



Migrants' experiences and stories

A gender analysis of urban poverty among young rural-urban migrants in Addis Ababa

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Abstract

This research set out to explore the influence of gender as a social and cultural construct on the migration patterns of young Ethiopians and on the way in which they experience urban poverty. Ethiopia is traditionally a patriarchal society with persistent gender inequalities in which many young Ethiopians migrate each year from the rural areas to Addis Ababa. They leave their families, beloved ones and places of origin behind, while aiming to escape from poverty and societal constraints. Some youngsters succeed and find what they have been looking for: education, employment opportunities, freedom and improved living standards. Others struggle to survive each day, end up in poor circumstances and want to return back home. This research utilizes gender as a lens to explore the social and cultural inequalities which determine masculinity and femininity in Ethiopia and which underlie variations in the behavior, expectations, opportunities and constraints of men and women. These inequalities cause differences in the migratory movements of youngsters and in their experiences of urban poverty as both are gendered by nature. However, migration also contributes to the increased agency of migrants and to the alteration of traditional gender roles and relations. The capability approach of Amartya Sen has been used to assess poverty, because it allows capturing structures, such as gender, as well as the agency of migrants. Interviews with officials and the analysis of secondary data have contributed to a comprehensive contextual embedding of this research and to the enhanced understanding of the research concepts in the Ethiopian context. Furthermore, twenty-four semi-structured interviews were conducted with rural-urban migrants aged between 12 and 30 years old of which the aim was to shed light on their unique stories and their subjectivities related to the research topics. Findings of this research confirm the existence of persistent gender inequalities in Ethiopia pertaining several aspects of society. These inequalities differently affect the opportunities and well-being outcomes of the male and female rural-urban migrants, but not solely. Other structural constraints in their environment, such as persistent poverty, barriers to education resulting in low educational achievements and the lack of available employment opportunities, also influence the direction of their lives and their experience of poverty.

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List of abbreviations

BoLSA	Bureau of Labour and Social Affairs
CSA	Central Statistical Agency
FDRE	Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
FGM/C	Female genital mutilation/cutting
GoE	Government of Ethiopia
HESPI	The Horn Economic & Social Policy Institute
MFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
MoLSA	Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs
MoUDHC	Ministry of Urban Development, Housing and Construction

1. Introduction

Meet Edna, a 12 year old Ethiopian girl, who has left her family and friends behind in rural Ethiopia. She escaped from marriage by moving to Addis Ababa and does not know if she can ever return home safely because she fears abduction (form of forced marriage). In the city she is working as a maid, while also trying to continue her education as to enhance her future opportunities. Or meet Berhanu and Mulu, two young boys who were dropped off in Addis Ababa by their relatives. They did not have any social connections or protection upon arrival in the city and ended up living on the streets. Luckily enough they met and are now taking care of each other. Also, meet Selassie, a 25 year old male migrant, who told the following: *“When I was there people are talking about Addis Ababa and I need to see what it looks like. The people tell the life is really good, comfortable”*. Life in the city has met his expectations. He has found a job in construction and is able to send some money back home to his poor family.

These are just a few snaps of the many and diverse stories of the young Ethiopians who migrate each year from the rural areas to Addis Ababa. They mainly move to escape from the structural constraints they face and the high levels of poverty in search for better opportunities in the city. Some of these youngsters succeed and find what they have been looking for: education, employment opportunities, freedom and improved living standards. Others struggle to survive each day, end up in poor circumstances and want to return back home. For Ethiopia, which is one of the poorest and least urbanized countries in sub-Saharan Africa, the continues urban inflow of predominantly young migrants results in an increased urbanization rate offering a great potential for development and the eradication of poverty. However, these migration flows also contribute to major challenges as the Government of Ethiopia is not able to keep up with the needs of the increasing number of urban dwellers (Fransen & Kuschminder, 2009). Addis Ababa, the capital of Ethiopia and the major migration destination of youngsters, is already characterized by high levels of unemployment and poverty. Migrants are extremely vulnerable to the harsh conditions of urban life due to their low levels of education, few social contacts and unfamiliarity with their new environment. Because of the lack of employment opportunities and their low skills many of them end up in the informal sector in low-paid and insecure jobs and start living in cheap slum settlements which enhances their vulnerability to poverty (World Bank, 2010; Atnafu, Oucho & Zeitlyn, 2014; Tacoli, McGranahan & Satterthwaite, 2015).

This research set out to explore the influence of gender as a social and cultural construct on the rural to urban migration patterns of young Ethiopians and on the way in which they experience urban poverty in Addis Ababa. Ethiopia is traditionally a patriarchal society with persistent gender inequalities. These disparities determine masculinity and femininity and underlie variations in the behavior, expectations, opportunities and constraints of men and women. As migration and poverty tend to be gendered by nature it is likely that gender also influences the migratory movements and the

experience of urban poverty of the participants in this research (Masika et al., 1997; Fransen & Kuschminder, 2009; Omelaniuk, n.d.). To explore notions of poverty the capability approach of Amartya Sen has been used as it is able to capture structures, such as gender, while at the same time taking notion of the agency of migrants. The capability approach allows furthermore for the identification of dimensions of poverty by the migrants themselves which they consider as valuable (Robeyns, 2003b). As such the use of the capability approach contributes to the aim of this research, which is to shed light on the distinctive experiences and unique narratives of the individual migrants.

2. Theoretical embedding

In this research a gender perspective has been used to explore the causes and impacts of rural to urban migratory movements of young Ethiopians and their subjectivities regarding their experience of urban poverty in Addis Ababa. This chapter sets out an examination of the theoretical and conceptual embedding of the research by exploring the literature and evidence from former studies on gender, rural-urban migration, urbanization, urban poverty and the linkages between these concepts. The chapter will conclude with a section on the research objectives and questions.

2.1. The emergence of gender as a theoretical concept

In the last decades gender has become an integral part of social science largely as a result of the efforts of feminist movements to gain significance on women's issues and because of the accompanying struggles of academics to better understand the widespread and structural inequalities between men and women (Acker, 1992, p. 565). In earlier views gender was commonly equated to sex, which is typically described as "*the biological identity of the person and is meant to signify the fact that one is either male or female*" (Andersen, 1993, p. 31 as cited in Ingraham, 1994, p. 213). Sex is assigned to people at birth and is concerned with physical characteristics. Therefore, the term gender was traditionally used in research to explore the biological differences between both sexes and the rules which follow from these differences (Unger & Crawford, 1993, p. 123; Marecek, Crawford & Popp, 2004, p. 200).

During the 1970s feministic scholars rejected the biological determinism and binary nature by which gender was defined and introduced a new concept of gender embedded in the social relations between people. Gender in the latter perspective is socially constructed, subject to cultural interpretation and is a process, instead of a natural, inherent and unchanging trait of people (Unger & Crawford, 1993, p. 123; Marecek, Crawford & Popp, 2004, p. 200). The literature on gender which emerged from that period onwards showed that gendered patterns exist in large varieties and that they are present in all aspects of the world around us. Gender became increasingly seen as one of the main organizing principles of societies ordering the social structures, power relations and human practices in terms of disparities between men and women (Acker, 1992, p. 567).

The shift from gender as the biological categorization of men and women towards views acknowledging gender as a social and fluid concept reflected a broader change in sociological thinking towards social constructionism. Scholars within the constructionist movement did not believe in an objective reality. Instead they believed that reality is subjective and comes only into being through the social interactions between people and the way in which they give meaning to it (Berger & Luckmann, 1967). The same applied to the newly introduced notion of gender. The culture and social relations in a particular society are the most important factors giving meaning to the concept. Both prescribe what

is being expected of men and women in terms of appropriate behavior, responsibilities and considering the division of gender roles. “*Gender refers to the assignment of what men and women should do in a society, which relates to a range of social and institutional issues rather than a specific relation between male and female individuals*” (Ministry of Women’s Affairs, 2010, p. 59). Gender roles, gender relations and gendered patterns largely influence inequalities in well-being outcomes for men and women as well as in opportunities (Ministry of Women’s Affairs, 2010, p. 59; UN Women, 2016).

2.1.2. Gender studies

While feminist movements first came up in the developed countries in the West, they slowly spread out over the developing world as well. It were, however, the Western feminists who firstly raised awareness on gender inequalities and the often powerless situation of women in developing societies. Still the gender and development discourse is largely dominated by Western perspectives and ideas about what gender comprises, which has resulted in a lot of criticisms and inaccurate outcomes of research (Singh, 2007). As a consequence academics increasingly started to claim the importance of going beyond Western views as to understand the nature of gender inequalities in developing countries and the underlying social and cultural structures causing them. Singh (2007), for example, introduced a new paradigm, called the ‘identities of women’. The agency of women and their local contexts are central in this paradigm, and the primary sources of information are the women in developing countries themselves. Cornwall (2003) called for participatory approaches to address gender issues, which deal with the diverse experiences of individuals and are sensitive to power differences deriving from their different realities. Ampofo, Beoku-Betts, Njambi & Osirim (2004) complemented the reasoning of Cornwall by arguing that quantitative research and large-scale surveys often are being valued as more scientific and rigid, but “*qualitative methods are increasingly gaining preference because they foreground the experiences and voices of the research participants as well as incorporate other important factors that define the everyday life practices of women and men*” (Ampofo, Beoku-Betts, Njambi & Osirim, 2004, p. 687-688).

2.2. Migration

The latest centuries are characterized by large numbers of migrants. The mass migrations they cause, contribute to major social transformations and economic developments, which are especially recognizable in the underdeveloped countries in the Global South. Accordingly discussions on migration are embedded in the broader debate on development (Castles, 2009). This research focuses on one particular type of migration, namely rural-urban migration, which is according to Lucas (1997, p. 723) the most observed migration pattern within the borders of a country. Particularly in sub-Saharan Africa these flows of people contribute to the increasing urbanization rate of the continent, which results in major opportunities for development as well as in large challenges, such as high

unemployment rates, a growing informal sector and poor living conditions in the cities (Njoh, 2003, p. 167). Rural-urban migration and urbanization have broadly been discussed in the scholarly debate, but the topic has remained relatively understudied in the context of sub-Saharan Africa (Cottyn, Schapendonk & Van Lindert, 2013, p. 1; De Brauw, Mueller & Lee, 2014, p. 33).

2.2.1. Rural-urban migration and urbanization – a theoretical approach

Within the 1950s and 1960s modernization thinking rural-urban migration was valued as a *“necessary component of the economic development process, as the migration of labor out of agriculture has been a feature of the growth path of every country that has developed”* (De Brauw, Mueller & Lee, 2014, p. 33). Shifting labor into the service and manufacturing sectors in the urban centers would lead to urbanization and industrialization, which were seen as the engines for economic growth and development (Rakodi, 2014, p. 300). During this period migration was explained by several micro-economic models in which the decision to migrate is based on individual optimizing behavior. Todaro (1969, p. 139-140), for example, argued that individuals calculate the expected benefits of migration. As long as they expect to find a higher wage in the city compared to their wage in the countryside they continue to migrate, even if unemployment rates are high.

In 1977 Lipton (as cited in Rakodi, 2014, p. 300) introduced the urban bias thesis which was regarded as an influential explanation of why the trickle-down effect in underdeveloped countries was not working as expected and why poverty among large parts of the population remained persistent. Rural-urban migration and urbanization were seen by Lipton as the result of governmental policies. These policies channeled all the valuable resources of a country, such as labor and investments, into the urban areas resulting in a growing informal sector and short-term economic growth instead of sustainable and broad based development (Njoh, 2003, p. 168; Rakodi, 2014, p. 300). *“Thus, in contrast to modernization arguments, the urban bias thesis asserts that rural dwellers should remain in agricultural activities instead of migrating to urban areas, where they will join the informal labor market or turn to crime, begging, or prostitution”* (Lipton as cited in Bradshaw, 1987, p. 226)

The 1970s and 1980s dependency scholars also upheld pessimistic views on rural-urban migration, urbanization and the development of the Global South. They were largely concerned with the distortion of urban labor markets caused by the inflow of migrants and the dispossession of rural settlers through urbanization consequently instigating their movement to nearby urban areas (Njoh, 2003, p. 168). Dependency scholars, however, focused on the push factors of migration and repeatedly failed to recognize the increased attractiveness of cities as an important factor pulling rural dwellers to the urban areas. The latter has in the scholarly debate been referred to as the ‘bright lights’ theory of rural-urban migration and urbanization, in which opportunities and excitements in the city explain why people exchange the countryside for life in the city (Bradshaw, 1987, p. 226).

During the same period migration academics started to criticize the micro-economic explanations of migration and introduced new models going beyond migration as individual

optimizing behavior. These scholars were more concerned with the societal contexts of migrants and focused on the household as the central decision making unit. Migration became increasingly seen as a livelihood strategy used by families to maximize their incomes and to minimize their risks (De Haas, 2010). The Household Strategies Approach, for example, emerged in the literature on gendered migration and focused on how social and cultural constructs differently shape the behavior and responsibilities of individual household members. Chant and Radcliffe (1992) had a pioneering role in its emergence and argued that structures, such as gender and age, shape migratory decisions and movements of households.

Rural-urban migration in sub-Saharan Africa is according to De Brauw, Mueller & Lee (2014, p. 35) most attractively explained by models which focus at the household level, because households in Africa often tend to lack access to credit markets and face high levels of insecurity. Previous research has furthermore identified push factors, such as poverty in the countryside, as the most important contributors to the rural-urban migration flows on the continent (Kunz, 1973, p. 131; Ellis, 1998, p. 16; Njoh, 2003, p. 169). However, in the case of Ethiopia evidence points in different directions. While the World Bank (2010; 2015b) found that rural-urban migration in Ethiopia is largely driven by pull factors, such as employment and educational opportunities in the city, Atnafu, Oucho & Zeitlyn (2014, p. 5) concluded the opposite. According to them a lack of opportunities and poverty in the rural areas explain the movements of people.

“Migration is a strategy for moving out of poverty that is accessible to the poor in rural Ethiopia. It is often a risky investment, it has low short term returns, has the potential to end in disaster, exposes migrants to exploitation, hard work and abuse. However, in many cases it is the only investment opportunity available, and the only opportunity some of the rural poor have to change their lives” (Atnafu, Oucho & Zeitlyn, 2014, p. 9)

2.2.2. Gender and migration studies

Until the mid-1990s most of the scholarly debate on gender and migration was women-centered rather than focused on gender. The change in the perspective towards the gendered analysis of migration was mainly brought about by academics’ increased recognition of the gendered nature of migratory movements (Donato, Gabaccia, Holdaway, Manalansan & Pessar, 2006, p. 4), which *“can greatly differentiate the causes, processes and impacts of migration between the two sexes”* (Omelaniuk, n.d., p. 1). According to Omelaniuk (n.d., p. 1) a gendered analysis of migration examines the underlying inequalities of the different male and female migration behavior and how these are being shaped by varying cultural and social contexts of individual migrants. The household is one of the most powerful institutions influencing such differences, because here meaning is being given to the behavioral expectations of men and women. Gender, however, is not the only social construct influencing migratory movements. Chant argued (1998) that it is the intersection between gender and other social

constructs, such as marital status, age and power divisions, which define responsibilities of individuals and influence the decision of who is migrating, when and why.

