

**The Impacts of Child Out-Migration on the Parents' and Migrants'
Livelihood: The Case of Muher and Aklil Woreda of Gurage Zone**

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School of Graduate Studies

Department of Sociology

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List of Acronyms

CSA – Central Statistical Agency

DFID – Department for International Development

EPRDF – Ethiopian People’s Revolutionary Democratic Front

FGD – Focus Group Discussion

GTP – Growth and Transformation Plan

IDS – Institute of Development Studies

ILO – International Labor Organization

SPSS – Statistical Package for Social Science

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this study is to assess the causes and impacts of child out migration both on the lives of the migrants and their parents, the extent to which the child out migration affected the socio-economic activities of the sending community, and challenges and coping mechanisms of the parents and the migrants. The study uses the DFID livelihoods framework and different migration theories for analysis. The study employed sample survey in order to collect information on socio-demographic characteristics, infrastructural, socio-cultural and economic factors behind the child out migration, and the positive and negative impacts on parents and migrants livelihoods. The survey data were coded and entered into the computer for the statistical analysis using the software Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) version 20. Moreover, focus group discussion in both rural kebeles was conducted with parents and community elders about the trend and migration decisions of the children. In addition, in-depth and key informant interview was held with community elders, woreda and kebele officials.

The study findings indicate that infrastructural limitations contributed their part on the child out migration and economic problems (poverty) in place of origin and the better economic opportunities at the destination are the major factors behind migration which goes in line with Ravenstein's, Lee's and cumulative and circular causation theories of migration. Migration as a livelihood strategy has both positive impact like remittance and asset development and negative impact like creating dependency and rural poverty.

The study also finds out poverty as a root cause for and consequence of child out migration in the study area, since the decision of the children to migrate is influenced by poor living conditions at home and the departure of the children resulted in weakened socio-economic activity in the rural community. Consequently, the rural community lost its productive youth and became unable to get rid of poverty as the migrants didn't invest on increasing livelihood assets.

Chapter One: Introduction

1.1. Background to the Study

In the late-twentieth century, we are seeing population movement on an arguably unprecedented scale. At this moment, in addition to the hundreds of millions of economic migrants, UNHCR estimated that there are some 18 million refugees in international transit, 35 million people internally displaced, 100 million people uprooted by planned development, and an estimated 25 million people in danger of displacement as a consequence of environmental change (McDowell, 1996:40).

Worldwide, an increasing number of people are being forced to diversify their sources of income to sustain their living. This often obliges some of the family members to migrate for work, resulting in a decomposition of households and multiple locations of families' sources of income (Thieme, 2008:51).

Migration whether internal or international, has become increasingly important in development studies. Contemporary debate on the issue has a dual perspective concerning benefits in form of remittances on the one hand, loss of human resources on the other. While short-term benefits such as remittances by migrants may have a potential to contribute to livelihoods, the long-term impact due to unabated loss of human resources may be a serious cause of concern (Nwajiuba, 2005:1).

It would not be difficult to draw up a systematic list of the various forces and conditions in rural areas which underpin people's decisions to move to new locations. Factors such as population growth, land shortages, low levels of agricultural productivity and income, and a weak non-agricultural sector have all exerted a powerful influence on the incidence of rural emigration. In reality, however, it is very difficult to isolate the influence of one or the other factor: these and other influences, including those which emanate from the city, are

interrelated and exert a simultaneous influence on the migration decisions of individuals and communities (Parnwell, 1992:81).

Migration leads to the absence of people, mainly of young men, but occasionally women alone, core or extended families, or whole households. Who is absent will have implications for agricultural and livelihood practices. The absence of young men who are likely to have responsibility for important elements of production and animal husbandry reduces available labor. Much migration in various parts of the world is circular: people continue to maintain strong links with their areas of origin over extended periods of time, and family and other personal networks are crucial in maintaining links between areas of origin and destination. This makes the effect of migration on areas of origin of primary importance, and complex (McDowell and de Haan, 1997:15).

Where people move because of the inadequacy of land resources, rather than because of a total lack of them, it is common for one or two household members to migrate to town to obtain an income with which to supplement the livelihood of those who remain in the village to work on the land. In Africa and Asia there is frequently a division of labor along gender lines, with the women staying behind to tend the fields while the men folk migrate periodically to town (Parnwell, 1992:84).

One of the most commonly used explanations for out-migration from rural areas is the high rate of rural population growth in many Third World regions. Whilst rural populations are in general growing at a slower rate than in urban areas because levels of urbanization are still quite low, particularly in Africa and Asia, the numerical increase of population in rural areas is often substantial. The simultaneous occurrence of rural population growth and rural out-migration leads to the convenient conclusion that one is causing the other (Parnwell, 1992:81).

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 feeling for safety have been conceived to be one of the major causes of migration in the world (Castles, 2000 cited in Frework, 2007:6). 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 (Frework, 2007).

In Ethiopia, beginning from the 20th century modernization and urbanization began to flourish. Migration especially of rural- urban migration plays a key role in changing the social, economic, cultural and political sphere of the country. Among those rural-urban migrations Gurages take large part in the socio-economic activity of the country being everywhere especially in the business activities. If one simply came to see who is migrating from Gurage zone he/she can easily observe the reality i.e. *the children*. Accordingly, studying the factors and impacts of this situation in the zone is of special research interest. Because, in Gurage zone it is difficult to find a household that didn't send at least one of its children to urban centers as far as the child is ready to migrate.

Thus, this study has focused on how migration is triggered by living conditions and various challenges in place of origin. The researcher made analysis of the economic conditions of both the migrants and the rural community. Moreover, this study centered on whether the remittance from migrants brought a sustainable change on the rural livelihoods or not. Because, after the youth segment of the community moved to towns the socio-economic activities of the rural areas tend to decline. Accordingly, the challenges and coping mechanisms of migrants and parents as a result of child out migration were assessed.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

Various studies had been conducted on the issue of migration on global level, national, and regional levels (De Hann, 2000; Ezra, 2001; Feleke, 2006; Golini, 2001; Mberu, 2005). Studies undertaken about migration in Ethiopia by different researchers agree on one thing i.e. migration had basically economic basis. While this is true, there are also other related factors which are frequently overlooked, especially in the context of child-out migration like in Gurage Zone and other parts of the country like Wolayita and GamoGofa.

Even though, studies conducted so far dealt with migration in general, the issue of the child out-migration did not accord considerable attention of researchers. For instance, Worku (1995) studied the impact of urban migration on village life. In his study he mentioned that migration to urban has affected the socio-economic activity of the village. However, the migration of which group affected the socio-economic activity is not examined, as the migrants are not homogeneous in age, income, assets and social status, etc. Besides, the challenges of the child out migrants and the parents and their coping mechanisms of difficulties are left undiscovered.

Until now much study has not been undertaken on the impact of child out migration both on the lives of the migrants and their community, because most migration studies address migration in general. Even those few studies conducted on the area try to analyze the issue separately from the context of the pushing economic factor; the negative impacts of migration on the lives of the child out migrants and their sending communities are mostly overlooked by the previous studies in the area. Those studies too much focused on the factors pushing the migrants from their place of origin, which is the economic factor, rather than the nature of the complex and intertwined livelihood systems.

In addition, previous studies conducted so far are concerned with general pattern of migration of all segments of the population. Much attention is not given to child out migration especially in Gurage zone where this situation is intensified. Fework (2007) tried to make an exploratory study on the situation of child out-migration in Ejda woreda of Gurage Zone. However, the study was not thorough enough to assess and analyze the complex nature of the migration. The researcher also admitted that the study was not representative enough to generalize not only to the context of Gurage zone, but also to Edja woreda as the sample size was very small and distributed questionnaire for only 18 people, and the purpose was undertaking exploratory or pilot study.

Furthermore, until now child out migration has not been understood from the perspective of its impact on the socio-demographic composition of the place of origin. This to mean that Gurage zone is experiencing one of the highest annual population growths according to the report of CSA (2007). The community elders and government officials also added that sex preferences of male affected the family size of the households, because males are considered to be effective in coping with the difficult situations in the cities and can send remittance to their families.

Hence, this study extended the issue to understanding and making an explanation on the factors that push the children out of their place of origin to towns, the positive and negative impacts, the challenges faced and coping mechanisms both by the child out-migrants and their families.

Most importantly the researcher believes that migration needs to be studied and analyzed based on conceptual frameworks to suggest sound policy directions for socio-economic development of rural areas. Unfortunately there very limited studies undertaken based on conceptual or analytical frameworks to migration in relation to rural livelihoods. To this end the researcher tried to asses migration based on the DFID livelihoods framework and prepared analytical framework for analyzing the findings of the study.

1.3. Objectives of the Study

1.3.1. General Objective

The overall objective of this study is to analyze impacts of child out-migration on the parents' and migrants' livelihoods.

1.3.2. Specific Objectives

- To assess the infrastructural, socio-cultural and economic factors behind the mass child out-migration in Muher and Aklil woreda
- To analyze the positive and negative impacts of child-out migration on the lives of the rural community and the migrants
- To determine the extent to which the child out-migration has affected the economic activities of the rural households and the migrants
- To assess the challenges faced and coping mechanisms by the child out-migrants and the parents residing in the village

1.4. Methods of the Study

1.4.1. Research Design

As the researcher is interested in studying the changes in trend of migration and its impacts on rural livelihoods and the migrants themselves, the research design employed is cross-sectional survey approximating longitudinal study. The researcher made a retrospective or a recall survey and asked the parents of migrants about their past experiences of how they decided to send their children to urban centers. The researcher also made survey on migrants on how, when and why they migrated, what changes migration had brought in the livelihood of their own and their parents. In addition, the researcher analyzed the changes or positive and negative impacts of sending their children to urban centers by comparing the past to the present. Data was also collected to compare and contrast the changes in socio-demographic conditions of the community.

1.4.2. Sources of data

For this study both primary and secondary sources of data were used. Primary data for the study was collected both from the parents in the main study area (the two rural kebeles: Selam and Ginab) via in-depth interview, focus group discussion, sample survey and observation, and from the migrants themselves in Addis Ababa town mainly in Addis Ketema sub-city around Mercato, Autobus-tera and Sebategna. Secondary data was collected from secondary sources such as books, articles, journals, magazines, brochures, and other documents were utilized. These data were collected from libraries, websites and institutions like central statistical agency.

1.4.3. Methods of Data Collection and Instruments

In order to generate valid and extensive data this study had employed methods both from qualitative and quantitative approaches. The methods used in the study were in-depth

interview, focus-group discussion, field observation and sample survey. Let us see how each of these methods was employed in the process of data collection for the study.

Sample Survey

Survey research is probably the best method available to the social researcher who is interested in collecting original data for describing a population too large to observe directly. Careful probability sampling provides a group of respondents whose characteristics may be taken to reflect those of the larger population, and carefully constructed standardized questionnaires provide data in the same form from all respondents (Babbie, 2007:270).

This method was ideal to collect the data on the socio-economic and demographic characteristics of the rural residents and the migrants. For example the numbers of children migrated from the rural the households, the age and sex distribution of the parents and migrants, and the positive and negative impacts out migration both on the community as well as the migrants. The survey instrument i.e. questionnaire is prepared to gather data on the above mentioned issues.

To assess the positive and negative impacts of the child out migration on the lives of the migrants the researcher had also conducted sample survey on the migrants themselves. This data was collected from migrants who are living in Addis Ababa that migrated in their childhood age i.e. below 18. This was made possible because the researcher had a personal contact with many migrants living and working and living in Addis Ababa. Then, those migrants led the researcher to other migrants from the study area.

In-depth interview

In-depth interview is the appropriate research method for collecting detailed and richer information. In in-depth interviews the interviewer can get a nugget of data by letting the subject to narrate all his/her experiences (Kvale, 1996). In-depth interview undertaken was with some parents who sent their children to towns, community elders and to examine the socio-cultural and economic factors behind mass child out-migration in the community.

As well data from the members of the community was collected by making an interview with parents who sent one or more of their children to the cities. This was aimed at analyzing and making comparison between the positive and negative impact of migration on the community. Necessary information was obtained in organized and manageable manner by preparing interview guides.

Key Informant Interview

Moreover, to assess the impact of infrastructural facilities like absence of electricity, road, water and social services of health care, education and their impacts on the out migration was carefully analyzed by using kebele and woreda officials as key informants. In addition to the above objective, this method enabled researcher to analyze the extent to which the child out migration affected the economic activities of the village community of the woreda by asking some guiding questions about the livelihood conditions of the members of the community. Additionally, for the key informant interview individuals from the kebeles were selected based on their age, knowledge and experiences about the migration trends and the livelihood activities of the community.

Focus-group discussions (FGDs)

Focus-group discussions are more appropriate when group interactions are capable of producing detailed data and new thoughts, and illuminating conflicting views of respondents (Bloor, et al. 2002). This method was also used to cross-check data collected through in-depth interview on socio-cultural and economic factors, and positive and negative impacts of child out-migration in the community.

The focus group discussion was held in both Selam and Ginab kebeles. On the FGDs, the parents whose children migrated to urban centers and elders from the community were included. This was done to see if there is a difference in their views about the issue of child out-migration and if there are changes in attitudes about sending their children to the cities, there were eight members in each discussion. The participants were selected based on their knowledge about the issue under investigation.

Discussion was also held on whether the child out-migration has affected the economic activities of the community positively or negatively as the young and productive labor force is migrated to urban centers. The researcher had managed the discussion efficiently by preparing FGD guide prior to the discussion.

Field Observation

This method is used to supplement data obtained through other methods. The researcher observed how the child out-migration had affected the socio-economic activity and the socio-demographic composition of the community. In addition, the researcher tried to observe whether or not the topography of the area, the infrastructural facilities in the community had affected the trend of migration in the community.

Prior to the field observation visual observation check list was prepared to document the observation, for example whether there are difficulties with the physical feature of the area that forced the migrants to leave their communities, whether there are actual problems of infrastructural facilities and service delivery institutions.

1.4.4. Study Population, Sample Size and Sampling Techniques

In Gurage zone there are 13 woredas, among these Muher and Aklil woreda is one. In this woreda there are 33 kebeles. The researcher selected two kebeles: Selam and Ginab kebeles. In Selam kebele there are 565 households and in Ginab 760 households. Accordingly, the researcher selected 150 households: meaning 75 households from each kebele. For the purpose of sample survey on the rural residents or parents of migrants, the sampling technique was simple random sampling. For the survey undertaken on migrants the researcher selected 100 respondents who have a background from Muher and Aklil woreda.

In order to attain the objectives of the study sample rural households were selected from the sampling frame i.e. the list of the residents in the Selam and Ginab kebeles. The sampling frame was obtained from Muher and Aklil woreda office of agriculture.

For the purpose of assessing the condition of migrants living in Addis Ababa the researcher undertaken survey on 100 respondents. The respondents who had a village background from the woreda were selected purposely by the researcher. Those respondents were merchants, civil servants, and students who are also working per time, etc.

