

**ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES**

**EDUCATION, MIGRATION AND EMPLOYMENT
IN ETHIOPIAN TOWNS: THE CASE OF
BAHIR DAR**

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BAHIR DAR**

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Education, Migration and Employment in Ethiopia Towns:
The Case of Bahir Dar

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to look into the effect of education on migration and to identify the responses of migrants with different levels of education to the selected explanatory variables that shows costs and returns of migration. It was also attempted to assess the employment patterns and stability of migrants in urban areas.

In order to achieve the purpose of the study two phase sampling procedure was employed to select households that were to be included in the study. 493 useable questionnaires were collected from the study town, Bahir Dar. Multiple and step wise regression, one-way ANOVA, Chi-square and Weighted least square (WLS) regression were the major statistical techniques employed to analyze the data.

Results of the analysis show that migration rate increases with education except with migrants at the tertiary level. But the effect is clearly seen after elementary education. Thus junior education seems to be a critical level to induce migration at this level of the Urban hierarchy. Results of Weighted least square (WLS) regression indicate that there is a marked difference between migrants in thier responses to the factors that influence migration. Well educated were found more responsive to income at the destination and to the unemployment period at the origin while illeterates were found more responsive to the period of unemployment at the destination. It was also observed that migrants made a considerable shift from unemployment to state of employment and across different occupations. Further more, less educated migrants were found more stable than the educated in urban employment.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Statement of the Problem and Justification of the Study

In spite of the low level of urbanization, the rate of urbanization in developing countries especially in Africa is the highest in the world. In the recent past, the rate of urbanization in the world ranged from as low as less than one percent in cities of developed countries to as high as seven percent in major cities of Africa (Todaro 1976:8). Natural increase, in-migration, reclassification, and changes of boundaries are considered to be the sources of urban population growth, of which in-migration is believed to be the major one. Stating the contribution of rural-urban migration in developing countries' urbanization, Todaro (1976:9), notes:

the major source of this urban growth (of developing nations) will not be natural population increase but rather the continuing in-migration of rural people. Over 50 percent of urban growth in many developing nations is due to the accelerated pace of rural-urban migration.

The impact of in-migration in developing countries' urbanization is also endorsed in the UN report (1980b).

According to the report:

the reasons behind the highly unsatisfactory situation in the developing countries are found in the enormous migration from rural to urban areas... Thus, 76 of the developing countries wanted

to slow this migration and 14 to reverse it (cited in Bilborrow et al 1984:4).

African towns and cities are growing at a rate not experienced by the cities of developed nations. This rapid urban growth, which is unparalleled to economic development, has resulted in social and economic problems such as: lack of housing, shortage of social services, inefficiency of infrastructure, and unemployment. Unemployment is, of course believed to be the gravest of all these. In cities and towns of developing nations, open unemployment is estimated to affect between 10 to 20 percent of their labour force (Todaro: 1976:1).

The case in Ethiopia is not different either. Like other developing countries, due to high in-migration, the rate of urbanization is very high in Ethiopia also. In the 1960s the rate of urbanization was estimated about 6.6 percent per annum source (CSO 1972). This dramatic situation is the root cause of the above stated problems. For example, according to ILO report (1991), in 1981, the urban unemployed were estimated to be about 23 percent. This figure is further accentuated when age is controlled. "The urban youth unemployment is estimated at 53.6 percent of the economically active youth population" (MOLSA: 1991:84). Within this age group the highest rate of unemployment is reported to be for those with high school background. In 1981, the unemployment rate for this group was 20.8 percent (ILO 1991). In all towns of the country,

it is believed that social services are not able to meet the needs of the societies.

Bahir Dar, a town located 563 kms Northwest of Addis Ababa at the southern tip of Lake Tana, the largest lake in the country, is one of the fast growing towns of Ethiopia. In 1965, the population of Bahir Dar was estimated about 12,463 (CSO:1967). In 1970 this figure rose to 22,192 (CSO 1970). The town's population growth rate in between these years was 13.1 percent (CSO 1972). This two digit growth rate was the leading and more than twice the average growth rate of all the towns with a size of 20,000 or more residents (Ibid). For the same period the national average natural increase was estimated about 3 percent. In-migration is believed to contribute the remaining 10.1 percent or about 77 percent of the town's growth. In 1970 too, 71 percent of the town population were born else where in the country (CSO 1972:44).

In 1984, according to the census report, the town had about 54,766 residents (CSA:1990). Based on the central statistics Authority data, the town's growth rate for the period between 1975 and 1984 is calculated to be 7.1 percent per annum. This figure is in fact considerably lower than the one recorded for the years between 1965 and 1970. This low growth rate indicates a decline in rate of in-migration. Even then, it is still the major source of growth for the town.

Irrespective of the alarming growth rate of the population, the rate of growth of social services (such as: schools, hospital, clinics), infrastructure and employment is almost stagnant. For instance, for the years between 1975 and 1982, the growth rate of junior and senior high schools was almost zero.

Visualizing the social and economic impact of internal migration in general and urban migration in particular on national development, many developing nations have attempted to devise different population policies to redistribute their population and to control rural-urban migration. However, all of them do not seem to have achieved their goals (Arowolo 1988). This may be due to lack of sound knowledge about the nature of the problem. In order to formulate a rational population policy and alleviate the problems, planners and policy makers need to have a reliable information about the characteristics of migrants and factors that influence/determine rates of migration and patterns of movement.

One source of information is census and national survey. But in developing countries until recently much attention was not given to migration information. Even today, in many of the developing countries very little attention is paid to this field, thus few questions such as: place of birth, present place of residence etc. are included with survey design (Adepoju 1987). The very

limited questions in censuses and surveys have made the available information incomplete for detailed analysis.

Works of scholars, in the field concerned are other possible sources which could have provided planners and policy makers with the necessary information. However, despite the necessity of conducting research on migration, there have not been adequate studies of developing countries especially in Africa. The few available studies are very generalized ones. This may be due to lack of data and a well developed theory and methodology.

Surprisingly enough, let alone in developing countries, in the developed nations too, migration is believed to be the least investigated field of demography. Expressing the low emphasis given to the field, Kirk (1960) as cited by Li (1983), notes migration as "stepchild" of demography.

In Ethiopia too, studies on migration are rare. And most of these rare studies are based on data available from the two rounds national sample surveys and the 1984 population census. These studies identify the historical pattern of movement of population; assess the pattern, causes and consequences of labour migrations; characteristics of migrants, and volume and pattern of urban migration. No study so far attempted to deal with the impact of educational status on propensity to migrate,

and migration distance. Added to these are the lack of evaluation of the economic rewards and participation of migrants in urban labour force in relation to their previous status and non-migrants. The aim of this study is thus to shade light on this gap using data from the target town.

1.2. Objectives of the Study

The main objective of this study is to look into the influence of educational status on migration. This being the main objective, the specific objectives are:

1. To identify and measure the effects of income at the destination, time spent unemployed both at the origin and at the destination, distance and the existence of friends and relatives on migration,
2. To identify the differences in the responses of migrants with different educational status to explanatory variables which shows the costs and returns of migration,
3. To assess the impact of educational attainment, age, origin of migrants, migration experience, and existence of friends and relatives in towns on distance of migration,
4. To assess the employment patterns and stability

- of migrants in the urban labour market, and
5. To compare migrants and non-migrants with respect to:
 - A. occupational status; and
 - B. educational attainment

1.3. Hypotheses

In order to realize the above stated objectives, the following respective hypotheses are formulated based on the review of the related literature.

1. The propensity to migrate (Y) is positively correlated with:
 - A. income at the destination (X_2),
 - B. existence of friends and relatives in towns (X_5),
 - C. time spent unemployed at the origin (X_3), and negatively associated with:
 - D. time spent unemployed at the destination (X_4), and
 - E. distance (X_0).
2. There is significant differences in the responses of migrants with different level of education to the explanatory variables which shows the costs and returns of migration.
 - A. The educated are more responsive to

- of migrants in the urban labour market, and
5. To compare migrants and non-migrants with respect to:
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 - D. time spent unemployed at the destination (X_4), and
 - E. distance (X_0).

2. There is significant differences in the responses of migrants with different level of education to the explanatory variables which shows the costs and returns of migration.
 - A. The educated are more responsive to

the income at the destination than the uneducated.

- B. Although distance is a deterrent of migration, its effect is higher on the illiterates,
- C. The educated are more responsive to period of unemployment at the origin where as migrants with no or lower educational status are more responsive to period of unemployment at the destination ,
- D. uneducated migrants are more dependent on friends and relatives in the town as source of information about employment and life in potential destination.

3. Distance of migration (X_0) is a function of:
- A. age at the time of migration (X_6),
 - B. educational status (X_1),
 - C. existence of friends and relatives in towns (X_5),
 - D. origin of migrants (rural/urban) (X_8),
and
 - E. migration experience (X_7).
4. The non-migrant's educational attainment and occupational status are better than the

migrants.

**1.4. Background Information about the Town's
Population Based on the 1984 Census**

The 1984 census results show that the population of Bahir Dar was 54, 766. The age structure of the town's population was typically a developing country age structure dominated by young population less than 15 years of age. The overall dependency ratio was about 101. The sex distribution of the population shows that women with 54.1 percent outnumbered the male population. The sex ratio, usually defined as the number of males per 100 females, was found to be about 84.8. Women were more dominant in the working age group (15-54). (see Table 1).

With regard to marital status, more than half of the population age 10 and above were single. The proportion of married were about 36 percent, and nearly one-fifth were divorced and widowed.

Of the total population age 10 and above, about 73 percent of the population were literate. Disaggregating by sex, about 84 percent and 64 percent of the men and women were literate respectively. The illiterates were about 27 percent. Classification of the literate population by highest grade completed indicates that 64 percent of the literate people had elementary education. While 11 percent

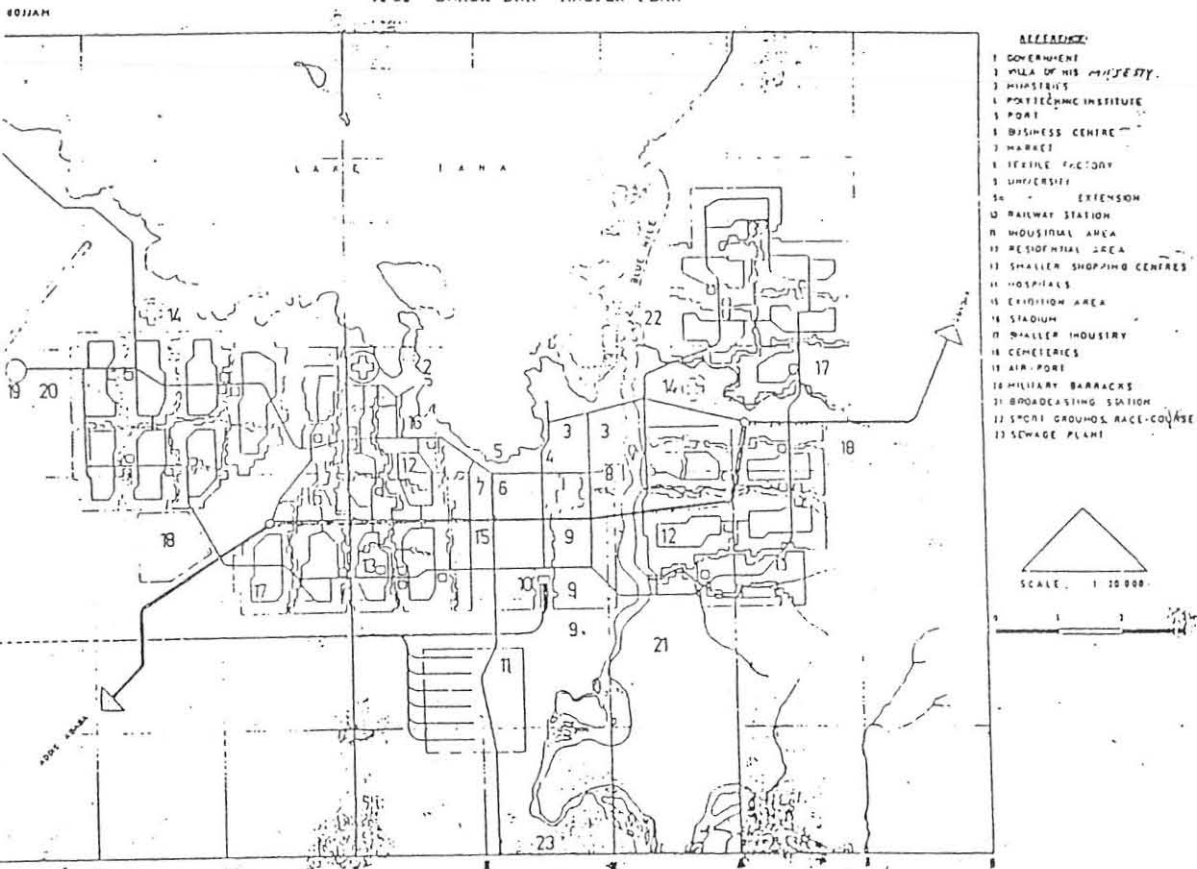
had junior education, 16 percent had high school background. Those with tertiary level education were about 5 percent of the literate people (see Table 1).

According to the census result about 50 percent of the total population were economically active. 88.5 percent of the economically active population were employed. Thus the level of unemployment was 11.5 percent. The distribution of the employed population by major occupations indicates that about 34 percent were in the production and related occupation. About 30 percent were in the service occupations while 17 percent were in the sales occupations. The remaining 20 percent were distributed in the agricultural, clerical, and administrative and professional occupations. With respect to employment status, more than two-third were employees and about 30 percent were own account workers. The proportion of employers was about 1 percent. With respect to the distribution of employees by employer organizations, about 58 percent were employed in government organizations while 35 percent were employed in private organizations. The rest 7 percent were employed in co-operatives.

Figure 1: Location Map of the Study Area.



