

The Nexus of Migration, HIV/AIDS and Food Security in Ethiopia

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Table of Contents

<i>Table of Contents</i>	2
<i>List of Tables</i>	4
<i>List of Figures</i>	5
<i>Acronyms</i>	6
<i>Executive Summary</i>	7
<i>Introduction</i>	11
<i>Objectives of the Study</i>	13
<i>Methodology</i>	14
Sampling	14
Data Types and Sources	15
Data Generation	15
Data Analysis	17
<i>Results and Discussion</i>	18
<i>General Description of the Sample Population</i>	18
Family Structure and Residential Facilities	18
Livelihood strategies	18
Main Economic Activities	18
Urban Agriculture	20
<i>Migration – Reasons, Origins, and Connection</i>	28
Reasons for Migration	28
Connections of migrants in the city and encouragements received	34
Style of migrations – Individual and Group	39

<i>The Types and Reciprocity of Remittances</i>	42
Remittances from Urban to Rural Areas	43
Money.....	43
Food.....	45
Goods.....	46
Remittances from Rural to Urban Areas	48
Money.....	48
Food.....	48
Good.....	49
<i>Food Security</i>	50
Dietary Diversity Score	50
The DDS for people in Addis Ababa	54
Food situation – before and after migrating to Addis	55
<i>Women and Orphan Migrants in Addis Ababa</i>	58
<i>Movement of People, Health Risk and HIV/AIDS</i>	60
Sickness of People’s Movement	60
TB Experience and HIV/AIDS Risk	61
Migration and Health	62
Perceptions about HIV/AIDS in Addis Ababa City	63
<i>Challenges of the Community</i>	66
<i>Conclusions and Implications</i>	68
<i>References</i>	70

List of Tables

Table 1 - Source of Income for Respondents in Addis Ababa	19
Table 2 - Possession of High Value Furniture	20
Table 3 - Crops under Production in Addis Ababa	21
Table 4 - Species of Animals Kept in Addis Ababa	23
Table 5 - Description of Livestock Possession by Keepers	24
Table 6 - Reasons for Migration	29
Table 7 - Origin of the migrant household and their location in Addis Ababa	33
Table 8 - Preferred region for permanent living.....	34
Table 9 - Relations of migrants before moving to the city	35
Table 10 - Relations in Rural Areas	37
Table 11 - Frequency of home visit per year	38
Table 12 - Recipients of Money Sent out by People in Addis Ababa	43
Table 13 - Decision Making for Sending Money	44
Table 14 - Regions where food items are sent out.....	45
Table 15 - Food items sent out by people in the city	45
Table 16 - Recipients of the food sent out from Addis.....	46
Table 17 - Goods sent out by people in the city.....	47
Table 18 - Types of food items received by people in the city.....	49
Table 19 - Goods received by people in rural areas.....	50
Table 20 - Food items used to calculate the DDS	52
Table 21 - Food items consumed by respondents.....	53
Table 22 - Dietary Diversity Score	54
Table 23 - Food acquiring means when households run out of money in Addis Ababa	57
Table 24 - Perceived change in food availability and tendency to receive food	58
Table 25 – Livelihood activities of women migrants in Addis	59
Table 26 - Reasons for Testing for HIV	61
Table 27 - Cross-tabulation of chance of contracting HIV/AIDS by TB experience	62
Table 28 – Migration and disease incidence	62

Table 29 - Cross tabulation of perceived health status and migration	63
Table 30 - Relation of the HIV patient or casualty with the respondent.....	65
Table 31 - Challenges of the Community.....	67

List of Figures

Figure 1 - Calendar of Migration of Respondents to Addis.....	32
Figure 2 - Length of Stay of Migrants in Addis Ababa	40
Figure 3 - Calendar of Migration for migrants from Amhara region	41
Figure 4 - Calendar of Migration for migrants from Oromiya region	41
Figure 5 - Calendar of Migration for migrants from Southern region.....	42
Figure 6 - Distribution of DDS.....	55
Figure 7 - Frequency of credit taken to cope up with food shortage	56

Acronyms

AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ARV	Antiretroviral
CGIAR	Consultative Group on International Agricultural Research
DAP	Di-Ammonium Phosphate
DDS	Dietary Diversity Score
DFID	Department for International Development
DoUA	Department of Urban Agriculture
GOs	Governmental Organizations
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
TB	Tuberculosis
TV	Television
VCR	Video Cassette Recorder

Executive Summary

- Movement of people, or migration - in the positive sense of the term, contributes positively to the achievement of secure livelihoods, and to the expansion of the scope for poor people to figure out pathways out of poverty.
- This research generally intends to generate and analyze data and information to appropriately conceptualizing and examine the structural and temporal dynamics among migration, urban food security and HIV/AIDS in Ethiopia.
- Addis Ababa city was purposively selected for its growing urban population and the reportedly high prevalence of HIV/AIDS along with Johannesburg and Windhoek cities.
- This study used both primary and secondary data of qualitative and quantitative nature. The data generation was done using mix of techniques that included observations in the city and in the rural villages of Gurage zone, informal and formal surveys. The data and information generated were analysed using narrative analysis and descriptive statistics.
- More than half of the respondents in Addis do have permanent job and thus permanent source of income to depend on for their livelihoods. Urban agriculture is an important activity in the peripheries and along the major rivers in and around Addis Ababa city. Nearly 60% of the respondents engaged in agriculture are from Akaki sub-city which incorporates areas which used to be rural parts of Oromiya region and recently annexed to the city. The next follows Kolfe-Keranyo sub city with 13.6% of the respondents engaged in crop production.
- About a quarter (23.7%) of the sample households in Addis Ababa reported that they are raising livestock. The species of animals being kept in the city are cattle, chicken, sheep, goat, donkey, mule, horse, and others.
- There is a very well established marketing of agricultural products in the city. Products of the urban agriculture are sold while on farm with harvesting and transportation costs covered by the traders themselves. The homogeneity, at least in

terms of language, of the farmers engaged in urban agriculture is an important opportunity for mobilizing and organizing the farmers for a common and better goal in the sector.

- The identified reasons for migration to Addis Ababa include job seeking, traveling for and away marriage, education, moving with family or relatives, a dream for better life, political and legal harassment. Generally, people leave their rural home areas essentially for better lives both in terms of economic and social safety.
- The survey has revealed that more than 73% of the respondents in Gurage zone have traveled to urban areas for different reasons. The most important reasons for traveling were identified as job seeking, trading and visiting relations.
- More than half (54.9%) of the total respondents and 73.7% of the migrants reported that they had a friend or a close relative in Addis Ababa before they themselves migrated to the capital. The presence and communications with relatives in the capital is one of the pulling factors that encourage migrants to move to the city. Out of the total sample households, 88.1% were found to have relatives living in the rural areas. The relations include all sorts of members of an extended family which is rather a norm in Ethiopia.
- The importance of the link between both migrants and non-migrants with their connections in their home areas is a very important aspect of the rural urban linkage that movement of people creates. People in the rural areas also visit their relatives in urban areas when situations allow. Most of the people we talked to reported that they are frequently visited by their rural relatives.
- Migration is often a collective decision and it usually involves at least two people with limited or no blood relation and yet with strong relationship and mutual trust. About 50% of the migrants said that they left with relatives when migrating to the capital.
- Money is one of the important forms of remittance that link the rural and urban communities of Ethiopia. About 23.5% of the respondents do send money to their relations out of the capital city. 18.4% of the respondents were found to be sending food to relations out of Addis. Similarly, 23.2% of the respondents have sent goods for their relations out of Addis.

- The bi-directional nature of the transfer of money, foods and goods is quite apparent when looking at the types and frequency of remittances by people both in the rural and in the urban areas. The reciprocity is more visible in the case of food transfers from and to rural areas to and from urban areas. 28.1% of the respondents have received food from relations living out of the city. Only 3.8% of the respondents have received goods from relations in rural areas.
- Most of the respondents in Addis Ababa reported to have consumed only two or three types of food items. The mode and the mean of the dietary diversity score (DDS) were computed to be 2 and 2.08, respectively. As the most important food items are cereals, roots, tubers, and legumes, the low DDS, no matter what the cut-off point is, clearly shows the narrow dietary menu the people are living with.
- The conventional understanding is that migrants from rural to urban areas face a better opportunity to be food secure and lead a more fulfilled life. Narrowing everything down to food availability, 44% of the respondents in the city reported that their food status has improved after moving to Addis, 26.8% admitted that it has worsened in Addis, 13.8% said it has not changed at all, and the remaining 15.5% could not compare the food availability situation.
- A very important finding in this study is proportion of respondents who have made a voluntary test of HIV. 41% of the respondents have tested for the virus and 72.5% of these HIV-tested respondents have done it two times. Interest to know whether infected by the virus, pregnancy and prolonged sickness were the main reasons to take the virus test.
- The understanding of respondents about the relationship between movement of people and disease incidence was quite informative. More than 81% of the respondents affirmed that movement of people increases incidence and transmission of diseases. On the contrary, about 17% of the respondents felt that movement of people has nothing to do with diseases.
- The efforts exerted so far by governmental and non-governmental organizations in establishing HIV/AIDS testing centers in accessible locations appear to be successful, as nearly 90% of the respondents reported to be aware of a place to test for HIV/AIDS.

- It was also found out that about 41% of the respondents have tested for HIV and 42.6% of them know their HIV status.
- The availability and accessibility of HIV testing centers and supporting institutions for HIV patients is crucially important. Of the sample households who responded to the query, 73% are aware that HIV positive people are receiving supports of different kind. 88% of the respondents know that HIV patients are getting the ARV drugs.
- Respondents were asked to identify and prioritize the problems of their community and they singled out poverty, unemployment, lack of food, lack of water, and lack of housing as the five most important problems of their communities.

Introduction

Movement of people, or migration in the positive sense of the term, contributes positively to the achievement of secure livelihoods, and to the expansion of the scope for poor people to figure out pathways out of poverty. Migration does this by ameliorating seasonality and risk, reducing vulnerability, enabling investment in a range of livelihood assets (land improvements, education, livestock etc.), and providing the poor with more of a chance to gain a first purchase on virtuous spirals out of poverty (Ellis, 2003).

Migration is part of the socioeconomic dynamics that governs livelihoods both in the source and in the receiving spatial and human ends. Movements of people can be due to so many reasons related to opportunities for improved life or for avoiding the consequences of desperate situations. Employment opportunities, education access, availability of other social services, political safety, social security, land fragmentation and degradation, stigmatization and discrimination particularly in small rural villages, personal risks such as early and forced marriage, family breakdown, and the like can be reasons for people to leave their rural home areas to settle in the cities. Strong social ties, entitlement for assets – such as land – in the rural areas, hopelessness in the city due to lack of social recognition and poor access to social infrastructure, stigmatization and discrimination due to diseases such as HIV/AIDS can, on the other hand, be reasons that drive people back to the rural or to remoter areas.

The economic thinking behind migration decisions dates back to the Harris-Todaro model (1970), which asserts that an individual's decision to migrate is based on the differences in expected earnings in the formal urban sector and the expected earnings in the village. Since then, economic theory has evolved to focus on families as a unit of analysis, as opposed to just the individual. Stark and Bloom (1985) found that migration is a household decision and families invest in a migrant (or migrants) in return for future receipts of remittances. As such, migration is a source of income diversification for households facing income risks and is also circular in that it entails continued (rural-

urban) interaction between migrant(s) and their families, who remain in the area of origin. However, migration is influenced by a broader set of push and pull factors. Push factors include droughts, land scarcity, and low wages or absence of wage labor in out-migration areas, and pull factors include better job opportunities and/or the possibility of higher income and lower or different risk profiles in destination areas (von Braun, 2005).

The HIV/AIDS epidemic is a recent development and yet a very important force in causing and/or reinforcing movement decisions of people who are direct victims of the disease or indirectly affected dependents of people died of the disease. Not only stigmatization or discrimination due to HIV/AIDS is causing migration, rather the lower labor productivity that would apparently happen, the access to and costs of treatments for the disease, the possibility of getting supports, etc also influence HIV/AIDS patients' decision to move to more convenient places, in Ethiopian case, towns and cities. In addition, this disease affects dependents of the patient, when the latter is critically sick or is dead, as death of income generating member of a family would easily breakdown the families. This is aggravated by the fact that Ethiopian family structure is rather extended and usually only one member, mainly male adult, of the family generates income.