1.4.5. Method of Data Analysis

The data is analyzed using both qualitative and quantitative methods of data analysis. The qualitative data is analyzed and interpreted through narration. The quantitative data is analyzed using both descriptive and inferential statistics. Descriptive statistics such as mean (average), cross tabulation, frequency and percentage distribution used to analyze and

interpret the quantitative data. The researcher has also employed inferential statistics like correlation and chi-square. The analysis of the quantitative data is based on analysis made by SPSS version 20.

Table 1.1 Summary of data collection methods and number of participants

Method of Data Collection	Data source	Sampling Technique	No of Participants	Method of Data Analysis
Survey	Parents of migrants	Simple Random Sampling	150	SPSS version 20
	Migrants themselves	Purposive sampling	100	SPSS version 20
In-depth Interview	Parents and Community elders	Purposive Sampling	7	Thematic
Key informant Interview	Government officials of woreda and kebele	Purposive Sampling	4	
FGD	Parents and community elders	Purposive Sampling	8	

1.4.6. Conceptualization and Operationalization

Child out migration – is to refer to the migration of children below the age of 18 to towns for different purposes such as searching for better living, or continuing their education, etc.

Livelihood – is to refer to the means of living of the rural residents as well as the migrants living in the towns

Infrastructure – is to refer to various amenities like electricity, road, school, water supply, and health service; and their relationship with the trend of child out-migration

Social capital – is to refer to the social networks and interpersonal ties between the migrants in sending community and areas of destination

Causes of migration – is to refer to the contributing factors that instigate child out migration

Impact of migration – positive impacts of migration like remittance, asset development and negative impacts like dependency, rural poverty, economic stress, and so on

Table 1.2 – Operationalization of key variables

Concepts	Variables	Indicators
Socio-economic and demographic characteristics	Sex of respondents	Whether the respondent is male or female (nominal)
	Age of respondents	How old is/was the respondent (scale)
	Family size of the respondents	The number of family members in a household
	Marital status of the respondents	Whether the respondent is single, married, divorced or widowed (nominal)
	Educational status of the respondents	The educational grade level the respondents achieved (ordinal)
	Occupation of the respondents	What the respondent do for living (nominal)
Infrastructure and Social Services	Road	whether the absence of road is a contributing factor for the child out migration or not (nominal)
	Electricity	whether the absence of electricity is a contributing factor for the child out migration or not (nominal)
	School	whether the absence of schools is a contributing factor for the child out migration or not (nominal)
	Health Service	whether the absence of health care service is a contributing factor for the child out migration (nominal)
	Potable water	whether the absence of clean water is a contributing factor for the child out migration or not (nominal)

1.5. Limitations of the Study

Like any other empirical studies this paper is not without some limitations. Since the survey study mainly on migrants is undertaken as a case study on selected respondents, the findings may not represent all members of population under the study. On the other hand, this limitation was unavoidable due to the impossibility of obtaining the sampling frame (list of

migrants) from the study area to use one of probability sampling methods. Because as the migrants are not living in one place and cannot obtain their list. However, as migration has similar understanding of its causes and consequences among members of the community, and the findings of this study may not be affected to greater extent.

In addition to this some of the migrant respondents were not willing to positively respond to questions about their monthly incomes. Moreover, since majority of migrant respondents were engaged in self-employed activities they had problem of estimating their average monthly income.

1.6. Scope of the study

Different studies have been undertaken in relation to migration and livelihood in Ethiopia and some in Gurage zone. But this study is limited to assessing the impact of child out-migration on parents' and migrants' livelihoods in Gurage zone Muher and Aklil woreda within two kebeles i.e. Selam and Ginab kebeles. The survey on migrants is undertaken in Addis Ababa mainly in Addis Ketema sub city. The study focuses on assessing how migration has affected the livelihood of the sending community and migrants themselves.

The advantages and disadvantages of child out-migration especially from the perspective of attaining sustainable rural livelihoods are also examined. To make the study reliable, valid and representative the researcher has taken care of the process of data collection, analysis and interpretation. Moreover, the issue of child out-migration had similar characteristics in its nature, cause and socio-economic impacts both on the lives of the migrant and their communities at least in Gurage zone. Therefore, the research findings and generalizations will not be as such unacceptable to misrepresent the community studied.

1.7. Significance of the study

The researcher strongly believes that this study can contribute to understanding the current trend of child out migration, its causes, positive and negative impacts on the livelihood of the rural community and the migrants. In order to better understand the relationship between migration and rural livelihoods, this study has assessed the economic, infrastructural and socio-cultural factors behind the mass child out migration in the study area. Therefore, the study could be sound base for understanding and explaining the intricate relationship between migration and rural livelihoods.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

2.1. Definition of key terms and concepts

Child - the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) defines children as persons below the age of 18. The term “child” thus spans what is a condition of complete and absolute dependence on older adults through to what may be a state of partial or complete independence from such adults, or a state in which the person has acquired responsibility towards older or younger dependents. A comprehensive approach to child wellbeing will take into account four different non-monetary components, namely: health, education, economic activity (child work), and psycho -social effects (ILO, 1996).

Migration– it is the temporary or permanent move of individuals or groups of people from one geographic location to another for various reasons ranging from better employment possibilities to persecution.(Hagen-Zanker, 2008:1)Migration often takes place across spaces such as intercontinental (between countries in a given continent), and interregional (with in countries). Temporally, migration can be categorized as (permanent, circular, or seasonal). If crossing a boundary is taken as criterion, then we will have (internal, external). If areal (spatial) units are involved (communities, countries, states, nations, cultures), and number involved (individuals, groups), social organization of migrants family, clan, individual, we can also have other terminologies, when considering political climate of migration (voluntary and involuntary); the dominant socio-economic causes usually emphasizing economic and non-economic factors; and the major psychological aims (innovative, conservative migration) (Parnwell, 1992:23).

Livelihood – a livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (stores, resources, claims and access) and activities required for a means of living: a livelihood is sustainable which can cope with and recover from stress and shocks, maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, and provide sustainable livelihood opportunities for the next generation; and which contributes net benefits to other livelihoods at the local and global levels and in short and long term (Chambers and Conway, 1992:6).

2.2. Impacts of Migration on Rural Livelihoods

Regarding the impact migration can bring in the lives of those who migrate, their households and their locality and areas of destination there are conflicting arguments. The one group asserts that migration had positive impacts in changing the lives of the migrants themselves and their families. On the other hand, the other argument is the impact of migration is negative in the sense that migrants face different challenges in their place of destination and thus, they will not become successful in changing either their own livelihood or their sending families. The researcher tried to see these positions from the perspective of attaining sustainable rural livelihoods and sustainable changes on the livelihood of the migrants.

The literature identifies negative as well as positive attributes of migration. In considering these, it is helpful to distinguish adverse experiences of migrants themselves (weak social status, harassment, violence, debt bondage, lack of redress against mistreatment by employers and public officials) from the roles that migration can play in reducing the vulnerability and poverty of the resident group. The adverse experience of being a migrant is in part created by public stances and policies, both internally and internationally, that result in migration being viewed in negative terms. These are susceptible to reversal by policy changes aimed specifically at protecting migrants' rights and raising their social status (Ellis, 2003:7).

2.2.1. Positive Impacts

In recent years, international and internal migration has increasingly been recognized as a positive force for development, as migrants transfer knowledge and skills to receiving and origin locations, channel investments and remittances, and foster economic linkages and business opportunities between countries and regions (UNCSD, 2012:1).

According to Ellis (2003) different types of migration play multiple and complex roles in reducing the vulnerability of households and in potentially enabling virtuous spirals of asset accumulation that can provide families with exit routes from poverty. Ellis and other writers on rural development believe that migration can change the lives of the migrants by taking into account the nature of the economic activities in the developing world. For this group of scholars in the context where the farmers are unable to produce enough for their households in their agricultural activities, migration is a way of averting risks of food insecurity and other dangers.

Ellis (2003) argued that in order to move out of poverty, poor households have to increase the assets that they can deploy productively in order to generate higher incomes. Numerous studies have observed that moving out of poverty is a cumulative process, often achieved in tiny increments. Assets are traded up in sequence, for example, chickens to goats, to cattle, to land; or, cash from non-farm income to farm inputs to higher farm income to land or to livestock. As we have seen from the experiences of the migrating communities in developing countries the migrants will return to their home after brief stay in the urban centers where they can find job opportunities and make some earning. In the context of child out migration in Gurage zone, rather than migrations being seasonal, there is more a tendency to be permanent migrant and keeping contact with families by sending remittance periodically for holidays, annual cultural and religious ceremonies and festivals.

According to Worku (1995) there are large numbers of people who migrated with the expectation of sending some remittance to the household members in the place of origin. Hence, migration of a family member is used as a means of income diversification. The point of the debate in this case is that whether or not the remittance can bring substantial change in the livelihood of the family in the place of their origin.

Woldie et al (2010:67) from their survey result found that the main usage of remittance from migration are to repay debt, buy cattle, clothes, food grains, cover festival expenditure, construct/improve house, buy watch, radio, tape recorder, cover children's educational expenses and start new business. The problem is that since the money is spent on paying the debt of farm inputs and expenses of various ceremonies like wedding and festivals there is little room for saving and investing on assets that can change their lives. If we are talking about the rural development in general and enhancing the livelihoods of the rural poor there by ensuring sustainable livelihood and development they need to build their assets (natural, physical, human, social and financial). But the income from migration may not be enough to invest on these capitals.

2.2.2. Negative Impacts

Researchers particularly in the African context, point to the fact that migration is selective of the young, the educated, the innovative, and the energetic; leaving behind the very young, the apathetic, the retired and tired, the illiterate and the infirmed. Thus, those who will stimulate the local economy and contribute to improvement in household living conditions are lost, engendering and perpetuating rural poverty and dependency, thereby undermining rural social viability (Lockwood, 1990; Adepoju, 1983; Makinwa, 1981 cited in Mberu, 2005:4).

The economic activities of the rural areas are mainly agricultural related tasks, which are performed manually or with application of old technology. Hence, the nature of their economic activity is labor intensive. Furthermore, the fast rate of rural-urban migration in developing countries is mainly practiced among the active labor force. Therefore, these conflicting realities lead to the decrease in total productivity of the households in particular and the place of origin in general (Worku, 1995).

Apart from the risks and uncertainties associated with rural urban migration, migrant at final destination appeared to be vulnerable to many factors such as unemployment thereby adding to already teeming population of the unemployed in the urban areas. The danger posed by this army of unemployed youths has been a serious concern to security in urban areas (Koko and Abdulahi, 2012:25).

Actually, scholars like Ellis admit that there are downsides of migration but he hoped that these weak sides could be addressed by policy mechanisms. But it is not clear that what kind of policy intervention could protect the migrants from adverse effects of migration. According to Woldie et al. (2010) in the context where there are no rules and regulations to govern the relationship between the migrant laborers and employers, the migrants would become vulnerable to labor exploitation. The issue of labor exploitation needs attention especially in the context of child out migration as they may be subjected to child labor abuse in the absence of good social network to minimize the harms they may encounter.

Mberu (2005:19) points out how those who stay behind in places of origin not only suffer the loss of a member of the family, but there are also economic costs incurred. When young families migrate, the care of the weak, infirm and old may be put at risk. Another form of expense incurred by those who stay behind is providing the means for the migrants to make their enterprise successful. The most immediate problem for family members left behind is to survive socially and economically until the migrant returns or starts to send home remittances. This has occasioned the reversal of obligations, with economically vulnerable migrants returning unsuccessful or relying on their places of origin as vital safety valve and welfare option.

The other contrasting proposition has been made that under certain circumstances migration may impoverish, or keep going the chronic poverty of, those who stay behind (Kothari, 2003 cited in Ellis, 2003:9). However, Woldie et al. argued that if the migration is seasonal like what is happening in northern part of Ethiopia the migrants arrange the time for leaving their farm and households after the times of sowing and avoid the problems that could arise with their absence. Even they put some money for their remaining family if there are any unanticipated problems at the home and to cover costs of labor if need arises. Nevertheless, the reality in out migration of children from Gurage zone is different. Because, once the children migrated to towns and established themselves; there is no way they will return to village to begin life in place of origin, they would rather continue to live in towns and send remittance to their families.

Woldie et al (2010) reported on their findings that migration has both positive and negative impacts on the host environment. The positive impacts are providing a cheap labor force for the host area and overcoming labor shortages, which in turn contribute to the development of the destination area. It also contributes as a source of earnings for people with small businesses, who provide goods and services to labor migrants. Apart from this, seasonal

migrants have negative impacts on destination areas, such as disease contamination, environmental pollution and pressure on services such as transportation and health services.

In addition, the migration into urban areas means, they are introducing themselves with new environment in terms of physical set up of the area and the culture as well. Their interaction with the people in the study area would create acculturation or what is called assimilation. Some of the results of this cultural change might be seen as undesirable by the local people, when they return back to their places of origin (Worku, 1995).

2.3. Migration, Livelihoods and Institutions

The reasons behind migration, as well as the opportunities for and restrictions on it, are socially embedded and reflect power imbalances and roles related to gender, age, ethnicity and caste. These roles and power imbalances determine how much access and use of certain resources people have, the capacities and strategies of negotiation and decision making they have, as well as who migrates and who does not (Thieme, 2008:52).

In the African context, migration is fundamentally a family affair than an individual activity and the sending of remittances by migrants is identified as one of the strongest and most pervasive phenomenon in Africa's migration systems. Accordingly, individual migration is a way for the household to maximize its chances for survival by diversifying its sources of income and spreading its risks (Stark and Bloom, 1985 cited in Mberu, 2005:4). In Ethiopia the trend is also similar according to Woldie et al. (2010) the seasonal migrants decide at household level who, where, when, and how to move. But, as the child out migration in Gurage zone is mostly permanent the decision making may not be similar to that of seasonal migration.

Migration is part of active livelihood strategies, but is also determined by social context, and is determined by social norms and structures. Household composition, gendered ideologies and social contacts and networks determine who migrates, and who can profit from opportunities arising elsewhere. Migration tends to be less disruptive of social structures than often assumed. Migrants are agents of change, economically, technologically, but also socially and politically: migration may reinforce 'traditional' structures, ideologies and support networks, but migrants also create new identities (de Haan, 2000:1).

Migration is not an atomistic reaction to economic or environmental pressure, but is embedded in societal rules and norms. Two kinds of institutions have been identified as having a particularly strong impact on migration – and in turn are structured by migration: the networks through which migrants obtain access to resources, and households' structure and management. These institutions determine the contribution migration can make to improving livelihoods, but this link is by no means direct or simple (de Haan et al, 2002:39).

Migration patterns are often observed to correspond more closely to historical and cultural criteria than to short-term economic calculation. Likewise, the nature of implicit compacts between migrants and their resident families is deeply rooted in culture and society (Ellis, 2003:2). In the past the widely held wisdom was that migration decisions were considered to be done by individual choices initiated by economic motives at the places of destination. Undeniably most migration decisions are loaded with economic motives of getting better job opportunities. Nevertheless, the migration decisions are neither individual nor mere economic interests.