4.1. BAHIR DAR MASTER PLAN



Source: - Bahir Dar Municipality

Table 1: Total Populations of Bahir Dar: Distribution By Socio-economic Characteristics, 1984

<u>Age distribution</u>		<u>Occupation</u>	
<u>Age group</u>	<u>Percent</u>		<u>percent</u>
<15 years	46.2	Professional & technical	8.2
15 - 54 "	49.8	Administrative and managerial	1.1
>54 years	4.0	Clerical and related	4.1
	100.0	Sales	17.0
		Service	29.6
		Agriculture	3.1
		Production and related	33.9
		Not stated	2.9
			100.0
	N = 54,766		
			N = 16501
<u>Sex Distribution</u>		<u>Employment Status</u>	
<u>Sex</u>	<u>Precent</u>		<u>Percent</u>
Male	45.9	Employer	1.3
Female	54.1	Employee	67.9
	100.0	Self employed	29.1
		Unpaid family worker	0.8
		Co-operatives member	0.7
		Others	0.2
			100.0
	N =54,766		
			N = 16501
<u>Marital Status</u>		<u>Employer Organization</u>	
	<u>Percent</u>		
Single	50.08	Government organization	
Married	32.06	Private organization	
Divorced	14.04		
Widowed	2.02		
	100.00		
	N = 38,172		N = 1120
<u>Educational Attainment</u>			
	<u>Precent</u>		
Illiterate	27.3		
Literate	72.7		
grade 1-6	63.9		
grade 7-8	11.2		
grade 9-12	15.7		
>grade 12	4.8		
Reaeding & writing	4.3		
not stated	0.1		
	100.0		
	N = 38,172		

Source:- Population and Housing Cencesu 1984: Analytical Report on Gojjam region, 1990

1.5. Operational Definition of terms

Migrant:- is one whose place of birth is different from the study town and arrived at the age of 10 or above.

Non-migrant: a person whose place of birth is the study town or who arrived before the age of 10.

Inter-regional

migrant:- is a migrant whose birth place is outside the region where the study town is located.

Intra-regional

migrant: is a migrant whose birth place is within the region where the study town is located

Migration

rate: or propensity to migrate refers to the probability to move or migrate from one area to another. It is the ratio of migrants to the population at the origin.

Occupational

mobility: refers to shift from state of unemployment to employment or/and the change from one occupation type to another.

Employment

stability: relates to the period of employment in a particular job.

Employment

status: relates to whether an employed person is employer, or employee or self employed.

1.6. Organization of the Study

Including this introductory section, the study is subdivided into five chapters. Chapter two presents a review of related literature based on empirical studies in developing countries in general and in Ethiopia in particular and a brief summary of some of the migration theories. In chapter three a detailed description of the sampling procedure, sources of data, and methods of analysis are presented. Chapter four documents a detailed analysis of the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the migrants, estimates of the migration function by educational level, and employment patterns and stability in the urban labour market. Chapter five discusses the major findings of the study; and presents the recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO

2.0. REVIEW OF THE RELATED LITERATURE

2.1 Theoretical frame Work of migration

Following the works of Ravenstien, different theoretical frame works have been developed to explain the decision and processes of migration. Among the different theories so far formulated the one developed by Ravenstien, Lee, and Sjaastad are summarized as follows.

Ravenstien (1885), based on his works on Britain internal migration, postulated that migration is selective of age and sex. As a result single and young predominate in the process and females are more migratory. Rate of migration is negatively related to distance. Migration process is step wise, as a result most migrants proceed to nearby towns and then to large towns or capital city. Economic factor is the most important motive in the decision to migrate and people move to rich areas where they can increase their income. Rate of migration is positively related to technological development and thus, rate of migration increases through time. Every major migration stream produce counter stream (cited in Todaro 1976, Li 1983, Herrick 1965)

Lee (1966), in developing the works of Ravenstien, formulated a model useful to analyze volume, causes and

consequences, and characteristics of migrants. He categorized the factors that influence the decision and process of migration into 'push' and 'pull' factors. The 'push' factors are the negative factors at the origin and 'pull' factors are those positive factors at the destination. Based on these premises he hypothesized that volume and rate of migration increase with time unless checked by difficulties. Magnitude of the net migration is not directly influenced by the positive factors at the destination rather by the predominance of negative factors at the origin. Migrants responding primary to the urban "pull" factors tend to be of better quality than those responding to the negative factors at the origin(Lee,1966).

Sjaastad (1962) developed a human capital theory to identify the factors that determine the decision and process of migration. The premise for his theory is that people aspire to increase their income in their current residential area and in all other potential destinations. Based on this premise he formulated a theory which consider the decision and process of migration as an investment in human capital. In this theory the potential migrant is expected to consider costs and returns of migration. Sjaastad divided the costs of migration into" monetary" and "non monetary" costs. The former include transportation cost expenditure for food and shelter while the latter include wage forgone while moving

and searching for a new job at the destination. More over, the "psychic cost", which he included as cost of migration, include leaving a familiar area and friends to a new and unfamiliar environment. Returns of migration also include "monetary" and "non monetary" benefits.

Based on these and other theoretical frame works of migration several researches have been conducted both in developing and developed countries. The following few pages of this chapter are devoted for reviewing empirical studies made on urban migration that are relevant for this study.

2.2 propensity to migrate

Several studies in the field of migration indicate that the factors that influence/determine the propensity to migrate are various and complex. However, education and educational attainment, the availability of friends and relatives in towns, pre-migration urban visits, length of time spent unemployed and level of unemployment at the origin and destination and age are more important (Caldwell 1969; Sabot 1979, Herrick 1965; Levy and wadycki 1974).

The role education plays on urban migration has been an important area of investigation for researchers engaged in the field. Inoki and Suraga (1981), Todaro (1980), Bowels

(1970), (to cite a few) strongly argue that other things remaining constant, there is a positive correlation between education and propensity to migrate.

Levy and Wadycki (1974), pertaining to venezuelan data, report the positive relationship between level of education and rate of migration. Caldwell (1969), using data pertaining to Ghana, reports that the propensity to migrate increases as years of schooling increase. Rhoda (1980), on the basis of a survey study of the same country, notes the higher rates of migration associated with those who continued their education. Citing a survey report for Malawi, Hanna and Hanna(1971:120), point out the validity of the hypothesis by stating the existence of higher relationship between years of schooling and percentage of cohorts which migrate.

In spite of this common finding, some of these and other researches note that the relationship is not linear and there should be a critical level of education to induce migration. This critical level of education, however, vary both spatially and temporally. For instance, in Ghana completion of elementary education is the critical point for higher rate of migration (caldwell, 1969). Using Indian village survey data, Connel et al (1976), report that higher rate of migration is associated with some level of primary education. Wyon and Gordon (1971), cited in Connell et al (1976), found

that in Punjab, India, grade three education is the vital stage for higher out-migration rates.

Conversely, some researchers based on their findings argue that educational selectivity is not unilateral rather bilateral. Ducoff (1963), cited by Connel et al (1976), pertaining to San Salvador data, reports the bimodal nature of educational selectivity. From this study town, San Salvador, Ducoff (1963) observed that higher proportion of the migrants were with lower education and with higher level of education. The evidence presented by Long (1973) cited in Li (1983), are in line with Ducoff's results. For Long, the relationship between educational attainment and rate of migration is bimodal. This bimodal educational selectivity, for Connel et al (1976) is "an out come of the inequalities within their place of origin" (p. 68). In other words, most of the migrants with low educational level are expected to come from rural areas, where educational facilities are not abundant and the reverse holds true.

Vis-a-vis these findings, one may perhaps need to raise questions like: why the educated are more migratory than the uneducated? The available research findings reveal that both educated and uneducated migrants move mainly for economic reasons, i.e. in search of jobs. many of the researchers concerned agree with the idea that economic motives play a

dominant role for urban ward migration, but they do accept that there are varied and complex factors (social, political, psychological etc.) to initiate. Although the reason for migration of both the educated and uneducated is economic, there is however great difference in costs and returns of migration by educational attainment. Return of migration increases with education. Some of the explanations for the higher migration rates of the educated people are:

1. Higher adaptability to new environment (culture) and less attached to their original environment (Levy and Wadycki 1974),
2. They have higher probability of obtaining job in potential destinations and hence risk of unemployment is minimum. Moreover, they usually attain occupations that provide better income (Sabot 1979),
3. Well educated people have wider and reliable information sources about opportunities in potential destinations (bowels 1970).

The other probable reason for the higher migration rate of the educated is associated with the educational system. Caldwell (1969) has, for example, found that some migrants plan to move just because they are educated. He argues that the migrants whom he studied about move to towns because the educational system is not pertinent to their rural life where

they are born and brought up. Rather,

it has been about a foreign way of life, most closely approximated in the towns, or about aspects of society only found in the modernize sector of the economy which is identified to a considerable degree with the town (p 61).

The existence of friends and relatives in towns is the other important variable that affects rate of migration. It is hypothesized that there is a positive relationship between rate of migration and existence of friends and relatives in towns. In other words, rural people with relatives and friends living in towns are more migratory than those without. Evidence from Ghana reveals that the probability to migrate is higher for potential migrants who have close relatives in urban centers. Within this group of potential migrants, the probability to migrate increases following a rise in the number of friends and relatives (Caldwell 1969). The findings of Rampel (1980) and Godfrey (1973), cited in Connell et al (1976), are similar with Caldwell's results. Levy and Wadycki (1974), accepting the impact of friends and relatives on rate of migration, note that its importance varies with educational attainment. According to Levy and Wadycki, the existence of friends and relatives is more important for the uneducated than for the educated. The findings of Greenwood et al (1981) confirm this conclusion.

The probable reason for existence of friends and relatives in towns to influence migration rate is that they are good source of information about employment and urban life for potential migrants. Connell et al (1976), citing an IDRC migration study in five towns, stated that among the migrants to these towns four out of every five obtained information from friends and relatives living in those five towns. The willingness of urban residents to support new migrants by providing different help including shelter and finding jobs lessen the difficulties that they may face in adapting to urban environments and finding jobs, which consequently initiate potential migrants to come to towns is the other probable reason.

Of the various features of migration, age selectivity in particular is becoming almost a universally accepted truth. Different migration studies, (for example Herrick 1965; Caldwell 1969; Pernia 1977; Inoki and Suruga 1981), confirm that most urban migrants are young people between 15-29 years of age. A number of reasons for age differentials in propensity to migrate have been forwarded. The most common ones are; stages of life cycle, considerable adaptability of younger people to new environments, rate of entry in urban labour market (McCnnis 1971]. The other probable reason for younger people to be more migratory is migration for education. It is believed that youngsters beside economic

reasons move outside their locality to continue their education.

In his human-capital model, Sjaastad (1962), assumes that people aspire to increase their income and living conditions in their present place of residence and in all other potential destinations. And in the process of migration, every migrant is expected to incur costs in the hope of receiving higher earnings. Based on these assumptions, he hypothesized that costs of migration probably rise with age while the period over which the gains in earnings obtained is shortened. So it is expected that propensity to move rises to a peak in the age group (15-29) and then declines with increasing age.

Time spent unemployed and level of unemployment at the origin affect the propensity to migrate. Different empirical studies forward strong evidence in support of the hypothesis which assert the existence of positive association between time spent unemployed at the origin and rate of migration. For instance, in Ecuador a survey study revealed that "rural migrants had come disproportionately from among those who had not had any labour force work in the previous 12 months" (standing 1984:204). Similarly in Guyana "those who had moved at some time in the past five years had not been in employment before they moved" (Ibid: 205). The findings of

Seben (1964), and Linsing and Muller (1967) as cited by Li (1976) are parallel to the results observed in Ecuador and Guyana. Based on the above findings it is possible to suggest that as years of unemployment increase so does the probability to migrate.

2.3. Migration Distance

Migration distance is becoming an important area of investigation for scholars engaged in the field, especially for geographers. In migration studies, distance is usually treated as an explanatory variable. Ravenstein's third "law" of migration, which is about migration distance, reveals the inverse relationship between migration rate and distance (cited in Connell et al 1976). Following his work different researchers confirm the validity of the thesis by employing regression analysis. Sjasstad (1962), using distance as a proxy for information and cultural differences between origins and destinations, proved the deterrent effect of distance. Similarly, Levy and Wadycki (1974), considering distance as a proxy variable for time and money, asserted the negative influence of distance on migration. However, they pointed out that the deterrent effect of distance decreases with an increase in level of education. The findings of Inoki and Suruga (1981) are in conformity with the above results.

Rarely, we find distance treated as a dependent variable. For instance, Li (1983) employed distance as dependent variable. The relevance of considering distance as dependent variable is to identify factors that determine it.

It is proved that there is positive correlation between educational status and distance travelled by a migrant. Rose (1958) and Stub (1962) as cited by Li (1983), consider educational status as an indispensable predictor of migration distance.

Well-educated people are believed to have more contacts outside their societies to widen their information space than what their counter-parts have. More over, in most cases they have better mass media accessabilities (Li 1983). In the same way, Sabot (1979), argue that the longer the distance a migrant travel the higher the probability of facing cultural differences in potential destination. And well educated people are less affected by cultural differences. Consequently, it can be argued that the factors stated above have helped the educated to predominate in long distance migrations. In Ghana, for instance, most of the long distance migrants were those with longer years of schooling (Addo 1966). In Nigeria too, Lacey (1985), notes that among the migrants to Kano, long distance migrants had better level of education.

To look into the validity of the hypothesis, Li (1983), has employed Gauss-Newton method on S. Korean data. Basing on the findings, he argues that although there is a positive relationship between educational status and migration distance, a simplistic assumption of educational status to have a positive effect on migration distance is not advisable. he concluded that the relationship is not linear. For him,

high school education is the demarcation of the relationship between educational attainment and distance of migration. Below that there is almost no effect: the increase of one education level will induce less than 0.1 km.in migration distance. Above this level, the effect is remarkable (P.108).

In relation to job opportunities at destinations, many migration studies generally indicate that a majority of migrants go to nearby towns in order to reduce transportation and psychic costs. Still, since the motive force behind every migration process is the search for job, the available job opportunities at destinations is an important factor that influences distance of migration. Stated differently, if a destination has higher job opportunities, migrants will move without considering the distance effect (in terms of time and cost).