Efforts aiming at gauging the magnitude of HIV/AIDS' influence on decisions of migration so far systematically examined the effect of HIV/AIDS on the food availability of the patients and dependents. This is rather a logical approach to deal with the nexus of HIV/AIDS and migration in communities where traditional livelihoods prevail and in cases where subsistence agriculture is rather the way of life. Very little has, however, been done in examining the broader nexus of migration, HIV/AIDS and food availability in Africa in general and in Ethiopia in particular. This study is part of a continental project designed to generate data and information to influence research, development and policy interventions about the different facets of migration.

Objectives of the Study

This research generally intends to generate and analyse data and information to appropriately conceptualizing and examine the structural and temporal dynamics among migration, urban food security and HIV/AIDS in Ethiopia. The research is part of continental project designed with the purpose of influencing research, development and policy interventions about the dynamic nexus of these three important components of livelihoods in Sub-Saharan Africa based on case studies in Ethiopia, Namibia and South Africa.

The “vicious cycle” in which migration, HIV/AIDS and food and nutrition security are entwined is at the centre of this project. The research identifies interventions that contribute in improving conditions for poor households to create greater food security opportunities and in mitigating the negative impacts of HIV/AIDS on sustainable livelihoods in the country. It is also evident that HIV/AIDS has a direct negative impact on urban food security, most notably through the consequent reduction in physical capital and production of food in rural areas and increased burden of dependence of HIV-positive individuals on both urban and rural social units, precipitating a deepening of poverty at the household level.

This project therefore aims to better understand the interactions between migration, AIDS and food and nutrition security through addressing the following key specific objectives:

- 1) Demonstrate that household level rural food production contributes to the food budget of urban households
- 2) Examine the role of rural-urban migration and rural-urban linkages at the household level in magnifying or ameliorating the impacts of AIDS

- 3) Quantify the role that urban agriculture plays in meeting the food gap of urban households, and the extent to which AIDS influences this
- 4) Assess the policy environment's role in hindering or contributing to the urban food security of households (urbanization, economic, health)
- 5) Identify policy and programming implications of the findings in the context of the triple challenge of migration, AIDS and food insecurity

Methodology

Sampling

Addis Ababa city was purposively selected for its growing urban population and the reportedly high prevalence of HIV/AIDS along with Johannesburg and Windhoek cities. Before designing and implementing the instruments of the structured survey, a *sondeo* type qualitative survey was conducted. Accidental sampling was used and discussions were made with seven people in the different parts of the city and eight people in the rural villages of Gurage zone. The 15 people were drawn from different walks of life including farming, lottery selling, trading, shop keeping, shoe shining, and teaching. For the formal survey, five sub-cities in Addis were purposively selected for being residences of migrants to the city and for being sections where urban agriculture is practiced. The sub-cities are Akaki Kality, Bole, Gulele, Kolfe-Keranyo, and Nifas Silk-Lafto. Then, two Kebeles¹ from each sub-city were selected randomly. Finally, based on the dwellers' list from the Kebeles, 50 households were drawn from each Kebele using systematic random sampling. This makes the sample size for the survey in Addis to be 500. For precautionary reasons 4 households were added on the sample.

For a comprehensive treatment of the matter, the most famous source area of migrants, namely Gurage Zone, was included in the study. Four Kebeles were randomly selected in

¹ Kebele is the least administrative (political) structure in Ethiopia. It is also called Kebele Peasant Association in the rural areas.

the Zone and a sample of 24 households was drawn from each kebele and thus the sample size for Gurage zone was 96 households.

Data Types and Sources

This study used both primary and secondary data of qualitative and quantitative nature. Published and unpublished documents were reviewed to generate secondary data and information related to migration, HIV/AIDS, and food security in the country in general in the study area in particular. The documents were acquired from national and international research centers, GOs, NGOs, and other organizations working on one or more of the issues this research is interested in.

The primary data included the opinions of different actors working on the topics the research project is dealing with and the individual specific parameters that explain the characteristics and decisions of households vis-à-vis migration, HIV/AIDS and food security. The categories of variables for which primary data generated about include household demography, household socio-economics, migration, remittance, household access to food and consumption, urban agriculture, health care and welfare, women and orphaned and vulnerable children, and the community. The primary data were essentially generated from the sample respondents.

Data Generation

The data generation was done using mix of techniques that included observations in the city and in the rural villages of Gurage zone, informal and formal surveys. The observations and the informal survey were essentially to understand the basic aspects of the migration, HIV/AIDS and food security in Addis Ababa city and Gurage zone. Careful detailing of the objectives and questions of the research was made before designing the instruments for the informal and formal surveys. Due consideration was

also made of the available knowledge base before drafting the checklist and the questionnaire of the study. Checklists were prepared for informal discussions with relevant institutions and residents in Addis Ababa city and in Gurage Zone (as a source of migrants to the capital city). Based on the findings of the informal survey, the structured questionnaire for the formal survey in Addis was revised and finalized.

The checklist for the informal survey had three components addressed for three categories of respondents. The first section was meant for guiding discussion with research institutions that work on one or more aspects of rural urban linkage. The second section has entries to guide discussions with NGOs and civic organizations that work on one or more aspects of migration, AIDS and urban food security in Ethiopia. The third section has points of discussion with accidentally sampled residents of Addis Ababa city and Gurage zone.

The informal survey aimed at generating data and information on the important aspects of the rural-urban-rural migration of people in Ethiopia. The survey slightly highlighted the migration-food security-HIV/AIDS nexus in Addis Ababa city and Gurage Zone of Southern Ethiopia. Addis Ababa was selected as a destination for migrants and Gurage zone as an origin for most of migrants. The assumption is that considering both origin and destination of migrants will give a better picture of this complex dynamics. Identifying important variables that define the structure and dynamics of migration, food security and HIV/AIDS was also an important focus of this reconnaissance survey.

The discussions and observations made during the survey covered all important issues that have bearings of the basic objectives of the research project. The issues covered include reasons and motives of migration, duration and origin of migrants, calendar of migration and experiences of migrants, perceived changes in livelihoods of migrants, employment of migrants, trends in migration, visit to and from rural area, remittances to and from rural areas, perceptions and experiences with HIV/AIDS, inflation and livelihoods of migrants, production and marketing of inputs and outputs of urban agriculture in Addis Ababa.

The questionnaire of the formal survey was initially developed for the three countries in a similar format for uniform application. After going through some of the available literature and after compiling the results of the informal survey, the questionnaire developed to be used across countries was modified only to the extent that it aligns with specific norms and values of the target community in Ethiopia. The final version of the questionnaire was translated in Amharic to make the survey smooth and easy.

A brief guideline was prepared for the enumerators and supervisors hired for the survey. The guideline was essentially about making enumerators and supervisors aware of the objectives of the research, expected outputs of the research, and explanations on each of the questions. The guideline was used while training the enumerators and the supervisors. Two supervisors and eight enumerators were hired for the survey. The academic qualification of the enumerators and the supervisors ranges from College Diploma to Masters Degree. One day long training that aimed at familiarizing enumerators and supervisors with the objectives, expected outputs, challenges in field survey and potential ways of dealing with the challenges was held before the survey. Each of the questions was explained in clear terms to the enumerators and supervisors in such a way that they would be able to appropriately rephrase the questions if the need arises. Trainees were asked to reflect on the content and phrasing of the questions based on their individual experiences. These reflections were used in polishing the wording of the questions in the translated version of the questionnaire.

Data Analysis

The data and information generated were analysed using narrative analysis and descriptive statistics. Frequency and contingency tables are used along with bar and line graphs to understand the indications of the categorical variables. Descriptive measures were also computed for scale and other variables to understand the information in the

data. The results of both the informal and formal surveys are presented here. All quantitative treatments are, however, derived from the formal survey.

Results and Discussion

General Description of the Sample Population

Family Structure and Residential Facilities

Most (90.8%) of the valid responses (n=500) have shown that households are of single family. Two and four family member households were also found to be quit frequent in the city. Households of 3, 5 and 6 families were also observed but less frequently. The family size in the sample population ranges from one to 24 persons. The average family size was computed to be 6.45 with a standard deviation of 3.19.

Different types of dwellings were identified in the survey. 63.3% of the respondents live in independent and complete houses – mostly made of mud and wood, 16.5% live in complete houses made of mud and wood, 15.9% live in backyard houses of mud and wood, and 2.6% live in backyard concrete houses. Tukuls, plastic shacks, and other types of residences are also among the dwelling types in which people in Addis live.

Livelihood strategies

Main Economic Activities

More than half of the respondents in Addis do have permanent job and thus permanent source of income to depend on for their livelihoods. Unspecified set of jobs has also been reported to be the source of income for about 20% of the respondents in the city. The form of employment was reported to be predominantly hired by others instead of self-employment. This is expected given the importance of the public sector (government) as employer and the infancy of the private sector or simply lack innovativeness when it

comes to starting one's own business. Alarming, as our sample included only those with residential houses in the registry of the Kebele, 20.5% of the respondents do not have any income either because they lost their job or because they never had a job at all. 2.6% of our sample respondents did not have their own income source because they are too young or they are students. Begging was also mentioned as a source of income albeit only once (Table 1).

Table 1 - Source of Income for Respondents in Addis Ababa

Income source	Frequency	Percent (n=503)
Permanent job and income	258	51.3
Lost/no job and no income	103	20.5
Other (unspecified)	102	20.3
Aid from different sources	21	4.2
Too young and no income	10	2
Student and so no income	3	0.6
Begging	1	0.2

As generating precise and comprehensive measurement of income of households in such economies is obviously difficult, possession of valuable assets can be used as a proxy to indicate the income status of the household. As indicated in table 2, more than 87% of the households have a radio, 67.9% have a TV set, 58% a cell phone, 44.4% a VCR and 30.5% have a refrigerator. These possessions appear to be widely distributed within the community.

Table 2 - Possession of High Value Furniture

Item	Frequency	Percent (n=502)
Radio	437	87.1
Refrigerator	153	30.5
TV	341	67.9
Cell phone	291	58
Sewing machine	15	3
VCR	223	44.4
Generator	7	1.4

Urban Agriculture

Urban agriculture is an important activity in the peripheries and along the major rivers in and around Addis Ababa city. About 41% of the respondents reported to have engaged in different crop production activities. About 6.2% and 1.7% of the sample households mentioned agriculture as the first and the second most important economic activity, respectively, for their livelihoods.

Crop Production

Nearly 60% of the respondents engaged in agriculture are from Akaki sub-city which incorporates areas which used to be rural parts of Oromiya region and recently annexed to the city. Then follows Kolfe-Keranyo sub city with 13.6% of the respondents engaged in crop production. Bole sub city has the lowest number of crop producers, as expected.

These crop producers were found to depend significantly on their agriculture for meeting their food requirements as reported by 77.3% of them. Interestingly, 10.6% of the crop producers believe that migrants are useful for the urban agriculture. Related with this is the belief of 50% of the urban crop producers that more rural urban migration enhances agricultural productivity. This can be again related to the labor shortage reported by 28.8% of the crop producers.

The general feeling towards crop production is so positive that 59.7% of the sample population showed interest in engaging in the activity if the opportunity arises. A number of crops - cereals, pulses, vegetables, fruits and spices - are being produced in Addis Ababa city. Wheat and teff are the most frequently mentioned cereals under production, grass pea, field pea and chickpea are the most common pulses, and cabbage is the most important vegetable (Table 3).

Table 3 - Crops under Production in Addis Ababa

Crop	No. of producers	Percent (n = 205)
Wheat	41	20
Teff	34	16.59
Grass pea	24	11.71
Field pea	20	9.76
Cabbage	13	6.34
Chick pea	11	5.37
Lentil	10	4.88
Fenugreek	9	4.39
Beans	7	3.41
Garlic	6	2.93
Maize	5	2.44
Other fruits and vegetables	5	2.44
Eucalyptus	4	1.95
Potato	4	1.95
Salad	4	1.95
Green pepper	3	1.46
Hop	3	1.46
Barley	2	0.98

The general information generated from the Department of Urban Agriculture (DoUA) shows that, in 2008, there were about 4100 households or about 26,000 people in the peripheries of the city and along the rivers in the city that lead their livelihoods depending on crop production. The crop production covers about 10,000 hectare. Fruit and vegetables production is also carried out on about 400 hectare of land of which 260 hectare is owned by 11 fruit and vegetable producer cooperatives. The fruit and vegetable production is undertaken all along the river basins of Akaki River (from Tinishu Akaki to Akaki) and Kebena River (from Kebena to Bole Bulbula). About 60% of the leafy vegetation supply for the city comes from the production in and around the city.

