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AN EXPLORATORY STUDY OF CHILD
OUT-MIGRATION IN ETHIOPIA:
THE GURAGE CASE

BY

FEREWORK NEDA

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Running head: CHILD OUT-MIGRATION

An Exploratory Study of Child Out-migration in Ethiopia:

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By: Ferework Neda

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Advisor: Alice K. Johnson Butterfield, PhD (Prof)

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Abstract

There are various interrelated and diverse factors that motive or push children to migrate from their place of origin to the cities. This research explores the causes that push or motivate children for out-migration from Edja district, Dessena Kebele to different cities in Ethiopia. Eighteen (18) individuals were selected to participate in the research as respondents from the community using single criterion: sending at least one child to the cities. In-depth interview and field observation were used to collect data from the respondents of the study. As the finding of the study indicated the major causes of child out-migration to the cities are related with the economy of the district. But there are other factors, like the positive perception of the community respondents about life in the cities, large family size, poor health and educational services that push or motivate children to migrate to the cities. The implication of this study for social work practice is that social worker may intervene in raising the awareness of the community about the negative effects of child out-migration, the importance of education for children's future career development and the benefit of having small family size. Besides, it could be suggested that since child out-migration is one of the livelihood strategies of the community it could be difficult to minimize child out-migration. Thus, teaching the children as well as the community how to overcome the problems the children may encounter in the cities, is important. Generally, economic poverty of the community is one of the major causes for child out-migration to the cities from the study area.

Introduction

There are different social issues that are very complex and grab the attention of many scholars in the social science fields. One of these issues is the study of migration both internal and international. The complexity of the issue of migration originates from the fact that migration directions, its causes and impact are not similar across time and regions or nations. The direction of migrants varies across time and countries. In addition, the scale and forms of migration vary from one community, region and state to another. People have been moving from their place of origin for thousands of years in search of better living environment. Some of the migrants have stayed in their destinations for only a short period, and go back home or move on to a new destination. Others start living permanently in their destinations. But the process of migration is not accomplished without hardship. There have often been difficult journeys to get to the destinations, leaving family and friends behind. Some of those who have settled became refugees and internally displaced persons, driven from their place of origin by natural disasters, persecution, war or other reasons (Feleke, 2006).

People migrate from their place of origin to another destination due to various causes. These causes vary among regions and states. However, seeking for better environment and fleeing for safety have been conceived to be one of the major causes for migration in the world (Castles, 2000). These causes were accepted in the past and may continue to be acceptable in the future. But they are related with socio-economic, political and cultural structure of the place of origins and destinations of the migrants. Governments have been working to understand the trend, streams and causes of migration at different levels.

In the past from social sciences disciplines, demographers were most involved in the study of migration. They were more involved in the study of migration since migration is one of the factors for population increment and imbalanced distribution. Nowadays, other scholars from other social science disciplines are interested in migration study. This is due to

the fact that migration is associated with economic, social, political and cultural aspects of both the sending and host regions or nations.

Children move from Edja district rural areas to the cities in Ethiopia. Some say that this movement is migration since the children are moving to the cities willingly. Others argue that whether or not the children willingly move to the cities since they are less than 18 years, it is not possible to call it migration. Is the movement of children from Edja district to the cities, child out-migration or child trafficking? There are different controversies in this issue. However, according to the United Nations (UN) convention on the trafficking of humans, if the movement of an individual to another area involves exploitation in any form that movement is trafficking.

This study explores the causes that motivate child out-migration from Gurage community, particularly Edja district-Dessena Kebele to the cities in Ethiopia. Besides, the study will explore perception about life in the cities and the role of families in the process of child out-migration to the cities. However, the causes of child out-migration explored by this study did not mean that these are neither the only nor the most important causes.

Theoretical Perspectives of Migration

There are different factors that motivate people to migrate from their place of origin to other areas, within the national boundary or across boundaries. These factors vary among individuals and ethnic groups and/or communities. Moreover, since the factors are diverse, it is difficult to get a theory that explains the causes of migration in all inclusive way. Yet, different studies that have been carried out before to understand the causes of migration came up with different theories (Cohen, 1996; Massey, et al., 1993; Massey, & Espinosa, 1997).

These theories, most of them, give more emphasis for demographic and economic approaches to understand the causes of migration. Some of the theories like neoclassical economic theory argue that one of the major reasons for migration is the individual's decision

to migrate. This is because “they consider the individual as a rational human actor who makes a cost-benefit analysis in order to” migrate from his/her place of origin to another area (Yared, 2006). On the other hand, others argue that migration is caused by a structural issue rather than individual decision to migrate. This means that migration is determined by the social, economic, demographic and political structures of a country or region.

For this study three theories that explain the causes of migration and two other theories that explain the perpetuation of migration are selected. These theories are selected after consulting the available material and the data was collected from the field. These theories are more appropriate to explain the causes and perpetuation of child out-migration in the study area. In the following section each of these theories will be discussed in detail.

Push-Pull Explanation of Migration

Migration theories in the past were focused on population size of the sending and receiving countries or regions. The central hypothesis of this theory rests on what are termed ‘pull-push’ factors, namely, the idea that poorly populated countries [regions] would attract (pull) populations in over-populated countries [regions] where the authorities would encourage the departure of their [regions] nations (pull) (Tasse, Undated). The concepts of “pull” and “push” factors to migration are associated with indigenous communities of origin and destination. The work of Robert confirms this idea. According to his work, this theory focuses on three points in the migration process, that is, the “community of origin,” the “en route stages,” and the “community of destination” (Kleiner, 1986, p.307).

In the community of origin, at any given point in time, there are many factors that could push an individual to leave. Also there are many factors that could pull the individual back to remain in the community. Factors that push or pull can be found at many levels of analysis: (i) national and regional economic factors, (ii) socio-cultural factors, (iii) neighborhood and/or community

factors, (iv) family relationships, and (v) personal and motivational characteristics of the migrants (Kleiner, 1986, p 307).

These factors are indigenous to the situation and are objective characteristics of the situation. From the personal, or subjective, point of view, the more migrants are aware of these pushes and pulls, the more they experience the conflicts that must be resolved. At the same time that migrants are evaluating the push and pull factors associated with the community of origin, they must also evaluate the push and pull factors associated with the community of destination (Kleiner, 1986). Accordingly, in the community of destination there are indigenous factors pushing or discouraging the immigrants from coming, and there are many factors pulling them to come. These factors can be found at different levels of analysis in the community of destination as it is found in the community of origin. Therefore, when people consider migrating they must anticipate the conditions they may experience on the way to a new community of destination, i.e. the “en route stage.” For instance, if the en route situation involves heavily crowded conditions and high risks of illness, these will push the individual back to the community of origin. Low cost of fare and little travel time will pull the individual to travel to the new destination.