For instance, Radcliffe (as cited in Chant, 1998) found in her study on rural-urban migration in Peru that adult married women are the least common household members to migrate. This finding can be attributed to their changing role through marriage in which they are responsible for managing the reproductive tasks within the household leaving them no freedom to move (Chant, 1998). Or in contexts where men are expected to be the primary income providers, they become more frequently engaged in migration than their female counterparts. The latter tend to be the passive followers of their husbands primarily migrating for reasons of family reunification. However, such traditional gender stereotypes are changing. Studies showed that women increasingly become breadwinners by finding employment outside their places of origin (Leone & Coast, 2014, p. 392).

It is not only at the household level that gender selective-migration patterns are given direction to. Tacoli & Mabala (2010, p. 392) found that in rural Nigeria migratory movements of young men to urban areas are viewed by communities as a masculine rite of passage. When boys do not follow these culturally embedded traditions, their communities label them as idle and weak. For women cultural differences in their places of origin also define their migratory movements as case studies in the Philippines, Sri Lanka and Thailand showed. In communities with a great flexibility in gender roles the outflow of female migrants was found to be extremely high, while for communities with restrictive gender roles independent female movements were less likely to occur (Omelaniuk, n.d., p. 5).

Evidence from Costa Rica and Mexico suggests furthermore that gendered constraints in the rural areas can also force individuals to move elsewhere by showing that women use migration as a strategy to escape from marriage, violent relatives or other controlling measures (Chant, 1998, p. 13). Erulkar, Mekbib, Simie & Gulema (2006, p. 372) found that many runaway brides in Ethiopia break ties with their families in the countryside and seek refuge with aunts, uncles or siblings in the city, who not always prioritize their welfare. Some parents relocate their daughters themselves as they are unable to resist the social pressure in the countryside of an arranged marriage. Also, young men in Nigeria deliberately chose to move to the city to gain independence. Migration offers them a socially acceptable way to escape from the control of and obligations to their communities. The same applied to female migrants in rural Nigeria, whereas to them sending remittances has made their migration acceptable. Other aspects which scholars commonly mentioned to have a gender-selective effect on migration are inequalities between men and women in access to land rights and in employment opportunities in the urban areas (Tacoli & Mabala, 2010, p. 392; Tacoli et al., 2015, p. 25).

2.2.2.1. The gendered impact of migration on the lives of migrants

For both male and female migrants moving to urban centers can have an equalizing effect on gender relations, because of the less rigid societal norms and the acquirement of new perspectives on gender inequalities in the often more liberal destination cultures (Omelaniuk, n.d., p. 10). *“Migration is a way*

of negotiating or escaping from power relations and increasing personal independence, while avoiding conflict over gender and generational norms” (Tacoli & Mabala, 2010, p. 392). However, the influence of migration on gendered structures is considered to be minimal when migrants keep close ties with their rural origins. They may experience difficulties in adhering to the behavioral expectations that sharply differ between their places of origin and destination. Female migrants are more likely to experience such struggles particularly in societies with strong patriarchal norms (Chant, 1998; Donato, et al., 2006).

Migration may also result in the greater independence and autonomy of migrants. Omelaniuk (n.d., p. 3) sheds light on the increased agency of women from developing societies. Migration offered them alternatives to traditional gender roles and harmful practices, such as genital cutting or early marriage, as well as increased educational and employment opportunities which were being denied in the countryside. De Regt (2016) showed that in Ethiopia migration is also being seen by youngsters as a strategy to take control over their own lives and to escape from gendered practices in the countryside. Momsen (1999) and Pessar (as cited in Pedraza, 1991, p. 322) noted the important effects on female migrants when they became for the first time engaged in paid labor outside their own household. Their new earning power increased their level of personal autonomy and altered their normative perceptions. *“Patriarchal roles in the household were transformed, the women's self-esteem was heightened, their capacity to participate as equals in household decision-making was enhanced, and they secured more income with which to actualize their roles”* (Pedraza, 1991, p. 322).

While in the literature most attention has been paid to the increased autonomy and agency of female migrants, male migrants aim to escape sometimes for the same reasons. In the Dominican Republic, for instance, sons chose to move elsewhere in order to reduce patriarchal control measures (Pedraza, 1991, p. 322) and in Nigeria, as before mentioned, young men use migration as a strategy to gain independence (Tacoli & Mabala, 2010, p. 392). However, the benefits of migration can be minimal for both male and female migrants when they end up in large slums, low-paid and insecure jobs in the urban areas which mostly tend to disadvantage women (Tacoli et al., 2015, p. 25).

2.3. Poverty

Around one billion people worldwide suffer from high levels of poverty. The largest part of these poor people is concentrated in the developing countries in the Global South (Thirlwall, 2014, p. 25). In the literature the relation between poverty, human well-being and economic growth in developing societies has extensively been discussed. Traditionally and most frequently scholars defined poverty in economic terms referring to a shortage of income to cover the costs of basic human needs, such as food, housing and clothing. An example of how income based poverty can be measured is by making use of the poverty line which defines people as poor when they earn less than US\$ 1.25 per day (Chambers, 1995; Wratten, 1995; White, 2014, p. 60-61).

A critique on the traditional and economic rooted perspectives on poverty is that they are primarily concerned with measures focused at income and consumption. These measures neglect other, equally important aspects of poverty which also determine the human well-being. More recently scholars responded to that by introducing new and less straightforward dimensions of poverty. *“In addition to material consumption, both physical and mental health, education, social life, environmental quality, spiritual and political freedom, and general well-being (‘happiness’) all matter. Deprivation with respect to any of these can be called poverty”* (White, 2014, p. 60). These dimensions have been translated into social indicators to make them measurable and to enhance the possibility of comparative research (Wratten, 1995, p. 14).

However, still the different dimensions of poverty have frequently been criticized by scholars for being standardized measures without taking the actual perceptions and subjectivities of the poor into account. This has encouraged the emergence of participatory approaches to define and measure poverty (Chambers, 1995; Wratten, 1995). Amartya Sen is one of the scholars who introduced such a method. His capability approach can be used for the assessment of the different aspects of human well-being, such as poverty, and is considered to be a highly appropriate method for exploring gender inequalities (Robeyns, 2003a).

2.3.1. The capability approach

The capability approach was developed during the 1980s by Amartya Sen who criticized the narrow focus on income-based poverty measures of many scholars at that time. According to Sen, when measuring poverty, the broader quality of life of people should be taken into account. *“Poverty must be seen as the deprivation of basic capabilities rather than merely as lowness of incomes”* (Sen, 1999, p. 87). Therefore, Sen’s capability approach focuses on two core concepts: functionings and capabilities, or in other words the achievements of people, such as having a job or being happy, and the freedoms or opportunities which people have to realize these achievements and to live the life they consider as valuable. All capabilities taken together correspond to the level of well-being of the individual and hence to their experience of poverty. Another asset of Sen’s capability approach is its ability to capture the different realities of people and their agency, while at the same time taking notion of enabling or constraining structures, such as gender. Sen emphasizes that these structures result in varying freedoms and abilities among individuals to translate capabilities into valuable outcomes (Robeyns, 2003a; Robeyns, 2003b; Frediani, 2007).

Among scholars Sen’s capability approach has frequently been criticized because of the lack of a universal list of capabilities. However, others see this as a strength of the approach, because it allows for differentiations and the non-standardized measurement of the different dimensions which determine the human well-being. *“For Sen, a list of capabilities must be context dependent, where the context is both the geographical area to which it applies, and the sort of evaluation that is to be done”* (Robeyns, 2003a, p. 68). Therefore, each application of the capability approach requires its own

specified list with relevant capabilities. The research participants need to be involved in the identification of capabilities which they consider as valuable (Alkire, 2008, p. 3). The capabilities which define urban poverty in this research are identified based on the literature, the research context and through the involvement of the research participants and are the following: education, employment, social relations, housing and religion.

2.3.2. Urban poverty among migrants in developing societies

Developing countries in the Global South have to deal with high levels of poverty which are often considered to be higher in the rural areas than in the urban centers resulting in a strong migration incentive for poor rural dwellers (Heinemann, 2014, p. 225). The continues urban inflow of poor people, however, contributes to rising poverty rates in the urban areas, large inequalities between urban dwellers (Fransen & Kuschminder, 2009, p. 5) and to an increasing demand on urban infrastructure, services and the provision of basic needs (Njoh, 2003, p. 169).

The urban poor in developing societies constitute a fairly diverse group. They suffer from different aspects of poverty depending on their role in society. Studies have shown that a large part of these poor consists of migrants (Tacoli et al., 2015). Erulkar et al. (2006, p. 361) found that in Addis Ababa most of these migrants are young people. They are extremely vulnerable to the harsh conditions in the city, because they often lack skills and education, miss the presence of their parents and have fewer social contacts on which they can rely. Furthermore, migrants commonly become engaged in daily jobs in the informal sector as these are the only jobs available to them. Working conditions can be exploitative, dangerous and contribute to financial insecurity (Tacoli et al., 2015). Atnafu, Oucho & Zeitlyn (2014) conducted a study on rural-urban migration in Ethiopia with similar findings. Migrants aim to overcome the challenges they face by making use of different strategies, such as going to church or building their social networks. They also found that although many migrants experience the living conditions in Addis Ababa to be very tough, most of them consider that their lives have been improved. In the city they have better access to food, washing facilities, clothes, health care and migrants experience greater levels of independence and dignity (Atnafu, Oucho & Zeitlyn, 2014).

2.3.2.1. Linkages between gender and urban poverty

Gendered constraints and opportunities cause variations in the way in which men and women experience and respond to poverty (Masika, De Haan & Baden, 1997, p. 3). Gender disadvantages are according to Tacoli et al. (2015, p. 25) most commonly observed in the non-income dimensions of urban poverty affecting women more likely than men. *“Inadequate and expensive accommodation, limited access to basic infrastructure and services, exposure to environmental hazards and high rates of crime and violence are deeply gendered dimensions of urban poverty”* (Tacoli et al., 2015, p. 25). Chant (2013, p. 20), for example, points to the gender differentiated impact of violence in urban areas.

While young men are more likely to become engaged in fatal violent conflicts, women are more frequently at risk of rape and violence in the city in general or within the household.

Another gendered aspect which determines the opportunities and well-being outcomes of men and women in developing societies is the gender-selective access to educational opportunities. Jones & Chant (2009) found that in The Gambia and Ghana young men and women face different constraints in attaining education. Both need to finance their education themselves through employment, however women tend to have fewer resources and time to actually attend education. Communities expect them to perform the reproductive tasks within the household, to take care of their elders and brothers, to become employed and to attend class at the same time. *“The result is for men to end up with more educational qualifications, more skills, and higher-paying jobs, even if unemployment among young people in general remains a major problem”* (Jones & Chant, 2009, p. 184). Evans (2014, p. 984), however, found the opposite in Zambia. The increased concern of parents for their daughter’s financial security and well-being stimulates female education.

Furthermore, in urban contexts labor markets commonly show gendered differences in accessibility. Several studies suggest that among the urban poor women are more likely to become engaged in (unpaid) employment in the domestic or service sector, while most men end up in jobs in construction or transportation. These gendered patterns pose limitations on employment opportunities and further exacerbate stereotypical images of masculinity and femininity.

“As various studies on male migrants in construction work show, these men need to ‘perform’ their ability to do this work by conveying physical strength, willingness and toughness as ‘natural’ male competencies, just as women perform their ‘natural’ capacities when hired for domestic services” (Lutz, 2010, p. 1652)

In Ghana and The Gambia women are willing to take up the domestic work as it is not only deemed women’s work in accordance with the expectations that adult women should be housewives, but it also enhances their femininity and appeal to their male counterparts by showing them how they are able to care for men (Jones & Chant, 2009, p. 190). For many recently arrived female migrants in urban areas becoming employed as a domestic worker is relatively attractive, because accommodation is provided by employers. Potential abuse, exploitation, a lack of formal protection and social isolation, however, increases the vulnerability to poverty of these women (Tacoli, et al., 2015). A study of Evans (2014) in Zambia showed that economic insecurity may catalyze an increased flexibility in the gendered division of labor. The pressure on poor households to reduce their insecurity has contributed to the increased commitment of women to employment previously associated with masculinity and assumed to be beyond the capabilities of women. The findings of Evans (2014) provide evidence for changing gender beliefs in Zambia which weaken persistent gender inequalities.

Gender inequalities also permeate the social networks and support systems of migrants in the city (Omelaniuk, n.d., p. 1). Recently arrived migrants commonly lack social connections. Building their networks takes time and is very important as it offers them a way of protection and a means of empowerment. But social networks can also contribute to obligations. *“The downside of social capital takes gender differentiated forms, and gender-specific expectations of network participation can work to women’s relative disadvantage”* (Silvey & Elmhirst, 2003, p. 867). This commonly occurs in contexts in which gender inequalities are already persistent resulting in the exclusion of women from societal life. For women in The Zambia and Ghana normative restrictions are being placed on their freedom to become engaged in social relations, which offers them fewer possibilities to reap the benefits of their social contacts in, for example, finding employment (Jones & Chant, 2009, p. 194).

But it is not only the newly acquired social relations which may constrain or support migrants. When migrants continue to have strong ties with their places of origin it could be observed that they feel the pressure to conform to the behavioral expectations of their families. Silvey & Elmhirst (2003) found in Indonesia, for instance, that women feel high pressures to conform to the rural rules of modesty and to the obligations of their families, because they still rely for support on them. These ties may also constrain men, when they are regarded as breadwinners and when expectations force them to send remittances limiting the quality of their lives in their new environments. However, relations with family members may also provide safety and support especially for recently arrived migrants (Silvey & Elmhirst, 2003).

2.4. Research objectives

The overarching objective of this research is to examine the influence of gender as a social and cultural construct on the migration patterns of young Ethiopians and on the way in which they experience urban poverty. The use of a gender perspective is highly relevant in the Ethiopian context as it is a patriarchal country with high levels of gender inequality. A gender lens helps to explore the social and cultural contexts which shape disparities and examines how these inequalities underlie differences in the behavior, expectations, opportunities and constraints of men and women. The outcomes may inform gender-sensitive anti-poverty policies to improve the lives of urban dwellers and may provide entry points for further research (Masika et al., 1997; Fransen & Kuschminder, 2009; Omelaniuk, n.d.).

Furthermore, by telling the unique stories of individual migrants in Addis Ababa and by shedding light on their diverse realities this research adds to the literature on rural-urban migration, urbanization and its impacts on the lives of migrants. These topics have extensively been discussed in the literature, however, they have remained relatively understudied in the context of sub-Saharan Africa. The same applies to Ethiopia, where some research has been carried out mostly focusing on the impact of remittances on households in the rural areas and on the migration incentives of Ethiopians.

These studies have mainly been conducted from a macro perspective aiming to come forward with general images rather than focusing on the different realities of individual migrants (Ezra & Kiros, 2001; Mberu, 2006; World Bank, 2010; Cottyn, Schapendonk & Van Lindert, 2013; De Brauw, Mueller & Lee, 2014).

2.5. Research questions

Following on from the theoretical embedding and the research objectives of this research, several research questions have been formulated which gave guidance to this research. The first sub-question will be answered in the contextual part of this research (chapter 4), whereas the other questions will be answered in the analytical chapters (chapter 5-7). The main research question, which is the following, will be answered in the conclusion:

How does gender influence the way in which young rural-urban migrants in Addis Ababa experience urban poverty?