Especially in counties like Ethiopia where the rural population is characterized by strong social solidarity, individuals are not free to decide to migrate or not, rather it would be based on decisions of the household members mainly the household head. Therefore, in order to understand the impacts of migration on the sustainable rural livelihoods, we need to think through the nature of the society from which the migrants came, the type of relation they had with their communities and expectations of their households. Then this brings us to the next issue that is whether the community had favorable or unfavorable attitude towards migration itself.

Perceptions towards migration and its impact on rural livelihoods

According to Woldie et al. (2010) the migration decisions of the rural dwellers is highly affected by the attitudes about both the migration itself and migrants from origin. These perceptions are shaped by the social, cultural and religious institutions that could foster favorable or unfavorable attitudes towards migrants and migration (leaving one's place of birth). In their field research Woldie et al. (2010) states that in areas where migration is taken as a norm the whole family members migrate seasonally to places where they can find job opportunities, in contrast in communities where migration is not taken as an option individuals afraid to take decisions of leaving their origin.

In the context of child out migration in Gurage zone majority of the community has positive perception towards migration as they believe it may bring changes in their livelihoods and the children's as well. However, if the out migration couldn't result in significant changes both in the livelihood of the remaining members of the family and the migrants themselves, the people in place of origin may develop negative perception towards migration. Therefore, as far as migration brought changes in migrants and their families, the community develops positive attitude towards the migrants and migration itself.

2.4. Migration and Economic Development

In current development planning the development-migration relationship plays out in two main ways. First, development strategies are proposed to reduce population movements which are seen as inimical to development - an example would be so called stay-at-home development strategies which are designed to promote development and at the same time reduce emigration pressure (Ghosh 1992: 423 cited in McDowell and de Hann, 1997:6).

In Ethiopia, the EPRDF strategy document makes only two direct references to migration. The first states as 'desirable' the objective to a reduce urban-bound migration as a consequence of 'increased utilization of labor within the agricultural sector' (EPRDF Agricultural Sector Strategy, 1995:12); and the second, recommends the creation of 'favorable conditions for the nomadic population ... ultimately [to] become settlers' (EPRDF Agricultural Sector Strategy, 1995:18 cited in McDowell and de Hann, 1997:6).

Second, population movements are seen as consequences, often unintended, of development interventions. For example, structural adjustment measures indirectly induce displacement. Sometimes, forced population displacement is even justified to advance development and provide an opportunity for national poverty reduction measures - for example, infrastructural development projects that directly induce population displacement and resettlement (McDowell, 1996).

The literature on the relationship between migration and development is inadequate to understand the complexity. All too often, migration is seen simply as a consequence of economic development (and interventions), and little analysis exists of the effects of migration on, particularly, areas of origin. Development strategies often intend to reduce the number of migrants, neglecting the central role migration plays in the livelihoods of people (McDowell and de Haan, 1997).

However, there is no consensus, as to the relationship between migration and improvements in living conditions. Some empirical works have presented a different position on the direction of relationship between migration and development. Return migrants for instance were shown to manifest only slightly elevated earning power and living standards, with little actual social mobility (Gmelch, 1980; Rhodes, 1977; Krane, 1973 cited in Mberu, 2005:4). Therefore, in the context of sustainable rural livelihoods we cannot surely argue migration could enhance the living conditions of the rural poor.

Remittances enhance levels of income, but they also tend to increase inequality, especially if migration destinations are hard to reach, and investments needed for migration high. On the other hand, national remittances may decrease inequality, as recent IDS research in Bangladesh suggests (de Haan et al., 2000).

Here, as with respect to the questions regarding who migrates, and how migration affects economic development in the area of origin, the answer seems to be context-dependent. The migration–poverty relationship depends on both the kinds of work taken up by the migrants – for example, in some cases new skills may be learnt which can be put to use once the migrant returns – and the channels for remitting income, and opportunities for investing these back home (de Haan, 2002:110). Therefore, even though migration does not assure economic growth, simultaneously it provides the option to utilize alternatives available to enhance one’s living standard.

2.5. Migration and Gender

Migration is often explained through narratives in which rural inhabitants; mostly men migrate in response to negative factors such as environmental change, population growth or increasing economic pressure (de Haan et al., 2002:37). The researcher believes this is one of the gaps in the literatures of migration that needed to be filled with empirical evidences of the

existence of burgeoning trend of women migration to urban areas and engaging in different activities.

Besides, the migration pattern is not limited to the above mentioned negative factors; rather there are other related socio-cultural, economic, and infrastructural factors that contributed to movement of people. In the past in rural areas women were expected to stay at their homes to perform their traditional gender roles, rather than moving to other places and find ways to enhance the lives of their own as well as their families. Consequently, those women who decided to move out of their localities were subjected to discrimination and considered as deviants from the culture of the society. However, recently as there are better opportunities to improve their livelihoods women start to migrate to towns. According to de Haan (1999) through rural urban migration young girls are being taken to the cities in the form of marriage. But, this is no longer the only case to introduce women themselves with urban settings.

In Ethiopia the migration of young females to Arab countries for domestic work has created both challenges and opportunities for the livelihoods of the migrants as well as their families. Due to the lack of knowledge about the working conditions and enforceable rights many migrant women were subjected to labor exploitations and psychological and physical damages. On the other hand those migrants who find good employers were able to send and return back with good deal of remittance and changed the lives of their households significantly.

2.6. Theories of Migration

According to Hagen-Zanker (2008) migration theories can be classified according to the level they focus on. Micro-level theories focus on individual migration decisions, whereas macro-level theories look at aggregate migration trends and explain these trends with macro-level

explanations. The meso-level is in between the micro and macro level, e.g. on the household or community level and can explain both causes and perpetuation of migration.

The table below shows how migration theories could be conceptualized with various levels of analysis. This study mainly focused on micro and meso-level theories such as social capital and cumulative and circular causation theories. The study also takes micro-level theory i.e. Ravenstein’s and Lee’s theories of push/pull factors.

Table 2.1 Migration Theories

Micro-level	Meso-level	Macro-level
Migration cause: Individual values/ desires/ expectancies e.g. improving survival, wealth, etc.	Migration cause/perpetuation: Collectives/ social networks e.g. social ties	Migration cause/perpetuation: Macro level opportunity structure e.g. economic structure (income and employment opportunities differentials)
Main theories: Lee’s push/pull factors (Lee) Neoclassical micro migration theory (Sjaastad) Behavioral models (Wolpert) Theory of social systems (Hoffman-Novonty)	Main theories: Social capital theory (Bourdieu and Wacquant) Institutional theory (Sandron) Network theory (Tylor) Cumulative causation (Massey) New Economics of Labor Migration (Morokvasic)	Main theories: Neoclassical macro migration theory (Lewis, Ranis and Fei) Migration as a system (Mabogunje) Dual labor market theory (Priore) World systems theory (Wallerstein) Mobility transition (Zelinsky)

Source: Hagen-Zanker (2008:5)

2.6.1 Ravenstein’s Laws of Migration

Ravenstein coined his ideas in 1880s, and considered as a pioneer in the field of migration. Ravenstein has stated important points in the causes and the nature of migration. According to him, migrants move from places of low opportunity to high opportunity. In this regard, economic reason is taken the central reason for their migration. Furthermore, the kind of opportunity created in the destination area will determine the volume of the migration, for

example the expansion of trade area. The other key concept that this study has come across is the negative correlation between migration and distance, i.e. the migrants prefer to migrate to short distances and in a staged process to reach to their destination (Veer, 1995).

2.6.2. Lee's theory of Migration

This theory is built on the basic theories of Ravenstein's principle of migration. According to Lee, migration mainly results due to push and pull factors, but he underlined that the push factor is strong to influence migration than the pull factor. Lee has mentioned that there are intervening obstacles such as costs of migration, policies (laws) that influence rural-urban migration is said to be selective in his theory (Veer, 1995).

Lee (1966) was the first to formulate migration in a push-pull framework on an individual level, looking at both the supply and demand side of migration. Positive and negative factors at the origin and destination push and pull migrants towards (non) migration, hindered by intervening factors, e.g. migration laws and affected by personal factors, e.g. how the migrant perceives the factors. He makes a number of predictions, for example that greater diversity among people leads to more migration and for this reason there are high rates of migration within the United States (Hagen-Zanker, 2008:9).

2.6.3. Theory of Cumulative and Circular Causation

Migration becomes more and more common since it has started, by sustaining itself. Past migration alters the context in which current migration decisions are made by changing the socio-economic context and macro environment of migrant households that then affect the migration decisions of future migrants. Networks expand; migration becomes part of local culture and makes migration more and more accessible to all levels of the population.(Massey, 1990 cited in Hagen-Zanker, 2008:18).

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. (Fussell and Massey 2004 cited in Frework, 2007:15)

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 cited in Frework, 2007:15).

2.6.4. Social Capital Theory

Migrant networks are sets of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants, and non-migrants to one another through relations of kinship, friendship, and shared community origin. Network connections increase the likelihood of international migration because they lower the costs and risks of movement and increase the expected net returns to migration. Having a tie to someone who has migrated yields social capital, that people can draw upon to gain access to an important kind of financial capital, that is, high foreign wages, which offer the possibility of accumulating savings abroad and sending remittances home (Palloni et al., 2001:3).

Social relations and social capital in households, neighborhoods, communities and more formal organizations help migrants in the migration decision and adaptation process, so they are both a resource and an integrating device. Different social relations imply different social capital and obligations and outcomes, for example exchange relationships (e.g. between

migrant and migration-brokers) are based on weak social ties and usually do not imply solidarity or reciprocity between the parties involved. Social capital can be seen as a resource that is acquired as a result of different kinds of relationship and can be converted into other types of capital (e.g. borrowing money for migration from your neighbor). Through the use of concepts like social relations or social capital the mechanism with which macro factors shape micro-decision making is made clearer. One example of social ties and social capital in practice is the network theory.(Hagen-Zanker, 2008:17)

2.7. Sustainable Livelihood Framework (SLF) and Migration

Within the sustainable livelihoods framework, three broad clusters of livelihood strategies are identified. These are: agricultural intensification/extensification, livelihood diversification and migration. Broadly, these are seen to cover the range of options open to rural people. Either you gain more of your livelihood from agriculture (including livestock rearing, aquaculture, forestry etc.) through processes of intensification (more output per unit area through capital investment or increases in labor inputs) or extensification (more land under cultivation), or you diversify to a range of off-farm income earning activities, or you move away and seek a livelihood, either temporarily or permanently, elsewhere. Or, more commonly, you pursue a combination of strategies together or in sequence (Scoones, 1998:9).

Migration as a livelihood Strategy

Livelihood strategies are the range and combination of activities and choices that people undertake in order to maintain their livelihood. This is a dynamic process which people combine activities to meet their various needs at different times. Agricultural intensification, diversification and migration are the three core livelihood strategies (Ellis, 2000).

Migration is best understood as one of the strategies adopted by individuals, households or communities to enhance their livelihoods. This strategy is much more common than is often assumed, and has been so throughout history (de Haan, 2000:11).

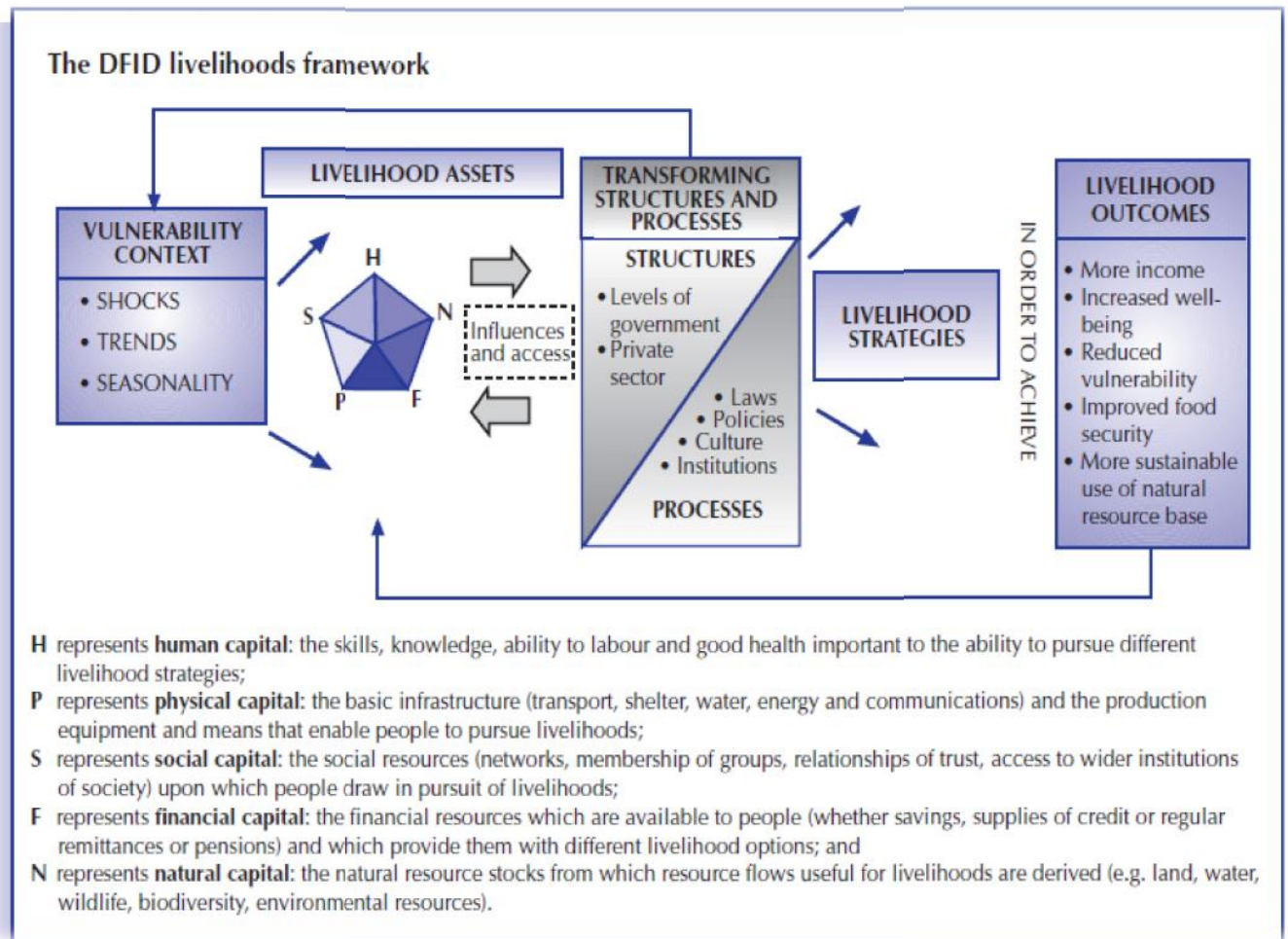
Population mobility is a norm rather than an exception in human history. From the remote past, human beings have been in a constant state of movement over varying distances, and for different reasons. Effective migration strategies help people to reduce the risks of seasonality, harvest failure, etc. (de Hann, 2000).