Neoclassical Economic Theory

Neoclassical economic theory is a thesis of migration based on the search for better opportunities. This theory has two sub-parts of migration analysis, neoclassical macroeconomic and neoclassical microeconomic theory. The proponents of neoclassical macroeconomic argue that migration flows result from wage differentials and the probability of obtaining a job according to unemployment rates (Keely, 2001). This theory is more appropriate to explain international migration but it is also applicable for internal migration. Though people migrate from one place to another because of wage differentials in the destination area which is better than the place of origin, there are factors other than wage

differentials. Therefore, for example, this theory does not answer why children migrate from rural Gurageland to Addis Ababa and other regional towns.

In applying neoclassical theory to the situation in the Ethiopian context it may raise question such as how much wage differentials are in rural and urban areas for unskilled people?; which sets of skills are needed in destination areas which influence people to migrate? Therefore, the wage differentials might not explain the causes of migration in Ethiopia.

New Economics Theory of Migration

The new economics theory of migration argues that migration decisions are made by the family. This shows that these theories mainly vary on who makes the decision to migrate. According to Massey et al. (1993), migration decisions are not made by isolated individual actors, but by larger units of related people-typically families or household-in which people act collectively. These decisions are made not only to maximize expected income, but also to minimize risks and to loosen constraints associated with a variety of market failures, apart from those in the labor market.

The new economic theory argues that wage differential have no significant influence on migration. For the advocates of new economic theory, migration is one form of an investment to protect the family or household in time of loss of income (Boyd, 1989). In developing countries people do not have private insurance as well as well organized social welfare system that will be used in time of loss. Thus, families send their children to minimize the risk during loss of income. This helps families to get income through remittances in case of loss of income (Massey et al., 1993).

Perpetuation of Migration

Migration in a given community at given time may start because of various reasons, but once it begins it is likely to continue over time from a given community to another. There

are theories that describe the perpetuation of migration. These are network theory, institutional theory and cumulative causation (Gordon, 1998). But institutional theory of migration does not explain the perpetuation of internal migration since it is associated with the issuance of entry visa. However, the remaining two theories that explain the perpetuation of migration: network and cumulative theories of migration are more appropriate to explain the perpetuation of migration. This is because the social network of the community in the study area with the migrants is strong and the cause of the perpetuation of migration in the community is not solely related to one factor. Thus, in the following section of this paper, cumulative causation and network theories will be discussed.

Network Theory

The interaction among individuals leads to strong communication. This leads to strong network between individuals. As pointed out by Marshall (1998, p. 21) the term network refers to individuals who are linked together by one or more social relationships, thus forming a social network. Friends, kinship and families could be taken as examples of social relationships. These social networks help individuals to secure information and other relevant resources and provide for others too. According to this theory, migrants' networks of family and friends are important components of networks in the migration process.

Migrant networks are defined in the existing literature as recurrent sets of interpersonal ties that bind migrants and non-migrants together within a web of reciprocal obligations that can be drawn upon to facilitate entry, adjustment, and employment at points of destination (Massey, 1987; Boyd, 1989; Portes, 1995). A social connection to someone with the migrant experience at a particular destination represents an important resource that can be utilized to facilitate movement. Movement of one person within a network transforms the relationship into a valuable connection that can be used by anybody within the network to facilitate migration. Boyd (1989) argues that the recognition of social relationships and its

role in migration adds an important theoretical emphasis, refocusing the act of migration away from either the “over-socialized” deterministic view of social structural or the “under-socialized” perspective of rational actors.

This middle perspective, which highlights the social forces involved in the migration process, refocuses the analysis of migration to the study of networks, particularly those linked to family and households. However, it may not be the sole result of decisions made by individual actors, economic or political parameters, but rather as an outcome of the combination of all these factors (Boyd, 1989, p. 642).

One implication of this theory is that the process of being socially connected to someone who has migrated necessarily creates a migratory information feedback mechanism, where contacts act as conduits of information to potential migrants. Thus,

migration is defined as a network-creating process because it develops an increasingly dense web of contacts between places of origin and destination. Once established such networks allow the migration process to become self-sustaining and impervious to short-term changes in economic incentives (Portes, 1995, p. 22).

There are several conceptual models that can be employed to explain how social networks operate. The first is the social capital model, which assumes that actors migrate to maximize returns on their investments in human capital and, in doing so, draw upon the social capital embedded in their interpersonal networks. Social capital is defined as

the capacity of individuals to command scarce resources by virtue of their membership in networks or broader social structures. Such resources may include economic tangibles like price discounts and interest-free loans, or intangibles like information about business conditions, employment tips, and generalized ‘goodwill’ in market transactions. The resources themselves are

not social capital; the concept refers instead to the individuals' ability to mobilize them on demand. The key conceptual characteristic of such resources is that, from a market standpoint, they are free to recipients. They have the character of 'gifts' since they are not expected to be repaid by a certain amount of money or other valuables in a given period of time" (Portes, 1995, p. 12).

With the use of social capital, the costs and risks associated with the act of migration are reduced, through access to safe transportation, housing, employment, and social interaction, which in turn, increase the probability of migrating. Similar to some economic models of migration, social capital theorists assume that individuals will instrumentally use their networks as a means of gaining the highest returns on their investments in human capital. Additionally, social capital assumes that access to social connections, in the form of migrant networks, reduces the cost of movement and favors the act of migration to places where a social tie exists (Massey & Palloni, 1992).

The second model is risk diversification, which posits that households are the decision-making units. This model draws its inspiration from what has been called the "new economics of migration" – which argues that the determinants and decision making processes of migration must be studied at the household level, not the individual level (Stark & Levhari, 1982; Stark, 1984; Stark & Bloom, 1985; Katz & Stark, 1986). From this orientation one can extract two separate hypotheses: the decision to migrate may be to maximize the expected income of the household (which gives rise to what has been observed as chain migration), but it may also to minimize the risk and loosen the constraints associated with market failures. The second hypothesis posits that households utilize their networks in order to diversify their household income. By sending a member of the household away to another financial market, the household can effectively distribute its financial risk. Subsequently the first member who

is sent away can be a contact so if the conditions such as a market failure arises, the household can send other members to that same location by taking advantage of the bridge made by the first mover (Massey & Palloni, 1992).