The sub-questions are the following:

1. How are rural-urban migration flows, experiences of poverty and gendered patterns being shaped in the Ethiopian context while taking political, economic, social and cultural aspects into account?
2. How do migrants construct images of masculinity and femininity in the Ethiopian context and how do they give meaning to gender?
3. How does gender influence the migratory motivations and movements from the rural areas to Addis Ababa of Ethiopian youngsters?
4. To what extent do gender structures change through migration and contribute to migrants' agency?
5. What do young rural-urban migrants in Addis Ababa consider as important aspects contributing to their well-being, how do these relate to the way in which they experience urban poverty and to what extent are their experiences being influenced by gender?

3. Research design and methodology

This research has been conducted in Addis Ababa during a thirteen week fieldwork period from February until May 2016. Within this chapter the operationalization of the concepts and the research design, methodologies and limitations will be considered.

3.1. Operationalization of the concepts

The concepts which have been used in this research are operationalized based on most commonly used definitions, on the existing literature and on the research context. Firstly, gender as a theoretical concept is used as a lens to explore rural-urban migration and urban poverty. In this research gender refers to the underlying structures, such as culture and social relations, which shape typical images of masculinity and femininity and which cause inequalities in the behavioral expectations, responsibilities, opportunities, constraints and well-being outcomes of men and women. The second concept, young rural-urban migrant, refers to a person aged between 12 and 30 moving from one of the sparsely populated rural localities in Ethiopia to Addis Ababa City Administration for a period of at least three months. An area is considered as rural when it has less than 2,000 inhabitants who are predominantly engaged in agriculture activities. The third concept is urban poverty and has several different dimensions which have been identified by making use of the capability approach. As such it is necessary to mention that the focus has not only been on the achieved status of the respondents regarding the dimensions of poverty, but also on their freedoms to make their own choices. Consequently, respondents are considered to be poor when they lack achievements or freedoms. The dimensions of urban poverty are the following: education, which denotes the school attendance of the respondents, employment referring to jobs in the formal or informal sector, social relations referring to connections with friends, family members and partners, housing which denotes shelter and religion, which in this context refers to the adherence of the respondents to either the Ethiopian Orthodox faith or to the Islam.

3.2. Research design and methodologies

This study is embedded in the broad qualitative research approach, which is best able to capture the subjectivities of individuals as it is *“inductive, with the purpose of describing multiple realities, developing deep understanding, and capturing everyday life and human perspectives”* (Trumbull, 2005, p. 101). During the fieldwork period in Ethiopia most of the data was gathered divided over three somewhat overlapping research phases with each having its own objectives and methods. Upon return in the Netherlands additional interviews were conducted with experts on the research topic. The newly collected information has been complementary to the already gathered data in the second phase of this research.

3.2.1. The first phase: exploratory research

The first four weeks of the fieldwork period have been used as an exploratory research phase to create a better understanding of the research topic and context. Time was used to explore Addis Ababa and to become familiar with the Ethiopian people and local culture through informal conversations with employees working at the Horn Economic & Social Policy Institute (HESPI) and with citizens. The conversations with HESPI employees happened during office hours, whereas talks with citizens took place in the course of diverse occasions, for example in restaurants, in shops, during bus rides, while walking through the city and so on. The acquired information was used to adapt the research design slightly and to develop clear concepts based on the practical experience and the actual situation. The exploratory research phase contributed also to the first identification of official institutions working on issues related to the research topic. Furthermore, the first attempts were made to identify the main target group of this research, the young rural-urban migrants in Addis Ababa.

3.2.2. The second phase: governmental and non-governmental institutions

Throughout the second research phase primary and secondary data was collected at governmental and non-governmental institutions in Addis Ababa. The aim of this phase was to gather relevant data for the geographic and thematic context analysis. A list of relevant organizations was prepared based on the outcomes of the exploratory research phase. Several visits to these institutions took place from the third week onwards, however meeting the right people, arranging interviews and receiving useful information proved to be very challenging. Upon return in the Netherlands additional interviews with gender and migration experts were conducted and informative reports were possessed. An overview of all institutions approached and the results of the meetings can be found in table 1.

Table 1: Overview of the approached institutions and results

Institutions	Results
Addis Ababa City Administration	-
Bureau of Labour and Social Affairs	-
Central Statistical Agency	Secondary data
Dutch NGO	Primary and secondary data
Horn Economic and Social Policy Institute	Primary data
Ministry of Finance and Economic Cooperation	-
Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs	Primary data
Ministry of Urban Development, Housing and Construction	Primary data
Ministry of Women and Child Affairs	Secondary data
National Planning Commission	-
Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA), The Netherlands	Primary and secondary data

St. Mary's University	-
World Bank	-

3.2.2.1. Primary data collection and analysis

The initial idea for the second research phase was to mainly focus on the collection of primary data through interviews with experts on the research topic. Soon it appeared to be much more difficult than expected to find participants and to arrange the actual interviews. As a result four formal interviews were conducted throughout the fieldwork period in Ethiopia and two additional interviews upon return in the Netherlands. Diverse informal conversations, both in Ethiopia and the Netherlands, were added to the primary data. The informal conversations were not prepared at all as they happened spontaneously, whereas for the formal interviews some topics and questions were prepared also being referred to as semi-structured interviews. The latter were considered as most appropriate, because not much was known about the actual situation in Ethiopia related to the research themes and about what kind of information the experts could provide. None of the formal and informal interviews were recorded. Notes were made during the conversations, which were elaborated subsequently. All interviews were read repeatedly and a list of commonly mentioned concepts was made. The same code was given to the concepts each time they occurred in the data. The coding process was done by hand. After all useful data had been coded, the information under each code was grouped together in order to provide an overview of the information per topic.

3.2.2.2. Secondary data collection and analysis

Bringing together secondary data proved to be easier than the collection of primary data. Statistical information, research reports and official policy documents of government agencies were provided on a large scale by the different institutions. Due to the large amount of data the documents were first scanned quickly to find out whether they were useful for the contextual part of this research. The relevant documents were read carefully. All interesting material was marked and copied into one document as to give a complete overview of the useful secondary data.

3.2.2.3. The geographic and thematic contextual framework

The primary and secondary data together formed the basis for the chapter on the geographic and thematic context of this research. The summarized results of both types of data were taken together, analyzed again and sorted per theme. Thereafter a start was made to write a comprehensive contextual analysis focused on the themes related to the research question. The data was complemented by additional information on Ethiopia found in reports online as to create a broader contextual framework and a thorough embedding of the research.

3.2.3. The third phase: data collection among rural-urban migrants

3.2.3.1. Identification of the target group and selection criteria

The third research phase focused on the interviews with the young-rural urban migrants. The target group was identified and the selection criteria were determined based on the information collected during the former research phases and based on the advice of the Ethiopian translator.

According to the statistics of the Central Statistical Agency (CSA) more than one-third of the total population in Addis Ababa is regarded as a migrant, which means that the initial target group of this research consisted of over 1.2 million people (CSA,

2014, p. 22). The target group was narrowed down by adding an age component; only migrants aged between 12 and 30 were considered as eligible participants. To narrow the target population further down the decision was made to only focus on migrants living in one specific area of the city: Kolfe Keraniyo sub city (map 1). The choice for this particular area has been legitimized on the one hand because most migrants live here (CSA, 2014, p. 22). On the other hand, practical matters and the advice of the translator influenced the decision. The interviews took place in the backyard of the translator, which is located in Weyra a neighborhood in Kolfe Keraniyo sub city. As such, finding respondents in this area and convincing them to participate was regarded to be most convenient. Additionally, the translator knew that many of the youngsters living in this area came from the rural areas and therefore qualified as potential respondents. Other selection criteria were the length of stay in Addis Ababa and the place of origin of the respondents as defined in the operationalization section of this chapter. Due to the nature and aim of this research an equal number of male and female participants was considered to be essential. An overview of the respondents and their characteristics can be found in table 2. All names in the table and in the following chapters are fictive names. They have been changed for reasons of confidentiality.



Map 1: Addis Ababa and the research area (Source: Kelly Liveker, 2016)

Table 2: Overview of the young rural-urban migrants and their characteristics

Name	Age	Sex	Marital status	Village, region of origin	Ethnicity	Length of Stay in Addis Ababa
Selam	18	F	Married	Gorgora, Gondar	Amhara	4 years
Zahra	15	F	Unmarried	Dembi, Gondar	Amhara	4 months
Edna	12	F	Unmarried	Gomako	Amhara	7 months
Ayana	17	F	Divorced	Midermerim, Gondar	Amhara	2 years
Hosanna	23	F	Unmarried	Fojera, Gondar	Amhara	7 years
Caleb	18	M	Unmarried	Merawi, Gotjam	Amhara	6 months
Jember	19	M	Married	Felege Brihen, Gotjam	Amhara	2 years
Tamrat	30	M	Unmarried	Felege Brihen, Gotjam	Amhara	3 months
Dagim	20	M	Married	Felege Brihen, Gotjam	Amhara	3 months
Berhanu	15	M	Unmarried	Chilish, Arba Minch	Wolayta	7 years
Mulu	12	M	Unmarried	Kasasa, Tulubolo	Oromo	6 years
Beimnet	17	F	Unmarried	Wayu, North Shew	Amhara	1 year
Yehudit	25	F	Married	Debre Tabor, Gondar	Amhara	10 years
Semira	13	F	Unmarried	Kutabere, Dessie	Amhara	2 years
Kidist	30	F	Unmarried	Wetetbere, Gotjam	Amhara	3 months
Gabra	28	M	Married	Gorgora, Gondar	Amhara	3 months
Zere	12	M	Unmarried	Ziway, Oromia	Oromo	6 years
Rekik	19	F	Unmarried	Tepi, SNNP	Amhara	4 years
Selassie	25	M	Unmarried	Merawi, Gotjam	Amhara	4 months
Hassan	16	M	Unmarried	Kulteambar, Gotjam	Amhara	1 year
Emanuel	28	M	Unmarried	Ediet, Gotjam	Amhara	5 months
Giftee	16	F	Unmarried	Wolaeta, Oromia	Oromo	8 years
Lielit	15	F	Unmarried	Bacho, Oromia	Oromo	5 years
Palus	13	M	Unmarried	Enemor, SNNP	Gurage	9 months

3.2.3.2. Sampling methods

Purposive and snowball sampling have been used as sampling methods to select the respondents. They could not be approached directly by the researcher, because of language barriers, anxiety of migrants towards the researcher as a *faranji* (foreigner) and their lack of willingness to participate. Therefore, the translator selected the first respondents based on the predetermined criteria. The male migrants were approached on the streets in Weyra close to a small bus station. Here they gathered each day to find employment. The female migrants were more difficult to find as they usually spend their days inside their houses. Therefore, the translator used her own network to find female respondents. At the end of each interview the respondents were asked, whether they knew other potential participants. The

criteria to which appropriate respondents needed to adhere were told to them and almost all were able to bring forward a succeeding participant. This sampling method can be referred to as snowball sampling.

3.2.3.3. Semi-structured interviews

In total 24 semi-structured interviews were conducted with 12 female and 12 male migrants. Before the start of the interviews an interview guide was prepared with questions grouped per topic related to the research themes (appendix A). The guide has several times been adapted throughout the interview process based on the experiences with former respondents. All interviews started by informing the respondents about the research topic, the aim of the study, the confidentiality of their answers and with a short introduction of the researcher and the translator. Thereafter some general questions were asked to the respondents in order to collect information on their personal characteristics as to confirm their eligibility to this research.

The objective of the interviews with the migrants was to gain a better understanding of their subjectivities and to shed light on their unique stories related to the research topics. Therefore, the interview guide was only used in order to give direction to the interviews and questions about the topics were asked in a changing order. The semi-structured interviews gave respondents the possibility to raise their own issues, to identify additional dimensions of urban poverty and to elaborate on the topics most relevant to them. During the interviews the terms men, women, boys and girls were used interchangeably as well as the terms work and activities. The latter referring to employment. All interviews took place in Amharic, since none of the respondents spoke English. A professional translator was hired and translated from English to Amharic and the other way around. A number of meetings took place between the researcher and the translator before the start of the first interview in order to make the translator familiar with the research topic and the interview guide. The interviews were conducted in the garden of the translator, where a relaxed atmosphere was created to make the respondents feel as comfortable as possible.

The length of the interviews varied between 30 and 70 minutes. They were recorded by phone with informed consent and notes were made. The data was transcribed by reviewing the notes and listening to the sound records. The analysis of the data started after all interviews had been transcribed. The transcripts of the interviews were read carefully several times in order to get an overall sense of the data and to be able to write down the first insights. Nvivo was used for the coding process and eventually for the analysis of the data, because the program enhanced the ability to find valuable relationships and patterns within the data. At first all useless data was filtered out and the relevant data was categorized and labeled by making use of the following overarching codes: personal characteristics, migration, gender and urban poverty. The data under the overarching codes was thereafter divided into smaller groups of data with new codes. The process of re-reading, re-coding and re-interpreting the interviews was repeated several times until new codes no longer came up and

the researcher was able to identify relations between different parts of the data. The before mentioned process formed the basis for the analytical and empirical chapters of this thesis.

3.3 Research limitations

In this section the most important shortcomings of this research will be outlined and reflected upon starting with a general, but highly relevant limitation. Restricted time and availability of resources determined the scope of this research. In order to use time and resources as effective as possible a timeline and an estimation of the costs were made. This has contributed to the ability to finish the fieldwork timely even despite unexpected challenges, such as arranging the interviews with experts. A second limitation relates to the sampling methods. Since it was not possible to approach the respondents directly, they were selected by the translator, which resulted in a limited control over the research sample. The use of snowball sampling further restricted control and affected the representativeness and diversity of the sample. Respondents selected succeeding participants from their personal network with often similar characteristics. Therefore, no generalizations can be made based on the findings of this research.

Third, a small compensation was given to the research participants. Most male migrants in Addis Ababa work as daily laborers. They search for a job each day and get paid from day to day for the hours they have worked. Participating in the interviews meant for them less hours to work, so some financial compensation was considered to be fair. Female migrants were offered the same to create equal incentives. The majority of the participants knew about the compensation before the start of the interviews, because they got selected by former respondents who informed them. The compensation and the exchange of information possibly had a large influence on the reasons for migrants to participate as well as on their answers.

Furthermore, the use of a translator during the interviews with migrants was essential, because none of them spoke English. A professional and experienced translator was hired in order to ensure a high quality of the translations. Before the start of the interviews several meetings took place between the researcher and the translator to talk through the research topic, aim and methods in order to limit the risk of misconceptions. However, it is still possible that some misunderstandings occurred and that valuable information has been missed in between translations. The translator was only able to translate between English and Amharic, so migrants who did not speak Amharic were excluded from this research. Also, there is a chance that the distinct cultural background and the Western perspective of the researcher have influenced incorrect interpretations and cultural misunderstandings of the data.

Another limitation relates to the recall bias which occurred quite often during the interviews. Respondents did not remember their exact age and they had troubles with telling the stories about their past in a consistent manner. The female respondents who were engaged in domestic work experienced difficulties for another reason. Most of them not only worked, but lived as well within the house of

their employer. Doubts can be made whether they talked honestly about their living and working conditions, because of the control of their employers or owners as the women sometimes chose to call them. One of the interviews even got interrupted by the police, who had been sent by the employer of the respondent to check on her. Furthermore, during all interviews it was challenging to let the respondents expand on their lives and feelings, because they were not really talkative. Most questions were answered with a simple yes or no without any further elaboration. Some of the respondents knew the translator and her family, which also may have limited their willingness to chat openly.

