leading to rural-urban migration in Ethiopia.

CHAPTER FOUR : PROBING CONNECTIONS BETWEEN MIGRATION AND POLICY ISSUES IN ETHIOPIA

4.1. Land Policy and Rural-Urban Migration

Agriculture being the major livelihood and income source of the majority of rural people, it is imperative that land tenure systems play a significant role in determining living condition of these people. When the Military Government declared land as a public property and allowed all farmers to have access to land in 1975, the number of population of the country did not go beyond 30 million. But, in 2011, over 80 million people scrambled over similar size of the country's farming land. With such large growth of population in 37 years, agriculture remains the major source of livelihood for over 80 percent of the people. According to the Ethiopia's Central Statistics Authority data, the average landholding size per a household is only about a hectare (CSA, 2011:12). Out of about 14 million rural households, 35 percent own half a hectare or below and nine percent hold one tenth of a hectare and below (ibid). Statistical data of these households pose a big question on how they could afford leading a decent subsistence life on farming alone.

4.1.1. Tenure Security versus Mobility

“The drivers for improving security of land tenure are mainly to be found in the worldwide approach to poverty alleviation.” (Van der Molen, 2001:4)

Brauw and Mueller (2011:10), citing Yang (1997), indicated that in China rural households hesitate to send members to urban areas as migrants because local authorities could confiscate lands of absentees. Such government measures kept many of the households away from rural-migration practices and engagement in the non-farm sectors. China has a state ownership land tenure system, which by many measurements resembles to the Ethiopia land tenure system. Land is a public property in both China and Ethiopia. Individuals or communities have only use rights and cannot sell land in both countries.

Deininger et al. (2007:5) revealed that although land transfer through rental is possible in Ethiopia, land use rights require physical presences in the villages. According to Rahmato (2003), cited in Deininger et al. (2007:5), this restrictive policy prevents people from rural-urban migration practices. If the land holders want to migrate to urban areas, their decision may need to take into consideration the possibility of losing land use rights in rural areas. Peasants were obliged to stay around their holdings to secure land use rights. Going away from their vicinity could result in losing of their holdings. Ethiopia being a country where land redistribution was repeatedly practiced as a mechanism to allocate land to the landless, being away from holdings paves a way for local administrators to allocate the land to others. The Ethiopian Government admits the presence of land redistribution practices and justifies its importance in relation to accommodating the landless without causing tenure insecurity feelings on others (MOFED, 1995:26). This

justification does not seem to consider the grievance of those losing land in the name of land redistribution.

Gebresilasie (2006:5) strengthens the above ideas by showing the existing tight regulation in use right of land in Ethiopia. Land holders cannot transfer their land because such a practice results in giving up use rights. In fear of such measures, farmers refrain from leaving their holding uncultivated for consecutive years. Such a land administration regulation restricts mobility of farmers in search of non-farm employment (ibid). Rahmato (2008), quoted in Brauw and Mueller (2011:6), revealed that in Ethiopia farmers are required to cultivate and take care of their land for uninterrupted period of time to show that they are living in their *kebele* or local vicinity. The *Kebele* committees have a responsibility of allocating and monitoring the utilization of land (ibid.).

In Ethiopia, although regions made revisions in their proclamations to allow improved land transfers through renting, some regions' proclamations remained to have restrictive clauses regarding duration and size of holding to be leased. For instance, the lease period in the Oromia and the Southern regions is very short and not attractive to invest and engage in long term agricultural activities (Zewdu and Malek 2010:9). In this short period of time, the land holders cannot generate enough money to engage in other off-farm and non-farm activities and have to come back to their farms to avoid risk of losing holdings after the renting period ends.

Land administration and use proclamations of the Federal Government and four regional states were reviewed to see the transferability of smallholders' land in terms of time and size. All the Federal and regional land laws provide inheritance rights, but to claim inheritance there are certain criteria to proof eligibility such as family membership, dependence, low income and residency in the area (FDRE, 2005; ANRS, 2007; ONRS, 2007; SNNPRS, 2007; and TRNS, 2007). Although the Federal law seemed to overlook mentioning of provisions on bequeathing of land rights, the Amhara, Oromia and Southern regions included such clauses in their proclamations (ANRS, 2007; ONRS, 2007; and SNNPRS, 2007). The Amhara and Oromia regions, however, clearly mentioned that bequeathing can only happen between family members (ibid.). In the Ethiopia rural areas tradition and experience, inheritance mostly happens when the holders or parents pass away, whereas bequeathing is a practice of giving land which could be a parcel or more or subdivided from a parcel of land. As regional laws put half a hectare of minimum size of a holding, subdivisions with below this floor limit could not enable to get official recognition (ibid.).

Land lease is an important element of land rights helping to show the transferability of land in rural areas of Ethiopia. In principle, land lease between smallholder farmers is possible, but all federal and regional laws put various restrictions in the implementation of land leases. The Federal land proclamation states the possibility of land lease arrangements between farmers, but it says that such a lease should not cause any displacement of the leaser (FDRE, 2005). Accordingly regions' proclamations put provisions about land lease among farmers. The Oromia and Tigray regions land proclamations allow renting out half a holding for up to three years (ONRS, 2007 and TNRS, 2007). The Southern land proclamation gives a five year land lease period right, but the renter should make sure that the remaining land is sufficient to feed the holder and other dependents for a year (SNNPRS, 2007). The Amhara Region land proclamation provides a bit liberal land lease rights and even tends to deviate from the Federal proclamation by allowing displacement of the holders. According to the Amhara Region land proclamation, a holder can lease part or whole a holding for up to 25 years and such a lease arrangement is renewable (ANRS, 2007).

All assessed regional laws tend to favor land renting of farmers to investors⁴. Except Amhara, which gave equal 25 years lease period to both farmers and investors, the other three regions gave longer lease period rights if the land renting happens from farmers to investors. The lease period from farmers to investors can go up to 10 years in Tigray, 15 years in Oromia, and 10 to 25 years in the Southern regions depending on purpose of the investment, but all the three regions allow farmers to rent out only up to half of a holding (ONRS, 2007; TNRS, 2007 and SNNPRS, 2007). The problem here is that an investor should be able to get a contiguous land to merge rented-in parcels and run big scale farming. With this condition, the provisions in the laws would not be realized in the practical environment.

“Although land transfers via rental have been allowed officially, award and continued enjoyment of land use rights is contingent on physical residence in the village, something that may prevent migration from rural areas (Rahmato 2003). Moreover, all regions except Amhara have legal provisions limiting the amount of land to be rented out -normally to 50% of holding size and setting a maximum duration for rental contracts.” (Deininger et al., 2006:6)

The reviewed literatures showed that such restrictive land laws in Ethiopia tend to discourage rural-urban migration. A land transfer through inheritance is allowed only for those children and proved dependents residing in same rural areas. The biggest criterion in such a transfer is ensuring that inheritors were living with families. The land law does not allow such a right to those living in other rural areas and cities (Zewdu and Malek, 2010:8). The Authors emphasized that this kind of limited transfer right affects the livelihood and movement of the farmers to non-agricultural activities. If the children decide to leave the rural areas, they jeopardize their land inheritance rights.

Tenure security is then subject to availability of land holders around their farms. This obviously affects attempts to engage in off-farm and non-farm activities. Deininger et al. (2003), quoted in Solomon and Mansberger (2003:8), showed that rural households have already developed a perception that they could lose their land if the head of the household has a part-time job in the off-farm sector. The finding also indicates that off-farm activities could increase the probability of losing land by between 10 to 15 percent. With this kind of uncertain tenure security, many people may not want to move out of their farms and eventually risk their holdings (ibid.).

Although few studies have been done to investigate the relationship between land policy and rural-urban migration in Ethiopia, the available findings from Ethiopia and other countries indicated that tenure security has a lot to do with movements of people. Yang (1997), quoted in Brauw and Mueller (2011:10), revealed that the relationship between tenure security and movement of people is very strong. In china, households have to think carefully before making a decision to send someone as an immigrant to urban areas. Like in Ethiopia, land is owned by the Government in china. The farmers only have use rights limiting transfer rights through sale. Thus, in both Ethiopia

⁴ The objective behind favoring land renting to investors is to encourage improved agricultural activities. Investors are believed to inject capital to the rural economy and introduce new technologies, skill and knowledge improving the performance of the agriculture sector and having technology transfer effects to the farmers.

and China, a person who plans to migrate needs to weigh the pros and cons considering what s/he loses and what s/he gets.

The improvement in tenure security appears to be very crucial factor to enhance investments on land and maintain sustainable land management practices; this in turn increases the value of land. Zewdu and Malek (2010:7,14) indicated that tenure security encourages farmers to deploy sound land management approaches to combat soil degradations and ensure improvements in productivity. According to the authors, with improved productivity, the rural people would opt to diversify activities and see rural-urban migration as an option for non-farm activities. The income from non-farm sectors would serve as a source of investment to improve the agricultural sector productivity and to create more jobs for the landless (ibid.).

Solomon and Mansberger (2003:5) consider improved tenure security as an important condition for free movement of labor. With improving tenure security, the rural people can move freely to engage in off-farm and non-farm activities. The authors brought up some cases from Thailand and Peru. In Thailand, tenure security allowed considerable portion of the rural people to move to towns and contribute to the country's economic growth (Pagiola, 1999). In Peru, tenure security enabled to increase labor supply to urban areas by 50% (Deininger, 2003). These practical examples show that tenure security heavily determines people's movement and enable to balance labor availability between urban and rural areas (ibid.).

As was discussed in different sections including the third chapter - "rural-urban migration in Ethiopia", significant portion of areas in Ethiopia have experienced disasters mainly drought caused. Most of the areas affected by land degradation coupled with land fragmentation to lead to diminishing productivity. With these all problems, one may expect large outflow of people to urban areas. Nevertheless, studies showed that the situation on the ground is different. According to Solomon and Mansberger (2003:13), as the land policy was able to keep the people in rural areas despite these all problems and deteriorating living conditions, the rate of rural-urban migration remained low.

If tenure security was insured, the people with small plots of land would go to urban areas and become productive in various sectors. In Ghana, for instance, rural-urban migrants can maintain their relationship with rural villages through visits and remittances so that their right to access land through customary institutions is retained (Byerlee, 1974). The same study indicates that migrants in Ghana can return back when they retire from urban activities and continue farming under the communal land tenure system (ibid.).

4.1.2. Land Fragmentation with Diminishing Size and Subsistence Livelihood

"Hunger tends to be concentrated among the landless or among farmers whose plots are too small to provide for their needs", (UN, 2005:8, quoted in Davy, 2009:18)

The state ownership of land only provides use right to the landholders in both the Military and the Ethiopian People Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) regimes. In a tenure system where there is a restrictive transaction of land use rights among rural people, those who hold farm lands were forced to sub-divide their holdings. However, sub-division within a family is a voluntary exercise mainly done by parents for children, but redistribution by government could lead to forced sub-division. Like sub-divisions within families, redistribution of land by government could contribute to a diminishing size of individual holdings and decreasing tenure security. Ayalew et al. (2005:4) indicated that land redistribution remains to happen with the rapidly growing population number. Eventually, the situation leads to small size land holdings, fragmentation and decreasing productivity of labor. Although the land redistribution which was carried out following the abolishing of the feudal system was thought to be the last reform and prevailing fair and stable landholding arrangement, with increased population and bad land governance, land redistribution was practiced by local authorities for repeated times.

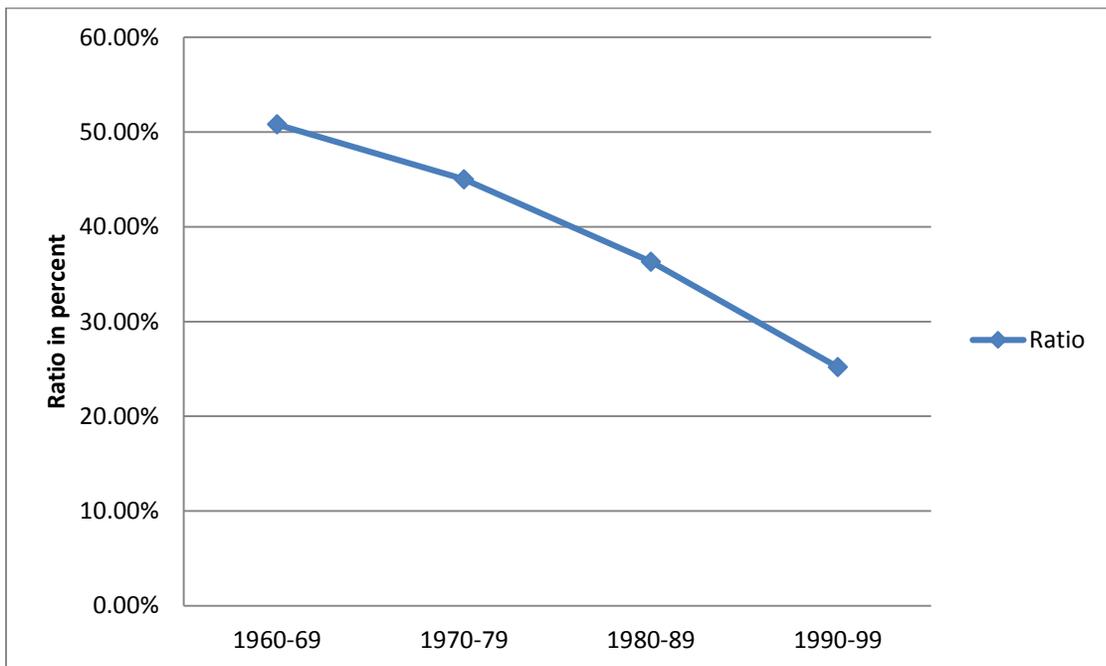
Rural families sub-divide existing holdings among their children, as agriculture appeared to be a major livelihood source to depend on (Zewdu and Malek, 2010:9). Farmers use sub-division as a mechanism to minimize risks of government led redistribution although sub-division has been diminishing holding sizes and reducing individual's productivity level. This in turn brings down income levels and weakens households living conditions. Reduction in income obviously lowers expenditure on education, health, and other basic necessities (ibid.). Land holders exercised sub-division of holdings for two main reasons. The first reason was to discharge responsibilities of making their children self-reliant. The other reason was to register different plots in the name of their children so that they could not be seen as big land holder and not be subject their land to redistribution.

According to Gebresilasie (2006:9), land fragmentation became a serious problem in the highlands of rural Ethiopia. The diminished landholding per person is again fragmented here and there, making agricultural activity and technology use very difficult. The smallness of farming plots limits the use of technologies and keeps productivity at low level. EEA (2004), quoted in Gebresilasie (2006:9), revealed that in 2006 the average farm size of a family generated only 50 percent of food and income required for an average household. According to CSA (2011:10), average farm land holding per a household is about a hectare only. Gebresilasie (2006:9) also argues that the land policy blocked rural-urban migration and encouraged land redistribution. Unviable and diminished holdings blocked migration, increased population pressure and weakened livelihood of the rural people (ibid.).

Adal (1999), quoted in Solomon and Mansberger (2003:4), characterizes holdings of farmers as '*starvation plots*', which provide with production below a subsistence level. Solomon and Mansberger (2003:7) indicated that according to FAO's land-labor ratio analysis, "*the land holding size might have dropped by as much as 100%*" in rural Ethiopia. With unchanged land policy, the holding of farmers could further diminish over time. The land to person ratio in Figure 4-1 is a good evidence to see how holdings decreased and to predict how it could deteriorate in the years after 1999. CSA's (2011:12) survey report provides tangible evidence in this regard: 35 percent of rural households farm half a hectare and below to produce annual food and income during the major agricultural season in a year. Of these landholders, 26 percent households have only one tenth and below a hectare (ibid). This survey result proves that Adal's (1999) mentioning of the holdings as '*starvation plots*' was appropriate.

The Ethiopian Government Central Statistics Agency official document, quoted in Solomon and Mansberger (2003:7), revealed that there was a decrease of an average land holding by 1.1 ha in five-year alone (from 1994 to 1999). Data obtained from the same source indicated that 64.4 percent of farm households cultivated a hectare and below in 1999 and 2000. Recent surveys of CSA (2010, 2011 and 2012), however, do not show such a high rate of size reduction. Ringheim et al. (2009:1) confirmed Solomon and Mansberger's (2003) data showing the significantly falling household's holding size in Ethiopia, but despite Solomon and Mansberger's report of 1.1ha in five years, Ringham et al. revealed that size of household's arable land in rural Ethiopia dropped by 58 percent in about 40 years from 1960 to 1999.

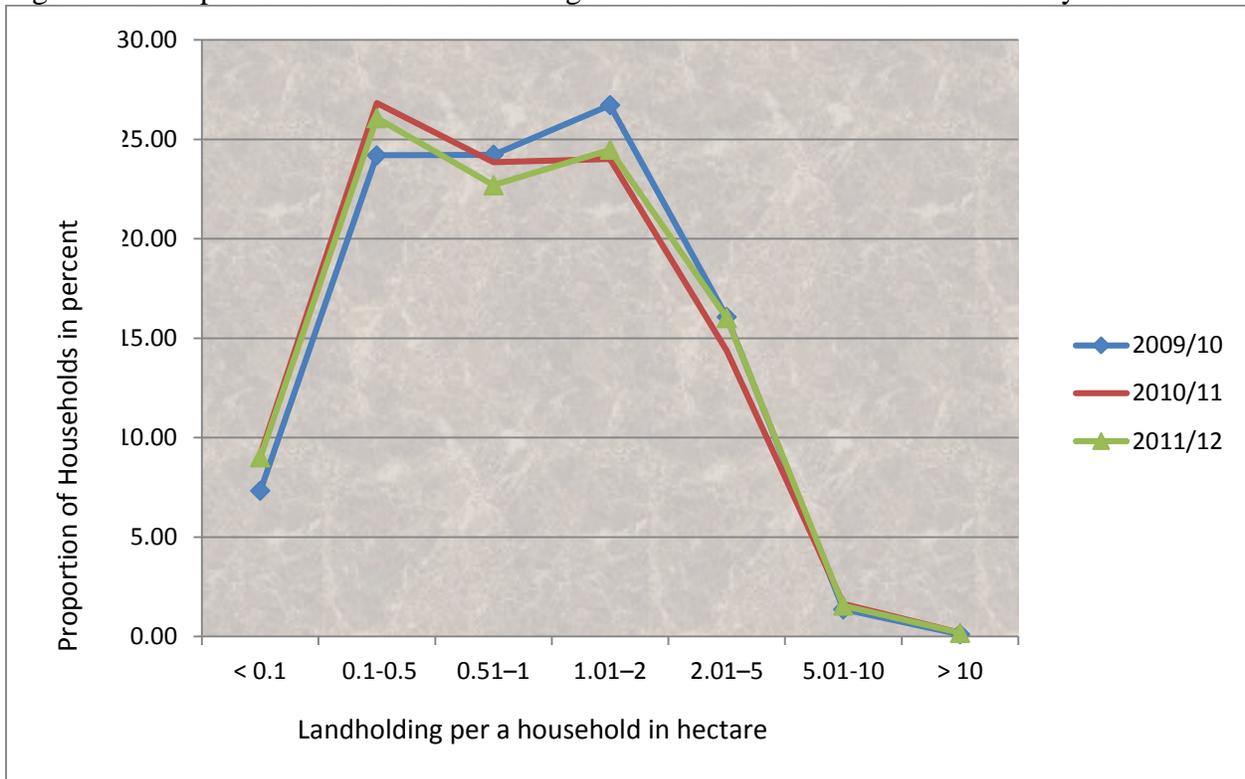
Figure 4-1: Land to person ratio of 10 years average in Ethiopia



Source: Author, based on Jayne (2001), quoted in Solomon and Mansberger (2003:7)

There are a number of studies showing that rural agricultural land holding in Ethiopia has been decreasing in size with increasing fragmentation. CSA (2003), quoted in Zewdu and Malek (2010:11), indicated that 80 percent of small scale farmers cultivate less than a hectare and 55.7 percent less than half a hectare in Ethiopia. Along with such a diminishing farming size per a household, fragmentation remains to be alarmingly increasing. The same source revealed that a household having an average of 0.81 hectare are assumed to hold 3.3 plots situated at different locations. Per this information, a plot size could go below 0.25 hectare, which is a small size to use improved technologies and to make it viable under a rain-fed agriculture.

Figure 4-2: Proportion of households owning different sizes of farm land in recent years



Source: Author, based on CSA (2010, 2011, 2012) survey reports

As can be seen in Figure 4-2 proportion of smallholders having reduced size of land has been increasing from 2009 to 2012. Although the rate of changes seems to be slow, CSA's (2009, 2010, 2011) survey reports showed a significant shift from an average landholding to a small size. If these kinds of reports are compiled and analyzed for a longer period of time, there would be an alarming result showing a rapidly diminishing holdings size.

With a diminishing holding size, different assessments have been showing that the proportion of landless people in various areas of the country is increasing. For instance, Asfaw et al (1970), quoted in Solomon and Mansberger (2003:7) found that 37 percent of rural households could be categorized as landless in North Shoa, a highland area in Central Ethiopia. These people either should engage in wage labor on others' farms or perform non-farm activities or wait for any kind of assistance unless they are able to out-migrate. Literatures' review of Solomon and Mansberger's (2003:7) also strengthened Asfaw's finding that Nega (2002) came up with 11 percent landlessness in the same study area. Gebremedhin and Pender (2003), cited in Solomon and Mansberger's (2003:7), also revealed that landless households increased by more than 140 percent between 1991 and 1998 in Tigray region alone. These evidences demonstrated that the coercive land redistribution and sub-division of parents' holdings were not able to accommodate many of the landlessness any longer.

Gebresilasie (2006:9) referring a national level survey revealed that the average number of farm plots a household held was 2.3 in 2004. The survey also indicated that one third of the assessed farms in the study had more three plots. The fragmented plots were also small in size. The

decreasing size of plots is obviously a function of fragmentation due to different factors. Land distribution by the government was one of the major obligatory measures, which contributed for increasing number and diminishing sizes of plots (ibid.). Land redistribution was meant to cope with a growing population pressure, but with lack of non-farm activities, parents should subdivide their holdings to give to matured and married children (Ayalew et al., 2005:4). However, the de facto situation proved that sub-division is not a sustainable way to accommodate children. Rather sub-divisions aggravated fragmentations and downsized farm plots affecting agricultural activities. Gebresilasie (2006:9) indicated that families are reaching to a situation where they cannot subdivide plots. Rather they change practices from sub-division to family labor expansion.

With fragmented and downsized plots of land as well as landlessness, the rural people seem not to envisage improvements in agricultural productivity. The poor with small plots and absence of land would be forced to see external options to augment their income and food sources through seasonal migration (Zewdu and Malek, 2010:10). The 1984 and 1994 employment data showed a family labor growth from 38 percent to 55 percent in 10 years (Gebresilasie, 2006:9). This is a good and tangible example to show how much productivity per person has been decreasing. It is also an indicator that land scarcity reached to a climax point forcing youth and other landless to see options in urban areas.

4.2. Relationship between Rural Development policies and Rural-urban Migration

4.2.1. Agriculture-Based Development versus Diversification

The Ethiopian agriculture is known for its traditional farming system and for accommodating the majority of rural population. Agriculture remains the predominant economy of the country, employing from 84 to 93 percent of the rural people (Deininger et al., 2007:7). With very limited diversification, land and agriculture tangled to provide the major source of livelihood (ibid.). The Government of Ethiopia's official policy document revealed that agriculture contributes to 80 percent of the country's employment and 45 percent of GDP (MOFED, 1995:4).

The rural development policy of Ethiopia considers agriculture as the major driving force of development (MOFED, 1995:9). With this principle, the Government of Ethiopia planned to develop the agriculture sector and by doing so to spur growth of the economy as a whole and facilitate promotion of other sectors (ibid.). The Ethiopian Government policy document assumed that there are a large number of working forces and an adequate supply of land. Although adequacy and sustainability of supply of land could be argumentative, the rural development policy indicates that if the labor force and land are properly connected to available limited capital and managed through improved entrepreneurship skills, the agriculture sector could serve as a potential area to establish a foundation for rural-development and ensure sustainability (ibid.).

Some areas in Ethiopia have been constrained with environmental degradation, unreliable weather and poor farming practices (MOFED, 1995:41). According to MOFED (1995:45) such areas are characterized as drought-prone areas and despite the aforementioned claim of adequate supply of land in the same document, it was mentioned that these areas have chronic land shortage with millions of residents. However, the Government indicated a strategy to ensure food security of these areas and a plan of resettlement programs to move the people to other areas (ibid.).

Many believe that agriculture in Ethiopia was in a state of stagnation for many years. Gebresilasie (2006:3) indicated that long term stagnation of agriculture brought up different ideas posing questions to a broadened thinking. Holt and Rahmato (1997), quoted in Gebresilasie (2006:3), mentioned that land redistributions and migration-impeding land tenure system led to a weak economic and social differentiations among rural farmers. The real situation shows that rural development efforts made so far might have been undermined by restrictive land policies and associated problems (ibid). Land scarcity with an average endowment of 0.15 hectare per person in the Southern Region and 0.33 hectare in the northern and central highlands can only provide very limited opportunities to produce marketable crops (Deininger et al., 2007:7). The land endowment per person in the Southern Region of Ethiopia is less than China's per person endowment (ibid). The data of Deininger et al. tried to show how much tiny land a person can access if available farm land is endowed to individuals. Most importantly the study showed how the situation is getting serious in the Southern Region.

The level of human capital showed that the majority of rural people lack basic services and assets. According to Deininger et al. (2007:6), 56 percent of household heads are illiterate, only 51 percent have radio, 46 percent own iron-roof homes, and 43 percent possess two or more oxen for agricultural activities. These are good indicators that the agriculture sector alone could not help to improve living condition of rural people. With such significant level of illiteracy and low asset base, rural households hardly bring about productivity and growth in the agricultural sector.

There are arguments about rural growth based on agriculture versus non-agricultural activities. Some studies and research works suggested that the agricultural sector should first grow to stimulate other non-farm activities in rural areas (Haggblade et al, 1989; Haggblade and Hazell, 1989; Hazell and Haggblade, 1993; quoted in Ellis, 1998:18). If the agriculture sector grows in output, there is a growing need for non-farm goods and services with improving capacity and increasing consumption behavior (Ranis and Stewart, 1987; Ranis, 1990; Bagachwa and Stewart, 1992; cited in Ellis, 1998:20). These literatures showed that forward and backward linkages would be maintained once the agriculture sector is able to provide stimulus for growth of non-farm sectors in rural areas (ibid).

Rural growth theories suggest that agriculture should grow first, because diversification of activities can come after the agriculture sector is able to provide a capacity to do so. The rural growth linkage model has been advocated since the 1970s by many scholars (Johnston and Kilby, 1975; Mellon 1976, Bell et al. 1982; Hazell and Roell, 1983; Haggblade et al., 1989; Delgado et al., 1994; quoted in Ellis, 1998:19). The rural growth linkage model believes that if the agriculture sector grows to an extent demanding development of non-farm sectors as a result of increased agricultural outputs, non-farm sectors can flourish and the linkage benefits both sectors. If the agricultural sector remains behind, non-farm sectors stagnate as well (Delgado et al., 1994, cited in Ellis, 1998:20).

The rural development policy of Ethiopia, which advocates for agriculture development led industrialization (MOFED, 1995:9) happens to be in line with the theories discussed above. Nevertheless, the real situation in Ethiopia seems to require more favorable landholding arrangement to support the need of agriculture growth for non-farm sectors growth theory. As was discussed earlier, the high fragmentation and diminishing size of holdings remain a big challenge to have viable farms leading to growth of agriculture and eventually to rural development. The

landholding size per households (CSA, 2010, 2011 and 2012) and land endowments per person (Deininger et al., 2007:7) tend to disprove a possibility of promoting application of improved technologies on tiny farm plots to boost agriculture. If such kind of small holdings are expected to demonstrate a viable agricultural sector stimulating growth of other sectors, it seems to be difficult for the rural households themselves to imagine its practicability.

Moreover, this growth linkage theory has also been criticized for exaggerating multiplier effect of the agriculture even in a situation where land policy, land fragmentation, and smallholding are not taken into consideration (Haggblade et al., 1991; De Janvry, 1994; cited in Ellis, 1998:21). There are also evidences indicating that diversification can occur without necessarily waiting the agriculture sector to stimulate growth. For instance, in India, diversification to non-farm activities occurred with stagnation in the farm sector (Chandmsekhar, 1993, cited in Ellis, 1998:21).

Agriculture Development Led Industrialization (ADLI) has been the Ethiopian Government's economic policy, formulated as one of the four pillars of the Sustainable Development and Poverty Reduction Strategy (SDPRS) (MOFED, 2002:iii). ADLI advocates for agriculture to play a leading role by promoting labor intensive and land augmenting practices. Interestingly, the SDPRS document admits that low urbanization could remain a challenge to absorb the agricultural production, but it plans to promote the production of marketable and exportable agricultural produces (ibid.).

The ADLI policy believes that development in the agriculture sector will lead to development in non-agricultural sectors (Zewdu and Malek, 2010:16). ADLI's assumption seems to fail to take into consideration how the diminishing family plots in the rural areas could lead to the expected development in agriculture. Zewdu and Malek (2010:16) also criticized that the policy was not definite enough to indicate when the transformation from agriculture to non-agriculture sector happens and has limitations to address rural-urban linkages and rural-urban migration issues.

The Plan for Accelerated and Sustained Development to End Poverty (PASDEP) was a national level five-year development plan document guided implementation from 2005/06-2009/10. This plan has also continued advocating the objectives of ADLI. Although the document admitted that predominance of subsistence agriculture and lack of business/market-oriented agriculture remained to be impediments in achieving growth in agriculture during the SDPRS period, it emphasized on the importance of supporting smallholder farmers to produce marketable commodities by introducing high value crops, improved technologies, and other agricultural inputs (MOFED, 2006). There was no adequate mentioning of non-farm activities, except a few lines talking about alternative income diversification through non-agricultural activities for drought prone and food insecure areas (ibid.).

According to the PASDEP document, MOFED (2006:16), quoted in Zewdu and Malek (2010), there is a need of improving rural access roads, introducing telecommunication services, and providing electrification in rural areas. Although much has not been written about non-farm activities, it is a good step forward planning to develop infrastructure of the rural areas. Moreover, expansion of vocational and technical schools was put as a major activity in the document (MOFED, 2006). Such vocational and technical schools would benefit rural youth who were able to access some level of education. However, with low literacy level in the rural areas, the document failed to indicate the need to design skill trainings targeting those illiterate groups.

Most of the available policies and strategies seem to aim at improving productivity of the small scale agriculture (Zewdu and Malek, 2010:17). Despite such efforts, many researchers rather believe that diversification to non-farm activities will help to improve living conditions of the poor in rural areas (Ellis, 1998:23). A comprehensive rural development and rural land policy should focus on new economic and market development with recognition to rural-urban migration and rural-urban linkages (Zewdu and Malek, 2010:20).

As the PASDEP document admitted, in a country where subsistence farming is predominantly existing (MOFED, 2006), agriculture stimulated growth linkage would not appear as a sustainable solution towards development. It would rather be good to integrate farming and non-farming activities and provide supports side by side. It would be appropriate indicating here what literatures say about this approach: '*active promotion of rural non-farm enterprises*' (Saith, 1992; Fisher et al., 1997; quoted in Ellis, 1998:18) and '*rural small-scale industries*' (Chuta and Sethuraman, 1984; Liedholm, McPherson and Chuta, 1994; Ellis (1998:18).

Confirming that ADLI will be the development policy of the country to follow, PASDEP recognizes the importance of improving tenure security and introducing commercial agriculture where it is feasible (MoFED, 2006). PASDEP may not be the first official government document, which recognized the importance of improving tenure security. Other policy documents touched the issue of tenure security (MOFED, 1995:27). Nevertheless, the major step forward suggested in improving tenure security was providing landholding certificates to small holders (MOFED, 2002, 2006, 2010).

The Growth and Transformation Plan (GTP) of the country came into picture in 2010 covering the period from 2010/11 to 2015/16 and substituting PASDEP (MoFED, 2010). GTP has more ambitious and comprehensive plans giving emphasis not only to the agriculture sector, but also recognizing the need to transform the country's economy from agriculture-led to industry-led. The document indicated a particular emphasis to be given to small industries and development of small towns. Although the GTP still advocates the need for agricultural growth as a basis of the country's economy, a plan to transform the agriculture based economy to an industry-led one seems to be a major step forward.

The GTP describes a plan to expand technical and vocation trainings throughout the country (MOFED, 2010). Skill trainings are supposed to contribute in a creation and expansion of Micro-Small and Medium Enterprises (MSMEs). However, the plan document has not addressed MSMEs separately as a standalone sector like agriculture and industry, except mentioning as part of other sectors like education. The focus on MSMEs would help to realize small towns' development, but tenure security should also be addressed at the same time. Tenure security helps to facilitate transfer of holdings to establish towns and to free up rural labor for non-farm activities.

4.3. Rural Development and Migration

There are different types of thoughts with regard to rural development and migration. Some studies indicate that when rural areas are provided with infrastructures and non-farm activities, the rate of rural-urban migration tends to decrease because the magnitude of both push and pull factors

change. '*Expected Income Model*' of Todaro argues that interventions aiming at reducing income differentials between rural and urban areas will help to decrease the rate of rural-urban migration (Rhoda, 1983:40). This model looked at rural-urban migration from income perspective. If jobs are created and the wage rates are competent enough, the rural people would not be attracted by urban areas. The '*Expected Income Model*', however, assumes economy as the only driving factor and seems to overlook other cultural, social and political situations, which could also put some level of influence on migration decisions.

On the contrary, '*Human Capital or Cost-Benefit Model*' considers rural development activities as an important facilitator of rural-urban migration. With improving infrastructure such as road access, rural people can have more exposure to urban settings and as a result movement to cities would not be expensive in both monetary and psychic costs (Rhoda, 1983:39). This model suggests that rural development investments provide education, awareness, skill development, and improved attitude towards cities. With growing communications and interactions with urban areas, rural people could be aspired to join big cities (ibid). The assumption in this model seems to hold some elements of truth. However, it does not provide the level of development interventions at which the rural people could be aspired for increased migration.

The third interesting model selected for this study argues that rural-urban migration is an important steering wheel leading to rural development. If there is a good tenure security that allows rural people to move freely and if there is a vibrant urban economy providing job opportunities, the rural-urban migration could happen to be an important vehicle in the transformation of rural areas (Zewdu and Malek, 2010:20). The assumption behind this theory is that free movement of people helps to mobilize surplus labor to productive sectors and allows the subsistence agriculture to transform to marketable products with improved cultivation areas and investments. The money generated from urban jobs could be invested back in rural areas, helping the transformation process to expedite.

Nevertheless, Rhoda (1983:54) suggested that existing models may not provide clear cut answers about rural development and migration. There are also contextual elements and stages of development to consider while relating rural development with rural-urban migration. Looking at these different theories, it might be possible to choose the most appropriate one, taking into consideration the situation of an area under investigation.

All reviewed theories and analysis showed that rural-development and rural-urban migration have important connections to be considered. Nevertheless, Zewdu and Malek (2010:17) observed that there is a high disconnect of perception of rural-development and rural-urban migration in Ethiopia. Policy makers prefer to associate rural-urban migration with negative perspective such as natural resource degradation, social crises, and urban economy instability, but the issue rural-urban migration needs to be treated as an important element for rural transformation (ibid.).