The other factor that influences distance of migration is the availability of relatives and friends in towns. In

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The other factor that influences distance of migration is the availability of relatives and friends in towns. In

developing countries, chain migration is a common phenomenon which affects distance of migration. Du toit (1975), expressing the impact of existence of friends and relatives in towns on migration distance, noted that " an Australian Aborigine may go two hundred miles to a place where he is 'known' rather than ten miles to a place where he is not" (p.6).

Once the pioneer migrants of a certain village used a particular route and destination(s), most of new migrants will then take same route and destination. For instance, in Ghana, among the middle school leavers 86 percent of the males and 96 percent of the females were reported to move to towns where they had relatives (Rhoda 1980). According to Cladwell (1969), in addition to what Rhoda reported, the influence of the existence of friends and relatives is more pronounced on female migrants.

Age at the time of migration is the other variable that affects distance of migration. It is hypothesized that distance of migration and age at the time of migration negatively correlate. Excluding pre-adulthood age, as age at the time of migration increase the distance to be travelled will decrease (Inoki and Suruga 1981). Different migration studies including (Inoki and Suruga 1981; Li 1983) assert that usually old age people do not participate in long distance migrations. The reasons most likely are:

1. Usually old people have family and it is expensive to cover transportation costs for their family and properties. (Inoki and Suruga, 1981), and
2. In case they move alone, they prefer not to go too far in order to make family visits and return journeys cheap and easy (Hart 1971; Baxter 1973) cited in Connell et al (1976).

2.4. Factors Affecting Migrants' job Opportunities, occupation and Income

Today in many developing Countries the economic status of migrants is not explicitly defined. One of the factors for the lack of valid generalization regarding migrants' economic status especially in Africa is that the phenomenon of internal migration is least investigated "...data on migration are, therefore, very scanty and analysis is less complete than for other demographic fields" (Adepoju 1987:127). However, the available research findings are helpful in drawing tentative conclusion.

As documented in the literature, migrants' job opportunities in urban areas are influenced by different factors. Educational status, origin of migrants, length of urban residence, and pre-migration job experience are,

however, believed to be prominent.

It is hypothesized that educational status is one of the variables that influence migrants' employment opportunities and income. Recent urban migration studies show that there is a positive association between educational attainment and employment opportunity. In other words, as a person's educational level increases so does his opportunities to have a job. Lacey (1985), indicates that among the migrants to kano, those with higher education had better employment opportunities than those with lower or no education.

In towns of developing countries, due to the high rate of in-migration, unemployment rate is increasing steadily. This situation has increased the importance of education in determining one's job opportunities. According to Bernum and Sabot (1975), in Tanzania, due to the limited job available in towns, high school leavers had better job opportunities over those with elementary school background or below (cited in Todaro 1976).

The available information also reveal that origin of migrants is an important variable in affecting migrants job opportunities. Lacey (1985), in his migration study on Nigeria, reports that migrants originating from urban areas have better opportunities for employment and higher income

compared to their counterparts from rural areas. The findings of Zachariah and C'onde (1981) based on west African data, Green (1978) using Seoul, (South Korean) data, and Tirasawat (1971) pertaining to Bangkok, (Thailand) data, are in conformity with Lacey's result. The reason that would likely be responsible for the lower job opportunities and income of rural-urban migrants are:

1. The limited knowledge, skill and training relevant for urban job (Lacey 1985),
2. the existing cultural difference between rural and urban societies hinder the adaptation rate of urban culture (Tirasawat 1971), and
3. the availability of limited information about urban job opening reduce their probability to be employed (Green 1978; Peil and Sade 1984). For instance, Connell et al (1976), citing the ILO Ceylon Employment Mission report, revealed "the coexistence, at the same time of year [1971], of unemployment (and low wages) in some rural areas with labour scarcity (and high wages) in near by towns. Information on such factors is usually missing" (p.28).

Length of urban residence and previous urban job experience, also have influence on migrants' job

opportunities and occupational status. For example, in Seoul, South Korea, recent migrants' rate of employment is higher than life time migrants. However, the probability to get higher status occupations was in favour of life time migrants (Li 1983). The finding of Tirasawat (1971), is similar to the above result.

2.5. Educational Attainment, job Opportunities and Occupational Status of Migrants and non-migrants

This section of the literature review is intended to discuss findings related to migrants' achievements on: educational status, and occupational status in relation to non-migrants.

It is hypothesized that urban migrants are people with better educational status compared to the societies from where they originate. What is controversial is the educational attainment of migrants in relation to non-migrants. many scholars (for example, Pernia 1977; Okane 1981; Herrick 1965) contend that migrants' education level is slightly lower than the non-migrants. However, migrants have better proportion of college and university education level. In seoul, S. Korea, for instance, "...13percent of migrants age 15 and above are college graduates compared to only 5 percent of the general population" (Li 1983:124). In Santiago

too, it is reported that "about 1 percent more of the migrants had college educations than did the Santiago natives" (Herrick 1965:79).

Regarding the labour force participation, it is documented in the literature of the field that the search for employment is one of the motives behind every migration processes. As long as this argument is accepted one may raise a question-To what extent are migrants successful in urban employment in relation to non-migrants?

To start with, Rhoda (1980), in his study "Migration and employment of educated youth in Ghana" finds out that middle school leaver migrants' employment rate is far better than the non-migrants (with equal level of education) in major towns of Ghana. In Santiago, Chile, the migrants' rates of employment was higher than the non-migrants and the difference further accentuated if age is controlled (Herrick 1965). In Jakarta, Indonesia, non-migrants labour force participation was below the one reported for migrants (Krausse 1979:54). In seoul as well, the same trend of employment was observed. More over, age differentials within migrants, and between migrants and non-migrants was reported (Li 1983).

The better successes of migrants over urban natives in level of employability is expected to arise for different reasons: first, most migrants are believed to move to destination areas after job is arranged by their relatives and friends living in towns (Standing 1983b). Second, migrants' aspirations are lower than the non-migrants, and therefore, are willing to join what ever jobs are available (Herrick 1965). Third, most of the failure migrants return to their previous location of residence or move to new towns, and therefore, it increases migrants' level of employment (McCutcheon 1978). Fourth, it is expected that migrants are prepared to work longer time than non-migrants (Standing 1984).

In rural-urban migration, perhaps, the most widely discussed issue is migrants' economic status in destinations. The available literature indicates that in most cases occupational status of migrants is lower than urban natives (Herrick 1965; Krausse 1979; Zachariah and Conde 1981). For example, in Ghana, although migrants are engaged in all activities, they are dominant in the agricultural activities and in low status job (Zachariah and Conde 1981:78). The research result from Seoul, S.Korea, is in conformity with the above finding. With equal level of education and age, the migrants' job status is lower than the natives. However, the difference is not significant (Li 1983). Furthermore, it

is reported that there is occupational status differential among the migrants depending on their length of residence. Assuming all other things being equal, it seems that recent migrants' status is slightly lower than life time migrants.

Regarding the upward mobility of migrants, it is assumed that many of the urban migrants have made a shift from primary to secondary and tertiary occupations with a sound increase in status and income. However, due to increasing needs and higher expenses in urban areas it is not rational to conclude that their living standards are better than the ones they had in previous residential areas.

On the basis of his study, Krausse (1979), reports that among the sampled migrants, 78.4 percent revealed to have been in a different and better occupations, 12.1 percent indicated as working on the same occupations and status, and the remaining 9.5 percent stated a decline in their occupational status. In Santiago as well, migrants have made occupational upward mobility. Among the recently employed about 22.5 percent were unemployed in their origins. In case of white collar workers, they showed a dramatic increase from 17.9 percent (before their move) to 35.3 percent (after their move) (Herrick 1965).

2.6. Migration Studies in Ethiopia: An Over view

Like in many other developing countries, migration studies in Ethiopia are very few. These few studies themselves are general and limited in scope (Alula 1989). In spite of their being very general and limited in scope, some of them are, one may say, helpful for conducting future migration studies. The migration studies made by, for example, (Bondestam 1972; Wood 1983, 1985, Galperin 1988) "identify in a general manner the historical pattern of movement of population from north to south, highlands to lowlands over long and short distances" (Alula, 1989:597), Works of (Wood 1986; Kloos 1982; Beyene 1985) assess the pattern, causes and consequences of labour migrations to the state farms and coffee producing areas in relation with major out migration areas, especially the latter one.

On the other hand, some other studies (Befekadu 1978; Sileshi 1979; Bjerren 1985; Abdurahamn 1987; Arkebe 1985; Baker 1986; Berhanu 1985; Hadgu and Asmerom 1985; Mullenbach 1976; Kloos and Aynalem 1987; Alula 1989; Almaz 1990) have attempted to study urban migration either at a national level or on specific urban centers. These studies mainly concentrate on causes of urban migrations, characteristics of migrants, and volume and patterns of urban migrations.

Apart from these, the works of (Arowolo 1988; Fekadu 1972; Olmstead 1974; Burley 1979; Hayallu 1982; Bekure 1984; Desalegn 1979), though they are not purely migration studies, have some findings related to urban migrations. And the next few pages will be devoted to discuss the findings of these and other studies cited above.

2.6.1. Causes and Patterns of Migration

In Ethiopia the influx of large number of people is believed to have a long historical root. The motives for these huge migrations are abundant. Environmental degradation, socio-economic factors, political changes are, however, considered to be the most prominent factors (Befekadu 1978; Aynalem and Kloos 1988; Alula 1989).

It is also argued that, in Ethiopia, the major factor for the rural-urban migrations is the 'rural push' rather than the 'urban pull' (Befekadu 1978; Sileshi 1979). In other words, the severe economic hardship is believed to have compelled the rural peasant to leave their homelands in search of better life conditions. In the northern part of the country where drought is frequent, the environmental degradation together with high population growth rate and unfavourable age structure (where the proportion of active population is low) seem to have exacerbated the living

conditions of the peasants and consequently forced them to leave their home lands.

Mullenbach (1976), arguing the motive force behind the migrants to Akaki is economic, notes that 'urban pull' is more responsible than the 'rural push'. He also states that the existence of relatives and friends is the other factor for migrants to come to Akaki and two-third of the migrants have come to the town in search of job.

Olmstead (1974) in her study on Gamogofa Dorze people, notes that marriage, long distance trade, and weaving are the principal causes for out-migrations in the area. Almaz (1990) finds a sex differential in causes of migration. Unlike men, in Arssi region, migrant women were motivated by social factors and their participation in labour force (rate of employment) was observed to be very low.

Distance, direction, and volume of migrations usually, if not always, seem to depend on the cause (s) of migration. Aynalem and Kloos note:

"Familial and socio economic causes seem to predominate in rural-urban migration of both sexes within administrative regions, economic and political factors are more important in long distance movements particularly among migrants from eastern and northern Ethiopia" (1983:43).

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What has been found by Aynalem and Kloos is of course in conformity with the results of 1984 census which reveal that most of the long distance migrants were those from the northern regions where the economic and political security is low.

Different migration studies confirm that a considerable portion of the urban migrants had urban migration experience before coming to their destinations. It is believed that the propensity to migrate is higher for those who had previous experience (Bjeren 1985; Hadgu and Asmerom 1985; Baker 1986). 55 percent of the migrants to Shashemene came from an urban area other than their birth place (Bjeren 1985). Baker (1986), also found rural migrants who further moved from the roadside towns of Gondar to coffee producing areas. About 29 percent of the Addis Ababa migrants were step wise migrants (Hadgu and Asmerom 1985).

The proportion of direct rural-urban migrants is higher for small size towns (Alula 1989:). As the size of town increases, the proportion of direct migrants decreases and that of step migrants' proportion increases. Moreover, the rate of direct in-migration is higher for small towns (CSO, 1972:15). This is an indication of the influence of distance on rate of migration. Since small towns are in short distance from rural areas, it seems logical to suggest

that they absorb the highest proportion of direct rural-urban migrants.

2.6.2. Demographic characteristics of Migrants

In Ethiopia both labour and urban migration studies underline the predominance of single and young migrants between the ages of 15 and 29 (CSO 1972; Kloos 1982; Beyene 1984; Bjerer 1984; Almaz 1990). Beyene (1984), in his study, "The pattern, cause and consequences of labour migration to Metehara estate and the neighboring state farms" finds out that most of the migrants are youth (80 percent of the seasonal migrants are less than 35 years of age) and males outnumber females. Most of the seasonal migrants are single (68 percent) and even the married ones move alone. In Awash valley, about two-third of the labour migrants were less than 24 years of age (Kloos 1982:140-148).

Unlike the experience of other African countries, in Ethiopia females are predominant in urban ward migrations. In all Ethiopian towns, except Addis Ababa, the sex ratio is in favor of females. This higher sex ratio is believed to be the result of high rate of females in-migration or/and higher out migrations of males from the urban centers (CSO 1972:2). However, the 1984 census result reveals the declining trend of female predominance in urban migrations. During this time

it was the men that outnumbered in many of the administrative regions. The finding of Almaz (1990) from Arssi region supports this trend, albeit the females are still predominant in all streams except long distance where the males are dominant.

CHAPTER THREE METHODOLOGY

3.1 Sample selection

In any sample survey the very difficult task faced by a researcher is determining the sample size . Among the variables that determine the required sample size for a survey study, the size of the population, the variations in the characteristics of the population, the sampling technique, cost and time are, however, very important (sabot 1979; Bilsborrow 1984).

Considering the large size population of the town, expecting high degree of homogeneity in the population characteristics, and due to time and financial constraints, a sample size of 15 percent and 4 percent of the total households in the town were included in the first and second phases of the survey, respectively.

Once the sample size is determined, the next step is selecting a sample that would ensure unbiased representation of the total population under study.

Since there is no data that reveal the migration status of the population, two phase sampling procedure was employed in the survey. Two phase sampling is a technique commonly used in sample surveys of migration where the target

population is not identified. "The advantage of this procedure is that the actual member of households with and with out migrants is controlled and known before hand" (Bilsborrow 1984: 109) . The first phase was used as a screening device to identify the migration status of the 15 percent households of the town. The detailed household interviews were deployed in the second phase of the survey.