Network theory of migration points to the fact that the creation of a network between migrants and non-migrants in the origin and destination places will increase the likelihood of both internal and international migration. The network will increase the opportunity of migration since the migrants' networks minimize the costs and associated risks for non-migrants when they arrive at the place of their destination. The network will become more developed as new migrants join the network. Network theory may explain the perpetuation of migration of children from Gurage community to different towns in the country including the capital city.

Cumulative Causation Theory

Recently, theory of cumulative causation has been used to explain the perpetuation of migration. As Massey (1999) stated, causation is cumulative in the sense that each act of migration alters the social context within which subsequent migration decisions are made, typically in ways that make additional movement more likely. Among the mechanisms that are identified are the expansion of migration networks, distribution of income, distribution of land, organization of agriculture, culture, and regional distribution of human capital. A significant amount of research effort has been devoted to demonstrating the role of the expansion of networks on the probability and perpetuation of migration. The idea of cumulative causation has been tested extensively by Massey and his colleagues over the past two decades (Fussell & Massey, 2004; Massey et al., 1994, Massey & Espinosa, 1997).

A central idea underlying many of the studies by Massey and his colleagues is the powerful role played by migration networks that link migrants in destinations and potential migrants in migrant-sending communities. The role of migration networks in the process of

migration is often manifested in the form of having a family member who is a migrant and/or having a friend from the same community who is a migrant. These networks reduce the costs of migration by providing aspiring migrants with information about-migration process and about job availability and housing in destinations. According to Fussell and Massey (2004, p.152), “other things being equal, people who come from communities from which migration is prevalent are more likely to migrate than people who come from places from which migration is rare.” What is powerful about this process is the tendency for migration to alter community structure in such ways that promotes additional migration, thus leading to the logic of cumulative causation of migration. For example, in a study of rural industrialization, Peng (2004) argues that kinship networks affect economic growth via enforcing informal institutions. This indicates that networks based on kinship are strong in creating influence on perpetuation of migration.

It could be argued that the idea of cumulative causation of migration is very useful to explain child out-migration from Edja district. Two aspects of the cumulative causation argument are particularly relevant in the case of child out-migration from Edja district. First is the importance of networks. The second aspect of cumulative causation theory closely related to the case of Edja district is the impact of migration on the migrant-sending communities. Massey (1999, p.46) argues, as migration grows in prevalence within a community or nation, it changes values and cultural perceptions in ways that increase the probability of future migration. At the community level, over time, as information about jobs and life styles in destinations countries becomes more diffused, migration becomes a common household strategy for economic advancement. For young people, migration becomes a “rite of passage” (Massey, 1999).

In sum, the literature on migration related with cumulative causation theory leads to the following two straightforward hypotheses. One is that individuals with family members

already migrated are more likely to migrate than others. Second, individuals who are from communities with high level of migration prevalence are more likely to migrate than individuals who are from communities where migration is relatively rare.

Literature Review

Migration in Ethiopia

Migration is a phenomenon that has contributed to shape the history of mankind. Recently it has once again become a phenomenon of growing public concern. It is also a growing public concern in Ethiopia, especially internal migration. Internal migration has a long history and varies depending on the duration and the distance of the destination. Some of the migrations are short and others are long distance. Depending on the duration of the migration, some are temporary and others are permanent.

There are various forms of internal migration. These are rural-rural, rural-urban, urban-rural and urban-urban. Among these forms of internal migration rural-rural and rural-urban migrations are predominant in Ethiopia (Ezra, 2001; Golini et al., 2001). Although it is indicated in different government records that there is enormous population migration, its causes, in particular the causes of child out-migration, is the least explored area. Despite the academic controversies about the causes of population migration, some studies revealed that internal migration is an important livelihood strategy for several households (Nida, 2006; Ezra, 2001; Bekalu & Digafa, 1996).

Of the different forms of internal migration, rural-rural migration takes the largest share of internal migrants in Ethiopia. Some of these migrations are triggered by socio-economic factors and others are by political factors. These migratory movements have created an uneven distribution of population in the country. This could be manifested in the crowded streets of Addis Ababa and other regional towns. Rural-urban migration in Ethiopia accounts the largest share for urban population increment (CSA, 1999).

The internal migration routes are vast. And the factors are interrelated and intertwined. From each region of the country children, women and men adults migrate to different cities and rural areas in the country (CSA, 1999). But majority of the migrants made their destination urban centers due to limited opportunities in rural areas. The causes of internal migration are diverse and there are different explanations for them. For instance, as pointed out by Ezra (2001) the causal factors for out-migration in Ethiopia are ecological degradation and poverty. He argued that

in the areas where ecological degradation is greatest, scarcity of arable land in combination with population growth, has led to surfeit of laborers on smaller land holdings, consequently, peasant households in these regions often send family members as laborers to areas with better employment opportunities”
(Ezra, 2001, p.5).

Geography and Population

Gurage is one of the ethnic communities found in the south-west part of Ethiopia. As part of the ethnic-based federal state formation, Gurage zone is categorized in the Southern People Nations and Nationalities Region States. There are 12 districts in the Zone. Among the districts found in the Zone, the research was conducted in Edja district, Dessene Kebele. It is 195 km far from the capital in south-west direction and 33 km from Gurage Zone capital.

Like other Zones found in Southern Nations and Nationalities People Regional State, the Zone has abundant natural resources. Though the Zone has a favorable climate and abundant natural resources, it is not suitable for agriculture since the terrain is mountainous. This makes life in the Zone difficult for settlement and the cultivation of crops. The population of the Zone uses migration as one of its survival strategies. Thus, children and adults migrate from the Zone to different cities and adjacent communities (Bekalu & Digafe, 1996; Nida, 2006).

In the district, as opposed to other districts found in the northern part of Ethiopia, 'enset' (false banana) plant is the staple crop. 'Enset' plant is cultivated in a semi-circle around houses. Settlement sites are mostly permanent because a single *enset* plant requires a relatively long period (8 years) for maturity (Nida, 2006). The cultivation of the plant requires the labor of the male population for limited months per year. This gives the male population, both children and adults, the opportunity for seasonal migration.

The total number of households in the district is 41,518 with an average family size of seven. The total population of Gurage Zone is 1, 577,074 of which the male population comprises 763,643 people and the female population 813,431 people. Guragena is the main language spoken in the study but most of the population also speaks Amharic. The average population density in Edja district is estimated to be 225 persons per square kilometer. This is about 8.6 times higher than the national average but slightly less than the average density in *enset* growing regions, which is estimated at 400-500 persons/km² (CSA, 1999).