DoUA provides extension support that includes improved seed, fertilizer, and advisory services. The department has established one temperate fruit nursery site for seedling supply for the city. DoAU also provides veterinary services for livestock keepers that include vaccination, medical treatments, and culling. Abattoir management and meat hygiene control is also the mandate of the department of urban agriculture of Addis Ababa.

Livestock Production

About a quarter (23.7%) of the sample households in Addis Ababa reported that they are raising livestock. The species of animals being kept in the city are cattle, chicken, sheep, goat, donkey, mule, horse, and others. As indicated in table 4, most (97.5%) of the livestock keepers are raising cattle, 62.7% of the keepers raise chicken followed by donkey keepers (27.97%).

Table 4 - Species of Animals Kept in Addis Ababa

Species	Frequency	Percent (n=118)
Cattle	115	97.46
Chicken	74	62.71
Donkey	33	27.97
Sheep	27	22.88
Goat	9	7.63
Horse	8	6.78
Mule	3	2.54
Other	2	1.69

The animals are kept for different purposes such that cattle are essentially for dairy production purpose, pack animals for transportation, shoats for marketing, and chicken for egg and meat marketing and consumption.

The herd size of each species of animal possessed by the respondents varies considerably from a household to another. Chicken and sheep herd sizes each range from 0 to 30 with means of 3.39 and 1.38, respectively. Goat possession also shows higher variation although with lower mean (Table 5). As expected, in general, the general per household herd size is not that high as the sub - sector is constrained by different challenges mainly related to feed supply and quality.

Table 5 - Description of Livestock Possession by Keepers

Species	Mean	Std. Deviation	Minimum	Maximum
Chicken	3.39	4.93	0	30
Sheep	1.38	3.96	0	30
Oxen	0.78	1.67	0	8
Donkey	0.7	1.42	0	7
Cows	0.56	1.06	0	6
Calves	0.46	0.9	0	4
Bulls	0.26	0.78	0	5
Goat	0.25	1.55	0	15
Other	0.19	0.54	0	4
Horse	0.1	0.41	0	2
Mule	0.03	0.17	0	1

The discussions made with DoUA have drawn the bigger picture of livestock keeping in the City. The department indicated that there are no any recent and reliable data regarding urban agriculture in the City. The scanty data in the department's archives do show that there were 5,000 dairy cattle keepers in 1994 owning sixty to seventy thousand cattle. This sector used to supply 70% of the milk consumed in Addis Ababa city. The production and contribution of the dairy cattle sector is reported to be declining mainly as a result of the development that is going on in the city and which wiped most of the slum areas that used to harbor the dairy cattle population. The general tendency of dairy cattle production is declining than otherwise.

Hide and skin production and fattening are also important elements of agriculture in Addis Ababa. DoUA actively facilitates the operations of these sectors. Sites were selected in the city as collection centers for hides and skin and 82 containers were placed for collection of the hides and skin. This intervention is essentially to improve the quality of hides and skin produced in the city. Regarding livestock marketing, there are 4 cattle

markets and 2 sheep and goat markets in Addis Ababa. Infrastructural development is being undertaken in these markets.

Apiculture is also an important component of urban agriculture in Addis Ababa. The department of urban agriculture provides extension services related to apiculture for people engaged in the activity. The services include wax printing, provision of modern beehives, honey refining and bee feed provision. The DoUA also provides extension support for the flourishing poultry sector in the city. The department buys day-old chickens and distributes to farmers when they are three months old. This has been done for the last seven to eight years and very recently a modern poultry multiplication center was built and would start functioning quite soon.

Inputs for the urban agriculture

The urban agriculture in Addis Ababa is relatively a high input enterprise. It is a labor intensive enterprise with traditional farm equipments being used as in traditional farming. Improved seed, fertilizers, herbicides and pesticides were also reported to be in use in the city's agriculture.

Most of the farmers are native residents of the city although virtually all of them were found to be *Guragegna* speakers who must have migrated from *Guragegna* speaking areas – mainly Gurage zone - South of the capital city. Migrants are the most important sources of labor followed by family labor. The daily wage rate was reported to be 20 birr per day per person in addition to breakfast, lunch and drinks. There is high demand for labor in the rainy season despite the fact that the agriculture in the city uses irrigation. This might imply that either the irrigation is not developed enough to cover the water requirement of the crops being produced or farmers increase their activities in the rainy season. Respondents implied that contractual hiring of laborers is beneficial for employers than hiring on daily basis. The former is a kind of task based employment whereas the latter is employing workers until the job is finished. Migrants from the Gurage area are commended for their quick learning capacity of the agricultural activities

and their quick change in living standards. It was in fact reported that some migrants take quite long to learn the agricultural practices here in the city as irrigated farming is virtually unavailable in areas where the migrants usually come from.

Both UREA and DAP fertilizers are in demand among the farmers in the city. Price hike was indicated to be the most important constraint in using fertilizers. A current phenomenon is that traders have started purchasing seeds and fertilizer for farmers who produce vegetables and fruits on the peripheries of the City. This is part of an informal contractual arrangement with the farmers still having the benefit of receiving their revenues in current price.

The most important resources in the urban agriculture are land and water. Land ownership per household was reported to be very low as expected and it was also reported that there is a conflict in irrigation water use. This conflict is so serious that neither the cooperative of urban farmers nor the Kebele administrations could fix it. Land leasing out and in is a common transaction whereby strong farmers – both native and migrants – do lease in land from weaker and poorer households. Some migrants were reported to be producing more per unit area than the farming community in the city.

Pricing and Marketing of Products

There is a very well established marketing of agricultural products in the city. Products of the urban agriculture are sold while on farm with harvesting and transportation costs covered by the traders themselves. Farmers claim that they have not increased the prices of their products as much as the hikes in prices of other food and non-food commodities in the market. This is so even if prices of important inputs including seeds, fertilizer and labor have increased in unprecedented manner.

The products of the farms in Addis Ababa are marketed at **Kolfe** vegetable market. One important marketing challenge raised was the perishability of most of the products. This implies that unless the demand for the products is high and unless the products are sold in

time, then it is apparent that the products will be wasted. Farmers reported that they are tending to produce crops with less perishability and yet they suffer from the fluctuating prices for these crops. Some of the crops were found to have low prices despite the general inflation lingering in the country over the last few years. These low prices of the products are essentially due to the increase in the price of complementary goods that have lower price elasticity. The products with increased price are potato (about 100% increase in price) and tomato. Shallot and lettuce still have relatively constant prices.

The Kolfe market, where products of the urban agriculture are exchanged, is way below any standard of a good market. Filthy, muddy and smelly roads lead to vegetable sheds where all sorts of dirt are accumulated. It appears that hygiene is not at all a concern. Traders consulted revealed that there are no sections in the market for vegetable marketing and this, compounded with the provision of products directly from the farms, has made the vegetable market probably the worst part of the whole market. Products are brought to the sheds without any cleaning and defoliation. Therefore, all the cleaning and defoliation is done in the sheds where the transactions are carried out.

Challenges and opportunities for the urban agriculture

The homogeneity, at least in terms of the language they speak, of the farmers engaged in urban agriculture is an important opportunity for mobilizing and organizing the farmers for a common and better goal in the sector. Presence of a well recognized and accepted cooperative is as well a potential that can be exploited be it for enhancing the access to resources of farmers or to increase the bargaining power of the farmers. It can also be used to mitigate water use conflicts if strengthened in a way that members endorse and support. It already saves some transportation cost by supplying improved seed and fertilizer at the farm gate. Still farmers believe that the cooperative can do better at least in view of what it has been performing in its first few years of establishment. The discussion we made revealed that farmers feel that they are producing below capacity due

to limitations in financial capacity. Farmers specifically mentioned lack of expert advice as an additional constraint.

Farmers seem not to get the benefits they deserve from the price increases in the market. The benefits appear to be absorbed by brokers and traders along the value chain. Otherwise, the price increase in agricultural products could have a positive effect for producers provided their consumption of non-agricultural items declines because of high prices resulting in positive net effect for them.

An important issue mentioned regarding seeds was that those in the market since very recently are adulterated and sterile. The types of seeds used to be imported were indicated to be clean and healthy. This was indicated to be very constraining compounded by the rise in farm input prices. Interestingly enough, moisture stress was indicated as an important constraint of agriculture in the peripheries of the city.

Migration – Reasons, Origins, and Connection

Reasons for Migration

People have got different reasons to leave their home areas for new destinations. Rural people do migrate both temporarily and permanently to other rural and urban areas to cope up with the challenges of life that often happen in a seasonal manner. As elaborated by Ellis (2003), seasonality and risk are two factors that predispose poor people to high degrees of vulnerability. Both of them can be substantially ameliorated by migration. Seasonality causes what is known as the “consumption smoothing” problem (Morduch, 1995). Income flows, for example from crop production, are highly uneven relative to the constant needs of food consumption. Migrations of household members to take advantage of differing seasonal patterns of farm production elsewhere (rural-rural migration) and of non-farm jobs in the off-season (rural-urban migration) are routine responses to the seasonality problem.

The detailed formal survey conducted in Addis resulted in a more comprehensive list of driving forces of migration from rural to urban areas. The reasons identified include job seeking, traveling for and away marriage, education, moving with family or relatives, a dream for better life, political and legal harassment (Table 6).

Table 6 - Reasons for Migration

Reason	Frequency (%)
Job seeking	21.66
Marriage	14.33
Education	12.74
Moved with family/relative	11.15
Better life	10.19
Bad marriage	7.96
Search/visit relative	5.41
Political fear/displaced	3.82
Family conflict	2.87
Job transfer	2.87
Join with family	2.55
death of family/relative	2.23
Medication	1.91

The results show that people leave their rural home areas essentially for better lives both in terms of economic and social safety. Reasons such as better life, political fear or displacement also include the harassment that follows after defaulting on rural credits available only from parastatal micro-finance institutions.

The study has also revealed that more than 73% of the respondents in Gurage zone have traveled to urban areas for different reasons. The most important reasons were identified as job seeking, trading and visiting relations. The informal discussions with few

individuals in Gurage Zone informed that people from Gurage zone usually migrate to cities such as Addis Ababa, Dire Dawa, Jimma, Bonga, Mizan and Nazareth.

People of both sexes and all ages except very young children migrate to different areas. Migrants have different reasons to leave their rural home areas temporarily or permanently. It was learned that, among others, shortage of water in the rural areas, both for rainfed and irrigated agriculture, is an important reason why people migrate temporarily to the urban areas. Information about the positive experiences in Addis Ababa particularly regarding the wider domain of income generating options has also been mentioned as a reason for migration. Migrants from northern part of Ethiopia emphasized that the success of earlier migrants in saving money and establishing well back in the rural areas to be the main reason behind their own migration to Addis. In addition, the declining productivity of agriculture and the inhumane treatment of people who fail to repay their loans in time have also forced people to migrate particularly from the northern part of the country. These migrants can be any male member of the family and mainly intend to generate enough money for repaying the debts of the household. Better access for education was also mentioned as a reason for migration from rural areas to the city of Addis Ababa. Most of the youth migrate to reinforce their parents struggle against poverty. The parents also expect some support from their children and encourage them to leave for the city.

It was found that only people with relatives or close neighbors in the City do migrate from the rural areas of Gurage Zone. The hosts in the urban areas are supposed to help the migrants settle down and find a job. It is highly unlikely that a host rejects a migrant before she or he gets some job to depend on. This social network is a very important source of confidence for migrants from the zone to take the risk of leaving their home areas to face the challenges of city life.

People in the rural areas emphasized that the main target of migrants is engaging in trading to make quick cash income and come back to the family. Married and less educated people who migrate from Gurage zone were indicated to never stay permanently

in the places they travel to. On important holidays, almost all migrants come back to the rural areas. Married migrants or migrants with parents alive are normally expected to visit their home areas at least once in a year. Parents do not want their student children to go and stay in the cities any more; rather they want them to travel and engage themselves in any rewarding economic activity than remaining idle the whole off-school season.

Only 31.3% of the respondents in Addis reported to have been born in Addis whereas the remaining 68.7% revealed that they migrated to the city from different parts of the country. The calendar of migration to Addis shows that people have been migrating since 1905 and the latest arrival came to Addis Ababa in 1998² Ethiopian calendar. The number of people moved to Addis was quite high from late 1950's to early 1970's Ethiopian calendar (Figure 1). This trend of people moving to Addis increased again in early 1970's and then fell down again in late 1980's Ethiopian calendar.