4. Setting the context

4.1. Ethiopia – some numbers and facts

Ethiopia is a landlocked country located in the Eastern part of sub-Saharan Africa. The country is officially known as the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (FDRE) and is bordered by Eritrea, Djibouti, Somalia, Sudan, South Sudan and Kenya. Together with Eritrea, Djibouti and Somalia, Ethiopia forms the well-known Horn of Africa. The capital of Ethiopia, Addis Ababa, is positioned in the heart of the country and is the place in which this research has been conducted (map 2) (Central Intelligence Agency, 2016).

In July 2015 the total population of Ethiopia was estimated to be around 99.5 million, which makes it one of the most populous countries in Africa. The population has tremendously increased over the past decades and is likely to increase in the future at an average growth rate of 2.89 per cent a year. The Ethiopian people are divided into over 80 different ethnic groups with almost all having their own language. The Oromo are the largest Ethnic group and account for 34.4 per cent of the total population, followed by the Amhara with 27 per cent and Somali and Tigrinya with 6 per cent. The national language of Ethiopia is Amharic, however Oromo is most commonly spoken. Almost all Ethiopians are religious; 43.5 per cent of the population is Ethiopian Orthodox, 33.9 per cent Muslim and 18.5 per cent Protestant (Central Intelligence Agency, 2017). The Ethiopian culture, traditions and customs are very rich and diversified and *“the country prides itself for its cultural heritage”* (Ministry of Women’s Affairs, 2010, p. 9).

The majority of the Ethiopian inhabitants, namely more than 80 per cent, lives in the rural areas of the country and is engaged in agriculture activities (Central Intelligence Agency, 2017). The urban population was in 2012 estimated to be around 17.3 per cent of the total population. This makes Ethiopia one of the least urbanized countries in the world, even well below the average urban population rate in sub-Saharan Africa of 37 per cent. However, this is changing rapidly; the rising number of rural-urban migrants and urban population growth are the major drivers of urbanization. According to the World Bank (2015b, p. xii) the total share of the urban population will continue to



Map 2: Ethiopia (Source: Central Intelligence Agency, 2016)

grow at an average growth rate of 5.4 per cent a year, which means that by 2028 at least 30 per cent of the Ethiopian population lives in an urban area.

4.2. From a socialist regime to a democratic state

In 1974 the latest monarch of Ethiopia, Haile Selassie, was deposed by the Derg regime, which established a socialist state. The period under the rule of the Derg was characterized by limited political freedoms, brutal repressions of the opposition, internal violent upheavals and several wars with neighboring countries. Additionally, during the 1970s and 1980s Ethiopia was scourged by severe droughts resulting in food shortages and a large number of deaths. All of these aspects contributed to high levels of poverty among the Ethiopian population, political instability, major internal and international movements of people, and a stagnation of the economic growth and overall development of the country (Mberu, 2006, p. 511; Fransen & Kuschminder, 2009, p. 6).

In 1991 the socialist Derg regime was replaced by the Transitional Government of Ethiopia and the FDRE was established (EPA, 2012, p. 8). The new government banned the failed socialist policies of the Derg and introduced several major transformations with the transition from a socialist and centrally planned economy to a market-led economy, and the introduction of a democratic system being the most profound (Mberu, 2006, p. 512). In 1994 Ethiopia adopted its first constitution, which



Map 3: The ethnic federal states (Source: ethioembassy.org.uk)

divided the country in nine federal states based on ethnicity and two chartered cities; Addis Ababa and Dire Dawa (Map 3). The adoption of the constitution was followed in 1995 by the first democratic elections in which the Ethiopian People’s Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) was chosen as the ruling party (Fransen & Kuschminder, 2009, p. 6). From that period onwards Ethiopia has made major progresses in diverse areas and has become one of the most promising countries in terms of social and economic development in Africa (AfDB, 2011, p. 1).

4.2.2. Persistent poverty and recent progress

Most of the recent progress in Ethiopia has been achieved as a result of relative political stability, the progressive development plans of the GoE and the successful implementation of a developmental state model. Public expenditures have been dedicated towards major reforms focused on solutions for

development-related problems and on rebuilding the Ethiopian economy (EPA, 2012, p. 8; World Bank, 2012, p2). The latter has increased since 2004 at an average growth rate of 10 per cent per year (UNDP, 2015, p. 1) and the poverty rate dropped from 56 per cent of the people living below the poverty line in 2000 to less than 30 per cent in 2011. Furthermore, the living standards of Ethiopian households have been improved in particularly from the 2000s onwards. More people have access to health and education systems, the life expectancy of Ethiopians increased from 45 in 1990 to 65 in 2013, gender equality improved, the fertility rate dropped substantially and child mortality numbers decreased from 205/1000 in 1990 to 59/1000 in 2015. Also, people are more food secure and less people die from diseases, such as HIV/AIDS or malaria. For deaths caused by HIV/AIDS the number has dropped from 148 per 100.000 people in 2001 to 48 per 100.000 in 2013 (AfDB, 2011, p. 1; World Bank, 2015a, p. 1-2, AHO & WHO, 2016).

However, despite these current developments, Ethiopia still remains an extremely poor and highly vulnerable country. The GoE has to deal with several challenges, such as the fast increasing population, environmental issues, food insecurity and high unemployment rates, which all interfere with their efforts to realize economic growth and social development in a sustainable manner (EPA, 2011, p. 7). Also, the democratic rule and the legitimacy of the government are sometimes being questioned (Fransen & Kuschminder, 2009, p. 6). Recently, this has led to several waves of protests by the Ethiopian population against the GoE, especially in the Amhara and Oromia region, which shows how quickly the relative stable situation can deteriorate (Al Jazeera, 2016). In addition, the persistent instability in Somalia and Eritrea forms a threat for Ethiopia (AfDB, 2011, p. 1-2) as well as the present conflict in South Sudan which causes large flows of refugees seeking protection in its neighboring countries (UNHCR, 2016).

4.3. Migration patterns in Ethiopia

Migratory flows of Ethiopians have already been observed for ages. However, during the late 1960s and 1970s a substantial increase in the number of internal and international migrants occurred, especially after the Derg regime came to power in 1974. From that period onwards people started to move for several reasons. The military confrontations, the violent repressions of the Derg, the war with Eritrea and Somalia, and the high levels of poverty among the population caused large flows of internally displaced people and international refugees. As a consequence Ethiopia became one of the largest producers of migrants in Africa (Mberu, 2006, p. 511; Fransen & Kuschminder, 2009, p.10-11).

The 1973-1974 and 1984-1985 famines also had a large influence on the movements of the Ethiopian population. People responded to these disasters by moving out from the drought-prone areas in central and northern Ethiopia to areas with better opportunities in the west and south. Not all of these movements were voluntary; around 600,000 farmers hit by the drought were relocated into

government controlled farming cooperatives under the obligatory resettlement and villagization program of the Derg. Living conditions in the settlements were extremely poor and therefore many civilians fled to the urban areas of Ethiopia or to neighboring countries. When the Derg regime was defeated in 1991 additional flows of migrants emerged. These flows were caused by the newly introduced division of the country in nine federal states based on ethnicity. People living in a state not aligning with their ethnical background returned to their region of origin. The majority of these migrants consisted of the farmers who were relocated under the resettlement policies of the Derg (Mberu, 2006, p. 512).

At present the number of internal migrants in Ethiopia is estimated to exceed the number of international migrants, but official and accurate statistics are lacking. The percentage of Ethiopians engaged in internal migration has increased from 11.4 per cent in 1984 to 16.5 per cent in 2008. About half of these migrants moved from rural to rural areas. However, a decline from 56 per cent in 1984 to 47 per cent in 2008 could be observed in the share of rural-rural migrants in relation to the total internal migrant population. Rural-urban migration has increased during the same period from 1.3 million migrants to 3.26 million rural-urban migrants (Figure 1) (Dorosh, Alemu, De Brauw, Malek, Mueller, Schmidt, Tafere, Thurlow, 2011, p. 44). Addis Ababa is for the majority of these migrants the most important migration destination (World Bank, 2010).

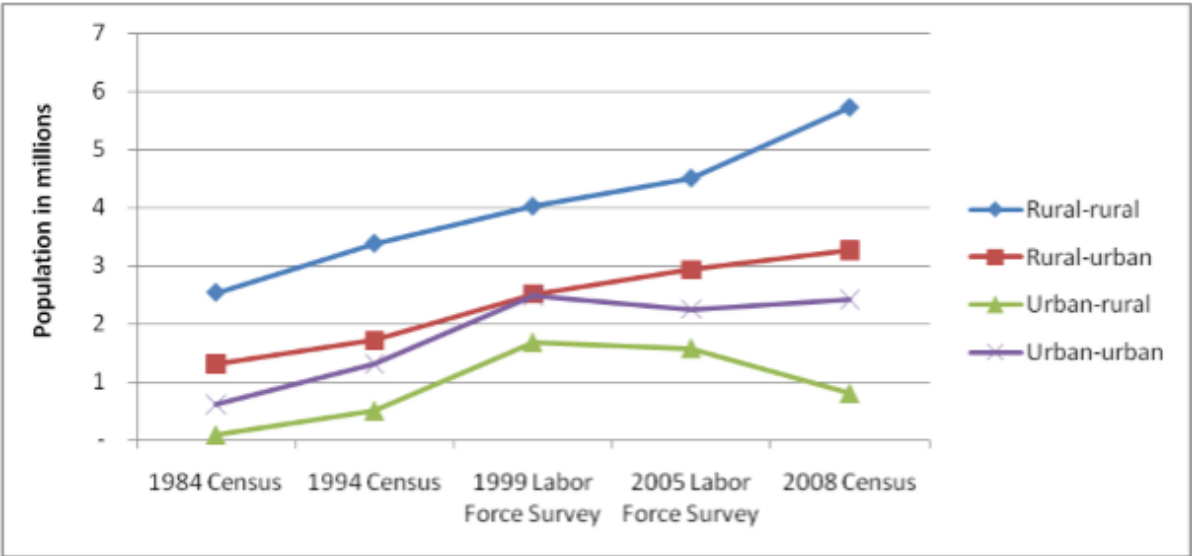


Figure 1: Internal migration in Ethiopia (Source: Dorosh, et al., 2011, p. 53)

4.4. Addis Ababa – migration destination

Addis Ababa is the largest city in Ethiopia, is home to over 3.2 million people (Central Intelligence Agency, 2016) and accounts for 23 per cent of the total urban population in the country (World Bank, 2010, p. 48). *“Addis Ababa stands alone as Ethiopia’s principle city: it is its capital, in the center of the country; ten times bigger than the next largest city, and the center of government, commerce,*

industry and services” (MoUDHC, 2014, p. 17). The city has to offer the best social services, infrastructure, education and economic opportunities compared to other urban areas in Ethiopia. However, these are not always able to meet the needs of the growing urban population in particular in the areas of infrastructure and services, access to jobs and housing. For example, around 70 – 80 percentage of the urban inhabitants lives in slum areas and only 10 per cent of the population of Addis Ababa is connected to the sewerage system (World Bank, 2015b). Furthermore, while poverty in the rural areas of Ethiopia has declined, the number of people living below the poverty line in the urban areas has increased from 33 per cent in 1995 to 35 in 2005. For the capital of Ethiopia, this percentage is even higher with around 60 per cent (Dorosh et al., 2011, p. 21).

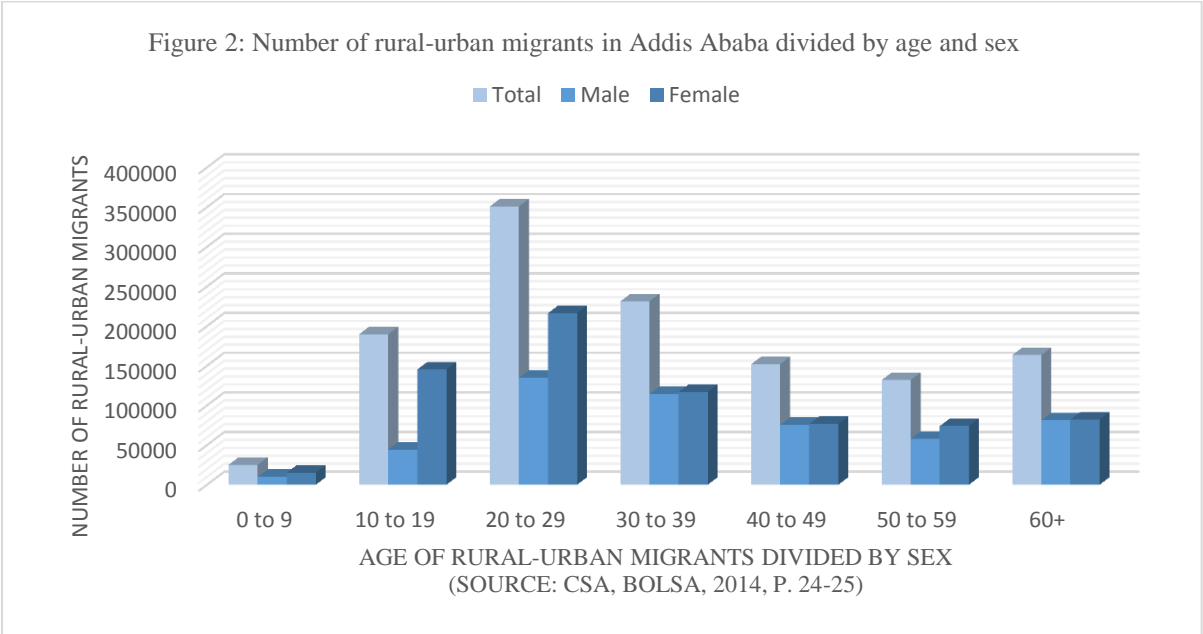
Addis Ababa still remains an attractive migration destination for rural-urban migrants. 80 per cent of these migrants moves to the city because of better educational and employment opportunities. Due to the scarcity of jobs a large part continues their migration to international destinations in the Middle East (World Bank, 2010; Atnafu, Oucho & Zeitlyn, 2014, p. 5; MoLSA, personal communication, 2016). Another aspect which contributes to the attractiveness of Addis Ababa are the wage differentials between the city and the rural areas. Wages in the formal sector are 2.05 times higher than in the rural areas and wages in the informal sector are estimated to be 2.22 times higher (De Brauw, Mueller & Lee, 2014, p. 36). Additionally, female migrants move to escape from early marriage in the countryside, while seasonal migration is common among young male migrants who move in between the harvesting seasons to the city to diversify their livelihoods (Fransen & Kuschminder, 2009, p. 15). For 42 per cent of the migrants in Addis Ababa rural hardship influences their decision to migrate (World Bank, 2010).

4.4.1. Characteristics of the rural-urban migrant population in Addis Ababa

Rural-urban migrants move to Addis Ababa from all over Ethiopia. Nonetheless, most of them arrive from the Amhara, Oromia, Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples’ Region and the Tigray region. They come to the city by themselves or children are mostly sent by their families to live with a relative of whom is being expected to provide education, while the children help with the domestic work. The movement of whole families is rarely observed in Ethiopia (Erulkar et al., 2006; World Bank, 2010; Atnafu, Oucho & Zeitlyn, 2014, p. 5).