The altitude of the district ranges from 1760-3360 meters above sea level. The district comprises 35 Kebeles (the smallest administrative structure in Ethiopia). The total area of the district is 76,715 hectares and of this 41% of the land is cultivated; 34% is grazing land; 12% is forest patch; 5% is cultivable land and the rest 0.02% is being used for others purposes. The annual rainfall ranges from 1000-1250 millimeter and the mean annual temperature is 15 - 24°c (CSA, 1999).

Migration in Gurage Community

Migration is one of the central themes in the history of Gurage ethnic community. Migration differential among ethnic groups is determined by various factors existing in the area of origin. Population congestion, land scarcity, weather changes, security problems and above all, the type of trade the particular ethnic community is most engaged with and the development of the area of origin are the factors. Some ethnic communities are more mobile

than others. Some prefer to move within their own territorial boundary, while other move across boundaries and long distances. Ethnic communities engaged mostly in merchandise move outside and far from their own administrative regions (CSA, 1999; & Golini, et al. 2001).

This being the general case, the 1994 census data indicates that the Amharas (37 %) and the Oromos (30 %) are the most mobile. However, the volume of out-migration of a given ethnic community appears to be determined by the size and composition of that ethnic group in the total population. The domination of the two ethnic groups among the total migrants could be attributed to size of Amharas and Oromos in the country as a whole. Among migrants of Amhara and Oromo ethnic groups female migrants out number male migrants. The Gurages (6.6%), who are practically more migrants than any other ethnic community, stand fourth in the rank because of the small size of the total Gurage population. In terms of sex composition of the migrants of the total population male migrants' rate is 7.5% and female 5.5% (CSA, 1999). This shows that male migrants out number female migrants in Gurage community.

Distribution of migrants by ethnic communities and region of current residence shows that the Oromos prefer to migrate within Oromiya, to Addis Ababa, Harari, Dire Dawa and Gambella. Similarly, the Amharas prefer to move within Amhara, Benishangul-Gumuz, Oromiya, Gambella, and Southern Nations and Nationalities People (SNNP). The Tigreways concentrate in Tigray and a small proportion of them decided to move to Gambella, Amhara, and Benishangul-Gumuz and Oromiya. The Gurages prefer to move to Dire Dawa more than their own region (SNNP) followed by Harari, and Addis Ababa. The Sidamas, on the other hand, prefer to migrate within their own region (SNNP) and quite a few choose to move to Oromiya. The Somalis prefer only Oromiya from among other (CSA, 1999).

When compared out-migration rates both for the migration with rural destinations and urban destinations, it is very high for urban destinations of Gurage migrants, which is 20 per thousand for rural destinations and over 100 per thousand for urban destinations (Golini et al., 2001). As it is pointed out in Labor Force Survey (LFS), among the recent migrants, i.e. those individuals lived in their current place of residence for no more than five years, 65 % originate rural areas. This indicates that rural areas take the largest share in origin of urban migrants though there is significant number of migrants who moved from urban centers. Moreover, the LFS indicates consistent rural-rural migration of nearly a million people and over half a million of rural-urban migrants. As compared with the total population it is not surprising to observe more rural-rural migration as opposed to rural-urban migration. This is due to the fact that 85% of the population of the country resides in the rural areas (CSA, 1999).

Methods

The study area is Gurage Zone, Edja district-Dessena Kebele. The selection of the study area is based on the fact that the area is well known for its child out-migration in the country. Moreover, the researcher has the experience working with the respective community in the past.

The sampling method used for the research is purposive sampling. This sampling technique was selected since the objective of the study is to collect data about why children migrate from the community to the cities from the perspective of the sending family members. The selection of the respondents was conducted after a thorough discussion through phone and in person with a community development worker who is working in the area (World Vision Ethiopia). Then, the respondents were selected based on the set criterion. Availability sampling techniques was also used. This sampling technique was used to interview those who are volunteers and available during the study period. However, this

technique has its own bias since it does not give equal chance for all residents of the area. In order to increase the reliability of the data, the views of elders from various segments of the population were included.

Objectives of the Study

General Objective

The research explored factors that are associated with the child out-migration from the Edja district-Dessena Kebele of Gurage Zone to different cities within Ethiopia.

Specific Objectives

The specific objectives are to explore:

- the perceptions of parents, extended family members, elders and neighbors towards life in the cities.
- the process of child migration from 'Edja' district to different cities in the country.
- the role of parents and extended family members in the process of child out-migration.

Operational Definition

Rural-urban migration in this study is defined as residential relocation from a predominantly agricultural area to an area in which a majority of employment is in non-agricultural activities. This definition includes seasonal, temporary and permanent migration.

Child: A child in this study refers to a child found in the age group 12 up to 18.

Zone: It is the largest government administration structure next to region.

Kebele: Kebele is the lowest government administrative structure.

Push factors: Push factors are factors that force children or people to move from their place of origin to another area. These factors are found in the place of origin as opposed to the place of destination.

Pull factors: Pull factors are factors that attract people to come to the place of their destination from their place of origin.

Community of origin: This refers to the community from which the children migrate or their place of origin.

Destination: Destination refers to the community which is the destiny of the migrants.

Participants

A total of 18 individuals: 12 family members and 6 elders participated in the study. The respondents were composed of 2 fathers, 2 mothers, 2 big brothers, 2 big sisters, 1 aunt, 1 uncle and 2 neighbors. The rest of the respondents were community elders. As to the ethnic composition, all are from the same ethnic background-Gurage.

Procedures

Eighteen respondents were selected using a single criterion for both family members and community elders. Sending at least one child from the family members to the cities was taken as selection criterion for respondents from family members. Based on the criterion, 12 individuals were selected. The six elders were also selected on the basis of their knowledge about the community. The interviews were conducted in collaboration with one community development worker who has a strong attachment with the community. After the respondents were selected they were interviewed using the Amharic version of the interview guide. In this step the community development worker played a significant role in verifying some of the Amharic words to the respondents' mother tongue, Gurage. The respondents were asked the value given to children, their perception about life in the cities, the causes of child migration, at what minimum age children migrate and the role of parents, extended families and neighbors.