Three principal phenomena seem to govern this calendar – drought induced famine, civil conflict and political unrest, and policies and proclamations with paramount bearings on the rural life. The late 1950's, mid 60's and mid 70's have experienced the worst famine crises in the country's history. Virtually the only feasible coping strategy the vulnerable people in the rural areas had is migrating to the towns and cities and Addis Ababa is historically the ideal destination for such migrants.

Similarly, the periods mentioned, except the mid 70's, and the early 80's are characterized by political turmoil either with in the country or with neighboring countries or both. The second half of the 60's has witnessed the famous Ethiopian revolution and the subsequent harassment of opposition forces of all sorts. It also witnessed the commencing of the civil war with rebel forces which ended in ousting the military junta of the revolution and coronation of the current regime in the early 80's.

² Ethiopian Calendar is 7 - 8 years behind the Gregorian calendar.

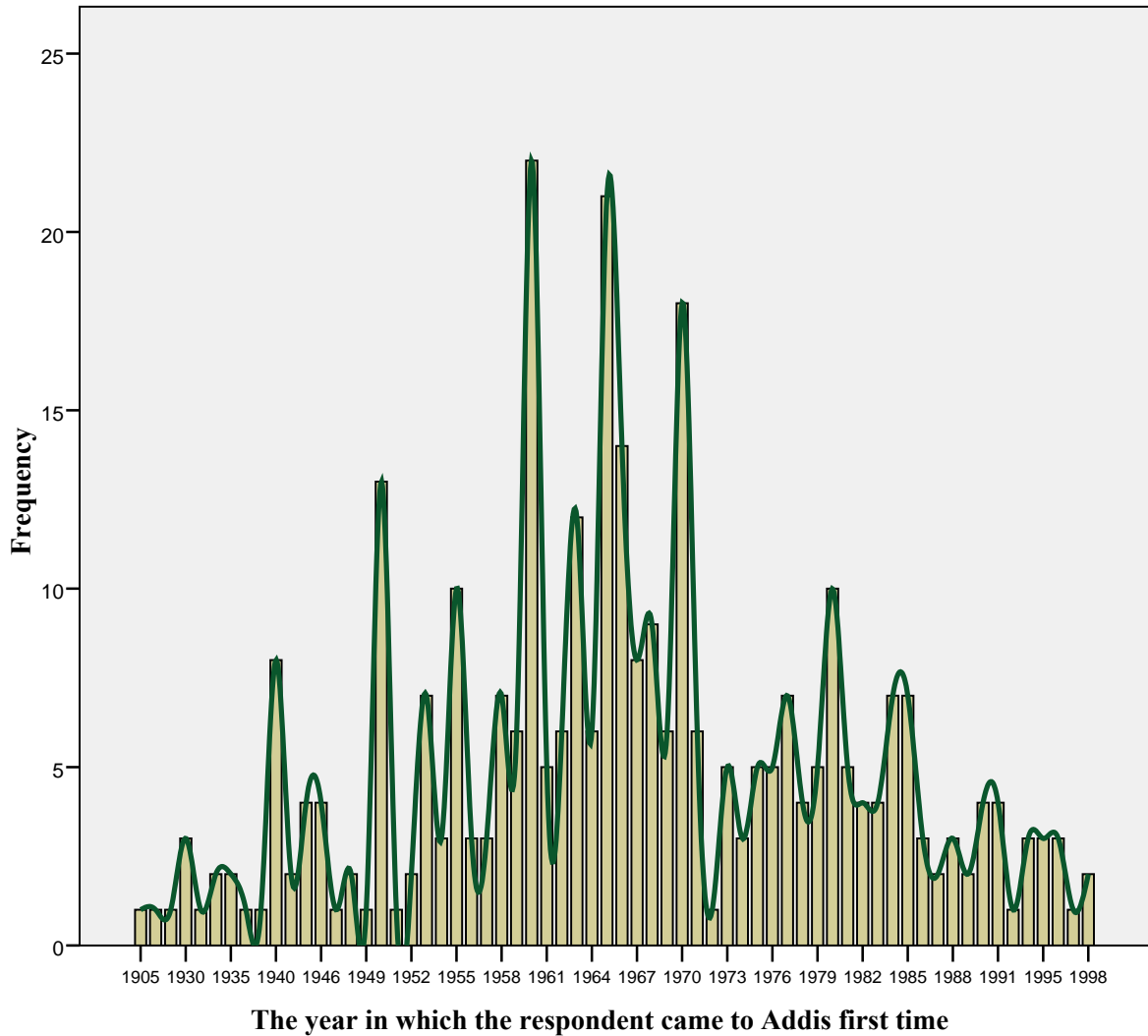


Figure 1 - Calendar of Migration of Respondents to Addis Abeba³

The policies and strategies with potential bearings on the movement of people are essentially related to land tenure security, organizations of farmers, and controls on movement of people. When the feudalistic monarch was abolished, the military derg freed tenants and poor farm workers arguably encouraging them to move to the capital. Land tenure insecurity, for instance, in terms of the risk of land appropriation by the government if the owner is not around for three years, as declared by the current

³ The calendar is Ethiopian unless specified. Ethiopian calendar is 7 (before January) to 8 (after January) years behind the Gregorian calendar.

government, has significantly reduced the movement of people since the early 80's. Other policy and institutional factors do have a comparable influence.

The respondents were also asked about the places they stayed for long before finally moving to Addis. Most of the respondents stayed in the Amhara region, followed by Oromiya, Southern and Tigray regions, in order.

An interesting result in this study is the pattern in which migrants from different parts of the country settle in Addis. Magnifying the importance of interactions with previously migrated relations, new migrants seem to follow their predecessors in choosing places to settle down. Migrants from the Amhara region seem to be evenly scattered in the city with a slightly higher presence in Bole sub-city, whereas migrants from Oromiya seem to settle mainly in Lafto and Akaki sub-cities. Migrants from Southern region are concentrated in Gulele and Kolfe sub-cities and migrants from Tigray are virtually living in Bole sub-city (Table 7).

Table 7 - Origin of the migrant household and their location in Addis Ababa

Origin ↓	Name of sub-city					Total
	Kolfe	Lafto	Gulele	Bole	Akaki	
Afar	0	0	0	1	0	1
Amhara	19	23	22	37	21	122
Dire dawa	0	1	0	1	0	2
Eritrea	0	2	0	1	0	3
Hareri	0	0	1	0	0	1
Oromiya	19	28	16	19	22	104
Saudi arabia	0	1	0	0	0	1
South	28	9	36	7	11	91
Tigray	1	3	0	10	0	14
Total	67	67	75	76	54	339

The settlement pattern of the migrants is mainly governed by the proximity of the sub-cities to the main inlets to the city from the respective regions the migrants are coming from. For instance, migrants coming from Oromiya region tend to settle around Akaki and Lafto which are the closest sub-cities to the main ways to the capital from the region. Similarly, migrants from Southern region have settled mainly in Kolfe and Gulele, which are again, close to the highways which connect southern region to the capital.

Almost all (90.4%) of the respondents want to stay in the capital city and only 3.7%, 2.9% and 1.7% do want to return to Oromiya, Amhara and Southern regions. Interestingly enough, only 1 (out of 477) respondent indicated interest in moving out of the country to live permanently (Table 8).

Table 8 - Preferred region for permanent living

Country/ Region/City	Frequency	Percent (n=477)
Addis	431	90.36
Amhara	14	2.94
Oromiya	17	3.56
South	8	1.68
Tigray	5	1.05
Tigray/Amhara	1	0.21
USA	1	0.21

Connections of migrants in the city and encouragements received

Earlier connections

54.9% of the total respondents (or 73.7% of the migrants) reported that they had a friend or a close relative in Addis Ababa before they themselves migrated to the capital. The presence and communications with relatives in the capital is one of the pulling factors that encourage migrants to move to the city. About 2% of the migrants had their whole

family living in Addis before they traveled from the rural areas to join their family in the city.

Much more frequent relations of migrants were observed to be with brothers, sisters, and husband. 14.4% of the migrants had a brother or brothers in the capital city before they left their home areas and about 11.4% of the migrants had a sister or sisters in the capital before they left their home areas to travel to Addis. 7.6% of the migrants said that they traveled to join their husband living in the city. Relations such as father, mother, sister and brother in laws etc. were mentioned to have been there in the city before the respondents moved to Addis Ababa (Table 9).

Table 9 - Relations of migrants before moving to the city

Relation	Frequency	Percent (n=342)
Other relatives	167	48.83
Brother	48	14.04
Sister	39	11.40
Husband	26	7.60
Mother	12	3.51
Father	10	2.92
Friend	9	2.63
Whole family	7	2.05
Sister in Law	7	2.05
Grand children	4	1.17
Head of household	3	0.88
Son	3	0.88
Servant	3	0.88
Grand parents	2	0.58
Wife	1	0.29
Daughter	1	0.29

Encouragements received

92.7% of the migrants reported that they have received encouragement from their relations in Addis Ababa before leaving their home areas to move to the city. The encouragements are quite diverse and most of the respondents (67.4%) revealed that they have received mix of encouragements. The dominant forms of encouragement are providing accommodation, general information about the city, payment for traveling and assisting in acquiring employment.

Current rural connections

Out of the total sample households, 88.1% were found to have relatives living in the rural areas. The relations include all sorts of members of an extended family which is rather a norm in Ethiopia. Then follow sisters, brothers and parents. This is expected as more often than not a member of the family migrates leaving the rest of the family back in the rural area to generate additional income.

Relatives, who are not close family members such as uncle, aunt, close neighbor etc., are the most frequent forms of relationship (38.14%) the respondents have with rural people. Sisters and/or brothers are the second most frequent (33.4%) rural relatives of household respondents living in Addis. About 14% of the respondents reported that their parents are living in the rural areas. The other connections in the rural areas reported by the sample respondents are presented in the following table (Table 10).

Table 10 - Relations in Rural Areas

Relations	Frequency	Percent (n=902)
Other relatives	344	38.14
Sisters/brothers	301	33.37
Parents	126	13.97
Friends	62	6.87
Children	27	2.99
Grand children	17	1.88
Spouse(s)	12	1.33
In Laws	10	1.11
Whole family	3	0.33
Servant	3	0.33

Visiting rural home area – circularity of migration

The importance of the link between both migrants and non-migrants with their connections in their home areas is a very important aspect of the rural urban linkage that movement of people creates. 56.9% of the sample respondents do visit their relatives in the rural areas. The frequency with which the visits are made ranges from very rarely (once in five to ten years) to six to 10 times within a year. Most (35.6%) of these people who visit their relatives, travel once in a year to the rural areas, whereas about 12.2% do travel twice a year to their rural home areas. 17.6% and 23.1% of the respondents visit their relatives in rural areas once every two to five years and once every five to ten years, respectively. About 40% of the people who visit relatives in rural areas indicated that they stay in more than one household when in the rural areas (Table 11). This simply shows the multi-dimensional relationship people have contrary to the linear relationship that is expected to exist between a household in the urban area and another one in the rural area.

Table 11 - Frequency of home visit per year

Interval of visit	Frequency	Percent (n=295)
Very rarely	68	23.1
Rarely - once in five years	53	17.9
Once in a year	105	35.6
Twice a year	36	12.2
3 - 5 times a year	25	8.5
6-10 times a year	4	1.4
Not sure	4	1.4

The informal survey done in Addis and Gurage zone also revealed a similar fact in that not all migrants travel every year to their rural home area. As the transportation cost is quite high, some migrants tend to stay in the city for long and travel back to rural areas very rarely. It was revealed by respondents that the length of time with which migrants stay in Addis Ababa has declined as life has become more demanding in the city. Students also come in the rainy season to work in the city to generate some cash income essentially to purchase their educational materials. They carry some money with them if possible for their parents as well.

Generally, however, most of the respondents go to the rural areas at least once a year to visit their family and relatives. Under special conditions such as wedding and mourning, these people can go to the rural areas quite often. Bringing sick people back home is also another important reason to travel back to the rural area. Second generation migrants – children of migrant parents – rarely travel to rural areas. There are also migrants who travel back 4 to 5 times a year to perform different activities. Migrants from northern Ethiopia tend to travel back quite frequently after saving the money they need for specific purposes. Farmers from the southern part- Gurage area - travel back to their home areas to undertake their agricultural activities as they often keep their usufruct rights on the parcels of land they were entitled to while in the rural areas.