Migrants who come to Addis Ababa end up living scattered throughout the city, with Kolfe Keraniyo sub city housing the largest amount of rural-urban migrants (CSA, BoLSA, 2014, p. 22). An adequate registration system for newcomers is lacking, which means that many migrants remain unregistered and consequently cannot benefit from the facilities which the city has to offer (Fransen & Kuschminder, 2009, p. 13; World Bank, 2010, p. 7). The CSA, however, has made several attempts to provide a sufficient documentation of the number of migrants in the city. According to the CSA and the Bureau of Labour and Social Affairs (BoLSA) the capital of Ethiopia is home to 1,245,627 rural-urban migrants. Male migrants are among the minority; 518,419 of the total number of rural-urban

migrants are men, while 727,208 are women. Most of the migrants are aged between 20 and 29 years old (CSA, BoLSA, 2014, p. 22). An overview of the total amount of rural-urban migrants in Addis Ababa divided by age and sex is given in figure 2.



The educational achievements of the Ethiopian population at large are low. In 2011 22 per cent of the youth aged between 15 and 24 years old did not have any education and 55 per cent did not complete their primary education (Education Policy and Data Center, 2014). The majority of the rural-urban migrants in Addis Ababa also have low levels of education as they did not have the opportunity to attend school in the countryside (Erulkar, et al., 2006; World Bank, 2010; Atnafu, Oucho & Zeitlyn, 2014). However, before migrating to the city at least 32.4 per cent of the migrants attended school, while this percentage dropped tremendously to 0.6 per cent after having arrived in the city (figure 3) (Dorosh et al. 2011, p. 55). This is especially remarkable, because education is one of the most mentioned reasons among migrants to come to Addis Ababa. 41.4 per cent of the female migrants and 31.3 per cent of the male migrants are moving for educational reasons the city (World Bank, 2010).

The occupations of migrants usually change after moving to the city. In the rural areas the majority of the Ethiopians are involved in farming activities, domestic work or any other type of unpaid family work. Children commonly help their families with these activities. In Addis Ababa unemployment rates are high; 23.5 per cent of the households in the city have at least one unemployed adult. Among recent migrants these rates are even higher. Especially female migrants experience more difficulties with finding employment than male migrants and non-migrants (World Bank, 2010; World Bank, 2015b, p. 17). *“Female migrants are 4% less likely to gain employment and seven percentage points more likely to be an unpaid family worker than the average migrant”* (World Bank, 2015a, p. 14). Most migrants take up low paid and low skilled jobs in the informal or household sector, or they

become self-employed, because employment in the formal sector is lacking. Around 82 per cent of the female domestic servants in Addis Ababa are recently arrived migrants. Figure 3 shows an overview of the occupations of rural-urban migrants in Ethiopia prior to

	Prior to Migration	Post-Migration
Farm worker	43.0	14.1
Daily laborer	3.5	23.3
Domestic work/Housekeeper	9.6	12.8
Self-Employed	5.1	16.6
Teacher	1.6	12.1
Student	32.4	0.6
Other Salaried Employment	1.3	11.2
Other/Unemployed	3.5	9.3
Number of Obs.	312	313

Figure 3: Occupations of rural-urban migrants (Source: Dorosh et al., 2011, p. 55)

and after their migration (Dorosh et al., 2011; World Bank, 2015b). Another characteristic of the migrant population in Addis Ababa relates to remittances. Compared to other countries in sub-Saharan Africa the level of remittances in Ethiopia is very low. Only 13 per cent of the migrants send remittances back home to their families. The other migrants can simply not afford it, because life in Addis Ababa is very expensive (World Bank, 2010, p. 8).

4.5. The role of the GoE in steering rural-urban migration and urbanization

While the challenges and opportunities related to rural-urban migration and urbanization have not been addressed substantially by the GoE, neither have they been overlooked. The Ethiopian land tenure system for example is most commonly associated with the slowdown of rural-urban migration (USAID, 2011, p. 5). Restrictions on the land rights of farmers and the lack of a land tenure security system have a limiting effect on the movements of Ethiopians from the rural to urban areas (Dorosh et al., 2011, p. 45). Furthermore, within the national development plans of the GoE rural-urban migration flows are mainly perceived as a threat to social development and economic growth, because it is being linked with “*natural resource degradation, ethnic conflicts, economic instability, urban population growth and associated problems, and the spread of HIV/AIDS*” (Dorosh, et al., 2011, p. 16). As such the governmental policies within these plans aim to control and reduce rural-urban migration flows (Dorosh, et al., 2011).

The current efforts of the GoE related to migration are most often focused on international migration. According to the MoLSA (personal communication, 2016) internal movements of people are part and parcel of the Ethiopian history. These movements cause fewer problems and are less significant than the increasing migratory movements of Ethiopians to the Middle East through illegal and dangerous routes. Nevertheless, the GoE recognizes the need to give direction to rural-urban migration flows in order to avoid the exacerbation of already existing problems in the urban areas and to spur economic growth.

“Migration is not good, not bad. It only needs to be managed properly. If there is full employment then it is good, because the labor can be used in the cities. It will be dangerous when there is not enough employment and people don’t get a job. Then they have no money, no utilities, no housing and they end up in illegal activities” (MoUDHC, personal communication, 2016)

At present employment opportunities are lacking in the Ethiopian cities, which results in the need to limit the rural outflow of Ethiopians. This is also necessary in order to act in accordance with the overall economic growth strategy of the GoE, which is based on an increased productivity in the agriculture, service and business sectors. Consequently, a large labor force in both the rural and urban areas of the country is required. Seasonal rural to urban migration, however, is considered as positive, because it enhances the effective use of the national labor force and contributes to economic growth (MoUDHC, personal communication, 2016).

One of the strategies which the GoE pursues to reduce rural to urban migration is by closing the knowledge gap among the rural population. Rural dwellers expect to find jobs and wealth in the urban areas, especially in Addis Ababa, which does not necessarily stroke with reality. By providing adequate information on the amount of available jobs, the urban unemployment rates and the high living costs in the cities, the government tries to decrease the internal movements of people. Another strategy of the GoE focuses on the creation of employment opportunities.

Job creation is the most important. If there are enough jobs then people don’t want to migrate. That’s the way of thinking of the government, if we create jobs at every level and in all parts of the country people will not migrate anymore from the rural areas to the cities” (MoLSA, personal communication, 2016)

Besides investing in the creation of jobs as a strategy to manage internal migration flows, the GoE invests as well largely in the reduction of poverty in both the rural and urban areas through the implementation of the Productive Safety Net Programme and the Urban Safety Net Programme. By enhancing the attractiveness of the countryside and the cities at the same time the government aims to control the rural outflow and urban inflow of people. Also, by implementing the USNP simultaneously in all regional capital cities the government tries to avoid a large rush of migrants coming to Addis Ababa (MoUDHC, personal communication, 2016).

4.6. Gender in the Ethiopian context

4.6.1. Gender equality and the empowerment of women at the national level

Ethiopia is traditionally a patriarchal society based on a gendered division of roles. The levels of gender inequality in the country are high, even despite recent efforts of the GoE towards the

empowerment of women and the realization of gender equality. The persistent inequalities hamper development and inclusive growth and are therefore among the priorities of the GoE (Fransen & Kuschminder, 2009, p. 7; UN Women, 2014, p. 9; UNDP, 2015, p. 23).

In 1993 the National Policy on Women was implemented with the major objective to address gender inequalities within economic, social and political spheres. This policy also emphasized the equal gain of benefits for women in all areas, their equal participation in society, their improved access to social and health services, and their entitlement to property rights (Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2010, p. 10). The first constitution of the FDRE focused on equal rights for both sexes and on *"affirmative action to remedy the past inequalities suffered by women"* (UN Women, 2014, p. 9) and in 2000 a new Family Code was adopted which majorly reformed the controversial Ethiopian Family Law. *"While the Family Law of 1969 had placed women subordinate to men, and defined women's roles as complimentary, and supplementary, to men's roles and aims, the new Family Code established new standard for equality between men and women"* (UN Women, 2014, p. 20). Other discriminating policies and laws also have been reversed in favor of women, new legal provisions to encourage women's issues have been introduced and gender has been mainstreamed throughout the national development plans of the GoE (Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2010, p. 9).

4.6.2. Gender at the local level

While at the national level much has been achieved in terms of gender equality, the localities in Ethiopia are still lagging behind. The tenacious gender inequalities in both the rural and urban areas of the country are embedded in the deep-rooted cultures, traditions, religious beliefs and in the patriarchal ethnic groups. Gender inequalities and the gendered division of tasks have manifested themselves in all aspects of society and sometimes lead to harmful practices mostly disadvantaging women (Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2010, p. 9; World Vision, 2014).

"Gender affects children's lives from the very beginning; it affects the way they are treated by their parents, siblings and relatives, the type of work they have to do in the household and on the farm, their education, their freedom of movement, their relationships with friends, and their ambitions and aspirations for the future" (De Regt, 2016, p. 24).

Within Ethiopian households women are considered to be subordinate to men. Men make the decisions and when they are the sole income provider their superiority over women increases. As a result of such inequalities violence against women takes place in households and is a socially accepted phenomenon. However, in recent years the acceptance rate dropped from 85 per cent to 68 per cent (World Bank, 2015a, p. 6). In communities and in the broader society these patterns continue to exist. Clear images are present of what is considered as applicable to men and what to women (MFA, personal communication, 2016).

For example, in Ethiopia's rural communities social norms prescribe female genital mutilation/cutting (FGM/C) and early marriage, which is *"any marriage where one or both spouses are under the age of 18. Although boys also enter into early marriage, girls are disproportionately affected by this practice and form the majority of child spouses"* (World Vision, 2014, p. 7). Families feel the pressure to conform to these social norms, because otherwise society will reject their daughters. Both FGM/C and marriage are also seen as a manner to control female sexuality and behavior and to foster characteristics that are considered to be feminine (World Vision, 2014, p. 9-10; MFA, personal communication, 2016).

On average women in Ethiopia get married at the age of 14. The percentage of young, married women is the highest in the Amhara region, where 28 per cent of the women in the urban areas are married before the age of 15 and 48 per cent of the rural women (Fransen & Kuschminder, 2009, p. 7). As a result physical and mental health problems occur commonly consequently interfering with the schooling and future perspectives of girls. Giving birth to a child further exacerbates their situation as they are expected to take care of the child (World Vision, 2014; MFA, personal communication, 2016). The school attendance of boys is less being affected by these practices, because they are on average seven years older than girls when they get married and they are not being burdened by child care (Population Council & UNFPA, 2010). *"Divorce is also prevalent in Ethiopia due to the ease with which men can divorce their wives for reasons such as disobedience, barrenness, challenging male authority, and not keeping the house properly; this places women in a precarious position"* (Fransen & Kuschminder, 2009, p. 7).

Also, within the Ethiopian educational system gender inequalities are being shaped. At primary school the environment is enabling for both boys and girls. Here children learn to appreciate specific male and female tasks. After their first menstruation the school performance of girls reduces, because they are not allowed to attend classes during their period. In addition, to get access to secondary education in the rural areas children need to walk sometimes for several hours. This is especially dangerous for girls, because of the possibility of rape and the fear of abduction along their way to school. To protect the girls their education is often being stopped by their families and they are given for marriage as an alternative. Currently, the Ethiopian government aims to improve the level of education among the Ethiopian population by enhancing educational access which positively influences the educational opportunities of both sexes (De Regt, 2016; MFA, personal communication, 2016).

The employment sector in Ethiopia is another area in which gender inequalities come to the fore. For women, especially female migrants, employment in the domestic sector is their only opportunity. They often lack sufficient food, experience a lot of physical and sexual abuse and their freedom is bounded by what their employer allows them. *'It is the most neglected and non-regulated sector. Some employers pay the women nothing. The whole system is wrong and there is no organization working on it'* (MFA, personal communication, 2016). As a consequence many female

migrants end up as sex workers and sometimes even move overseas to the Middle-East (De Regt, 2016, p. 5; MFA, personal communication, 2016). The public transport sector and the construction sector are dominated by men, but things are changing. More women become engaged in construction, which is partly a result of their abuse in the domestic sector. The reproductive status of women forms another barrier to their employment opportunities. When they are, for example, pregnant they try to hide this, because otherwise no employer will hire them (MFA, personal communication, 2016).

5. Analysis – images of maleness and femaleness

In the section on the contextual embedding of this research it became clear that despite the efforts of the GoE to enhance gender equality, inequalities remain persistent especially at the local level. During the interviews with young rural-urban migrants attention was paid to the social and cultural norms which define these gender inequalities and outline the differences in the behavioral expectations and opportunities for men and women. The respondents were able to come up with clear images of what according to them gender comprises and what is considered to be appropriate behavior for men and women in the Ethiopian culture. This chapter will elaborate on the meaning of gender from the perspective of the migrants, which will accordingly be used to explore its linkages with the individual migration patterns and experiences of urban poverty.

5.1. Men are strong and energetic, women are not

Men and women are different due to their nature. The respondents acknowledged that as well. *“Naturally they are also not equal, when the girl talks then her voice is thin and when boys are talking their voice is some different”* (Berhanu, male, 15). While different voices do not necessarily affect the opportunities which people have, other natural aspects do influence the space of men and women differently and lead to varieties in the expectations about their performance. For example, men are expected to be more energetic and powerful than women. Because women lack these characteristics they cannot engage in every type of employment, since some jobs are considered to be too burdensome for them. Selam (female, 18) told that farming is too heavy for women; they need to save their energy for giving birth which leads to the reinforcement of their reproductive role and status. Or in the city *“sometimes drivers also don’t want to do girls that kind of work. The girls cannot easily open the door. That’s why”* (Zere, male, 12). Women also get paid less for the same job as men, because they have less strength to successfully and quickly perform their tasks. This happens especially in daily jobs such as in construction. *“For me I think being a boy is more preferable. Because here even for day work activity, when boys are working on that kind of activity they got 80 birr in a day and girls only get 50 birr”* (Dagim, 20, male). Also, migrants claimed that women more often become the victim of physical violence and rape than men, which may constrain their movement in Addis Ababa.

5.2. Typical images of masculinity and femininity

Cultural, economic, political, social and religious aspects and beliefs in Ethiopia all determine how men and women are expected to behave and define how power is distributed between them. Selam (female, 18) told the following about the influence of religion on the relations between men and women: *“When Adam and Eve were created, the bible said that men cannot live without women. One*

bone was thrown out of a man, and then god created women from the bone of the man. So women need to have respect for men". Within the Ethiopian culture it is furthermore expected that both men and women show good behavior by living peacefully with other people, obeying to orders and having respect for each other. Despite that these behavioral characteristics are considered to be applicable to both sexes, migrants mentioned them more often in relation to what is being expected of women. The latter also need to be calm, patience, take care of their husband and children, they are not allowed to see other men especially after being married, and women are expected to dress properly. Men need to earn and save money, manage themselves and take care of their families. *"For women, needs to be decent, talk not loud, not insult people, must go like down her neck. For males, manage his family financial things plus he must be a strong farmer, hard worker"* (Hosanna, female, 23).

However, things are changing because of time passing by. Migrants mentioned that men and women are increasingly being seen as more equal counterparts especially among the younger generations in Ethiopia. The perception on traditional gender roles alters as well due to changes in the environment. In the rural areas, for example, traditional gendered perceptions are more strict and predominant than in the urban centers. *"Here in Addis I see women can go with men in places like chewing chat, but when you go in rural area they did not allow for me to go to that kind of places"* (Hosanna, female, 23). Additionally, in the city it is more common that men and women have contact with each other. In the rural areas families keep boys and girls as much as possible apart, because of the chance that they would fall in love. Contact with men without being married is especially for women not considered as appropriate.