The Ethiopian development policies have not recognized rural-urban migration issues indicated in the reviewed documents so far. PASDEP (MoFED, 2006) talks about small scale agriculture of Ethiopia and the need to improve land tenure security, but there is no a word about migration. GTP (2010) has not also addressed rural-urban migration issues although there are plans for Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises (MSMEs) and small towns' development. There is a statement

about the need to facilitate rural-urban interaction, but there is no adequate explanation given how this happens (ibid.).

CHAPTER FIVE : RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

5.1. Basis for Developing the Research Methodology

Having an objective in mind to accomplish certain studies and come up with reliable results, there should be a well-defined method with a plan showing how to go about it. Defining the methods before starting a research obviously helps to plan ways of data collection ahead of time, to implement based on the plan, to do analysis and to come to a dependable and a defensible finding at the end. As research is a practice to discover the unknown or disprove or prove the known, it always needs a well-planned design and methods. Davies (2007:7) explains research as a broader activity including a process to develop a theory, an exploration of reality, a way to find answers for questions, an evaluation of what is happening, and a source of information for policy decisions.

It is with such an understanding that the methodology of this research was designed and as a result the research strategy, study areas, sampling techniques, data types, data sources, data collection and analysis methods, and data validation and triangulation ways were defined. While designing this research based on certain important and standard parameters and aspects, it was aimed to provide adequate reasoning showing how theoretical perceptions can be examined in a practical situation during the research process.

5.2. Choice of Research Strategy

This study employed scientifically proven methodology in data collection, analysis and testing processes. The methodology was designed to enable the study captures appropriate and relevant data, which can be analyzed and interpreted to come up with reliable results. Conducting survey is the usual and important way to systematically collect data in an organized and justifiable manner. Researchers rely on surveys to do basic and applied research in most of economic and social subject matters (Kumar, 2006).

Taking into consideration the nature of the study and specific areas to be surveyed, this research used a case study approach. Surveyed rural areas are considered as basis to establish the case of the research. The case study approach was selected to come up with concrete evidences by assessing and analyzing rural-urban migration trends in the study areas. In addition, the subject under research requires area specific approach to track its dynamic nature. Revealing the appropriateness of the case study approach to the research topic, Tellis (1997:3) indicated that case study methodology is an ideal way to assess issues deriving from immigration.

“Case study is a valuable method of research, with distinctive characteristics that make it ideal for many types of investigations. It can also be used in combination with other methods. Its use and reliability should make it a more widely used methodology, once its features are better understood by potential researchers” (Tellis, 1997:3).

Yin (1984), quoted in Zainal (2007:2), defines the case study research method:

“... as an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context; when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident; and in which multiple sources of evidence are used.”

5.3. Case Study Areas

The study has been conducted in one rural district (*woreda*) called *Damot Gale Woreda*, which is located in *Wolayita*⁵ Zone of the Southern Region and four cities and towns of Ethiopia namely Addis Ababa, *Hawassa*⁶, *Wolayita Sodo*⁷ and *Boditi*⁸ (see Figure 5-1 for map). *Damot Gale woreda* was identified as the major case study area representing rural setting. The four urban areas are identified as migration routes hosting migrants at different stages of movement. Focusing on the rural district, the survey in the four cities/towns also helped to carry out a concrete and case specific research. As Zainal (2007:2) indicated that such area specific study enables to use multiple sources of information and to investigate dynamics on similar subjects.

The case study in the rural district was expected to provide sufficient evidence of the real situation within the district and help to extrapolate ideas to talk about rural-urban migration at a wider level. This *Woreda* was selected purposely by considering its geographic locations, accessibility to the big cities, population density, land fragmentation level and trend of rural-urban migration. Pre-research reviews of information indicated that this rural district has been one of densely populated and experiencing continuing out flow of people in Ethiopia.

The four cities/towns were selected as potential areas to reach migrants. The cities/towns are located on main movement routs. The cities were chosen based on consultations with people who know about the movement of migrants and the urban areas as well as experiences and close observation of the researcher himself. During data collection in these urban areas, already migrated people provided information about their decision for migration and the experiences they went through.

Boditi, Wolayita Sodo, Hawassa and Addis Ababa were found to be migrants' destinations and stop overs for step migration. Wolayita Sodo, Hawassa and Addis Ababa are big economic and political hubs of Wolayita zone, Southern Region and Ethiopia respectively. As can be seen in Figure 5-1 (map), Damot Gale is located in the South-Central part of the country, where access to cities is relatively good. Hawassa is the capital city of the Southern Nations, Nationalities and People Region serving as a political and economic place of different ethnic groups. Hawassa attracts migrants coming from zones and districts within the region. Wolayita migrants are the major ones preferring to find jobs and consider it as one of the major cities found at a closer

⁵ Wolayita is the name of the zonal administrative area including many woredas

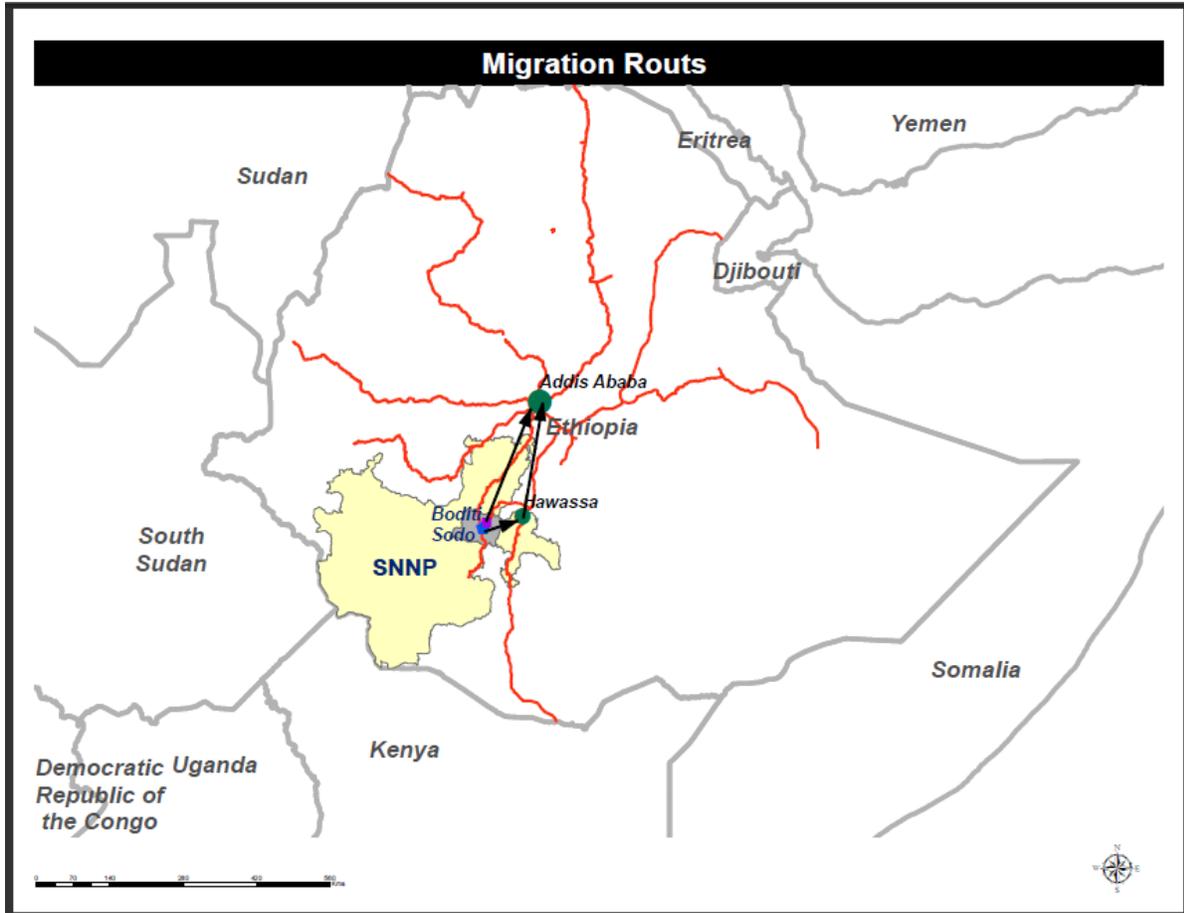
⁶ *Hawassa* is Capital City of the Southern Region (Regional state of Southern Nations, Nationalities and People of Ethiopia – SNNPR)

⁷ *Wolayita Sodo* is the capital town of the Wolayita Administrative Zone

⁸ Boditi is the capital town of the Damot Galie Woreda

proximity. Wolayita Sodo is a center town linking most of the districts in Wolayita Zone. Many rural residents of the area consider Wolayita Sodo as a place giving the first flavor and experience of city life. The capital of the Woreda –Boditi is also a point where the surveyed rural people make the first urban related interactions. Many of the rural residents travel every day to Boditi for a daily wage labor and marketing purposes.

Figure 5-1: Study Areas and Routs of Migrants from Damot Galie Woreda



Mapping: Author

5.4. Data Types

"Qualitative research refers to the meanings, concepts, definitions, characteristics, metaphors, symbols and descriptions of things. In contrast, quantitative research refers to counts and measures of things" (Berg, 1995:3, quoted in Masum, 2009:60)

"When you cannot measure it, when you cannot express it in numbers, your knowledge is of a meager and unsatisfactory kind, Lord Kelvin." (Sayer, 1992:175).

"When you can measure it, when you can express it in numbers, your knowledge is still of a meager and unsatisfactory kind, Jacob Viner." (ibid.).

Because of the nature of the study, data collection areas, types of respondents, and data collection instruments, it was not necessary to polarize approaches to a certain data type. Considering this reality, the research deployed both quantitative and qualitative data types in a harmonized and complementary ways. In addition, a combined use of quantitative and qualitative data types were believed to support each other in a way that one compensates weaknesses of the other, which otherwise affect data quality (Rao and Woolcock, 2003:168).

Combination of both quantitative and qualitative data emerged as a strong approach in explaining processes and outcomes of a study (Tellis 1997:1). Use of both data types helped to enrich the research findings by providing both numeric and explanatory results. Both quantitative and qualitative data obviously have strengths and weaknesses. Beyond considering the nature of the data collected, the use of both quantitative and qualitative methods helped to combine strengths and to overcome weaknesses of both methods. Davies (2007:9) indicated that quantitative and qualitative researches are legitimate ways which are deployed to reach to a reality in a project although they may find out different things.

The quantitative data enabled to collect trends, evidences, and other quantifiable data that provide with concrete information related to the rural people migration pattern. Rao and Woolcock (2003:165) revealed that quantitative data in a research helps to make generalizations on a basis of smaller sample and to generate empirically rigorous, impartial, objective and verifiable results.

Although a combination of both data types was used, qualitative data represent the majority cases in this study. Qualitative data were collected to capture perceptions, attitudes, and in-depth information on the subject matter under study. The formal and informal discussions through close and open ended questions generated an immense amount of qualitative data, which may or may not be quantified, but remained important elements to be carried on throughout the findings. Rao and Woolcock (2003:175) indicated that qualitative data are important in a situation where quantitative data are not able to generate adequate information and in circumstances qualitative information appears to be more relevant.

In general, both data types were found to be very relevant to get a full picture of the research finding. Use of these different data types gave an opportunity to capture figurative and non-figurative findings to be triangulated and presented with tangible evidences.

5.5. Data Sources

The data collection was focused on both primary and secondary data types. Beyond making efforts on an extensive primary data collection process, review of secondary data also received significant emphasis. It is a combination of the two data types that provided with adequate and comprehensive information for the analysis process. It is obviously clear that categorization into primary and secondary was made based on types of sources, nature of data and purpose of data collection. According to Forshaw (2000), a researcher collects primary data using a tailored data collection instrument from people under study, whereas he/she compiles secondary data from already analyzed information for a different purpose.

5.5.1. Primary Data Sources

The primary data for this study was collected from different, but relevant sources. As can be seen in the sampling section of this chapter, there were urban and rural respondents contacted as a primary data sources. In addition to the rural district, two cities namely *Addis Ababa and Hawassa* and *two towns Wolayita Sodo and Boditi* were selected to reach migrants who have been living in these urban areas. Although there might have been variations in distribution of migrant respondents, a total of 80 migrants were interviewed from these three cities. However, after a screening and cleaning process of data collection instruments, responses of 73 migrants were found to qualify for the analysis stage.

Damot Galie Woreda served as a departure place to collect data from rural communities. Two sub-districts (*kebeles*) called *Bugie* and *Fatie* were purposely selected. The selection of *kebeles* aimed to establish fair data collection system and to represent agro-ecologies of the *Woreda*. Randomly selected 100 units representing about 1,000 households were reached in the two *kebeles* to get case specific information and opinion. There were also discussions with key informants and focus groups' in the two *kebeles* to get the view of different categories of rural communities. Fifteen people comprised of these groups were contacted in each *kebele*.

5.5.1.1. Primary Data Collection Methods

“When you have a project to do, you should always choose the method likely to throw the most light on your research question, although your choice may be constrained by what is feasible, given the limitations of time and other resources.” (Davies, 2007: 168)

It is obvious that deploying a combination of relevant survey instruments helps to capture dependable data providing good analytical and interpretation confidences. With this understanding

in mind, different kinds of survey instruments were used throughout the data collection processes. Different types of questionnaires, checklists, and review methods were used to collect data from various categories of respondents. The types of questions in all instruments were determined based on respondents' involvement and knowledge level on the subject matter under study.

Davies (2007) indicated that questionnaires facilitate communications between data collectors and respondents within the study agenda. Questionnaires are very important survey instruments, which provide adequate discussion time and create trust between interviewers and interviewees. With this perception, much emphasis was given for questions selection and preparation. Logical flow of the questions encouraged respondents to speak frankly and avoid suspicions.

These all survey instruments were deployed through a face-to-face data gathering mechanism. As the respondents have no reliable other communication facilities like mail and email, it was essential to conduct a face-to-face interview or discussion. Moreover, most of the rural households and migrants were not literate to fill out questionnaires by themselves.

Given the number of households and individuals to be interviewed and limited communication mechanisms, it became necessary to train and assign enumerators. Questionnaires were translated into Amharic to ensure that enumerators fully understand questions and ask interviewees without distortions. Although Amharic is the national working language, the people in the rural data collection areas speak *Wolayita* language. Taking into consideration this situation, the selection of enumerators put Amharic and *Wolyita* languages proficiency as a major factor. As a result, four enumerators who can speak Amharic and *Wolayita* and who have data collection experiences were deployed in the four sub-*kebeles* of *Damot Galie Woreda*.

(i) **Questionnaire-based survey with rural households and migrated individuals**

Structured questionnaires were used to collect data from rural households and migrated individuals. Interview questions were categorized according to the research questions' pattern. The questionnaires were prepared with an aim to bring issues under the study agenda to the attention of the respondents. The questionnaires also helped to utilize the survey time in an efficient way and collect answers in a categorical fashion.

Two types of questionnaires were used as major survey instruments to interview households and migrants. The questionnaires were well structured and have included both open- and close-ended questions. The close ended questions helped to provide a number of choices that the respondents can select from or/and put forward additional points. Moreover, the open ended questions allowed respondents to articulate opinions as they like.

The way interviews and discussions were made with individuals and groups varies depending on the type of respondents and their role in rural-urban migration activities. The questions with rural households and migrants were focused mainly on their own cases and prepared to encourage them to talk about their experiences and reveal perceptions on the subject.

Enumerators were assigned with adequate acquaintance to the survey instruments to collect the data required. Before embarking to a real data collection process, questioners and checklists were piloted to make sure that the questions are appropriate and the enumerators are able to manage the

data collection. Afterwards, the necessary corrections were made before the data collection was commenced.

(ii) Questionnaire-based survey with key informants, focus groups, experts and officials

The second type of primary data collection instrument was a semi-structured questionnaire or checklist. Semi-structured questionnaires or checklists were used to make discussions with key informants and focus groups, experts, and policy makers. The checklists have open ended questions to allow respondents discuss issues freely. Questions in the checklists were designed with an intention to capture specific points and allow open discussions on some broader subjects. Additional informal discussions and analysis were also made to trace ideas, which were not included in questionnaires and checklists. Free discussions contributed to get the respondents' opinion without restrictions.

Interviews and discussions with key informants and focus groups were conducted based on contextually prepared questions. As indicated above, the questions were organized in a form of checklist providing discussion points on each of the specific and general subjects. This allowed discussions to go around the raised points and accommodated perceptions and experiences of the participants based on their consensus on the subject.

Professionals at various levels were asked about their understanding and experience of the subject. Discussions with them provided more of analytical opinions related to practically observed situations, policy directions, and future predictions. The checklists helped to direct the discussions to points aimed to strengthen the data collection process. Although there were organizational and political interests and biases expected in the discussions with professionals coming from governmental and non-governmental entities, the checklists helped to capture balanced ideas and suggestions.

5.5.1.2. Sampling Techniques

“Sampling is not mere substitution of a partial coverage for a total coverage. Sampling is the science and art of controlling and measuring the reliability of useful statistical information through the theory of probability.” (Deming, 1950, quoted in An, 2010)

The data survey employed stratified, purposive, and systematic sampling techniques consequently. As it was indicated in the section describing case study areas and data sources, respondents were stratified into two settings – rural and urban. On the one hand, the rural setting provides opportunities to talk to rural communities at household and group level. The urban setting, on the other hand, helps to reach migrants who came from rural areas. Contacting migrants in the urban areas does not implicate that the study assesses urban issues as an integral part of the whole research. Rather the study mainly deals with the rural-urban migration pattern by giving more emphasis to push factors in rural areas, but not entirely neglecting the major pull factors in urban

areas. As a result, the sampling technique was stricter in rural setting than urban in determining study areas and people to be contacted.

Taking into consideration traditional migration experiences, the study areas' location and access to urban routes, socio-economic, political and cultural factors, *Damot Gale Woreda* was selected as a research area representing an ideal rural setting. *Damot Gale* is located in *Wolayita Zone* of the Southern Region in Ethiopia. Given that *Damot Gale Woreda* is a big area with a huge number of population, it was imperative to select sample areas providing some level of representation.

In consultation with local experts and reference of available socio-economic data, two *Kebeles* of *Damot Gale Woreda* were selected as data collection hubs. The two *kebeles* namely *Bugie* and *Fatie* were found to be suitable locations fairly representing the *Woreda's* rural communities in terms of population density, landholding, economic situation, livelihoods, agro-ecology, access to towns and other relevant considerations. Each *kebele* was again subdivided into sub-*kebeles* to keep fair representations of communities during sampling and to maintain good quality in data collection processes. This purposeful sub-division of *kebeles* put the number of total rural sample areas' at four. The respondents from each sample areas were eventually reached by using a systematic sampling method.

The rural households are the major sources of the primary data of the study. As this study assesses the perception, attitude and experience of rural communities towards rural-urban migration, it was important to have significant number of respondents from rural areas. Hence, within each *sub-kebele*, about 20 to 30 systematically selected households were interviewed. The systematic selection enabled to reach households at certain intervals and ensure fair representation of households located at different villages. In all cases, interviewed households were selected by counting 10 households as an interval between households. The counting started using the seventh household as a starting point and taking the 17th, 27th, 37th... nth accordingly.

The decision on a 20 to 30 households sample size was made because according to a census data of the *kebeles*, a sub-*kebele* has an average of 200 to 300 households. It was also planned to keep the sampling approximately at 10 percent rate. This has put the total respondents in *Damot Gale Woreda* at 100 households, which represents about 1000 households residing in the two *kebeles*. It is important to mention that two sub-*kebeles* of *Fatie* have 400 households covered in the systematic sampling to interview 40 households and two sub-*kebeles* of *Bugie* have 600 households included to identify 60 households for interview. Fortunately, *Fatie's* total population coincided with the data collection plan to do the sampling, but half of *Bugie's* population was purposely excluded from the study during the sub-division of the *kebele* for sampling because it has the largest population number affecting the research design and resources if the whole area was included. In general, the two *kebeles* together were allotted with four sample units to interview 100 respondents representing a total of 1000 households. Per the areas household/family size average number, a household may have six people. Based on this family size calculation, the total population in the four sampling units could reach up to 6,000 and the interviewed households may have 600 family members accordingly.

In addition, **key informants** composed of development agents, elders, *kebele* administrators, land administration committee members, and opinion leaders were contacted in each *kebele*. Focus groups such as women and youth were interviewed. The discussions with key informants and focus

groups enabled to capture issues, which have surfaced beyond household level interviews. Discussions with women and youth particularly were of paramount importance for this study as they are the major groups affected by policy decisions like land and rural development. Such discussions also helped to come up with common concerns and shared problems. Key informants and focus groups have on average five people in each group, making a total of 15 participants in each *kebele*. This has taken the total number of key informants and focus group members met in the two *kebeles* to 30 (see Figure 5-2).

The urban respondents were **migrants** who left their rural areas in different times. Identifying migrants among a large urban population was envisaged to be difficult. A preliminary assessment to know the migrants living and working places was conducted. Based on this preliminary assessment on their location, the migrants were contacted randomly. The total number of city respondents was 80, which is a big number given the difficulties to identify them among the congested city populations and expected lack of interests to respond to interviews. Considering Addis Ababa as a final destination and a place where most of the migrants have been going in, 50 of the respondents were interviewed in there. The other three urban areas, Hawassa, Wolayita Sodo and Boditi have 20, 5 and 5 respondents respectively.

Experts working in land tenure and land administration, social work, livelihood, rural development, agriculture, urban planning, and financing were part of the data sources. A number of discussions were made with **policy makers, higher officials and experts** at different levels, who have direct relations with the subject under research. Particularly in the study district and zonal land administration offices, a total of seven experts were reached. The discussions with these different people helped to capture their own and organizational views. Federal, regional, and district level experts have been those working in governmental (Ministry of Agriculture, Natural Resource Management and Environment Protection Agencies, Land Administration Offices) and non-governmental organizations (land administration and rural development focused) as well as international organizations such as Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO), UK Department for International Development (DFID), Finland Aid and United States Agency for International Development (USAID).

As depicted in Figure 5-2, the primary data collection involved 226 respondents including 100 rural households, 30 key-informants and focal group members, 73 migrants, and 16 experts, officials and researchers at district, zone, region, and federal levels. Table 5-a shows the composition of experts and officials at various levels.

Figure 5-2: Graphical Presentation of the Primary Data Survey Design

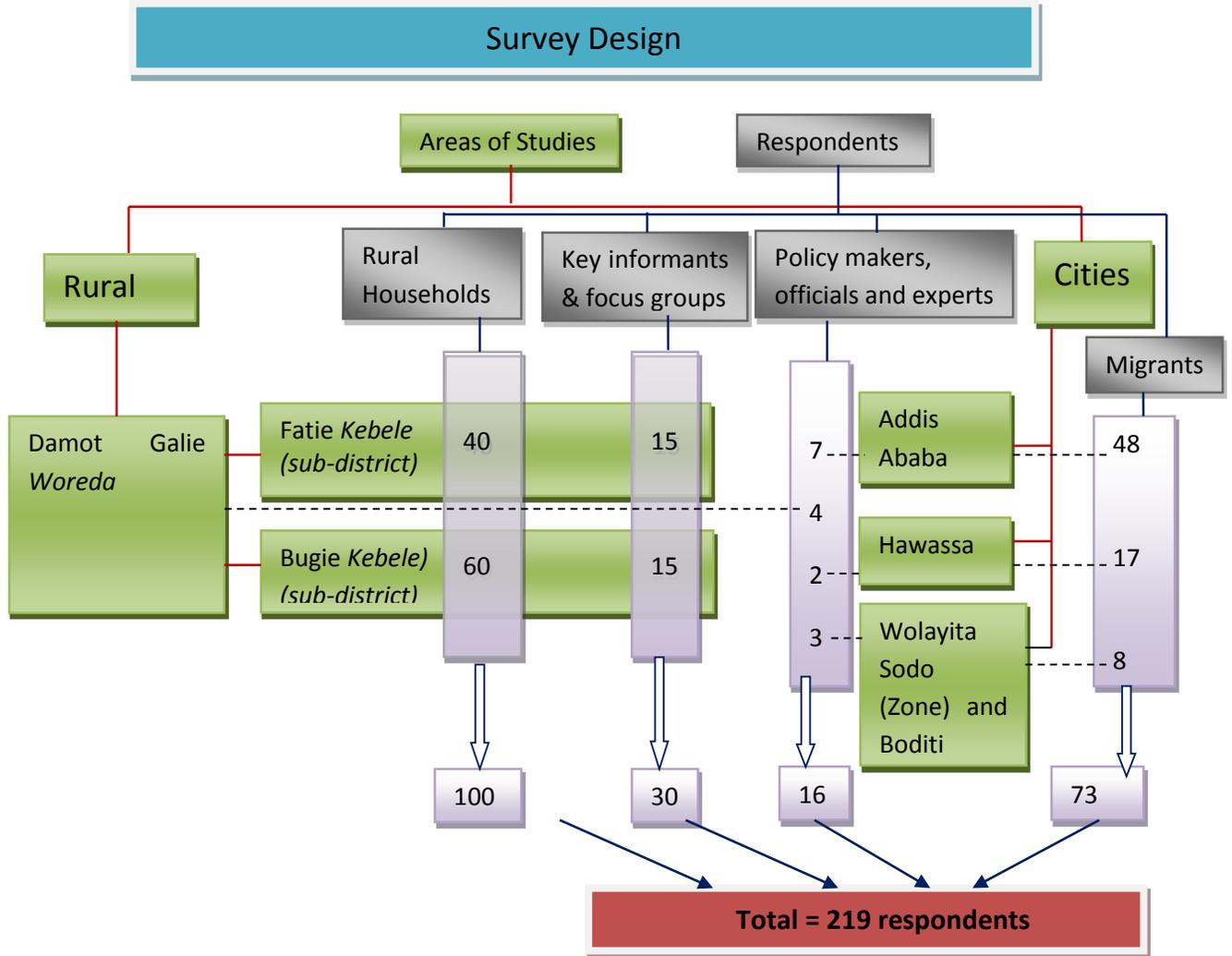


Table 5-a: The Organizations and Number of Respondents contacted for Data Collection

Level and type of organizations	Name of the organization	Number of key respondents	Data collection methods
Federal/ Addis Ababa	Ministry of Agriculture - Land Administration and Land Use Directorate	2	Face to face interview, free discussion, and secondary data review
Region/ State	Environmental Protection, Natural Resources Management and Land Administration Office	2	Face to face interview, free discussion, and secondary data review
Zone	Land administration and Environmental Protection Process	3	Face to face interview and free discussion
Districts	Land administration and Environmental Protection Process	4	Face to face interview and free discussion
NGOs	NGO at Federal	2	Face to face interview and free discussion
International Organizations based in Addis	FAO USAID DFID	1 1 1	Face to face interview and free discussion
Total		16	

5.5.2. Secondary Data Sources

In addition to the primary data collected from target groups, most relevant secondary data were reviewed. Although literature reviews provide basis for the field work, it was still important to assess available secondary data as part of the research work. The secondary data collection includes reviewing federal and regional land administration proclamations, rural development policy documents, study papers, reports, newspapers, and any other related materials. The country and the study region use land proclamations as policy papers guiding land administration procedures. It is based on these land proclamations they prepare and enforce different regulations and directives.

As this research finds links and implications between the country's land policy and rural-urban migration, a thorough assessment and analysis was conducted on existing federal and regional level land administration proclamations and regulations. Rural development and other relevant policies were reviewed to examine relationships with migration issues. Provisions in land proclamations and regulations were tested against practical situations on the ground. If attempts were made to introduce an improved land administration system, the secondary data review would give adequate attention to capture developments in this regard.

5.6. Data validity and Reliability

“Data Validation generally can be defined to mean: a systematic process that compares a body of data to the requirements in a set of documented acceptance criteria.” (Paul, 2000)

As there was a profound belief and discipline to validate the data and ensure its reliability, the collected data was not crudely used to rush to an analysis process. As the data were collected by enumerators, the researcher went through a verification process to make sure that the data collection followed the sampling design and contacted the respondents based on the pre-defined procedure. Paul (2000) revealed that data verification complements data validation exercises.

Responses to the questionnaires and the checklists were first cleaned. As all data collection instruments were not expected to fulfill the required quality level, poorly filled-out questionnaires were either revisited with respective interviewees or dropped off to maintain the data quality. There were up to the standard parameters set to determine reliability of the data by undergoing a validation process. Accordingly, out of the 80 questionnaires administered to collect data from migrants, seven were screened out because it was difficult to trace back the migrants and make corrections. This process reduced the number of migrants considered for the analysis to 73.

As indicated in Ghayeb et al. (2011), triangulation is an important method to improve the credibility of research results, to avoid biases and to ensure validity of data. Validation of the collected data involved a triangulation process. The triangulation was done using different techniques. The simplest and first level triangulation process was done by screening data collected from similar target groups and identifying those showing high level of deviation. The screening was done by running simple statistical methods like mean and median. Moreover, data obtained

from one group was compared with the other to make sure if these different groups were talking about the same topic. Before embarking to a compilation and analysis process, it was important to validate the data using triangulation methods.

Using different data sources was very helpful to triangulate information and reach to a conclusion that the data represents the real situation. One of the major reasons led this research to a case study approach is its suitability to triangulate findings. Yin (1984), quoted in Tellis (1997:2), indicated that multiple sources of data in a case study approach enables to exercise triangulation and confirm the validity of the research processes.

EPA (2002) puts data validity as a preliminary analytical and sample specific process which goes beyond verification. Verification and validation are mostly sequential exercises. In addition, the data validation looked at different variables. Such variables-based validity helped to identify relationships between variables and double-check if there were contradicting results.

5.7. Data Analysis and Result Presentation

"Data analysis consists of examining, categorizing, tabulating, or otherwise recombining the evidence to address the initial propositions of a study." (Yin, 1994, quoted in Tellis, 1997:15)

The analysis part of the research employed suitable models and tools aiming at maximizing the accuracy level of results and reducing errors. The data collected from different groups were systematically arranged and analyzed. These different clusters of data were eventually co-related and triangulated to identify common grounds and differences. The analyzed data were scientifically tested to show its reliability and usability. A correlation test was instrumental to clearly define relationships between dependent and independent variables and to examine influence of any third level variable affecting the result.

The analysis mainly deployed a descriptive statistics. Such an analysis was important to show the dynamics of migration in relation to determinant factors to be identified in this study. The descriptive statistics allowed properly analyzing numerical data and showing how many and what percentage of distribution a particular characteristic shares. In addition, an inferential statistics was used to determine about the total population of the study area based on sample results.

Descriptive statistics such as mean, frequency distribution, graphs and charts served to analyze and summarize the findings. Results of the findings were presented in pieces to learn from each presentation and adjust analytical directions. Such piece by piece presentations enabled to collect comments and suggestions, which were included in subsequent presentations. Eventually, the whole finding results were compiled and presented.

CHAPTER SIX : LAND TENURE SYSTEM AND LAND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

“Access to land uses is a vital and sometimes the only form of social security in Africa, Asia and Latin America.” (Davy, 2012)

“Land policy is understood as conscious action to bring about ... an optimal use of land as well as ... of a socially just distribution of landownership and of income from land.” (Magel, 2013)

6.1. Introduction

This chapter provides results of assessments of land tenure security of the country in general and the survey area in particular. Analytical view of the land legislations of Ethiopia helps to understand the context in which different legislative structures are arranged. Looking into the major federal and regional land proclamations, the analysis walks through land transfer rights to grasp the practical features of basic property rights. Although the rural survey area is located in one region, the policy assessment covered more other three regions and federal level laws to get better understanding of the bigger picture as migrants coming from different regions were surveyed in cities.

While analyzing the legal framework under which the lands are administered, this chapter deals about respondents’ experiences and perceptions on the laws. The study examines the landholding sizes of respondents, livelihood types, and property rights implications in their living conditions. Finally, the chapter provides insights about the interest of landholders and government bodies on the land tenure systems and laws, which may need to be amended.

6.2. Legal Instruments in the Lens of Land Tenure Rights

The Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (FDRE) unequivocally states that land shall not be individuals’ property.

“The right to ownership of rural land and urban land, as well as of all natural resources is exclusively vested in the state and the peoples of Ethiopia. Land is a common property of the nations, nationalities and peoples of Ethiopia.” (TGE 1995: Article 40)

Land is a common property of the Nations, Nationalities, and Peoples of Ethiopia and shall not be subject to sale or to other means of exchange.” (ibid.)

“Government has the duty to hold, on behalf of the People, land and other natural resources and to deploy them for their common benefit and development.” (ibid.)

There have been critics against these constitutional provisions and the land administration proclamations derived from it. Many believe that limiting land holders’ ownership to certain use

rights not only infringe basic property rights, but also restrict users in many ways. According to UNECA's (2002) economic report in Africa, as cited by Gebresilasie (2006:2), the Ethiopian Government land policy has been a reflection of a centralized and top-down approach, which has not taken into consideration the need of the farmers, civil society and businesses. However, the Ethiopian Government argued that free property rights including sale of land could lead the poor to distress migration.

Coming from a complex and multi-faceted land tenure system in the pre-1974 period and socialist oriented anti-private property rights regime from 1974 to 1991, land policy issues remained delicate and politically sensitive matter with the current government political system. The inclusion of land policy as part of constitutional provisions created a red-line limiting dialogues and debates to happen within public ownership premises. Most of the discussions about land policy issues to improve tenure security have been twinkled around the expansion of use rights than free hold ownership.

The constitution provides land administration responsibilities to regional states and policy framework development to the Federal Government (FDRE, 1995: article 52/2). The Federal policy framework is expected to indicate general points, based on which, regions to enact their own detail laws taking into consideration specific situations of their areas. However, both government structures are supposed to deal with land administration issues based on, but without infringing, constitutional provisions.

Table 6-a: Legal instruments and vested in land transfer rights

Legal Instrument/ Transfer Rights	Federal Proclamation	Amhara Region Proclamation	Oromia Region Proclamation	Southern Region Proclamation	Tigray Region Proclamation
Inheritance	Allows (to family members)	Allows (to farmers and urban dweller with small income)	Allows (to family members)	Allows (without specifying eligibility)	Allows (to dependents who don't have land)
Bequest	Does not mention	Allows (to farmers in the region)	Allows (to family members)	Allows (without specifying eligibility)	Does not mention
Lease between peasant farmers	Allows (but without causing displacement)	25 years (without size limit)	3 years for traditional farming (up to half a holding)	5 years (remaining holding should be sufficient to cover holders' annual consumption)	3 years for traditional farming (up to half a holding and with no displacement)
Lease from peasant farmers to investors⁹	Allows (but without causing displacement)	25 years (without size limit)	15 years for modern farming (up to half a holding)	10 years for annual crops and 25 years for perennials (remaining holding should be sufficient to cover annual consumption)	10 years for modern farming (up to half a holding and with no displacement)
Mortgage of use right (farmers)	Does not mention	Does not mention	Does not mention	Does not mention	Does not mention
Mortgage of use right (investors)	Allows	Allows	Does not mention	Allows	Does not mention

Source: Author, based on federal (2005) and regional (2007) land administration and use proclamations

⁹ Individuals or companies who are thought to bring in capital, knowledge, skill and technology.

Ethiopia has not enacted a document in the name of land policy so far; rather proclamations have been serving as policy documents based on constitutional provisions. Federal and regional land administration and land use proclamations provide unlimited period of use right to farmers, pastoralists and semi-pastoralists (FDRE 2005, ANRS 2006, ONRS 2007, SNNPRS 2007 and TNRS 2007). In the public land ownership system of the country, farmers have use rights for unlimited period of time. The proclamations give rights to the rural landholders to inherit, bequeath and lease. However, there are restrictions on the modalities and period of land transfers with varying terms among regions (see Table 6-a). The Amhara Regional State tends to be more liberal in terms of lease period and size of land and the Southern Regional State also provides a bit relaxed transfer rights. However, all regional proclamations seem to encourage renting out to investors using modern technologies than transactions among small scale farmers.