Rural people visit people in the city

People in the rural areas also visit their relatives in urban areas when situations allow. Most of the people we talked to reported that they are frequently visited by their rural relatives. The visits by rural relatives are essentially for socially important reasons including wedding and mourning. People in the rural areas also have indicated that they would travel to cities to visit their migrant family members if the latter could not visit them during important holidays or occasions.

72.6% of the sample respondents reported that they have been visited by relatives in the rural areas. This is essentially the mechanism with which people in the city and the rural areas keep the social connection and the transaction of remittances continuous. So many reasons are there why people in the rural areas do visit their relations in the urban areas and the most important ones are medication and the need to know the status of their relatives. More than 70% of the respondents who reported to have been visited by people in the rural areas have received guests of rural areas at least once a year.

Style of migrations – Individual and Group

Migration is often a collective decision and it usually involves at least two people with limited or no blood relation and yet with strong relationship and mutual trust. About 50% of the migrants said that they left with relatives when migrating to the capital. About 17% of the migrants who traveled with relatives left their home area with the whole family. In 18.3% of the cases, the respondent traveled with her husband and in 5.5% of the cases with his wife. More frequently (21.7%), migrants to Addis reported that they traveled with their children predominantly male children and in 15.6% of the cases, migrants traveled to the city with their brothers and sisters, the former being a more common company. In 22.8% of the cases, migrants traveled with their parents. Interestingly, about 25% of the respondents migrated with other relatives of both blood and non-blood relationship. Although not that common, migrations with friends and in laws were also

reported. This diverse partnership while traveling to the new destination far from home tells a lot about the social interaction and trust within the community.

Length of time in Addis Ababa

It was found out that migrant respondents have stayed from 3 to 96 years in Addis Ababa. The most frequent length of stay ranges from 30 to 40 years (Figure 2). This shows that the 1960's (Ethiopian calendar) was a decade of movement of people to Addis Ababa. This decade has peculiar features as elaborated above.

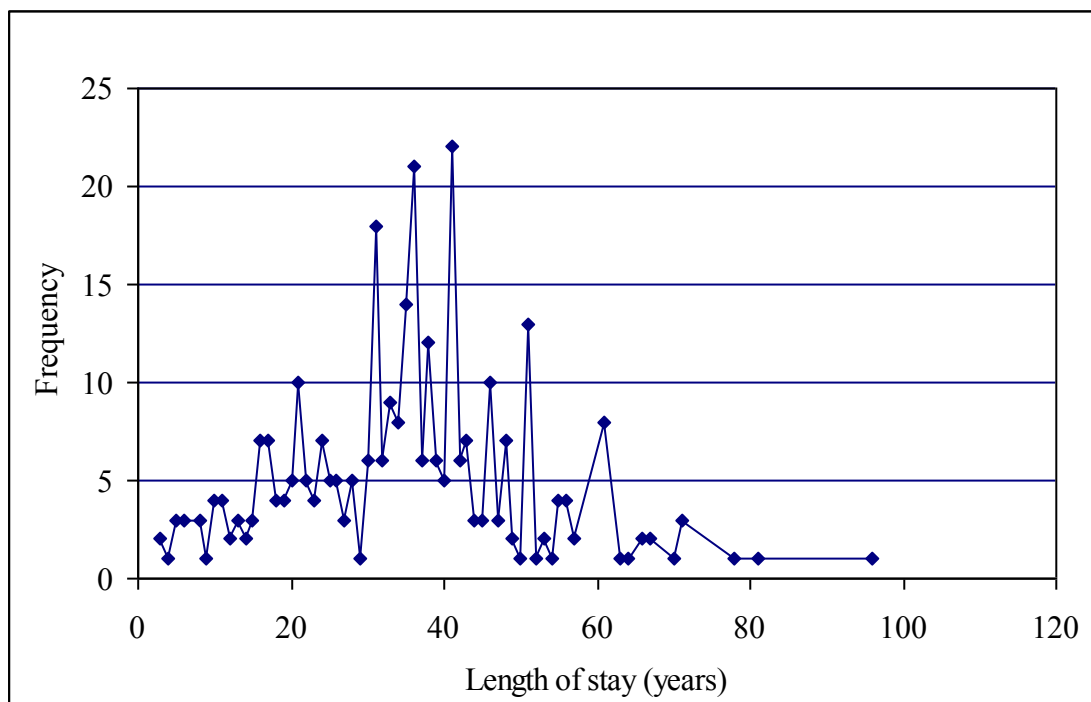


Figure 2 - Length of Stay of Migrants in Addis Ababa

The calendar of migration to Addis Ababa of respondents from the four main source regions shows that most of the migration happened in a comparable period of time (Figures 3-5). Migrants from the Amhara, Oromiya and Southern regions moved to Addis predominantly in the period between mid 1950's and early 1970's (Ethiopian Calendar).

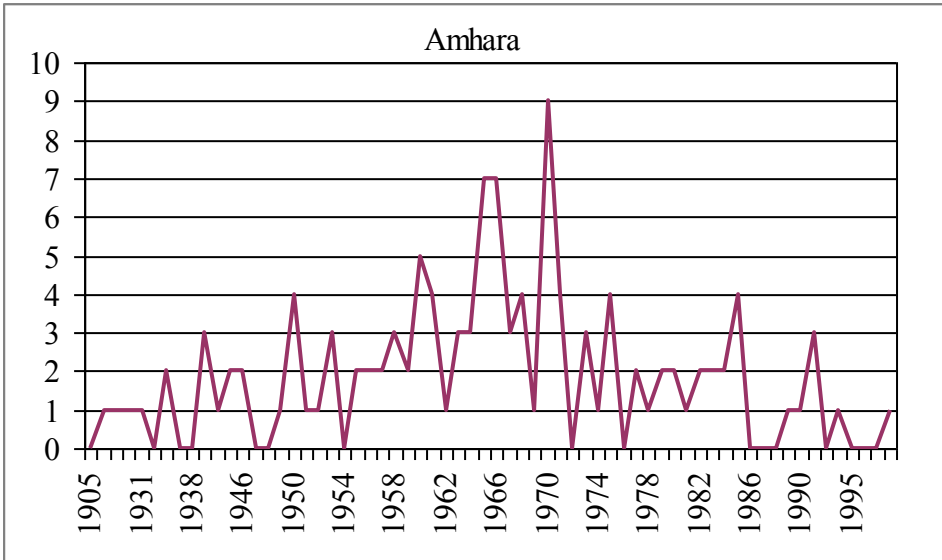


Figure 3 - Calendar of Migration for migrants from Amhara region

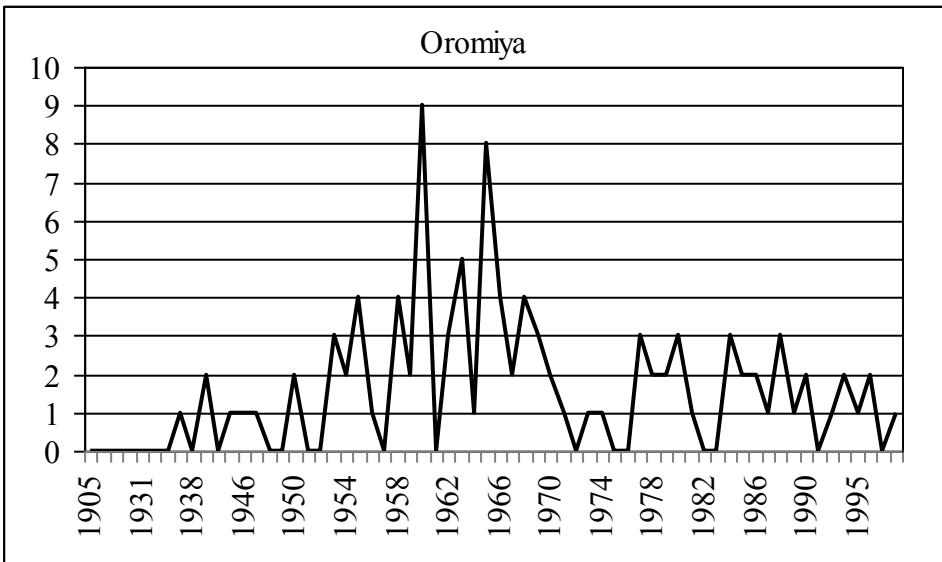


Figure 4 - Calendar of Migration for migrants from Oromiya region

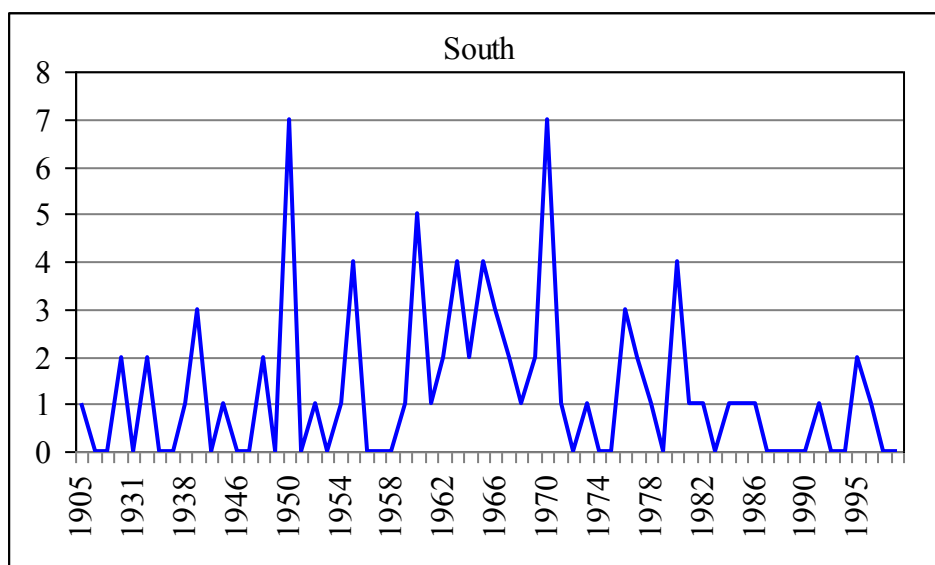


Figure 5 - Calendar of Migration for migrants from Southern region

The Types and Reciprocity of Remittances

The current literature on rural-urban linkages emphasizes the remittance of urban resources (mostly cash) to the rural areas, with little attention paid to social linkages or to reverse (rural-urban) remittance flows. This conceptualization of migration that has dominated the past 30 years is largely an economic one (Drimie, 2008). Nonetheless, migration is a social process, not just a matter of economic decision making. Migration patterns are often observed to correspond more closely to historical and cultural criteria than short-term economic calculation (Ellis, 2003). Migration and the flow of people and resources should, therefore, be conceptualized rather as a complex system of reciprocity between the rural and urban sectors. Urban-rural reciprocity is therefore not only a one-way movement of people and resources from the urban to the rural areas, but also a transfer of food from rural to urban households (Drimie, 2008).

This study has confirmed the developing argument of reciprocity of human and resource flows in a rather strong way. The following sections present the details of money, food and good transfers being made by people in the urban and rural areas to one another.

Remittances from Urban to Rural Areas

Money

Money is one of the important forms of remittance that link the rural and urban communities of Ethiopia. The results of this study also verify this fact in that about 23.5% of the respondents do send money to their relations out of the capital city. An important question is to whom the money is being sent. The survey revealed that the parents and children in the rural areas are the principal receivers of the money sent out from the capital. The table below shows that a few other groups of people also receive money from the urban areas (Table 12).

Table 12 - Recipients of Money Sent out by People in Addis Ababa

Recipient	Frequency	Percent (n=131)
Parents	57	43.5
Close relatives	52	39.7
Children out of Addis	11	8.4
Husband/wife	10	7.6
Related orphans	1	0.8

The spatial destination of the money sent out does include different parts of the country. Most of the recipients of the money sent from Addis Ababa live in the Southern part of the country. Out of the 119 respondents that send money out to people in the rural areas, 42.9% send to recipients in the southern region, 26.9% to recipients in the Amhara region and 24.4% to recipients in Oromiya region. Only 6 and 1 respondents indicated that they send food out for recipients in Tigray and Dire Dawa regions, respectively.

The survey in Gurage zone, known as the main origin of migrants to the city, also showed that about 4% of the respondents have sent out money for relations in different areas. Interestingly, the recipients are relatives who live in Addis Ababa, Amhara region and in

Southern region. Therefore, money is traveling both ways in contrary to the common belief that it flows only from urban to rural areas.

Who decides about sending money?