The researcher made an effort to analyze child out migration from the perspective of sustainable livelihoods framework. According to the framework, migration is among the three main livelihood strategies adopted by households to cope with the vulnerability context of seasonality, shocks and trends.

In addition the framework emphasizes the centrality of livelihood assets to make a livelihood sustainable. As discussed in the analytical framework the livelihood assets play significant role in making the household's livelihood sustainable and attain economic development by elevating themselves from poverty. Low physical capital (infrastructures like road and electricity) and weak human capital (poor health and education access) and poor financial capital (access to credit and saving) mainly contribute for child out migration in the study area.

However, the mere presence or absence of these livelihood assets cannot bring change in the rural livelihoods; for instance the community may have good natural capital – cultivable land, water and different environmental resources. But if these resources are not supplemented by good human and physical capital they cannot bring meaningful changes in the livelihoods of the rural residents.

Fig. 2.2 The DFID Livelihoods Framework



Source: (Rick, 2002)

Furthermore the framework incorporated the role of governmental and private sectors in migration process; how laws, policies, culture and institutions affect the migration decision. If there are laws and policies that protect the rights of migrants in the place of destination, the migration trend may increase. Cultural factors like norms and values of the sending community also affect the migration decision and trends. Institutional factors like the family structure, decision making system and gender issues also affect the migration trends and decisions.

Finally the livelihood outcomes are presented, whether migration as part livelihood strategy brought the necessary outcome like more income, increased well-being. Considering

livelihood outcomes child out migration in Gurage zone could be conceptualized as source of income generation for migrants themselves and remittance for their families.

However, from the perspective of sustainability the outcomes need to be analyzed whether or not they had brought sustainable changes especially in the living conditions of their families. Because, if the remittance sent cannot bring significant change in the livelihoods of the rural communities one cannot say migration had compensated the gap created in the agricultural production by the departure of the productive youth labor force.

2.8. Analytical Framework for Migration

Based on the above mentioned theories of migration and the DFID framework, the researcher developed analytical framework to identify the determinants of out migration and decision of migration. In the analytical framework, the researcher adapted the DFID livelihood framework components – the vulnerability context (shocks, trends and seasonality) and livelihood assets (natural, physical, social, human, financial capitals).

Hence, the shocks for the parents in relation to the child out migration may be decline in agricultural productivity; while on the part of the migrants is failure in their livelihood activities for example setback in their trade activities. The increasing trend of out migration may bring negative impacts on the socio-economic activities of the rural communities, whereas if migration trend continues to increase the job opportunities for the new comers may decrease. In addition, considering the vulnerability context there is a seasonality of remittance sent by the children to their families and similarly the seasonality of the income generation by the migrants.

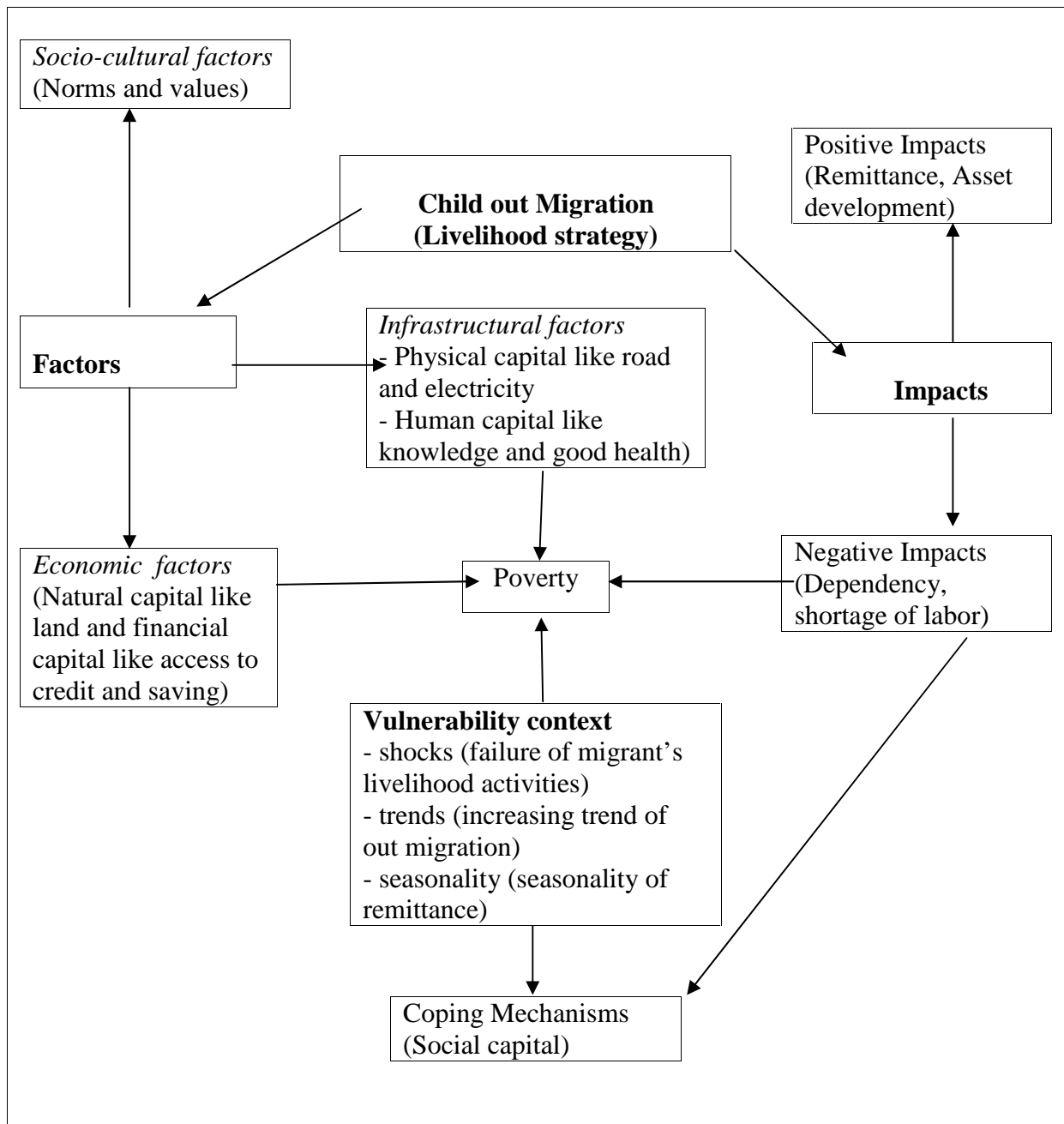
The researcher analyzed the importance of the livelihood assets in instigating or curbing migration decisions and trends by integrating them in the analytical framework as economic, infrastructural, and socio-cultural factors as indicated in the figure below. The major

economic factor behind the mass child out migration in the study area as well as in Gurage zone is poverty. The poverty of the people is intensified by low physical capital like lack of access to road and electricity (infrastructural factor).

In addition low human capital resulted from low access to education (school) and health care service may also affect the migration decision and trend, because less education and low health status means declined agricultural productivity. Meanwhile, less agricultural productivity could expose households to shocks of food insecurity or at least vulnerability to food shortage. Consequently, households turn in to migration as a survival livelihood strategy. Moreover, the poverty is deepened by low natural capital – shortage of land as the average plot of land is small and not suitable for cultivation due to the nature of the landscape. In addition low financial capital i.e. less access to credit and poor habit of saving declined their economic capacity.

The trend of migration is also affected by the positive and negative impacts of the migration both on the livelihood of the sending households and the migrants themselves. From economic point of view it is obvious that the trend will continue to increase as long as the benefits outweigh the drawbacks. The major advantage of migration is remittance from migrant children. Asset development both by the migrants and their families is the other important advantage.

Fig. 2.1 Analytical framework – Multi-dimensional determinants of child out migration



As cumulative and circular causation theory argues the migration decisions and trends are highly affected by the success achieved by the previous migrants. The more migrants succeed in their lives and brought changes in the livelihood of themselves and their families the migration trend in that area will increase. The negative impacts of child out migration on the lives of migrants and their families may also affect the trend of migration.

The challenges and coping mechanisms play a vital role on the increasing or decreasing trend of migration. As indicated in the analytical framework social capital is the way out of challenges and difficulties. According to the social capital theory the existence of strong social ties between places of origin and destination determines the trend and decision of migration, because migrants became successful if they have strong social ties in their places of destination who can nurture them with the new environment.

Chapter Three: Description of the Study Area and Socio-Economic and Demographic Characteristics

3.1. Description of the Study Area

This study is carried out in Gurage Zone of Southern Nations Nationalities and People's Regional State (SNNPR). The woreda is found 215 km to the south-west of Addis Ababa on the main road from Addis Ababa to Jimma. The Administrative capital of the woreda is Hawariat town. Muher and Aklil woreda shares borders with Meskan woreda in East, Abeshge and Edja woreda in West, Kokir-Gedebano woreda in North, and Edja woreda in South

In Muher and Aklil woreda there are 33 kebeles. This study is conducted in two kebeles: Selam and Ginab kebeles. Majority of the kebeles are found in the intermediate zone (Woina Degga) and some kebeles in lowland (Qola) and high lands (Degga) (WOA, 2014). The total land area of the woreda is 472.91 square kilometer. The population density per square kilometer for SNNPR is 168.9 persons, while for Gurage zone it is 259.8 persons and for Muher and Aklil woreda is 217.8 persons (CSA, 2013).

Form the two study kebeles, Ginab kebele is more densely populated than that of Selam kebele. Because, the average land holding size per household for Ginab kebele is 0.71 hectare, while in Selam kebele it is 1.26 hectare. The average household size of the woreda is 4.5 persons. The total fertility rate of Gurage zone is 3.86 per annum (CSA, 2007).

3.1.1. Climate and Soil Type

Muher and Aklil woreda have a bimodal rainfall pattern; i.e. the main rainy season (Meher) from June to August and the short rain season (Belg), which covers the months from February to April. The data from the Woreda's Office of Agriculture shows the soil type in the woreda is mainly reddish (Plinthosol); and brownish (Cambisol) in some kebeles. The soil

is exposed to water and wind erosion. The topography of the area is the major factor aggravating the soil erosion. The woreda administration is working on soil and water protection in cooperation with the community (WOA, 2014).

The elders noted that the rain fall and weather condition is changing as a result of climate change in recent years. The temperature is rising from time to time and their *Enset* cultivation is taking longer period than the previous years.

One male farmer (age 61) mentioned the climate change as follows:

“In the recent past we started to restrict cattle from entering the communal land (serege) in months of June to the Meskel holiday, and then our cattle will graze it until November comfortably with good grass content. However recently, since the drier seasons are so hard and hot the grass is not growing in the same way as before. As a result the soil becomes drier and shorter. Nowadays, the rainy seasons are shortening and the amount of rainfall is lessening from time to time.”

3.1.2. Socio-Economic Characteristics of the Study Area

Demographic Characteristics

According to the 2007 Ethiopian Population and Housing Census report, the total population of Muher and Aklil woreda is 87,033 of which 40,621 are male and 46, 412 female which accounts for 46.67% and 53.33% respectively residing in 19,425 households. In the same report the population size of Ginab kebele is 3,317, when disaggregated by sex there are 1458 males and 1859 females residing in 760 households. In Selam kebele there are 2479 people where 1,074 are males and 1,405 are females living in 565 households (CSA, 2007).

Religion and Ethnic Characteristics

Vast majority of the people in Muher and Aklil woreda are followers of Orthodox Christianity. According to the 2007 CSA report 64,508 people are Orthodox Christians followed by 22,539 Muslims. There are also 468 Protestants, 70 Catholics, 68 traditional, and 103 other religion followers (CSA, 2007). Majority of the people in the woreda are Gurages composed of different clans. There are also few residents from Amhara and Oromo ethnic groups.

3.1.3. Rural Economy

In Muher and Aklil woreda the main source of income is agriculture which comprises of crop production and livestock rearing. The economy in the study area is also dependent on the remittance from children in urban areas. The staple food in Gurage zone as well as in the study area is *Enset* (false banana). According to the woreda officials this crop has also an adverse effect on the working habit of the community. As it is drought resistant and easy to cultivate, the people became careless to undertake other farming activities to produce perennial and annual crops. The researcher as well observed only few households utilized their cultivable land for various crop productions.

On the other hand, hard-working farmers cultivate barley, wheat, pea, bean, chat, coffee, etc. Though, majority of the people argued as their land is insufficient to produce those crops on the remaining land from *Enset*, trees for fuel and grass land for their cattle. Eucalyptus tree is the main source of fuel for household consumption. Horse is the main means of transportation of people and goods. Hence, the rural economy largely depends on the remittance obtained from children and relatives living in urban areas which in turn has an adverse effect on the rural development as a whole.

According to the farmers *Enset* had multi-faceted purposes in the rural economy. In addition to serving as a staple food being prepared in different ways, it is also source of income for those who had enough of it by selling it in the market or substituting it for other goods like cabbage or potato. Besides, *Enset* serves as a rope for fencing the compound. Moreover, *Enset* has a function of preventing soil erosion given the landscape of the woreda in particular and the zone in general is rugged and rough.



Fig. 3.1 Enset the staple food of Gurage community

The area is endowed with natural capitals like land, forests, and water bodies; but lacks good physical capital of basic infrastructures like road network and electricity. The area also lacked good human capital of skilled labor and healthy community. The community had weak financial capital as there are no savings, supplies of credit and regular remittances. Nevertheless, the community had a good social capital in which they use their social tie to help each other socially and economically.

3.2. Demographic and Socio-Economic Characteristics of the Respondents

3.2.1. Sex of Respondents

According to the survey data among the 150 parent respondents 79 of them, which accounts for 52.7 percent were males, whereas the rest 71 respondents or (47.3%) were females. The survey on migrants included 80 males and 20 females.

Table 3.1 Frequency and Percentage distribution of respondents by Sex

Sex	Parent respondents (N=150)		Migrant respondents (N=100)	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Male	79	52.7	80	80
Female	71	47.3	20	20

Source: own survey, 2015

3.2.2. Age of respondents

From the parent survey respondents almost half of them (44%) were between the ages of 45-54. The next majority age group is 35-44 which accounts for (22%) followed by 55-64 that is 20%. The old age which is above 65 is 10.7 percent. The smallest portion of the respondents is the youth group between 25-34 accounts for only 3.3 percent i.e. limited to 5 respondents out of 150. The mean (average) age of parent respondents is 49.94, which is very close to 50 years. Accordingly, we can understand from this age distribution the rural community is

composed of people at the age of adulthood and old age. This age distribution has an adverse effect on the agricultural production and the entire socio-economic activity of the community.