At the time of the survey, the available information from the 15 kebeles revealed that the town has 13148 households. In the first phase of the survey 15 percent of households in each kebele (i.e 1972 households) were selected from the membership lists by using systematic sampling technique. After having the list of 1972 households number, interviewers were sent to the field with a form, which has three questions place of birth, age on arrival, and length of residence in the town, to identify the migration status of the household heads. Household heads were selected as respondents of the interview. This is because one of the aims of this study is to identify the employment patterns of the migrants and usually household heads are the one to shoulder the economic burden of the family. Thus, it was the belief of the writer to consider household heads more appropriate to this study. However, information regarding demographic characteristics of all migrant members of the households were included in the first section of the

questionnaire for the analysis of demographic characteristics of migrant population of the town.

The results of first phase of the sampling procedure showed that out of the 1972 households surveyed, 1053 were headed by migrants and 819 by non migrants. To select 526 households for the detailed interview, all the surveyed households were stratified by migration status. At the outset it was determined that 80 percent of the samples in the second phase to be migrants. The higher proportion of migrants for the detailed interview is due to the aim of the study, that is, migration. The non migrants, which constituted one-fifth of the sample, were included for comparison purpose with respect to educational attainment, and occupational status. Thus, it is believed that this figure of non migrants is large enough for the purpose stated.

Out of the 819 non-migrant household heads, 106 were selected employing systematic random sampling technique. Likewise, among 1053 migrant household heads, 420 were selected as respondents of this study. The number of selected household migrants were proportional to the total households in each kebele (for the detail see Appendix II).

3.2 Sources of Data

For the fulfillment of the objectives of this study, primary and secondary sources of data were employed. The primary data were collected from a sample survey conducted in december, 1992 using a detailed questionnaire.

The questionnaire used to collect primary data consisted of three sections. The first section, which is a household roaster sheet, asked information about all the household members regarding residential status, age on arrival, sex, and marital status at the time of arrival. The second and the third sections were prepared for household heads. The second section inquires general information about information source, birth place, existence of friends and relatives living in this town, educational attainment on arrival and currently, migration experience, and the like. The third and the last section deals with the employment characteristics before coming, on arrival and currently. Major points raised in this section are: Pre-migration job experience (labor force participation), the process by which migrants have been assimilated in the labor force at the destination, occupational mobility as a consequence of migration, income and occupational status (for detail see Appendix I).

On average about 30 minutes were needed to administer the questionnaire. Fourteen interviewers were carefully selected among students who completed grade 12. The interviewers were trained for three days both in the classroom and in the field.

3.3. Method of Data Analysis

The migration model to be estimated in this study is the one used by Sjaastad (1962), Levy and Wadycki (1974), Sabot (1979) and Greenwood et al (1981). The general form of the model is:

$R_{ije} = M_{ije} / B_{ie}^{**} = F (D_{ij}, U_i, U_j, I_i, EXFR, e)$ Where,
 $R_{ije}^* = M_{ije} / B_{ije}$, is rate of migration from region i to region j with a particular level of education,
 M_{ije} = number of migrants, age 10 and above, born in region i and included in the sample survey with a given level of education.
 B_{ie} = number of people, age 10 and above, living in region i who reported the same level of education at the time of the 1984 census,
 D_{ij} = road distance in kilometers between Awarajaton and the study town,
 U_{ie} , = time spent unemployed in months for migrants from region i with a given level of education

U_{je} = time spent unemployed in months at the destination for migrants with a given level of education

I_{ie} = average income of migrants in the first job with a particular educational attainment

EXFR = existence of friends and relatives in the study town, where:

EXFR = 0, if a migrant had a relative or a friend before coming to the town, otherwise

EXFR = 1, and

e = random errors.

Mean, percentage and maps are some of the descriptive statistics employed to analyze the volume and streams of migration, and the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the migrants.

* It is not actually a migration rate. rather the probability to migrate from region i to region j with a give level of education.

** These values are taken from the 1984 census

To identify the differences in the responses of migrants with different level of education to the explanatory variables, three independent equations were estimated by employing weighted least square (WLS) regression for illiterates and no formal education, elementary and junior education, and high school and above.

To avoid heteroscedasticity disturbance that occurs due to the variation in the population size of administrative regions, and to reduce correlation disturbance among the independent equations and to make them comparable, all the variables have been transformed to logarithms and then divided by the square root of B_i (B_i). (for detail see Levy and Wadycki 1974; Greenwood et al 1981). Moreover, Chow test was employed to test whether or not there is a significant difference in the explanatory variables across the three equations (for detail see, Gujarati, 1979).

Chi-square analysis was applied so as to make categorical frequency analysis concerning the association between distance of migration and explanatory variables (EDU1, AGE1, EXFR, BRPL MIGEX). In addition, multiple regression analysis was made to explain the combined effect and partial contribution of the independent variables on the dependent variable. .

One-way analysis of variance was made to determine whether the difference between migrants and non migrants is significant or not with respect to the current level of education and occupational status.

CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

4.1 DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS, EDUCATIONAL STATUS, AND GEOGRAPHICAL ORIGIN OF MIGRANTS

4.1.1. Demographic Characteristics of Migrants

In migration studies the demographic characteristic of migrants is an indispensable issue for two reasons. First, different rates of migration for different demographic groups is becoming almost a universally accepted finding. Thus, migrants are not people randomly selected from the society in which they originate. Second, the composition of migrants affect either positively or negatively both sending and receiving areas. Moreover, the returns of migrants depend upon their demographic and socio-economic characteristics.

4.1.2. AGE COMPOSITION

Age selectivity of migration is almost a universally accepted truth. The available information in the field reveals that migrants are predominantly young people between 15-29 years of age (Connell et al 1976). This has been also supported by data from Bahir Dar. The young adults are more migratory because the returns of migration declines with increasing age at the time of move. In addition, their

better educational attainment together with high adaptability to new environment made them to predominate in the migration processes.

Table 2: Migrant Population: distribution by sex and age on arrival, 1992

Age on Arrival	Male		Female		Total		Sex ratio
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
10-14	24	5.4	31	6.2	55	5.8	77.4
15-19	75	17.0	97	19.3	172	18.3	77.3
20-24	103	23.2	161	32.1	264	28.0	64.0
25-29	113	25.6	89	17.8	202	21.4	127.0
30-34	59	13.3	63	12.6	122	13.0	93.7
35-39	32	7.2	21	4.2	53	5.6	152.4
40-44	16	3.6	23	4.6	39	4.1	69.6
45-49	13	3.0	11	2.2	24	2.5	118.2
50 and over	7	1.6	5	1.0	12	1.3	140.0
	442	100.0	501	100.0	943	100.0	88.2

Table 2 presents data on the distribution of migrant population by age and sex on arrival. More than two-third of the migrants to Bahir Dar arrived between 15-29 years of age. The migrants in the age group 20-24 with 28 percent predominate the migration stream. Excluding the first two age groups (10-14) and (15-19), the proportion of migrants declines steadily for each succeeding age group with different rates.

It is observed that there is sex differential in age on arrival. The propensity to migrate is higher in the three lower age groups for women while it is in the higher age groups for men. It is also evident that females are highly represented in the age group (20-24) where as males are predominant in the age group (25-29). This indicates that women are more migratory at younger ages than men. The probable reason for women to migrate at younger ages is their lower participation in schools.

The average age of migrants on arrival is 23.4 years. However, there is sex differential. On average women arrived at the age of 22.1 years where as the corresponding age for men is 25.8 years. Although not significant, there is also age difference by year of arrival. The data in Table 3 show that recent migrants arrived relatively at higher ages. The expansion of schools in recent past both in rural and urban areas of the country could be the probable reason for recent migrants to be relatively older on arrival.

4.1.1.3 Marital Status

Knowing that the majority of migrants to Bahir Dar are in the younger age groups, single migrants are expected to be dominant. The information in Table 5 confirm our expectation. About half of the migrant population were single when they came to Bahir Dar. One out of every three migrants was married, and about 13 percent and 2.5 percent were divorced and widowed, respectively.

Table 5: Migrant Population: Percent Distribution by marital Status and Sex, 1992

Marital Status	Male	Female	Total
Married	32.6	37.9	35.4
Single	55.9	42.7	48.9
Divorced	10.2	15.6	13.0
Widowed	1.3	3.8	2.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

N= 943

It is also observed that there is sex differential in marital status. The proportion of widowed women is three fold of men's proportion. Similarly divorced Women's proportion is one and half times of men's proportion. The higher proportion of divorced and widowed women on arrival may be due to the lower probability to remarry in their home areas, and their lower status in the society in relation to married

women. Based on this finding one may possibly argue that widowhood and divorce are more important for women than for men to induce migration.

4.1.2. Educational Status

Educational attainment of migrants is very important because many of the studies in the field reveal the high degree of educational selectivity in the process of migration. Therefore, knowledge about migrants' level of education is useful to know who migrants are or who are more migratory?-the educated or the uneducated.

Table 6 show migrants' educational attainment on arrival and currently (i.e. at the time of survey December, 1992). As shown in the table, on arrival, the highest number of migrants were illiterate (28.5 percent) followed by migrants with secondary education (23.7%) and with tertiary level education (22.1%). Migrants with reading and writing skills, elementary, and junior high school education were small in number. This pattern indicates that educational selectivity exists at both ends of the level. This pattern of educational selectivity as Connell et al (1976) state, may be attributable to the origin of migrants. Most of the uneducated migrants are believed to come from rural areas where school facilities are low. On the other hand most of

the educated migrants are expected from other urban areas of the country.

From the table it is also observed that many of the migrants have improved their educational status. The proportion of illiterate is reduced from about 28 percent on arrival to 14 percent at the time of the survey. Similarly the proportion of migrants with reading and writing skills decreased to 3.3. percent. On the other hand, the proportion of migrants in all other education levels increased, however, the increase was higher for elementary and tertiary education levels. The average education level of migrants increased from 3.6 on arrival to 4.1 currently. Migration for education i.e. to continue education in high schools and colleges, the importance of educational qualification to obtain urban jobs are believed to be reasons for the improvement of migrants' educational level after arrival in the town. The literacy campaign which has been under taken since 1979 is the other probable reason.

Different migration studies confirm that urban ward migrants are people with better educational attainment compared to the societies from where they originate. What is controversial is the educational attainment of migrants in relation to the population at the destinations.

Table 6: Migrant and Non migrant household heads:
Percentage distribution by level of Education, 1992

Education Level	Migrants		Non Migrants
	On arrival	Current	Current
Illiterate	28.5	13.5	4.0
Reading and Writing	5.3	3.3	2.0
Elementary	14.5	22.1	7.0
Junior	5.9	8.2	16.0
High School	23.7	25.7	39.0
Tertiary	22.1	27.2	32.0
Average Level of Education	3.6**	4.10**	5.2**

N = 393 N = 393 N = 100

**

Computed based on the designated values for each level of education, the values are as follows

Illiterate = 1, Reading and writing = 2, Elementary = 3, Junior = 4, High School = 5, and Tertiary level = 6

The data in Table 6 indicates that migrants are dominant in the three lower educational levels while it is the non-migrants in the upper three levels. The proportion of migrants with no and elementary education was more than three times of the non-migrants. On the other hand, non migrants with junior level of education were twice the proportion of migrants. The average levels of education are 4.1 and 5.2 for migrants and non-migrants, respectively.

Table 7: Summary table of One-way ANOVA regarding Current Educational Status of Migrants and Non migrants

Source of Var.	DF	SS	MS	F
Between	1	76.70	76.70	32.14*
Within	444	1059.56	2.39	
Total	445	1136.26		

P* < .01

One way analysis of variance was employed in order to determine whether or not there is significant difference between migrants and non-migrants with regard to current level of education. As shown in Table 7, the result of one-way ANOVA suggests that there is significant difference ($F_{1,444} = 32.14$, $P < .01$) between the two groups. That is, non-migrants have better educational attainment than their counterparts, the migrants. Thus, the hypothesis which reads as "non-migrants' educational attainment is better than the migrants" is accepted.