The decisions for sending money to relations out of the city are very important and might have important bearings on the livelihoods of the sending household. Accordingly, such decisions are essentially made by economically powerful members of the family. In Ethiopian context, both economic and social powers favor males and thus most of the decisions are made by men in some cases with consultations with the women. The findings of the survey in Addis show that the father of the house in consultation with the mother decides in 34.8% of the cases. In 27.1% of the cases, the father alone decides whereas in only 12.7% of the cases the mother alone decides. 22 respondents (18.64%) reported that they themselves make the decision, and 17 of these respondents are men. In very few cases, eldest children also make decisions of sending out money for relatives (Table 13).

Table 13 - Decision Making for Sending Money

Decider	Frequency	Percent (n=118)
father and mother of the house	41	34.75
father of the house	32	27.12
respondent	22	18.64
mother of the house	15	12.71
eldest daughter	3	2.54
eldest son	2	1.69
other	2	1.69
whole family	1	0.85

Food

Although not expected to be as much, 18.4% of the respondents were found to be sending food to relations out of Addis (Table 14). This must be a very recent phenomenon as the culture has been rural areas to send food to urban areas than vice versa as producing food items was considered to be the proud feature of rural areas in the country.

Table 14 - Regions where food items are sent out

Region	Frequency	Percent (n=91)
Addis	1	1
Amhara	23	25.3
Oromiya	37	40.7
Southern	25	27.5
Tigray	5	5.5

Predominantly purchased food items and other food items, such as spices and sweeteners, are the main types of food sent out to rural areas from the capital (Table 15). The following table shows the food items people in Addis send out relations out of the city.

Table 15 - Food items sent out by people in the city

Food items	Frequency	Percent (n=119)
Purchased food	76	63.87
Other food items	32	26.89
Pulses	7	5.88
Cereals	2	1.68
Fruits	1	0.84
Chicken	1	0.84

Just like the money sent out from the city, parents and close relatives are the main recipients of the food sent out by the people in the city. The table below shows the different groups of people that receive food from the capital (Table 16).

Table 16 - Recipients of the food sent out from Addis

Recipient	Frequency	Percent (n=109)
Parents	53	48.6
Husband/wife	2	1.8
Children out of Addis	6	5.5
Relatives out of Addis	38	34.9
Friends out of Addis	1	.92
Other people out of Addis	8	7.3
Needy people out of Addis	1	.92

The food remittance sent out by people in the city plays a significant role in smoothing consumption in the receiving end. All households which receive the food sent by the people in city are believed to use it for in-house consumption.

Virtually only four regions host the recipients of the food sent out by residents in Addis Ababa city. Most (40.7%) of the recipients live in the Oromiya region, 27.5% in Southern region, 25.3% in the Amhara region and about 5.5% in Tigray region.

The findings in Gurage zone are equally interesting. 53.1% of the people in the zone send out various food items to relations in different areas. More than 79% of the respondents who send out food in the zone are sending it to relations in Addis Ababa. Food remittance from rural to urban areas is usually expected to happen but the magnitude with which it is occurring is impressive.

Goods

Sending goods of different type to rural areas is what is normally expected from people living in towns with connections in the rural areas. Accordingly, 23.2% of the respondents have sent goods for their relations out of Addis. Different relatives living out of the capital receive goods from their relations in the city. The table below shows the receivers of goods sent from the capital (Table 17).

Table 17 - Goods sent out by people in the city

Recipient	Frequency	Percent (n=149)
Husband/wife	7	4.7
Parents	59	39.6
Children	10	6.7
Close relatives	61	40.9
Related and unrelated orphans	3	2
Other people	9	6.1

Types of goods sent out by the respondents include clothes (92.2% of the senders), shoes (49.1%), furniture (9.5%), farm tools (4.3%), tools for sanitation (11.2%), kerosene (25%), stationery (5%) and other goods (2.6%).

Virtually all of the households out of Addis which receive goods from relatives in the city were reported to use the goods for consumption. Only in less than 1% of the cases selling of the goods was reported. The same four regions are the places where goods are sent out by residents of Addis Ababa. 40.2% of the recipients of the goods sent by people in Addis live in the Southern region, 31.6% in the Amhara region, 23.1% in the Oromiya region and 4.3% in Tigray region. Only one respondent sends goods to a relative in Dire Dawa town.

The experience in Gurage zone clearly substantiates the reciprocity of human and resource flows this research is emphasizing. 21.2% of the respondents have sent out goods for people living in other areas. 87.5% of the recipients of the goods sent out people in this rural area are relatives in Addis Ababa. The recipients of the goods are mainly children and close relatives.

Remittances from Rural to Urban Areas

Money

The bi-directional nature of the transfer of money, foods and goods is quite apparent when looking at the types and frequency of remittances by people both in the rural and in the urban areas. Interestingly enough, 4.2% of the respondents have received money from relatives living out of the city. The money received by respondents came from parents, husband/wife, children, and from close relatives. The money received by residents of the city is used for purchasing food (33.3%), paying for education (19%), and paying for other household expenses (47.6%).

About 63% of the respondents in Gurage Zone have received from relations in other areas. 80.9% of the recipients reported that the money was sent from Addis Ababa followed by South and Oromiya regions as far away second and third, respectively. .

Food

The reciprocity is more visible in the case of food transfers from and to rural areas to and from urban areas. 28.1% of the respondents have received food from relations living out of the city. This is very much expected as it is rather a norm that people in rural areas send food items to their relatives in urban areas whenever possible, sometimes regardless of the demand of the latter. When it comes to the sources of food received from rural areas, the major sources are close relatives (51.1%) and the parents (44.7%). Other people – mainly irregular visitors, husband and wife, children, and friends in the rural areas do send food to people in the urban areas. The importance of close relatives and parents in the transfer of remittances is so paramount that any effort in maintaining the dynamics of the transfer and making it influential in the livelihoods of the people should target these groups of people.

As expected, the food items received are essentially agricultural products (Table 18). Different crops and animals dominate the offer as indicated in the table below. The food

received by people in Addis Ababa is almost entirely (98.6%) used for consumption and in about 1% of the cases it is shared with others.

Table 18 - Types of food items received by people in the city

Food item received	Frequency	Percent (n=225)
Cereals	65	28.9
Pulses	57	25.3
Chicken	12	5.3
Purchased food	10	4.4
Spices	3	1.3
Coffee and tea	4	1.8
Vegetables	3	1.3
Fruits	4	1.8
Meat	2	0.9
Other food items	67	29.8

In Gurage zone, as many people receive remittances in the form of food as people who send food remittances to people out of the rural zone. More than 53% of the respondents in the rural kebeles reported that they have received food from their relations living in different areas. Purchased food items are the most common food items coming to the rural area and the senders are children and close relatives of the recipients in the Zone.

Good

Only 3.8% of the respondents have received goods from relations in rural areas. The goods received are sent by close relatives, parents, children and other irregular visitors who live in the rural areas. The types of goods received include furniture, decorations, shoes, other goods and farm tools, in order of repetition. The good received by people in the city from rural areas is used in-house by the receivers.

In the rural areas, good remittance was found to be the most common form of transfer from urban areas. About 71% of the respondents in Gurage zone have received goods from relatives in different areas. The common types of goods received are clothes, shoes, other goods, and furniture (Table 19). Regarding the sources of the goods remittance, 79.7% of the senders live in Addis.

Table 19 - Goods received by people in rural areas

Goods	Frequency	Percent (n=68)
Cloths	59	86.76
Shoes	32	47.06
Furniture	8	11.76
Farm tools	2	2.94
Decorations	1	1.47
Other goods	22	32.35

Food Security

Dietary Diversity Score

Currently, there is no universally applicable, quick and easy-to-use assessment tool to determine the nutrient adequacy of the diet of children or adults. Traditional measures of food security and nutritional adequacy tend to be very specific, data intensive, costly and time consuming with narrow replicability and applicability across locations or different populations. Therefore, it is justifiable to have a simplified measure of food intake reflective of nutrient adequacy which could be used in rapid nutrition assessment and to assess changes in dietary quality and time (Kennedy and Nantel, 2006). According to Steyn et al (2006), dietary diversity reflects the number of foods or food groups eaten over a reference period. Dietary diversity can be used as an indicator of micro-nutrient adequacy, and the dietary diversity score (DDS) is a proxy measure of the nutritional quality of the diet (Swindale and Bilinsky, 2005).

Data regarding the characteristics of individuals in the target community and the amount and the nutritive composition of the food items consumed are required to calculate DDS and estimate the nutritive adequacy of the food consumed (Kennedy and Nantel, 2006). Food consumption data generated in this study are not disaggregated based on characteristics of the respondents and thus it was not possible to estimate the adequacy of quantities of the different food items reported as consumed per individual. Determining the nutritive composition of the food consumed was not also possible given the nature of the study. We rather summed up all the food items reported as consumed by household members and generated the DDS. Therefore, the results and implications of this score need to be treated with caution.

The data on food items were generated by asking respondents to recall what all family members consumed in the last 24 hours. All types of foods and drinks were recorded. Table 20 shows the list of food items data collected about and used to compute the scores. A case will have a value 1 if he or she consumed a given food item in the category and zero otherwise. Finally, following Steyn et al (2006) and Kennedy and Nantel (2006), nine food groups were identified. The food groups are (a) grains, roots and tubers, (b) vitamin A rich plant foods, (c) other fruit (d) other vegetables, (e) meat, poultry and fish, (f) eggs, (g) legumes, (h) dairy products, and (i) food cooked in oil.

The following food groups were constructed, using the food groups listed in table 20.

Cereals, roots and tubers

- Takes the value 1 if “*teff* or *teff* products” = 1 or “cereals other than *teff*” = 1 or “roots and tubers”=1.
- Takes the value zero if all these three food categories take the value zero.

Vitamin A rich plant foods

- Takes the value 1 if “Vit-A rich vegetables including sweet potato” = 1, or “yellow fruit” = 1, or “dark green leafy vegetables” =1.
- Takes the value zero if all these three food categories take the value zero.

Table 20 - Food items used to calculate the DDS

Food item	Code
Teff and teff products	1 - if consumed, or 0 - otherwise
Cereals other than teff	1 - if consumed, or 0 - otherwise
Roots and tubers	1 - if consumed, or 0 - otherwise
Vit-A rich vegetables including sweet potato	1 - if consumed, or 0 - otherwise
Yellow fruits	1 - if consumed, or 0 - otherwise
Other fruits	1 - if consumed, or 0 - otherwise
Dark green leafy vegetables	1 - if consumed, or 0 - otherwise
Other vegetables	1 - if consumed, or 0 - otherwise
Meat, poultry and fish	1 - if consumed, or 0 - otherwise
Eggs	1 - if consumed, or 0 - otherwise
Legumes, pulses and nuts	1 - if consumed, or 0 - otherwise
Dairy products	1 - if consumed, or 0 - otherwise
Oils and fat	1 - if consumed, or 0 - otherwise
Sugar or honey	1 - if consumed, or 0 - otherwise
Beverages	1 - if consumed, or 0 - otherwise

The DDS was calculated by summing the values assigned to the nine food groups: “cereals, roots and tubers” + “vitamin A rich plant foods” + “other fruits” + “other vegetables” + “meat, poultry and fish” + “eggs” + “legumes”+ “dairy products” + “oils and fat”. The last two food groups (“sugar and honey”, “beverages”) in the table above are indicators of economic access to food, but do not contribute substantially to protein or micronutrient intake (and therefore nutritional quality of the diet). They are therefore not included in the DDS computation, but they could be used in calculating energy.

Calculated following the procedures discussed above, the DDS can range from 0 to 9. A DDS of 0 is possible, but unlikely as this means that no foods within any of the 9 food groups were consumed the previous day. The higher the DDS, the more food groups were consumed, the more varied the diet, and therefore the higher the nutritional quality of the

diet. After comparing with national consumption data, Steyn et al, (2006) showed for South Africa that the nutritional adequacy of the diet is low if the DDS is below 4. This can not be extrapolated for the Ethiopian context as it is. The Ethiopian consumption habit, especially in the towns and in the northern part of the country, is easily predictable that a cereal flour made baked bread is eaten wrapping a sauce from one pulse crop or one vegetable crop or meat alone or, less frequently, mix of two or more of these.

Teff, wheat and derivatives, oils and fat, legumes, and other vegetables are being consumed most frequently by people in Addis (Table 21). This is an important piece of information for macro-level decision making as any interventions related to the prices of agricultural products need to be considerate of this consumption pattern.