“Though individual rights are recognized, their transferability is restricted in a number of ways. Private holdings cannot be sold out, and there are upper limits on the lease period or otherwise transferred except through inheritance, which is restricted to co-resident family members, suggesting that mortgages are not possible. Although rents are allowed, in most regions only part of a holding can be rent.”
(Deininger et al., 2012: 90)

To assess the existing tenure security level based on available documents, a number of parameters can be measured. As the interest of this paper is to see how tenure security affects movement of people, looking into land transfer rights in general and transaction rights in particular would provide fundamental understanding of the situation. Land transfer types encompass various forms such as inheritance, bequeathing, lease, sale, mortgaging and share cropping. The laws at federal and regional levels provide some information about inheritance, bequeathing and lease. Because land is a public property, the laws are not expected to put any provision about sale and mortgage, but the Federal, Amhara and Southern laws allow investors to mortgage the land they leased-in.

Inheritance and bequeathing rights seem to be somehow there, but the laws put different definitions and eligibility criteria for the recipients. Most of the regional laws allow family members to inherit or/and receive land as a gift. Although the Federal land administration proclamation specifies family members as the eligible bodies for inheritance, some regions like Amhara expanded the rights to any other people as long as their income is low. But such open kind of eligibility right needs consultation of other derivative related regulations and directives. Land bequeathing was not mentioned in the Federal proclamation. Despite this fact, except Tigray, the other three regions put their own provisions allowing bequeathing to family members and other farmers living in the regions. With these differences of the land transfer rights in different laws, implementation of such rights seems to depend on the capacity of government personnel and understanding level of land holders themselves.

The legal frameworks provide a mixed signal about land transactions. On the one hand, the proclamations and regulations tend to encourage farmers to rent out their holdings or use rights. On the other hand, they don't give adequate freedom to practice legal land transactions. Restrictions on the size of holding to be rented out and limited time bound are most likely to put the farmers in an uncertain situation particularly in the Oromia, Southern and Tigray Regions.

Moreover, none of the Federal and regional proclamations talk about collateral of land use rights for farmers. Rather some of the legislations like the Federal, Amhara and Southern Regions allow investors to collateral rented land for credit services. These and other limitations brought about critics on the inconsistency of legislative frameworks and unfair provision of transaction of use rights.

Because landholders do not feel secure and are unable to get timely information, they prefer the informal market system than the formal during land transactions (ILD, 2008:15). With these all restrictions and mixed messages of legislative frameworks, farmers may tend to use unofficial market systems to transfer land through renting, sharecropping and bequeathing. Although all the legislative instruments fail to put provisions in mortgaging of rural land use rights, recent practices indicated that Micro Finance Institutions (MFIs) have been using holding certificates as collateral to release group credit to farmers. The MFIs being government affiliated organizations, they seem to work in an informal way although there is no legal provision to refer and make such transactions legally binding.

In discussions held with various government land administration experts and researchers, all of them agree that the existing land administration proclamations need revisions to better improve tenure security of the rural residents. Although the experts have different views in the land transfer rights of farmers, most of them wish to ease transfer rights allowing farmers to rent out their land for a longer period and introduce legislative provisions allowing collateral of use rights to access credit services. These experts believe that relaxed transfer rights enable the poor to try other livelihood alternatives using the money generated from land transfers and collateral. However, the experts also have some concerns regarding proper use of transaction rights and utilization of income from renting. Admitting the existence of informal land markets, some farmers may sell their land in the name of other forms of land transactions. This has been to some extent a practice observed with the existing transfer rights. On the other hand, there are no institutions and services helping the farmers in investing the money obtained from land renting in other businesses in rural areas. With absence of technical supports, lack of income management skill may put the land renters in a very difficult situation.

Land valuation, compensation and expropriation laws of the country seem to fall short of important tenure security elements. First of all, the country does not have a scientific and fair land valuation system. The federal Government and regions classify areas based on distances from central markets and cities, accessibility and availability of infrastructures to determine the value of land or assets or productions on land. In principle, as land is a public property, any person having a use right on landholding is not entitled to the value of the land, rather to the asset on or expected production from the land. In this unclear and subjective valuation system, landholders often receive low level of compensation during expropriation. In the majority of cases, expropriations force land holders to leave the land in a short period of time. This situation leaves the evictees with very limited options.

Interviewed policy makers and researchers agreed that the valuation system is somehow unfair and the compensation way and amount is infringing property rights. In addition, these senior level people commented that the compensation given to landholders has not been sufficient to change occupation and run businesses. The evicted farmers in most of the cases lack skills to change their livelihood from farming to no-farming. There are also no institutions or arrangements providing

supports to those displaced from their holdings in technical and entrepreneurship skills and financial services. The interviewed senior government officials and non-governmental researchers agree on the importance of improving land valuation, expropriation and compensation laws and strengthening supports to engage the affected people in different activities.

In discussions held with senior land tenure researchers and scholars, it was noted that the rural landholders have almost no power to negotiate during expropriations and to appeal in the judiciary system. There are also no institutions lobbying on behalf of the farmers. The expropriation process is not transparent and giving authority to local authorities to make decisions on expropriations and compensations. According to these senior researchers and scholars, this kind of unbalanced situation leads to lack of trust on legislative instruments and manifestation of bad land governance.

Overall, the discussion made with community members, experts, researchers and policy makers showed that the land policy of the country has certain limitations in ensuring tenure security. With restricted transfer rights and inadequate compensations, the landholders seem to have limited level of use rights. Limitations in tenure security affect investments on land, restrict movement of labor and erode basic property rights.

Given worldwide media coverage and controversy about large scale land acquisition for investments in Ethiopia particularly and Sub-Saharan Africa in general, it would be important making clear the context. Most of these land acquisition happened in the low lands of Ethiopia where uncultivated large tracts of land are available and the population are sparsely located. However, in the highlands where this study was conducted, there is very limited opportunity to find large size of land for investments because the population density is very high and most of the cultivable land is already occupied. But there are few medium size flower and horticulture farms located in the highlands as well.

Talking about public ownership and available large tracts of land in the lowland areas, it is important to discuss about communal holdings in these areas. While the people in the western lowland parts of the country depend for their livelihood on some kind of traditional small scale agriculture, livestock rearing and forest products, communities in the eastern and southern parts are pastoralists depending on livestock production. The pastoralists have a transhumant life style moving from one place to the other looking for pasture and water. The majority of lowland communities consider land as a property of communities managed by customary institutions despite the official recognition of land as a public property. Nevertheless, federal and regional governments showed their power by allocating land for foreign and domestic investors in areas managed and used by communities. Land ownership in pastoral and other lowland areas seem to remain unclear as communities still think land belongs to them.

6.3. Rural People Experiences and Perceptions on Current Land Tenure System and Tenure Security

One of the field surveys of this research, which was conducted in *Damot Galie Woreda* of the Southern Region, tried to assess the understanding or perception of rural people on their land use

rights. Taking into consideration the provisions in rural land administration proclamation of the Southern Region, the rural respondents were asked to choose their rights among a bundle of land transfer rights. Although land tenure rights may not only be measured based on these few transfer rights, given the limited extent of property rights in the country and experience of the respondents, it was thought to be inappropriate to list down all features of rights. Moreover, to see the implication of land policy in movement of people, transfer rights appear to be the most suitable components showing how movement of people could be obstructed or be encouraged as a result of the extent and applicability of these rights.

As can be seen in Table 6-b, the finding came up with a pretty consistent answers showing that significant number of people well understand their rights in inheritance and share cropping. However, renting out and mortgaging land use rights seem to lack good understanding among the surveyed households. Despite the long time exercise in inheritance and bequeathing, the people seem to struggle to understand their rights in land renting and mortgaging. The lack of clarity in understanding land renting and mortgaging rights was also observed at *kebele* administration bodies' level as well. None of the contacted *kebele* administrative committees had copies of written land laws. Most of the *kebele* administrators rely on information obtained during workshops and ad-hoc communications with *woreda* land administration offices to determine cases of transfer rights. In discussions held with key informants and focus groups, they were able to explain land inheritance and bequeathing rights, but had different opinions in the other transfer rights.

Table 6-b: Rural respondents' understanding of land transfer rights¹⁰

Land transfer rights	Percent
Renting out all	1.0
Renting out part	48.0
Using through share cropping	73.0
Inheriting to family members	99.0
Giving to anyone	27.0
Mortgaging	30.0

Source: Author, based on rural households' survey data

Just to review responses in Table 6-b, obviously 99 percent of the respondents know that they have the right to transfer land to family members through inheritance and that they cannot rent out all of their holdings. In addition, 73 percent of respondents believe that they can arrange sharecropping on their or others' land, which is also consistent with the regional land law. Nevertheless, the understanding level of renting out part of a holding was not beyond 48 percent. Although the regional land law allows, renting out of part of a holding, the respondents seem to

¹⁰ Multiple responses were considered

lack good understanding of this right. Only 27 percent are also aware of the right of bequeathing usufruct rights to others.

The gap in understanding such transfer rights could also arise from restrictions associated with each transfer rights. For example, the Region land law allows renting out of part of a holding if the remaining holding is ensured to produce food sufficient for the holder’s family consumption. First of all, such clauses in the land laws are difficult to get sufficient understanding of the people as food self-sufficiency may depend on the type of crops grown, family size and other incomes the family can use to purchase food.

Table 6-c: Rural respondents’ perception of the current land policy in relation to tenure security and tenure system

Responses	Percent
No idea except accepting what the law says	1.2
Benefited the poor	1.2
Benefited women	3.5
Better than the previous policies	8.1
Land holding certification improved security	3.5
Provides limited access to land because land sale is not allowed	4.7
Encourages farming than renting or selling out	34.9
Encourages good land management	12.8
Gives adequate and equal rights to all	4.7
It is good that the law does not allow selling	3.5
It is not a good policy	16.3
Provides ownership security	4.7
Allows renting, but may lead to losing of land ownership	1.2
It is a very good policy	15.1
Total	100.0

Source: Author, based on rural households’ survey data

In addition, the land administration structure is not in a position to make a determination to allow or disallow land renting based on the law. According to one senior researcher, the local authorities at *kebele* level have very limited knowledge on the land laws. These local administrative bodies may not be interested to know and apply laws because they may like to keep the de facto land

administration, which enables them to exercise more power and benefit from land allocation and transfers. Moreover, the turnover of administrative bodies is another factor limiting awareness on the laws and prevailing bad land governance.

Discussions made with individuals and group of community members in the study area came up with mixed feeling of the current land tenure system. The delicacy of the issue, the need to build high trust of the respondents and difficult environment to maintain privacy of the respondents were believed to limit transparency in revealing out real feelings. In some instances, interviewees were noticed trying to give very general and somehow positive answers and shying away from criticizing land policy issues. However, with all possible efforts and approaches, most of the discussions were able to be productive enough helping the finding to be reliable and dependable. Table 6-c shows feelings of the surveyed households about the existing land tenure system. There answers were summarized to certain categories and analyzed to show in percentages. Although some of the answers were found to be very general and lacking specificity to associate with some other factors, there are also somehow specific answers giving an impression of satisfaction or dissatisfaction. The posed question in this regard was open ended and allowing respondents to explain their impression the way they perceived. About 35 percent of the respondents mentioned that the land tenure system encourages farming than renting or selling out land. Out of 86 respondents, 30 households came up with this impression to indicate how much the land policy has been keeping the farmers on their land. The respondents seem to prefer using the word “encouraging” to find a suitable mentioning of the situation without annoying their political leaders.

Interestingly about five percent of the respondents were able to speak out that absence of land sale has affected access to land. According to these respondents, if land sale was allowed, they could access additional land to improve their livelihood and income. But none of them wanted to justify that they could have sold land if land sale was allowed. Since the law talks that land sale or exchange is not allowed and it does not say anything about land buying as an illegal activity, the respondents seem to prefer to talk about buying than selling. Apparently nearly four percent of the respondents stated that it is good that the law does not allow land selling. These people justified that if land sale was allowed, the poor would have remained empty of hands and been left for distress migration. This justification supports government’s stand and rationale behind for not allowing land sale.

There was also a bunch of good impression of the land tenure system. For example, about 13 percent thought it encourages good land management and about 15 percent said it is a very good system. Despite the limitations in expressing internal feelings, significant number of respondents think that the land policy provides equal rights, ensures ownership and happens to be better than previous land tenure regimes of the country.

The mentioned understanding level about land tenure rights may not necessarily mean the landholders exercise all their rights. One important thing here is that the land policy provides indefinite period of use rights for farmers. None of the respondents show different perception on this. Discussing about the application of these rights at household level was a bit sensitive. The discussion with key informants and focus groups rather was found to be an appropriate forum. According to these groups, some were aware that government can any time take away the land. The trend in reporting transfers through official lines has not been well developed. Although first

level land use certificates¹¹ were given to each landholder, none of these certificates have been updated to register changes in ownership. Moreover, the landholders should travel to *woreda* offices to get their certificates updated. With these constraints and restrictive laws, majority of the landholders prefer to use community level informal institutions and sometimes *kebele* administration to get recognitions in transfer of use rights or ownership. However, with advancement of landholding certificates in terms of captured parcel and mapped coordinates as well as established land information system, there could be a way to control land transactions and diminish the role of informal land markets.

Table 6-d: Land acquisition experiences of communities in *Damot Galie Woreda* (multiple answers)

Ways of land acquisition	Percent of Cases
Inheritance	93.8%
Government allocation	1.0%
Land redistribution	7.2%
Purchase	18.6%
Renting	8.2%

Source: Author, based on rural households' survey data

The study has also assessed the practicability of land transfer rights of the people from land acquisition experience. Transaction was selected as one of the suitable indicators because it was learnt that the landholders prefer to talk about the way they got land than they transferred to others. Hence, the questions forwarded to *Damot Gale woreda* rural households came up with interesting results. As Table 6-d shows, majority of the respondents acquired part or all of their land through inheritance. With public ownership of land, land acquisition through direct government allocation or redistribution measures might have been expected, but the data collected from surveyed areas revealed very few cases of these kind. Land acquisition through renting also remained at eight percent showing how very limited level of land transaction has been happening. However, 19 percent of the respondents have surprisingly mentioned that they acquired part or whole of their holding through purchase. Despite the statement in the constitution that land sale or exchange is not allowed, some people seem to purchase land through the informal market. This directly implies that there are also other people selling land, but the issue of legalization seems to remain requiring further study.

Land policy perceptions and actual experiences seem to deviate from one another in some instances. In a situation where 19 percent of the cases showed that land was acquired through purchase and 27 percent of the cases involved land transaction in one way or the other, the concern

¹¹ The land use certificate is identified as first level certificate. The certificate is a simple document showing the number of parcels the holder has and natural borders available to identify parcels.

on land sale policy remained unexpressed. As land issues remained politically sensitive, respondents seem to shy away from expressing their internal feelings. Nevertheless, the de facto situation shows that the rural people would like to practice land transactions. In discussions held with senior policy makers and researchers, all agreed that there is a need to loosen land transaction laws allowing longer lease periods and to provide services so that transfers can be reported officially and updated regularly.

6.4. Landholding Size and Fragmentation

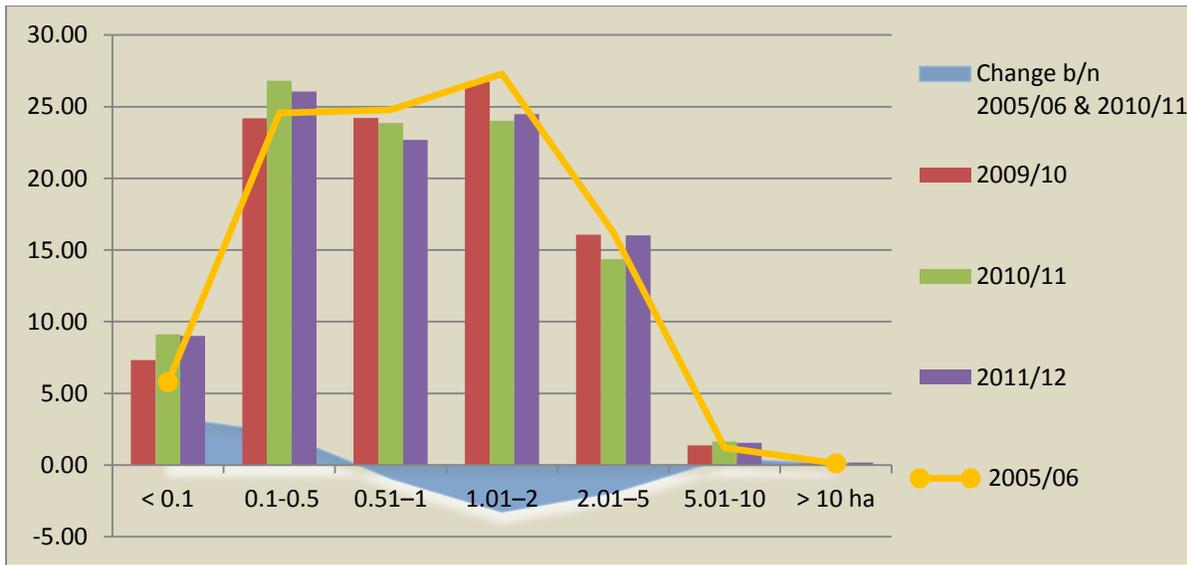
The FDRE Constitution reveals that sale or any other means of exchange of land is not allowed because land is a property of the Government and people of Ethiopia (FDRE, 1995: Article 40). One of the arguments in favor of this clause was the need to safeguard the farmers from evictions and displacements as a result of distress sales of land. According to the Federal Government and regional authorities, the non-farming sector has not yet developed to absorb landless rural people and to provide alternative livelihoods and as a result, unexpected out migration of people to towns would lead to unprecedented problems.

Nevertheless, with increasing population number and low rate of urbanization, landholding size per a holder is decreasing. As over 80 percent of the rural people reside in the highland areas which comprise only 40 percent of the country's land mass, the population density is alarmingly high in these areas. As indicated in Figure 6-1, significant number of people hold below half a hectare of farming land. With high number of youngsters waiting to inherit or access land through subdivision of parents' holdings, the average landholding size is expected to get lesser and lesser.

Those who hold less than one tenth of a hectare mostly use the land for house construction and gardening. It is, thus, hardly possible to classify these people as farmers. In the survey conducted in *Damot Galie Woreda*, it was identified that either these kind of people depend on share cropping or augment their livelihood through other alternatives such as retailing and wage labor. The proportions of rural people having half and less than half a hectare and quarter and less than a quarter of a hectare are 67 and 31 percent respectively (see Table 6-e). Although further analysis should be done to determine if these people can produce enough to feed family members throughout a year, it is possible to visualize how small their holding is to make a living. With this diminishing size of holdings, it is difficult to ignore the importance of looking for options to improve holding sizes and increase alternative livelihoods. Unfortunately the non-agricultural sector in the rural areas has not yet started to develop.

Comparing the percent of landholders in the year 2009/10 and 2010/11 alone, one can understand how fast the number of people having reduced size of land is increasing. According to CSA (2010, 2011), the people who had less than 0.1 hectare in 2009/10 were estimated at 7.32 percent, but this figure increased to 9.13 percent in 2010/11. About 1.8 percent increase means a total of 250,000 landholders have joined the category of less than 0.1 hectare in a year. A five-year interval comparison between 2005/06 and 2010/11 showcases an alarming number of increases of people with small landholdings. As can be seen in Figure 6-1, the percentage of people having 0.5 hectare and less increased by 5.6 percent in five years bringing down about 1.7 million landholders to this category. At the same time, the number of people with over 0.5 and below 5 hectare decreased by about six percent.

Figure 6-1: Landholding size versus percent of holders



Source: Author, based on FDRE's Central Statistics Authority (CSA) annual reports

With this rate of diminishing land sizes, the proportion of rural people holding tiny plots is most likely to escalate in the future too. Ethiopia being one of the developing countries having low agriculture yield per a unit of land, labor and capital, these fragmented and small plots could not provide adequate space for agricultural activities and will not realize feasible productivity. This situation alerts to introduce and strengthen improved land transactions providing opportunities for farm plots consolidation and creation of non-farming activities as alternative livelihoods. Interviewed senior policy makers and researchers supported the idea of promoting land consolidation and discouraging further fragmentations. According to these people, to nurture the agriculture sector with improved technologies, the use of a reasonable and viable size of land is compulsory. They also suggest the importance of developing non-farming sectors like service and industry in order to absorb those who leave their tiny land.

The survey results were also found to be somehow consistent with the official government data of landholding size in *Wolayita* Administrative Zone, where *Damot Galie Woreda* is located as one of *Wolayta's* sub-administration areas. The survey did not find any farmer having over two hectares of land and the official data also reveals same (see Table 6-f). The official data put the average holding size of households in *Wolayita* zone at 0.65 hectare (CSA, 2012: 40), but the mean of the survey result shows 0.55 hectare. This small variation is very possible to happen because the survey for this study was conducted in two *kebeles* of one *woreda*, but the CSA figure represent all *woredas* in the zone. Some other *woredas* may have different landholding arrangements influencing the data average. However, this average holding happens to be one of the smallest in the country showing higher density of rural population in the study area.

Table 6-e: Land size of surveyed rural households in *Damot Galie Woreda*

Land size in hectare	Number of respondents	Percentage of total respondents	Total land size in hectare
0.13	2	2.0	0.26
0.25	35	35.0	8.75
0.38	2	2.0	0.76
0.5	28	28.0	14
0.75	19	19.0	14.25
1	10	10.0	10
1.5	3	3.0	4.5
2	1	1.0	2
Total	100	100.0	54.52

Source: Author, based on rural households' survey data

Regional land proclamations and regulations put limits of 0.25 to 0.5 hectare minimum holding size for irrigable and non-irrigable lands respectively. These restrictions are particularly applied during transactions and any other ways of land transfers. As shown in Figure 6-1 and Table 6-e, significant proportion of the rural population holds less than what has been put as a minimum limit in the laws. The de facto, thus, calls for further study and amendment of land laws by taking into consideration the existing situation. If this minimum holding restriction applies, majority of the holders cannot lease out their land. To put it in figurative ways, 67 percent of the people who hold 0.5 hectare and below are not in a position to rent out their holding. While encouraging land consolidation, it is very important to allow land transaction happens among the small-scale holders.

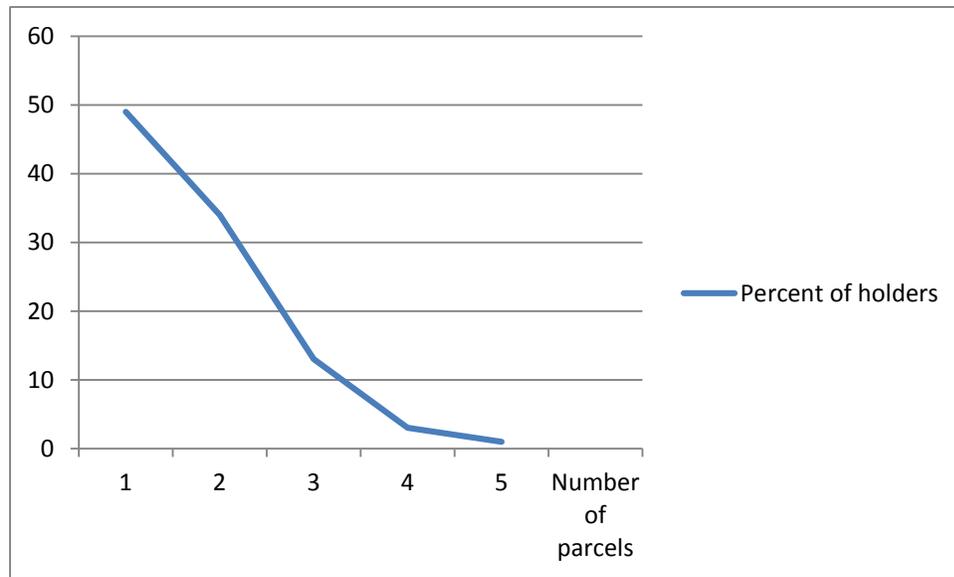
Regardless of the size of holding limitations in the law, practically diminishing holding size tends to contribute to increased land transactions. The more the size of land per a holder gets lesser, the more it becomes difficult to use for agriculture and afford utilization of improved inputs within an economy of scale. Holders of such small plots either need to rent in other plots or rent out to others to form a viable farming parcel of land. In discussions held with community members in *Damot Galie Woreda*, it was noted that many small land holders prefer to lease out what they have if they cannot afford renting in land. With increased practices of land transactions, it would be possible to encourage land consolidation, pool resources and increase productivity. The existing holding level seems to necessitate using the informal market or changing the transaction laws.

Table 6-f: Officially recorded landholding size in *Wolayita* zone

Holders	Land size in hectares						Total
	Under 0.1	0.1-0.5	0.51-1	1.01-2	2.01-5	Over 5	
Number of holders	29,019	266,686	189,138	71,679	11,906	-	606,309
Percent of total holders	5.69	46.84	28.37	16.04	2.94		
Average holding per holder	0.07	0.29	0.7	1.34	2.65		0.63
Average holding per household							0.65

Source: Author, based on CSA (2012)

Figure 6-2: Parcel numbers of surveyed households



Source: Author, based on rural households' survey data

Diminishing holding sizes and fragmentation has already made significant proportion of people unable to base their livelihood on agriculture. The number of parcel numbers in the study area seems to be not high as such, but with the average landholding size of 0.55 hectare, any number above one parcel signifies fragmentation and diminishing of a holding. The survey data in *Damot Galie Woreda* came up with an average parcel number of 1.73 and interestingly the CSA (2012: 265) agricultural land utilization report put the average parcel number of farmers owned land in *Wolayita Zone* at 1.76, which is very close to the survey result.

To understand better the alarming diminishing of land size in the study area, it might be helpful to convert the land use into crop production and examine the adequacy of the land to feed household

members. Maize is one of the major production and staple food in *Damot Galie Woreda*. According to CSA's annual agriculture production survey, the average maize yield of peasant holdings in the country and *Wolyita* Zone was 3MT and 2.4MT respectively per a hectare in 2012 (CSA, 2012: 14 and 74). A kilogram of maize provides 3,630 kcal. A person to maintain a healthy life, there is a need to have a daily intake of 2,212 kcal in Ethiopia (Moreland, 2012), while another study indicated that the average rural daily intake is 2,386 kcal (Berhane et al., 2011: 5). Hence, taking the minimum kcal requirement as a calculation point, a person needs to consume 0.6 kg of maize per day and about 220 kg or 0.22 MT per year. In the study area, the average number of people per a household is found to be 6.8, which is above the official number of 5.04 for Wolayita Zone (CSA, 2012: 40). If we calculate the food need of a household, an average household is expected to consume a total of 1.5 MT of maize or maize equivalent in a year.

Doing this calculation further, with average holding size of 0.55 hectare and yield of 2.4MT per a hectare, a household with an average landholding can only produce 1.32MT maize per year. The result shows an average household normally has about 0.2 MT deficit to feed household members throughout the year. On the other hand, an average household needs to have 0.67 hectare of land to produce crops sufficient for a year. In addition, the rural households have to cover costs of other basic necessities and essentials like clothing, health and education. One may argue that, if the household plans to use the available land in a more efficient way, it is possible to produce at least twice in a year using irrigation schemes and diversifying different crops and working in different seasons. But 67 percent of households who have half a hectare and less may not any longer rely on their land even with more efficient production systems.

6.5. Landholding and livelihood

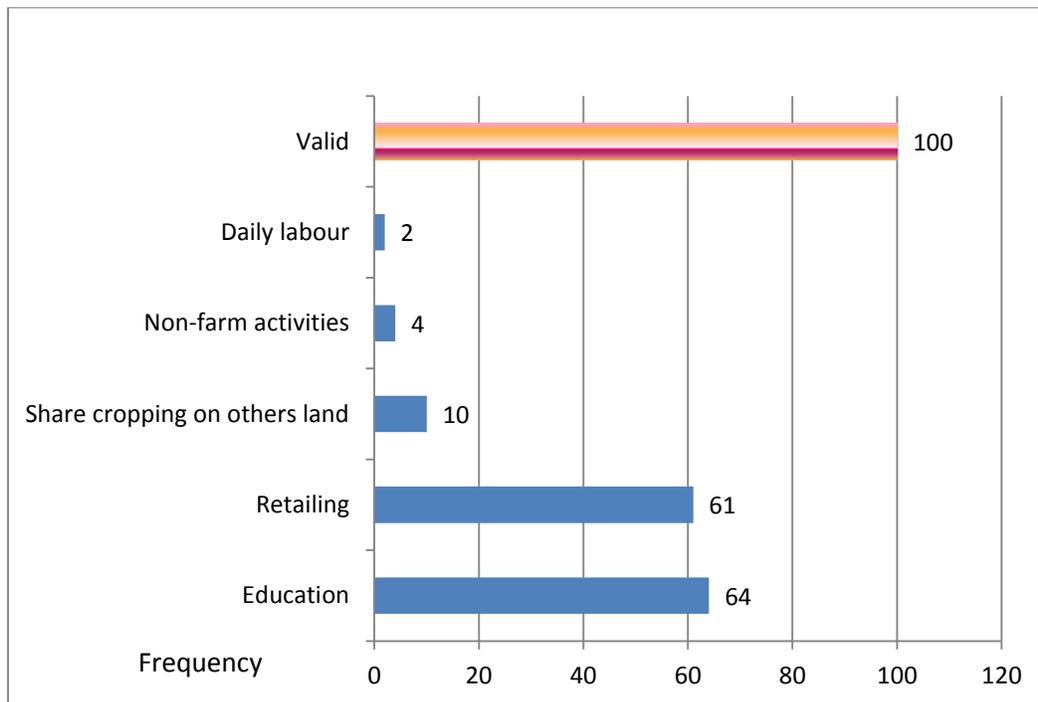
The other factor to be assessed in relation to small holding size versus high family size is that how much of the household members are able to find job enabling them spend their time on their land. The finding comes up with a result of overwhelming majority indicating that their land is by no means is adequate to engage household member's labor. For a question raised to evaluate households' labor engagement on the available land, 84 percent of the respondents revealed that their land is nowhere adequate to create job for all family members. In other words, if agriculture is only considered as a major activity of the area, 84 percent of the surveyed households' members are underemployed. This seems to be well consistent with holding and family members size in the study area.

6.5.1. Number of Household Members versus Farm Land Size

In cross tabulation analysis of family members and landholding size (see Annex 1.1), it has been observed that significant number of people having more than the national average family size depend their livelihood on very tiny holdings. Two households with more than five family members have 0.13 hectare of land, 21 households with over five family member hold from 0.13 to 0.25 hectare and 24 households of over five family members own from 0.25 to 0.5 hectare. In sum a total of 49 (about 50 percent of the respondents) having over five family members hold 0.5 hectare and below. Please note that the average land holding size in the area is 0.55 hectare. This analysis shows the severity of the problem in terms of land shortage and lack of opportunities to create job for rural family members.

Although agriculture is the major livelihood and income source in the study area, the findings indicated that some of the households were looking for other alternatives to fill their food gap and cover other expenditures. As can be seen in Figure 6-3, with 100 percent valid responses, 61 of the households have family members engaged in retailing of different commodities such as cereals, beverage, vegetables and fruits. According to the respondents, retailing is a relatively convenient activity which does not require a separate working place or land, big capital or special skill. Any interested household member can go and share common market places to sell such and other small commodities required for daily consumptions. Majority of the respondents see sending children to school as one way of engaging the extra labor in education. Although the implication indicates that availability of land may deter education access and shortage of land may happen to be a good opportunity to send children to schools, most of the respondents hope that education will lead to job.

Figure 6-3: Extra labor engagement of surveyed households

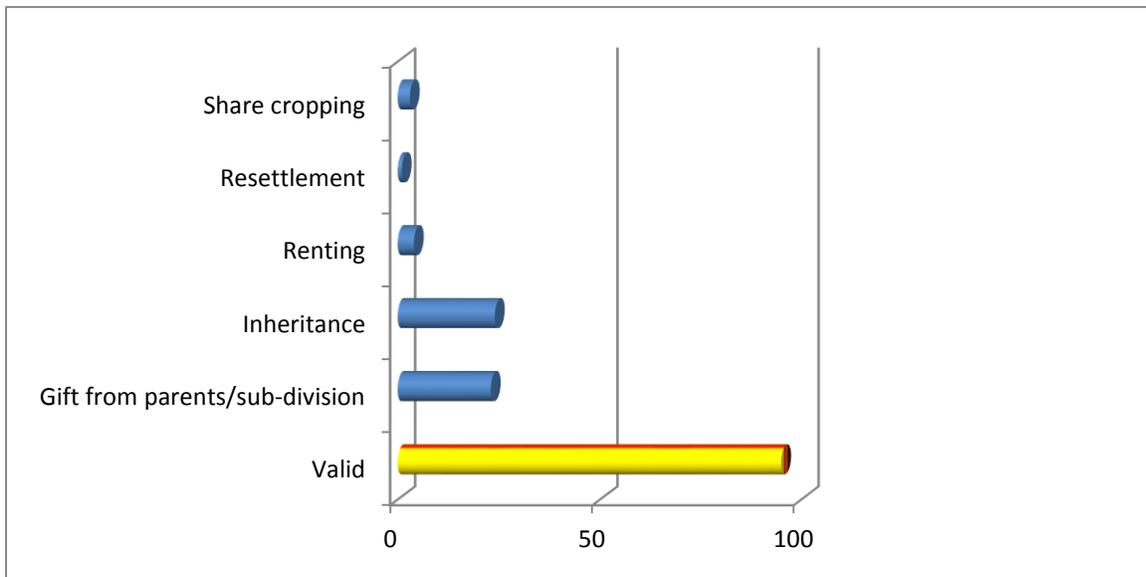


Source: Author, based on rural households' survey data

Only 10 percent of the households were able to arrange sharecropping in others land as a strategy to spend their extra labor and generate income. The engagement of people in daily labor is interestingly insignificant. According to discussions with key informants, because of smallness of holdings, the possibility of getting job on others' farms and arranging land for share cropping in the study area is very minimal. In addition, the non-farming sector is at a very infant stage and unable to provide job because of various reasons. The issue of the non-farm sector will be thoroughly discussed in chapter eight.

With existing very small and fragmented holding size, the rural farming communities are worried about the future. There is a lot of uncertainty regarding their children’s future access to land. In the rural tradition, a child who reached 18 years and above is expected to lead an independent life. But with close to 100 percent dependency on agriculture and land, the future of the children seems uncertain. About 54 percent of the respondents are not optimistic that their children will have access to land in the existing land tenure system, land availability and all related circumstances.

Figure 6-4: Rural households hope on future source of farming land for their children



Source: Author, based on rural households’ survey data

Nevertheless, if farming happens to be the only option for the children, nearly half of the respondents believe that inheritance and sub-division of the existing land will remain the only source of land (see Figure 6-4). This implies that fragmentation of land will possibly continue putting the land holding size to its worst level. On the other hand, only very few households hope that land will be available through market transactions such as renting and sharecropping. With such uncertainty on the market, the rural communities seem to have low level of trust on the existing land tenure system.

6.6. Land Policy Reforms to Address Existing Concerns

The Ethiopian Government considers constitutional provisions as the basic pillars of the country, which should not be changed. As a result, no discussion has been hosted on the amendment of any issues of the constitution so far. Land being part of constitutional provisions and with this general impression of the Constitution, all dialogues of land policy are expected to revolve around use rights. With the introduction of landholding certificates, which is somehow equivalent to deed, the Federal Government and regions made some amendments in their land laws in the middle of 2000s. The amendments helped to stop massive land redistribution practices, which used to erode feelings of tenure security.