4.1.3. GEOGRAPHICAL ORIGIN OF MIGRANTS

Table 8 and figure 2, Present the origin of migrants and streams of in-migration to Bahir Dar. It is found that the majority of the migrants came from Gojjam, the administrative region where the study town is located, and few neighbouring regions. Gojjam and Gondar being the major

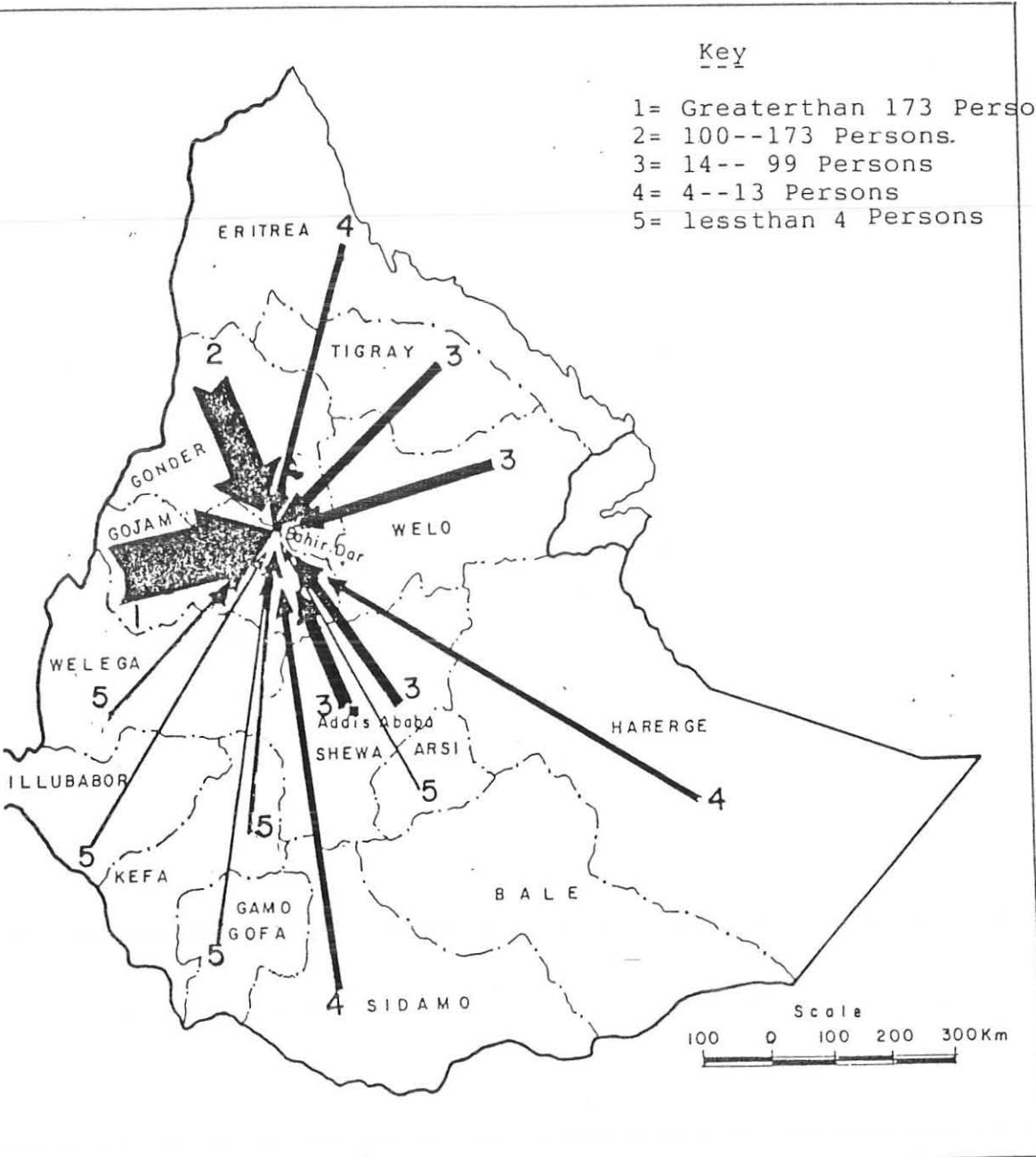
sources of migrants account for about 70 percent. Migrants from distant regions were very small. Ten administrative regions constitute less than one-fifth of the migrants.

As demonstrated in Figure 2, the stream of migration is dominated by South Ward movements of migrants from the northern administrative regions. Excluding intra-regional migrants, migrants from Gondar, Wello, Tigray and Eritrea constitute more than two-third of the inter-regional migrants. The second important stream is that originating from south, south eastern and south western regions of the country. Migrants from these regions are long distance travellers and hence their proportion is very small (32 percent of the inter-regional migrants).

The origin of migrants by urban/rural distribution is presented in Table 9. Rural born migrants are dominant with about 63 percent. In a country like Ethiopia, where the majority of the population live in rural areas, higher number of rural born migrants in towns is a common phenomenon. For example, Bjerem (1985), in her migration study on Shashemene found that more than 60 percent of the respondents were born in rural areas.

The urban born migrants, whose proportion is about 37 percent of all migrants, came from towns of different sizes.

Fig: 2. STREAMS OF MIGRATION INTO BAHIR DAR



Of the urban born migrants (38%) are from towns with residents of 10,000-50,000. Small size towns with less than 10,000 residents are the second important sources of migrants with 33 percent. The two upper class towns are less important in sending out migrants to Bahir Dar. The urban born migrants pattern of movement indicates that in most cases they proceed to towns in the immediate upper class.

Table 8: Household Head Migrants: Distribution by Adm. Region and Average Distance of Migration, 1992

Admin. Region	Number	%	Av. Distance (Kms)
Gojjam	174	44.3	95.5
Gondar	102	26.0	144.4
Wello	22	5.6	510.8
Tigray	18	4.6	672.1
Addis Ababa	15	3.8	563.0
Shewa	24	6.1	631.4
Eritrea	6	1.5	751.3
Arssi	3	0.8	764.0
Sidmo	9	2.3	894.4
Hararghe	11	2.8	1017.3
Wollega	3	0.8	975.3
Illubabor	2	0.5	1163
Keffa	3	0.8	923.7
Gamogofa	1	0.3	1068
Total	393	100.0	286.5

Table 9: Household head migrants: Distribution by Origin (rural/urban), 1992

Origin of Migrants	No.	%
Rural	247	62.8
All Urban	146	37.8
Towns with <10,000 population	49	12.5
Towns with 10,000-50,000	56	14.2
Towns with 50,000-100,000	25	6.4
Towns more than 100,000	16	4.1
Total	393	100.0

Table 10: Household Head Migrants: % Distribution by Distance of Migration, 1992

Distance (Kms)	%	Cummulative &
Less than 150	43.8	43.8
150 - 400	26.5	70.3
401 - 700	17.8	88.1
More than 700	11.9	100

N = 393

4.1.4. Distance of Migration

In any migration process there is a change in residence, consequently distance and migration are inseparable. Because of its effect on rates of migration, distance is becoming an

area of research especially for geographers. Further more, it is important to identify the factors that determine distance of migration or/and to give answer to questions like-why do people differ in their distance of migration.

Distance of migration, in this study, is computed using the road distance in kilometers between the study town and Awraja towns where the migrants originate. This is done by making use of a road map produced by Road Transport Authority. Table 8 presents the average distance of migration by Administrative region. The data reveal that the average distance of migration for migrants of Bahir Dar was about 287 kilometers. Migrants from neighbouring regions with lower distance of migration are the large majority. Whereas those from distant areas are small in number. This is an indication of the deterrent effect of distance on migration rate.

The negative effect of distance on propensity to migrate is vividly demonstrated in Table 10 , which presents the distribution of migrants by distance. From the table it is observed that with an increase in distance the number of migrants declines. Seven out of every ten migrants travelled less than 400 kilometers and the remaining 30 percent were found in the migrations with a distance of more than 400 kilometers.

From the foregoing discussion we have seen the inverse relationship between distance and migration. In the forthcoming discussion factors that determine distance are treated to give answer to the questions raised at the beginning of this section. The explanatory variables included in this section are: educational status, age on arrival, migration experience, origin of migrants, and existence of friends and relatives in the town.

4.1.4.1 Distance and Education

The available information in the field asserts the positive relationship between one's level of education and distance moved. The results of this study are not different either. In Table 11 it is shown that migrants with junior and lower levels of education are dominant in the lower distance groups whereas migrants with higher educational attainments are highly represented in higher distance groups. For instance, of the migrants who travelled less than 150 kilometers, 46.5 percent were illiterate. The corresponding figure for migrants with tertiary level education was 8.1 percent. On the other hand, of the migrants who participated in the migrations with greater than 700 kilometers, the proportion of illiterates was 6.4 percent while it was 53.2 percent for those with tertiary education.

The result of the chi-square of independence ($\chi^2=105.1585$, $P < .01$) shows that there is a significant association between level of education and distance. The average distance of migration of each educational level is the other evidence which confirm the result of the chi-square. Except for, migrants with high school background, distance increases with educational attainment. But the rate of increase in distance is higher above high school level (see Table 11).

Table 11: Household Head Migrants: Percent Distribution by Education Level, Migration Experience, Origin (Rural/Urban), Existence of friends and Relatives, And Age on Arrival, 1992

Distance	Education Level on Arrival						Mig. Type		Origin of Migrants		EXSFR		Age on Arrival						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	With	Without	Rural	Urban	With	Without	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
< 150kms	46.5	5.8	14.5	4.7	20.3	8.1	52.3	47.7	86.6	13.4	70.9	29.1	2.9	20.9	28.5	19.8	12.8	5.2	9.9
150-400kms	23.3	6.8	15.5	7.8	30.1	16.5	61.2	38.8	62.1	37.9	65.0	35.0	1.0	10.7	30.1	22.3	13.6	5.8	16.5
400-700kms	7.0	4.2	19.7	2.8	22.5	43.7	77.5	22.5	32.4	67.6	50.7	49.3	1.4	14.1	29.6	21.1	16.9	7.0	9.9
> 700kms	6.4	2.1	4.3	10.6	23.4	53.2	91.5	8.5	23.4	76.7	55.3	44.7	0.0	6.4	44.7	25.5	14.9	4.3	4.3
Total	28.5	5.3	14.5	5.9	23.7	22.1	63.9	36.1	62.8	37.2	63.9	36.1	1.8	15.3	31.0	21.4	14.0	5.6	10.9
Av. Distance	114	205	254	320	296	530	403	255	171	482	310	404	135	195	332	309	325	271	225
	$\chi^2 = 105.1585 (P < .01)$						$\chi^2 = 31.4825$		$\chi^2 = 167.1919 (P < .01)$		$\chi^2 = 10.5994 (P < .05)$		$\chi^2 = 20.1123 (P > .05)$						
	D.F. = 15						(P < .01) D.F. = 3		D.F. = 3		D.F. = 3		D.F. = 18						

Educational Levels

- Illiterate = 1
- Reading and Writing = 2
- Elementary = 3
- Junior = 4
- High School = 5
- Tertiary = 6

Age groups

- 1 = (10-14)
- 2 = (15-19)
- 3 = (20-24)
- 4 = (25-29)
- 5 = (30-34)
- 6 = (35-39)
- 7 = (40 and above)

The lower migration distance of migrants with high school background might be attributed to migration for education. Until recently there was one high school in the Awraja where the study town is located. So students who completed grade eight had been moving to Bahir Dar to continue their secondary school education.

As presented in Table 12 standardized beta coefficient ($B = 0.1388$) shows the direct relationship between educational status and distance. Educational status (X_1) explains 1.8 percent of the variance in the dependent variable, distance. The F test also shows that the contribution of education ($F = 3.83, P < .05$) is significant.

This result is in line with the findings of Addo (1966) from Ghana, Li (1983) from South Korea, Lacey (1985) from Nigeria. All of them revealed the positive relationship between education and distance. This result is also parallel with our hypothesis.

4.1.4.2. Distance and Migration Experience

It was Ravenstien (1985), who first proposed that migration process is step wise. Thus most migrants proceed to nearby towns and then to larger towns. In developing countries like Ethiopia where the majority of urban migrants are from rural areas, it is not uncommon to find a

considerable number of migrants with at least one move before coming to towns like Bahir Dar.

The result of this study supports Ravenstien's proposal regarding migration experience. The data in Table 11 show that the proportion of step migrants is above fifty percent in all distance groups. For instance, the proportion of step migrants was more than three times of the proportion of direct migrants in the (401-700 kilometers) distance group and more than nine times in the longest distance group.

From the foregoing discussion it is observed that the probability to participate in long distance migrations is in favour of step migrants. The result of the Chi-square of independence ($\chi^2 = 31.4825, P < .01$) justifies that the association between these two variables is significant. The average distance by migration experience is the other evidence which confirm the relationship. The average distance moved by step migrants was 148 kilometers higher than the direct migrants who travelled about 255 kilometers.

In Table 12, which presents the summary of multiple regression analysis, the beta coefficient ($\beta = 0.174$) indicates (where the value 1 is for step migrants) that there is direct relationship between migration experience and distance. Migration experience explains 6 percent of the

variation in the dependent variable. The F test also shows that the contribution of migration experience ($F_{2,390} = 12.28, P < .01$) in explaining distance of migration is significant. Therefore, it is a good predictor of distance of migration.

The information in Table 11 reveal that about 76 percent of the migrants who travelled more than 700 kilometers were those with high school and above education. In the same table, it is indicated that of the migrants who travelled more than 700 kilometers, about 91 percent were step migrants. Based on the information it is possible to infer that most of the migrants with secondary and above education levels were step migrants.

The migration experience of well educated people who participated in long distance migrations may be explained by reasons related to education and employment. In Ethiopia secondary and tertiary level educational institutes are concentrated in urban centers, especially the latter ones are concentrated in Addis Ababa and few big urban centers. As stated earlier majority of the migrants in our study town are from rural areas and small towns. Migrants originating from such areas have to move to Awaraja towns to attend secondary education and to Addis Ababa and few big towns to enroll in colleges and universities. Moreover, most of the educated

migrants are government employees where the probability to be transferred from one corner of the country to another is very high compared to employees with low educational attainment.

4.1.4.3. Distance and Origin of Migrants

By origin, we are referring to whether a migrant is rural or urban born. It is hypothesized that urban migrants travel longer distances compared with rural migrants.

As shown in Table 11 it is evident that migrants originating from rural areas are dominant in short distance migrations while urban migrants are over represented in long distance migrations. Assuming other variables constant, this distribution pattern of migrants indicates that the origin (urban/rural) of a migrant affects distance of migration.

The result of the Chi-Square of independence ($X^2 = 167.19$, $P < .01$) indicates that there is a significant association between origin of migrants and distance of migration. Similarly the result of the multiple regression analysis in Table 12 also indicates that urban origin (represented by the value 1) is positively correlated to distance of migration. Conversely this result indicates that the distance travelled by rural migrants tends to be lower

than their counterparts, migrants born in urban areas. 24.2 percent of the variance in the dependent variable, distance of migration, is explained by origin of migrants. And this contribution ($F_{1,391} = 45.07, p < .01$) is significant.

4.1.4.4. Distance and Friends and Relatives in towns

Existence of friends and relatives in towns is expected to be one of the factors that influence distance of migration. This is because in developing countries friends and relatives are found to be major sources of information for potential migrants about urban life and employment (Connell et al 1976). Given this information it is plausible to assume that migrants proceed to areas where they have information without considering distance of migration.

The data in Table 11 reveal that the proportion of migrants with friends and relatives in the town is higher in all distance groups. But their proportion declines in the longer distance groups. On the other hand, although the proportion of migrants without friends and relatives in the town is lower in all distance groups, there is an increasing tendency in their proportion in longer distance groups. Based on this information one may suggest that existence of friends and relatives is more important in short distance migration than in long distance migrations.