5.3. Gender differentiated patterns related to the daily life of Ethiopians

Ethiopians grow up in a context in which gendered expectations and patterns influence their lives from the very beginning (De Regt, 2014). Evidence from this research points to the existence of such patterns connected to the daily lives of Ethiopians in several ways. For example, early or child marriage only occurs in societies which are characterized by high levels of gender inequality and disproportionately affect girls. The participants in this research confirm its existence, but rather refer to it as marriage. Child marriage starts with a girl being promised to a man at a very young age. *"My age was like three years old. My family promised me to his family when I was three to be for him, like a partner. Then they give to him, when I became thirteen"* (Selam, female, 18). As the respondents told, the other way around it is not common. Boys are never being promised to girls. They are also a couple of years older when they get married. *"He was 16, when they gave me like when I was 7. Commonly most of them are around 24, girls are younger"* (Ayana, female, 17).

For especially females getting married at a young age goes hand in hand with school dropout and consequently with a low level of education. After a (promised) marriage has been arranged, their education is being stopped by their relatives, because they fear that if the girl becomes knowledgeable

and is being exposed to different values that she will resist getting married. In addition, Ayana (female, 17) claimed: *“They fear, if girls are go to school, they may see another man. I don’t know why they allow for men, but they can go to school”*. Some migrants said that nowadays child marriage is becoming less common, because the government does not allow for it. Giftee (female, 16) told furthermore that it also happens less often in the urban context. *“Here in Addis there is no forced marriage, but in the village where I were there is abduction, some of them took you for the marriage and because of abduction you cannot learn. That’s why I prefer here”*. After marriage the role of women changes, because they are expected to stay at home and to take care of their husbands. Especially in the rural areas this has a large influence on their lives, because sometimes girls are barely allowed to leave their houses. Their husbands are commonly engaged in the work outside of the house. *“Boys are expecting the girls to do house activities, to stay in home and to wait on them. Here the boys need to bring work and money. But in the rural areas they need to farm and bring cereals”* (Semira, female, 13).

The gendered division of roles can also be observed in the daily tasks outside of marriage which are being allocated to men and women. Expectations in the rural areas outline farming as the responsibility of men, while women are kept responsible for the domestic work, or as the migrants quite often mentioned men do the outside work and women the inside work. Women sometimes help the men with some of the farming activities, such as removing the weed, fetching water, cleaning the dust of the cattle and throwing seeds on the land, which places a double burden on them. The actual farming, such as keeping the cattle and growing crops, remains only applicable to men, because it requires a lot of strength and energy. Men are not expected to return the favor as domestic work does not align with their male identity. This gendered division further reinforces images of masculinity and femininity. In the urban context, however, it is more accepted for men to help with the domestic work, for example by making stews. But this does not apply to all men. Some of the male migrants mentioned that for them it feels not appropriate to be engaged in typical women’s jobs.

In the city the gender-selective division of tasks and of the access to employment opportunities continues to exist. However, in Addis Ababa there are no farms, so men are engaged in different types of employment. Jobs which are according to the respondents appropriate for men are mainly daily and outside jobs, such as working in the construction or transportation sector. Employment as a guard, trader or technician has also been mentioned. For women it remains most appropriate to be a domestic worker or maid, as it sometimes is called in the urban context by the respondents. In addition to the domestic work women are allowed to fulfill different types of employment in Addis Ababa. *“In the city, female do kind of selling activities, trading activities. Like vegetables, fruit something like that. But when we go to rural areas, female do only kind of inside activities, home activities”* (Yehudit, female, 25). They are also more frequently engaged in daily employment. However, it remains in the eyes of the migrants typical work for men. One of the respondents mentioned that he has seen some women working in the taxi’s to collect the money or in construction. *“Carrying stone, kind of day*

work activity is appropriate for men, but for women it is not. For women like helping kind of easy activities in construction. They may also do like giving some sands for the builders” (Emanuel, male 28). Emanuel is not the only respondent who claimed that easy tasks are assigned to women, while men perform the tasks which are considered to be difficult.

6. Analysis – drivers of youth rural-urban migration in Ethiopia

During this research the respondents all got the opportunity to tell the stories about their past experiences, their current lives and their future aspirations. Distinctions in the narratives of the young rural-urban migrants became clear as well as similarities. This chapter will shed light on the situation of migrants in the countryside, their migration motivations and on the related gender patterns. Also, the way in which migration affects and alters gender roles and relations will be discussed.

6.1. Growing up in the Ethiopian countryside

The largest part of the Ethiopian population lives in poor circumstances in the rural areas and is engaged in agriculture activities (World Bank, 2010). The same applied to the participants in this research and their families as could be observed from their narratives. The challenges which they faced varied among them, but an unstable family situation, growing up without parents, violence, poverty and a heavy burden were commonly mentioned. Despite rural hardships most migrants reported that they were able to attend school in the countryside. Their educational achievements differ greatly as well as the amount of years they have spent on education. Some migrants are, for example, not able to read and write, while others can. Tamrat (male, 30) told *“I am not lucky to go to school. At this time the government is doing this kind of activity even by force. They let the children go to school, but I am not lucky to be that kind of person”*. Other migrants confirmed his story. Especially nowadays the government strictly monitors school attendance and improves the access to education, which equally enhances the ability of both boys and girls to go to school.

Furthermore, the majority of the migrants reported that they were not able to attend education each day and dropped out early for several reasons of which some are rooted in gender inequality, while other reasons are entrenched in different structural and social constraints. Zere (male, 12) was forced by his family to work so that he could pay for the school expenses of his little sister and Hosanna (female, 23) told *“I am the older one in the house, and I am expected to do home activities compared to my younger sisters. Sometimes I left school to do home activities”*. This points to the division of roles within the household and the different responsibilities which Ethiopians have based on their age. Dagim (male, 20) decided together with his parents to stop his education, because they could not afford it and for Lielit (female, 15) her educational dropout was the result of a lack of capacity at school.

For female migrants the observation stood out that they were kept away from school by their families for reasons often related to marriage. *“My parents give me for marriage when I was little at three age, if I learn more and got educated, I may not accept what my parents want”* (Selam, female, 18). Another example is being given by Edna (female, 12). She was promised to a man, but was at the last moment saved from marriage by her family. As a result she feared abduction. *“My brother did not*

let me go to school, because the guy who needs to abduct me was around the school. He did not want me to be near to those guys. He was protecting me". None of the male migrants mentioned that marriage interfered with their educational achievements in the countryside, which clearly points to gendered constraints which affect the opportunities of boys and girls differently.

Almost all migrants stated that they helped their families with the daily agriculture and domestic tasks. Female migrants told that they were expected to support their families in the domestic activities, such as making *injera* and traditional alcoholic drinks, cleaning, making stews, serving the family, taking care of the children and sometimes they helped with some of the farming activities. Beimnet (female, 17) experienced her responsibilities to be very burdensome: *"When I was in the rural area there was much burden in the household work activities. When I came back from school I started working on all the things in the home"*. The same applied to Edna (female, 12): *"When I was there I cared for children they were from the neighbors. They paid me for that. At the same time I protect the cattle. So I did a lot of works at the same time, which was heavy"*.

The male migrants predominantly helped their families with the farming activities, for example by keeping and protecting the cattle, collecting grass, growing maize or cereals, or by farming the land. The expectations of boys to do the farming and of girls to do the domestic work and to take care of the children were reasons why both male and female migrants were kept away from school by their parents in the rural areas. Both told that they were allowed to attend class after they had fulfilled their responsibilities. While these expectations and their impact on the behavior of the migrants are rooted in gender inequality, they do not necessarily lead to structural differences in the school attendance and educational achievements between boys and girls.

"If they do have one girl and one boy in the home, they send the boy in one day and in the other day they send the girl. When I compare it with boys and girls, girls go more to school than boys. For there, for boys they expect to work in farming activities more than women. Girls only fetch water in the morning, after that they can go to school" (Jember, male, 19)

"Before the time girls are doing kind of two work activities, they help boys when they are farming like by taking out the things that are not good for the cereals. After they finished that they get back to their home and they also start doing home activities. At that time they can't go to school, is really much burden on them" (Gabra, male, 28)

6.2. Push or pull? Motivations for moving to Addis Ababa

Push and pull factors both are observed to have an influence on the decision of migrants to come to the city. Sometimes factors related to the situation in the rural areas intersected with aspects of urban attractiveness and their combination affected the migration aspirations of the youngsters. Several

differences in the behavior between male and female migrants attracted attention and are possibly rooted in gender-differentiated patterns in the countryside, such as the expectations related to the role of men as income providers, of women to become engaged in marriage at an early age and to the double burden of women.

Among the male migrants pull factors had the largest influence. Job opportunities and the possibility of earning an income in Addis Ababa were overwhelmingly stated as the major motives for coming to the city. *“I compare the payment in day work in the rural area to Addis, it is much higher in Addis”* (Caleb, male, 18). Only two male respondents had reasons related to education. Emanuel (male, 28) reported to be engaged in seasonal migration as he intended to return to the rural area before the start of the harvesting season. Most of the male migrants made the decision to come to Addis Ababa on their own without interference of their family members or wives as they felt forced to find opportunities elsewhere and sometimes also to provide their left behinds with financial or material assets.

Some of the female migrants were on the one hand pulled to Addis Ababa for the same reasons as their male counterparts, namely to work in the city or to go to school. The latter because they felt constrained to attend education in the rural areas mainly by their responsibilities to help with the farming and to perform the domestic tasks within the household. On the other hand, their majority was driven by push instead of pull factors, such as marriage. Edna (female, 12), for example, mentioned just like some of the other female migrants that escaping from marriage brought her to the city, which tends to be the outcome of gendered patterns in the Ethiopian countryside.

“When I was there my mother was preparing to let me marriage. She did some things for celebration and I asked her why do you do these things? She told me that I am going to marry. I escaped from that with my grandparents and they brought me here at that time” (Edna, 12, female migrant)

Ayana (female, 17) moved to the city, because she got divorced from her husband. He did not agree on the divorce and neither did her parents, so she decided to come to Addis Ababa to escape from their control. Selam (female, 18) on the contrary followed her husband, because he got employed in the city. The majority of the decisions of female migrants to migrate were influenced by their family members or in the case of Selam by her husband. By moving to the city most of them gained increased autonomy over their own lives.

Other push factors caused the migration of both male and female respondents. Poor circumstances in the rural areas were mentioned as a factor influencing the decision to move to Addis Ababa as well as a changing family situation. Tamrat (male, 30) told: *“My dad and mam is also passed away, so that’s why. I can’t survive over there, so that’s why I came here”*. More respondents stated that the death of their parents caused them to leave the rural areas. In addition, violent family members, divorcing parents and not being wanted anymore within the family were indicated as

incentives to come to Addis Ababa and were mostly mentioned by male migrants. *“When my dad gets married with another wife and my stepmother did not like me, then my dad brought me here. Then he said he would come back, but he never came back”* (Mulu, male, 12).

6.3. Alteration of gender structures through migration

Gender does not only influence the opportunities of migrants in the countryside and their migratory behavior; migration also tends to affect and alter gender structures to a certain extent. Most of these alterations have already been examined throughout chapter 5 and 6, so here a short recapitulation will be given. In Addis Ababa gender perceptions and inequalities change due to less rigid social and cultural norms which may be the result of a more liberal urban environment and of the lack of the parental presence of the youngsters. These changes are most often associated with the enhanced freedom of movement of women as could be extracted from the stories of the respondents. Early marriage is, for instance, less commonly observed in Addis Ababa than in the rural areas. As female migrants stated during the interviews, migration offers to the girls who have been exposed to marital practices in the countryside a vital alternative to marriage and may even provide them with enhanced opportunities to continue their education, to give guidance to their own lives and to escape from the constraining power relations in their places of origin.

Furthermore, interactions between (not married) men and women are allowed in the city, women can chew khat, men more often contribute to the domestic tasks and women become engaged in employment outside of their own household. Their employer provides them with a salary or pays for their living costs, which sometimes increases women’s independence and decision making autonomy. Furthermore, regarding employment the gendered accessibility of the labor market becomes less rigid as some jobs are considered to be applicable to both men and women, such as the professions of a teacher or doctor, employment in factories, at a government or private institution, in a restaurant or at a bank. However, a clear divide between stereotypical male and female jobs remains to exist. How these altered gender structures influence the freedoms of migrants and the way in which they experience urban poverty in Addis Ababa will be further elaborated upon in the next chapter.

7. Analysis – understanding urban poverty

The previous chapter aimed to provide insights in the lives of youngsters in the Ethiopian countryside, in what drives their migration and whether gender structures underlie their migration aspirations and decisions. This chapter will further elaborate on the lives of the respondents in the urban context, specifically focusing on the dimensions which the migrants themselves have identified as determining their experience of urban poverty and on the related gender differentiated aspects. Diverse dimensions reoccurred throughout the interviews, such as education, employment, social relations, housing and religion. These dimensions were valued by the respondents in different ways not all being considered as equally important.

The perceptions of migrants on their lives in Addis Ababa in general varied greatly. Some were really positive, especially when comparing their current situation with their situation back home. In Addis Ababa migrants claimed to have better access to employment opportunities, higher salaries, improved quality of education, better hygiene, there is no fear of abduction and respondents can live freely without being controlled by their parents. Hassan (male, 16) mentioned as well some downsides of living in Addis Ababa; the rent is higher than in the rural areas, food is expensive and people cannot be self-reliant as they could be in the rural areas. Consequently, in order to survive in the city a high income is required. Due to their unfamiliarity with the city respondents told furthermore that they experienced certain difficulties upon arrival such as getting to know their way, becoming familiar with the urban habits or overcoming language barriers since not all of them spoke Amharic. Other migrants encountered forms of discrimination, because of their ethnicity or their rural background which made that they were being considered as unknowledgeable.

7.1. Educational opportunities in Addis Ababa

Especially among female migrants education was mentioned as an important reason for moving to Addis Ababa, while male migrants moved less often for education related reasons. The perceptions of migrants on education in general have been shaped by their belief that education will lead to better employment opportunities, an improved living standard and the expanded freedom to make their own decisions, for example regarding employment. Consequently all respondents agreed that it is very important to be educated. *“If you are an educated person, you can get work and you can get out of work from maid, so you can live happily”* (Giftee, female, 16). Many of them mentioned that they were not satisfied with their current educational achievements and wanted to return to school.

Despite their beliefs, none of the male migrants in this study is actually attending education in the city. Reasons for that are most often financial as some are expected to send money back home to fulfill in the needs of their families, while others need their income to realize their own basic necessities. The former can point to the gender differentiated expectations for men to be the income

provider within the household which is constraining them in achieving what they want. Among the female migrants different patterns regarding education have been observed. Almost half of them are studying in Addis Ababa and some have attended school in the city before, but are not going there at the moment. Semira (female, 13) is currently enrolled at school and told *“Here I can learn, there I think they expect me to take care of the children so I don’t think I can learn there”*. For Semira, her migration contributed to the increased agency to make her own choices and to be free from the double burden which she experienced in the rural area. Giftee (female, 16) and Lielit (female, 15) are also attending education and are able to manage their school expenses by themselves, while other of the school going female migrants are being supported by their relatives. For some of the female migrants it is convenient to work during the day and attend school in the evenings if their employer allows them.