Land laws revisions are usually done without conducting adequate studies on the need of the people. As a matter of fact, land laws studies conducted in regions had gone through few consultations by the Justice Office, which is responsible to propose changes in the laws based on needs on the ground. In discussions held with regional authorities, it was learnt that land administration offices request the Justice Office to conduct studies on issues needing changes or amendments. Then, what to study depends on the land administration offices' perception and capacity of justice offices. The experience so far shows that most factors which drove land laws amendments brought about improved use rights with better transfer rights. Despite such specific issues, the land policy has a number of implications, which need to be addressed. None of the amendments thus far has tried to consider population pressure, non-farm options, increasing fragmentation and diminishing holding sizes. These issues, of course, need a holistic approach and comprehensive studies.

A recent land law study in the Oromia Region has involved a local university and appeared to be comprehensive despite previous trends. Many of the findings indicated that significant number of rural people showed dissatisfaction in the existing land laws. If the Region takes into consideration the results of the study and amend land laws, it would open up a great opportunity to address many of landholding issues. Moreover, the practice of conducting studies by independent and professional institutions may propagate to other regions. If such comprehensive studies are handled by universities and research organizations, federal and regional decision makers will have a chance to see the extent of the problem.

Regional officials seem to remain conservative in improving the transfer or transaction rights of people. In separate interviews and discussions made with regional officials, it was understood that they would like to loosen land transfer modalities and improve holding size restrictions, but some of them still fear that the poor will lose its asset and be exposed to distress migration. They still think that the rural people have income management problem and could spend money generated from land renting unwisely. Regional officials put this income management problem as a factor for restricting holders from renting out whole holding. In addition, regional officials also argue that the landless can still access land from communal areas. Surprisingly the referred communal areas are grazing lands and hill sides unsuitable for crop farming. Communities keep their livestock on these types of areas.

Nevertheless, in discussions with federal government policy makers and senior researchers, they indicated that they understand the problem of restrictive land transfer laws and lack of transparency in land expropriation and compensation. They also would like to see the restrictive land transfer laws to be relaxed and people to get fair payments during expropriations. The officials at federal level tend to admit the existing problems in the land policy than the regional people.

6.7. Conclusion

With the public ownership land tenure system, the rural landholders remain with use rights. The use rights are limited to using the land for agricultural activities, transferring to eligible recipients, renting out for limited period of time and subject to expropriation for public uses. The restrictions in land transfers and prevalence of bad land governance were recognized by policy makers, researchers and practitioners, but the readiness to change the situation and improve tenure security

seems to be far from reaching. The perception of the rural people on land transfer rights was found to be low. Although significant number of rural respondents were found to be involved in various types of land transactions, most of them seem to practice such transfers through informal mechanisms than official lines. Senior policy makers and researchers suggested that there is a need to loosen land transaction laws allowing longer lease periods and provide services so that transfers can be reported officially and updated regularly.

Following the restrictive laws on land transfers and increasing population pressure, landholding per a household has been decreasing. The national landholding data and the survey results in *Damot Galie Woreda* proved that significant proportion of rural residents hold very small plot of land. In a country, where about 30 percent of rural households are holding half and less than half a hectare, it is hardly possible to produce sufficient crops for consumption and very difficult to lead a subsistent livelihood. With increasing population pressure and diminishing holding sizes, the number of people having reduced size of land is alarmingly escalating. A quick analysis on crop yield, land size and family size showed that surviving on the production of available land became unrealistic.

Miss-match between land size and family number resulted in extra labor. As the non-farming sectors have not yet developed, most people rely on the dominant agriculture sector. Although some household members tried to work in service sectors like petty trades, its contribution to augment expenditures and cover economic gaps seems to be small. If efforts are exerted, the non-farming sector may happen to be an alternative to absorb some of the excess labor.

The real situation on the ground has been showing that rural land holders are not really yet in a position to enjoy tenure security in the existing land tenure system. The data collected from land holders, practitioners, researchers and policy makers are proving that there is a need to revisit land laws. With the existing landholding arrangement, landholding size and use rights, it seems to be difficult to ensure tenure security and improve the livelihood of the people. Unless some kind of amendments are introduced in the laws to improve land transfers/transactions, expropriations, compensations and other ways of use rights, it will have different implications in developments and migration of people from rural to urban areas. With the improvement of laws, it is also important to introduce transparency and good land governance enabling official land administration procedures are properly practiced.

CHAPTER SEVEN : PATTERN OF RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION IN THE STUDY AREA

7.1. Introduction

The survey of migrants involved interviewing of a total of 80 individuals in *Addis Ababa* and *Hawassa* cities as well as *Sodo* and *Bodity* towns. However, seven of the questionnaires were disqualified during data cleaning process. As a result, the analysis was perused on 73 questionnaires. Majority of the migrants were contacted in Addis Ababa with an aim of reaching individuals coming from different regions. This plan helped to reach migrants coming from *Amhara* and *Tigray* Regions, apart from the Southern Region where rural households were interviewed. In addition, *Hawassa* was selected as one of the survey cities for migrants with an assumption that migrants may first reach regional cities before making their way to *Addis Ababa* and also may prefer *Hawassa* as a final destination within the Region. To follow the route of migrants and study how they travel from one town to another, the rural *woreda* town-*Boditi* and zonal administration area capital-*Sodo* were also included in the survey.

While analyzing and interpreting the data collected from migrants, some kind of references and triangulations were made with the data collected from rural households in *Damot Galie Woreda*. Linking the two surveys enabled to examine certain variables from different angles and to interpret any associated meanings accordingly. However, it does not mean that the triangulation and examining of variables in the two set up was thought to come up with a similar result. Rather such an approach helped to measure the perception level from different perspectives.

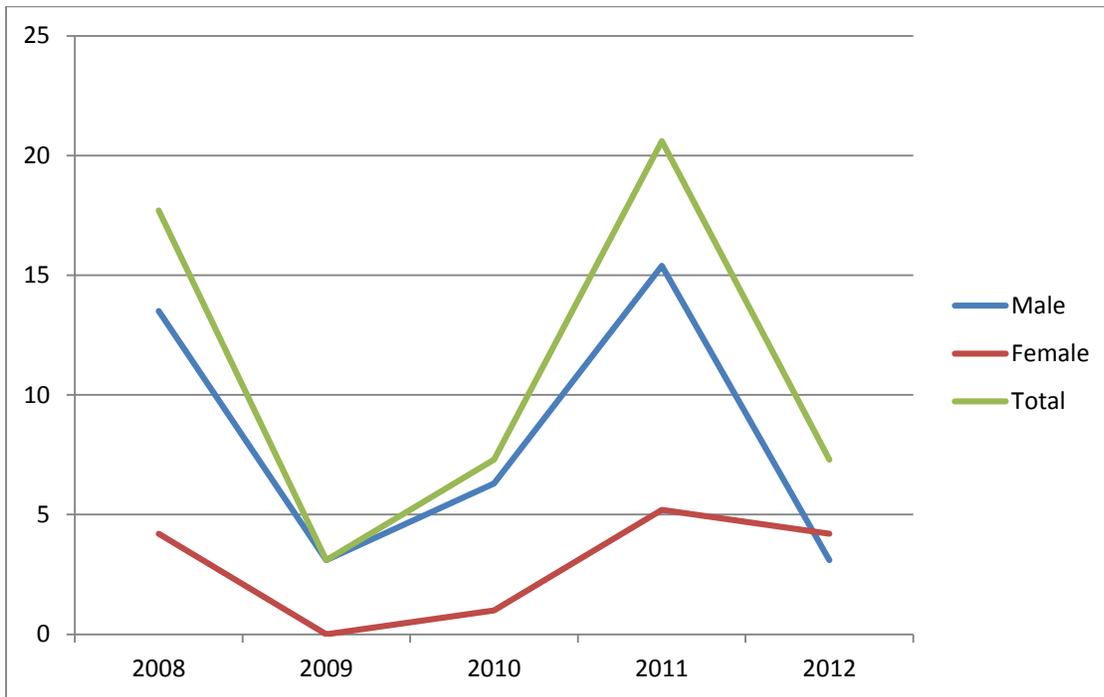
This chapter starts with demographic data about the surveyed migrants and presents results in different sections. It analyzes how information is obtained for migration decisions, shows modalities of migration and identifies causes of migration. As a post-migration assessment, this chapter looks into the connection of migrants with rural family and finally explores challenges and benefits of rural-urban migration.

7.2. Demographic Data of Surveyed Migrants

The surveyed migrants constitute 22 percent female and 78 percent male interviewees. This was the maximum number of female migrants that the survey was able to capture. Given most of the female migrants were employed as domestic workers, there was an understanding that few female migrants could only be contacted. But with this turnout in the survey, the proportion of females reached was found to be beyond expectation. The number of females and males migrants in this survey does not show sex disaggregated proportion of migrants to urban areas. However, in the interviews with rural households, the survey captured the number and sex of people migrated to urban areas from 2008 to 2012. According to this rural area survey, about 26 percent of the total migrants in five years were female. Although this figure obviously tends to represent the study area, the proportion of female/male migrants is only higher by about four percent compared to the proportion of migrants contacted in urban areas. Hence, it might be possible to conclude that

adequate number of female migrants was reached in the survey. The chart in Figure 7-1 shows the dynamics in rural-urban migration. In addition to indicating the difference between the percentage of male and female migrants, it also compares year to year changes. The magnitude of migration showed a decreasing trend in 2009 and 2012. This rate of decrease might be associated with other factors and may trigger another study identifying the reasons why such small turnout was reported in these two years.

Figure 7-1: Percentage of urban migrants from rural areas in five years



Source: Author, based on rural households' survey data in *Damot Galie Woreda*

It was found that the interviewed migrants were scattered in different age groups. As can be seen in Annex 1.2, the minimum age found in the survey was 12 years, the maximum 48 and the mean 24.4. Majority of the respondents were youngsters, with 83 percent falling in the age group from 18 to 30 years. Those who are under 18 and above 30 were seven percent and 10 percent respectively. The distribution of age groups will be thoroughly discussed in relation to migration and land policy in subsequent sections of this chapter. In discussions held with key informants and focus groups in *Damot Galie Woreda*, they estimated that about 60 percent of the migrants leave rural areas in the range of 18 and 30 years age. According to them, this age range is the time when most of them would like to decide on their livelihoods and struggle for self-sufficiency.

The marital status and education of migrants were also assessed. These data types are also important to see the migrants' situation while analyzing their causes of migration in relation to land policy and other related factors. The survey result showed that about 31 percent of the respondents were married, 66 percent single and 3 percent divorced. According to discussions held with the married migrants, spouses of majority of them live in rural areas. As described under modalities of migration, these types of migrants follow seasonal activities to move from rural to

urban and back to rural areas. They own land and other assets in rural areas, but because they do not afford living with available assets and income in rural areas, they supplement with incomes from urban areas. The spouses seem to shoulder the responsibility of managing home and taking care of children in rural areas.

Table 7-a: Marital status of migrants

Status	Percent
Married	31.5
Single	65.8
Divorced	2.7
Total	100.0

Source: Author, based on migrants' survey data

The survey also assessed the education status of interviewed migrants. Interestingly, majority were able to access education with varying level of grades. About 74 percent of them went to primary or secondary schools, four percent to religious schools and other four percent attended basic education. It is also worth mentioning that eight percent of the interviewed migrants were at higher education level (university/college). Only about 10 percent of them were found to be illiterate. Those migrants who went to school, however, were obliged to drop out because of the migration. Only few have been able to pursue education in towns. They mentioned that the nature of their job is not convenient to go to school, but most of them hope to continue in the future.

The education status figure indicates that rural families tried to send their children to schools, despite the long tradition of neglecting education accesses to children with an expectation that they follow agricultural practices and depend for their livelihood on land. Moreover, in discussions held with key informants in *Damot Galie Woreda*, it was learnt that parents were able to realize the importance of education to enable their children find jobs in government institutions. This thinking was growing as a result of decreasing options to provide land for farming and being attracted by salaried government employees working in their areas as teachers, health professionals, development workers and even officials. Nevertheless, this attitude started to change because some parents got disappointed with lack of job for their educated children. Many households and key informants indicated that because of the expensiveness of education especially at a higher level and lack of job for those already graduated; they do not think that education continues to be seen as an option for their children anymore.

Table 7-b: Education level of migrants

Education	Percent
Basic education	4.1
Primary	38.4
Secondary	35.6
College/University	8.2
Religious school	4.1
No education	9.6
Total	100.0

Source: Author, based on migrants' survey data

7.3. Migration Information, Modalities and Destination

7.3.1. Information for Migration

Before assessing the reasons pushing for migration and the relationship with land, it seems to be important to see how the rural people get access to urban information and how they reach to a decision based on the available information to leave rural areas. In a rural family where the relationship is tight, the migrants have to think many times to come to a decision for migration. These people should also balance the pros and cons in choosing alternatives of staying behind and going out. To weigh all the challenges and opportunities, they need some kind of information about the urban environment.

According to the data collected from migrants, majority of them made some kind of judgments about urban areas based on available information before deciding to migrate. However, the amount and reliability of information varies depending on their access to sources. As shown in Table 7-c, over 70 percent of the migrants were able to get information from people who already migrated to urban areas. The respondents either had certain communication lines with friends or family members living in urban areas or interviewed those who visited rural areas in various occasions. Substantiating this finding, the World Bank migration study in Ethiopia indicated that most of the migrants interviewed mentioned that their contact in Addis Ababa was very important factor to make decision on their migration (World Bank, 2010:7). Beyond some indirect information channels, which convinced about nine percent of the respondents, good impression to urban areas, looking at the dressing style of people coming from urban areas, served as an information source to attract 17 percent of the respondents. The interviews with respondents confirmed that, in one way or the other, about 97 percent of them used information to make decisions for migration to urban areas.

Table 7-c: Information sources for decision on migration

Information sources	Percent
Did not get any information	2.9
From people who migrated before	71.4
Informal/indirect sources	8.6
Just good impression of urban areas	17.1
Total	100.0

Source: Author, based on migrants' survey data

While talking about information utilization for migration decision, it should be noted that the migrants could be attracted to urban areas not only due to the good attitude and impression to urban areas, but also because of the problems they were experiencing in rural areas. Any information collected about urban areas was processed and compared with the rural situation they were in. The impression to urban areas, in most of the cases, developed through time. In a conversation with key informants, they indicated that the youth have already created good impression about urban areas. The dressing style of urban people and some commodities coming from towns create a nice image of cities in the minds of the youngsters. Although there are certainly adequate push factors prevailing in rural areas, the information about cities significantly contributes to decisions for urban migration. Overall, the majority of decisions on migration to urban areas were made after information was collected, processed and used for decision.

7.3.2. Migration Modalities and Destinations

The migration modalities seem to differ based on the objective and time of migration. Among 38 rural households (out of the surveyed 100 households) who agreed to reveal the type of migration, 58 percent mentioned that their family members left rural areas for seasonal activities in towns, commercial farms and other rural areas, whereas 42 percent indicated that the migration was permanent and mainly made to urban areas. Although the interviewed households tended to hesitate to mention correctly the type of migration, with additional explanation about the intention of the research questions, they came up with a reliable answer. Their hesitation comes from a suspicion that revealing the type of migration may lead to some types of consequences in relation to landholding. In other words, if there were some plots of land in the name of the migrants, they would prefer to associate their migration with temporary travel than long term migration. This is because absentee landholders may face losing of their holdings.

The seasonal migrants travel to cities and other areas where job is available during slack agricultural time in rural area and come back with some money enabling them cover costs of basic necessities and inputs for crop production. Seasonal migration is a strategic use of available and remaining time and labor from own holdings. Seasonal migrants prepare their land, plant and arrange with their spouses or other family members to look after their holdings, crops and livestock

so that they can stay away for two to four months in other areas working and making money. They normally have a regular contact with rural families and may send them money to cover some of the living costs. As can be seen in Table 8-b (Chapter Eight), out of the interviewed 73 migrants, 19 percent possess land in rural areas. According to these landholder migrants, in one way or the other, they have some level of controls on their land. These types of migrants tend to have seasonal behavior. They themselves either go and work during pick agricultural seasons or oversee the performance of their land through regular contacts.

The interviewed rural households had some level of information about the whereabouts of migrants (see Table 7-d). Out of the responded 40 households, 55 percent indicated that the migrants from their family live in big cities. The destination of migrants differs although majority of them seem to reside in big cities. Only two of the households have migrants living out of Ethiopia. The information from rural households also indicated that about 23 percent of the migrants reside in nearby towns, which seem to be the first destination of migrants before travelling to big cities. Two households do not know where their migrated children have been living.

Table 7-d: Migrants’ destination per surveyed rural households’ information

Destination places	Percent
Big city	55.0
Nearby town	22.5
Commercial farm	7.5
Other rural area	5.0
Out of Ethiopia	5.0
Unknown area (households have no information about the whereabouts)	5.0
Total	100.0

Source: Author, based on rural households’ survey data

In interviews with surveyed migrants, an attempt was made to capture first destination and routes. Although the migrants are known to process information and choose different modalities of migration, an assumption was made that they may have some kind of strategy in place to follow before reaching their final destination. In a country like Ethiopia, where the disparity between rural and urban setting happens to be very significant, the situation makes the transition from rural to urban life very difficult.

Table 7-e: Migrants first destinations

Destinations	Percent
Other rural area	2.7
Towns within <i>woreda</i>	8.2
Periphery of big cities	6.8
<i>Addis Ababa</i>	54.8
Regional city	23.3
Other big/zonal cities	4.1
Total	100.0

Source: Author, based on migrants' survey data

Looking into the migration route would help to understand if they desperately or intentionally go to big cities or deploy a step-by-step approach to cope up with the changing situation. The analyzed data (see Table 7-e), however, shows that the majority of respondents (82 percent) migrated directly to big cities including Addis Ababa without spending any time in other places. The World Bank study of 2008 in Ethiopia indicated that most of migrants in Addis Ababa avoided step migration (World Bank, 2010:16).

The respondents have reasons for this kind of movement. Many of them were already impressed with information coming from big cities. The booming cities have jobs to offer in the construction, industry and service sectors. Less job opportunities in small towns appear to be an unaffordable challenge for them to stay so that they make their ways to big cities. They rather prefer to face the transition challenges in big cities than staying with problems in small towns. The connection they have with older migrants is also another factor encouraging the migrants to choose going directly to big cities. As a result, only 15 percent of the respondents used either small towns or peripheries of big cities as their first destination. The World Bank study also coincides with this finding: it found that only 10 percent live in other small towns before reaching *Addis Ababa* (World Bank, 2010:16).

Key informants and focus groups were given with choices to specify migrants' first destination after left rural areas. They indicated that the migrants have a wide array of destinations including other rural areas, commercial farms, small towns within their *woreda*, the *woreda* capital, regional cities and *Addis Ababa*. However, according to these information sources, the majority of migrants make their destination in big cities like *Addis Ababa* and *Hawassa*. They also elaborated that those migrants going to other rural areas and nearby small towns usually have seasonal plans and mostly return back to their original places in a short period of time. Whereas those going to big cities tend to have a long term plan to be away and eventually decide to live in there.

There are also other factors needing considerations while evaluating the modalities of migration. Although decision for migration seems to rest with individuals' will, there are certain level of consultation to be made among family members and friends. The consultation sometimes leads to

mutual decisions and actions. In line with this assumption, the surveyed migrants were asked if they migrated alone or with other people. Among the 73 respondents, 34 percent migrated with friends and 21 percent with family members. These data show that over half of the surveyed migrants made decisions for migration in consultation with other people and involved one or more people in their actions. The migration in groups seems to give them better confidence and stronger coping strategy during the transition time in cities.

7.4. Dynamics and Extent of Migration

The survey conducted in *Damot Galie Woreda* indicated that the level of migration has been significant and persistently occurring in consecutive years. Although some sort of hesitation of surveyed households to reveal the number of migrants was observed, most of them agreed that migration is a common practice in the area. According to the data in Figure 7-1, the migration level was high in 2008 and 2011, but showed a reduction trend in 2009 and 2010. There could be other economic and social factors, which influenced the migration pattern in *Damot Galie Woreda* in these two different years.

However, majority of the interviewed households believe that migration to urban areas is increasing. Supplementing 71 percent of the rural household respondents' seeing an escalating trend of migration, all key informants and focus groups mentioned that the rate of migration has been increasing and expected to exacerbate in the years to come. They all think that the youngsters seem to prefer urban migration than staying in rural areas. There certainly have been reasons for this kind of preference. According to these surveyed households, key informants and focus groups, they can mention many and adequate reasons for increasing rural-urban migration. The identified major reasons of migration will be discussed in the next section.

About 45 percent of the surveyed households have already one or more migrants who decided to live in cities. This shows that the extent of migration in the surveyed areas of *Damot Galie Woreda* tends to be high affecting large proportion of households. Despite the benefits and problems of migration, significant proportion of rural families seems to experience migration. While revealing that the trend of migration is increasing, the key informants and focus groups tried to analyze the extent of migration experiences in their respective areas. According to them, with this increasing magnitude of migration, almost all households will have migrants in one way or the other in few years' time. Hence, migration is very likely to become part of life of the rural people in *Damot Galie Woreda*.

In less urbanized Ethiopia, more people are expected to join towns in the years to come. With weakening carrying capacity of the rural areas and increasing attractiveness of towns, it is imperative that the movement of people from rural areas to continue. Recent studies in rural-urban migration also substantiate this impression. Although the level of urbanization of Ethiopia is lower than the sub-Saharan countries average with 16 percent proportion in 2007, recent dynamics show that the urban population is growing at a rate of 3.8 percent while the rural population growing at 2.3 percent, which may eventually put the proportion of urban people at 27 percent in 2035 (World Bank, 2010: 10 citing UN Population Division, 2009).

The prediction of the people about increasing migration trend in *Damot Galie Woreda* holds true given the dynamics happening in various ways. With increasing population pressure, the scarcity of resources is likely to exacerbate forcing the rural people to look for alternatives. Again better access to information about urban areas and some attractive factors magnifying the image of towns, the youngsters would tend to aspire moving out of the rural areas. With increasing number of migrants, the number of households having migrants in towns is more likely to increase. These country wide dynamics could also be reflected in *Damot Galie Woreda* and in each household.

7.5. Reasons for Migration

Assuming that there could be both “push” and “pull” factors influencing the decision for migration, the survey deployed questions examining both factors from the respondents’ perspective. In interviews and discussions held with rural households, key informants and focus groups indicated that there are well perceived causes of migration. Most of the respondents believe that migrants have adequate reasons to choose migration. The surveyed rural households were provided with two sets of questions asking for reasons of migration. The first set has predefined choices of answers, which the respondents could pick from, while the other set was left with an open ended question inviting the respondents to explain reasons for increasing rate of migration. In other words, the first set posing questions about the primary reasons for migration whereas the other set comes from another end asking those households who believe migration rate has been increasing to explain their reasons.

The rural poor generally consider rural-urban migration as a coping strategy against poverty in developing countries (Sheng, n.d. and Tacoli, 2004, quoted in Zewdu and Malek, 2010:3). Reinforcing this finding, the vast majority of the respondents associated their reasons for migration with economic factors (see Table 7-f). Among the six factors listed, four (income, land, agricultural productivity and food security) are economic in nature and do constitute the majority of responses. These economic factors imply the difficulties facing migrants in their rural homes, including those associated with production, income generation, wage labor opportunities, and food security. With a significant proportion of respondents seeking additional income, it appears that agricultural income from the available land was not sufficient for them to make a living in rural areas. Most importantly, 40 percent of the response cases were associated with land shortages. The other economic factors, such as income, productivity, and food security, are also related to land availability.

Nevertheless, roughly 33 percent of surveyed households included in their response list that some migrants were attracted by urban life independently from the existing economic challenges in rural areas. These respondents tended to associate the decision to migrate with a desire for luxury goods or modernity. They did not identify other factors that may have influenced their decision. This category of migrants developed positive impression of cities and reported dissatisfaction with the rural situation. Regardless of whether or not the rural economic situation improves, these migrants would prefer to live in towns.

At the same time, in 16 percent of the rural households’ interviews, education was mentioned as a reason to incentivize (“push”) some people towards towns. Because the rural areas do not have schools to provide education at secondary and tertiary levels, some of the migrants travel to urban

areas specifically to finish their education and seek salaried employment. This is particularly relevant for poor households, because most of the poor cannot afford to pay for their children’s secondary and tertiary school fees. As such, students may decide to migrate to cities to find work and try to pursue their education. In this case, migration happens to be a mechanism to access education.

Table 7-f: Rural households’ perceived reasons of migration¹²

Reasons of migration	Percent of Cases
Looking for additional income	65.1
Lack of land to make a living on farming	39.5
Seeking urban life	32.6
Weakening productivity of agriculture	16.3
Education access	16.3
Food shortage	7.0

Source: Author, based on rural households’ survey data

In a situation where 71 percent of interviewed rural households believe that the rate of migration has been increasing, it was important to identify major reasons leading to such an increasing rate of migration. The vast majority of reasons are closely associated with economic factors. With land shortage leading the proportion of reported reasons by 29 percent, additional income and job seeking followed by 26 and 18 percent respectively. All the indicated economic reasons appear to relate each other and show the inability of many rural households to maintain a decent standard of living depending only on agriculture and land.

Discussions with key informants and focus groups identified major reasons incentivizing and increasing rural-urban migration. The major reasons were population pressure, shortage of land, food insecurity, drought and lack of non-farming opportunities. These factors are widely perceived as negatively affecting rural livelihoods and thereby “pushing” migrants to leave their rural homes in search of better opportunities in urban areas. The issue of population pressure was also cited in group discussions, though not in interviews with households. Rural households have not traditionally seen a high number of children as a threat at household level; rather, there has been a perception that children provide opportunities to support rural families in agricultural activities and generating income through wage labor or other means of employment. Nevertheless, the identification of population pressure by the group discussions indicates that the traditional view that large numbers of children are beneficial seems to be changing over time.

¹² Multiple answers were considered

Table 7-g: Rural households' perception on increasing rate of migration

Reasons for increasing migration	Percent
Land shortage	28.7
Need for additional income	25.9
Job seeking	17.6
Economic problem in rural areas	8.3
Attracted by better income and living condition in urban areas	6.5
Hope to improve future life	6.5
Decreased productivity of agriculture	4.6
Food shortage	1.9
Total	100.0

Source: Author, based on rural households' survey data

Experts and officials at *woreda*, zonal and regional level also agreed on the causes of migration, as described by the key informants and focus groups. However, some of these experts and officials added the aspiration of the youth for urban lifestyles and less interest in working in the traditional agricultural activities as an important factor contributing to rural-urban migration. According to these officials and experts, youth prefer a short-cut to escape poverty. There is a significant effort required to break this bad attitude and bring changes to the rural areas. The argument of these experts and officials is that youth have negative attitudes toward work in the agriculture sector and even toward non-farming activities in rural areas. In addition, they also believe that existing land renting rights and informal land markets have been encouraging people to move from one area to another. Nevertheless, the experts and officials were not able to show potential opportunities that could capture the attention of youth in rural areas. They also could not provide adequate evidence to prove that efforts to encourage non-farming activities or provide new technologies are enabling the landless to find job in the rural economy.

The survey in select urban areas also assessed factors that forced migrants to leave rural areas. The migrants mentioned one or more reasons that pushed them to urban areas. Although some of the ways migrants responded differ from the rural responses, there are significant similarities between the two groups of respondents. The migrants mentioned those factors associated with economic problems, thus demonstrating their ambition to lead an independent life and support their family. Roughly 24 percent of urban respondents migrated to cities with the aim of becoming self-sufficient by covering their own living costs. This implies that these respondents were not able to lead an independent life in rural areas because they did not have sufficient economic opportunities. An independent life could be interpreted to include marriage, own income management, not being considered as a family burden, supporting parents, and taking one's own decisions.

Table 7-h: Migrants' reasons for leaving rural areas¹³

Reasons	Percent of Cases
Need for self-sufficiency	44.3
To skip poverty	32.9
Landlessness	22.9
For education	18.6
Inadequate farming land	17.1
To generate additional income for input	17.1
To learn new skills	10.0
Natural disaster/drought	7.1
To change occupation	5.7
Seeking urban life	4.3
To skip forced marriage	2.9

Source: Author, based on migrants' survey data

The reasons indicated by migrants also demonstrated how poverty has forced people to leave rural areas and join the urban environment. Among the respondents, 18 percent of migration decisions were associated with fleeing the prevailing poverty in rural areas. Poverty is a relative term to the urban areas where these migrants were living in. In a country where roughly 40 percent of the population lives below the international poverty line,¹⁴ the poverty level in specific rural areas is often higher. The migrants defined poverty in terms of landlessness, lack of productive assets, absence of income, food shortage, marginalization, lack of access to education, health, and other basic services, and an inability to obtain employment. These factors incentivized the migrants to leave their rural areas and families and seek a new living and working environment in urban areas.

While the migrants explain their decision to migrate based on their need for self-sufficiency and escaping poverty, they also tend to associate these factors with land inaccessibility. In other words, if there were land available, they would have continued agricultural activities and led an independent life in the rural areas. Although some of the respondents listed landlessness and shortage of land separately as factors of migration (see Table 7-h), if landlessness and shortage of land are summed, it is possible to conclude that 40 percent of the responses are directly associated with landholding. A study by the World Bank (2010:23), citing the 2005 Labor Force Survey

¹³ Multiple responses were considered

¹⁴ Although, the Ethiopian Government has recently claimed that the poverty rate decreased to 29 percent.

(World Bank, 2009a) indicated that 23.5 percent of the people who moved to urban areas did so because of land shortages in rural areas of Ethiopia.

In addition, migration was also found to be a mechanism to generate additional income and buy inputs for agricultural activities. Those respondents who revealed that their objective in migrating to towns was to earn money for inputs fall into two categories. Under category one, migrants plan to stay in urban areas on a temporary basis during the slow months in rural areas in order to earn money to pay for fertilizer and improved seeds and to rent in additional land. These migrants return to rural areas with some money during the peak farming months. The second category sends money to support their rural family during planting time but tends to migrate permanently. Responses from both categories suggest that the available land in rural areas is not sufficient to cover basic needs or buy inputs for the next season. With 17 percent of respondents revealing that their income is used to purchase farm inputs, some migrants further explained that they also rent in additional plots of land for crop production.

As discussed above, surveyed rural households believed in 33 percent of the cases of responses (see Table 7-h) that the decision to migrate could be made, beyond any other economic reasons, simply based on an interest in urban life. It is useful to note here, some experts and officials of government also emphasized the attraction of urban areas. However, in the survey with migrants themselves, only about four percent of the responses revealed that their decision to migrate was a result of their interest in urban life. None of the interviewed migrants identified issues related to negative attitude toward agricultural activities, despite the claims by government experts and officials to the contrary. Although all respondents would not be expected to reveal similar perceptions for each factor, the combination of responses from different respondent groups helped to identify all potential factors of migration.

There were certainly various “push” factors that contributed to the decision to migrate. The majority of these factors are related in one way or the other to economic opportunities. If migrants had sufficient economic opportunities in rural areas, most of them would have not decided to migrate. In a predominantly agricultural economy, land availability is associated with most of the indicated reasons for migration.

7.6. Migrants’ Connection with Rural Families

Although the migrants decided to live in urban areas, many of them remained connected with rural families. Their connection could be manifested in different ways. Beyond communications through telephones, mails and people traveling between rural and urban areas, there are strong economic bonds keeping the two sides linked together. Almost all of the respondent migrants have up-to-date information about their rural areas, although some of them may tend to avoid frequent communications.

One of the mechanisms ensuring migrants’ communication with rural families is the support the migrants were providing in different ways. According to the survey results, over 75 percent of the migrants have an experience of sending money to rural families. As can be seen in Table 7-i, the migrants send money for different reasons. In about 51 percent of the cases, the migrants were

found to be augmenting their families' regular expenditures. This kind of assistance indicates the double responsibility these migrants shoulder. In addition to covering their own daily expense, they have to set aside some amount of money to help rural families. Such responsibility definitely proves the strong connection of migrants with rural families.

The migrants also support their families' agricultural activities and help them create assets by sending money for input purchase, land renting, oxen renting and purchase, house construction and other expenditures. The migrants supporting asset creation and agricultural activities account 20 and 24 percent of the cases respectively. These migrants either have some level of ownership in the agricultural activities or would like to strengthen their families' economy in a sustainable way. Moreover, about 34 and four percent of the responses revealed that they send money to buy assets for their own purpose and as a saving mechanism respectively. These segments of the respondents indicated that they buy livestock in rural areas so that they exercise investment. These are of course adequate reasons to keep regular communication with rural families.

Table 7-i: Migrants' reasons for sending money to rural families¹⁵

Reasons for sending money	Percent of Cases
To cover part of living costs	85.5
For own saving	3.6
To buy asset for own use	32.7
To buy asset for rural family	20.0
To support family's agricultural activities	23.6
To get parents' blessing	3.6

Source: Author, based on migrants' survey data

While analyzing the purpose, the frequency of sending money to rural areas was also assessed in the survey. The migrants send money regularly, occasionally, during holidays and depending on the availability of money. About 40 percent of the respondents send money on a quarterly or monthly basis, 27 percent on semi-annually and annually and the rest during holidays. With this frequency of sending money to rural areas, it is possible to see the magnitude of connection between migrants and rural families. The migrants determine the timing and the amount of money to be sent based on the information they receive about the living condition, problems and need of rural families and of course looking at their earning capacity.

On the other hand, surveyed rural households in *Damot Galie Woreda* were interviewed about their communication with and any support receiving from migrants. Out of the responded 42 rural households, 93 percent revealed that they have regular communication with migrants. Again of these respondents, 39 percent revealed that they received remittances from migrants and 36 percent

¹⁵ Multiple responses were considered

mentioned that the migrants invested with rural families on livestock production, crop farming, house construction and other activities. Overall, the rural households provided information, which confirm that migrants have strong ties with rural families.

Such social connections and economic ties tend to serve as source of information and alternative options for the other people planning to migrate. The effort of migrants in sending money to support families and invest in rural areas could create positive impression about migration. As a result, many of the youngsters would have good image about the urban areas. This also partly proves that why majority of the migrants directly go to big cities without spending time in small towns and peri-urban areas. The communication with migrants helps new migrants to locate the whereabouts of old migrants and make decision for migration with or without the consent of migrants in cities.

7.7. Perceptions on Rural-Urban Migration

While analyzing all the reasons and extent of rural-urban migration, it is also appropriate to measure the perception of different groups on migration. The survey results showed that migration to cities is not a new practice in *Damot Galie Woreda*, but the extent and dynamics seems to vary. The contacted communities' representatives have mixed feelings and attitude about rural-urban migration. The Government experts and officials at various levels also see rural-urban migration from different perspectives. Researchers and development people also have their own perceptions toward migration.

In discussions held with key informants and focus groups, the participants mentioned their perceived negative and positive points about rural-urban migration. Some of them considered rural-urban migration as a problem creating labor shortage in the rural areas. According to these people, with movement of able ones to cities, some elderlies are left alone and unable to farm their available land. As children are supposed to take care of their elderly parents in the rural context, if migration is snatching the young and causing loneliness of elderly parents, the communities perceive migration as a threat resulting in social problems. Separation of families was also another concern the groups identified as a negative consequence. Because of migration, some mothers were obliged to take care of children alone and live separately from their husbands. The separation has been leading to health problems like exposure to transmittable diseases, notably HIV/AIDS.