Data Analysis

After the data was collected, it was transcribed from Amharic to English. The transcribed data was organized in themes according to the above noted themes. Then after, the findings of the study were analyzed using three theories that explain the causes of

migration. In addition, other two theories on the perpetuation of migration were considered in terms of how they explain the findings of the study.

Ethical Issue

The aim of the study was explained for the respondents before the interview was conducted. During the interview sessions the respondents agreed to participate in the study. The place was selected by the respondents to guarantee confidentiality. The respondents were advised that they could stop answering the questions at any time during the interview. The identity of the respondents of the study kept confidential to protect them from possible harm. The information they provided is reported anonymously in the report.

Limitation of the Study

This research is an exploratory study of child out-migration in Gurage Zone, Edja district community. Therefore, it is not possible to generalize about the causes of child migration in the Gurage Zone. Data was collected from only 18 individuals, and the respondents were selected from one district. The study also interviewed only individuals who sent their children to the cities nonetheless, the study aims to explore the causes of migration from the perspective of those who sent their children to the cities. In addition, it may illuminate the factors that motivate or drive children in the age group 10-18 for out-migration to cities.

Finding of the Study

General Background Information of the Respondents

Twelve family members and 6 elders, a total of 18 (male = 10 and female = 8) respondents were interviewed. The respondents were selected based on one criterion; that is for family members the criterion was sending at least a child to cities and for elders knowing the community well. As to family size some of the respondents it ranged from 2 to 11 per family. Educational background of all the respondents is limited to primary school except for

two of the female respondents who do not have formal education. Regarding their marital status, 12 of the respondents are married, five of the respondents are single and the remaining one is divorced. The respondents are in the age group range from 20 and 78.

The Value Given to Children

The respondents said that children are the hopes for future development of the community. But the value given to children varies among members of the community. In the community, as all the respondents said, children are viewed as assets for the family and the community. But the burden of raising children is falls on the shoulder of mothers. This task is more complicated due to poverty. One of the respondents, a 38 years old woman who is a mother of 8 children said, “My children are my jewelries, but it is very difficult to raise more than two children for women.” The value of children, as pointed out by the respondents, as social, economic and religious assets is more diverse in the community. Some see their children as a gift of God and they treat them well and others since they do not see children as a gift, they do not treat children well.

Among the respondents, 15 of them believed that families who have children are more respected in the community than those who don't have children. The rest 3 of the respondents said that there is no difference. This shows the perception that having a child has a social value. In Edja community children play major role for their household economic development. Due to this fact, they are seen as asset. In addition to this, children support their parents in various chores like collecting firewood, fetching water from rivers, looking after cattle and working the farm. In addition, the respondents reported that children are considered as leverage at old age due to lack of formal social insurance. Household economic improvement is one of the major reasons for child out-migration from the district to the capital and other regional towns. Due to the high economic value attached to children, children are sent using available means and expected to support their family. Respondents

indicated that child out-migration is practiced in the community due to the existence of strong network between migrants and their family.

Having a child is seen in every community in the world as a sign of blessing and the opposite as a sign of curse. In Edja community as 17 of the respondents indicated that, from religion viewpoint, having a child is considered as a blessing. This shows that having a child has a religious value as an indicator of blessing from God or Allah.

In general, in Edja community children have uppermost value. One of the respondents, a mother of four children, said that “my children are very much valuable for me next to God”. She stated that each family in the community give the highest position for children and expect a lot from them since they are the sunrise for their family and the community. But this is not always the case. In families where family size is beyond families’ economic capacity to fulfill children’s needs, children are considered as burden.

Perception of Life in the Cities and Child Out-migration

When they were asked about their perception about life in the cities, all of the respondents indicated that life in the cities is better. The reasons reported by the respondents are the availability of more organized and easily accessible infrastructure and better employment opportunities in the cities, and better employment opportunity in cities. As 16 respondents indicated, life in the cities is better for children since there are different services and opportunities that are very important for the development of a child like good education, health posts, clinics and hospitals, electricity, nutritious food and other related services. Moreover, the respondents indicated that in urban centers, it is easy for children to keep their personal hygiene. Because of these reasons, the respondents perceive that city life is better for children. One of the respondents indicated that city life is better for children since it is easy for children to adapt new environment and culture. Most of the respondents indicated, life in the cities is better not only for children, but also for adults. A father of six children said “It is

my place of origin. How could I abandon what I have invested in all my life and move to the city? If not, even I prefer to live in the city let alone my children?”

When they were asked about from where they get the information that lead them to conclude that life in the cities is far better than in the rural areas, 15 of the respondents said that they get the information from various sources like personal experience and observation, from migrants and the imagination they developed when they see returning migrants. As one of the respondents said that he has traveled to Addis Ababa several times. He said, “Each year for two months I visit my sister and my first born child. That is why I said life in the cities is better.” Now three of his children are working, learning and living in Addis. This shows that the sources of information for the respondents’ perception about life in the cities are diverse but interrelated. The positive perception of the respondents about life in the cities motivated them to send their children, brothers, sisters and siblings to the cities.

Some of the respondents perceive life in the cities is far better than in rural areas since in rural areas employment and other opportunities are limited. Nowadays the opportunities are not as they were before. Even though things are better, they indicated one’s effort will not bring major change in the district since the monetary return is not worth as much as the city. Having good sanitation and better job opportunity, as the respondents indicated, helps people in cities to lead a happy life. On the contrary, poor sanitation, poverty and limited employment opportunities force people have poor living standard.

Thus, sending children to cities based on their perception about city life is one of the strategies that the community supports for the future development of its children. Based on the researcher observation, there are some developments in the locality like potable water, electricity and better health services. The respondents also indicated that there is improvement in the locality but still they said life in the cities is not equal to that of rural areas. Thus, they prefer to send their children to the cities. One of the respondents said,

“Things are getting better and better. Even though things are getting better and better, life in the cities and rural areas are not comparable at all.” This shows that since the perception of the community about life in the cities is very strong, “everybody” in the community wants to send his or her child to the cities. On the other hand, female young respondents indicated that although life in the cities is better, they prefer to stay in the community and continue their education. On the contrary, male young respondents say that they prefer to migrate to the cities. One of the female respondents, though she indicated life in the cities is better than in rural areas, said “I prefer to stay in the community since it is very good to continue my education without interruption by employers and others in the cities.”

It is possible argue that there are some differences among female and male youths regarding child out-migration. In rural areas, the jobs need more time and energy than in urban centers. Beyond this the payment is more attractive in urban centers. There are various small businesses that would increase the chance of getting a job in urban centers. But in the vicinity the type of occupation is limited to agriculture and the payment is unsatisfactory. Hence, the respondents indicated that life in the cities is better than in the rural areas not only for children but also for adults.