Table 3.2 Frequency and Percentage distribution of respondents by Age

	Age Group	Frequency	Percentage
Age of Parent respondents (N=150)	25-34	5	3.3
	35-44	33	22
	45-54	66	44
	55-64	30	20
	65 and above	16	10.7
Age of Migrants when they came to Addis (N=100)	6-10	12	12
	11-15	36	36
	16-18	52	52
Current Age of Migrants respondents (N=100)	18-25	39	39
	26-35	55	55
	36-45	6	6

Source: own survey, 2015

The researcher made the survey on migrants by asking the age at which they left village. Hence, when we see the age distribution at the departure, majority of them (52%) were between the ages of 16-18 which is similar to the idea of parents about the age children move from their place of origin; after taking the grade 10 national exam. The rest 36% of respondents left village between the ages of 11-15 and 12% between ages of 6-10. Based on this when we calculate the mean (average) age when they moved to Addis Ababa was 14.

As indicated in the table above, the current age distribution of migrant respondents out of the 100 respondents (55%) of them are between ages of 26-35, while 39 percent of the respondents are between the ages of 18-25. The remaining 6 percent are between the ages of

36-45. According to the elders, majority of the rural residents, especially the males had an experience of migration at their young ages.

One male elder (age 62)said the following:

“Most of us used to live in towns as migrants. Many of us returned to village as a result of failure in our trade, sickness and parents demand to control the land by getting married here. Therefore, most us who are living here are adults and elders, the energetic youths are now living in towns like Addis Ababa, Diredawa, Harar, Jigjiga, Hawassa, Dilla, Yirgacheffe, Moyale, etc.”

3.2.3. Marital status of respondents

As indicated in the table below, majority of the respondents (128) were married which accounts for 85 percent. Only one respondent was found to be divorced while 14 percent of the respondents had lost their partners due death. According to the elders, the reason behind this kind of marital status is the people tend to remarry when their spouses are deceased, rather than staying unmarried.

Table 3.3 Frequency and Percentage distribution of respondents by marital status

Marital status	Parent respondents (N=150)		Migrant respondents (N=100)	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Never Married	0	0	86	86
Married	128	85.3	14	14
Divorced	1	.7	0	0
Widowed	21	14.0	0	0

Source: own survey, 2015

3.2.4. Family Size

The survey revealed the family size of parent respondents ranges from three up to thirteen. The majority of parent respondents (63.3%) of them have a family size of 6-8 followed by 19.3% and 17.3% who have a family size of 9-13 and 3-5 respectively. As we can see from the cross tabulation below in families where there are many children, it is more likely many

of the children tend to migrate. Likewise, the correlation column shows the presence of strong and positive correlation (.832 closer to 1) between number of family size and number of children migrated.

According to the elders and the woreda officials the reason behind this large family size is sex preference to have sons than daughters. As the males are believed to be economically better and able cope with difficulties and change the life of themselves and their families.

**Table 3.4: Cross Tabulation – Number of children migrated *
Family size of the parent respondents**

		Family size of the respondents			Total	Correlation
		3-5	6-8	9-13		
Number of children migrated	1	12	0	0	12	.832**
	2	13	6	0	19	
	3	1	37	0	38	
	4	0	46	5	51	
	5	0	6	16	22	
	6	0	0	5	5	
	7	0	0	2	2	
	8	0	0	1	1	
Total		26	95	29	150	

**P<0.01.

Source: own survey, 2015

3.2.5. The Educational Status of the respondents

Regarding the educational status, majority of the parent respondents (60.7%) are illiterate or cannot read and write. This figure indicates the existence of high level of illiteracy like most of rural parts in Ethiopia. Among the respondents 17.3 percent and 14 percent are primary complete and who can read and write respectively. There was only one respondent who had a diploma level of education and nine respondents that completed high school education.

According to the focus group discussants this illiteracy is resulted from lack of access to schools in the vicinity and less attention to education on the behalf of their parents in the past. Consequently, this low level of human capital (knowledge) has an impact on their livelihood activities, because low level of education means low use of modern agricultural technologies which can affect the productivity of the farmers.

Table 3.5 Frequency and Percentage distribution of respondents by Educational Status

Educational status	Parent respondents (N=150)		Migrant respondents (N=100)	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Cannot read and write	91	60.7	2	2
Read only	2	1.3	5	5
Read and write	21	14.0	20	20
Primary Complete	26	17.3	50	50
High School Complete	9	6.0	20	20
Diploma or above	1	.7	3	3

Source: own survey, 2015

As the above table shows from 100 migrant respondents, only half of them completed primary level of education, 20 percent of them can only read and write. Hence, low level of educational attainment means less access to formal governmental and non-governmental institutions.

3.2.6. Occupation of the respondents

Bearing in mind the educational status of parent respondents being largely illiterate (cannot read and write), it is not surprising that majority of them (87.3%) are farmers followed by 7.3 percent petty traders. The rest two percent were government employees and 2.7 percent respondents engaged in other jobs. There was only one artisan from the respondents.

Unfortunately the kebele officials stated that, there is backward attitude towards the work of artisans, blacksmiths and handicrafts as they are subjected to stereotype and discrimination and they call the handworkers ‘*Fuga or Nefure*’. Due to the educational background of rural residents which dominated by illiteracy, they have less access to enter the formal institutional structure. Consequently, they are forced to stay in agricultural activities that do not need any formal training.

Table 3.6 Frequency and Percentage distribution of respondents by Occupation

	Occupation	Frequency	Percentage
Occupation of Parent respondents (N=150)	Farming	131	87.3
	Petty Trading	11	7.3
	Artesian	1	.7
	Government Employee	3	2.0
	Other	4	2.7
Occupation of Migrant respondents (N=100)	Trading	62	61
	Government Employee	3	4
	Student	16	16
	Daily Laborer	13	13
	Other	6	6

Source: own survey, 2015

Given most the migrants dropped out of school, it is expected that majority of them will not be employed by formal institutions. As the above table indicates 62 percent of migrant respondents are traders (engaged in trade and related activities) followed by 16 percent students. Most of the students are living with their brothers or sisters who had migrated earlier and established themselves.

Thus, reflecting back on the analytical framework and the DFID livelihoods framework the livelihood or socio-economic activities may highly be affected by the livelihood assets and

can increase or decrease the trend of migration, because low level of education limits the opportunity of the individuals to join formal governmental and non-governmental institutions. Besides, low education attainment may be related to less attention to one's own health conditions and this poor health status means low productivity in agricultural activities and in turn affects the household livelihood.

Chapter Four: Factors for and Impacts of Child Out-Migration

4.1. Factors for Child Out-Migration

4.1.1. Infrastructural factors

Road

Among the 150 parent respondents 148 of them or 98.7 percent agree that the absence of road is one of the reasons for child out migration. The respondents argued that in the absence of road they cannot even sale their products like potato and eucalyptus for good price. The table below summarizes the response of parents on whether the infrastructural limitations contributed for child out migration or not.

Table 4.1 what are the factors for migration?

		Frequency (N=150)	Percent (%)
Road	Yes	148	98.7
	No	2	1.3
Electricity	Yes	148	98.7
	No	2	1.3
School	Yes	138	92.0
	No	12	8.0

Source: own survey, 2015

However, the government officials do not agree with this opinion. They rather mentioned it is lack of interest to work and live in rural areas as the major reason for the out migration. Meanwhile, the woreda officials argued that the government is making an effort to connect kebeles with woredas by road as part of the GTP in the coming years.

One male focus group discussant (age 55) expressed the vitality of road access to their livelihood as follows:

“Here we plant eucalyptus tree in our land, we have plenty of it more than our demand for fuel and other purposes. Since there is no road access we cannot sell our trees, you know how expensive the value of trees in the towns is. Therefore, if there was access to road our children may plant trees and can sell it for good price had it been possible for the ISUZUs to enter to our villages and migration could decline as well. Besides, our land is good for potato production, but the surplus production is either sold for price of nothing in local market or is kept simply as a seed for the next year. Our children in the towns even tried to construct the road by their own cost to link this and other kebeles to Agena the administrative capital of Edja woreda. Yet, the officials of Muher and Aklil woreda were not ready to support them as they argued the woreda had its own plan to link the kebeles with its budget, but we didn't see anything so far. Finally, the money was returned to the contributors.”

Therefore, we can see from the above interview how lack of access to road network is hampering the whole socio-economic activity of the community. Consequently, according to the parents the youths are losing interest to live in their villages due to less opportunity to change their life by engaging in different activities. Nonetheless, the government officials are underlining lack of interest to work in rural areas is the key reason the children leave village. But still the government needs to assess why the children are losing interest to live in their village.

Electricity

From parent survey respondents 98.7 percent of them believe the absence of electricity in the kebeles is also among the contributing factors of child out migration. Nevertheless, the woreda officials do not agree with this idea either, because they argued that households can get electricity through solar energy, notwithstanding most households argued they cannot afford the cost of the solar light. The researcher also observed only few households managed to purchase solar electricity and according to the parents the cost of solar energy apparatus is not as easy as the woreda officials assumed.

According to the parents their children are forced to leave village as it is so hard to attend education in the absence of light to study and succeed in national exams. Consequently, the students cannot pass the secondary education leaving exam of grade 10, as there is shortage of time for study due to household responsibilities of the children. Afterwards, the children will migrate to towns in search of job.

One mother (age 51) expressed the importance of electricity in the following way:

“We have been living in this darkness for all these years, in these circumstances we do not want our children to suffer like we have suffered. It is enough that we live in these darkness and dirt. We want our children to live a better and healthier life. If they stayed here they will be as dirty as we are now. Especially in the summer everything difficult, it is so cold and dark. What is worse there is no road that links us to ‘Hawariat’ the woreda capital to buy or sell something they need or get themselves refreshed. In general it is very difficult for the young children to stay here for a long in the absence of electricity and road.”

The migrants also responded similarly that *“it is so depressing to live the whole of your life in the absence of electric light especially at this time. Usually the students come to towns for the summer break to their brothers and sisters. After they returned to their village they will always think about starting their own life at the cities. The children will be eager to catch up with the development and modernity in the cities.”* Therefore it is clear that the absence of electricity and the resultant failure in education paves the way for child out migration in to cities hoping things will change both for themselves and their families.

School

School especially the absence of secondary education (9-12) is stated as a factor for migration both by the parents and the migrants. 92 percent of the parent respondents believed that inaccessibility of secondary schools can be a cause for child out migration. According to the focus group discussants the migration decision of the children may possibly be affected by the inaccessibility of the secondary schools in their vicinity. For instance children from Selam

and Ginab kebeles are forced to travel for three hours a day to reach *Cheza Sefer* secondary school and two hours to reach Hawariat Preparatory school.

Accordingly, those students whose parents can cover the expenses for food and house rent will stay around the secondary school. But for those who cannot afford to pay those expenses are required to travel 15 hours a week. The hardest part for the students according to their parents is they cannot find an electricity to make their homework and study. In addition the children are expected to help their parents in household activities after school particularly the girls.

To this end, according to the parents the students couldn't succeed in passing the secondary school leaving national exam which is administered at grade 10. Consequently, the children do not see any option other than leaving village for towns. Yet, the government officials do not consider this as a factor for the out migration. They rather mentioned the success achieved by previous students who managed the challenges and joined higher institutions.

Thus far, many parents told their children had migrated to towns after they took the national exam and failed to join preparatory schools and higher education institutions due to the schools being far from their village and absence of electricity. And then the researcher saw the incompatibility of view between the community members and the government representatives.

Generally, the above findings support the Ravenstein's laws of migration and Lee's theory of migration. As discussed in the literature review part of this paper Ravenstein maintained migrants move from places of low opportunity to high opportunity. As discussed earlier due to the absence of road and electricity there are very few opportunities for the youth to change their livelihood, as the parents mentioned there is shortage of land to undertake agricultural activities.

On the other hand, as many Gurages prefer to migrate to long distances not in staged process, the idea of negative correlation between migration and distance is not working at least recently. According to Worku (2000) in the early stages of Gurage urban migration the migrants tend to move to Addis Ababa which is relatively closer than the current destinations. However, the recent trend shows Gurages migrate longer distances at once to towns like Diredawa, Jigjiga, Dilla, Yirgachefe, Hageremariam, Moyale, etc.

Lee's theory of migration applies to the context of Gurage out migration. As he explained migration results due to pull and push factors and underlined the push factor is strong to influence migration which is true in the study area. The above discussed infrastructural limitations can be regarded as push factors and the better economic opportunities for oneself and sending remittance for family are considered pull factors.

4.1.2. Socio-Cultural and Economic factors

4.1.2.1. Migration as a cultural norm

There has been an understanding that migration of Gurages is a cultural norm or tradition continued from the past. Yet, according to the response of the parents it is all about economic necessity and survival. The most important thing is the success or failure of previous migrants that may determine the migration decision and trend.

As the survey result revealed majority of the parent respondents or 74.7 percent do not consider migration as cultural norm or tradition, rather only 25.3 percent of them believe migration is a cultural norm. The focus group discussants also stressed that migration is economic necessity than a tradition.

Table 4.2 Socio-Cultural and Economic factors for migration

		Frequency (N= 150)	Percent (%)
Cultural Norm	Yes	38	25.3
	No	112	74.7
Economic Necessity	Yes	143	95.3
	No	7	4.7
Personal Choice	Yes	44	29.3
	No	106	70.7

Source: own survey, 2015

According to theory of cumulative and circular causation, the previous migration determines the current migration decision by changing the socio-economic context and macro environment of migrant households that then affects the migration decisions of potential future migrants. This is true in the context of Gurage migration as the current migrants are affected by the changes they observe in the lives of migrant households. This theory also adds networks expand and migration becomes part of local culture. However in contrary to this theory migration is not practicable by all levels of the population, as the migration is dominated by the children in the study area in particular and Gurage zone in general.

Parents' and Migrants' Attitude towards Migration

It is important to see whether the parents and the migrant children encourage migration or not. Meanwhile, the survey showed that 58.7 percent of the parent respondents encourage migration. But their reason is different person to person. For most of the parents (57.3 percent) migration is a means of reducing the economic burden in the family and 43.3 percent of respondents believe migration can change their living standards. According to theory of cumulative and circular causation if the previous migrations resulted in positive outcomes the community and the migrants may develop favorable attitude towards migration. On the other

hand 41.3 percent of parent respondents do not encourage migration as they told migration had adverse effect both on their and the children’s livelihood as we shall see it in the next section.

One male respondent aged 52 even said that “*I don’t want my children to go to towns not even my hen*”. This can be an indication of the changing attitude of the families towards migration; (41%) of the parents discouraging migration is not an easy figure.

Table 4.3 Parents’ and Migrants’ Attitude towards Migration

	Whether parents encourage migration		Whether migrants encourage migration	
	Frequency (N= 150)	Percent (%)	Frequency (N=100)	Percent (%)
Yes	88	58.7	24	24.0
No	62	41.3	76	76.0

Source: own survey, 2015

In contrast to the parents attitude towards migration, vast majority the migrants do not encourage migration. As clearly shown in the above table 76 percent of the migrants do not support migration as it had various challenges and difficulties. Moreover, the migrants are worried about the future fate of their place of origin as their communities are being filled by children and old aged people. Actually the parents especially the elders also share this concern, nonetheless they prefer their children go to towns and change the life of themselves and their families. According to the migrants, even if migration can change the lives of migrants in long term, it is not easy considering the current economic conditions in towns.