On the other hand, there were also members of the key informants and focus groups who see rural-urban migration as a positive development. The primary argument was its economic importance i.e., the perception to migration seems to be associated with its economic implication. Many households partly depend on remittances sent from migrants. In addition to reducing the households' burden because of decreased number of household members, the migration has become a permanent income source for some households. The migration also created a destination point for other migrants planning to go. If a household is believed to benefit from the migration through remittances, asset creations and improving living conditions, the community tends to see migration practice as something to be praised and seen as a good step forward. Hence, the attitude of these different groups to migration is shaped based on rural families experience in terms of benefits and problems from migration.

The interviewed government experts and officials at *woreda*, zone and region levels expressed their view on rural-urban migration. They identified some negative and positive aspects of migration. To start with the negative points, they believe that rural-urban migration may disentangle the productive force from the land and result in low performance of the agriculture sector. They also see migration as a threat for development policy. In a situation when the Government is exerting efforts to improve the productivity of the agriculture sector, the migration to urban areas put negative effects obstructing such efforts. The experts and officials also fear that rural-urban migration can exacerbate informal land transactions. Some people may sell their holdings in the informal market and go to urban areas. This kind of land transaction is seen as a challenge violating the rule of law and encouraging others to follow similar practices.

Nevertheless, the experts and officials in *Damot Galie Woreda*, *Wolayita Zone* and the Southern region also see rural-urban migration as a positive development allowing the landless to try other alternatives and find jobs. They also see rural-urban migration as a path way to introduce modern technologies and life styles to the rural areas. The migrants bring in modern thinking and practices to rural areas. In addition, they also believe that the remittances from migrants improve income level and economic capacity of rural households. With the additional income, rural households would be encouraged to buy improved inputs and enhance agricultural productivity. With these and other benefits of migration, these experts and officials tend to have positive perceptions.

The issue of migration seems to continue as a concern among the communities, experts and officials. The interesting point here is that the major factor linked to migration was land. While mentioning about negative aspects of migration, unproductivity of land happened to be a concern. On the other hand, the benefit was also associated to investments on land for improved productivity. In analyzing the factors of migration, land appeared to be the major cause factor for migration. This has been proved in interviews with migrants and rural families. The impression of these different groups is also very much linked to land.

Senior level policy makers and some practitioners tend to see migration as a positive development. Given the increasing population pressure and depleting resources, the rural areas may no longer provide adequate livelihood sources. Nevertheless, the government people also argue that the migrants may make decisions to move to cities before exploring alternatives in rural areas. They think that existing rural development policies provide options to work in agricultural and non-agricultural activities. On the other hand, independent researchers in the land sector see rural urban migration as a coping strategy the rural people had to deploy. With existing land shortage, food insecurity and poverty, the extent of migration was said to be lower, but looks like to escalate very alarmingly. The researchers, however, have a concern that the migrants could be exposed to problems in urban areas because they may not move in a planned manner.

7.8. Rural-Urban Migration Challenges and Opportunities

7.8.1. Migration Challenges

The move from rural to urban life has never been easy for majority of the migrants. The change of area is not only change of physical environment; it also involves social, cultural and economic

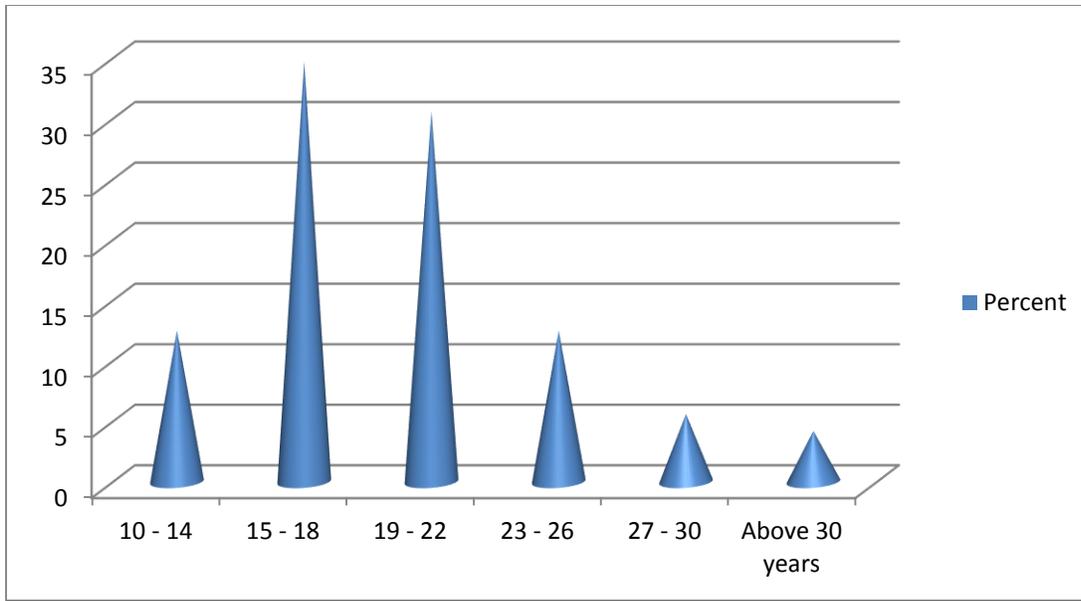
factors. While changing their areas, the migrants start to deal with an independent life where in most of the cases their parents and/or any of elder siblings are not there to guide them. They are supposed to communicate, find job and living places, feed themselves and make sure they are safe in a new environment. Although these migrants were pushed by economic problems in the rural areas and attracted by the urban situation, the transition period confront them with a number of challenges.

In the majority of cases, surveyed migrants left their rural areas before trying an independent life and even at an early age when they were requiring parents' protection. As can be seen in Figure 7-2, about 47 percent of the migrants left when they were between 10 and 18 (inclusive). They were supposed to go to school and remain under parents' custody during this age range. However, the rural situation including their parents' economic status mainly in relation to land availability and lose of future hope in the rural areas forced them to migrate to towns. One can easily imagine how much the urban situation could be difficult and challenging for this age group. Again looking back at the age range indicated in Figure 7-2, nearly 31 percent of the migrants left in the age range of 19 and 22. This age range is the time when the youngsters would like to lead an independent life, get married and become self-sufficient if economic alternatives were available in rural areas. As indicated in earlier discussions, many of the migrants would have not left the rural areas if there were options of activities to engage themselves. Coming to urban areas at early and young ages would expose to a number of challenges while trying to get job and adapt to the urban environment.

The migrants under the survey came up with a number of problems they faced in entering and living in cities. Among the surveyed migrants, 74 percent mentioned one or more problems, which they experienced in cities. As shown in Table 7-j, accommodation problem accounted 23 percent of the responses and 33 percent of the cases. According to the interviewed migrants, lack of accommodation exposed them to various problems. For instances, significant number of respondents associated criminal attacks (14 percent of responses) and health problems (11 percent of responses) with lack of accommodation.

Many of the migrants mentioned challenges they faced in job seeking. Although there were high expectations to find jobs and become economically self-sufficient during decisions for migration, significant number of migrants got disappointed during post-arrival in urban areas. About 48 percent of the cases show that migrants were not able to find jobs up on arrival in towns. Absence of job obviously affects fulfilling basic necessities such as food, shelter, clothing and security. Some of the respondents also revealed that they were forced to work on very difficult jobs and get paid very small amount of wage to survive. This situation was very challenging for those who were at underage stage. Shortage of capital, absence of working place and lack of skill in business appeared to challenge significant number of respondents (18 percent of responses). Although they were trying to do things by themselves, they were facing these big challenges.

Figure 7-2: Surveyed migrants' age range when leaving rural areas and entering cities



Source: Author, based on migrants' survey data

There are also some humanity and social issues, which few of the interviewed migrants brought up. The issues are big enough in terms of influence it may have on the migrants. These people have some values and norms already developed in their mind, day to day life and social interaction while living in rural areas. With a different social setting and structure, the migrants confront with a situation, which they may see as something weird in cities. The way they are also seen in urban areas happens to be disappointing. As a matter of fact, many urban dwellers consider those people who are coming from rural areas traditional (backward) and illiterate. This situation creates a feeling of disrespect and losing of dignity among the rural migrants. Three of the migrants raised this issue as something causing a moral failure, but they live with it because they need income to survive. In addition, two female migrants revealed that because they are young and new to the urban environment, some people tried to abuse and harass them sexually.

Living with these difficult conditions, the migrants struggle to survive and if possible try to improve living conditions. Majority of them seem to accept the situation and deploy different ways to overcome the challenges. Nevertheless, the rural households' survey result showed that there is certain level of knowledge on the problems that the migrants experience. Among the interviewed 100 rural households, 76 of them acknowledged that the migrants might have passed through one or more problems in urban areas. The rural interviewees mentioned joblessness, deteriorating living condition, disease, crime and abuse as some of the major problems the migrants went through.

Table 7-j: Surveyed migrants experienced problems in urban areas¹⁶

Problems	Percent of Cases
Criminal activities	20.4
Health problem	16.7
Accommodation problem	33.3
Lack of capital	11.1
Lack of job	48.1
Bankruptcy in retailing activities	3.7
Losing dignity and respect	5.6
Lack of working place	3.7
Sexual harassment and abuse	3.7

Source: Author, based on migrants' survey data

The knowledge of rural families about the problems of migrants affirmed the extent of communication existing between rural families and migrants. The rural people are aware of the problems in urban areas. The migrants also share information on their situation with rural families. Nevertheless, the migration seems to continue with these all challenges in urban areas because the problems in rural areas tend to outweigh. In discussions with rural people, the majority do not like the increasing migration trend, but when they realize that they have very little option to keep their children from going, they remain in dilemma. The migrants are also determined to overcome the problems and aspire for better situation than returning back to rural areas under the existing situation.

7.8.2. Migration Opportunities

After experienced all the mentioned problems and challenges, most of the surveyed migrants eventually seem to have stable living conditions in cities. Although 51 percent of the interviewed migrants showed interest to return back to rural areas if they are provided with land (see Table 8-a), 60 percent revealed that they have been happy with the jobs they have in cities (see Annex 1.5). The major reasons for their happiness are mainly job opportunity and income. About 40 percent of these respondents believe that they are getting adequate income covering their living costs and enabling them to save some money. Significant proportion of the respondents also like their job because they were able to learn new skills.

¹⁶ Multiple responses were considered

Table 7-k: Surveyed migrants' occupation in cities¹⁷

Occupation	Percent of Cases
Porter	32.9
Daily laborer on a construction site	31.5
Retailer	16.4
Artisan	12.3
Organized and work in cooperatives on car parking and garbage removal	11.0
Shoe polishing and car washing	8.2
Employed in hotels and as domestic workers	6.8
Jobless	5.5
Working in industry	4.1

Source: Author, based on migrants' survey data

As can be seen in Table 7-k, majority of the interviewed migrants have one or more jobs in different sectors and ways. With about 65 percent of the responses showing that migrants were working on daily labor mainly in construction and loading/unloading, which seem to be easily available in urban areas. Retailing of different types of small commodities happened to be an area of engagement capturing about 16 percent of the responses. The retailing activity needs some capital and in few cases working places. The remaining 48 percent of responses indicates that the respondent are engaged in other activities such as artisan (including mason and carpentry), car parking, shoe polishing, car washing and domestic and industry jobs. It was learnt that there are associations/cooperatives providing membership to work on car parking, car washing and garbage removal.

Self-sufficiency was the first ambition that the majority of migrants wished to achieve when they planned to move to urban areas. Lack of land, joblessness, poverty, food insecurity and other factors put them in a situation of frustration and hopelessness in rural areas. To scape these challenges, migration to urban areas became an option. The migrants joined the urban life first with an ambition to help themselves and second if they succeed to help others in rural areas. Hence, their satisfaction starts with availability of job and income, which allow migrants to afford a living in urban areas and eventually to ensure self-sufficiency and ability to support others. As was assessed in section 7.6, the respondents revealed that they were able to send money to support their parents and family members in rural areas. In the traditional context of Ethiopia, children would like to get their parents' blessing by doing something for them because children are responsible to take care of elderly and poor parents. The remittance from migrants to parents

¹⁷ Multiple responses were considered

provides social recognition showing good relationship of children and parents. By doing so, they deserve a respect in the rural social structure and seen as a role model for others.

Migration opportunities could be measured in different ways. In addition to assessing migrants' job occupation, the study compared the relationship between happiness on job and money saving and money sending to family experiences. As can be seen in Annex 1.3, there is a significant level of relationship among these three factors. The happiest in their job tend to save money and send to their families in rural areas. In analysis done in the three variables, it was learnt that 60 percent of the surveyed migrants happened to be happy in their job, 85 percent saved money and 75 percent supported their rural family (see annex 1.3). Happiness is a relative language here because the migrants measure their current situation with a condition if they were not able to migrate to cities. Moreover, when they decided to migrate, their objective was to get job and generate income. With the realization of their objective, it is possible they mention that they are happy.

Table 7-1: Surveyed migrants future plan

Plan of migrants	Percent of Cases
Change occupation	35.9
Expand current activity	18.8
Establish own business	26.6
Invest on fixed assets	29.7
Marry	6.3
Invest in rural area	21.9
Migrate to a foreign country	10.9

Source: Author, based on migrants' survey data

The migrants were asked whether they prefer urban or rural areas for living. The response showed that 77 percent prefer living in urban areas. The migrants justify such high rate of urban preference in relation to job opportunity, better income, development level, infrastructure and service in urban areas. Although the initial motives for migration were mainly job and income, after certain period of time, the migrants started to realize other benefits as well. Many of the respondents explained that if they go back to rural areas, they miss electricity, pure water, better medical service, good roads and even shops of urban areas. They think these are some of the things they enjoyed as an opportunity of rural-urban migration. In addition, there were a general perception that cities are considered as signs of development and highly advancing from rural counterparts. After having this thinking is inoculated in mind, the migrants may not be able to prefer rural areas for living and working.

Having understood the migrants happiness, saving and support to rural family, they were asked about the next step that they are envisioning (see Table 7-1). If these respondents were saving some of their income, they need to have something in mind as a future plan. With 88 percent of the surveyed migrants responding, the majority have one or more plan of moving to the next level with an aim of improving their job, life status and, in few situations, education levels. These people

would like to progress to a kind of job reducing hardship and improving income. Some even have an ambition of running their own business enabling them to create jobs for others, possibly new migrant siblings from rural areas. In about 22 percent of the responses, the migrants indicated that they plan to invest back in rural areas. The objectives of these migrants in investing in rural areas are to support rural families and to create an alternative income source and minimize or distribute risks if the situation changes in urban areas.

Interestingly and differently from the aforementioned objectives, in eleven percent of the cases, migrants plan to migrate to foreign countries like South Africa and Middle-East countries. The rural-urban migration for these people is a strategy to use the cities in Ethiopia as a transit area where they can save money required for visa processing and travel expenses. This plan actually seems to be a big ambition. These kinds of migrants do not send money to rural families; they rather exert all efforts to accumulate the money required for the travel. They think the income in those foreign countries help them to fulfill their dream of becoming self-sufficient and supporting rural family in a short period of time. Some of them may not use the official route to reach these foreign countries because they think getting visa and affording all expenses in the official route may not be affordable. While preferring such an illegal route, few of them only were aware that they are confronting with dangerous situation until they reach the destination. But they are determined to give a try and none of them seem to change their plan.

It is also important to see the opportunities of rural-urban migration from the rural people understanding angle and perspective. The surveyed rural households were provided with a chance to explain the type of benefits they realized from the rural-urban migration. In majority of the cases, only those households having migrants agreed to comment on this point. In a society where transparency is limited to reveal extra income from such sources, getting all actual information may not be expected, but all efforts were exerted to get the closest information as much as possible. In this circumstance, 41 households gave their responses. Of these respondents, 83 percent acknowledged that the rural families are benefiting from rural-urban migration.

Table 7-m: Rural households' perception on benefits of rural-urban migration to rural families

Rural households' perceived benefits	Percent
Remittance increased income of rural families and improved living conditions	36.6
Helped rural families to create assets	7.3
Self-sufficiency of migrants reduced rural families' burden	39.0
Migration has no benefit to the rural family	17.1
Total	100.0

Source: Author, based on rural households' survey data

The response of the rural households did not only take into consideration supports coming from migrants living in cities. About 39 percent of the respondents interestingly looked at the benefit from a different angle (see Table 7-m). For these households, migrants self-sufficiency was a big

thing because it reduced costs of family and burden, which otherwise remain to affect them. With the existing land shortage and absence of other alternatives, rural households could have difficulties to find job for the migrants. These rural households mentioned that if the migrants were not able to migrate, they would have not given them land or ensure any sustainable livelihood sources in rural areas. Their land size is no longer allowing further sub-divisions. Thus, the migration happened to be a relief for these households.

Remittance from migrants is an important benefit resulted from migration that 37 percent of the responded households acknowledged. In a rural area, where landholding size diminishing, population increasing, food insecurity challenging and poverty prevailing, economic support from outside seems to be highly beneficial and very important for daily life. According to these respondents, the money coming from urban areas help to supplement daily expenditures of rural families. This can also be compared with the responses of migrants in Table 7-i, where about 51 percent of the respondents revealed that they send money to rural families to cover part of living costs. Both rural households and migrants adequately addressed in their responses about the support moving from urban to rural areas. Rural-urban migration seems to establish and keep big economic bond between rural and urban areas. The opportunity of rural-urban migration is well recognized in terms of benefit it has been providing to the migrants and rural families.

7.9. Conclusion

The survey in cities reached both female and male migrants of different age groups. With the majority being young, they seem to be from different walks of life having a wide range of education statuses and living conditions. The migrants made decisions for migration after collected and analyzed information about urban areas through different ways. Although there were some people who made migration decision because of good attitude to urban areas, but in the majority of cases it was mainly due to economic problems in rural areas. The problems range from land shortage to food insecurity. The migration could be seasonal and permanent, but the seasonal one seems to lead to a long term migration decision eventually. The migrants left their rural areas in groups and individually with most of them moving to big cities without using small towns and peri-urban areas as transition points.

A wide range of factors pushing migrants towards cities were identified. Most of the factors were found to be economic and related to land. Although relatively less urbanized than the rest of the continent, Ethiopia has experienced increased movement of people from rural to urban areas in recent years. The reasons driving the decision for migration provide an important opportunity to assess related policy issues.

Many of rural households and communities believed that migration is providing job for their children and subsequently they themselves are benefiting from remittances. Government experts and officials were also not able to deny the economic benefits migration has been bringing. With the trend of decreasing access to land and limited other economic opportunities in rural areas, migration to urban areas seem to continue with an increasing rate. The economic benefit, which migration to urban areas brought is also most likely to encourage many of the youth to leave rural areas.

CHAPTER EIGHT : MIGRATION AND LAND POLICY

8.1. Introduction

This chapter examines the relationship between rural-urban migration and the land policy of Ethiopia. Ethiopia's predominantly agricultural economy relies on land as the major factor of production in rural areas. The landholdings of a significant proportion of rural households provide below subsistence livelihood in Ethiopia (Haddis, 2013, based on CSA, 2005-2012). The average holding size will also further decrease if fragmentation continues as a result of inheritance and subdivision. As landholders have very limited options to change occupations, they appear to pursue agricultural activities on existing small plots. Although agricultural production is not sufficient at least to meet their subsistence needs, many farmers choose to not risk losing their land by migrating to urban areas.

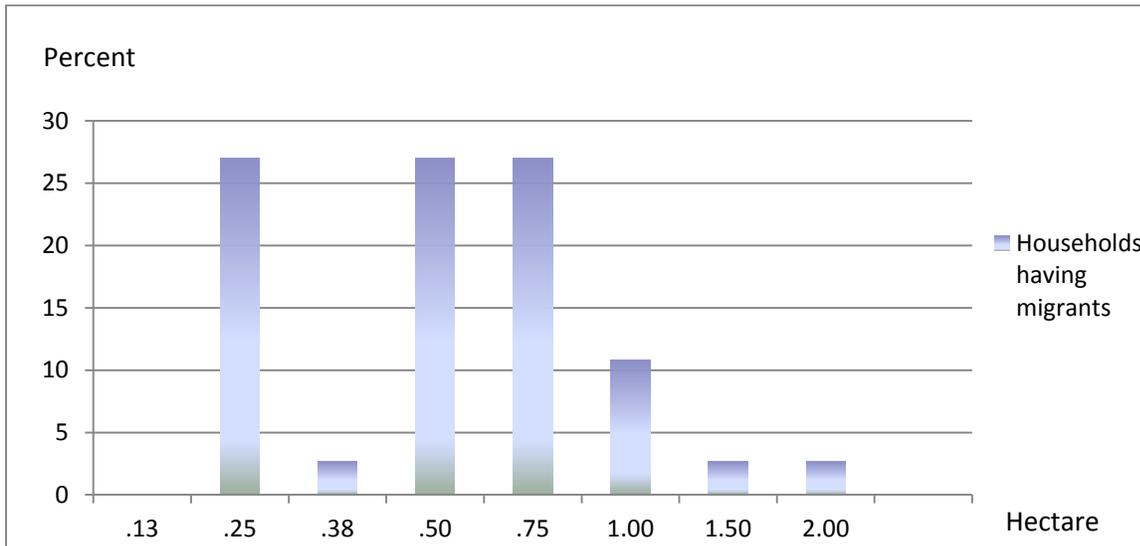
This chapter mainly tests the hypothesis that Ethiopia's land policy influences the dynamics of rural-urban migration in ways unanticipated by the policy. Taking further the analysis, the chapter examines relationship of migration with access to land and tenure security.

8.2. Relationship between Migration and Access to Land

As discussed in chapter seven, the surveyed rural households and migrants mentioned a number of factors of migration with land being the major one. Moreover, most of the other factors also have direct or indirect relations with land. In discussions held with key informants and focus groups, majority believed that shortage of land is the main cause of migration. Government experts and officials also recognized that land shortage has been one of the migration factors. Over 60 percent of the interviewed migrants were found to be from 18 to 25 years age (see Annex 1.2). This age period is the time when most rural youngsters go to marriage and try to lead an independent life. In a rural economy, where over 95 percent of the people depend on agriculture, it is imperative that youth follow same economic path and livelihood option, which requires land to farm.

Significant number of interviewed rural households in *Damot Galie Woreda* believed that many of the migrants fled their area because of land shortage. Strengthening this finding, a study conducted in similar areas of Ethiopia revealed that youth in rural areas cannot get access to land and as a result prefer to migrate to towns (Bezu and Holden, 2013:4). In a situation, about 45 percent of them mentioned that one or more people migrated from a family to cities, in a separate question asking if they have migrants who left rural areas because of land shortage, 39 percent confirmed that the migration cases are directly related to land. Overall, 37 out of 44 households having migrants associated the cases with land. This figure puts the migrants case related to land at 84 percent. On the other hand, a question was posed asking surveyed rural households if they know of any future plan of rural-urban migration because of land shortage among their family members. About 24 percent of the responded households believe that rural-urban migration due to land shortage will happen in the future with one or more of their family members.

Figure 8-1: Proportion of households with different landholding size having migrants

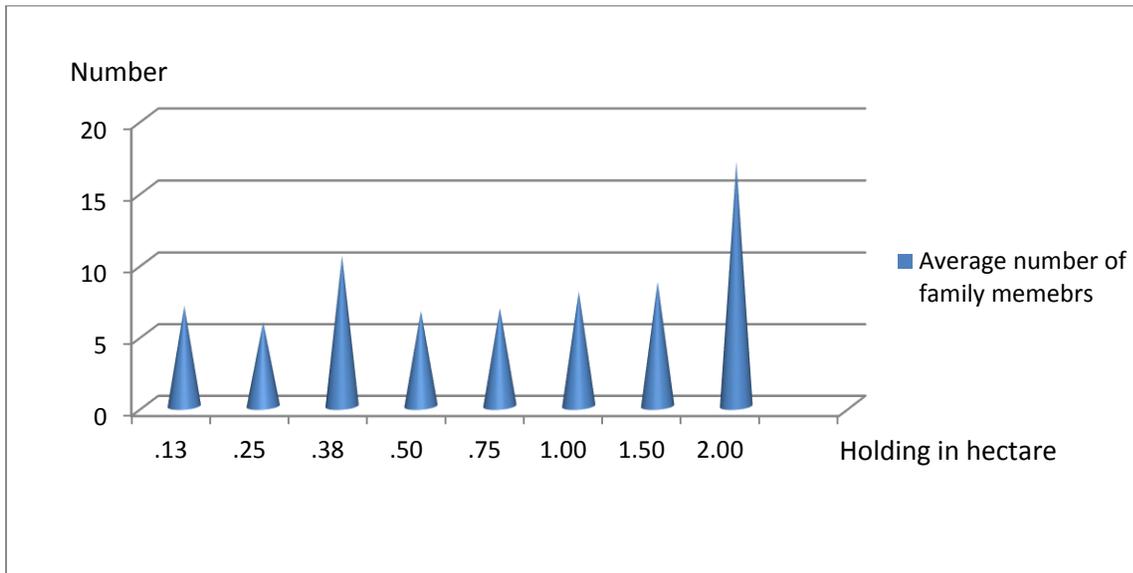


Source: Author, based on rural households' survey data

An analysis was conducted to examine households having migrants based on the size of land they hold. The majority of migrants were found to be from households having 0.25, 0.5 and 0.75 hectares (see Figure 8-1). Those households with 0.13 and 0.38 hectares have no migrants and very small cases of migrants respectively. However, as the number of households captured with 0.13 and 0.38 hectares was only two in each category, among the surveyed households, these categories do not represent a significant proportion of households with migrants. Households with one hectare and above have few migrants, as well. Putting aside other factors, the land holding size alone suggests that most migrants are from small land holders. This impression again leads to the conclusion that shortage of land could push migrants to urban areas.

In addition to examining landholding sizes, it is also interesting to analyze the number of family members per a household. The number of family members depending on the available land also likely explains the extent of problems contributing to migration. As can be seen in Figure 8-2, the average number of family members across all categories of households is above five. According to the data collected from Damot Galie, the number of family members tends to increase with households having larger landholdings, mainly one hectare and above, except households with 0.38 hectare holding. If we overlay the two charts of households of migrants and average family size, we obtain an interesting result: with increasing family size and decreasing landholding, the likelihood of having migrants tends to be high. However, it is still possible to note that the land size has more influence than family size in relation to migration. In other words, more migration was observed with decreasing landholding than increasing family members.

Figure 8-2: Households' number of family members under different categories of landholding size

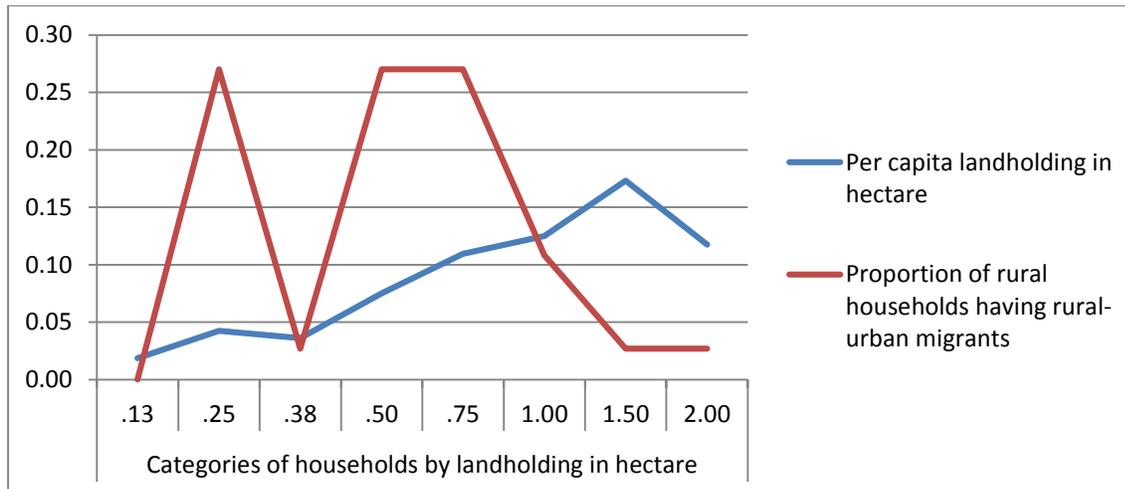


Source: Author, based on rural households' survey data

To examine and prove the relationship between landholding and migration, the data were further analyzed based on per capita holding and percent of households having reported cases of rural-urban migration. The per capita holding was calculated based on land size categories used in the previous analysis. As can be seen in Figure 8-3, per capita landholding inversely correlates with cases of rural-urban migration. In other words, with decreasing size of per capita land holding, the percent of rural-urban migration cases tends to increase (see the correlation test in Annex 1.4). The analyzed data indicates that migration in general and rural-urban migration in particular increases with decreasing access to land. The analysis suggests that the identification of land shortage as the cause of migration by the surveyed rural households and migrants tends to hold true.

According to the Ethiopian Government policy documents, agriculture provides 80 percent of employment in the country's economy (MoFED, 1995:7). With such an agriculture-dominated economy, rural inhabitants require a piece of land to enable them to lead a subsistence lifestyle at least or reliable wage employment opportunities on other farms. The majority of the migrants would have preferred not migrating to urban areas, if there were land to cultivate or any other means of supporting a rural livelihood. As discussed above, most of the reasons cited for migration were associated with land shortages in rural areas. In addition, a question was posed to understand future migration plans in relation to land availability: "Do any of the household members still intend to migrate if they are given adequate farming land?" Out of 65 households who volunteered to entertain this question, 95 percent revealed that they would not plan to migrate if land were available for farming.

Figure 8-3: Per-capita landholding versus percent of rural-urban migrants under the surveyed households in *Damot Galie Woreda*



Source: Author, based on rural households' survey data

The relationship of migration to landholding was examined from a different angle. In addition to identifying causes of migration, the surveyed migrants were asked to know their intention to return back to rural areas if they were given with adequate land to make a leaving on. As can be seen in Table 8-a, where both factors of migration and interest to return with land availability are cross-tabulated, some interesting results were obtained. One may assume that the migrants might have been already used to the urban environment and do not want to go back to rural areas. Nevertheless, 81 percent of those left the rural area because of landlessness would like to return back home if they are provided with land. Among migrants who reasoned out migration as a need for self-sufficiency and to skip poverty, 45 and 61 percent respectively would prefer going back to home if they are sure that they can get land for farming. The responses indicated that these migrants would have not migrated to towns if land was available for them in rural areas. In comparing all the factors of migration and interests of migrants to return back, it was observed that in 51 percent of the total cases migrants would like to return back if land is made available for them.

As the central objective of this research is to explore any relationship between land and migration, further analysis has been conducted using different methodologies. The analysis examined correlations between land holding and migration. As can be seen in Annex 1.4, the first correlation was examined between households' landholding size and migration experiences and plans, whereas the second set tested correlation between per capita-landholding size (households' land divided by family numbers) and migration practices. The correlation tests deployed the Pearson model with 1-tailed curve test. The household level land size versus movement of people tends to show positive correlation, which means the migration cases are also reported in households having average or more landholding. However, better size of landholding may not necessarily show adequacy of the land. Family size is another factor, which needs to be analyzed further. By computing the household level land size with family numbers, size of per-capita land size was calculated. The test between per-capita holding and movement of people showed a negative correlation. With decreasing landholding, the migration case tends to increase.

Table 8-a: Decision for migration and interest to return back home in relation to land availability (cross-tabulation, data rounded)

Factors of decision for migration	Interest to return if land is given in rural areas (percent)	
	No	Yes
Self sufficiency	55	45
To skip poverty	39	61
landlessness	19	81
For education	82	18
Additional income for input	10	90
To learn new skills	100	0
Natural disaster	40	60
To change occupation	50	50
Seeking urban life	100	0
To skip forced marriage	100	0
Total	49	51

Source: Author, based on migrants' survey data

Rural households are now able to predict the occurrence and trend of migration based on the size of land they have. Almost all of the planned migrations were associated with children reaching self-sufficiency age and absence of land to allocate through sub-division or any other means of acquisition. These people might have not been in a position to answer this way if they were asked some years back. They already realized that the rate of migration is increasing and the majority of migration reasons are linked to land. Bezu and Holden (2013:5), in their study covering five different areas, found that 31 percent of the reported migration was from *Wolayita* areas. (Please note that *Damot Galie Woreda* is located in *Wolayita* Administrative Zone.)

While discussing with key informants and focus groups, all put land shortage and population pressure as the first most important factors of migration. All of them understand that if land was available for the growing population number, the migration could have not increased with such an alarming rate. Government experts and officials have never denied the linkage of migration with land availability. All interviews with rural households, discussions with community representatives, experts and officials do not contradict each other in identifying land as the major cause of migration.

The data collection came across an interesting story of a female migrant who came from Tigray Region. Her story was captured and presented here because it has something to show how different

factors could link to migration. This migrant refused to marry a landless and preferred fleeing rural area.

Genet, 19, left a rural area called Samra Seberti at 15 refusing a marriage request to a landless person. Like many parts of rural Ethiopia, early marriage is a traditional and common practice in rural parts of the Tigray Region. Genet was not disappointed with the marriage request, although she would like to go to school, because she understands the social norm and cultural practice, which she would like to abide with particularly not to disappoint her parents. But she started to think her future in terms of livelihood. The person who asked for marriage did not have land enabling them to lead at least a subsistent rural life based on agriculture. Her initial dream and plan was to finish school and get a salaried job in a certain profession. If she fails to manage the education plan, her second alternative was to access land and farm with her future husband. Genet also hoped to get land allocated by local authorities, but she was disappointed with the prevailed bad governance when she saw those parents who bribed authorities getting land allocated for their children and those like hers remaining landless. Genet had two choices; the first one was accepting the marriage request and see what both the landless couples' fortune can bring and the other choice was fleeing the rural environment and try new opportunities in cities. She decided on the later and migrated to Mekele, capital of the region. In a couple of years stay, she understood that life in Mekele was not good for her after experienced abuses and sexual harassment by the head of the household where she was hired as a domestic worker. She decided to travel to Addis Ababa. The life in Addis was also not easy for Genet. Although she continued to face a number of problems including abuses by male employers and sex seekers, she finally coped up with the situation and developed a confidence leading to self-sufficiency. She is now able to send money back home to her parents. According to Genet, the money she is sending demonstrates that her migration was not to disrespect her parents, but to skip poverty, which she would have been in if she was married to the landless person.

8.3. Land Tenure Security and Rural-Urban Migration

8.3.1. Rural Land Use Right and Movement of Rural Residents

Although the Government of Ethiopia owns all land according to the Constitution, rural residents are provided with indefinite period use rights with restricted transferability. According to the federal and regional land laws, land users can bequeath and rent out their holdings under certain conditions (Haddis, 2013). Except in the Amhara Region, most of the regions limit the land size and time permitted for renting. Rural landholders also risk losing their land to redistribution or expropriation if they do not actively cultivate it. In other words, landholders cannot lease out and stay away from their holdings. As a result, although those people with small landholdings do not wish to depend entirely on agriculture, they are loath to abandon their holding to try non-farming activities in urban areas for fear of losing their land.

The rural respondents in the survey were asked: “Does anyone migrate if he/she is allowed to sell or rent his/her land for a longer time?” The response was something unexpected. Given land shortage being the major cause of migration, one may expect that majority of the rural households would say “Yes”; but the result apparently was “No” by 97 percent. In other words, respondents felt that if a land rental market were allowed to function, migration would not be necessary.

While analyzing this response, it was necessary to examine things in relation to circumstances of the area. In discussions with key informants and focus groups, the participants hinted the need to improve tenure security allowing improved land transfers. However, there was cautiousness observed in both household and group discussions to not collide with government’s policy to migration. With government officials considering rural-urban migration as something unnecessary practice, the respondents did not want to relate improved tenure security to rural-urban migration. In a different question that the surveyed households were asked whether they support rural-urban migration, 80 percent said “No”. Given this situation, it may not be surprising that respondents did not want to link improved lease periods to decisions for migration.