7.2. Employment

Young Ethiopians who want to earn an income are most often forced to move to the urban areas, because of the improved access to the labor market. However, in the city their employment opportunities tend to be low and focused at specific sectors even despite the greater diversity and accessibility of jobs in Addis Ababa. All migrants reported to be engaged in informal employment. In this sector daily labor for men and domestic work for women are the primarily jobs available to migrants as well as considered to be appropriate to them. This sheds light on the gender-selective accessibility of the labor market in Addis Ababa and reinforces images of masculinity and femininity. For women, this can be an advantage, because domestic workers are sought-after in the city. Also, females are considered to be more trustworthy and reliable than males, which increases their ease to find a job. *“It is more hard for boys to find a job, because girls most of the people get a job for them. Because they are girls, everybody needs them like in maids”* (Berhanu, male, 15). But the latter does not necessarily needs to be seen as an opportunity. Giftee (female, 16) told that for her it feels like she is forced to work as a domestic worker since alternatives are lacking. The only available option is migrating to the Middle East, which she is currently considering. Lielit (female, 15) on the contrary believed that employment opportunities in Addis Ababa are more convenient for men. *“Here boys get big opportunities, because they are doing outside activities, they can get paid more, but we are doing only maid work we get paid less than male”*.

The majority of the female migrants stated to be engaged in domestic work. Selam (female, 18) who is the mother of one child told the following: *“I must do domestic work. I find a job, before I give birth I worked in a candy fabric. But now I have a child, so I cannot do other work”*. Yehudit (female, 25) experienced the same. After the birth of her son she was not able to continue working in the restaurant where she used to work. Both Yehudit and Selam live together with their husband and are responsible for the domestic tasks within the household. Their reproductive status tends to limit

their employment opportunities outside of their own household. Other female migrants work as a maid and live in the house of their employers, who pay for their living costs, education or provide them with a salary. The females mentioned that their employers most often positively influence their lives and their ability to pursue what they want. However, Giftee (female, 16) worked for several employers as a maid by whom she was not always treated well. There are only two female migrants who reported that they were not engaged in domestic work. *“I was engaged in different work in Addis as well like waiter activity, factory activity working on flower and tea and in the exhibition work, displaying the things that you have on the road”* (Rekik, female, 19).

Furthermore, only two of the male respondents stated to have different occupations than in daily labor. One worked as a guard and one in a shop. The other male migrants were all engaged in daily employment, but pursued different careers for the future. Commonly mentioned daily jobs were working in construction or supporting taxi drivers by collecting the money. Several of the male migrants claimed that they do not have the freedom to choose the type of employment which they want, because alternative jobs are lacking. Also, not all of them were successful in finding a job.

“There is a lot of people kind of me, there is no job for all of us, that’s why. Most of the day we sit without any work. Sometimes I got a job, sometimes there is no job. When I do not find any job I sit without any food sometimes” (Tamrat, male, 30)

7.3. Social relations

Social relations with different groups of people were identified by the migrants themselves as important aspects of their well-being in the city. The next sections will therefore deal with the most significant social relations, which are the relations between the migrants and their families, with friends and, only applicable to the married respondents, with their partner.

7.3.1. Keeping in touch with family members

In Ethiopia the family is a very important aspect of the daily life of people. Migrants mentioned that for them it was difficult to leave their beloved ones behind as well as for their families who prefer their children to return home. *“Living with your parents in your home town makes you happy, how could you be happy within another hometown. Being happy comes when you can live in your hometown, by helping your family”* (Kidist, female, 30). Therefore, the majority of the migrants has the strong desire to return home. Some respondents talk regularly to their families on the phone or visit them sometimes in the rural area, while others have lost all contact. *“Because I don’t have a phone, we don’t have contact often, but sometimes from school I borrow a phone from my friend and call them”* (Giftee, female, 16).

Some migrants received support from their families. Hosanna (female, 23) told “*they make me to be strong by appreciation like that, and also when something here is expensive they send it to me from there*”. Giving advice, appreciation, money, teff, honey or cereals were commonly mentioned manners of providing support, which were regarded to have a positive influence on the lives of both male and female migrants. However, some families expected something in return as well. For most migrants it is important to live up to the expectations of their families and to take care of them. Yehudit (female, 25) sends clothes and coffee to her mother and Jember (male, 19) is expected to send money to his poor family and wife in the rural area. For Yehudit this is not a problem, because she earns enough money, but Jember is as a consequence not able to continue his education in the city, which he aspires to do. The same applied to other migrants. “*I send the money that I get to my family, so that is a problem. I can’t do anything for myself, I cannot fulfill the things that I need for myself. I punish myself sometimes I did not eat*” (Dagim, male, 20).

Not all left behinds have expectations of the migrants. For some parents it is enough to know that their children are doing fine and are aiming to improve their lives in Addis Ababa. However, the latter observation stood out in relation to the narratives of female migrants, whereas male migrants more often felt constrained through the expectations of their families. Here again the evidence points to the role of men as the breadwinner within the family which tends to constrain their movements. Furthermore, from the stories of both male and female migrants there can be observed that besides financial and material expectations the ties with family members do not provide any further obligations, such as adhering to certain rural norms and values, which possibly is caused by the low intensity of the contact between the migrants and their left-behinds.

7.3.1.1. Relatives in the city

Some of the migrants reported to have relatives living in the city, in particular aunts, brothers or sisters, who helped them to become adapted to the urban life and of whom they received support after their arrival in Addis Ababa. Beimnet (female, 17) told that her aunt helped her to integrate, which was very valuable to her. “*I come from a rural area, I don’t know anything. She advises me on things which are going on in the city. The advice of my aunt makes me to be careful*”. From the data it became clear that female migrants more often have someone around who takes care of them and with whom they are living. The aunt of Semira (female, 13), for instance, took her to Addis Ababa after the death of her mother. She is still living with her aunt, who makes it possible for her to go to school. In order to return the favor Semira contributes to the domestic activities; “*If I take care of her, she also takes care of me*”. The same applied to Rekik (female, 19). She provides her aunt with a compensation, helps her with the household activities and is in addition able to send some money back home to her parents in the rural area. Zahra (female, 15) lives with her sister and the husband of her sister. They are covering her living costs and pay for her education, whereas Zahra helps to take care of her sister’s child.

7.3.1. Friends

Regarding the relations with friends, several observations attracted attention and some patterns have been identified which can be connected to gender structures. Firstly, when male migrants talked about their friends they referred to their male friends, whereas the friends of female migrants all are female. *“My friends are all women, we don’t have contact with men. Our plan is to be success with our school not have a relationship with males”* (Giftee, female, 16). This finding may stem from the way in which boys and girls were kept separated by their families in the rural areas as to prevent inappropriate interactions between them. Secondly, almost all male migrants have friends in the city, while there are a lot of female migrants who do not have any friends. One of the major reasons is that female migrants work as a maid or domestic worker and do not always have the freedom to leave the houses in which they work and live, which constrains them in meeting new people.

“My employer did not allow me to out from the house, the only thing they allow for me is to protect the house and to work within the house. There was not a chance to have any contact with people. That’s why I have no friends, I have nothing” (Yehudit, female, 25)

The female migrants who attend education reported that they are able to interact with peers at school. They support each other, study together and meet to share ideas on, for example, how to find a job in the Middle East. Giftee (female, 16) found her current job through her friends at school.

The male migrants told that they meet new people on the streets or at work. Berhanu (male, 15) and Mulu (male, 12) were left alone in Addis Ababa. Both did not have any connections in the city. They met each other on the streets and became friends. Now they are living together with two other friends. *“If they don’t have money and I have, I will give them the money and I will buy for them what they need”* (Mulu, male, 12), and Berhanu (male, 15) said *“If I could not find a job and if he has he will give me the food. And also if I have I give to him”*. Mulu and Berhanu are not the only respondents who help each other out. Other male migrants take care of their friends as well and help each other to find jobs.

As such, from the narratives of the migrants there could be observed that the gender-selective access to employment opportunities tends to influence the social networks of the male and female respondents differently. On the one hand, working in the domestic sector allows some of the female migrants to attend education where they have the opportunity to meet new people. On the other hand, female migrants reported to be constrained by their employers to build social relations and end up in isolation. Male migrants mentioned that their employment provides them with opportunities to interact with other men. They are able to make friends and to build their social networks on which they can rely during times of hardship.

7.3.3. Being a husband or a wife

Early marriage is a common practice in Ethiopia, which is rooted in gender inequality. As such it was expected that many of the respondents would have been married. However, only three male and two female migrants actually reported to be engaged in marriage. In addition, one of the female respondents was already divorced. *“My family promised me to him when I was seven and I got divorced when I was fifteen. When I grew up, I said no, when I knew the things. I did not want to live with him”* (Ayana, female, 17). Selam (female, 18) got married as well at an early age. She takes care of her nine months old son and does the domestic work within the household, while her husband has a job and provides them with an income. Her husband sometimes helps her with the tasks in the household and gives her financial support. After her son is grown up Selam wants to continue her education and start working in a factory like she did before the birth of her son. Yehudit (female, 25) married a man who she met in Addis Ababa. They live together with their four years old son. Yehudit is not able to chase her dreams as she is being constrained by the care over her son and by the control of her husband. He does not want her to continue her education or to become engaged in a job different than domestic work. *“He needs me to stay in home when he get back from work. I need to create hot thing like coffee. He needs me to take care of him. He can’t be happy when he is doing that by himself”*. For her it is very difficult to combine her job with the domestic work and taking care of her child, because she is doing it all alone and her husband does not provide her any assistance.

Of the male migrants Dagim (male, 20), Jember (male, 19) and Gabra (male, 28) are married. Their wives live back home in the rural area. Gabra is the only one who has a child of whom his wife is taking care. When possible, he wants to bring them to Addis Ababa. Jember got married when he was sixteen and Dagim when he was eighteen, while his wife was fourteen. Both of their wives live with their families back home. Jember is happy on his current life in Addis Ababa, but wants to return to his wife and family after a while. The same applied to Dagim. For him it is very important to make his wife happy by giving her the things which she wants and which she expects of him, such as buying clothes or building their own house.

7.4. Religion

Religion is a very important aspect in the Ethiopian culture with the majority of the Ethiopians being either Ethiopian Orthodox or Muslim. Among the respondents only one adheres to the Islamic faith, while the others all are Orthodox. Religion gives guidance to most of their lives by prescribing how to behave for both men and women. *“I did not do any bad things to survive in my life. I did all those things gods said me to do”* (Tamrat, male, 30). Respondents believe that only when they behave in a good way that God will provide them with opportunities regardless of being male or female. As such religion tends to have a positive impact on their lives as migrants can turn to their religion in times of need. *“My religion helps me to get the things that I need in order to succeed”* (Semira, female, 13) or

according to Selassie (male, 25) *“Religion has a positive impact on my life. When I ask god to give me work he gives me, just like that”*. As already has been mentioned in chapter 5, religion also influences the meaning of gender in the Ethiopian context. From the narratives of the migrants, however, it became clear that there are no linkages the other way around; no gender differentiated patterns related to religion could be observed, which affect the male and female migrants in a different way.

7.5. Housing

Another dimension of the experience of urban poverty relates to housing. Migrants compared the housing situation in Addis Ababa with the situation back home in the rural areas. In the latter people often had their own houses or were living for free. In the city they need to rent a house which is much more expensive. Some of the migrants consider renting a house on their own already as an improvement of their situation. Rekik (female, 18), for example, who is currently living with her aunt, but wants to move out and to have her own rental place as her aunt constrains her to attend proper education. Zere (male, 12) is as well happy with his rented house, where he is living with friends; *“First, we were living in the streets, but after that we start working. Now we spend 215 Ethiopian Birr for a month on the house and start living together”*. Related to gender and housing it became clear that the gender role of women as domestic workers also influences their living space, because their employers or relatives most commonly provide them with a place to live. For some, this positively affects their lives, while others feel constrained as their employers or relatives decide on what they need to do and when. Men are more likely to be responsible for their own housing and start living with friends or on their own.

8. Discussion

In this research the Ethiopian context in which gender differentiated patterns, rural-urban migration flows and urban poverty are given direction to have been brought to the fore through the analysis of informal conversations, interviews with officials and through secondary data analysis. The data has contributed to a comprehensive understanding of the research context in which political, economic, social and cultural aspects have been taken into account (chapter 4). The interviews with migrants comprised the largest part of the data collection. The analysis of these interviews was intended to tell the unique narratives about the lives of the individual research participants and to examine their subjectivities regarding the research topics rather than to construct reality. In the first analytical chapter (chapter 5) the data related to migrants' perceptions on representations of masculinity and femininity and on how gender is given meaning to have been reviewed. Chapter 6 and 7 aimed to connect these gender structures to the migratory movements of the research participants and to their experience of poverty in Addis Ababa. This chapter aims to connect the insights which have been gained so far and to place the stories of the young rural-urban migrants in the broader societal and literary context.

8.1. Beyond the biological determinism of gender

The migrants in this study recognize both the biological and social aspects of gender. They point for example to the high levels of energy and strength, which are considered to be natural traits of men and to the ability of women to give birth, which determines their femaleness and pays attention to their reproductive status. These physical differences cause inequalities in opportunities and constraints between the sexes as migrants outlined. The biological categorization of men and women is being reflected in the work of theorists such as Unger & Crawford (1993) and Andersen (1993 as cited in Ingraham, 1994). In addition, migrants document the fluid and socially constructed nature of gender by shedding light on the increased recognition of men and women as equal counterparts in Ethiopia and on the changes in gender perceptions due to different environments. In doing so, migrants support the conception of gender as a process rather than a rigid concept being subject to cultural interpretation and based on social constructions as examined by Unger & Crawford (1993) and Marecek et al. (2004).

The outcomes of this research furthermore confirm the existence of persistent gender inequalities in Ethiopia as outlined by the Ministry of Women's Affairs (2010) and World Vision (2014), which contribute to differences in male and female behavior, expectations, opportunities and challenges. Several gendered patterns in the rural areas stood out based on the narratives of the migrants. Firstly, the division of roles between men and women within households is highly gendered as women are expected to be housewives and caregivers, while men are responsible for the farming

and bringing in either an income or other resources. These findings comply with studies of Jones & Chant (2009), Lutz (2010) and Tacoli et al. (2015), which point to similar divisions. Secondly, young boys and girls in Ethiopia are also expected to contribute to the livelihoods of their families, which constrains them in attending education. While these obligations are gendered by nature as mentioned before, they did not result in any substantial educational outcome differentials among the male and female migrants in the rural areas. This finding is opposite to the arguments of Jones & Chant (2009) and Evans (2014) who found that obligations in The Gambia and Ghana disadvantage female educational achievements. Thirdly, gendered structures related to early marriage, which disproportionately affect women, came to the fore through the interviews with migrants and within several studies on Ethiopia (The Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2010; World Vision, 2014; De Regt, 2016).

8.2. Migratory movements of young Ethiopians and gender

Within the coming section the migration motivations of the research respondents and the related gender differences will be linked to the broader literature debate and to the societal context in which they occur. The reasons of respondents to leave their places of origin were determined by pull factors, such as better employment and educational opportunities in the city, as well as by push factors, such as marriage, poverty and changing family situations. This evidence therefore supports the World Bank (2010; 2015b) who identified the improved access to education and employment in Addis Ababa as major migration incentives, while also agreeing with Atnafu, Oucho & Zeitlyn (2014) who presented that mainly poverty in the Ethiopian countryside defines migration.