Table 21 - Food items consumed by respondents

Food item	Frequency	percent (n=2245)
Teff, wheat and derivatives	496	22.09
Oils and fat	465	20.71
Legumes	435	19.38
Sugar or honey	357	15.90
Beverages	355	15.81
Other vegetables	100	4.45
Meat, poultry and fish	15	0.67
Dairy products	8	0.36
Roots and tubers	7	0.31
Yellow fruit	7	0.31
Cereals other than teff and wheat	0	0.00
Orange-fleshed sweet potato	0	0.00
Fruit other than yellow-fleshed	0	0.00
Dark green leafy vegetables	0	0.00
Eggs	0	0.00

The DDS for people in Addis Ababa

Significant proportion (4.8%) of the respondents ate nothing the last 24 hours before the interview. This is theoretically less appealing but this is an obvious possibility in Ethiopia in general and in Addis in particular. Based on the general references of Kennedy and Nantel (2006) and the experience in South Africa (Steyn, 2006), DDS level below four is considered to show nutritional inadequacy of the diet. The study has come up with a staggering 97.8% of the respondents being subjected to nutritionally inadequate diet (Table 22). Given the fact that nearly 75% of the responding households have faced food shortage in the last 12 months, the DDS scores can not be considered as exaggerated.

Table 22 - Dietary Diversity Score

DDS	Frequency	Percent (n=497)
.00	24	4.8
1.00	23	4.6
2.00	352	70.8
3.00	87	17.5
4.00	10	2.0
5.00	1	.2

Most of the respondents reported to have consumed only two or three types of food items. The mode and the mean of the DDS were computed to be 2 and 2.08, respectively. As the most important food items are cereals, roots, tubers, and legumes, the low DDS, no matter what the cut-off point is, clearly shows the narrow dietary menu the people are living with (Figure 6). This finding implies the need for tremendous effort for creating awareness among the community about the need to diversify the food items being consumed. With all limitations, DDS tells a lot about the nutritional diversity the targets are enjoying given their financial and human resources.

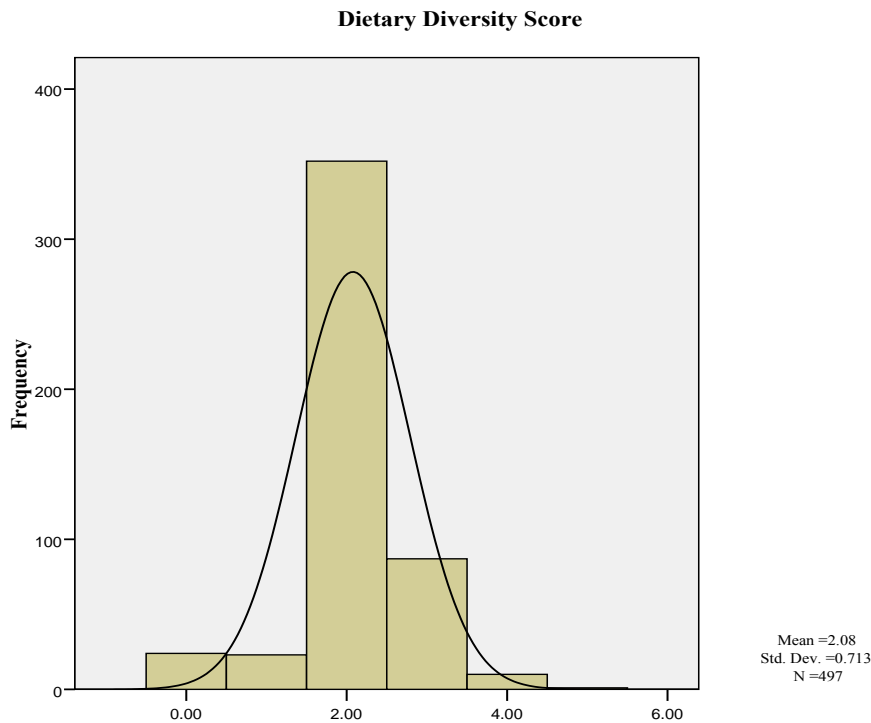


Figure 6 - Distribution of DDS

Food situation – before and after migrating to Addis

The conventional understanding is that migrants from rural to urban areas face a better opportunity to be food secure and lead a more fulfilled life. Narrowing everything down to food availability, 44% of the respondents in the city reported that their food status has improved after moving to Addis, 26.8% admitted that it has worsened in Addis, 13.8% said it has not changed at all, and the remaining 15.5% could not compare the food availability situation. This apparently tells how challenging life can become for people who migrate to the city.

The survey also revealed that 26.1% of respondents have not experienced any food shortage in the last 12 months before the survey. 8.3% of the sample respondents admitted that they are always in short of food and other respondents have experienced food shortage in the last 12 months for different reasons. Out of the later group of

respondents, 76% mentioned the lingering inflation as the cause, 3.38% mentioned low productivity of main economic activity, 1.85% mentioned lack of permanent source of income, 1.54% attributed it to losing job, and 16.6% mentioned a mix of two or more of the reasons mentioned above.

The coping strategies of the responding households are quite diverse and the strategies are employed in combination than in isolation. The strategies include borrowing money from relations, investing own savings, money received from parents, food sent from parents, assistance from neighbors, sending out children to relatives, and borrowing money from organizations in order of importance. In line with this, only 9.1% of the respondents reported to have a family member who gets food from other households.

More than 38% of the sample households had taken cash credit from different acquaintances for buying food. Most of the respondents have taken credit at least few times a year. The graph below shows the frequency with which respondents opted for credit (Figure 7).

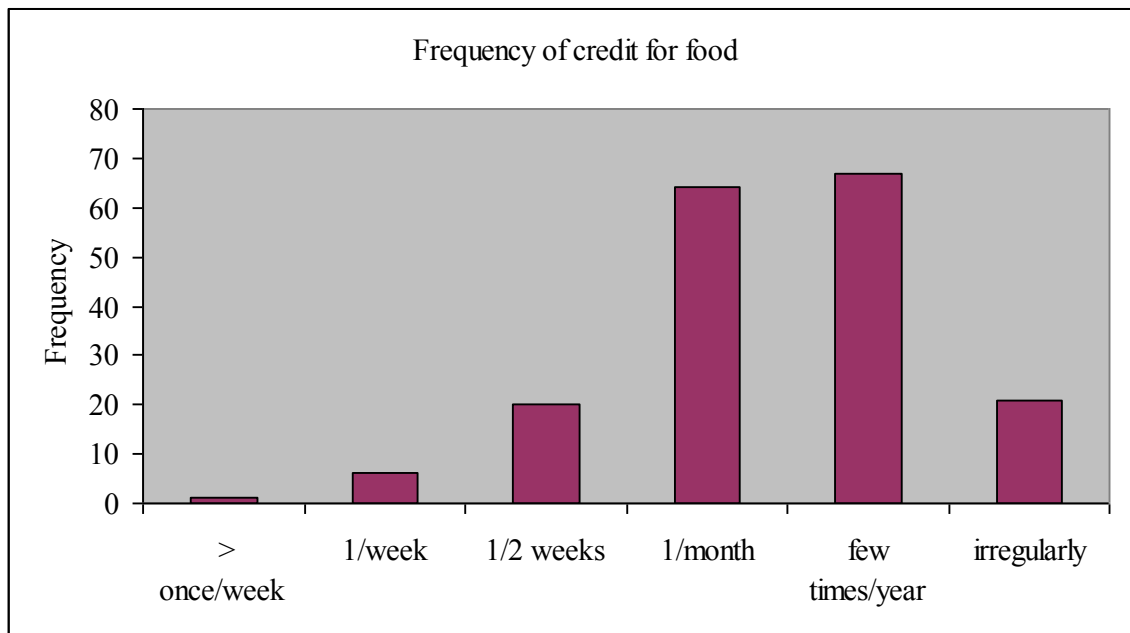


Figure 7 - Frequency of credit taken to cope up with food shortage

Non-commercial food transaction appears to be quite a common way of coping with food shortage in Addis Ababa city. 23.7% of the households in the sample have borrowed food from their neighbors at least once and 22.2% have lent out food for their neighbors. Interestingly, only 51.3% of these expect the food they lent out to be repaid and only 12.7% of the lenders expect compensation in cases where there is no repayment.

The residents in Addis, like anywhere else in as big cities, do not produce their food items and they simply depend on the market as consumers. The means by which people generate their food when financial resources are not available include borrowing from both formal and informal sources, using own savings, support from family members and close relatives, income generated from different activities, selling different items, and begging (Table 23).

Table 23 - Food acquiring means when households run out of money in Addis Ababa

Food source	Frequency	Percent (n=484)
Aid from different sources	10	2.07
Begging	3	0.62
Support from family members and close relatives	55	11.36
Saving	99	20.45
Frugal use of resources at own disposal	49	10.12
Income from different sources	18	3.72
Borrowing	234	48.35
Selling different items	16	3.31

Only 19.4% of the respondents originally from the capital (non-migrants) reported to have received aid from NGOs and GOs and only 18% of the migrating households reported to have received. Although marginal, the difference shows at least two things,

the first one is the difference in access to such services and, second, the difference in need for aid. In both cases, the non-migrants seem to be more privileged (Table 24).

Table 24 - Perceived change in food availability and tendency to receive food

		Family member gets food from other households	
		No	Yes
Perceived change of food availability	yes - better in Addis	151	20
	yes - worse in Addis	93	10
	no change	39	6
	not sure/no answer	13	2
Total		296	38

Further detailing of the migrant households, in terms of receiving aid from NGOs and GOs, shows that households with the perception of declining or unchanged food access after moving to Addis are more frequent receivers as compared to those who believed to have improved food situation after moving to Addis. This implies an appropriate targeting of aid at least in addressing less food endowed households.

Women and Orphan Migrants in Addis Ababa

Women and children form a considerable part of people migrating to urban areas as discussed above. An interesting finding, given the social interdependence in Ethiopia, is that only 10.4% of the sample households in Addis Ababa host migrant women and orphaned children. This is not a high number, even given the fact that possible number of women and children migrants might be lower as compared to that of male adults. Although the assistance in terms of hosting women and children appears to be low, only 25.4% and 17.5% of the respondents believe that women and orphan migrants are better off in the city, respectively, implying the awareness of the population about the vagaries of urban life for women and orphans.

Women and orphan children in particular do face harsh challenges to adapt to the urban life. The difficulties women and orphan children are facing are acknowledged by 84% of the respondents who emphasized that there are peculiar problems for this group of migrants. The peculiar problems mentioned were lack of housing (69%), rape (33.2%), lack of access to health care (20.8%), and lack of clothing (12.1%). These challenges show that these migrants do not have access to the basic necessities of life probably except meager amount of food.

The livelihood activities women do engage in are quite diverse and rudimentary. As indicated in table 25, the most common activities are domestic works (as house servants), unskilled daily labor, prostitution and begging. The vulnerability of women is also associated with the activities they engage in. Prostitution and the likely risk of rape in the other occupations do subject the women for diseases including HIV. Hence, no surprise if the HIV prevalence among women is higher in Addis Ababa (UNAIDS/WHO, 2008).

Table 25 – Livelihood activities of women migrants in Addis

Occupation	Frequency	Percent (n=1425)
House maid	432	31%
Daily labor	335	24%
Prostitution	282	20%
Begging	192	13%
Other	75	5%
Petty trading	51	4%
Fuel wood selling	41	3%
Washing cloths	9	1%

In a related study, Ministry of Social and Labor Affairs (MOLSA) reported that Ethiopia has the second largest population of children orphaned by AIDS in Sub-Saharan Africa, next to Nigeria. The number of AIDS orphans in Ethiopia by the end of 2005 was estimated at 744,100 (MOLSA, 2003). With regard to the challenges that orphan children

face, the study indicated that securing daily food as a major problem for most orphan children. This pushes the children into various unhealthy coping mechanisms including begging, working in bars, working as house servants, collecting fire wood, theft, prostitution etc. 93 % of AIDS orphans groups were enrolled in elementary school at some point in their life but dropped out for lack of support (MOLSA, 2003). Similarly, our survey found out that the orphan children migrating to Addis Ababa take jobs such as domestic works, daily labor and begging.