To test the significance of the relationship the Chi-square of independence was employed. The result of the Chi-square of independence ($X^2 = 10.60$, $P < 0.05$) reveals that the association between distance of migration and existence of friends and relatives in towns is significant.

The result of multiple regression analysis in Table 12 indicates that the explanatory variable, existence of friends and relatives in towns has an effect on distance of migration. The positive sign of the beta coefficient ($\beta = 0.1153$) indicates that migrants without friends and relatives living in the town (represented by the Value 1) have higher probability to come from distant areas than their counterparts. This relationship is significant at 95 percent level of confidence.

The result of this study is in an opposite direction to what was expected. This result could be explained as follows.

Levy and Wadycki (1974) speculate that the existence of friends and relatives is more important for migrants with no or low education. This is because, unlike their counterparts, they have limited access to other sources of information. The probability to have a friend or a relative declines with distance. Moreover, low educated people fear

cultural difference, which may exist with increasing distance, due to their low adaptability to a new environment (Sabot 1979). In light of the above points mentioned this result seems palatable.

4.1.4.4 Distance and Age

Recent migration studies from different countries indicate the inverse relationship between age at the time of migration and distance of migration. Inoki and Suruga 1981, (Baxter 1973 cited in Connell et al 1976).

The data in Table 11 reveal that excluding the two lower age groups (10-14) and (15-19), the proportion of migrants in longer distance groups declines with increasing age. Similarly the two lower age groups have lower proportions in the longer distance groups. Assuming all other variables constant migrants in the age group (20-29) travel longer distances than those who are either younger or older.

The result of the Chi-Square of independence ($X^2 = 20.11$, $P > 0.05$) reveals that the association between distance and age on arrival is not significant. Likewise the result of the multiple regression analysis ($\beta = -0.017$) which shows

an inverse relation-ship between distance and age, is not significant at 95 percent level of confidence.

Although it has a negative sign, this result is different from previous findings conducted in other countries and our hypothesis. The non significant relationship between age and distance in this study is may be due to the higher proportion of step migrants who arrived relatively at older ages and travelled longer distances.

Table 12: Summary of the Multiple Regression on Migration Distance (X_0)

Variable No	Variable Entered	Multiple Correlation & Related Values			Values in Final Step			Cconstant	Simple Correlation with Distance
		Multiple R	Multiple R^2	Change in R^2	β Raw Coef.	β Stand. Coef.	Final F		
1	X_8	0.492	0.242	0.242	91.042	0.353	45.069*	70.80	0.324
2	X_7	0.549	0.301	0.06	107.831	0.174	12.276*		0.307
3	X_6	0.550	0.303	0.001	-0.567	-0.017	0.120		0.008
4	X_5	0.561	0.315	0.012	71.584	0.115	7.618*		0.165
5	X_1	0.578	0.334	0.018	21.063	0.138	3.828*		0.470

$P^* < .01$

Regression Equation

$$(X_0) \text{ (PRED)} = 70.80 + 91.042X_8 + 107.831X_7 + -0.5667X_6 + 71.584X_5 + 21.062X_1$$

4.1.4.5. Results of Multiple Regression

The purpose of this study is not only to determine the relations of each independent variable to the dependent variable distance of migration but also to discern the combined effect of two or more explanatory variables on the dependent variable. Thus, multiple and step wise regressions were needed to determine the extent of interaction between the explanatory variables in relation to the dependent variables and to identify the relative contribution of independent variables respectively.

The results of multiple regression analysis, considering (X_{12} , X_{15} , X_{22} , X_{28} and X_{34}) as explanatory variables is presented in Table 12. Coefficient of multiple determination (R^2) indicates that about 33.4 percent of the variation accounted for the dependent variable is due to the combined effect of the independent variables. The independent Variables (X_1 , X_5 , X_6 , X_7 and X_8) were found to be significant contributors for the total variation in the dependent variable. However, the contribution of (X_5 and X_1) was low. Non significant contribution is made by the remaining variable (X_6).

4.2. Education and Migration

4.2.1. Educational Status and Migration Rate

Recent studies conducted in the field of migration (for example Levy and Wadycki 1974, Sabot 1979) have shown a high degree of educational selectivity in the process of migration. The results of this study, too, seem to corroborate the findings of the above cited works.

The data in Table 14 indicate that there is significant direct relationship between educational attainment and the propensity to migrate. The average value of migration rates ranges from as low as 0.14 percent for migrants with no education to as high as 5.62 percent for those with high school background. Excluding the tertiary level, rate of migration was found to be increasing with educational status. However, the effect is more clearly seen after elementary education. Thus it can be suggested that junior education seems to be a critical level to induce the propensity to migrate to the study town. It was also observed that the propensity to migrate decreased with a shift from high school to tertiary level. The decrease in the propensity to migrate for migrants with tertiary level of education may be attributable to the size of the labour market of the town. Obviously such migrants might have preferred going to bigger towns like Addis Ababa where they think job

alternatives and income are better rather than coming to towns like Bahir Dar. The findings of Levy and Wadycki (1974) confirm this argument. They note "since the benefits of market size increase with specialization, the educated migrants seek areas with large and probably diversified labour markets" (p 387).

Table 14: Migration rate by educational level

Educational level	Migration Rate * (Per 100 people)
No Education	0.14
Reading and writing	0.20
Elementary	0.30
Junior	2.06
High School	5.62
Tertiary	4.65

* Actually it is not a migration rate. It is the probability to migrate.

For the positive relationship between educational status and migration rate both economic and non economic analysis have been forwarded by different researchers. Among the explanatory variables employed to estimate migration rate, unemployment rate at the origins and destination, employment probability at the destination, distance, income at the origins and destination are the most common ones. Due to paucity of information the explanatory variable employed in this study are: income at

the destination, time spent unemployed at the origins and at the destination, distance, and existence of friends and relatives in the town. The explanatory variable-existence of friends and relatives in the town was, however, included as a proxy for information. This is because information about employment and urban life is an asset for potential migrants.

4.2.1.1. Educational Status, Occupation and Income

Theoretically it is asserted that income of a migrant at a destination is determined by the type of occupation in which he joins. The type of occupation obtained by an individual is in turn affected by his educational status. Thus given the positive relationship between occupation and income, and occupation and educational attainment, one can legitimately infer the positive relationship between level of education and income.

Table 15: Household Head Migrants: Percentage Distribution
by Educational Status and Occupation, 1992

Education Level	Occupation						
	Professional	Administrative	Clerical	Sales	Service	Agriculture	Production
Illiterate	0.0	0.0	3.9	29.4	24.2	33.3	17.9
Reading and Writing	0.0	0.0	5.0	8.8	3.2	33.3	2.4
Elementary	2.8	13.3	3.9	29.4	32.2	0.0	47.6
Junior	3.7	0.0	2.0	11.8	8.1	33.4	19.0
High School	14.8	46.7	66.7	17.7	30.7	0.0	9.5
Tertiary	78.7	40.0	17.6	2.9	1.6	0.0	3.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Average Income Per Month (Birr)	529.0	478.0	309.0	313.0	157.0	70.0	264.0

Table 15 presents the percentage distribution of migrants by educational level and occupation. From this table it is observed that migrants with high school and tertiary educational background were dominant in better occupations. These migrants constituted about 93 percent, 86 percent, and 84 percent of the professional, administrative, and clerical occupations respectively. On the other hand migrants with no and lower levels of education were dominant in both agricultural and production occupations or in either of the two. These migrants constituted 100 percent and about 87 percent of the agricultural, and production and related occupations respectively. In the sales and service occupations there is no clear association with educational attainment. Migrants with no education, and with elementary,

and high school background were highly represented in these occupations. The absence of stable relationship between educational status and job attained in these occupations may be due to: (1) the nature of jobs included in the service occupation. Some jobs like shoe shine, peddler, local drinks selling, and weaving do not require educational qualification. In contrast government jobs in the service occupation need educational attainment. Thus the composition of these two groups might have concealed the relationship between educational status and occupation. (2) with respect to sales occupation the unstability may be due to the inclusion of self employed migrants. Since it is one's capital that matters engagement in such jobs, migrants included under sales occupation might have different level of education.

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Table 16: Index* of Propensity of Occupations to Employ Migrants with a Given level of Education, 1992

Education Level	Occupation						
	Profess- ional	Administrat- ive	Clerical	Sales	Service	Agriculture	Production
Illiterate	0.0	0.0	0.33	2.45	2.02	2.78	1.49
Reading & Writing	0.0	0.0	1.9	2.84	1.03	10.74	0.71
Elementary	0.13	0.62	0.18	1.36	1.49	0.0	2.2
Junior	0.43	0.0	0.28	1.36	0.93	3.83	2.18
High School	0.59	1.85	2.65	0.70	1.22	0.0	0.38
Tertiary	2.68	1.36	0.60	0.10	0.05	0.0	0.12
Average Educational level	5.7	4.9	4.9	2.9	3.2	2.3	3.1

Source:- Computed based on Table 15

* The index is computed by dividing the proportion of occupation A that has education B by the proportion of all Employee that have education B. A value greater than 1 indicates that education level is highly represented. Value less than 1 shows under representation (Adapted from Sobot 1979)

Index of propensity of occupations to employ migrants with a given level of education in Table 16 shows a much clearer relationship between occupation and educational attainment. From the table it is possible to note that migrants with tertiary education were over represented in professional and administrative occupations. All the other levels of education were highly represented in many of the lower occupations. In short, the data in the two tables confirm a positive association between educational status and

occupations observed in other studies.

From Table 17 it is observed that there is a positive relationship between occupation and income. Occupations that are dominated by well educated migrants reward higher income and the reverse holds true. For instance, migrants in the professional and administrative occupations were highly represented in the two upper income brackets. Those in clerical occupation have a great deal of representation in the two middle income groups. Migrants employed in sales, service and agricultural occupations were concentrated in the two lower income groups. Exceptionally, those in production and related occupation have good representation in the four lower income brackets.

The concentration of sales and service occupations in the two lower income groups might be partly due to the unreliable information given by the respondents. As stated earlier some of the migrants included in these occupations are either self-employed or employer. Since such migrants are suspicious of the aim of the study, the information they release regarding income is expected to be below what they actually earn. Naturally , such people hide their actual income lest they would be taxed in accordance with what they earn.

In sum, the available data appears to reveal that economic returns of migration is positively associated with educational status. Thus, one of the factors for higher propensity to migrate with higher educational attainment might be due to expected higher benefit at destinations.

Table 17: Household Head Migrants: Percentage Distribution by Income and Occupation, 1992

Occupation	Income: Birr Per Month						Average income per Month
	< 100	100-200	201-350	351-500	501-700	>700	
Professional	0.0	0.0	15.0	51.9	74.1	54.5	529
Administrative	0.0	4.2	2.5	3.8	6.9	18.2	478
Clerical	6.5	13.9	23.7	19.0	1.7	4.6	309
Sales	15.2	16.7	3.8	3.8	18.1	9.1	313
Service	52.2	33.3	13.7	1.3	1.7	4.5	157
Agriculture	6.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	70
Production	19.6	31.9	41.3	20.2	3.5	9.1	264
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100	345

N = 351

4.2.1.2. Educational Status and time Spent Unemployed

It is expected that rate of migration is positively related with time spent unemployed at the origins and negatively with period of unemployment at destination. The data in Table 18 show that time spent unemployed (in months)

is higher at the origin for all education levels except for migrants with reading and writing skills. There is no clear relationship between educational status and average time spent unemployed both at the origin and destination. For instance, migrants with high school background had the highest unemployment period both at the origin and destination. The illiterates had the second highest unemployment period at the origin while it was the migrants with junior education that had the second highest period of unemployment at the destination. Migrants with tertiary level of education had the least period of unemployment both at the origin and at the destination.

The highest unemployment period for migrants with high school background could be attributed to the difference between their expectation and the actual reality regarding occupation and income. Having a high school background, they might prefer to stay longer without jobs rather than working in lower prestige jobs that reward lower income. Sabot (1979), citing research findings from Asian countries, notes that there was great difference between school leavers' expectations and the reality. And thus many of them were found unemployed for a long period of time. Had this not been the case, it is expected that migrants with high school education could have had lower period of unemployment.

Table 18: House hold Head migrants: Average time Spent unemployed (in months) by educational Status, 1992 (%)

Education Level on Arrival	At the Origin	At the Destination
Illiterate	17.0	11.6
Reading and Writing	9.9	11.0
Elementary	16.9	9.3
Junior	16.6	12.4
High School	20.3	17.1
Tertiary	3.0	1.4

4.2.1.3 Educational Status and Existence of Friends and Relatives in towns

As stated in the second chapter, researches from developing countries have shown that friends and relatives who live in towns are major source of information for potential migrants (see for example Herrick 1965, Connell et al 1976). The results of this study confirm that friends and relatives are major source of information. About 36 percent of the respondents reported that friends and relatives in the town were their source of information (see Table 22).

Table 19 shows that among the migrants who responded friends and relatives as their source of information, about 29 percent were with high school background. 23.1 percent and 20.3 percent were migrants with no, and elementary education, respectively. These figures in fact appear to conceal the real importance of friends and relatives for each level of education. The last column of the table (which shows the proportion of migrants reported friends and relatives as their information source in relation to all migrants with that particular level of education) seems to give a more plausible picture. From this column we can note that migrants with reading and writing skills, elementary, and junior education are more dependant on friends and relatives. In contrast migrants with the remaining education levels are less dependant on friends and relatives to obtain information.

For educated migrants to be less dependant on friends and relatives is due to their better access to different sources of information. Contrary to our expectation and the theoretical assumption, the illiterates are found to be less dependent on friends and relatives as source of information. The reason why they did so is not, however, because they have different sources of information like the educated. Knowing that the uneducated migrants had limited access to other sources of information and about 21 percent of the total

migrants had come to the study town with out information, it is plausible to speculate that many of the uneducated migrants had no information before coming to the town.