8.3.2. Landholding and Management during Pre- and Post-Migration

The survey instrument deployed additional questions triangulating migrants’ land related reasons. The first attempt was to ask them if they had or have land in rural areas in one way or the other. As can be seen in Table 8-b, about 73 percent claimed that they have never possessed land. But the rest 27 percent either had before or still do have land in rural areas. This situation may lead to an interpretation that land availability alone cannot be a sufficient factor to deter migration. In the majority of the cases, those still possessing land in rural areas were forced to migrate because the available land was not sufficient to cover food and other basic necessities for their own and family members throughout a year.

Table 8-b: Migrants’ landholding in rural areas

Landholding status	Percent
No, I never have	72.6
Yes, I had, but do not have now	8.2
Yes, I still do have	19.2
Total	100.0

Source: Author, based on migrants’ survey data

It was also important to ask the reasons why the majority of the migrants were not able to access land. The migrants mentioned a number of different factors, which they thought were important in their context (see Table 8-c). Only in eight percent of the cases that the respondents did not have access to land because of lack of interest to hold a farming land or ineligibility because of age and status (example, students). About 87 percent of the cases revealed that land is available through

two major ways – either through land allocation by local authorities or inheritance/sub-division from parents, although these two ways of land transfers did not work for them. While in 39 percent of responses, migrants believed that their parents did not have land to inherit or sub-divide, in 19 percent of cases, they blamed local authorities for not allocating land. Interestingly, in 29 percent of responses, migrants who mainly came from *Wolayita* area revealed that land inheritance from parents cannot happen if they are alive, whereas in 40 percent of cases, migrants left their area before reaching 18 years age, which does not allow claiming land. Overall, the migrants were unable to access land because of land shortage, governance, and cultural issues.

Although observed cases were few, exploring ways which migrants used to dispose their land in rural areas would help to understand land transfer mechanisms deployed in both formal and informal systems. Among six respondents having land in rural areas, 50 percent transferred to family members. In majority of the cases, the laws support such land transfers among family members. Nevertheless, there are other cases, which seem to deviate from the official transaction systems. For example, 25 percent of the respondents revealed that they leased out their holdings on a long term arrangement. These migrants came from the Southern Region, where land leasing is allowed only for part of a holding and for a maximum of three years. These migrants obviously seem to use the informal land transaction market. In contrast, a migrant from the same region mentioned that his holding was confiscated by local authorities because of his absence.

Table 8-c: Migrants’ reasons for not holding land in rural areas¹⁸

Reasons for not possessing land	Percent of Cases
No allocation of land	19.2
Parents don’t have land to inherit	38.5
Did not want to hold land	3.8
Underage to inherit or claim land	40.4
Cannot inherit from alive parents	28.8
Student	3.8
Gender bias	1.9

Source: Author, based on migrants’ survey data

Among the surveyed migrants, initially 14 respondents revealed that they have land in rural areas, but later the number turned to 19 when they were asked how they are managing available land in rural areas. However, five of these additional respondents tend to not claim ownership of the land they possess because they think their partners are responsible in terms ownership although they are involved in the land management in one way or the other. In addition, there is obviously a suspicion that if they claim ownership, they may risk confiscation of their land because of their

¹⁸ Multiple responses were considered

absence. Hence, posing questions in different ways happened to be important to get closer to the reality while collecting data.

As can be seen in Table 8-d, about 42 percent of the cases show that respondents have direct control on their land. These kinds of migrants come to urban areas on a seasonal basis. They have two major reasons for their migration to urban area. First of all, the land they own is smaller in size and poor in fertility. The second point is that this small plot of land cannot keep them busy throughout the year. They need to use slack seasons to generate additional income in urban areas to buy inputs and fill food gap and other basic necessities. These seasonal migrants seem to use migration as a coping strategy to efficiently use their time. Moreover, some of them rent-in additional plots in rural areas using the money collected from urban jobs. These people have very close relationship with their rural families and do not see urban life as their final target.

Table 8-d: Rural landholder migrants' ways of land management (multiple responses)

Migrants' rural land management	Percent of Cases
Relatives are managing on behalf of the migrants	42.1
Contracted out for share cropping	5.3
Spouses are managing the land	47.4
The migrant visits and work on the land seasonally	42.1

Source: Author, based on migrants' survey

The other 47 percent of responses represent those migrants who still have some control on rural land, but their spouses seem to take the overall management responsibility. These types of migrants pay visits to rural areas once or twice a year. The objective of keeping partners on the land seems to be of twofold: to ensure land ownership and to distribute economic risks and opportunities in both rural and urban areas. These migrants will take some years to decide their family to live with them in urban areas. In general, in both the seasonal and the second types of migrants, land has a lot to do with their connection to rural areas. In both cases, having rural partners or families is a mechanism to ensure continuity of land ownership although both the migrants and their families suffer separation.

8.4. Land Policy Implications in Migration

For quite some time, the argument of government in favor of restrictions on land sales revolved around the risks of unplanned or distress migration of the rural poor. On the other hand, criticism against this policy cited issues related to increased land fragmentation, limited transferability of rights and infringed property rights. The Government of Ethiopia has been defending the country's land policy in two ways. The first argument is that if sale of land is allowed, investors would buy land from densely populated highland areas and may cause displacement of people because these investors would use improved technologies without taking into account the availability of labor.

The second argument, if the investors were to buy land and depend on local labor, there would not be an added value in the agriculture sector development (MOFED, 1995:24).

The above arguments of the Ethiopian Government can be summarized in such a way that if land sale is allowed, farmers would sell their holdings and be exposed to mass-scale rural-urban migration without sufficient supply of urban services and employment. The Government policy documents also argue that grabbing of the land of the majority poor by a few wealthy investors would discourage rural people from investing their labor in agriculture, and this would lead to loss of labor, which is the most important resource of the country (MOI, 2001:66-75). Those criticizing this assumption argue that farmers have adequate knowledge about the importance of land for their livelihood. However, if they want to dispose of their property, it should be seen as the right of every land holder to make decisions based on their own needs.

Given the geopolitical and socioeconomic context of the country, the Government of Ethiopia may not be expected to introduce a private ownership land tenure system allowing sale of land to happen any time soon. Nevertheless, in the absence of such free holding rights, removing onerous restrictions on land rental markets could significantly alleviate many of the problems identified in this study. The argument brought up to restrict leasing of land to investors in the highlands of Ethiopia would probably need periodic revisit. Although the plan to efficiently use available labor is valid, land transfer to investors has to be seen in its multifaceted benefits. With new investment, the agriculture sector would allow flourishing of agro-processing industries absorbing the rural labor force and linking of small scale farmers to a viable value chain.

The use right is viewed as broadly sufficient because it is not subject to a time limit, unlike other countries where the state owns all land, such as China and Vietnam. This unlimited-term use right is a source of comfort for rural farmers because they know that they can use their holdings for life, assuming that no redistribution or expropriation happens. They also understand that their use right can be inherited by their heirs. Nevertheless, as discussed earlier, the vested use right is subject to restrictions related to land transactions and transfers.

The argument in favor of public ownership and against migration was not able to predict the growing pressure on existing land with increasing population number. In a situation where land is only typically transferred through inheritance or gifts, youth can only access land through inheritance, sub-division, or land allocation from local authorities. As such, the public land ownership policy can only prevent migration if sufficient land is available to accommodate growing demand. Given population pressure and the resulting decline in landholding sizes, distress migration will ultimately be inevitable. As the number of people becoming landless or unable to access a sufficient size of land is escalating, it is most likely that migration will continue to be an increasingly attractive alternative for the poor.

Surveyed rural households were asked about the relationship between the existing land policy and migration. About 68 percent believe that the land policy discourages urban migration because any person who has any size of land will have difficult time to decide for migration. The decision for migration may lead to lose of holdings. On the contrary, 29 percent of the respondents think that the land policy encourages migration. These people seem to think that restrictions on land transfers pushed the landless to see other options in urban areas because they were not able to acquire land. The difference in view of relating land policy with migration in both categories of the respondents

depends the way they measured the outcome of the land policy. The first category saw the land policy in its entire intention and restrictions of land transfers, while the second category saw the end results, which eventually lead to migration. The bottom line here is that 97 percent of the respondents thought that the land policy has something to do with migration.

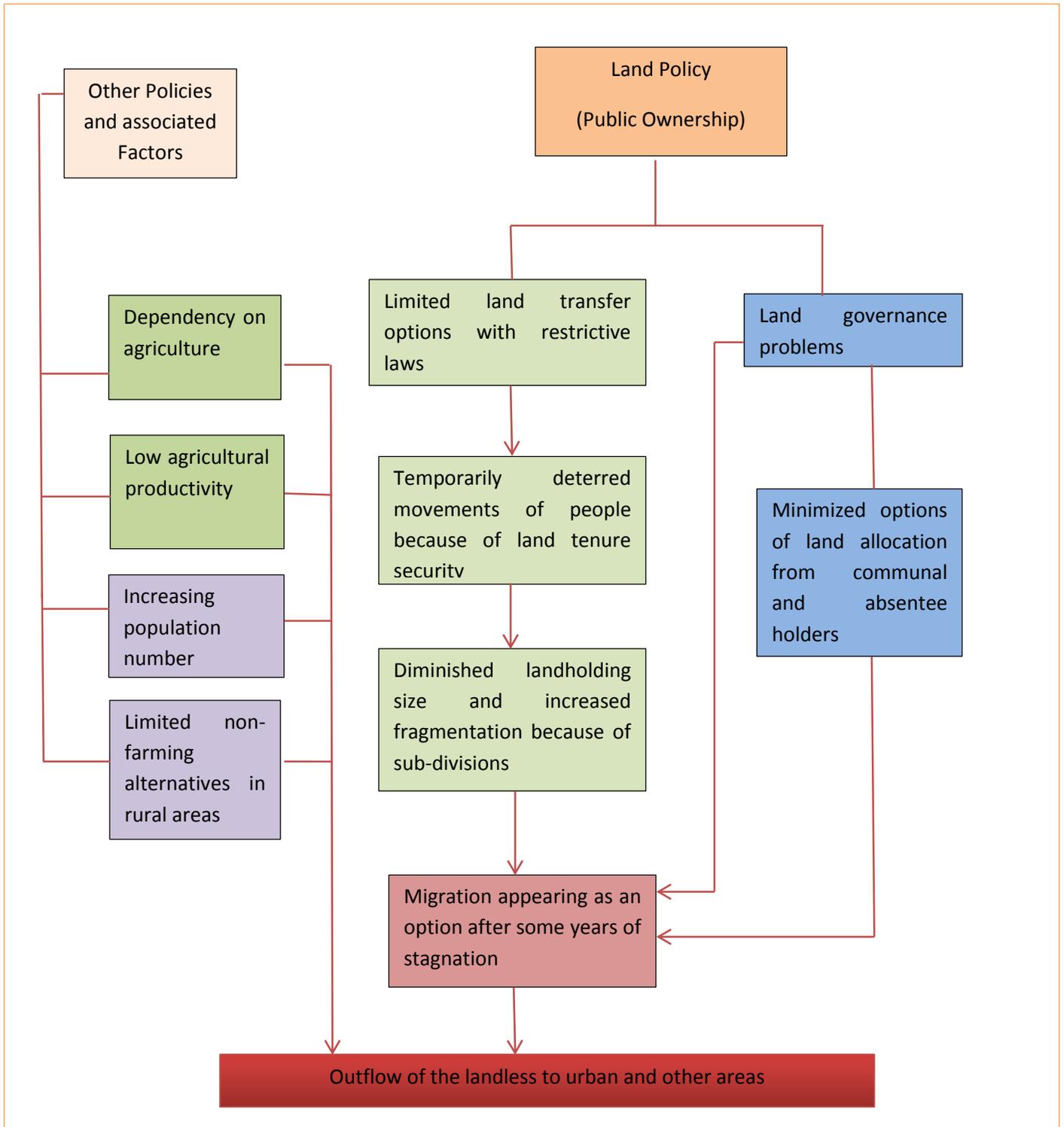
Table 8-e: Rural households’ perceptions of land policy and migration

Responses	Percent
Discourages urban migration	68.0
Encourages urban migration	29.0
Has nothing to do with migration	3.0
Total	100.0

Source: Author, based on rural households’ survey data

Government experts and officials who were contacted in *Damot Galie Woreda, Wolayita Zone* and Southern Region defended the existing land policy. Although they associated land shortage as the major reasons of migration in earlier discussions, they did not want to blame the land policy for such a shortage of land and increased migration. They believed that the policy provided adequate security protecting farmers’ rights and enabling them to exercise land transfers including renting out. Hence, according to them, migration has nothing to do with policy issues; rather it is a natural process and occurring due to increasing aspiration for urban life. They tend to admit that lack of infrastructure in rural areas might have limited efforts to promote non-farming activities. Apparently some experts mentioned that improved land transfer rights might have contributed to increased migration because some rural people may prefer to lease out what they have and engage themselves in other activities mainly in urban areas. The discussions with these experts and officials show that there is still a strong belief that the land policy is favoring rural people and not causing unprecedented migration effects.

Figure 8-4: Linkage between land policy and migration



Source: Author

Nevertheless, the aim of this research is not to discourage migration trends, rather it is to examine the relationship between land policy and migration. If the impact of the land policy on migration is rightly perceived, policy makers could make decisions, which respond to the need of the people and suites to the comprehensive development policy of the country. With this perspective, discussions were held with policy makers at different levels and researchers and practitioners involved in the land administration sector. Policy makers at federal level did not want to ignore totally the relationship between land policy and migration, but they did think lack of good governance could happen to be the major bottleneck affecting fair distribution of available land and other natural resources. According to the federal level government people, the restrictions in land transactions could be admitted as problems to be addressed. However, harmonization of regional land laws could take longer time given land administration responsibilities are devolved to regional states.

Senior researchers in land policy argue that the existing land policy forced the rural people to stay in rural areas because they were not able to transfer their holdings. Nevertheless, according to these researchers, the increasing poverty prevalence and diminishing land resources led to unplanned migration at the end. If the land policy was allowing free transfer of land, rural people could have tried other alternatives using the capital generated from land transaction. The researchers see the current rural-urban migration status as the beginning of worsening situation. With limited options in rural areas, the landless and the poor will continue migrating desperately.

Taking into consideration all the situation and experts' analysis, it is possible to come up with a model, which maps the relationship and dynamics between migration and land policy (see Figure 8-4. Although land policy and its derivative laws and implementation issues appear to affect movement of people from rural areas, the model captures other policy factors, which also have some level of influence on migration of rural people. The model does neither intend to justify the land policy as the only causing factor of migration, nor does see migration as a problem to be tackled. Rather the model shows the relationships and associations among these different factors and the importance of considering the linkage while attempting to make policy decisions in one way or the other.

8.5. Conclusion

In a rural economy, where about the majority of people rely on agriculture; land happens to be the most important factor of production. The migrants had to access land if they want to pursue agricultural activities to support themselves and become self-reliant. With increasing population pressure and decreasing productivity of the traditional farming system, the rural economy does not seem to provide adequate job and income opportunities. All contacted communities, government experts and officials did not disagree with the diminishing size of land holdings, but were found to have different perceptions and views on the reasons of land shortage and migration. Government employed experts and officials working in the study woreda, Wolyita Zone and the Southern Region did not want to establish a cause-effect relationship between land policy and migration. Some of them tend to argue that migration is not a manifestation of problems in land policy; rather it is an attitude towards urban life. On the contrary, some government officials and all independent researchers recognized rural-urban migration as a result of low developments and land policy related issues in rural areas.

This research did not plan to prove that rural-urban migration is a bad practice or not, but aimed at exploring the causes and identifying if there is any relation with the land policy. The collected data and further analysis proved that majority of the migration cases were related to access to land. Those people who were arguing in favor of the Government of Ethiopia's land policy had a strong belief that the land tenure system helped to contend unnecessary migration to cities. However, none of the contacted experts and officials wanted to comment on this point, but some of them still argued that rural-urban migration was mainly caused due to attitude problem although they could not deny the existing shortage of land. The paradox here was that while they were agreeing on the diminishing size of landholding, they tended to blame migration as a threat moving out the productive force from the agriculture sector. If land availability is decreasing, how these people were able to attach the migrants to land and engage in the agricultural sector. There seems to be a mix of political will and professional judgments while commenting on such issues. Overall, discussions with rural households, migrants, key informants and focus groups clearly indicated that the increasing rural-urban migration is related to land in one way or the other. The correlation tests also tend to show an inverse relationship between decreasing land size and increasing migration cases. With these results, it is possible to prove that the hypothesis below holds true:

Hypothesis 1: Ethiopia's land policy influences the dynamics of rural-urban migration in ways unanticipated by the policy.

The land policy of the country is believed to influence rural-urban migration trends in Ethiopia. Although the policy provides use rights to the rural people for an indefinite period of time, regional states' laws restrict the transfer of these rights. The alarmingly diminishing holding is mainly a result of continued practice of sub-division of already small landholdings. The resulting shortage of land is preventing youth from pursuing agricultural activities. Most of the interviewed rural households of Damot Galie that include migrants hold the smallest land areas per capita.

CHAPTER NINE : RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION IN THE CONTEXT OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT

“... it is essential to eradicate poverty and to improve living conditions as well as to create employment and educational opportunities in rural settlements and small and medium-sized cities and towns in rural areas.” (UNGA, 2001, quoted in Magel, 2001)

“It is necessary, after a period of neglect to bring back rural development to the center of the development agenda, noting that the world’s rural areas are where the needs are greatest and the suffering most acute.” (Secretary General of the UN, 2003, quoted in Magel, 2013)

9.1. Introduction

The findings in this chapter show the relationship of migration with rural development efforts in Ethiopia. Despite the diminishing farming land size and increasing population pressure, the agriculture sector has continued to heavily dominate the rural economy. There are very limited attempts being made to diversify the rural economy. Lack of capital and skill remained constraining factors to promote non-agricultural activities. The Country’s agriculture led development policy gave a high level of emphasis to the agriculture sector. Nevertheless, the available land is not providing sufficient means of livelihood to the growing rural population.

On the one hand, the rural areas have been deprived of infrastructure like road, market, power, communication and skill development institutions. On the other hand, better job opportunities and income appear to give attractive picture to urban areas. This situation paves ways for rural-urban migration. Deteriorating living conditions in rural areas happen to be factors influencing decisions in favor of migration.

9.2. Rural Development Policies and Strategies

The Ethiopian rural development policy targets the agriculture sector. Taking into account the tremendous amount of available labor and land, the Government believes that the enhancement and acceleration of the agricultural sector growth serves as a great foundation for the improvement of the entire economy (MOFED, 1995:10). The rural development policy assumes that accelerated agricultural growth could spur growth in the service and industrial sectors. The rural development policy also theorizes that development in agriculture improves consumption behavior and consequently helps to promote trade. With this theory, the policy envisaged enhanced demand for services and goods, which the non-agriculture sector could eventually provide (ibid.).

Although the policy’s intent to favor the agriculture sector based on available resources and practices is legitimate, it tend to overestimate the contribution of smallholder agriculture in spurring growth and underestimate the importance of non-agriculture activities in the rural economy. The growth of the agriculture sector could be supported by growth of other sectors as well. Policy and technical supports to the agriculture sector could have been orchestrated in a way

that the other sectors to play significant role in creating demand for agricultural products and providing the necessary technology and capacity to improve agricultural productivity. The rural development policy of Ethiopia recognizes the need to improve trade and industry to sustain growth and income from the agriculture sector (MOFED, 1995:8). The Ethiopian Ministry of Information published rural development policy document also acknowledges the importance of non-agricultural sectors like social, market and financial services to support the agriculture sector (MOI, 2001: 236-237). However, both MOFED and MOI documents do not provide adequate details of strategies to support non-agriculture sectors along with the agricultural sector in rural areas.

With such a heavily agriculture-based rural development policy; the non-agriculture sectors appeared to receive little attention. Certainly the non-agriculture sectors require some level of capital and skill. The advantage of promoting the agriculture sector over the non-agriculture sector stems from an understanding that new capital needed to promote agricultural activities is not big. Two of the major production factors – land and labor – are already available. If technical support is provided and farmers are encouraged to invest what they have, it is easier to mobilize growth in the agriculture sector compared to other sectors of the economy. The question here is that with traditional agricultural practices and other uncontrolled factors, such as population increase and land size reduction, how long the agricultural sector can provide the basic livelihood source before the labor force is transformed into other sectors.

Key informants and focus groups in *Damot Galie Woreda* identified capital and skills as the major required factors to engage in the non-agriculture sector. In addition, among the interviewed households, 28 percent mentioned shortage of capital and 45 percent lack of skill as impediments to participate in the non-agricultural sectors. According to those surveyed in *Damot Galie*, many youth are interested to work in trade, handy crafts, and small businesses, but they do not have the capital to invest. Those who hold small plots of land cannot lease out their land and earn money, nor can they mortgage their land to access credit from banks and financial institutions. If the land policy enabled long-term leasing or mortgaging of land use rights, landholders could use the money earned to acquire new skills and capital in order to engage in other suitable businesses.

The rural development policy of Ethiopia assumes that the rapid growth of the agriculture sector leads to industrial and service sectors development, enabling labor moves from agriculture to non-agriculture sectors. The rural development policy also expected that movement of labor from agricultural to non-agriculture sectors would leave the remaining land available for use by farmers staying in the agricultural sector and to scale up production (MOFED, 1995).

Ethiopia's Growth and Transformation Plan (GTP), which was launched in 2010 as a five-year development plan, still includes a strategy of supporting smallholder agriculture to spur growth in the sector (MOFED, 2010:45). The GTP envisages promoting commercialization of the dominant small-scale farming system. The GTP aims to make agriculture a spring board toward an industrialized economy. Although the GTP seems to carry on the objectives of the agriculture and rural development policy and its predecessor documents, such as the Sustainable Development and Poverty Reduction Program (SDPRP) (MOFED, 2002) and Plan for Accelerated and Sustained Development to End Poverty (PASDEP) (MOFED, 2006), it was found to be progressive in indicating a plan to transform the economy from agriculture to industry. The GTP mentions the

need to enhance micro and small enterprises with urban expansion to support the development of the industrial sector.

Nevertheless, the GTP has not provided a clear strategy on how to support the landless and drop outs from agriculture, nor has it adequately described a plan for promoting non-agricultural activities in rural areas. Although the plan to transform the agriculture based economy into an industrialized economy seems to be appropriate, the industries to be established would most probably be located in urban areas. In this context, the transformation or diversification of the rural economy may lag behind and be unable to compete with urban areas. The development and expansion of urban areas through the service and industrial sectors would thus continue to attract rural youth, who remained with limited livelihood opportunities as a result of land shortages and undiversified economic activities in rural areas.

9.3. Existing Non-Farming Experiences in Rural Areas

In *Damot Galie woreda*, key informants and focus groups mentioned that their experience in non-farming activities is minimal, and any such experience was largely limited to petty trading. The predominantly agriculture-based livelihood and production system has allowed very limited exposure to non-farming activities. For most of the people, it has been very difficult to engage in non-farming activities mainly because of lack of experience and skill. With the absence of non-agriculture practices to learn from, the majority of rural people cannot envision trying other activities as alternative income generating opportunities.

Table 9-a: Job of surveyed heads of rural households¹⁹

Job of heads of the surveyed rural households	Percent of Cases
Farming	98.0%
Artisan	1.0%
Agriculture laborer	1.0%
Non-Agriculture laborer	2.0%
Retailer	11.0%
Government employee	1.0%

Source: Author, based on rural households' survey data

Among the interviewed households, not surprisingly, 98 percent of the heads of the households were found to work in agriculture (see Table 9-a). Those heads of households that work in other sectors in addition to their regular farming activities have tried other activities, like retailing of crops, to complement their agricultural livelihood because the income from agriculture was not adequate to cover their food and other essential expenses. Given the familiarity of respondents

¹⁹ Multiple responses were considered

with agricultural products, retailing of grains is likely to be the most convenient non-agricultural activity. They can easily identify the type of crops to buy from farmers and resell it or use it for daily consumption.

The survey attempted to capture the level of engagement of rural household members in non-agricultural activities. With a 62 percent of response rate, it was found that the majority of the respondents have one or more family members engaged in non-agricultural activities. As can be seen in Table 9-b, in about 84 percent of the cases, members of rural households have been participating in retailing activities. Nearly 13 percent of the respondents indicated engagement of one or more family members in salaried employment. With this figure, it is possible to strengthen the aforementioned finding that as many non-agricultural activities, such as salaried employment, requires special skills and education in most of the cases, a considerable number of the contacted households have family members engaged in retailing and other non-agricultural activities that do not require special skills and big capital.

Table 9-b: Household members' engagement in non-agricultural activities²⁰

Type of non-agriculture activities	Percent of Cases
Artisan	3.2%
Construction labor	4.8%
Retailing	83.9%
Religious service	3.2%
Salaried employment	12.9%

Source: Author, based on rural households' survey

Although the engagement of respondents in non-farming activities is not negligible, the proportion of economic output is noticeably smaller than in agricultural sector. If analyzed further, the situation gives an indication of the relationship with landholdings as well. Especially having observed these non-farming activities are managed in conjunction with agriculture, it is interesting to note the landholding size of these households. As can be seen in Table 9-c, all heads of households working in non-agricultural activities, except government employees, hold 0.5 hectare or less. Of these households, the majority hold only 0.25 hectare. The landholding size of these people shows that the engagement in non-agricultural activities is associated with shortage of land. With a diminishing landholding size, the need to engage in non-agricultural activities is more likely to increase.

To triangulate the result of the analysis with the relationship of landholding and non-farming activities, retailing was also examined. As Figure 9-1 shows, a significant number of households have members engaged in petty trading. With the majority of these households holding less than 0.75 hectare of land, 100 percent of those having 0.13 and 0.38 hectares were engaged in retailing activities. Roughly 60 percent of households with 0.25 and 0.5 hectare have family members

²⁰ Multiple responses were considered

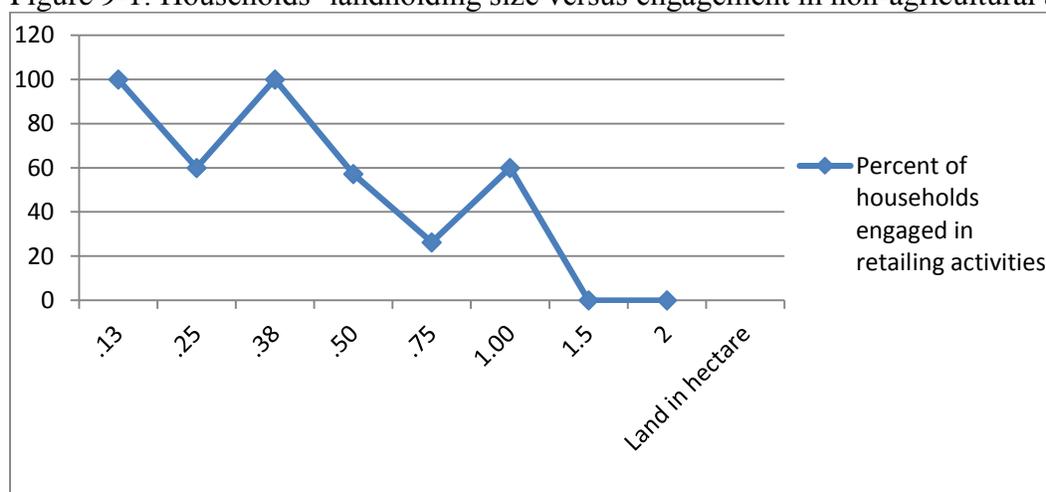
working in petty trade. Based on this result, it is possible to infer that with decreasing size of landholding, rural households try non-farming activities such as petty trading that are relatively easier to manage and affordable with available capital and skills.

Table 9-c: Non-farming activities versus landholding size

Job of household heads	Land size in hectare
Artisan	0.25
Agriculture laborer	0.25
Non-Agriculture laborer	0.25
Retailer	0.13 - 0.5
Government employee	1.5

Source: Author, based on rural households' survey data

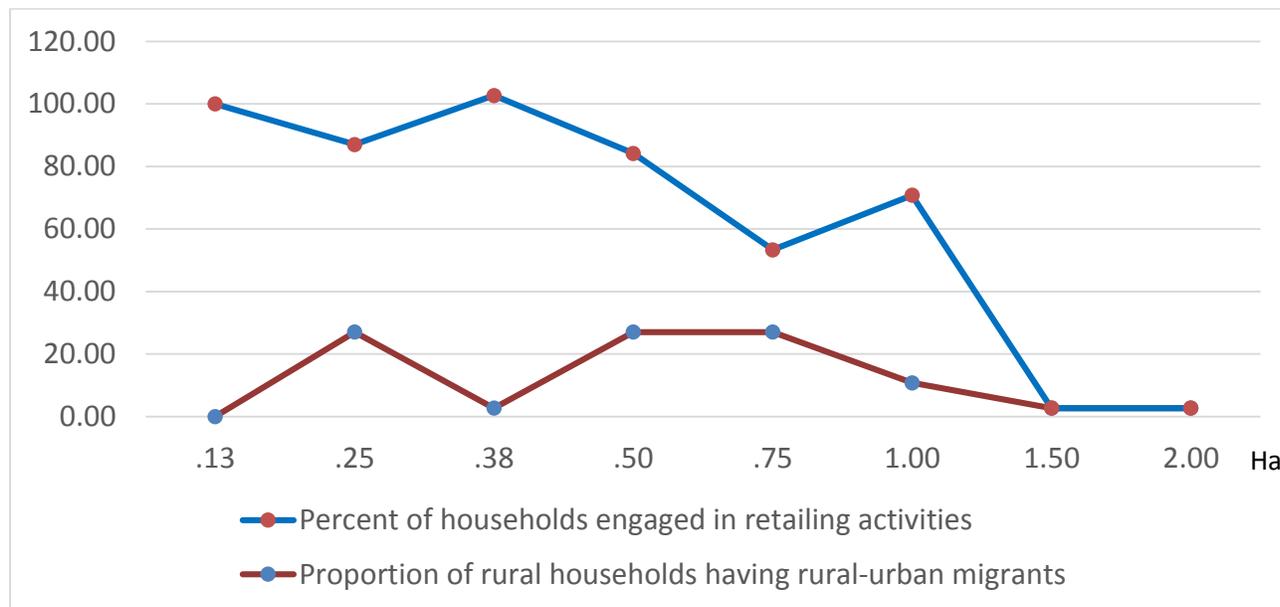
Figure 9-1: Households' landholding size versus engagement in non-agricultural activities



Source: Author based on rural households' survey

Figure 9-1 provides an interesting result if it is compared with migration cases in Figure 8-3. Households with proportion of households with 0.13 and 0.38 hectares did not report significant number of migration cases. However, these households reported high level of engagement in retailing activities. When the two charts are overlaid (see Figure 9-2), it is possible to observe that the land shortage problem resulted in different measure. Those households having small number of migration cases tend to have family members engaging in retailing activities and vice versa. It is also possible to draw a conclusion from this situation that if rural households find an option to engage in non-farming activities, they probably less likely to choose migration as a major option.

Figure 9-2: Households' landholding size, migration case and engagement in non-agricultural/retailing activities



Source: Author based on rural households' survey

9.4. Opportunities and Challenges in Promoting Non-farming Activities

9.4.1. Opportunities for Non-farming Activities in Rural Areas

As discussed in previous sections, retailing was found to be the most practiced activity in *Damot Galie woreda*. Given the circumstances in rural areas, retailing is likely to become the easiest activity that rural people can successfully pursue with small startup capital and simple price comparison knowledge. Women, students and in some cases male household heads use their down time to buy grains from one area and sell in another area. This practical situation suggests that those with small landholdings have already been forced to try non-farming activities. Their engagement in non-farming activities suggests there is a growing need to augment agricultural income with other non-agricultural income sources. This can be used as a major opportunity to build the momentum needed to effectively promote non-farming activities. Although the current areas of non-farm engagement are limited to certain categories, mainly retailing, rural people have already understood the importance of exploring other livelihood options in addition to farming.

The need to work in diversified activities developed as a result of deteriorating living conditions following shortage of land and increasing number of dependents per unit of land. Among 97 households who chose to answer to the question: “Do you think there are adequate non-farming activities in your area?” over 60 percent said “No”. The majority of the interviewed households agreed that the existing non-farming activities were inadequate. This can be taken as a good

indication that the understanding level of rural dwellers and the demand for non-farming activities have been increasing.

One may ask that in a situation where land is increasingly becoming a very scarce resource, how people can access space for non-farming activities. Most of the non-agricultural activities practiced in the area require a very small working place. In rural areas of *Damot Galie*, there are open areas traditionally reserved for common market and social events. These places are free to use for selling or buying any tradable commodities and services. In addition to retailing, the open markets are suitable for various types of other activities, such as cloth stitching, hair cutting, and goods repairing. Any interested person can use these open markets to carry out the mentioned and other suitable activities and exchange goods and services.

In sum, the growing interest of rural people in non-farming activities as a result of weakening livelihood opportunities in agriculture should be seen as an opportunity. The prevalence of the problem itself has already facilitated a transition from agriculture to non-agricultural sectors. In addition, compared to agricultural activities, the land requirements of the non-farming sector are rather small and manageable given available private and communal holdings.

9.4.2. Challenges of the Non-farming Sectors in Rural Areas

There remain several constraints to be addressed in rural areas. The rural people interviewed in *Damot Galie* acknowledged some of the problems preventing them from trying non-agricultural activities. Shortage of skills and capital are the most important determining factors affecting the engagement of those interested in non-agricultural activities. According to key informants and focus groups, youth could work in different sectors if trainings were provided on skills development and financial intuitions were able to lend money without collateral and other preconditions. However, they do not think these two major factors can be easily fulfilled to engage youth in non-farming activities.

The surveyed rural areas in *Damot Galie woreda* have access to elementary education and junior schools. The communities are also relatively consistent in sending their children at least to elementary schools. However, the ambition in mind of the majority of respondents in sending children to schools has been preparing their children to access employment opportunities in government institutions. The role models for most respondents are local civil servants, such as teachers, health workers, agriculture officers, development agents, and administrators. A question was posed to surveyed rural households with regard to the kind of job they plan for their children if land is not available for farming. Roughly 71 percent hoped that their children will obtain government employment if they educate them. This demonstrates that the mentality of the rural households in sending children to school is very much linked to accessing salaried employment opportunities, rather than planning to engage them in farming or any other activities.

If there were technical and vocational centers providing skills development training in the area, rural households may also learn about other employment opportunities. As a result of policy priorities in the agriculture sector, a number of development agents have been assigned to provide agricultural extension services in the sector. If a similar model were used to promote non-

agricultural activities, it is possible that rural people could learn other valuable skills. In addition, such supports from the Government, with assigning of technical people like extension agents, can be expanded to market linkage and input supply activities.

The shift from agricultural to non-agricultural activities is not expected to be easy. Those planning to move to non-agricultural sectors will need a source for a startup capital given their limited access to assets and cash as a result of weak or no performance in the agriculture sector. According to the rural communities in *Damot Galie woreda*, most available micro-finance institutions lend money to activities related to agriculture. Because the poor lack assets to use as collateral (and the land policy explicitly prohibits collateralizing land), micro-finance institutions allocate credit to farmers in groups. If potential customers want to work in other sectors, they must convince lenders about the business plans for their new activities and also organize themselves in groups. In this environment, evidence suggests that customers may be unable to access credit. Among the surveyed households, none mentioned that they had obtained credit for non-agricultural activities.