Meaning of the Movement

Movement of people from one place to another can be migration or trafficking. The movement is considered as migration when it voluntary, and when it involves exploitation of the migrant the movement is considered as trafficking. As the migrants indicated the movement of children from Edja district to the cities is a voluntary. Thus, it is not possible to say that the movement of children to the cities is neither trafficking nor forced migration. As the respondents indicated that the movement of children is a strategy to diverse household income.

Causes of Migration

As the respondents said, there are various factors that motivate individuals to move from their place of origin to another place. Likewise, children and adults migrate from Edja district to cities because of diverse social, economic, political and demographic factors. The factors of child out-migration are the positive perception of the community about life in the cities, lack of enough jobs, few opportunities, poverty, better living standards, large family size, distorted information about life in the cities, chance of getting a job, poor medical care and family links. As all of the respondents indicated although there are various factors, the major factors for child out-migration are related with economic capacity of the community.

As eleven of the respondents pointed out, the economy of the community is based on agriculture, which has very meager financial return. Thus, child out-migration is one of the best strategies employed by the community to diversify source of income. Thus, internal migration, especially sending one member of a family, is one of the livelihood strategies used by Gurage households. Some of the respondents reported that the mono-crop farming practice in the community instigated and perpetuated seasonal migration since the labor is not required throughout the year. Besides, the existence of the culture of adult migration motivates children to migrate to the cities by taking adult migrants as a model. In the community children drop out school due to various family and health problems. As 13 of the respondents indicated, school drop out is one of the causes of migration. After children drop out from school, they work hard in the family farm and some of them visit their relatives and neighbors in the cities.

Among the above mentioned factors, 16 of the respondents indicated that the major factors for child out-migration to the cities are large family size, economic poverty, the network between migrants and non-migrants, and competition among families to send their children to the cities. In addition, the expectation of the families to be economically

supported by their children is one of the major factors. Thus, as the respondents reported, children migrate to the cities and send money back home to support their families. In most cases, the remittances cover the cost of living, land tax and holiday expenses especially *Meskele* and *Arefa*. The respondents said that families send their children to the cities to minimize the risk that the family might experience during agricultural failures and maximize the income. Furthermore, the respondents reported, families send at least one child to the cities for the remitted money.

The Role of Families and Neighbors

The respondents indicated each family member has a role to play in the process of child out-migration. Family members are involved in through various ways. Some of the members lend money and others arrange a place stay in the cities. One of female respondents pointed out that her uncle arranged necessary pre-conditions like a potential employer and a place to stay before her brother migrated to the city. Furthermore, the respondent indicated that her uncle helped her brother to socialize himself with urban life.

Another respondent indicated that he has arranged the migration of his two children to different cities. He has contacted his old friend to take his child to ‘Sidamo’ and helped him to be employed as a butcher. In addition, his daughter was taken to the city by his sister after he discussed about it. The third child married with a migrant who lives in Addis Ababa and moved with him to the city. Thus, parents and extended family members play significant roles in child out-migration. In some cases, neighbors also play significant roles. Sometimes neighbors are involved in child out-migration process as money lenders and facilitators by assessing potential hosts in the destinations and taking the child with them.

The Process of Child Migration

In Edja community child out-migration is a step by step process. Sixteen of the respondents indicated that some of the children visit cities during summer vacations. After

they visit cities for two or three vacations, they move to the cities to live permanently. Others visit and stay for awhile their relatives and friends after they drop out from school. As the respondents indicated, the step by step processes of migration helps children them to migrate permanently to live in the cities.

Discussion

This study explored the causes of child out-migration from Edja district Dessene Kebele to different cities in Ethiopia. In addition, the study explored other related issues like the perception of the community about life in the cities, and the role of parents and extended family members in the out-migration process. Therefore, this section, discusses the findings of this study according to the three theories that explain the causes of migration. In addition, the continuation of child out-migration in the community will be discussed using two theories of the perpetuation of migration. Other themes of the findings also will be discussed in detail.

Theories of Migration and its Causes

There are theories that explain the causes of migration but a single theory cannot explain all the causes of migration. One of the theories that explain why and how people move from their place of origin, country or region to other places is the push-pull explanation of migration. According to this theory, there are factors that push or stimulate migrants to move from their place of origin. The factors that push children from Edja district to different cities are poor medical care, lack of enough job opportunities, poverty, large family size, family networks/links, and distorted information about life in the cities. On the other hand, there are also factors that pull migrants to the destinations. Some the factors that pull migrants to the cities are chances of getting a job, better living standards, education, better medical care and family networks. The push and pull factors for child out-migration from the district to different cities could be explained by push-pull explanation or theory. However, this theory doesn't explain all the causes of child out-migration.

The factors that motivate or instigate children to move from their community in Edja district are many. As the respondents reported, the factors changed over time and vary from one migrant to another. In the past the major causative factors for migration were interest of obtaining cash for paying taxes and debts (Nida, 2006). Nowadays, the causes of migration are diverse and new factors seem to have developed. Currently, the causes of migration for child migration in the district are lack of enough jobs, economic poverty, better living standards, large family size, distorted information about life in the cities, chance of getting a job, proximity of the capital, low transport cost, little travel time and family networks.

Neoclassical economic theory of migration is another theory that explains the causes of migration. According to this theory, people move from their place of origin to another area in search of better opportunity. Moreover, this theory argues that the decision to migrate is made by individual actors. The findings of this study indicate that children move from Edja district to the cities for better job, access to education and medical care opportunity and better living standards. In the community, children's opportunity is very limited. Because of this reason they migrate from the community to cities looking for better opportunities. Thus, from this point of view it could be argued that neoclassical economic theory of migration explains the causes of child migration from the district to cities for a better life. However, some of the children move to the cities because of the push factors like large family size, poverty, lack of enough jobs, and distorted information about life in the cities. Thus, this theory also did not explain all the causes of child out-migration of Edja district. To some extent it is true that the decision to migrate is conducted by individual actors. But this is not the case always. The decision to migrate to the cities is, most of the time, decided by family members collectively. The neoclassical economic theory fails to explain fully the causes of child out-migration in the study area.