4.1.2.2. Migration as an Economic Necessity or means of survival

As clearly shown in table 4.2 above (95.3%) of parent respondents agree that migration is an economic necessity in the community. As Lee's theory of migration explains there are strong push factors in the origin as we have discussed in the above section like infrastructural limitations and pull factors in urban centers or destination such as better job opportunities and access to better living conditions.

The survey on migrants living in Addis Ababa shows that migrants had a good reason that they left their village for the better opportunities of income generation and better living. The table below shows the average monthly income of the respondents ranging from 400-6000 birr. Moreover, the migrants make not only geographical mobility but also occupational and social mobility. The survey had indicated among the 100 respondents the first job of (45%) migrants was shop keeping; while the current jobs of 59 percent of the migrant respondents is a trading.

Table 4.4 Frequency and percentage distribution of migrant respondents by average income

Birr	Frequency	Percent
400-999	13	13.0
1000-1999	14	14.0
2000-2999	27	27.0
3000-4499	26	26.0
4500-6000	20	20.0
Total	100	100.0

Source: own survey, 2015

From the respondents 27 percent of them earn between birr 2000-2999 and closer to this figure 26 percent of migrant respondents earn between 3000-4499 birr per month. In general these figures reinforce the above stated notion of economic necessity. However, only 21

percent of migrants said their income is sufficient to fulfill their desires, the majority or (79%) of them said their income is not sufficient. Majority of respondents do not believe migration is a personal choice rather they pinpointed it is an economic necessity, because only 29.3 percent of them think it is a personal choice.

Thus, we can put the theory of cumulative and circular causation at this point. According to this theory the changes saw on the previous migrants affects the decision of current and potential future migrants. This is what exactly happening in the study area as the migrants also mentioned they were influenced by the changes and successes they witnessed on children in their neighborhood. Meanwhile, they decide to leave their village for towns and change themselves and their family.

Table 4.5 Association between average monthly income and current age of migrant respondents

	Current age of respondents			Total
	18-25	26-35	36-45	
400-999	7	5	1	13
1000-1999	8	6	0	14
2000-2999	16	11	0	27
3000-4499	7	17	2	26
4500-6000	1	16	3	20
Total	39	55	6	100

Chi-square = 21.807, level of Significance =0.005

Source: own survey, 2015

Using cross tabulation between average monthly income and current age of migrants 17% of the respondents whose age is 26-35 obtain between 3000-4499 birr per month. Similarly 16% migrants in the same age group obtain 4500-6000 birr per month. This figures show that

average monthly income of migrants increase with their age as migrants in 26-35 age group have more income than that of migrants in the age groups between of 18-25. However, the income of migrants in the ages between of 36-45 was not greater than that of 26-35. The chi-square test also indicated that there is significant relationship between the two variables.

The migrants also support this idea as majority of them argued migration was their means of survival in the context where there was no enough food, cloth and other facilities in their household.

In this regard one male migrant respondent (age 29) said the following:

“If I didn’t come to this town, there was no means of survival in our home. My parents have very small land which is not even enough for Enset cultivation and other purposes. I have three brothers and four sisters. It was unthinkable to classify the land with my brothers because it was so small even for my father. Usually we became short of food, clothes, and materials for school and so on. So there was no means to survive than migrating to here. Most of us would love to stay at home with our parents; no one needs to be separated from his family, but sometimes it is mandatory. But now I am trying my best to change myself and my parents.”

The community elders date back the start of Gurage out migration to the time of the Gurages incorporation into the Ethiopian central administration at the time of Menelik II. Starting from that time in order to fulfill the tribute demand by the land lords, the Gurage people started to migrate to towns to keep their land and survive. The parents added that with the existing land shortage and the difficulty of the topography it is true that migration became a means of survival. As discussed by Worku (2000) the history of Gurage migration has a strong link to this socio-economic change introduced at country level. However, the migration at that time was more of seasonal and the migrants were the adults not the children.

4.1.2.3. Migration Decision, Gender and Age

Migration Decision

It is important to consider whether the decision was made by the children themselves or their parents in order to see if the patriarchal system of the society affected the migration decision in the rural households. As we can see from the table below according to the parents it is the children themselves who decided to migrate which accounts for 93.3 percent of the respondents. Just only 10 parents out of 150 told they have decided together with their children's migration. This doesn't mean that the children will not discuss with their parents about the migration but it is the children's decision mainly.

Table 4.6 Who made the decision of migration

	Parents' response		Migrants' response	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Migrants themselves	140	93.3	69	69
Parents	10	6.7	31	31
Total	150	100.0	100	100

Source: own survey, 2015

The migrant respondents also support this truth as 69 percent of them stated it was their own decision to migrate to towns. The reason behind this self-motivation to migrate is enthusiasm to solve their family problems and change their own life like other previous migrants did in their neighborhood as also argued by proponents of theory of cumulative and circular causation theory.

However, the migrants also maintained that they have consulted their parents about it is better they moved to cities and change the living condition of their families. In addition majority of the migrants were influenced by the change they saw in the previous migrants. Hence, rather

than the cultural and institutional factors, migration decision is more taken by the success and improvements observed in the earlier migrants and their family life.

Migration and Gender

According to the parents we cannot say it is the males or females migrating at higher rate. As it is shown in the table below, 38 percent of the parent respondents believe that males and females are migrating at equal proportions. But, closer to this figure 36.7 percent of parent respondents thought that males are migrating more than females. Surprisingly, quarter of the respondents think females are migrating at higher proportion than males. Likewise, the FGD participants made the same point that the recent trend is that males and females are migrating at equal proportion.

Table 4.7 Do males and females migrate equally?

	Parents' view		Migrants' response	
	Frequency (N= 150)	Percent (%)	Frequency (N=100)	Percent (%)
Males	55	36.7	80	80.0
Females	38	25.3	20	20.0
Both	57	38.0	0	0

Source: own survey, 2015

However from the survey respondents of migrants living in Addis Ababa the majority or 80 percent of the migrants were males. It is impossible to conclude from this figure that most migrants in Addis Ababa are males because the sample size was not enough to generalize; and the sampling technique was non-probability sampling i.e. purposive sampling that cannot give every respondent equal chance of selection.

Migration and Age

According to the parents of migrants, majority of the children (81.3%) migrate between the ages of 16-18. The focus group discussants told the researcher that the children will migrate at this age because they cannot pass the secondary education national examination. They added that it is impossible for most of the children to pass the exam in the condition were they are forced to travel for three hours and study in the absence of electricity.

Table 4.8 Migration and Age

Age group children migrate	Parents' view		Migrants' response	
	Frequency (N= 150)	Percent (%)	Frequency (N=100)	Percent (%)
6-10	0	0	12	12
11-15	28	18.7	36	36
16-18	122	81.3	52	52

Source: own survey, 2015

The survey undertaken on migrants living in Addis Ababa revealed similarly that 52 percent of them came at between the ages of 16-18 as indicated in the above table. The FGD participants and parents told the researcher that this is the age at which the children complete high school education (grade 9-10), and then most of them would fail to join preparatory level and, thus will migrate to towns. Nevertheless, 48 percent of the children came to Addis even before completing their high school education. Even worse, 12 percent of them came to Addis between the ages of 6-10 which could expose them to child labor abuse.

Therefore, those children who came to towns below the age of 16 are subjected to child labor abuse in their workplace like physical abuse (carrying goods beyond their capacity, working for longer hours for very a small amount of payment), psychological abuse and sexual abuse. Even though, most of the children migrate with someone whom they know, 21 percent of the children migrated alone and there is a possibility they will be exposed to those dangers.

4.1.2.4. Migration and Land

It is clear that land is the most important livelihood asset in rural areas. Therefore, it is important to see if shortage of land is a factor for child out migration. The survey result revealed 139 out of 150(92.7%) respondents stated that land shortage is among the contributing factors for child out migration. For this purpose, the researcher took the sample land plot of 150 households in Ginab and Selam kebeles. The average land plot of Ginab kebele 0.71 hectare and 1.26 hectare for Selam kebele.

According to the community elders the problem in relation to the size of the land is the nature of the landscape which rugged and not suitable for oxen-farming. Moreover, one female FGD participant aged 45 said “due to the existence of large family size the land couldn’t be enough if the children were living in the village”.

One father (age 58) from Ginab kebele explained the issue of land in relation to out migration in the following way:

“Shortage of land is one of the factors that compel children to migrate to towns. For example I have five sons and two daughters. If my sons didn’t migrate this piece of land may not be enough for Enset, cattle grazing, planting eucalyptus tree and cultivating crops like barley and wheat, etc. My land is so small and not enough to distribute among the children; it is not enough even for me and one of my children. It is difficult to think what would happen if there wasn’t migration as an option.”

However, the woreda officials do not agree with this idea, as they argued that those individuals who need land are supplied with communal lands or ‘serege’. The main problem according to the government officials is lack of good habit culture in the community. The community tends to depend on the remittance from children in towns.

Here, it is important to note the centrality of Lee’s theory of migration as he argued the presence of underlining strong push factors like shortage of land in this context. Thus, we can

understand from the idea of the community that land shortage is one of the contributing pushing factors of child out migration.

On the other hand, for the government officials land shortage is not the real factor for child out migration, rather the children are affected by the changes they see on the livelihood of their neighbors, which goes in line with the theory of circular and cumulative causation theory.

4.1.2.5. Migration and other livelihood strategies

In analyzing the community livelihood it is important to assess the availability of other livelihood strategies. Accordingly, (64%) of the respondents believe there are other livelihood strategies like intensive farming to cultivate potato, wheat, barley, pea, etc. On the other hand, (36%) of the respondents do not see any option for living other than migration.

According to the DFID livelihoods framework, the livelihood strategies other than migration are livelihood diversification and, agricultural intensification and extensification. According to the government officials, in the woreda it is possible to diversify livelihood by livestock rearing (fattening cattle, sheep and goat), petty trading, bee-keeping, Moreover, the community cultivate different vegetables like cabbage, potato and onion.

Nonetheless, the livelihood activities in the community are very limited. The researcher also observed lands that could be utilized for farming left simply for cattle grazing. According to the elders, the community didn't effectively utilize the available livelihood assets (mainly the natural capital) like the land, the water, the forests and other environmental resources to create income independently and avoid dependency on their children.

When we see the livelihood outcome of migration as one livelihood strategy according to the DFID livelihoods framework it is expected to create more income, increased well-being,

reduced vulnerability, improved food security, and more sustainable use of natural resources. However, the reality in the study area is different. If we talk about creating more income the financial capital of the rural community is very low due to less tradition of saving and access to credit. In addition the rural community cannot be said enjoying increased well-being since the people are still living in poverty. Regarding food security rather than the migration, the cultivation of *Enset* which is drought resistant crop served as a means of reducing vulnerability to food insecurity.

4.2. Impacts of Migration

4.2.1. Positive Impacts on the Parents' Livelihood

4.2.1.1. Remittance

The most important and direct positive outcome of migration is remittance. From the parent respondent 97.3 percent of them received remittance from their children. However, majority of the remittance or (92%) is spent on covering holiday and festival expenditures. This tradition has an impact on creating sustainable changes in rural livelihoods, since the rural households tend to wait for the coming remittance rather than working by themselves to support their livelihoods. Only 8 respondents said they didn't receive any remittance to pay for daily laborers hired to undertake farming activities, cover holiday or festival expenditures or other purposes.

Table 4.9 Did you receive remittance from migrant children at least once?

		Frequency (N= 150)	Percent (%)
Remittance	Yes	146	97.3
	No	4	2.7

Source: own survey, 2015

Thus, this positive relation between migrating to towns and the consequent outcome of helping families with the remittance can initiate other children to migrate to towns. Theory of cumulative and circular causation maintained, the more migration brought changes in migrants' household the trend of migration will continue to increase.

4.2.1.2. Asset Buildup

The other advantage of migration is asset development for rural households like construction of houses for their families, buying cattle, land, etc. The survey result shows that almost half of the respondents (49.3%) of them benefited from migration to accumulate fixed assets like buying cattle and constructing houses by corrugated iron sheet. However, 50% of the parent respondents told they didn't receive any remittance for asset development.

The figure below shows one of the houses built in Ginab Kebele by the help of the migrant children in towns for their parents in place of the old 'Sar Bet' or house made of grass. However, some participants in the FGD said that they have started to build their houses with iron roof because they can't easily find the grass and became so costly. On the other hand there are people who condemn this trend of building house with iron roofs as the cultural tradition is being swallowed by the modernity.

However, it is also important to note that half of the respondents maintained that they didn't benefited from their migrant children in developing fixed assets. The reason behind limitation is the children's investment usually is on consumer goods like clothes, shoes, and other household utilities. Thus, from the above discussions we can understand that the theory of cumulative and circular causation is working in the study area in particular and Gurage zone in general. Because, previous migrations that resulted in changes in migrants' households instigate further migration from the neighborhood and the community.



Fig. 4.1 House constructed with help of migrant children

4.2.2. Negative Impacts on Parents' Livelihood

4.2.2.1. Impact on Agricultural productivity

One of the adverse effects of out migration is its effect on reducing the agricultural productivity of the rural households. In the study area as majority of the migrants are in the age of 16-18 which is the starting point of the productive age its impact on the agricultural production is strong. The table below indicates the reality as 97.3 percent of the respondents agreed that migration has affected their agricultural productivity.

On the other hand, only four (2.7%) of the respondents believe they can overcome the shortage of labor force through the money sent from the children to hire daily laborers and avoid decline in the production. However, according to the parents hiring daily laborers became very expensive as they are expected to pay 30-40 birr a day for one laborer in

addition to the food and drink need of the laborers. Therefore, according to the parents it is so difficult to ask for the all those expenses from their children.

Table 4.10: Cross Tabulation –agricultural productivity and parents attitude on migration

		Whether parents encourage child out migration		Total
		Yes	No	
Whether migration has an impact on agricultural productivity	Yes	85 (58.2%)	61 (41.8%)	146 (97.3%)
	No	3 (75%)	1 (25%)	4 (2.7%)
Total		88 (58.7)	62 (41.3%)	150 (100%)

Source: own survey, 2015

The woreda officials also argued that out migration of children have affected the agricultural production and productivity of the households. Here, they added that the climate and the soil are good for crop production, but the people are unable to use this advantage and enhance their economic capacity.

One male parent (age 64) said the following:

“The land could give everything but we became so lazy and have less motivation to use our lands’ potential. Our fathers and forefathers were good farmers; they used to cultivate barley, wheat and other crops using oxen. Yet, now rather than using the land we tend to wait for the hands of our children for everything. If we showed our children it is possible to change oneself within one’s effort by farming, they could consider staying here and changing their lives.