Weak infrastructure remains another challenge in promoting activities of non-agricultural sectors. The surveyed rural areas in *Damot Galie woreda* had no access to electricity or power during data collection. Some participants in the focus group discussions raised lack of power as a key factor hindering their attempts to engage, for instance, in wood and metal working. Given the growing demand for furniture in wealthier families, wood and metal products could have a good market if produced locally. Such rural households must instead go to towns to buy wood and metal furniture. The lack of clean water also affects rural dwellers' involvement in other activities, like baking. Although the surveyed areas have basic road access, there is still a need to expand existing roads to supply products and buy inputs at a competitive price.

9.5. Rural Non-farming Activities versus Rural-Urban Migration

The engagement of a significant proportion of the rural poor in retailing activities indicates the need to diversify activities and income sources beyond agricultural activities. However, some of the major factors required, like capital and skills, were not readily available to help rural dwellers shift to other sectors in response to the decreasing reliability of agriculture as a result of land shortages. Among the interviewed rural households in *Damot Galie*, roughly 60 percent did not think that there were adequate non-farming activities to change their occupation or diversify economic activities in rural areas.

Among the contacted urban migrants, about 14 percent did not have a job, and 36 percent were students before they left their rural areas. The other 43 and eight percent were engaged in farming and retailing activities respectively. According to these migrants, they could not afford to stay without job or any kind of reliable income source in rural areas. In a situation where only eight percent of migrant respondents attempted non-farming activities in rural areas first, mainly retailing, it is possible to conclude that there were inadequate livelihood options in rural areas. Since urban areas could offer attractive economic opportunities compared to the rural areas, most of the migrants interviewed revealed that they decided to migrate out of desperation. Close to 50 percent of the migrants believed that lack of capital was the major challenge to trying non-agricultural activities in rural areas.

The landless, including youth and the poor, seem to be at a cross road as to whether to try non-agricultural economic alternatives in rural areas or migrate to towns. Key informant interviews and focus group discussions indicated that migration would not be the preferred option if there were other alternatives in rural areas. Migration involves separation from families, which has affected family and social ties, and risks related to insecurity and disease. With the movement of youth to urban areas, elders are left alone and marriages are endangered. The number of single mothers increased, because husbands migrated out of distress, sometimes without the agreement of spouses. The deepening poverty facing rural areas is forcing children to drop out of school and join the migration to towns: among the interviewed urban migrants, 36 percent were students in rural areas.

The interviewed migrants justified their migration decision in different ways. With the majority of migrants relating their reasons for migration specifically to land, 20 percent mentioned that it was generally a decision made to skip poverty. In addition, 11 percent aspired to change their occupation and learn new skills in urban areas. The rural areas did not provide them with adequate opportunities to work in sectors other than farming. The majority of these migrants would not have left their rural areas if there were alternative job opportunities in rural areas. A significant proportion of these migrants expressed their interest to return to their rural areas and work, even in the agricultural sector, if they were provided with land.

Given land shortages and limited economic opportunities in rural areas, rural-urban migration appears to be the preferred economic alternative at this point in time. Although both the rural households and migrants interviewed seemed to agree that rural-urban migration is not an advisable choice, given the lack of alternatives in rural areas it has become the last resort for the landless and the poor. In light of the persistent challenges to successful engagement in non-agricultural activities in rural areas, rural-urban migration is likely to remain a potential mechanism for youth and the poor to skip rural poverty.

9.6. Support to Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises (MSMEs)

In 1997, the Ethiopian Government issued a strategy to support MSMEs (MOTI, 1997). The strategy based its principle on ADLI development strategy of the country (ibid.). The MSMEs development strategy prioritized sectors of support and seemed to aim covering urban areas. According to Debela (ND), although the strategy was developed in 1997, meaningful implementation was started in 2005. Debela also revealed that the strategy selected growth oriented sectors: manufacturing, construction, urban agriculture, trade and service (ibid.).

However, no MSME support focusing on rural areas has been observed in the surveyed areas. None of the interviewed households and focus groups revealed any information about MSMEs. In discussions held with woreda and zonal officials, it was learnt that such MSME related supports of government target urban areas. There seems to be an assumption that the agriculture sector provides job opportunities to rural youth, but urban youth need to be organized and supported through MSMEs. This is evident that there is a lack of understanding of the deteriorating living condition in rural areas because of shortage of land and absence of other job opportunities.

According to Magel (2013) although integrating MSMEs in the agriculture sector is necessary, it is important to engage the rural youth in MSMEs focusing on non-farming sectors. MSMEs can offer job for future generation who otherwise choose rural-urban migration (ibid.). Some people may argue that MSMEs could provide job opportunities for migrants in urban areas. The survey with migrants showed that only few of them were able to engage in MSMEs and get support in urban areas. The approach in supporting MSMEs favors those who could organize in groups. The groups should get legal recognition from concerned administrative institutions to qualify for financial, technical, material, working place and market promotion supports. This happens to be difficult for migrants who do not have residence identification card, working place and communication with each other. Overall, the MSMEs strategy and support of the country is most likely to ignore the rural jobless.

9.7. Other Policy Implications in Rural-Urban Migration

This study does not intend to go into detail and analyze other policy implications in relation to migration. However, while discussing about land and rural development policy, it is important to show their linkage with other policies as well. This is because changes in land and rural development policies cannot guarantee achieving any intended results without considering the influence of other policies like population, urban development, finance, education and skill development. It is with this understanding that this study tries to show the implication of other policies at a glance.

The Ethiopia population has been growing at a minimum of 2.6 percent annually, bringing the total population number to 90 million recently. In a country, where more than 80 percent of the population living in rural areas and majority of these rural people depending on agriculture, the scarcity of natural resources including land has been alarmingly increasing. The GTP revealed that 1.2 million people join the natural work force every year. According to the GTP, the proportion of the natural task force was 54 percent in 2008 (MOFED, 2010:116). With this high rate of population growth and increasing number of natural work force, the agriculture sector carrying capacity is already beyond the threshold level. The non-agriculture sectors have not yet developed to provide alternative and adequate job opportunities either. Although the GTP aims at achieving 65 percent family planning to harmonize the population growth with the economy in five years, the population policy needs to be seriously seen and implemented through acceptable and practical strategies.

To diversify the occupation of the work force, education and training policies are of paramount importance. Despite the quality of education, the coverage of primary education seems to be fair enough in rural areas. Only seven percent of the interviewed migrants were found to be illiterate. This shows that even those migrated from households having small plot of land and weak livelihood were able to go to school in rural areas. An Ethiopian Government official policy document revealed that with expansion of primary schools in rural areas, majority of those completing primary school is expected to pursue agricultural activities (MOI, 2001:239). The policy document expected agriculture to provide job to the highest proportion of the work force without taking into consideration the diminishing farm land and increasing number of work forces over the years.

Nevertheless, in addition to access to general education, technical and vocational trainings are imperative to enable the work force acquire new skills to work in different sectors. The Country's education policy has been giving emphasis to technical and vocational trainings for quite some time. But almost all of the Technical and Vocational Training and Education Schools (TVETS) receive students who were able to complete 10th grade. The number and accessibility of these TVETS to rural students need to be assessed. The GTP considers these TVETS as centers for technology transfers and basis for the development of MSMEs (GTP, 2010: 87). The rural poor have to afford sending their children to school until they reach 10th grade and cover their living and education expenses if they want them to pursue training in TVETS. The Government rural development policies again assumed that few proportions of the youth could pursue secondary education (MOI, 2001:239). The establishment of TVETS in some towns, regardless of the number of students in rural areas, seemed to follow the rural development policies strategies, which aim at preparing more work forces in the agriculture sector. The Government may need to revisit its technical and vocational training policies given the level of education most landless would have and accessibility of the TVETS to poor households.

As it was discussed in the other sections of this chapter, both surveyed rural households and migrants mentioned shortage of capital as a major bottle neck to move from agriculture to non-agriculture sectors. The Government of Ethiopia through its policy document elaborated that rural financing and banking systems are very important to increase availability of capital in rural areas. The document recommends rural banks such as micro-finance institutions and cooperatives to provide saving and credit services to farmers. The credit service is mainly meant to purchase input for agricultural activities (MOI, 2001:189-199). The emphasis to provide credit and loan service to the non-agriculture economy seems to be minimal.

There is a micro-finance institution providing certain level of credit and saving services in *Damot Galie Woreda*. The services, however, are mainly available for agricultural activities and do require collateral or to get organized in groups to access loan products. The GTP indicated that the financial system will be strengthened to improve efficiency, accessibility and competitiveness in the sector, but it does not provide adequate explanation on how to expand the service to rural areas (MOFED, 2010: 34). Considering this situation and the need for capital, the Government may need to consider expanding financial services to rural areas with appropriate implementation mechanisms in place.

Ethiopia is one of the least urbanized countries in Sub-Saharan Africa (World Bank, 2010:6). The GTP also recognizes the less urbanization of the Country and as one of its strategies for urban development, it mentions the importance of strengthening rural-urban linkage (MOFED, 2010: 83). Another policy document also states about the need of strengthening rural-urban linkage and ensuring mutual benefits with planned urban expansion creating job opportunities for the youth (MOI, 2001: 241-242). Nevertheless, both official documents fail short of providing details on how to use rural-urban linkage to promote urban and rural development. The development of urban centers at a close proximity to rural areas obviously helps in promoting trade, transferring skills and providing job opportunities in various sectors.

While planning to support rural development, there is a need to follow a comprehensive approach ensuring both rural and urban areas are connected and linked in a well-planned and integrated manner. Magel (2013) in explaining the concept of integrated territorial development of both rural

and urban areas advised that it is important to follow a holistic approach in developing and implementing policies, integrating various sectors working at different levels, involving all concerned, enhancing capacity and prevailing good governance. The Ethiopian Government has an ambition of building thousands of kilometers of roads connecting rural areas and helping to develop towns, electrifying and getting communication services to most of the rural areas (MOFED, 2010). If these infrastructures reach the rural areas according to the plan, they would definitely help to promote non-farming activities and even to establish economically viable towns.

If small towns are established around rural areas, the work force may not need to migrate long distances. Magel (2014) indicated that it is important to recognize the role of small towns and improve access to small towns in order to increase job opportunities and services for rural areas. The establishment of towns should be accompanied with job opportunities like promotion of investments in industries, MSMEs and the service sector. Majority of the contacted migrants went to and are planning to go to big cities because job opportunity and payments are better in cities than small towns. Unless job providing sectors are not created, changing rural areas to urban alone cannot guarantee a feasible rural-urban linkage. The towns to be created need to provide the goods and services the rural people are looking for and also need to be potential market places to absorb or transit produces coming from rural areas.

9.8. Conclusion

In a country where agriculture is providing job opportunity to over 80 percent of the work force, 54 percent of the population is categorized under natural work force. With 2.6 percent annual rate of population growth, 1.2 million new people have been joining the natural work force every year. The Ethiopian Government development policy, “Agriculture Development Led Industrialization,” gives emphasis and priority to the agriculture sector. The policy aims to increase agricultural productivity of small-scale farmers and transform them into market-oriented producers to enhance consumption and trade and thus spur industrial growth. The results of this study suggest that unless non-agricultural activities are supported to grow, the policy goals cannot be realized based on increased crop and livestock productivity alone. The policy documents seem to overlook the importance of enhancing non-agricultural activities through MSMEs development, skills transfer, and facilitation of capital flows in rural areas. There should be a mechanism in place to support efforts of the rural people in non-farming activities.

In general, addressing migration requires a holistic policy approach. In addition to reforming land and rural development policies, such as loosening land rental markets and promoting non-farming activities, it is also important to consider the relationship and influence of other issues, like population growth, urban development, infrastructure capacity, education, and finance. Given the shortage of skills and capital in most rural areas, the transition to non-farming activities appears to be challenging. Although the landless and the poor have sought alternative livelihood activities, they are often limited to low-skilled, low-capital options, such as retailing agricultural products. The finding proved that the hypothesis stipulated below is valid.

Hypothesis 2: If the Government does not put in place appropriate rural development policies and implementation mechanisms that provide the poor with alternative non-farming livelihood, the rural poor continue choosing rural-urban migration as the only alternative.

CHAPTER TEN : CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

10.1. Summary

Restrictive land policy affected land use right movements from one holder to the other in Ethiopia. Land sub-division continued to increase fragmentation of holdings because land inheritance and gift appeared to be the only option for rural youth to access land. Size of per capita landholding alarmingly decreased with increasing population pressure and dependency on agriculture.

Because of the restrictive land policy, the movement of rural people to urban areas was deterred for some years, but with shortage of land to access, rural youth, landless and the poor could not any longer stay in rural areas. With low urbanization rate, rural-urban migration was not an issue in Ethiopia, but current dynamics in movement of people is signaling that increasing rate of rural-urban migration is bringing significant change in both rural and urban settings.

The majority of interviewed rural households and migrants associated causes of migration to shortage or lack of land. A correlation test between migration cases and rural households' landholding size proved that households with low landholding size have a higher probability to have one or more migrants in cities. However, land being the major cause of migration, other factors like lack of alternative income sources exacerbated the situation.

Rural people have very few alternatives if they plan to engage in non-farm activities. The survey in *Damot Galie Woreda* showed that petty trade on crops appeared to be the only non-farm engagement area. There are no observed supports of government to develop non-farm activities in rural areas. Rather lack of capital and skill and poor infrastructure continued to constrain the rural people efforts to change or diversify occupation. Rural-urban migration happened to be the better option helping migrants to get job and ensure self-sufficiency and support rural families. The majority of the contacted migrants saw positive changes in their life, although many of them passed through certain problems during transition time.

Some land policy related issues and high dependency on agriculture resulted in fragmentation and shortage of land. With very few options to change occupation in rural areas, rural-urban migration appeared as a good and main alternative to skip poverty, find job and support rural families. Rural-urban migration may not be a sustainable solution to run away from land shortage and poverty, but with government support, integrated rural development and flourishing non-farm activities are required to provide the increasing natural work force with job.

10.2. Conclusions

10.2.1. Land Policy and Tenure Security Issues in Ethiopia

Reviewed literatures witnessed that unfair land ownership arrangements benefited few elites and landlords and harmed the majority of peasants during the pre-1975 era of imperial regimes. The pre-1975 period was also characterized by complex, traditional, communal and somehow private land tenure systems. The transition from these various types of land tenure systems to a public ownership was not an easy move. Although the majority were believed to benefit from improved access to land, the 1975 reform was also criticized for violating individuals and communal property rights.

Constitutionally framed land policy of the current Government of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia kept land as a property of nations, nationalities and peoples of the country by giving management and administrative responsibilities to ethnic based regional states. Although there have been a positive move towards improving tenure security of rural people, the land policy of the country has still been receiving critics for its restrictive transfer rights and unfair compensation during expropriations.

The understanding level of rural landholders and *kebele* administrators on land laws in general and on rights and obligations in particular was found to be low. *Kebele* administrators do not have policy and other regulatory documents to refer. Both the leaders and community members mostly rely on a sort of common sense to deal with land transfer matters. In the majority of the cases, land transfers are not reported officially, although *kebele* administrators play the decisive role to allow or limit transfers. The survey, however, came up with a data that shows the informal market has the biggest share not only to facilitate land renting and share cropping, but also to allow land sales to happen between farmers.

The landholding size of small scale farmers has been at an alarming rate of diminishing status. Little has been done to improve the legal environment and relax use rights allowing improved land transactions and stop further fragmentation of land. The Amhara Regional State is the only region that introduced significant change in the land law allowing renting out of whole holding for up to 25 years. Recent land use right registration and certification exercise in most of the regions is believed to be seen as a major step forward to improve tenure security.

Nevertheless, the real situation on the ground has been showing that rural land holders are not really yet in a position to enjoy tenure security under the existing land tenure system. The data collected from land holders, practitioners, researchers and policy makers are proving that there is a need to revisit land laws. With the existing landholding arrangements, landholding size and use rights, it seems to be difficult to ensure tenure security and improve livelihood of the people. Unless some kind of amendments are introduced in the laws to improve land transfers/transactions, expropriations, compensations and other forms of use rights, it will continue to have implications in developments and migration of people from rural to urban areas. With the improvement of laws, it is also important to introduce transparency and good land governance enabling that official land administration procedures are properly practiced.

10.2.2. Landlessness, Land Fragmentation and Consolidation

The Government of Ethiopia argues that one of the reasons not to allow land sale is to protect smallholders from displacement. The policy restricted movement of people by encouraging the farmers to claim entitlement to rural land for some time. The deterred movement of people led to further sub-division and fragmentation of land. As a result, the proportion of rural people having half and less than half a hectare appeared to be over 31 percent in the country and about 52 percent in the *Wolayita* Administrative Zone, which comprises the study area. The survey data in *Damot Galie Woreda*, on the other hand, revealed that 67 percent of the interviewed households have half a hectare or less. Moreover, with existing low productivity of the agriculture sector and high family numbers within a household, most of the landholders were found to be in a difficult situation to lead a decent livelihood and feed families throughout a year.

If rural family members' claim for land entitlement continues, it is obvious that the fragmentation level of holdings will exacerbate. This will definitely negatively affect productivity of the available land and hamper country wide efforts to improve the agriculture sector and enhance the overall economy. Although there have been efforts to improve the land administration sector and map and register over 40 million parcels of the country (GTP, 2010), the coverage remained a piecemeal due to limited capacity and shortage of resources. With this limitation, sub-division of holdings in the name of inheritance, gift and rent continued without requiring official registration. As regional laws do not allow holdings to be less than half a hectare, big proportion of landholders are literally not eligible to sub-divide and transfer holdings through lease or gift. As a result, sub-division is exercised through informal ways.

There is no an official effort going on to promote land consolidation in the country. Although worldwide experiences demonstrate that land consolidation helps to ensure sustainable development, this element is missing from the Ethiopia land laws and land administration strategies. According to TUM (2002:13), land consolidation is a mechanism to bring together scattered parcels to a viable unit of land and provide infrastructures enabling to develop farms. If there is a desire to improve performance of the agriculture sector, farming plots should be reorganized to allow technology uses such as irrigation, machinery, transport. However, the trend in Ethiopia is the other way round. Rather than promoting land consolidation through relaxed land transaction, good governance and education, the current trend seems to further the fragmentation level.

As discussed in Chapter Two, attempts were made to gather farmers in villages and settlements and promote land consolidation and collective farming during the Derg regime in the 80s. However, those efforts of land consolidation and village restructuring were politically motivated with a socialist ideology and were different from village renewal exercise of the Western Europe. Village renewal, for example in Bavaria of Germany, brought about remarkable results because it considered the need of communities and participated all concerned during the planning process (BMAF, 2006:90). Apparently, according to MONGABAY (2013), villagization and resettlement moved millions of farmers from their original places in intent to promote cooperatives in Ethiopia. Nevertheless, forcefully settled farmers dismantled the land consolidation efforts and newly constructed villages with the fall of the Derg regime because they were not consulted during the planning process and it was not done based on their need.

10.2.3. Rural-Urban Migration

Different scholars theorized rural-urban migrations and came up with models indicating the nature of and reasons for migration. Almost all the models put income as the major driving factor for migration. Income differentials based on current and future predicted wage rates tend to play significant part in the decision making process for migration. Available few literatures verified that migration in Ethiopia is largely associated with low income in agriculture as a result of shortage of land. Although the urbanization rate in Ethiopia is said to be smaller than the sub-Saharan countries' average, recent studies have been showing that proportion of urban population will accelerate with increased rate of rural-urban migration.

The migration from rural to urban areas was found to happen during young ages. According to rural communities in *Damot Galie Woreda*, most of the migrants left rural areas between 18 to 30 years age range. The surveys on migrants living in urban areas captured a wide age group ranging from 12 to 48 years, but about 83 percent of them were between 18 and 30 years age. However, 72 percent left rural areas in the age range of 15 and 26 years. The age range indicates that most of the migration cases happen when self-sufficiency becomes essential.

The migration could be seasonal or permanent. With those who are married and having land in rural areas tending to have a seasonal migration behavior, most of the contacted migrants seemed to decide living in urban areas on a permanent basis. The majority of contacted migrants in *Addis Ababa* and *Hawassa* moved to these cities without using small towns as transition places. Established connection with old migrants, plan to start working as quickly as possible and intention to reduce the cost of transition were found to help migrants to avoid step migration.

In *Damot Galie Woreda*, rural-urban migration has not been a new activity, but recent years' trend showed that the rate of migration to towns has been alarmingly increasing. Among the interviewed households, 45 percent have one or more migrants living in towns. The majority of contacted communities in *Damot Galie* believe that migration to towns is most likely to increase in the years to come, given the increasing magnitude of factors of migration including land shortage.

Majority of the migrants have strong social and economic ties with rural families. About half of the contacted migrants confirmed that they send money back home to support rural families. Some of the migrants even invest on fixed assets and agricultural inputs for families and themselves in rural areas. Rural families also appreciate remittances coming from migrants. The connection between rural families and migrants, thus, was found to be well established and carrying responsibility of providing support. This also demonstrated that migrants keep regular communication with rural families. The regular communication helps new migrants to find information about and destination in cities.

The perception towards migration seems to be two fold. Some people think that migration results in separation of families, disruption of social responsibilities, involvement of migrants in criminal activities and exposure to diseases. In addition, there is a perception from some government experts and officials that migration could disentangle the work force from the major production factor – land. Nevertheless, most of the rural residents, some government people and researchers believe that rural-urban migration should be seen as an important step forward in lives of rural youth. With decreasing opportunity to access land, the youth have to see rural-urban migration as

an alternative to find other livelihood, to learn new skills and to improve income. Rural-urban migration is also considered as an important means of income for rural people.

Migration to cities is not an easy move for most of the migrants. Coming from a different environment, the arrival and transition in urban areas appears to be challenging. As most of the migrants leave rural areas at early and young age, they could easily be exposed to different kinds of abuses and problems. In addition to social problems such as family separation, lack of protection and security, loss of dignity and respect, gender violence and crime, they also suffer lack of job, lack of food and shelter and problems of working places and capital. Interestingly, the prevalence of these problems in rural areas actually pushed migrants. The majority of rural communities understand that migrants could face one or more of these problems, but they think the problems in rural areas still outweigh.

With all the aforementioned challenges and problems, most of the migrants seem to succeed in achieving their objectives eventually. As most of the problems are experienced during the transition period, after they secured job and income, majority of the migrants remain happy in urban areas. As long as they ensure self-sufficiency and are able to support rural families, they tend to be stable in living in cities. They normally compare their living condition with rural areas and measure their success accordingly. Nevertheless, most of them plan to improve their job type and income and few envisage continuing education and travelling abroad for better life. Although majority of the migrants happened to be happy with the opportunities the cities provided, half of the respondents mentioned that they would like to return back home if land for agricultural activities is provided. This could demonstrate the tight relationship of the people with land. Rural households believe that migration helped to reduce burden of rural families, led the youth to self-sufficiency and served as an additional income source for rural economy.

The reasons for rural-urban migration were found to be multifaceted with most of them related to economic factors. The majority of respondents in both rural areas and cities agreed that income is the major factor pushing and pulling migrants. With increasing poverty, joblessness, landlessness and food insecurity, youth and the poor tend to see rural-urban migration as an alternative. The seasonal migrants also would like to augment their rural livelihood and buy agricultural inputs and in some cases rent-in land by bringing back some money from towns. There are other factors like interest for urban life and education pulling to towns as well, but these factors were not found to be as significant as the economic factors.

10.2.4. Rural-Urban Migration and Land Policy

The analysis of this study proved that there is a relationship between land size and migration to urban areas. Most of the rural households having migrants in cities tend to hold lesser land compared to other households. Given increasing family size, the available land cannot support all family members. As it was proved in this study, *Damot Galie Woreda* is one of the most densely populated areas in the country with significant portion of rural households holding tiny plots of land. High number of family size couples with small holdings to necessitate looking for other alternatives. As a result, rural-urban migration appeared to be a potential option for many of rural-household members in *Damot Galie*.

The relationship between land tenure security and movement of people is an important factor to investigate. With improved land transfer rights, smallholders are assumed to increase mobility and try other livelihood options elsewhere. However, although rural households appreciated the importance of rural-urban migration to improve the rural economy, they were not able to show their plan to move out if land transfer right is untied. Due to sensitivity of land issues, most of the respondents seem to refrain from answering such a question in a way implicating that they will be away from their land. In addition, with low enforcement of the formal law, they seem to be comfortable using the informal land market whenever they decide to migrate. In a situation where government people discouraging rural-urban migration, respondents tend to avoid answers contradicting this.

While the Government of Ethiopia claims that the land policy is instrumental in avoiding distress migration of the poor, different scholars argue that such a restrictive policy infringes property rights and would force the poor to entangle with tiny plots of land. Although the policy was able to control migration of the rural people for some years, it no longer can accommodate the growing land demands for agricultural activities. With an increasing imbalance of land supply and demand, rural-urban migration remained a way out for the landless.

Most of the mentioned factors of migration were found to have a strong linkage with land availability. Land remained the major and main source of livelihood in rural areas because of heavy dependency on agriculture. With continued scramble on available land and exacerbated fragmentation, land is not an easily available resource for distribution or sub-division for the landless and youth any more. Thus, rural-urban migration became a resort to augment rural income and to escape poverty.

Shortage of land happened to be the major root factor leading to shortage of income. About a quarter of surveyed rural respondents believed that rural-urban migration is directly caused and exacerbated by shortage of land. Those rural respondents mentioning shortage of income as a factor of rural-urban migration eventually associated the problem with land shortage. Other factors like prevalence of poverty and food insecurity were also related to land shortage. Among contacted migrants, although only in 40 percent of the cases were able to mention landlessness or shortage of land as a major factor of their decision for migration, in about 94 percent the cases, their decision with a need for self-sufficiency, to skip poverty and to generate additional income were found to be linked to land. Overall, landlessness or land shortage appeared to be the major pushing factor towards rural-urban migration.

The relationship between land and migration was examined in different ways to triangulate findings and substantiate results. A correlation test conducted between land size and migration showed a negative relationship, which means the lesser the land size is the higher the probability of having migrants. This correlation test supports a conclusion that land shortage is most likely to instigate migration to towns.

Besides shortage of land to accommodate the landless, bad-land governance at *kebele* level contributed for unfair distribution of land. Significant number of contacted migrants trust that they were not able to access land because of unfair land allocation. About a quarter of these migrants still possess land in rural areas and have families to look after and take care of the land. Although some of these migrants tend to have a seasonal nature of migration, those having land in rural areas

would like to maintain control on it. This situation again shows existing strong linkage of the people to land whether they live in rural areas or not.

Despite an argument of the Government of Ethiopia that unrestricted land transaction displaces farmers, the tight land transaction regulations rather appeared to be leading to rural-urban migration. The land policy kept farmers on their land for some time, but could neither guarantee sustainable livelihood in small scale agriculture, nor does it accommodate the landless with increasing population pressure. There are still issues to debate on the land policy, with increasing dependency on agriculture and land, the movement of this important productive factor from one hand to the other has not been efficiently happening. Although the farmers remained interlocked with their land and unable to move out, the land could not provide adequate, decent and sustainable livelihood for all. This eventually has been leading the rural poor and youth to seek for other alternatives like rural-urban migration.

10.2.5. Rural-Urban Migration and Rural Development Policies

The rural development policy of Ethiopia considers agriculture as the major driving economic sector. With a principle of efficiently using available labor force and land, the policy found agriculture to be the most suitable economic sector enabling the country to ensure sustainable growth and spur development of other sectors. Improving performance of smallholders' agriculture and promoting marketable produces were assumed to insure food security, enhance consumption behaviors and help growth of non-agricultural sectors. However, after the policy was advocated for about two decades, the practical situation does not seem to prove that the assumption is realized. With increasing population pressure on available land, the smallholder based agriculture is not yet in a position to transform the economy as it was thought. In addition, the policies and implementation plans somehow overlooked the importance of promoting non-agricultural activities in rural areas. Although the recent GTP put an ambitious plan of transforming the economy from agriculture-led to industry-led, it is unlikely this to happen in rural areas any time soon.

The majority of smallholders do still rely on agriculture. With diminishing landholding not allowing harvesting sufficient agricultural products, the people seem to have very limited options to diversify incomes. Although there are attempts made by some household members to participate in petty trades and wage labors to supplement incomes, the non-agriculture sector still remained underdeveloped. The practical situation in *Damot Galie* demonstrated that the rural development policy of the country has not been providing the support needed to transform the economy from agriculture to non-agriculture sectors. If a growing interest and attempts of the rural people to diversify activities and income sources can be taken as a good opportunity to promote non-agricultural activities, it would be possible to keep the momentum and diversify activities.

Shortage of capital, lack of skill and poor infrastructure remained challenges obstructing attempts to diversify the rural economy. The landless are not expected to have capital enabling to start a new business. Smallholders hardly save money remaining from consumption and other basic expenditures. The rural finance system is not yet in a position to avail credit services without collateral for the non-farming sectors. Training centers are mainly dedicated for farming practices and the extension system is predominantly agriculture and health based. The landless and the other

people with shortage of land require skill trainings helping them to work on non-agricultural activities. Infrastructure such as power supply is a very important element to promote non-agricultural activities. Nonetheless, none of the surveyed *kebeles* had access to electricity. Although the country has a strategy to develop and support MSMEs, it is biased towards urban areas. Rural-urban migrants could hardly access supports targeting MSMEs because they do not fulfill requirements for eligibility.

The landless including youth and the poor seem to be at a cross road whether to stay in rural areas or migrate to towns. As mentioned earlier, other alternatives are constrained with many problems. With social costs involving separation of families and exposure to health and security problems, rural families would not prefer sending their children to urban areas if there were other options in rural areas. Although rural-urban migration is not entirely perceived as a bad activity, rural people would like to try other alternatives before making a decision to leave their areas. Students may not stop education if they were able to generate income covering their basic necessities and education costs. Although rural-urban migration appeared to be a major resort to escape poverty at this point in time because of the increasing rate of landlessness, with saturation of urban areas, it may not continue to be a good choice in the future.

10.3. Recommendations

More importantly, land policy and land laws should reflect the need of the people and be crafted in a way allowing landholders to exercise their rights to benefit themselves and contribute to the country's development plan, but with a careful consideration to not lead to unintended results. Strengthening this recommendation, Magel (2003:9) indicated that the German Federal Constitutional Court (1954) puts land laws as a sum of laws reflecting societies' interest and regulating land transactions, parcels of land, property relations and use

The land laws of regions should be revised to allow improved land transactions promoting land consolidation. Improved land renting benefits both the land owner and renter (Davy, 2012). International experiences are showing that land consolidation helps to ensure sustainable development by enabling to introduce infrastructure, market and improved living conditions. DEMIREL (1999), quoted in Gür et al. (2003:8), revealed that land consolidation comprises "*road construction, irrigation, protection of agriculture and land culture, village renewal, preservation of nature and rural landscape, construction of recreational and leisure areas, land readjustment, and land acquisition*". Van der Molen (1999:15) revealed that "*land consolidation is an integrated approach to land reform*", which takes longer time and could be implemented in a simplest or complex approach based on purpose. Although it has been largely an experience in western countries, land consolidation can also be implemented in developing countries like Ethiopia.

Although Government's claim not to expose landholders to distress migration because of free land transactions seems to hold true in some instances, the policy analysis shall have a wider perspective considering opportunities to be created because of improved land transactions and land consolidation in rural areas. Land transaction allows consolidating land and establishing big investments of agriculture and other activities, which will in turn create job opportunities for the landless and other people in rural areas.

Rural-urban migration has been increasingly involving significant number of rural people in Ethiopia, but the attention given to this kind of movement of people remained diminutive. Considering the factors of migration, problems and opportunities and situation in both departure and destination areas, the Government of Ethiopia should devise a strategy on how to handle the rural-urban migration issue.

While addressing rural-urban migration issues, it is important to recognize that rural-urban relationship is very important for both areas and people in terms of economic and socio-cultural benefits. Magel (2003:5) indicated that building a common platform than single sided approach is necessary to develop both rural and urban areas through strengthened urban-rural interrelationships. Rural-urban linkage is, thus, an area to consider because there is a high level of social, economic and cultural dependency between rural and urban areas. The growing rate and dynamics of rural-urban migration necessitates promoting a vibrant rural-urban linkage. The rural economy could be enhanced if there is a mechanism to strengthen rural-urban interactions. Magel (2013) suggested an integrated territorial and rural development approach to harmonize social, cultural and economic connections between rural and urban areas.

While the Constitution allowing free movement of people, land laws shall not impose articles restricting movement of landholders. Regional land laws should lift laws requiring continued physical presence in rural areas. Landholders should be allowed to stay away from their holdings so that they can try other options than remaining tied with a small piece of land.

Considering the strong relationship between land availability and movement of people, the land policy of the country needs to be revisited in a way to address all migration related issues. Since land is an important resource affecting economic, political and social elements of citizens, there should be a wider perspective and adequate consultation of all stakeholders while reviewing and enacting land policy. Although the constitution does not allow land sale, landholders should freely exercise land use rights particularly in relation to land use transfers and transactions.

With increasing population pressure and diminishing holding size, it is evident that agriculture can no longer provide a sustainable livelihood as the only sector in rural areas. There is a need to redirect the rural development policy to embrace a holistic approach rather than relying on agriculture only. Given the increasing number of landless and newly joining work forces, there is an imperative need to promote non-agricultural activities.

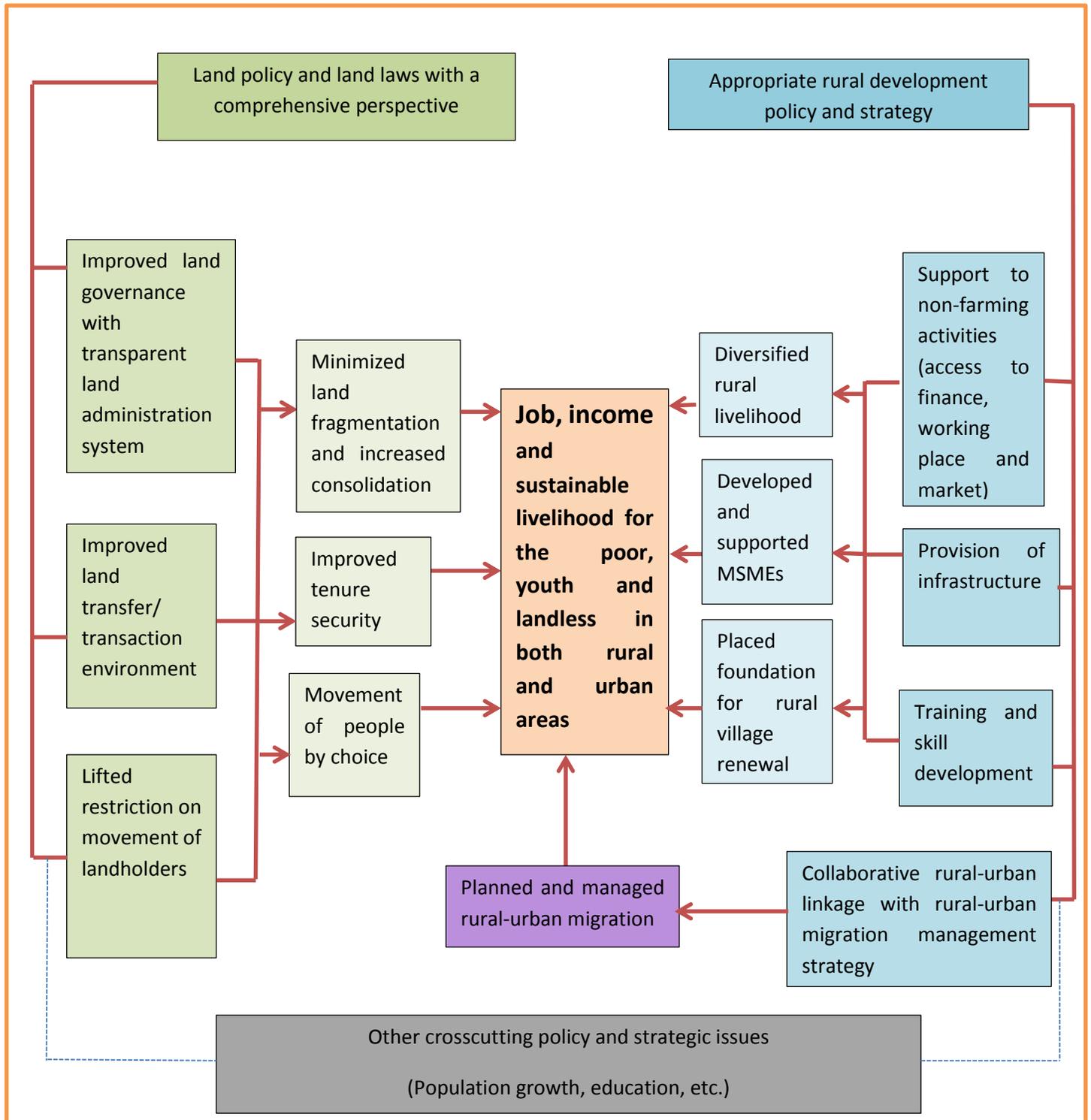
Promotion of non-agricultural activities requires policy and implementation supports in various ways. Availability of capital, appropriate trainings of skill, market, working place and infrastructure need to be integrated into a rural development policy and implementation strategies.