The decision making process which came to the fore in this study showed that most migrants had reasonable autonomy over their decision to come to Addis Ababa. De Haas (2010) and De Brauw, Mueller & Lee (2014) advocate for the explanation of such migratory decisions as well as movements at the level of the household, especially in the case of Africa. The findings of this research, however, do not necessarily comply with the idea of migration as a strategy of households to diversify their livelihoods. On the one hand, most of the decisions of male migrants to migrate were taken by themselves without consultation with other household members. The decisions of most female migrants, on the other hand, were influenced by their families, but were mostly taken in order to secure their well-being rather than by expectations to contribute to the livelihoods of their left behinds in the rural areas. As such it seems that at first glance households do not affect the migratory movements of especially male migrants. However, upon further examination their influence actually can be observed and even tends to be a result of gender inequalities. While male migrants reported that they came to Addis Ababa for reasons related to employment, the underlying motivations are possibly affected by the expectations of their families and wives to provide them with an income. This finding supports arguments of Chant and Radcliffe (1992) and Chant (1998) who argued that the household is

one of the most powerful institutions in which meaning is being given to different expectations regarding the behavior of men and women and therefore causes gender differentiated migration patterns.

Furthermore, several authors shed light on other gender structures which differently influence the causes and impacts of migration for men and women. According to Chant (1998) and Erulkar et al. (2006) marriage forms one of the gendered incentives for girls in the countryside to become engaged in migration as they aim to escape from it. This has been true for some of the female migrants in this research who have been exposed to marital practices at an early age. Migration contributed to the increased autonomy over their own lives supporting in that sense Omelaniuk (n.b.) and de Regt (2016). Another gendered pattern which made female migrants decide to move to Addis Ababa was the double burden which they experienced in the countryside through their responsibilities as caregivers, domestic workers and expectations to contribute to the farming. This double burden came also to the fore in research of Chant (2009) constraining women in attending education. By moving to the city the female migrants in this study enhanced their freedom to go back to school. In addition, Tacoli & Mabala (2010) explained male migration in Nigeria from a gender perspective as it is being seen as a masculine rite of passage and as a way to gain independence for men. The outcomes of this research do not point to the existence of a migration culture among male migrants in Ethiopia which is part of their male hood. Rather structural constraints in the countryside and better opportunities in the city influence their movements.

As already has been touched upon, migration causes greater independence for migrants as they no longer feel constrained by gendered practices in the countryside or by their obligations to their households. From the narratives of the migrants it became clear that these enhanced freedoms were most often associated with female migrants supporting theorists such as Chant (1998), Erulkar et al. (2006), Tacoli & Mabala, de Regt 2016 and Omelaniuk (n.d.). Migration has also shown to influence differences in gender perceptions as these tend to be less strict in the more liberal destination cultures than in the traditional rural cultures (Tacoli & Mabala, 2010; Omelaniuk, n.d.), which is also the case for Addis Ababa.

8.3. Gender and experiences of urban poverty

Poverty can have many different faces and can be measured in a variety of ways as could be observed from the literature review (Chambers, 1995; Wratten, 1995; White, 2014). In this research the migrants themselves defined poverty through the use of the capability approach. They identified education, employment, social relations, housing and religion as very important aspects determining their well-being in Addis Ababa and hence relating to their experience of poverty. In this research the latter dimension, religion, was also recognized by the research respondents as one of the defining principles of gender and of the subordinate position of women in Ethiopia. This finding has been

reflected in the arguments of the Ministry of Women's Affairs (2010) and World Vision (2014). However, a direct linkage between this gender differentiated aspect of religion and the actual impact on varieties in the lives of male and female migrants in Addis Ababa has barely been observed. Except for married women who especially in the rural areas need to obey to the orders of their husbands and are barely allowed to leave their houses. As already has been mentioned, the migrants identified religion furthermore as an aspect determining their well-being. In times of hardship they turn to God as they believe god will help them. As such it turned out that religion positively affects migrant's lives in the city. This finding is in line with the outcomes of the research of Atnafu et al. (2014) who found that in order to cope with hardships migrants in Addis Ababa go amongst other things to church.

Furthermore, the gender-selective accessibility of labor markets in developing societies which Lutz (2010) has outlined can be linked to the characteristics of the labor market in Addis Ababa as described by the migrants. Most of the female migrants in this research worked as a domestic worker, while most men found daily jobs in the construction or transportation sector. None of the migrants reported to have a formal job supporting similar arguments of Tacoli et al. (2015). The division of jobs as mentioned before typically reinforces the male and female identity. These findings are consistent with the work of Lutz (2010) and Jones & Chant (2009), which both recognize in their research projects that gendered patterns in the employment sector can even further exacerbate stereotypical images of masculinity and femininity. The gender-selective accessibility of jobs in Addis Ababa limits the employment opportunities of both the male and female migrants in this research. These opportunities are even more limited because of high unemployment rates in the city and because of the lacking educational achievements of migrants.

Findings of this research have suggested that employment as an aspect of urban poverty is the place in which gender structures are most persistent. The inequalities they cause for male and female migrants are also found to influence some other aspects of urban poverty in a gender differentiated way, such as housing and education. For example, most of the employers or relatives of domestic workers provide them with housing which points to the gender-selective accessibility of accommodation in Addis Ababa advancing women as these opportunities are being denied to men; the latter are responsible for finding their own accommodation which can be a struggle. This finding is opposing Tacoli et al. (2015) who stated that women are more likely disadvantaged by gendered accommodation structures. Tacoli et al. (2015) found as well that the housing opportunities which are being offered to domestic workers provide recently arrived female migrants with strong incentives to become engaged in such jobs. This argument is not necessarily confirmed by the female migrants in this research. Also, the employment as domestic workers provides some of the female migrants with opportunities to attend education, which men do not have. The lack of education contributes to their experience of poverty as migration is being seen by migrants as very important for their future prospects.

8.3.1. What else?

Dimensions of poverty which have either been identified by the migrants themselves or which came up during the literature review as being gendered and have not been discussed so far will be examined in the coming section. Chant (2013, p. 20) points in her article to the gender differentiated impact of violence in urban areas in which women tend to be more often at risk of rape and violence than men due to their nature. The migrants in this research concluded the same, but luckily enough none of the female respondents themselves reported to have experienced such forms of abuse in Addis Ababa.

Migrants in this study also agreed on the importance of social connections in the city for seeking protection and support. The jobs of male migrants in the transportation and construction sector allow them to meet new people, while the jobs of women as domestic workers more often isolate them resulting in a few abilities to build social networks. School going domestic workers are an exception as they are able to meet with friends at school. These findings point to the social isolation of women as a result of their domestic jobs as identified by Tacoli, et al. (2015) as well as to gender restrictions on social relations as Jones & Chant (2009) have identified in the case of The Zambia and Ghana, negatively disadvantaging women.

In addition, most of the migrants in this study keep in one way or another in touch with their families in the rural areas. Ties with left behinds may constrain or support migrants as Silvey & Elmhirst (2003) showed and outcomes tend to be differentiated for men and women. Women are more often being constrained because families demand them to comply to their rules of modesty, while men feel high pressures to fulfill their roles as breadwinners. The findings of this research however point partly in different directions. Female migrants have not reported to experience such forms of social pressure by their families. Some of them receive support from their families who do not expect anything in return, but only want to make sure that their daughters are fine. For male migrants their role of breadwinner affects them more often negatively influencing their well-being in the city.

9. Conclusion

This research has aimed to set out the influence of gender as a social and cultural construct on the rural to urban migratory movements of young Ethiopians and on the way in which they experience poverty in Addis Ababa. The analysis of secondary data and of the interviews with governmental and non-governmental officials contributed to the development of a comprehensive contextual embedding of the research. Based on the interviews with migrants gender differentiated patterns were identified and images of masculinity and femininity in the Ethiopian context were constructed. Furthermore, meaning was being given to urban poverty by making use of the capability approach which allowed the respondents themselves to identify dimensions of urban poverty which they consider as valuable. Diverse dimensions reoccurred throughout the interviews, such as education, employment, social relations, housing and religion, which together correspond to the well-being of the research participants and hence to their experience of poverty.

The notions of gender, rural-urban migration and urban poverty have been used as guiding principles to tell the unique stories of individual migrants and to shed light on their subjectivities related to the research topics. The outcomes of this research confirm the existence of persistent gender inequalities and patterns in Ethiopia, which come mostly to the fore in the rural context, in households and within the employment sector as could be observed from the narratives of the migrants. Whereas several studies suggest that gender structures are present everywhere around us and therefore have a gender differentiated impact on all facets of the lives of individuals (Acker, 1992; Masika et al., 1997; Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2010), this research found that this not necessarily needs to be true. Indeed, gender has shown to affect the movements, freedoms and options which migrants have, but not solely; structural constraints in their environment, such as persistent poverty, barriers to education resulting in low educational achievements and the lack of available employment opportunities, which are not necessarily gendered, also influence the direction of migrants' lives and their well-being outcomes in Addis Ababa.

Findings of this research point to several gender structures which underlie variations in the migration behavior of the male and female Ethiopians who participated in this study. The expectations of families related to the role of men as breadwinners tend to influence the migration behavior of male migrants. The existence of early marriage in the Ethiopian countryside showed to affect the decision of some of the female respondents to move to Addis Ababa as well as the double burden which they experienced. Migration also contributed to the enhanced freedom and decision making autonomy of especially female migrants as could be observed from the narratives of the respondents. Besides these gender differentiated migration incentives, poverty in the countryside and better educational and employment opportunities in Addis Ababa had a large influence on the migratory movements of both men and women. Evidence points as well to the alteration of gender perceptions through migration as

these are observed to be less rigid and predominant in Addis Ababa due to the different cultural environment.

In the city employment is the domain and aspect of urban poverty which has been identified as the place in which gender divisions are most persistent, reinforce traditional images of masculinity and femininity, and mostly cause gender inequalities regarding well-being outcomes for male and female migrants. The gender differentiated access of jobs also found to influence other dimensions of urban poverty causing gender inequalities. On the one hand, female migrants have better opportunities to attend education because of their jobs as domestic workers as well as to find housing. Men on the other hand are better able to build their social networks which provide them support through their employment in the construction or transportation sector. Furthermore, the expectations of men to provide their families and wives with an income constrain them in achieving what they want. These expectations relate less often to negative well-being outcomes for female migrants as their families mostly want them to be fine. Besides these gender differentiated structures high unemployment rates in Addis Ababa and the low level of education and skills of migrants constrain them in achieving what they want.

9.1. Implications for further research

This research aimed to tell the stories of twenty-four young rural-urban migrants in Addis Ababa who all shared that they had moved from one of the sparsely populated areas in Ethiopia to the largest and most vibrant city in the country. Besides their similarities this research mainly focused on the uniqueness of their narratives. The research sample was rather small, which made it possible to provide an insight in the lives of migrants, but not to come to general conclusions. Therefore, it would be beneficial to conduct research on a larger scale to verify whether the same gendered patterns will occur or that the research sample has largely influenced these trends. Additional research may also contribute to an expansion of the knowledge on gendered migration and on notions of urban poverty, which has been observed as a gap in the literature particularly in the context of sub-Saharan Africa.

Furthermore, this research has shown that gender is a process and a fluid concept subject to cultural interpretation, altering through changing environments and because of time passing by. Within this research the major focus was on the influence of gender as a social and cultural construct on experiences of poverty and on the migration aspirations of individuals. The way in which migration alters gender relations and roles has been touched upon, however the data proved to be insufficient to further elaborate on the matter. This might motivate an entry point for additional research. Also, it would be interesting to focus in a different study on adults or elderly people as they may have rather different perceptions on gender compared to the youngsters in this research resulting in different research outcomes. This research furthermore examined migrants living in one particular neighborhood of Addis Ababa. This has possibly led to research participants with similar

characteristics, such as their ethnicity and religion. For further research it would be recommended to concentrate on migrants with different backgrounds. Particularly because this research showed that gender inequalities are deeply rooted in the patriarchal ethnic groups and religious beliefs of Ethiopians. Consequently, when looking into, for example, the lives of Muslims from the Afar region different outcomes could emerge.

The last recommendation for further research relates to the conceptualization of urban poverty. In this research a comprehensive capability framework was adopted to define and measure poverty. The framework comprised several dimensions, which turned out to be rather big notions in itself. This has resulted in a superficial exploration of each of the dimensions of urban poverty and its linkages to gender. As such it could be recommended to carry out research while focusing on one dimension in order to gain an enhanced understanding of that particular aspect of poverty. For instance, it would be interesting to further explore the relation between gender and social networks as a dimension of urban poverty among migrants. Social networks and relations are in itself already very complex. Due to the social nature of gender, gender and social networks tend to mutually influence each other which further increases its complexity and which has largely been overlooked in this research.

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Appendices

Appendix A: interview guide

Introduction researcher, translator and research

- Introduction researcher and translator
- Aim of the research
- Ethics; informed consent: anonymous. Ok to record the interview and to take notes?

Introduction respondent

- Age
- Sex
- Where born (region, village)
- Ethnicity
- Religion
- Where have you lived since your birth and before you moved to Addis? (region, village)

Migration to Addis Ababa

- What is the reason for your migration?
- Why did you chose to move to Addis Ababa?
- Was it your own decision to migrate?
- Did you already know people in the city? Who?

Stay in Addis Ababa

- How long are you already in Addis?
- Where do you live in the city? And with whom?
- Do you often go back to your place of origin?

Social relations

- Are you married? If yes: At what age, where does your partner live?
- Do you have children?
- Where does your family live? (parents, brothers, sisters)
- Do you have frequently contact with your family/partner?
- Do you feel your family members/partner supported your migration?
- Did your family/partner had any expectations of your migration?
- How important is it to meet their expectations?

- Do the relations with your family/partner have an impact on your well-being? How?
- Do you have many new friends in the city? Old or new? Can you rely on them? Support?
- Do the relations with your friends positively/negatively affect your well-being?

Cultural norms and values

- According to your culture are there differences between men and women? Which?
- Are men and women equal in the Ethiopian culture? If no: why not?
- What is considered as appropriate/inappropriate behavior for men/women in the Ethiopian culture?
- Is there a difference between these norms and values in the rural areas and in Addis?
- What is the role of religion in your life?

Education

- Did you ever attended school? And currently?
- What is the highest level of education you have completed? (read/write)
- Is it common that both men and women go to school?
- Did this influence your own school attendance?
- Are you satisfied with your current level of education?
- Do you think education is necessary to live a good life, to live the life you want to live?

Employment

- Did you have a job before your migration to Addis? What kind of job?
- What kind of job do you have now and how did you find it?
- Is it your own choice to do this kind of work?
- Did you have any other job in Addis Ababa before your current occupation?
- What are considered as appropriate/inappropriate jobs for men/women? Why?
- Are you satisfied with your current occupation? If no: what do you want in the future?
- Do you feel you can chose any occupation you want to do? If no: why not?

General

- Do you feel that because you are male/female that limits you, or gives you opportunities?
- Is it easier for men or for women in the city? Why?
- Are you currently satisfied/happy with your life in Addis? Why/why not?
- Do you prefer life in the city or in the rural area?
- Do you have any ambitions for the future?