The third theory that explains the causes of migration is new economic. According to this theory, like neoclassical economic theory of migration, the causes of migration are economic factors. However, new economic theory varies from neoclassical economic theory on point, that is, according to new economic theory; migration decision is made collectively by family members rather than individually. In addition, new economic theory argues that families send their children or one member to the cities not only to maximize income but also to minimize risks. Children migrate to the cities to improve the livelihood of their parents. Hence, new economic theory of migration explains the causes of migration partially as other theories of migration discussed above. Although in Edja district it is not possible to conclude that all the decisions to migrate are decided collectively, there is indication from this exploratory study that they are made collectively. Families also send their children to the cities to minimize the risk that the family might experience during agricultural failures and for the remitted money. This shows that families may send their children to maximize income rather than for a better opportunity in the cities.

Perpetuation of Migration

There are other theories that explain the perpetuation of migration. Of these theories two of them, network and cumulative causation theories are applicable for this study. These theories focus on the process of migration once it is started and how it's perpetuated. According to network theory, the network between migrants and non-migrants helps potential migrants by facilitating easy entry, adjustment and employment. Network theory explains how migration is perpetuated in Edja district. There are strong networks between the migrants and non-migrants in the community. These networks are kinship, families and friends. The majority of the families have at least one relative or neighbor in the cities. The existence of strong network and the availability of a relative or neighbor in the cities is one of the major factors for the perpetuation of migration.

Migrants visit the locality in two big holydays, namely Meskel and Arafa. During these festivals migrants and non-migrants share information about life in the city, job opportunity, cultural adaptation and other opportunities found in the cities. After they celebrate the holyday with their families, adults return to the cities and take children with them. Young migrants also let their friends accompany them. A social connection with someone who has a migratory experience at the destination area facilitates the movement of children. Thus, the social connection helps them to easily facilitate the movement of children to the cities. If these kinds of networks were not available migration from the community may not be perpetuated. This shows that the network between migrants and non-migrants perpetuates child migration.

Cumulative causation theory of migration explains the perpetuation of migration from a different angle. This theory argues that a single factor does not perpetuate migration but cumulative factors like the expansion of migration networks, distribution of income, distribution of land, organization of agriculture, culture, and regional distribution of human capital are responsible. The findings show that one of the factors for child migration is mono-crop farming. The farming process in the community requires the labor of adults and male children for limited months. This leads to seasonal migration to the cities. In the district migration is taken as a traditional practice, and it is becoming one of the cultural components of the community as a livelihood improvement strategy. According to Nida (2006), there is clear difference between the income of migrants' and non-migrants' families. Therefore, cumulative causation theory can help to explain the perpetuation of child out-migration in the study.

In summary, no single theory of migration fully explains child out-migration in Gurage. However, taking in combination these theories, they may explain some of the causes of child out-migration.

The Value Given to Children

The community considers children as assets. However, the value given to children varies among the members of the community. Some of the members of the community give more value to children. All the respondents indicate that children are the hope for future development of the community. Though children are the hope for future development, sending them to the cities by interrupting their education does not support their argument. The children play pertinent role in the livelihood improvement of their family. They support their family in the farming, collecting firewood and cut grass for cattle. This workload influences them to migrate to the cities. It is because the children want to avoid the workload encounter in the family by migrating to the cities. However, most of the respondents do not link the workload with child out-migration. But, it is clearly related with the child out-migration.

Perception about Life in the Cities

There are different perceptions about life in the cities in the study area. Most of the respondents perceive that life in the cities is better than the rural area. They think life in the cities is smooth like the asphalt road. However, in reality, life in the cities is not easy and comfortable for everybody in every aspect. There are problems in urban centers that the residents are encounter like poor housing, diseases, congestion, high living cost and shortage of basic services available and the demand.

People in rural areas do not understand the full picture of life in the cities because of their unreliable sources of information. Most of the time, the source of information about life in cities is from return-migrants. These migrants share only about the positive side of life in the cities. Because of this reason people think that life is better in the cities. In addition, children's expectations of better living conditions trigger them to migrate to the cities. Moreover, the perception of the community about life in the cities motivates families to send

their children to cities. It is true that the opportunities available in the study area are limited. Some of the young respondents reported that since the children can complete their education with out interruptions, it is better stay in the community. However, it is not possible to force them to stay since in the community job opportunities are limited and families do not have the economic capacity to fulfill the basic needs of children.

The Role of Parents, Extended Families and Neighbors

The decision of migration is not made by individual actors alone. There are cost related with the migration process, and these costs are not covered by the children alone. Thus, parents, extended family members and neighbors contribute a lot to cover the cost of migration. In addition, they arrange a place to stay in the destination area. The network between migrants and non-migrants in the study area is strong. The presence of the network facilitates in the community to send children with minimum cost. In addition, the network helps to ease the travel time and the accommodation cost in the cities. Most of the time, the father will have two houses one in the countryside and one in the city. In this case, the migration of children to the cities is related with the family structure of the community; and the expenses related with child out-migration covered by family members. Therefore, it is possible to argue that parents, extended family members and neighbors play significant role.

Implication for Social Work Practice

The finding of the study shows that the causes of child out-migration to the cities are diverse and interrelated. The major factors are related with the socio-economic and cultural structures of the community of origin (Gurage) and the destinations. In addition, there are factors that are related to individuals in the place of origin. Therefore, social workers can intervene at different level to minimize child out-migration and its causes.

One of the intervention areas could be advocacy work about the negative effects of having large family size and its association with child out-migration. Improving the available family planning service and introducing new services may help the community to have smaller family size. But attention should be given to aware the community to use the services. This may in turn minimize child out-migration to the cities since families may be able to care their children, if the family size is small.

Children migrate to the cities after dropping out from school. To minimize, if possible to avoid, child out-migration to the cities, it might help to teach children about the effects of dropping out from school. In addition, awareness creation for parents about the effect of school dropout on the future career development of children and the community at large may lower child out-migration to the cities. The other possible intervention area to minimize child out-migration to the cities is improving the poor economy of the community of origin. In the Edja community there are very limited sources of additional income. Therefore, introducing other cash crops in the area on the existing ones may reduce child out-migration to the cities. On the other hand, since child out-migration to the cities is one of the livelihood strategies being employed by the community it could be possible suggest other intervention area for social workers. If child out-migration to the cities is inevitable from the community teaching

the children as well as parents how to cope up with the opportunities and challenge to be faced in the destination areas, cities.