Table 19: Household Head Migrants: Distribution of Migrants who Reported Friends and Relatives as their Information Source by Educational Status

Education Level on Arrival	No.	%	%*
Illiterate	33	23.1	25.9
Reading and Writing	13	9.1	61.9
Elmentary	29	20.3	57.9
Junior	16	11.2	69.6
High School	41	28.6	44.1
Tertiary	11	7.7	12.6
Total	143	100.0	

* It is the proportion of migrants reported freriends and relatives as their source of information in relation to all migrants with that level of education.

4.2.2. Estimating the Migration Function

We have so far discussed the relationship between educational status and each explanatory variables separately. A multiplicative regression model was employed in order to estimate the migration function. The migration function to be estimated is:

$$R_{ije} = M_{ije}/B_{ije} = F (I_{j*e}, D_{ij}, U_i, U_j \text{ EXFR, error term}),$$

where the notation is as in the third chapter.

Table 20 presents the results of the weighted least square (WLS) regression analysis on rate of migration. The adjusted coefficient of multiple determination (R^2) indicates that about 91 percent of the Variance accounted for the dependent variable, migration rate, is due to the combined effect of the explanatory variables (X_0, X_2, X_3, X_4, X_5).

The results of the weighted least square (WLS) regression analysis indicate that distance is inversely related to rate of migration (Y). The beta standardized coefficient ($\beta = -1.115$) indicates that the propensity to migrate declines with increasing distance. This explanatory variable (X_0) explains 70.3 percent of the variation in the dependent variable. The F test also shows that the contribution of distance (X_0) ($F_{(1,349)} = 236.3, P < 0.01$) is significant. This result is in line with the hypothesis and the findings of Greenwood et al (1981), Inoki and Suruga (1981) and Levy and Wadycki (1974).

Table 29: Ranking of occupations, type of employer and levels of education by seniority

Occupation	average no. of months	Educational status	average no. of months	type of employer	average no. of months
Administration	173	Reading and writing	202	Government	226
production	162	Elementary	156	private firm	125
professional	118	Junior	145	own business	103
Sales	106	Illiterate	111	co-operatives	70
clerical	87	High school	103	Other family business	29
Service	75	Tertiary	92		
Agriculture	60				

positive. The beta standardized coefficient ($\beta = 2.01$) indicates that rate of migration increases with income* at the destination. The F test shows that the contribution of X_2 ($F_{(2,348)} = 794.25, P < 0.01$) is significant. This finding is parallel with what was hypothesized and the results of Levy and Wadycki (1974), and Greenwood et al (1981).

The results of the weighted least square regression analysis displayed in Table 20 reveal that the independent variable, existence of friends and relatives in town is inversely related to rate of migration. The standardized beta coefficient ($\beta = -.019$) indicates that migrants with friends and relatives (given a value 0) are more migratory than those without. However, the F test reveals that the contribution of this independent variable (X_5) ($F_{(3,374)} = 1.005, P > 0.05$) is not significant.

Although the relationship between rate of migration and existence of friends and relatives is as expected, this independent variable is not a good predictor of migration rate. This may be due in part to the sample population, where more than 60 percent of the migrants are step migrants who arrived relatively at higher ages with higher educational attainment. It is expected that many of such migrants are less dependent on friends and relatives as a source of information.

Time spent unemployed at the origin was hypothesized to have positive sign while period of unemployment at the destination a negative sign. The results of the weighted least square (WLS) regression analysis presented in Table 20 show that there is a positive relationship between time spent unemployed at the origin and propensity to migrate. The beta standardized coefficient ($\beta=0.126$) indicates that the propensity to migrate increases following time spent unemployed at the origin. This independent variable (X_3) explained about 2.7 percent of the variation in the dependent variable (y). The F test also shows that the contribution of (X_3) ($F_{(4,346)} = 51.66, P < 0.01$) is significant.

The beta standardized coefficient ($\beta = 0.117$), for unemployment period at the destination, indicates unanticipated positive relationship with the dependent variable (Y). The F test indicates that the contribution of (X_4) ($F_{(5,345)} = 45.20, P < 0.01$) is significant. This finding is in fact in a reverse direction to what was hypothesized at the outset based on the theoretical assumptions. One possible reason for this result to be in an opposite direction is that many of the migrants might not have a reliable information regarding employment opportunities and period of unemployment before their arrival or/and may be due to the higher in-migration rate which is believed to be higher than the employment growth rate.

4.2.3 Estimating the Migration Function by Educational Status

Since the in-migrants of Bahir Dar vary markedly in their educational attainment, the explanatory variables that determine migration rate for each educational attainment are likely to differ in importance. In other words, migrants with different levels of education are likely to respond differently to the explanatory variables which reflect the costs and returns of migration.

To see whether or not there is a difference in the responses of migrants with different educational status to the explanatory variables, a set of three independent equations were estimated by employing weighted least square (WLS) regression.

To determine whether there is a significant difference or not among the three independent regressions Chow test was carried out. The result of the Chow Test shows that F calculated ($F_{14,330} = 16.13$, $P < .05$) is greater than F tabulated ($F_{14,330} = 1.75$). This indicates that there is a significant difference among the three independent regressions. (for the detail see Appendix V).

A substantial proportion of the variance in migration rates was explained for each level of education. The adjusted R^2 are 0.83 for no education, 0.87 for primary and junior, and 0.74 for secondary and above. The signs of many of the beta coefficients are as expected and significant at 99 percent level of confidence. Here after each explanatory variable will be discussed in detail.

Distance:- Increased distance is significant deterrent to those with high school and above level of education. As shown in Table 21 the F test also show that the contribution of X_0 ($F_{1,159} = 87.15, P < 0.01$) is significant. The strong deterrent effect of distance for migrants with secondary and above education is not due to the cost of travel or lack of information about distant areas or difficulty of adapting new environment. It could be due to better information about alternative destinations where they can maximize returns of migration. The positive relationship between distance and rate of migration for the two lower education levels is different from the usual findings. The unanticipated result for the two lower groups is, however, found to be unjustifiable.

Income:- the elasticities of migration with respect to income at the destination increased drastically with educational status. The beta standardized coefficient for income increased from (0.289) for no education to (1.937) for secondary and above. A 10 percent increase in income at the

destination increases the migration rate by 0.16 percent for the illiterates and by 6 percent for high school and above. This reveals that well educated are more considerate of benefits at alternative destinations. Thus in the decision to migrate for well educated, income at the destination appears to have great importance.

The results of this study regarding income at the destination are in line with the hypothesis, and the findings of Levy and Wadycki (1974), and Inoki and Suruga (1981).

Time Spent Unemployed:- the period of unemployment both at the origins and destination is expected to play an important role in an individual's decision whether to migrate or not. The probability to migrate of an individual increases with the period of unemployment at the origin and declines with the unemployment period at the potential destination. Thus the sign of the beta coefficients were expected to be positive for the former and negative for the latter. The results of weighted least square (WLS) regression analysis in Table 21 shows that the beta standardized coefficients ($\beta = 0.082$) for no education and ($\beta = 0.139$) for secondary and above are significant at 99 percent level of confidence. The higher and more significant elasticities of migration with regard to period of unemployment at the origin for the well educated indicates that they are more responsive than their

counter parts with respect to period of unemployment at the origin.

Regarding the time spent unemployed at the destination, the results are totally in a different direction to what was expected. For all education levels, the beta coefficients reveal positive relationship between time spent unemployed and migration rate. However, the rate of increase in migration rate with increasing unemployment period is higher for the illiterates.

Table 21: Summuray of Weighted Least Square (WLS) Regression on Proponsity to Migrate by Education Level

Explantory Variables	Illiterate & Reading & Writing			Elmentary & Junior			High Shool & Above		
	β Stand.Coef.	Stand.Error	Final F	β Stand.Coef	Stand.Error	Final F	β Stan.Coef.	Stand.Error	Final F
X ₁₀	0.585	0.005	23.79	0.439	0.058	4.880	-1.1426	0.036	87.148
X ₆₁	0.289	0.006	7.515	0.475	0.052	6.928	1.937	0.039	239.689
X ₂₈	0.017	0.014	0.130	-0.220	0.140	16.551	-0.006	0.098	0.017
X ₄₇	0.082	0.004	3.701	0.012	0.039	0.055	0.139	0.046	8.617
X ₅₇	0.027	0.004	0.315	0.181	0.028	12.676	0.162	0.040	11.858
Adjusted R ²	0.83			0.87			0.74		
Constant	-0.0001			-0.002			-0.0003		

counter parts with respect to period of unemployment at the origin.

Regarding the time spent unemployed at the destination, the results are totally in a different direction to what was expected. For all education levels, the beta coefficients reveal positive relationship between time spent unemployed and migration rate. However, the rate of increase in migration rate with increasing unemployment period is higher for the illiterates.

Table 21: Summary of Weighted Least Square (WLS) Regression on Propensity to Migrate by Education Level

Explanatory Variables	Illiterate & Reading & Writing			Elementary & Junior			High School & Above		
	β Stand.Coef.	Stand.Error	Final F	β Stand.Coef	Stand.Error	Final F	β Stan.Coef.	Stand.Error	Final F
X ₁₀	0.585	0.005	23.79	0.439	0.058	4.880	-1.1426	0.036	87.148
X ₆₁	0.289	0.006	7.515	0.475	0.052	6.928	1.937	0.039	239.689
X ₂₈	0.017	0.014	0.130	-0.220	0.140	16.551	-0.006	0.098	0.017
X ₄₇	0.082	0.004	3.701	0.012	0.039	0.055	0.139	0.046	8.617
X ₅₇	0.027	0.004	0.315	0.181	0.028	12.676	0.162	0.040	11.858
Adjusted R ²	0.83			0.87			0.74		
Constant	-0.0001			-0.002			-0.0003		

Existence of Friends and Relatives:- Based on the research findings from other countries it is hypothesized that migration rate is higher for potential migrants with friends and relatives living in towns. Stated differently, the possibility to migrate is higher for an individual with friends and relatives in towns than a man with out. This explanatory variable is include as a proxy for information.

The coefficient of this variable has a negative sign and significant for those with elementary and junior education. The beta standardized coefficient ($\beta -0.222$) indicates (where 0 = migrants with friends and relatives, and 1 = without) that migration rate increases with the existence of friends and relatives in town. The F test also shows that ($F_{3,347} = 16.55, P < .05$) is significant. That is, existence of friends and relatives is a good predictor of the dependent variable, migration rate for those with elementary education. Migrants with elementary and junior education are more dependent on friends and relatives as a source of information and possibly in getting different help (such as food, shelter) on arrival.

In sum, it is observed that distance and income at the destination are significant predictor for each level of education. Unemployment length is significant predictor of migration for illiterates, and high school and above. It is interesting to note that existence of friends and relatives

is found to be important predictor of migration only for those with primary and junior education.

4.3. Employment Patterns and Stability of Migrants

4.3.1. Information Sources

Access to information about urban life and employment opportunities seems to contribute a lot to the success of migrants after arrival. Generally it is observed that migrants with the necessary information prior to their move to potential destinations face little difficulty in adjusting themselves to urban environments and finding jobs. As far as the sources of information are concerned, the data in Table 22 reveal that friends and relatives serve as the leading source. moreover, previous visit(s) made appear the second most important source. For example, more than one-third of the migrants reported friends and relatives as their source of information while more than 23 percent had been in Bahir Dar for a short visit(s) before coming to reside permanently. In developing countries like Ethiopia, where the majority of the urban migrants are of rural origin and with low educational background, it is not uncommon for friends and relatives to serve as major information source.

Interestingly, mass media as a source of information accounted for only 3.8 percent of the migrants. This low

utility of mass media by migrants could probably be attributed to their low educational status. The speculation of Levy and Wadycki (1974), which states existence of friends and relatives as more important for migrants with no or low level of education seems plausible. The findings of Herrick (1965), and an IDRC study on five towns, cited in Connell et al (1976) are also in line with the findings of this study. Further more , about 21 percent of the migrants disclosed that they had no information when they came to the town. As a result, it is assumed that such migrants are/will be less successful in adjusting themselves to new environments especially in obtaining rewarding employment compared to those who had information before arrival.

Table 22 Household Head Migrants: % Distribution by Information Sources:, 1992

Information Source	%
Friends and Relatives	36.5
Previous Vistist	23.2
Returnees	15.4
Mass Media	3.8
No Information	21.1
Total	100.0

N = 393

4.3.2. The Search for Employment

A survey of the strategies employed by migrants in the process of finding job is perhaps as important as the study of occupational patterns of migrants. This is because the process helps to give an insight into the means by which job is obtained at this level of urban hierarchy in the country. Table 23, which presents the strategies used to obtain the first job after arrival, shows that labour exchange office and private employers tend to be the most important agencies. Another observation is that friends and relatives in the town in addition to their role as important source of information play an important role in finding jobs for new arrivals. For instance, about one-fifth of the migrants were employed through the agency of friends and relatives. Most of these migrants are rural born and direct migrants.

The percentage of migrants who were able to secure employment through the agency of Labour Exchange Office (LEO) stood at about 26 percent. This figure, though, the highest when compared with the other means of getting job considered in this study, it is rather low. Given that the Labour Exchange Office (LEO) is the sole government organization entrusted with the responsibility of recruiting non-professional employees for the various governmental

organizations and big private organizations, one could perhaps argue that the contribution made by private employers (23-percent), friends and relatives (19.2 %), and Set-up business (17.2%) is relatively higher in comparison with LEO. One possible explanation for the relatively low level of contribution by the LEO might be the fact this specific government body was entrusted with the responsibility of recruiting employees in 1976 while the data considered in this study includes migrants arriving well before this time.

Table 23. Household Head Migrants: % Distribution by Method Used to obtain First Job, 1992

Method used to obtain first Job	%
Throuhg friends and relatives	19.2
Labour Exchange Office	25.8
Private Employment Agency	2.0
Asked Employer	23.7
Notice	12.1
Set up Business	17.2
Total	100.0

N = 198

Only 2 percent of the migrants reported to have been employed through the private agencies. More interestingly, many of the migrants who made use of private employment

agencies in obtaining their first job were women who were doing the job of a house maid, hotels maid, waitress etc.