4.2.2.2. Dependency

The other negative impact of child out migration in the rural household is that it creates dependency of the parents on their children. Since, children are the one to cover the costs of holidays, festivals and various household expenses the parents tend to wait for the hands of their children rather than working on themselves and support their own livelihood.

Table 4.11: Cross Tabulation –creation of dependency and parents’ attitude on migration

		Whether the parents encourage child out migration		Total
		Yes	No	
Whether migration had an impact of creating dependency	Yes	62 (57.4%)	46 (42.59%)	108 (72%)
	No	26 (61.9%)	16 (38.09%)	42 (28%)
Total		88 (58.6%)	62 (41.4%)	150 (100%)

Source: own survey, 2015

Rather than working on themselves to cover for their expenses the parents need the help of their children which had an impact on the productivity and working habit of the rural community. According to the government officials this is the major drawback of migration which is hampering the overall socio-economic development of the Gurage zone in general and the study area in particular.

The above cross tabulation shows that 72 percent of the respondents said the migration of their children and the subsequent remittance made them to depend on their children’s effort. It is obvious that majority of the respondents (57.4%) encourage the child out migration. The woreda officials stressed on the level of parents’ dependency to the extent that they need the hands of their children to buy a cattle each year for ‘Meskel’ holiday while the parents themselves have livestock in line with farming activities. In the FGD most of the participants also agreed that migration had this impact on the rural households.

One female respondent (age 48) even said that

“An individual who do not have any child at town is not considered to be equal with others. Because he/she is forced to see the hands of other person’s child to cover for the costs of holidays especially ‘Meskel’. He/she cannot participate equally in social gatherings. Generally he/she is below others who had one or two children in town whom receive much dignity and honor. Therefore everything here is dependent on the success and failure of our children”.

4.2.2.3. Rural Poverty

Due to the migration of the productive part of the population and the reduced agricultural production in the community, the living condition of the community has weakened. The major reason behind this rural poverty is, since the staple food *Enset* is cultivated widely and proved to be drought resistant; the rural population became less productive and are not ready to cultivate other cereals like wheat, barley and pea. To this end in the winter period the households are forced to consume ‘*kocho*’ alone which is not nutritionally adequate.

Moreover, the other problem is the support from their children is seasonal which is limited to holidays and some festivals. According to the elders “when it is the time of ‘*Meskel*’ there is everything, after that we will be back to our reality”.

Table 4.12: Cross Tabulation –creation of rural poverty and parents' attitude on migration

		Whether the parents encourage child out migration		Total
		Yes	No	
Whether migration had an impact of creating rural poverty	Yes	73 (48.7%)	45 (30%)	118 (78.7%)
	No	15 (46.87%)	17 (53.12%)	32 (21.3%)
Total		88 (58.7%)	62 (41.3%)	150 (100)

Source: own survey, 2015

As the above cross tabulations shows 78.7 percent of the parents agreed that child out migration affected their living condition by creating rural poverty, though 58.7% of the parents encourage the child out migration. According to the FGD participants have the children stayed at home they may support them in farming and other household activities. At this point there was a disagreement between the focus group discussants as some of parents didn't see the negative side of children's migration, because they think the children could not

make any difference in the current situation and it is better they moved to towns and came up with support for their families at least in times of ‘Meskel’.

When one male elder (age 67) expressed the extent of the rural poverty, he said the following:

At the time of Meskel everything seems very good, there is food, cloth, wedding, children from urban centers with their money, we will eat, drink and have fun. But, after the children from urban returned to where they came from everything returns back to its usual. Especially at the drier seasons and in the summer we suffer a lot. There is even a shortage of ‘kocho’ for those whose land is small, for those who have the ‘kocho’ also they need something to eat the ‘kocho’ with. The animals will reduce their milk as a result of lack of food in the drier seasons. Therefore there are times at which we eat once other than the coffee time. The other challenging period is the months of Hudade fasting as we can’t eat cheese, butter, milk and egg etc. the problems will become intensified. In those periods there is very little difference between households who have rich and poor children in towns and the difference is only when they came here for Meskel; the rich may slaughter big ox while the poor have a smaller one.”

4.2.2.4. Socio-demographic imbalance

The other and the contemporary drawback of child out migration is that it is affecting the age and sex composition of the community. It became obvious those who are living in rural areas nowadays are predominantly children under the age of 10 and, adults and olds more than age of 45 and the sex composition is also affected as majority of the residents are females according to the FGD participants while most of the boys left village for town. However, according to some respondents in the survey this sex variation in migration is declining as girls are also migrating at increasing rate.

Table 4.13: Cross Tabulation – whether migration has an impact of creating socio-demographic imbalance * whether the parents encourage child out migration

		Whether the parents encourage child out migration or not		Total
		Yes	No	
Whether migration had an impact of creating socio-demographic imbalance or not	Yes	65 (53.8%)	56 (46.2%)	121 (80.7%)
	No	23 (79.3%)	6 (20.7%)	29 (19.3%)
Total		88 (58.7%)	62 (41.3%)	150 (100%)

Source: own survey, 2015

The focus group discussants emphasized that, those children who have migrated to towns are not willing either to return to their villages or put their wives in rural areas as it was the case in recent past. The current trend is they will take their spouses from rural areas to towns or get married with other girls in towns and live their life permanently in towns. Here the problem according to the elders is that the rural areas are composed of children and old aged people.

Hence, according to the above table (80.7%) of the respondents agreed as child out migration has created socio-demographic imbalance in their community. Some of the respondents even shared their fear of the abandonment of their village in the future as they are losing successors in their communities. The rest respondents which account for around 20 percent do not agree with the creation of imbalance especially of the sex composition as they believe recently the males and females are migrating at similar rate.

4.2.2.5. Change of Culture

In addition to the above mentioned negative impacts change of the indigenous culture by urban culture is the other issue. It is obvious that when there is movement of large number of

people from rural areas to urban settings and return to their place origin for some time, the customs and tradition of the rural areas could substantially be changed.

However, in this regard majority of the respondents do not see it as a problem, because what has been introduced by their children from urban centers does not bother them that much. As the survey result revealed 80.7 percent of the respondents appreciate the introduction of new urban culture like building their houses with iron roofs than grass house, substituting their household equipment with the modern one as they are more comfortable than the previous ones.

Table 4.14: Cross Tabulation –change of culture and parents’ attitude on migration

		Whether the parents encourage child out migration		Total
		Yes	No	
Whether migration has an impact on change of culture	Yes	17 (58.62%)	12 (41.38%)	29 (19.7%)
	No	71 (58.67%)	50 (41.33%)	121 (80.7%)
Total		88 (58.67)	62 (41.33%)	150 (100%)

Source: own survey, 2015

However, some members of focus group discussion and the elders are not comfortable with the current situation as they argued migration had swallowed their long lived traditions of house construction, wearing styles, household equipment and other important cultural traditions. The researcher has also observed physical changes as the traditional house construction which was known to be made by grass was replaced by houses with corrugated iron sheet.

4.2.2.6. Leaving Parents Helpless

Since the children leave their village at some point in time, the parents will be left alone to undertake every household activity by themselves. The problem worsens when one or two of them get sick, there is no one to look after the cattle and prepare food, fetch water for the house. Sometimes, both of them could get sick at the same time, and then there is no one to take them for the appropriate medical attention in time.

One father (age72)had shared his fear in the future as follows:

“If the migration trend continues in this way, it could be impossible to continue life here, as the children are waiting just to finish their education to leave the village for towns. There is no one who thinks to stay here and work and change him/herself. Therefore, when we die we don’t know who is going to live in our lands. I think we are losing our successors in our lands for the future. Some people are forced to let other persons live in their home and control their resources. Recently, those people (even “Fugawoch”) who are invited to take control of such abandoned houses, but they are demanding the availability of solar electric and iron roofed house. Finally, when no one is here to live on this land the government will take over the forest for forestry development and the lands will be handed to investors.”

4.2.3. Positive Impacts on Migrants’ Livelihood

4.2.3.1. Better Living condition

Migrating to urban areas can certainly create a better living condition i.e. in terms of good job and working condition, access to education, balanced diet, good health, decent clothing, and better house etc. Among the migrant respondents all most all of them agreed that they are living better lives than their families in the rural areas. Some of the respondents have their own houses and cars. There were respondents who told they are able to send their children to good private schools.

One male respondent (age34) said that *“I was in a very difficult condition even to survive those days, but I am fortunate to overcome those difficulties and be here today. So, my*

children shall not pass the same road I underwent, I am here for them. They are learning in good private schools and fulfilling everything they need.”

This explanation goes in line with the theory of circular and cumulative causation. Those children who saw such changes will not hesitate to move to towns and change their lives like children of their relatives, neighbors or anyone whom they know in their locality. It is also important to discuss social capital theory. According to social capital theory, the interpersonal ties connect the migrants, former migrants and non-migrants to one another through relations of kinship, friendship, and shared community origin. Therefore, the new migrants use the interpersonal ties as an asset to establish themselves in the cities and change the living condition of their own and their families.

4.2.3.2. Asset Development

Once the migrants established themselves in the cities they would start permanent life. For this reason they would buy or construct house, buy car, rent or purchase shops etc. Among the migrant respondents some of them have built houses of their own. However, due the expensive nature of land in Addis Ababa many of them cannot build their own houses. Nonetheless, comparing to their past when they came to Addis Ababa, they are now thankful with the changes in their lives.

4.2.4. Negative Impacts on Migrants' Livelihood

4.2.4.1. Creating Economic Stress

As a result of continuous demand from the parents for financial support, the migrants living in urban tend to be under economic pressure. According to the respondents the urban life by itself is a challenge; when their parent asks them something to do they had comply without hesitation. If the children fail to do so the parents may be disappointed. In order to avoid this

disappointment the children will commit themselves on helping their parents even if their economic capacity cannot let them to do that.

Table 4.15: Cross Tabulation – creation of economic stress and migrants’ attitude on migration

		Whether migration had an impact of creating economic stress on migrants		Total
		Yes	No	
Whether the migrant encourage migration	Yes	11	13	24
	No	50	26	76
Total		61	39	100

Source: own survey, 2015

The above table of cross tabulation reflects the reality that (61%) of migrants are suffering from the economic stress due to financial demands of their families. Consequently, it is obvious majority of them (76%) of them do not encourage further migration of children. They even argued that sometimes they will borrow money from their friends to send it to their families if they didn’t have money in their bank account which will lead us to the other impact i.e. being unable to save for the future.

4.2.4.2. Unable to Save

As mentioned above due to the continuous spending for various purposes the migrants cannot make a saving to change their livelihood in sustainable manner. There are expenditures at times of annual festivals, ceremonies, holidays that call for the contribution of the children. As a result, 66 percent of the migrants are unable to save money for the future investments in fixed assets for themselves like building residential house, shops to work on, car and other facilities. Thus, it is obvious 76 percent of migrant respondents do not encourage further migration, because life in the cities is not as easy as it thought to be.

Table 4.16: Cross Tabulation –saving habit of migrants and migrants’ attitude on migration

		Whether migration had an impact on saving habit of migrants		Total
		Yes	No	
Whether the migrant encourage migration	Yes	12	12	24
	No	54	22	76
Total		66	34	100

Source: own survey, 2015

According to the migrant respondents one of the most challenging expenditure for them is the ‘*Meskel*’ festival which is a part and parcel of the Gurage cultural tradition. Beginning from the shoe shining boys to the investors spent thousands of birr each year which could be allocated to long-lasting investment. This tradition had another far reaching consequence i.e. affecting the economic capacity and sustainability of their income. According to the migrants, this in turn disturbs their personal life such as taking longer to get married and start a new life of their own as we shall see below.

4.2.4.3. Effect on Personal life

As mentioned above the migrants said they cannot save enough money to start a new life by getting married and have children. As the cross tabulation below indicates among the 100 migrant respondents 86 of them were never married, but 55% of them were between ages of 26-35 and only 12% of them were married, while 43% of them were never married. Moreover, among 6 respondents between the ages of 36-45 only two of them were married. The chi-square test also indicates the presence of significant relation between marital status and current age of migrants as 39% of respondents between ages of 18-25 were never married.

Table 4. 17 Association between the marital status and current age of respondents

		current age of respondents			Total	Percent (%)
		18-25	26-35	36-45		
The marital status of respondents	Never married	39	43	4	86	86
	Married	0	12	2	14	14
Total		39	55	6	100	100

Chi-square = 11.004, level of Significance =0.004

Source: own survey, 2015

4.2.4.4. Lack of Sustainable Income

As a result of the above mentioned issues the migrants cannot obtain sustainable income. Among the survey respondents 79 percent of them argued that their income is not sufficient to fulfill their desires. This is resulted from recurrent expenditure which had an impact on obtaining sustainable income. If the income the migrants obtain is not sufficient for them, there is no way the remittance they send could create sustainable change in the rural households.

The other reason behind this income insufficiency is the nature of the job taken by the migrants. As majority of them drooped out of school they are merchants. According to the migrants the work and therefore their income became seasonal such as in times of holidays. Therefore, they can only support their families in line with their incomes. The table below shows the idea of the parents about the migration and its consequent change brought in the living conditions of the rural families.

Table 4.18How much economic change migration brought in the lives of the rural families

	Frequency	Percent
Much change	31	20.7
Little change	81	54.0
Very little change	30	20.0
No change	8	5.3
Total	150	100.0

Source: own survey, 2015

It is clear from the above table that more than half of the respondents (54%) said that migration have brought little change in their livelihood. While the 20 percent of them think as migration had brought very little change, the same percent of respondents believed migration had brought much change. Nonetheless, no parent responded that migration had brought very much change in the household and at the same time only eight respondents said that migration do not bring any change to their lives. Hence, we conclude from this migration by itself is not a guarantee to achieve significant economic change in rural livelihoods.

One female participant (age 49) in the FGD said the following:

“Because one or more children left village for town doesn’t mean the living conditions of the families will be changed, it largely depends on the hard work of the children, chance of their success at their work and mainly the children’s will to support their families. There are many children who are struggling for themselves to survive with the living conditions of towns. All the migrant children will not succeed in the trade or any other work. There are parents whose children migrated to towns and still living in the same as before and, there are also families who started seeing the light as a result of their children.”

4. 3. Challenges and Coping Mechanisms of Migrants

4.3.1. Lack of working capital

When the children moved from their home to urban centers one of the most challenging tasks is to establish themselves in the new environment. The difficulty starts with obtaining the start-up capital. As the table below shows majority of the migrants (92%) said they were confronted with the problem of obtaining working capital. The parents of the children cannot send them with some financial capital as they cannot risk selling their fixed assets like the land or cattle, because migration is not always successful and effective in economic terms.

However, in the meantime the migrants overcome this limitation by taking any job available to and build some financial capacity. Then step by step they will develop themselves into the business circle. All children told they have nothing when they moved from their village to Addis Ababa, but now they can at least sustain themselves with living conditions of towns and send some remittance home whenever possible.