This study explored child out-migration from Gurage community to the cities, with due attention given to the causes of child out-migration to the cities. The data was collected from 18 respondents through in-depth interview. In addition, the respondents of the study were selected from individuals who have sent at least one child to the cities. Thus, in the study the voice of those individuals who do not send their children to the cities and migrant children is not included. Moreover, since this study is an exploratory one, it did not studied child out-migration to the cities intensively. Therefore, further study on the causes and impacts of child out-migration from the sending and receiving regions perspectives, and migrant children is necessary to have a full picture of child out-migration to the cities.

Summary and Conclusion

The objective of this study was to illuminate the causes of child out-migration in the study areas. Besides, the study was designed with an objective to explore the perception of the community about life in the cities. This study, to attain its objectives, used in-depth interview and field observation in the study area. Based on the findings of the study the following concluding points are raised.

It has been found that all the respondents of the study indicated that the major reason for child out-migration from the study area to the cities is related with economy. They have indicated that the causes of child out-migration to the cities are diverse and intertwined. The causes are related with push and pull factors both at the place of origin and destinations. Other specific factors of child out-migration are limited job opportunities, poverty, large family size, the network between migrants and non-migrants, competition among parents in sending children, distorted information about cities, perceived better opportunities in the cities and better living standards.

Ninety-five percent of the respondents indicated that the perception of the community about life in the cities is positive. As the respondents indicated the majority of the community members perceive life in the cities is better than in the rural areas. On the other hand, though, as the respondents indicated, in the study area the development of basic service is getting better, based on their perception about life in the cities the parents send children to the cities. However, most of the adult respondents prefer to stay in the study area.

The migration of children to the cities is not implemented solely by the individual actors. Rather, it is accomplished by the active participation of parents, extended family

members and neighbors. However, parents play significant role in the child out-migration process.

Internal migration is a common practice in Ethiopia. A lot of people migrate within the country both from rural to urban centers and from rural to rural areas. Of these internal migrants the most of them are young and school drop outs. With regard to the sex composition of internal migrants, male migrants outnumber their counterparts. The number of Gurage internal migrants is significant as compared with the total population of the community. This is due to the fact that Gurages are the most mobile community. The migration trend of the Gurages is directed to the cities as opposed to the nearby rural areas.

There are different theories that explain the causes of migration. These theories categorize the causes of migration into two levels: individual and structural. The theories that focus on the individual level of analysis, like new economic and neoclassical microeconomic theories, argue that individual actors have the capacity to make cost-benefit analysis. Hence, the causes of migration are more related with the individual actors' decision to migrate. On the other hand, other theories, like pull-push explanation and neoclassical macroeconomic theories, argue that the causes of migration are more related with structural factors. The structural factors for the causes of migration are included within the social, economic, cultural and political structure of a region or state.

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Annex I

Information Sheet (English Version)

Good Morning/Afternoon:

I am here to talk about ‘Edja’ district community’s perceptions and factors associated with children leaving the community for life in the cities. The information you provide will help me understand the factors and perceptions associated with children leaving the community for life in the cities. This data will be used for academic purposes such as master’s thesis, conference presentations, journal articles and book chapters.

This study includes 12 household members and 6 elders from ‘Edja’ community who are permanent residents of the locality. Taking part in this study is voluntary. You may choose not to take part or you may stop answering these questions whenever you want to. There are no negative consequences from the researcher or from Addis Ababa University and/or ‘Edja’ district administration for not responding to this interview.

This study will keep your name and your other necessary information confidential. Only the researcher will know your name and household. For research analysis, individual responses to the interview questions will be added together, and the information from the study will be presented in summary. The information that I learn from this study will be available in a written report that will be submitted to the district administration and elders. I will also make available an “executive summary” of the report both in English and Amharic to you.

If you agree to take part in this study, I will write your responses directly on the blank spaces of the interview form. If you have any questions about your rights as a research subject, you may call the Graduate School of Social Work, Addis Ababa University, at 251-11-6186441.

For questions about this study, contact the principal researcher: Ferework Neda,
Graduate School of Social Work, P.O. Box 1176, Addis Ababa University, Addis Ababa,
Ethiopia, E-mail: nferew@yahoo.com Telephone 251-911-151876.

Signature of the Participant

Date

Name of Participant

Date

Signature of the Researcher

Date

Name of Researcher

Date

Completion of the interview implies your consent to participate in the study.

Annex II

Key informants Interview Guide

- ❖ The value of children can be seen in different ways. Tell me about how this community perceives its children? (Social, economic and spiritual assets)
- ❖ A local community can hold different perceptions about life in the cities. Tell me about how this community perceives life in the cities. (migration, satisfaction comparison with rural life, facilities etc)
- ❖ Sometimes children of different ages leave the community for life in the cities. Tell me about the minimum age that children leave this community for life in the cities.
- ❖ Sometimes children leave this community for life in the cities. Tell me what it means when children leave this community for life in the cities.
- ❖ Many things can contribute to children leaving this community for life in the cities. Tell me what specific factors contribute to children leaving this community for life in the cities? (social, economic, cultural , demographic, environmental and information)
- ❖ Tell me about the major reason that children leave this community for life in the cities.
- ❖ Parents, brothers, sisters, extended families and neighbors may be involved when children leave this community for life in the cities. Tell me how parents, brothers, sisters, extended families and neighbors are involved when children leave this community for life in the cities.
- ❖ Please share any other things that you want to say about children leaving this community for life in the cities.

Annex III

Interview Guide for Household Members

- ❖ The value of children can be seen in different ways. Tell me about how this community, you and your family perceive children? (Social, economic and spiritual assets)
- ❖ A household as well as a community can hold different perceptions about life in the cities. Tell me about how your household and this community perceive life in the cities. (migration, satisfaction comparison with rural life, facilities etc)
- ❖ Sometimes children of different ages leave their household and the community for life in the cities. Tell me about the minimum age that children leave in your household and this community for life in the cities.
- ❖ Sometimes children leave their household and the community for life in the cities. Tell me what it means when children leave this household and the community for life in the cities.
- ❖ Many things can contribute to children leaving their household and the community for life in the cities. Tell me what specific factors contribute to children leaving your household for life in the cities? (social, economic, cultural , demographic, environmental and information)
- ❖ Tell me about the major reason(s) that children leave your household and this community for life in the cities.
- ❖ Parents, brothers, sisters, extended families and neighbors may be involved when children leave this household and the community for life in the cities. Tell me how parents, brothers, sisters, extended families and neighbors are involved when children leave this household and the community for life in the cities.

- ❖ Please share any other things that you want to say about children leaving this community for life in the cities.

Thank you very much to spend your time with me!