4.3.3 Occupational Mobility

The term occupational mobility relates to the shift from one type of occupation to another and/or from the state of unemployment to employment. In order to find out the relationship between migration and occupational mobility household head migrants were asked what job they had held before coming to Bahir Dar, and immediately after their arrival. And the job they are holding currently (i.e. at the time of the survey, December 1992). As expected, results show a considerable shift not only from state of unemployment to that of employment but also across occupations. Of the total number of migrants employed on arrival, more than 45 percent were unemployed or unpaid family workers or students during the twelve months immediately preceding their in-migration. Immediately after arrival, less than 5 percent remained unemployed or unpaid family workers or students. The figure rose to 9 percent at the time of the survey conducted (see Table 24). As noted by Herrick (1965), one generally expects such a higher proportion of unemployed migrants before arrival, where many of them are teen-agers and in their early twenties in-migrating for economic reasons.

Except in the agricultural occupations, the number of migrant workers increased in all occupations. One of the occupations which absorbed a greater portion of migrants on arrival is the service occupation. Such high inflow of migrants into service occupations could be explained partly by the nature of the job included in this major occupation (for instance, shoe shine, porter, weaving, peddler) which do not require educational qualification and job experience for a migrant to join on arrival compared to jobs in other occupations. However, due to low and unreliable income, and low job security in many of these informal jobs, many of the migrants shift to occupations which provide better income and job security after having urban job experience and adapting the new environment.

The migrant workers employed in production and production related occupation increased on arrival and currently. This is assumed to be related to the type of labour used in this occupation. The two factories available in the town uses largely manual labour with the result that a great number of migrants were attracted to this sector. The relatively better wage structure and job security seems to have contributed a lot in attracting migrants from service and other occupations.

Table 24 Household Head Migrants: % Distribution by Occupation, 1992

Occupation	Before Arrival %	On Arrival %	Currently %
Professionals	16.5	26.7	27.1
Administration	1.5	2.3	4/1
Clerical	7.9	11.5	12.5
Sales	4.3	8.4	8.6
Service	6.4	26.7	14.8
Agriculture	11.2	0.2	0.8
Production and Related	7.1	19.6	21.4
Unemployment/students/housewives	45.1	4.6	9.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

N= 393

Data pertaining to employment status, basis of employment, and employer organization of migrants and non migrants by current occupation are presented in Table 25. The data reveal that four out of every five migrants are employees. 15 percent and 4 percent are self employed and employer, respectively. It is also observed that about 58 percent of the currently employed are permanent workers. Other basis of employment, that is temporary, contract and daily laborer account for 27.2 percent, 5.8 percent, and 9.8 percent, respectively. Regarding the employer organizations, governmental organizations represent the principal employer

by providing jobs for about 61 percent of the employed workers. About 18 percent reported that they were self employed and 15.7 percent were working in other family business. The remaining 3.4 percent and 1.6 percent are employed in co-operatives and private organizations, in that order.

Comparing migrants and non-migrants with regard to employment status, migrants proportion in self employed status was three fold of the non- migrants while non-migrants have higher proportion in "employee' status. It is also evident that more than 86% of the non migrants have permanent basis of employment while the corresponding figure for migrants was about 58%. Regarding employer organization non-migrants have higher proportion in government organization. In the remaining organizations migrants have higher proportions. In general, the higher concentration of non-migrants in government organization and in permanent employment could be due to their educational attainment which is higher than the migrants.

**Table 25: Household Head Migrants & Non-migrants:
Distribution of Currently Employed by Employment Status,
Basis of Employment and Employer Organisation (&), 1992**

		% Migrants	% Non Migran ts
Employment Status	1. employee	80.8	89.7
	2. selfemployed	15.0	4.9
	3. employer	4.2	5.4
Basis of Employment	1. Permanent	57.9	86.6
	2. temporary	27.2	13.4
	3. contract	5.8	0.0
	4. daily labourer	9.1	0.0
Employer Organization	1. Government	61.0	84.8
	2. Private Organization	1.6	0.0
	3. Own Business	18.3	9.8
	4. Other Family Business	15.7	3.2
	5. Co-operatives	3.4	2.2

N = 357

N=92

**4.3.4. Current Occupational Distribution of Migrants and
non-Migrants**

As indicated in Table 26 in professional administration, and sales occupations, both migrants and non-migrants have almost similar distribution. In clerical occupations the proportion of non-migrants is more than two and half times higher than the migrants. On the other hand, the migrants

are highly represented in service, and production occupations.

Based on the average level of education and income of workers in the occupations, the first three occupation (professional, administrative and clerical) are considered as better occupation and the remaining four as lower occupation. Evidence in this study suggests that the non migrants dominate in better occupations than the migrants.

Table 26: Household Head Migrants and Non-migrants: % Distribution by Current Occupation, 1992

Occupation	Migrant %	Non-migrant %
Professional	30.5	31.5
Administrative	4.5	2.2
Clerical	13.7	33.7
Sales	9.5	10.9
Service	17.4	12.0
Agriculture	0.9	1.1
Production	23.5	8.7
Total	100.0	100.0

N = 351

N = 92

One-way analysis of Variance was employed in order to see whether the difference between migrants and non-migrants is significant or not with respect to current occupational distribution. As shown in Table 27 the result of the

analysis reveals that there is a significant difference ($F_{1,444} = 8.24, P < .01$) between migrants and non migrants with regard to occupation. This result is in line with our hypothesis and the findings of Herrick (1965), Krausse(1979), and Li (1983).

Table 27: Summary Table of One-Way ANOVA Concerning Occupational Distribution of Migrants and non-migrants

Source of Variation	df	ss	ms	F- Ratio
Within	1	6.04	6.04	8.24*
between	444	325.46	0.73	
Total	445	331.50		

* $P < 0.01$

4.3.5. Employment Stability of Migrants

Employment stability relates to how long do migrants remain in a particular job. The data in Table 28 reveal that among the currently employed one-third remain for more than 7 years and about 61 percent remained for more than four years in their current jobs.

The factors that influence the level of stability of workers are different. Income and job security are however the most important factors that determine length of

employment of a worker in a particular job. Both income and job security in turn depend upon the occupation type, employer organization; basis of employment and the workers level of education.

Table 28: Household Head Migrants: % Distribution in Current Employment by Service Years, 1992

Service Years (Stability)	%	Cummulative %
< 2 years	16.9	16.9
2- 4 years	24.6	41.5
4 -7 years	21.0	62.5
7 -10 years	15.2	77.7
More than 10 years	22.3	100.0

Table 29 shows that level of education is inversely related to level of stability. The level of stability decreases with increasing education. The lower level of stability (remaining for a short period of time in a particular job) of those with higher level of education may arise from two reasons. First, as noted by Sabot (1979) the longer years of schooling made them to join the labour market relatively at older ages. Second, well educated people have better access to different jobs that can provide high income and hence they are likely not to remain longer in one job. Conversely migrants with low level of education generally

seem to join the labour market at younger age. More over, in spite of the lower income they earn, due to the difficulty of finding a job, they remain longer in a particular job. This indicates that unlike their counterparts, the well educated, they give more attention to job security. The lower stability of the illiterates is expected to be the result of the nature of the jobs they take. Usually illiterates are employed as daily labourers in jobs like construction which terminate in short period of time. The other probable reason is that many of them join informal jobs that provide minimum and unreliable income which consequently lead them to shift from one job to another until they find a stable job.

In considering the migrants' level of stability by occupation type, occupations that promise higher income have higher level of stability. Although the occupation-professional provides better income, it stands third. The reason is that most of the workers in this occupation are well educated who have lower stability.

The highest level of stability of administrative and managerial occupation may be attributable to the high prestige given to this occupation by the society. moreover this occupation reward higher salary and security.

In spite of the lower salary in the production related occupation migrants remain longer. Majority of the workers in this occupation have lower level of education who are more concerned about job security. Moreover, wage structure in this occupation relatively encourages workers to stay longer. That is , employment experience is valued for salary increment.

At the bottom of stability rank we find agriculture and service occupations. The main reasons for lower stability of workers in these fields are lower and unreliable income, and low job security. Because of these reasons workers in these occupations abandoned their jobs either on the will of employers or on their own will. Most of the migrants who entered in these jobs on arrival use them as a bridge to a better and secured jobs.

In case of employer organizations, higher level of stability is observed in government organizations. It is known that workers in the government organizations are more secured than those in other employer organizations. Since majority of the migrant workers have lower educational attainment who give much attention to job security, they remain longer in these organizations. On the other hand, workers in co-operatives and family business have lower stability due to lack of job security and lower income.

Table 29: Ranking of occupations, types of employer, level of education, and basis of employment.

Occupation	Average No of months seniority	education level	average No of months seniority	types of employer	average no of months seniority
Administration	173			government	226
production	162	reading & writing	202	private firm(organization)	125
professional	118	elementary	156	own business	103
sales	106	junior	145	co-operatives	70
clerical	87	illiterate	111	other family business	29
service	75	highschool	103		
agriculture	60	tertery level	92		

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary

The main objective of this study was to look into the effect of education on migration and to identify the responses of migrants with different levels of education to the selected explanatory variables that show costs and returns of migration. It was also attempted to assess the employment patterns and stability of migrants in urban areas.

In order to achieve the purposes of the study hypotheses were formulated. Two phase sampling procedure was employed to select households that were to be included in the sample. The first phase was used as a screening step to identify the migration status of the household heads. Based on the membership lists of the 15 kebeles of the town, 15% of the households of each kebele were selected using systematic sampling technique. In the second phase 4% of the households of each kebele were selected for the detailed interview with the help of systematic sampling.

For the analysis of the data, both descriptive and inferential statistics were employed. Percentages, Mean, and Maps were the specific descriptive methods used for the

analysis. Multiple regression, one-way ANOVA, chi-square, chow test and weighted least square(WLS) regression were employed to analyze the collected data.

As found out in the study the migration stream of Bahir Dar is dominated by Southward movements of migrants from the northern administrative regions. The origins of most of the migrants were Gojjam and neighbouring regions. Not surprisingly, 63 percent of the migrants were rural born and 37% were urban migrants. Urban born migrants to come from towns with 10,000-50,000 people. This indicates that most of the urban born migrants proceed to the immediate upper size towns.

The average migration distance for the migrants was also computed. It was 287 kms. The majority of the migrants participated in short distance movements. It was found out that about 70 percent of the migrants travelled less than 400 kms. In determining distance of migration factors like origin of migrants, migration experience, education and the existence of friends and relatives had a bearing. However, the first two factors are found to be more significant. The results of this study also showed that migrants with friends and relatives in the town had lower participation in long-distance migrations.

The migration analysis carried out in this study documents that the propensity to migrate increases with educational attainments (except with migrants at the tertiary level). The effect of education is clearly seen after elementary education. Thus junior education seems to be a critical level to induce migration at this level of the urban hierarchy. The decline in the rate of migration for migrants with tertiary level of education may be attributable to the size of the labour market of the town. Such migrants prefer to go to towns like Addis Ababa where they think job alternatives and income are better. It is therefore possible to suggest that migrants with tertiary level of education have lower rates of in-migration to towns like Bahir Dar. The increase of rate of migration with education is in part due to the higher returns of migration for the educated. But it is observed that there are some exceptions to this finding. For instance, migrants with high school education but having longer period of unemployment.

It was also found that the existence of friends and relatives in the town as source of information was more beneficial for migrants with low level of education. However, illiterates and well educated migrants were less dependent on friends and relatives. Illiterates were less dependent because many of them arrive in towns without information about life and employment opportunities; and

educated migrants were found less dependent because of their better access to other sources of information.

As already indicated earlier an investigation into the responses of migrants to the selected explanatory variables were made. The results obtained indicate that migrants with different level of education respond differently.

Distance and income at the destination were found to be determinants of migration for all education levels. However, this again shows a variation at different levels of education. Well-educated migrants were found more responsive to income at the destination and period of unemployment at the origin while illiterates were more influenced by the latter factor at their destination.

An assessment into the employment pattern and stability has also borne some results. Migrants used the labour exchange office (LEO) and private employers as the major ways of getting the first job in the town. It was also noted that friends and relatives in the town have contributed much in finding jobs for new comers.

With respect to occupational mobility migrants shifted from state of unemployment to state of employment. The following figure shows that about 45% of the migrants were

unemployed house wives, students, family business worker before arrival. But this figure went, however, down to 4% on arrival and has risen up to 9% currently. In case of the shift from one occupation to another, it was observed that many of the migrants joined the service, and production and related occupations on arrival.

The finding about the stability of employment indicates that migrants with lower education are more stable than the well educated migrants. The lower employment stability of the well-educated could be attributed to two factors: (a) As noted by Sabot (1979) their long stay at schools may have forced them to join the labour market relatively at higher ages. (b) They have better access to different jobs that can provide better income. They give much need to income than job security. In contrast, due to the difficulty of getting employment, the low-educated migrants remain in their job for a long period of time in spite of their meager income. These reasons may also explain why these migrants join the labour force at younger age.

A comparison was made between migrants and non-migrants with regard to educational status and occupation. By employing one way analysis of variance it was confirmed that there was significant difference between migrants and non-migrants with respect to current educational attainment and occupation.

Non-migrants were found to be better both in educational attainment and occupational status.

RECOMMENDATION

The study has clearly indicated that the highest rate of migration is observed for migrants with secondary education. These people, of course, have the highest period of unemployment, too. It has been found out that the higher rate of migration is not only due to the higher returns for the educated, but it is also because of the curriculum in our schools which doesn't actually prepare learners in a way they may work towards the betterment of their rural life. Notwithstanding the rapid increase in the number of high schools we have, the problem is exacerbated as the school curriculum teaches students what the urban life is like. That is why we still have migrants inundating urban centers where the unemployment rate is higher. This problem calls for a solution. The education system should equip students with the know-how that helps them in their own locality and that actively engages them in contributing their share to agricultural productivity.

With regard to future studies, the occupational mobility of migrant's calls for a detailed analysis. Although it may be difficult to state this boldly, the shift of migrants into

service occupation on arrival may be an indication as to how important are informal jobs and as to how the migrants adjust to urban life. This might also be another area of investigation in the future.

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