Movement of People, Health Risk and HIV/AIDS

Sickness of People's Movement

People in Addis Ababa seem to be less mobile when they are sick as found out through the survey. About 68% of the respondents said that they would stay in the city when got sick and only about 13% of the sample respondents reported that they would travel back to their rural home areas when they are sick and weak. Nearly 20% of the respondents do not have a predetermined decision as to where they would stay when got sick. The details regarding the possible care takers of people who decide to stay in the city even when sick show that 67% of respondents would depend on their family, 4.8% on volunteers, 3.4% on neighbors, 0.8% on friends, and about 0.8% said that they would have no one to look after them. The social buffer against the disease risk is an interesting feature of the Ethiopian community in general and as the results showed in Addis Ababa, in particular, building the confidence of the people against destitution and discrimination.

Most of the respondents do not want to leave the city even under desperate medical conditions. Responses from 93.1% of the sample population show that people in the city will remain in the city even if they are very sick such that they can not work. Only 2% of the responses were about returning to original home areas. This simply implies that people in the city are very aware of the terribly low level of medical infrastructure in the rural areas and traveling back to the rural areas, even if there are relatives to lean on, would not be an alternative.

TB Experience and HIV/AIDS Risk

A very important finding in this study is proportion of respondents who have made a voluntary test of HIV. 41% of the respondents have tested for the virus and 72.5% of these HIV-tested respondents have done the testing two times. Interest to know whether infected by the virus, pregnancy and prolonged sickness were the main reasons to take the virus test (Table 26).

Table 26 - Reasons for Testing for HIV

Reason	Frequency	Percent (n=338)
To know status	150	44.38
Pregnancy	58	17.16
I was sick	41	12.13
Awareness campaigns	5	1.48
Thought exposed	5	1.48
Had TB	3	0.89
Knew HIV positive person	1	0.30
Knew person died of HIV	1	0.30
Others	74	21.89

Only 13% of the respondents reported to have suffered from TB. Given the reticence of Ethiopians when it comes to diseases, this is a very high number of admissions. Interestingly enough the difference between the perceived vulnerability to HIV/AIDS, by people who have suffered from TB and those who have not, was not that significant. The results show that only slightly higher (43.8% as compared to 36.5%) risk of contracting HIV/AIDS is perceived by people who have already experienced TB (Table 27). Of the six respondents who unexpectedly admitted to be HIV positive, only one of them reported to have suffered from TB.

Table 27 - Cross-tabulation of chance of contracting HIV/AIDS by TB experience

			Suffered from TB		Total
			no	yes	
Chance of contracting HIV/AIDS	No risk at all	Frequency	261	34	295
		% of Suffered from TB	60.3%	53.1%	59.4%
	Some risk	Frequency	149	28	177
		% of Suffered from TB	34.4%	43.8%	35.6%
	High risk	Frequency	9	0	9
		% of Suffered from TB	2.1%	.0%	1.8%
	Positive already	Frequency	5	1	6
		% of Suffered from TB	1.2%	1.6%	1.2%
	Not sure/no answer	Frequency	9	1	10
	% of Suffered from TB	2.1%	1.6%	2.0%	

Migration and Health

The understanding of respondents about the relationship between movement of people and disease incidence was quite informative. More than 81% of the respondents affirmed that movement of people increases incidence and transmission of diseases. On the contrary, about 17% of the respondents felt that movement of people has nothing to do with diseases (Table 28).

Table 28 – Migration and disease incidence

Response	Frequency	Percent (n=485)
yes	396	81.6
no	84	17.3
not sure/no answer	5	1.0

The study also found out that migrants are less healthy, in their own perception, than the non-migrants in Addis Ababa. As indicated in Table 28, about 75% of the non-migrants feel that their health status is good or very good and only about 58% of the migrants feel

so. On the other end, about 18% of the migrants feel that their status is critical to highly critical whereas only about 11% of the non-migrants feel so (Table 29). This can be a very gross indicator of the living status difference between migrants and non-migrants in terms of at least access to medical services and vulnerability to health risk.

Table 29 - Cross tabulation of perceived health status and migration

			The respondent was born and grew up in Addis Ababa	
			no	yes
Health status vis-à-vis age	highly critical	Frequency	17	6
		% within The respondent was born and grew up in Addis Ababa	5.0%	3.8%
	critical	Frequency	43	12
		% within The respondent was born and grew up in Addis Ababa	12.6%	7.7%
	average	Frequency	83	22
		% within The respondent was born and grew up in Addis Ababa	24.3%	14.1%
	Good	Frequency	88	58
		% within The respondent was born and grew up in Addis Ababa	25.7%	37.2%
	Very good	Frequency	111	58
		% within The respondent was born and grew up in Addis Ababa	32.5%	37.2%
Total			342	156

Perceptions about HIV/AIDS in Addis Ababa City

Testing for HIV/AIDS

The efforts exerted so far by governmental and non-governmental organizations in establishing HIV/AIDS testing centers in accessible locations appear to be successful, as nearly 90% of the respondents reported to be aware of a place to test for HIV/AIDS.

Similarly, about 74% of the respondents know that ARV drugs are used to treat HIV/AIDS and 94.1% of these respondents know that the drugs are given for free. In addition, about 42% of the sample respondents know where ARV drugs are acquired. The results highlight that the outcome so far is outstanding from entities working against HIV/AIDS and encouraging level of awareness from the public sides.

HIV/AIDS awareness creation and sensitization has been done through different mechanisms. One of the grass roots level approaches is organizing volunteers within a community to sensitize and create awareness within the broader community. In Addis Ababa, about 33% of the respondents reported to have heard about community based HIV/AIDS related activities.

It takes from two minutes to three hours to reach the nearest health care center by sample residents in Addis Ababa. On average, it takes half an hour on foot to reach for the nearest health care center. Most of the respondents do get the medical services they seek from government owned hospitals and clinics.

Familiarity with HIV/AIDS

The results discussed above have shown that about 41% of the respondents have tested for HIV and 42.6% of them know their HIV status. Given the uncommunicative nature of Ethiopians when it comes to such high profile diseases, interestingly many (about 44.4%) of the respondents reported that they know someone living with HIV/AIDS. About 50% of the respondents also knew someone who died of HIV/AIDS. Very few cases were found that the HIV positive (6.7%) or the person who died of HIV/AIDS (6.9%) belongs or belonged to the family. Detailed view of the acquaintances showed that most of the relations with HIV/AIDS positive or casualties are neighborhood, community membership, or relatives (Table 30).

Table 30 - Relation of the HIV patient or casualty with the respondent

Relation	With HIV positive acquaintance		With HIV/AIDS casualty acquaintance	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Husband/Wife	3	1.4	4	1.6
Children			4	1.6
Brother/Sister	2	.9	9	3.6
Relative	25	11.5	32	12.9
Friend	25	11.5	16	6.5
Neighbor	51	23.4	57	23
Community member	79	36.2	96	38.7
Colleague	9	4.1	13	5.2
Other	24	11	17	6.9
Total	218		248	100

Another important finding about HIV/AIDS is the awareness, as shown by 83% of the respondents, about the possibility of healthy and productive life even after HIV infection with the appropriate medication and care. This is so important that hopelessness would be avoided among the patients and stigmatization would surely be abated as a result.

Support for HIV patient

The availability and accessibility of HIV testing centers and supporting institutions for HIV patients is crucially important. Of the sample households who responded to the query, 73% are aware that HIV positive people are receiving supports of different kind. Regarding ARV drugs, 88% of the respondents know that the drugs are available for HIV patients.

The study also showed that food shortage (77.3%), cash shortage (37%) and other undisclosed challenges (77.7%) are hampering the HIV patients in using the ARV drugs. The community seems yet to develop a supportive attitude as only 7.4% of the

respondents affirmed to have been helping HIV/AIDS patients. The support is in the form of physical care, money, food, and housing, in order of importance.

Stigmatization and discrimination has always been a major challenge in dealing with HIV/AIDS. Patients used to be expelled from residences and left unattended even under very fragile conditions. This fact appears to be changing as 95.4% of the sample respondents revealed that a family member would stay in the family even if contracted HIV. Only 1.4% of the respondents said that the patient would travel to rural areas to parents or closer relatives. The remaining few respondents did not have any idea as to what they would do if faced with the challenge.

Challenges of the Community

Most important problems of the community

Respondents were asked to identify and prioritize the problems of the community they belong to using related questions. The first enquiry of identifying the problems the community is facing resulted in singling out poverty, unemployment, lack of food, lack of water, and lack of housing as the five most important problems of the community. When secondly asked to identify the single most important problem, 27.2% mentioned poverty, 20.78% mentioned unemployment, and 14.61% did mention lack of food. These figures show that the basic challenges of the urban livelihood are the interrelated poverty, unemployment and lack of food (Table 31).

Table 31 - Challenges of the Community

Social challenge	Is a challenge for the community		Is the most important challenge	
	Frequency	Percent (n=1916)	Frequency	Percent (n=486)
Poverty	318	16.60	132	27.16
Unemployment	315	16.44	101	20.78
Lack of food	203	10.59	71	14.61
Lack of water	162	8.46	24	4.94
Lack of housing	151	7.88	19	3.91
Other problems	150	7.83	66	13.58
Sanitation	121	6.32	16	3.29
High rents for houses	91	4.75	4	0.82
Lack of electricity	75	3.91	9	1.85
Diseases	71	3.71	9	1.85
Safety	70	3.65	14	2.88
Crime	58	3.03	16	3.29
Lack of aid	26	1.36	1	0.21
HIV/AIDS	24	1.25	2	0.41
Lack of health care	19	0.99		
Poor quality education	16	0.84		
Lack of school	14	0.73		
Unwanted pregnancy	13	0.68		
Lack of information	12	0.63		
Social isolation	7	0.37		
Lack of child care			2	0.41

Conclusions and Implications

Migration is a continuous and normal process in the dynamics of livelihoods in general and in rural urban linkages in particular. Migration happens in different ways in terms of reasons, duration, origin and destination. The key forces behind migration in Ethiopia are job seeking, access to education, and better livelihoods. Developing infrastructures and enhancing the opportunities for off-farm employment would therefore reduce at least distress migration.

Migration is generally considered to positively contribute to enhancing the coping mechanisms for vulnerable groups and/or transformations of livelihoods. It offers the only effective alternative to reduce the risk and vulnerability of communities that depend on risk-prone subsistence agriculture. As Ellis (2003) put it, for rural dwellers, risk reduction can only occur by spreading risk across assets and activities that have different types of risk associated with them, and local diversification can rarely achieve this, because agriculture-related activities like crop processing or trading collapse when harvests collapse. The success of migrants in assimilating into the receiving community and in generating shareable income is subject to different factors often beyond the control of the migrant.

Discussions about the perceived changes in level of food availability have brought an interesting fact into picture that not all migrants are successful in generating as much food as they used to have in their rural home areas. The challenges of migrants are multi-dimensional and numerous. An outstanding and universally shared challenge is, however, the institutional and policy bottlenecks. Migrants in Addis were found to be relatively disadvantaged in accessing social services and the serving organizations. Such difficulties are not unique for people in Addis Ababa (E.g., Ellis, 2003).

The nutrition security status, estimated grossly with DDS, of people in Addis Ababa seems to be alarmingly low. Although a more comprehensive and empirical study is required to generalize, the DDS has shown that people in the capital city are consuming

very few types of food items. As diversity is a very simple and plausible indicator of the nutritive variety an individual is consuming, the low DDS implies the need of interventions that create awareness about the ways and importance of increasing diversity of food items consumed even within the limits of financial resources.

The current development in the theory of migration and flow of remittances incorporates the reciprocity of the flows. The study revealed that people in Addis Ababa and Gurage Zone send and receive money, food items and goods to and from different parts of the country and, to and from different relations. The results imply that the assumption of linear flow of remittance does not hold and efforts to make the best of movement of people and resources need to consider the two-way and multi-faceted flow of remittances.

The movement of people is highly related to the movement of diseases or the pattern of disease contracting risk. Most of the respondents in this study believe that movement of people increases the incidence and contracting of diseases. This is an important perception as it clearly influences the attitude towards migrants.

This study also focused on HIV/AIDS vis-à-vis movement of people. Results of the survey in Addis show that migrants' perceived risk of contracting HIV and hence the inclination to testing for HIV is lower as compared to non-migrants. The no-risk of contracting and the lesser tendency to test for HIV might be either due to more cautious life or more likely due to lower awareness about the virus and the disease. This entails a targeted approach to address all sections of the community to increase the awareness and hence the voluntary testing for the virus.

Both migrants and native dwellers of Addis Ababa have so many problems they are sharing as a community. The three most important challenges were identified to be poverty, employment, and lack of food. These are well said about problems both at national and metropolitan level, and yet this study is highlighting the importance the community is attaching to the problems justifying any well designed intervention towards alleviating them.

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