The Ethiopian Government development policy – ‘Agriculture Development Led Industrialization’ gives emphasis and priority to the agriculture sector. The policy aims at increasing agriculture productivity of small scale farmers and transforming them to a market oriented farming system so that consumption and trade could be enhanced and finally the industry starts to grow. Unless non-agricultural activities are supported to grow, improving the consumption pattern and promoting market cannot be realized with crops and livestock producers’ productivity alone. The policy documents seem to overlook the importance of enhancing non-

agricultural activities through MSMEs development, skill transfer and facilitation of capital flow. Magel (2013) revealed that as MSMEs are important entities to stabilize rural economy, they need to be provided with land, infrastructure, communication and training support.

In general, the approach to deal with migration would necessitate a holistic approach. In addition to addressing land and rural development policies, it is important to consider the linkage and influence of other areas like population, urban development and infrastructure, education and training and financial issues.

Figure 10-1: Recommended model to manage rural-urban migration through suitable land and rural development policies and strategies



Source: Author

10.4. Methodological Limitations and Challenges

Given time and resource limitation, the study covered select rural areas of one district, two towns and two cities. Although the issues assessed are policy related and politically and economically very important, the data collected from these areas are not representative of a district, zone, region or the country as a whole. However, the finding provides some level of insights to understand challenges and constraints related to land, migration and rural development issues.

All possible attempts were made to make the data collection process as acceptable as possible. Accordingly high emphasis was given to the data collection instruments and tools. As it was difficult for the researcher to reach all rural households and migrants, enumerators were deployed to interview individual respondents. Although the enumerators were trained and supervised to keep the data collected as quality as possible, there might be some inconsistencies and gaps because of differences in capacity and understanding level of enumerators. Nevertheless, the data cleaning process minimized these problems before the analysis was conducted.

During the data collection process in *Damot Galie Woreda*, an unforeseen challenge was experienced. Because of restrictions on information flow in *Wolayta zone* and the study *woreda*, there was a need to get an official administrative and the ruling party permission to pursue the data collection activity. Sensitiveness of land policy issues did somehow make officials nervous to allow research in the area. It was also difficult to talk to focus groups and key informants in the absence of *kebele* administrative bodies and EPRDF party delegates. This might have restricted expression of free opinion to some extent.

The data collection in urban areas was also not conducted in an easy way. First of all, locating migrants in big cities was a tough job because there was no physical sign to separate them from the other people. It was important to ask people by using proxy indicators like the place they could stay, the type of job they may engage in and asking themselves to indicate others. After migrants were identified through various mechanisms, some of the migrants appeared to be suspicious and unwilling to give interviews. It was necessary to spend some time to establish trust and relationship with each interviewee before starting the data collection. The majority of these migrants were not in a position to spare time from their daily job for the interview. As a result, it became compulsory to pay money to compensate their time and lost jobs during the interview. However, there was no promise given to pay the compensation as a strategy to convince them. This was because migrants could provide irrelevant information for the sake of money.

Overall, the research was conducted with some limitations and certain challenges. The data collection process particularly gave a big lesson for future similar activities. While working on such politically sensitive issue, it is important to understand that the data collection could end up with a number of challenges causing methodological limitations.

10.5. Direction for Further Research

This research work can only provide insights about rural-urban migration and its relationship with land policy and other rural development issues. However, the research touches an area, which was not adequately covered in studies conducted in Ethiopia so far. Land policy remained politically sensitive and delicate issue in the current political and legal environment of the country. Most researchers seem to distance their research work and themselves from such very important issue for some decades. As land is a foundation for economic development in all sectors, ignoring such an important issue would contribute negatively to the growth of the country.

It is possible to take lessons from this research work that land and other policy issues could be approached from problems experienced. The problems lead to the root causes (in this case land and development policy issues) although it is not always right to wait for the problems to occur. Rural-urban migration was not an alarming issue in the Ethiopia's less urbanization context quite for some time. But the changing situation made it to appear as a concern in the current Ethiopia. Researchers then need to monitor this dynamics with relevant policy and implementation issues in order to help address the root causes rather than dealing with the consequence itself. This research work could serve as an example by showing how rural-urban migration could be linked to land and rural-development policies.

The findings in this research work are expected to contribute to a broader research activity at a country level. Development and policy research institutions, universities, international organizations and government bodies can support and run comprehensive and more rigorous researches when they come to know the linkage between rural-urban migration and land policy. The Government of Ethiopia can potentially have an improved understanding of the need to support policy decisions with research findings.

10.6. Closing Remark

The findings of this research work showed the relationship between rural-urban migration and land policy. The Ethiopian Government officials thought that public land policy with restricted land transfers would control movement of people. According to Solomon and Mansberger (2003:13), as the land policy was able to keep the people in rural areas, despite these all problems and deteriorating living conditions, the rate of rural-urban migration remained low. Of course, this assumption worked and contended the movement of rural people for some years. Yang (1997), quoted in Brauw and Mueller (2011:10), revealed that the relationship between tenure security and movement of people is very strong. Land policy can control movement of landholders because they do not want to risk losing their land.

However, this is not a sustainable approach. With increased population pressure, fragmentation of land and diminishing land size, the number of landless increased over time. According to Gebresilasie (2006:9), land fragmentation became a serious problem in rural Ethiopia because

there is no land to provide to youth. The landless, youth and poor could no longer stay in rural areas. They rather considered rural-urban migration as means to survive. The negative consequence of land policy controlled movement of people eventually resulted in a high outflow of migrants to towns.

Moreover, agriculture dominated rural economy was unable to provide non-farm jobs to the landless. With very limited diversification, land and agriculture tangled to provide the major source of livelihood (Deininger et al, 2007:7). The rural-development policy of the country continued to consider agriculture as a spring board for the wider economic development. Nevertheless, with fragmented and diminished holdings, the agriculture sector should not be seen as the only sector to bring about development. Supports to MSMEs and diversification efforts need to target rural areas.

In general, rural-urban migration is not a bad practice, but if not managed properly, it may lead to unprecedented and negative results. With improved tenure security, rural people should be allowed to move freely and be supported to try all possible options in rural areas.

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ANNEX

Annex 1: Data Analysis

Annex 1.1: Cross-tabulation: number of household members versus farm land size

		Household's farm land size in hectare							Total	
		0.13	0.25	0.38	0.50	0.75	1.00	1.50		2.00
Number of household members	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
	3	0	2	0	2	1	0	0	0	5
	4	0	3	0	0	1	2	0	0	6
	5	0	7	0	4	2	0	1	0	14
	6	1	8	0	8	3	0	0	0	20
	7	0	8	0	7	7	1	0	0	23
	8	1	2	0	3	1	2	1	0	10
	9	0	1	0	3	2	2	0	0	8
	10	0	2	1	0	2	2	0	0	7
	11	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	2
	12	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
	13	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
	17	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	207.978 ^a	84	.000
Likelihood Ratio	80.087	84	.601
Linear-by-Linear Association	18.414	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	100		

a. 100 cells (96.2%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .0

Symmetric Measures

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error ^a	Approx. T ^b	Approx. Sig.
Interval by Interval	Pearson's R	.431	.138	4.732	.000 ^c
Ordinal by Ordinal	Spearman Correlation	.292	.100	3.027	.003 ^c
N of Valid Cases		100			

a. Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b. Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

c. Based on normal approximation.

Annex 1.2: Age distribution of surveyed migrants

Age	Percent
12	2.8
16	1.4
17	2.8
18	9.7
19	4.2
20	6.9
21	4.2
22	19.4
23	1.4
24	5.6
25	9.7
27	2.8
28	9.7
29	6.9
30	2.8
32	1.4
33	1.4
40	2.8
44	2.8
48	1.4
Total	100.0
Mean	24.42
Range	36
Minimum	12
Maximum	48

Annex 1.3: Tables of migrants' job satisfaction, income saving and remittance to rural family

Are you happy with your current job?	
	Percent
No	40.3
Yes	59.7
Total	100.0
Do you save money from your income?	
No	15.1
Yes	84.9
Total	100.0
Do you send money to support your rural family?	
No	24.7
Yes	75.3
Total	100.0
Is urban area preferable than rural for living?	
No	23.3
Yes	76.7
Total	100.0

Annex 1.4: Correlation between rural households' land size and migration occurrence (Pearson Correlation)

Variables	Household landholding size	Per-capita landholding size
Family members migrated to other areas due to land shortage	0.161	-0.016
Family members changed their living places to urban areas in the last 15 years	0.108	-0.110
Availability of migrated family members to urban areas	0.143	-0.084
Number of migrants from 2008 to 2012	0.179*	0.012
Family members planning to migrate to cities due to land shortage	0.153	0.009

Annex 1.5: Correlations showing migrants happiness on job, money saving and sending to family experiences

		1. Are you happy with your current job?	2. Do you save money from your income?	3. Do you send money to support your rural family?
1. Are you happy with your current job?	Pearson Correlation	1	.438**	.507**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000	.000
	N	72	72	72
2. Do you save money from your income?	Pearson Correlation	.438**	1	.559**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000		.000
	N	72	73	73
3. Do you send money to support your rural family?	Pearson Correlation	.507**	.559**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	
	N	72	73	73

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Annex 2: Survey Instruments

Annex 2.1: Checklist for Discussions with researchers, experts and officials at different levels

Land Policy Implications in Rural-Urban Migration:

The Dynamics and Determinant Factors of Rural-Urban Migration in Ethiopia

1. General perceptions about the countries land policy
 - 1.1. How do you see the countries land policy in terms of tenure security?
 - 1.2. Do you think the country has appropriate land policy for (rural?) development?
 - 1.3. Is the land policy good enough to allow land transactions and land consolidations?
 - 1.4. Is the land policy enabling the landless to access land?
 - 1.5. Is the land policy allowing the poor to transfer their land and engage in non-farm activities?
 - 1.6. Do you think there is a need to make changes in the land policy?
 - 1.7. If yes, what changes you recommend?
2. Perceptions on migration
 - 2.1. How do you evaluate rural-urban migration considering its positive and/or negative effects on rural socio-economic development?
 - 2.2. Justify from your own point of view.
 - 2.3. What factors do you think lead to rural-urban migration?
3. Relationship between migration and land policy
 - 3.1. Do the rural people enjoy adequate tenure security?
 - 3.1.1. Explain either ways:
 - 3.2. If there were adequate land available for farming, would people migrate to towns? Please explain:
 - 3.3. If there were free land transaction in the rural area, what would be the rural-urban migration pattern? Explain:
 - 3.4. If the rural people don't migrate, can they still lead a normal life depending only on agriculture?
 - 3.5. What changes do you suggest in the land policy to manage rural-urban migration?
 - 3.6. What is your opinion on the relationships among land fragmentation, holding size, livelihood, and migration?

4. Rural development options

- 4.1. Do you think there are non-farm activities in the rural areas to provide job for the landless, the poor and the youth?
- 4.2. If no why?
- 4.3. If yes, what are the non-farm activities?
- 4.4. Why agriculture remained to be the major source of livelihood in the rural areas?
- 4.5. What rural development interventions should be put in place to create non-farm jobs?
- 4.6. What infrastructure and services should be provided to the rural areas to make them compete with urban areas?
- 4.7. What should be done to manage rural-urban migration?
- 4.8. Is rural-urban migration a manifestation for development or indicator of rural poverty? Please argue:

Annex 2.2: Checklist for Discussions with Key Informants and Focus Groups

Land Policy Implications in Rural-Urban Migration:

The Dynamics and Determinant Factors of Rural-Urban Migration in Ethiopia

1. Livelihood and land holding characteristics
 - 1.1. Could you please describe the major livelihoods of the area? Agriculture, wage labor, livestock rearing, tourism, natural resources sale, etc.
 - 1.2. What is the land holding size per a household in your area? *(This question is included to triangulate household level data because some people may tend not to reveal such information)*
 - 1.2.1. Maximum holding size? _____ ha or local land unite _____
 - 1.2.2. Minimum holding size? _____ ha or local land unite _____
 - 1.2.3. Average holding size? _____ ha or local land unite _____
 - 1.3. What is the number of parcels per a household holding? *(This question is included to triangulate household level data because some people may tend not to reveal such information)*
 - 1.3.1. Maximum? _____
 - 1.3.2. Minimum? _____
 - 1.3.3. Average? _____
 - 1.4. What proportion (%) of the community members is estimated to be landless? *Consider those who married or reached to an age to lead an independent life.*
 - 1.5. What proportion (%) of the community members does not have adequate land for farming?
 - 1.6. What other options the landless and the poor have other than farming?
2. Land allocation and transactions
 - 2.1. Have you ever had land redistribution in your area?
 - 2.2. How many land redistributions took place in the last 25 years? ____ And when? _____
 - 2.3. Why were the land redistributions initiated?
 - 2.4. Can individuals still acquire land for farming through local administration's allocation? _____ If yes, how much land per person? _____
 - 2.5. What kind of land transactions available in your area?
 - 2.5.1. Renting
 - 2.5.2. Sharecropping
 - 2.5.3. Selling
 - 2.5.4. Bequeathing to non-family members
 - 2.5.5. Inheriting
 - 2.5.6. Other

2.6. Do people have deed/title for landholdings?

2.7. Do people can stay away from their holdings for longer time without losing their land? _____ If yes, how long? _____

2.8. Can local administrators still take away land from individuals to allocate for others?

2.8.1.Yes, why

2.8.2.No, why

3. Migration experiences and factors

3.1. Do people migrate to other areas?

3.2. If yes, where do they migrate to?

3.2.1.Other rural area

3.2.2.Commercial farms

3.2.3.Small towns within the district

3.2.4.The district capital

3.2.5.Region capital

3.2.6.Addis Ababa

3.2.7.Other _____

3.3. Which age group is mainly migrating to urban areas?

Age	Rate in %
12 to 15 years	
15 to 18 years	_____
19 to 22 years	_____
23 to 30 years	_____
31 to 40 years	_____
41 to 50 years	_____
51 years and above	_____

3.4. How did you observe the migration pattern in the last ten years?

3.4.1.Increasing

3.4.2.Same

3.4.3.Decreasing

3.4.4.No idea

3.4.5.Other _____

- 3.5. If increasing, what are the reasons?
 - 3.6. How do you see the increasing migration pattern?
 - 3.6.1. Positive development
 - 3.6.2. Negative
 - 3.6.3. No idea
 - 3.6.4. Other _____
 - 3.7. Is there any relationship between migration and landholding? Please describe:
 - 3.8. How do you compare the living status of households having migrant members with the others?
 - 3.8.1. Better
 - 3.8.2. Same
 - 3.8.3. Low
 - 3.8.4. No idea
 - 3.8.5. Other _____
 - 3.9. Can you explain benefits of rural-urban migration?
 - 3.10. What problems have you observed in rural-urban migration?
 - 3.11. Do you think it is important trying to stop/reduce rural-urban migration?
 - 3.12. If you think it is important to control rural urban migration, what should be done?
 - 3.13. Have migrants been investing in rural areas? ____ What kind of investments?
 - 3.14. Other comments about migration?
4. Rural development and employment options
 - 4.1. Do you think there are non-farming employment options in your area?
 - 4.2. If yes, describe:
 - 4.3. Can people access land for non-farming activities?
 - 4.3.1. If yes, how
 - 4.4. What obstacles are there to promote non-farming activities in your area?

5. How do you see the infrastructures level of your area compared to the district town? Tick (✓) to indicate the availability for the listed infrastructures across the indicated parameters:

Infrastructure	better	Equal	less	Very low	Not available
Road					
Water					
Power/electricity					
Phone					
Market					
School					
Health post/clinic					

6. How do you judge infrastructure development in your area through time?
- 6.1. Improving
 - 6.2. No change
 - 6.3. Deteriorating
 - 6.4. No idea
7. If these infrastructures are made adequately available like the urban areas, do people still migrate to urban areas?
- 7.1. Yes, justify
 - 7.2. No, justify

Annex 2.3: Rural Household's Survey Questionnaire

Land Policy Implications in Rural-Urban Migration:
The Dynamics and Determinant Factors of Rural-Urban Migration in Ethiopia

Questionnaire ID <input type="text"/>	Region _____ <input type="text"/>
District (Woreda) _____ <input type="text"/>	Sub-District (Kebele) _____ <input type="text"/>
Village/Locality: _____	Household Serial Number <input type="text"/>
Date of Interview: Date:...../ Month:...../2012	
Response Status 1. Complete 2. Refusal 3. Non-Contact 4. Incomplete (State Reason)..... <input type="text"/>	

E-Code	Name of Enumerator	Signature Date Interview	Completed
S-Code	Name of Supervisor	Signature Date	Checked

<p>Enumerator's Introduction Guide</p> <p>My name is () and I have been hired by Zemen Haddis, PhD student at the Technical University of Munich to participate in data collection of a PhD study entitled Land Policy Implications in Rural-Urban Migration.</p> <p>Your household was randomly selected. The purpose of this interview is to understand the implications of land policy on rural-urban migration. The information will be used to make research analysis and show the relationship between land policy and migration decisions on rural people. The analysis and finding of the research will not include any specific names. The interview my take an hour. If you have inquiries about this survey, contact the researcher at 0911253783.</p> <p>This survey is voluntary and you can choose not to take part. However, we would really appreciate it if you would answer the questions honestly and openly.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • SEEK COMPREHENSION: Do you have any questions about any of the things I have just said? • SEEK VOLUNTARY AGREEMENT: Are you willing to participate in this interview? <p>Enumerator: The household head and his or her spouse are the only permissible respondents in this survey. In exceptional circumstances, a responsible member of the household may be called to assist.</p>
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From Q1.1 to Q6.15, circle one of the codes that correspond to the answer the respondent has given or write the answer in the spaces provided for uncoded responses unless instructions have been given to circle more than one response.

1. Demographic and Background Characteristics

No.	Questions and filters	Coding categories	Skip to
1.1.	Name of Respondent		
1.2.	Sex of the respondent	Male 1 Female 2	
1.3.	Age of Respondent	Age in Years [][] Don't Know 888	
1.4.	What is the highest level of school attended by the Respondent?	Basic education 1 Primary 2 Secondary 3 College/university 4 Religious School 5 None of the Above 6	
1.5.	Respondent's relationship to the household head?	Self 1 Spouse 2 Child 3 Other, specify _____ 4	If Self, Skip to 1.6
1.6.	Name of Household Head		
1.7.	Sex of Household Head	Male 1 Female 2	
1.8.	Age of Household Head	Age in Years [][] Don't Know 888	
1.9.	What is the highest level of school attended by Household Head?	Basic education 1 Primary 2 Secondary 3 College/university 4 Religious School 5 None of the Above 6	
1.10.	How many people normally live in this household? <i>Ensure the Interviewee includes himself/ herself.</i>	Male [][] Female [][] Total [][]	

2. Occupation, livelihood, land holding and resource management

No.	Questions and filters	Coding categories	Skip to
2.1.	What is the job of the head of the household?	Farming 1 Artisan _____ 2 Daily agri. laborer 3 Daily non-agri. laborer 4 Retailor 5 Government employee 6 Private company employee 7 Other, specify _____ 8	
2.2.	Does the household have a farming land?	Yes 1 No 2	If No, skip to 2.3
2.2.1.	What is the total size and parcel number of the land the household owns?	²¹ Timad Hectare No of Parcels [][] [][] [][]	
2.2.2.	Could you please mention the land size you possessed in different periods?	Timad Hectare Current/2012 [][] [][] 2001 – 2011 [][] [][] 1991 – 2000 [][] [][] 1981 – 1990 [][] [][] 1980 and before [][] [][]	
2.2.3.	How did the household acquire the land during these periods? <i>Multiple answers are possible.</i>	Inheritance 1 Government allocation 2 Land redistribution 3 Claimed from forest 4 Claimed from grazing land 5 Purchased 6 Rented in 7 Other, specify _____ 8	
2.3.	Have you transferred land by your own to other people in the last fifteen years?	Yes 1 No 2	If No, skip to 2.5
2.4.	If yes, when _____? and through what mechanisms? <i>Please mention the years in front of the transfer mechanisms.</i>	Inheritance _____ 1 Gift _____ 2 Sale _____ 3 Rent 4 Share cropping _____ 5 Other, specify _____ 6	

²¹ Timad is a local land size unit that pair of oxen can plough in a day. Timad is equivalent to 0.25 hectare.

2.5.	Has your land been expropriated by government in the last 25 years?	Yes No	1 2	If No, skip to 2.6
2.5.1.	If yes, when, how many times and why? <i>Please indicate the years and explain the reasons.</i>			
2.6.	Does your available land adequate to fully engage the household labor in farming?	Yes No	1 2	If Yes, skip to 2.7
2.6.1.	If it is not adequate, explain how the household members spend their extra labor.			
2.7.	If you have children who are married, how did they get land? <i>Please mention.</i>			
2.8.	Do you think your children who are/ will be above 18 years age can access land for farming?	Yes No	1 2	If Yes, skip to 2.8.2
2.8.1.	If no, what is the alternative livelihood for your children reaching 18?			
2.8.2.	If yes, what is/will be the source of the land?			
2.9.	Are there family members who migrated to other areas due to land shortage?	Yes No	1 2	If No, skip to 2.10
2.9.1.	If yes, where did they migrate to?	Other rural area Nearby town _____ Big city _____ Other, specify _____	1 2 3 4	
2.9.2.	What is the modality of migration?	Seasonal Long term	1 2	
2.10.	Are there still family members planning to migrate to towns/cities due to land shortage?	Yes No	1 2	
2.11.	How do you explain the current land policy in relation to tenure security?			

	<i>Please explain if the land policy provides adequate security in land use rights.</i>		
2.12.	How do you see the current land policy in relation to migration?	Discourages urban migration Encourages urban migration Has nothing to do with migration Other, _____	1 2 3 4

3. Perceptions on rural-urban migration

No.	Questions and filters	Coding categories	Skip to
3.1.	Is migration a common practice in your area	Yes 1 No 2	
3.2.	Is migration to towns increasing in your area?	Yes 1 No 2	If no skip to 3.3
3.2.1.	If yes, what are the reasons?		
3.3.	Do you encourage/support your family members to migrate?	Yes 1 No 2	If No skip to 3.3.2
3.3.1.	If yes, why?		
3.3.2.	If no, why?		If Yes skip to 3.4
3.4.	Did you or your family members change their living places to urban places in the last 15 years?	Yes 1 No 2	If No, skip to 4
3.5.	How many family members left the household for rural-urban migration in the last five years?	2012	Male [][] Female [][]
		2011	Male [][] Female [][]
		2010	Male [][] Female [][]
		2009	Male [][] Female [][]
		2008	Male [][] Female [][]

3.6.	Why are household members migrating to cities?	Lack of land to make a living on farming	1	
		Weakening productivity of agriculture	2	
		Food shortage	3	
		Searching for additional income	4	
		Seeking urban life	5	
		Education	6	
		To diversify skills	7	
		Other, _____	8	

4. Land policy and migration

No.	Questions and filters	Coding categories	Skip to
4.1.	Does the household have a landholding certificate/ title/deed?	Yes 1 No 2	
4.2.	Does the household know the rights on landholding? <i>Regardless of certificates availability</i>	Yes 1 No 2	If No skip to 4.4
4.3.	What are the rights the household/head have on land?	Selling 1 Renting out all 2 Renting out part 3 Using through share cropping 4 Inheriting to family members 5 Giving to any one 6 Mortgaging 7 Other, _____ 8	
4.4.	Do any of the household members still intend to migrate if they are given with adequate farming land?	Yes 1 No 2	
4.5.	Does anyone migrate if he/she is allowed to sell or rent his/her land for a longer time?	Yes 1 No 2	
4.6.	Does anyone migrate if he/she is sure that government doesn't take away his/her land due to absence?	Yes 1 No 2	

5. Urban migration problems and benefits

No.	Questions and filters	Coding categories	Skip to
5.1.	Does the household have migrated family members to urban areas?	Yes 1 No 2	If No, skip to 5.2
5.1.1.	If yes, does the household have communication with them?	Yes 1 No 2	
5.1.2.	If yes, do they have an improved living condition compared to their rural life?	Yes 1 No 2 No information 3	
5.1.3.	Do the migrants send money to support family?	Yes 1 No 2 Don't want to answer 3	
5.1.4.	Do migrants invest in rural areas?	Yes 1 No 2	
5.1.5.	If yes, where do they invest on?	Livestock rearing 1 Crop farming 2 House construction 3 Non-farming activities 4 Other, _____ 5	
5.1.6.	What benefits the rural-urban migration brought to the household? <i>Please explain</i>		
5.2.	Are there migrant family members who returned back to live in rural area for good?	Yes 1 No 2	If No, skip to 5.3
5.2.1.	If yes, why did they return?		
5.3.	What problems did you hear about migrants in urban areas?	Joblessness 1 Deteriorating living status 2 Being victim of crime 3 Exposure to disease 4 Being victim of abuse 5 Disappearance 6 Engaging in crimes 7 Other, specify _____ 10	

6. Rural development options

No.	Questions and filters	Coding categories	Skip to
6.1.	How do you compare your current living condition with previous years?	Improving 1 Same 2 Deteriorating 3 No idea 4	
6.2.	How do you rate your level of living compared to the other community members?	Rich 1 Better-off 2 Middle 3 Poor 4 Very poor 5	
6.3.	What are the major problems affecting the livelihood of you and other residents in the area?		
6.4.	What efforts are being made to alleviate the mentioned problems in Q 6.4?		
6.5.	Do you think there are adequate non-farming activities to provide job in your area?	Yes 1 No 2 No idea 3	
6.6.	Have you or any other members of the household are engaged in non-farm activities in your current area?	Artisan 1 Construction labor 2 Retailing 3 Religious service 4 Salaried employment 5 Other, specify 6	
6.7.	Do you or other people who are engaged in non-farm activities get support from the Government?	Yes 1 No 2	If No, skip to 6.8
6.7.1.	If yes, what kind of support? Please explain.		
6.8.	If you have not tried any non-farm activities in your area, what are the reasons?		
6.9.	If non-farming activities adequately exist in your area, do you think urban migration decreases?	Yes 1 No 2	

Annex 2.4: Migrants Survey Questionnaire

Land Policy Implications in Rural-Urban Migration:
The Dynamics and Determinant Factors of Rural-Urban Migration in Ethiopia

Questionnaire ID <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	Region _____ <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>
City _____ <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	Sub-city _____ <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>
Area: _____	Interviewee Serial Number <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>
Date of Interview: Date:...../ Month:...../ Year.....	
Response Status 1. Complete 2. Refusal 3. Non-Contact 4. Incomplete (State Reason)..... <input type="text"/>	

E-Code	Name of Enumerator	Signature Date Interview	Completed
S-Code	Name of Supervisor	Signature Date	Checked

<p>Enumerator's Introduction Guide</p> <p>My name is () and I have been hired by Zemen Haddis, PhD student at the Technical University of Munich to participate in data collection of a PhD study entitled Land Policy Implications on Rural-Urban Migration.</p> <p>You are randomly selected among many migrants living in the area. The purpose of this interview is to understand the implications of land policy on rural-urban migration. The information will be used to make research analysis and show the relationship between land policy and migration decisions on rural people. The analysis and finding of the research will not include any specific names.</p> <p>The interview may take an hour. If you have inquiries about this survey, contact the researcher at 0911253783.</p> <p>This survey is voluntary and you can choose not to take part. However, we would really appreciate it if you would answer the questions honestly and openly.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • SEEK COMPREHENSION: Do you have any questions about any of the things I have just said? • SEEK VOLUNTARY AGREEMENT: Are you willing to participate in this interview? <p>Enumerator: The migrant is the only permissible respondents in this survey.</p>

From Q1.1 to Q4.5.1, circle one or more of the codes that correspond to the answer the respondent has given or write the answer in the spaces provided for uncoded responses unless instructions have been given to circle more than one response.

7. Demographic and background characteristics

No.	Questions and filters	Coding categories	Skip to
7.1.	Name of Respondent		
7.2.	Sex of the respondent	Male 1 Female 2	
7.3.	Age of Respondent	Age in Years [][] Don't Know 888	
7.4.	Marital Status	Married Single 1 Divorced 2 Separated 3 Other 4 _____ 5 =	
7.5.	What is the highest level of school you attended?	Basic education 1 Primary 2 Secondary 3 College/university 4 Religious School 5 None of the Above 6	
7.6.	Where do you live?	In a rented house 1 On a street 2 Government shelter 3 Charity shelter 4 Other _____ 5	
7.7.	Whom do you live with?	Alone 1 With 2 partner/spouse With 3 friends/relatives With unknown 4 people Other _____ 5	
7.8.	Originally where are you from? (<i>Mention the region, zone, district, and sub-district names.</i>)		
7.9.	When did you migrate to urban area?	Age [][] Year [][][][]	

7.10.	Where was your first destination after left the rural area?	Other rural area Small town within same district Capital of district Periphery of the current city The current city Other _____	1 2 3 4 5 6
7.11.	Did you migrate alone or with family?	Alone With family With friends Other - _____	1 2 3 4

8. Current occupation and living condition

No.	Questions and filters	Coding categories	Skip to
8.1.	What is your current job?	Jobless Porter Daily laborer on a construction site Artisan _____ Working in industry Guard House servant Retailor Broker Other _____	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
8.2.	Are you happy with your current job?	Yes No	1 2
8.2.1.	<u>If No, why?</u>	The income is not adequate It is tiresome It is not my interest It is harmful It is not dependable Other _____	1 2 3 4 5 6
8.2.2.	If yes, why	Adequate income Easy to work It is my interest Beneficial in skill Dependable/job security	1 2 3 4 5

		Other _____	6	
8.3.	Do you save money from your income?	Yes	1	
		No	2	
8.3.1.	If yes, what are you planning to do with the saved money?	Change occupation	1	Go to 1.4 if No
		Expand current activities	2	
		Establish own business	3	
		Invest on fixed assets	4	
		Marriage	5	
		Invest in rural area	6	
		Other _____	7	
8.4.	Do you send money to support your rural family?	Yes	1	Go to 3 if No
		No	2	
8.4.1.	If yes, how often you send?	Monthly	1	
		Quarterly	2	
		Semi-annually	3	
		Annually	4	
		Occasionally	5	
		During holidays	6	
		Other _____	7	
8.4.2.	Why did you send money to rural family?	To support family	1	
		For own Saving	2	
		To buy asset for myself	3	
		To buy asset for family	4	
		To support family business	5	
		Other....	6	

9. Landholding, migration decisions, and experiences

No.	Questions and filters	Coding categories	Skip to
9.1.	Do/did you hold land in rural areas?	No I did/do not 1 Yes I did 2 Yes I do 3	
9.1.1.	If you did/do not hold land, why?	No allocation of land 1 Parents don't have land to inherit 2 Did not want to hold land 3 Underage to inherit or claim land 4 Cannot inherit from alive parents 5 Other _____ 6	
9.1.2.	If you did hold, how did you dispose the land?	Gave to my family/parents 1 Gave to other people 2	

		Sold	3	
		Rented out for long period	4	
		Confiscated due to my absence	5	
		Other _____	6	
9.1.3.	If you still hold land, how are you managing it?	Relatives are managing on my behalf	1	
		Contracted out for share cropping	2	
		My wife/husband is on my land	3	
		Other _____	4	
9.2.	Do you remember any land redistribution happened in your rural area?			
9.2.1.	Please mention the year and explain the reasons of redistribution			
9.2.2.	Have you or your parents benefited or lost due to the land redistribution?	Benefited	1	
		Lost	2	
		Neither benefited nor lost	3	
9.2.3.	If benefited or lost, please explain			
9.3.	Why did you decide to leave the rural area?	Landlessness	1	
		Inadequate farming land	2	
		To change occupation	3	
		For education	4	
		To skip poverty	5	
		Health problem	6	
		Seeking urban life	7	
		To skip forced marriage	8	
		To learn new skills	9	
		Natural disaster	10	
		Seeking self sufficiency	11	
		Other _____	12	
9.4.	If you were provided with a farming land, would you stay in rural area?	Yes	1	
		No	2	
9.5.	What you were used to do in rural area? (occupation)	Did not have job	1	
		Farming	2	
		Student	3	
		Retailing	4	
		Other _____	5	
9.5.1.	What challenges you faced related with your job in rural	Lack of capital	1	
		Low income	2	

	areas? If you did not have job, skip this question.	Lack of work space Other _____	3 4	
9.6.	How did you get information about urban areas to decide for migration?	Did not get any information From people who migrated before Just from informal sources Just good impression of urban areas Other _____	1 2 3 4 5	
9.7.	Do you think your decision on migration was right?	Yes No	1 2	
9.8.	What other options you could have tried instead of migration?	Farming on the available land Renting in land and farming Share cropping Wage labor on other farms Non-farm labor Retailing Artisan _____ Other _____ Did not try at all	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	
9.9.	Have you experienced any problem during your migration period?	Criminal activities Health problem Accommodation problem Lack of capital Lack of job Other _____ Did not face any problem	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	

10. Perceptions and post-migration plan

No.	Questions and filters	Coding categories	Skip to
10.1.	Did/do you encourage and support other rural family members to migrate to towns?	Yes No	1 2 Go to 4.3 if No
10.1.1.	If you encourage or discourage, why? Please explain		
10.2.	Did/do you invest in rural agriculture with your family?	Yes No	1 2
10.2.1.	Please provide explanations for both <i>Yes</i> and <i>No</i> answers		

10.3.	Do you go back to rural area and settle, if you are given a land for farming?	Yes No	1 2	
10.3.1.	In both yes and no cases, please explain why?			
10.4.	Is urban area preferable than rural for living?	Yes No	1 2	
10.4.1.	If yes, why?	Better income Better development level Better infrastructure Better service Better security and freedom Other _____	1 2 3 4 5 6	
10.4.2.	If no why? Explain:			
10.5.	How do you evaluate the current living condition of the community in the rural area?	Improving Same/ no change Deteriorating No idea Other _____	1 2 3 4 5	
10.5.1.	Please explain reasons for any of the above answers			