4.3.2. Lack of marketable skills

Another setback for the migrants in their early days in towns is lack of marketable skills to find jobs in urban centers. As indicated in the table below majority of the respondents (80%) said that they lacked marketable skills to find jobs in the town. Because, either male or female migrants have a skill only to undertake labor activities needed in rural households such as cutting grass and fuel, fetching water and cooking traditional foods.

That is why most of the rural migrants engage in jobs that demand little or no skills like shoe shining, carrying goods, daily labor, keeping shops, etc.

The migrants argued that when they migrate to towns the skill they developed is not suitable for the urban situation. As a result they are forced to engage in jobs like shoe shining, circulating lottery in order to adapt to the urban living condition and accumulate some money to turn into the next job. But, some of the migrant respondents do not agree with this idea and mentioned the new comers are very active to adapt to the urban needs and can cope easily to this problem.

4.3.3. Unemployment

More than half the migrant respondents or (59%) of them told they had suffered from the problem of unemployment at least for short period of time. However, some (41%) of the migrants do not agree with the idea of being unemployed, because as they came to Addis Ababa with someone whom they know it is less likely they become unemployed. In addition they told most migrants do not hesitate to take any job available to establish themselves in the cities.

Social capital theory can be applied to this context which underlines migrant networks which connects new migrants, former migrants and non-migrants. Therefore, the migrants use their

interpersonal networks to avoid the problem of unemployment by linking themselves with someone whom they know from village. To this end they will be hired as shop keepers by previous migrants or get some financial support to start their own jobs like shoe shining, circulating lottery, *suk-bederete* (shop on my chest), etc.

Table 4.19 Challenges faced by migrant children

		Frequency (N= 100)	Percent (%)
Lack of working capital	Yes	92	92
	No	8	8
Lack of marketable skills	Yes	80	80
	No	20	20
Unemployment	Yes	59	59
	No	41	41
Uncertainty	Yes	58	58
	No	42	42

Source: own survey, 2015

4.3.4. Uncertainty

It is one of the difficulties the children face in the first days of their stay in the cities. This would be resulted from the different living style in the new destination, problem to adapt to the new environment, home sickness, etc. The migrants argued that since they were new for urban environment and unable to manage situation, they suffered from sense ambiguity, insecurity and fear.

Here one could ask how the migrants experienced this uncertainty if they came to town with someone they know. But, it is important to note that not all children migrate with someone they know from village, because the survey indicated (21%) of the respondents came to Addis Ababa by themselves while (19%) of the respondents migrated with persons whom they barely know.

As the above table indicates (58%) of the migrants had faced the problem of uncertainty. These respondents told they were so worried at their first days in the cities and went under ambiguous situations. However, 42 percent of the respondents do not agree with this idea of being in uncertain condition, because prior to their movement they would arrange how to get accompany in their destination to help them adapt to the urban living style, the working conditions, their rights and responsibilities. Thus as social capital theory maintained social ties play significant role in adaptation process of the new migrants with the urban environment.

4.3.5. Expanding Social Networks

One of the most important coping mechanisms of the migrants to the above mentioned difficulties is that their social network or social ties. The Gurage migrants are known for their culture of mutual help in facilitating situations until the new comer migrant adapts and establishes him/herself in the new environment. The previous migrants would help the new ones by giving information about the working atmosphere, directions of the town; sometimes even a start-up capital, etc.

As the survey result indicates 98.7 percent of the migrants agreed that the use of social networks or ties was very crucial in establishing themselves in the new urban settings. Only two respondents didn't agree with the ideas of the rest. The survey indicated around(60%) of the migrants came to Addis Ababa with their kin or relatives. This shows the importance of social ties for successful adaptation and establishment of new comers. The social capital theory perfectly applies to the context of Gurage migration in general and the study area in particular.

Table 4.20 Coping mechanisms of migrants

		Frequency (N= 100)	Percent (%)
Expanding Social capital	Yes	92	92
	No	8	8
Engaging in dead end jobs	Yes	87	87
	No	13	13
Make a Saving	Yes	71	71
	No	29	29
Taking loan	Yes	65	65
	No	35	35

Source: own survey, 2015

One male migrant (age 32) explained the vital role of social capital in dealing with the problems as follows:

“More than anything we Gurages have a culture of helping each other, especially when one needs the support of his brothers, no one would reject him. Beginning from the past our children in urban are known for their support of each other. For example if one had a shop he will take one or two children to work with him as assistants for shop keeping or at least he would buy them ‘Yelistro-eka’ to work shoe shining. Therefore, there is no one who would be in trouble as long as he had a good behavior and good working spirit.”

4.3.6. Engaging in dead end jobs

The other coping mechanism to deal with the difficulties is doing any job available to cover the immediate daily expenses like food, cloth, shelter, etc. According to the migrants, in order to achieve these needs they need to involve in low paid and ranked jobs like shoe shining, car washing, circulating lottery and carrying goods.

As clearly pointed out in the above table, (87%) of the respondents had engaged in those jobs to sustain their lives. The migrants also mentioned that there has been recently a change in the jobs taken by the new migrants. Rather than engaging in shoe shining and lottery

circulation there is an increasing tendency of working as an assistant of taxi driver. The reason behind this trend is being an assistant of taxi driver is a spring board to become a taxi driver in the future having the license in the process.

One female migrant (age 25) explained the tradition of adapting and establishing oneself by taking any job as follows:

“Once we moved from our village to urban areas, we are ready to start from nothing to reach to something. Most of us elevated ourselves from the ashes, because we didn’t have thing here to start a business or anything. Therefore, we were ready to take any job available be it shoe shining, circulating lottery, suk-bederete (shop on my chest), carrying goods, etc. But, what we always proud of ourselves is we never became beggars; we would prefer our death than begging someone for what we eat or anything else.”

4.3.7. Saving

After establishing and adapting themselves with the life in town, the children start to save money from the income they obtain. The previous migrants play a significant role in encouraging the children to make a saving from whatever income they acquire. The above table also implies the same case, as 88.7 percent of the respondents said that their children managed to cope with the urban life by making a save from their income continuously even denying themselves the entertainments and fancy desires. The previous trend according to one migrant respondent was *“the new migrant is expected to buy a money box to make a drop from the everyday income. Then, after some time the box will be opened to transform the job to better one”*.

One female participant (age 42) from the FGD explained the good saving tradition of the migrants as follows: *“Since children have seen the poverty of their parents and themselves, they do not become extravagant on fancy living style or entertainment. The Gurage children are known for their careful spending and they have been mocked ‘QuatariGurage’ (greedy Gurage).*

4.3.8. Taking loan

The other means of creating foundation in the new environment is taking a loan from friends or friends of their friends. Here we can see the importance of social capital again in establishing one's life in the track.

The survey result indicated that 43.3 percent of the migrants said the loan taken from friends had helped them to change their situation and transform themselves into the next level. However, 56.7 percent of the migrants do not agree with this notion, as the tendency of the established migrants to give loan is declining as a result of failure of the new comers to pay back the loan in time. According to the migrants, by now rather than taking loan from friends they are struggling to manage their situations with saving and '*equb*'.

4. 4. Challenges and Coping Mechanisms of Parents

4.4.1. Shortage of Labor Force

Majority of the respondents mentioned that they were confronted with shortage of labor as the children whom can help them in household and other activities left village for towns. Labor boys is much needed when there is preparing and cultivating *Enset*, cutting trees for fuel, cutting grass for the cattle, etc. Likewise, labor of girls is needed when *Kocho* is prepared from *Enset*, fetching water, coking food and so on.

4.4.2. Lack of Support

The other challenge the parents have to deal with is lack of support especially in times where the parents got sick or need to undertake different farming activities like preparing food, fuel, looking after the cattle, and so on. Since the household activities are generally labor intensive the parents cannot undertake their usual activities if they got sick.

One mother (age 53) from the focus group discussants said the following to explain the extent of the problem:

“All of my children have migrated to towns; now it is me and my wife living in the house. Both of us are expected to do everything, my wife fetches water even though she is old and me as old man was not expected to cut trees and grass, but since my sons are not around that is my duty to survive. When one of us got sick things became so difficult, the one who didn’t fall on bed is obliged to undertake the above activities. But, thanks to God our neighbors are so cooperative and will help each other in such difficulties.”

4.4.3. Employing labor force

Those households, who have children with better financial capacity, hire male and female maids to overcome the shortage of labor in the household resulted from the migration of the children in that family. However, according to focus group discussants only few children managed to cover the costs of those maids, because many of the children do not have the economic capacity to hire labor force for their parents.

In addition to this, it is very difficult to get someone who will work as a laborer in countryside as the parents of those children are not willing to let their children work for rural households as the economic return is not that much satisfactory compared to what their children could bring if they migrate to towns.

On the other hand it is possible to hire laborers at the times of crop cultivation, *Enset* preparation, fuel preparation, etc. The cost of labor is covered by the remittance from the children in towns. Nonetheless, it is not easy to hire labor force for all parents as their children may not be able to cover the cost of daily laborers. According to the focus group discussants the price of one daily laborer is 30-40 birr a day in addition to food and beverage supplied by the owner of the farm. Consequently, those farmers who have the physical ability to undertake farming activities organize themselves in *Debbo* or *Ge’ize* meaning union for working together.

4.4.4. Using Social Relations

In order to deal with the above mentioned challenges parents utilize their interpersonal relationships. For instance when the father in the next house got sick people in the neighborhood help in cutting grass for the cattle, preparing fuel or if the mother got sick the women in the neighborhood helps by cooking food and her girls fetches water for that household.

One male focus group discussant aged 55 said the following to explain the importance of social capital in the community:

“We Gurages have very good tradition of helping each other in our difficulties. There are many problems we need to manage by working together. Since most of children migrated from every household more or less we parents share similar problems. Therefore, we help each other as none of us could escape from those problems. For example if one person got sick we help that family with whatever we have- we give our labor, food, coffee, our little children to help out in that family. Furthermore, when there are religious ceremonies, weddings and funerals we help each other as much as possible.”

Chapter Five: Conclusions and Recommendations

5.1. Conclusions

This study is conducted in Muher and Aklil woreda of Gurage zone with the objective of analyzing the impact of child out migration on the parents' and migrants' livelihood. In the study infrastructural, socio-cultural and economic factors for child out migration were analyzed; the positive and negative impact of child out migration both on the migrants' and parents' livelihood was also assessed. In addition the challenges migrants faced and coping mechanisms were identified. The major findings of the study are summarized and conclusions made as follows:-

Both the rural residents and the migrants mentioned infrastructural limitation as pushing factors for migration. The rural residents mainly mentioned the absence of road, electricity and secondary school as contributing factors for child out migration. The children are forced to leave their village due to lack of access to secondary schools in the nearby and succeed in the national exams. Furthermore, inaccessibility of road network that links the kebeles with the woreda and lack of electricity to study was mentioned as instigating decision of the children for migration. The findings support Ravenstein's laws of migration and Lee's Push-pull theories of migration as migrants moved from places of low opportunity to better ones and the push factors are stronger than the pull factors.

Members of the community and migrants defined and understood migration as economic necessity or a means of survival. Lesser proportion of the community members believes that migration is a cultural norm and personal choice. Thus, migration is basically a means of avoiding vulnerability to problems of food shortage. However, poverty found to be the cause and consequence of child out migration in the study area.

Contrary to the previous trend of decision making by household heads usually fathers, according to the parents and the migrants, the current trend is the migrants themselves are the one to decide on their movement. In relation to gender distribution in migration there is a recent trend of increasing female migration and the previously male dominated migration is changed as both sexes are migrating at equal proportion. Most of the children migrate to towns between the ages of 16-18. According to the parents this is the age at which the children take grade 10 examination.

Shortage of land is mentioned among the major factors for child out migration both by parents and migrants. According to the migrants when large family size is added to the existing problem of land shortage the economic problems in the household become intensified. Consequently, when they observe these economic complications they decided to migrate to towns to change their as well as the family's livelihood.

Nonetheless, both the migrants and the parents argued that, if there was enough land there are options to diversify livelihood such as cultivating annual and perennial crops and livestock production. However, the government officials do not agree with the idea of land shortage as a cause for child out migration. Because, for those who are ready to participate in farming they said that government has prepared communal lands (*serege*).

With regard to the impacts of migration, this study identified both positive and negative impacts on migrants as well as the sending parents in particular and the community in general. Like most literatures on migration identified, the most important and direct positive outcome of migration for sending community is remittance. Thus far, from the perspective of sustainable rural livelihoods, the impacts of the remittances remain short lived or unsustainable, as the money or goods are not allocated on further productive investments.

The other positive impact for place of origin is asset development like construction of house, purchasing land, cattle and other household goods. In this aspect there is a recent development of constructing house with iron roofs. Here again the investment on fixed assets like livestock production for household consumption and market purpose is very weak. The livestock production is inadequate not only to use dairy products for household consumption and market, but also the parents are short of covering for need of meat for holidays, as the children in towns are required to cover the cost of oxen for the *Meskel* holiday.

The other advantage of migration is that migrants get access to enjoy better living standard, housing, health etc. Most of migrants told they became who they are now from nothing by working hard. In addition to creating better living conditions for the migrants in towns, there is a resultant outcome of migration which is an asset development in their destinations like constructing house, workshop, purchasing car and other fixed assets.

Along with the above stated positive contributions, migration has also negative impacts both on the livelihood of the rural residents and the migrants. The first drawback of out migration, as most migration literatures noted is, its impact on the agricultural productivity of the rural communities because of the youth and energetic part of the population left the villages. The remaining parents are physically weak and unable to undertake the agricultural activity effectively. Besides, migration had made parents helpless especially in times of the need for agricultural labor and, when the parents are unable to perform their day to day activities as a result of sickness or other problems.

Consequently, migration rather than avoiding poverty it is perpetuating rural poverty by taking the potential forces of development to towns for jobs that cannot change the lives of the children in sustainable manner. Consequently, the poverty creates sense of dependency on the behalf rural residents and makes the way out poverty difficult.

Moreover, migration had disturbed the socio-demographic i.e. age and sex composition of the rural community by taking the youth group to towns and leaving the adults and olds in the village. Even though, recently girls began to migrate to towns, out migration previously disturbed the sex composition of the rural community leaving the girls in the village by taking the boys. Finally, even if majority of the parents and migrants do not consider it as a threat, the elders mentioned the impact of migration as altering their long-lived cultural traditions, customs and values by the new urban culture and thoughts.

Furthermore, the negative impacts of migration are not limited to the sending community. The migrants also suffered from economic stress due to continuous demand for financial support from their families and in turn affecting the personal life of the migrants in towns like being late for marriage as a result of low saving to start the new life.

This study has also identified the challenges faced by the child migrants and their coping mechanisms. Among the challenges encountered by the children is lack of working or start-up capital. This problem usually solved either by taking loan from friends (using social networks) or savings made by engaging in whatever job available at the moment. The other challenges are lack of marketable skills, unemployment, and uncertainty which were solved either using social capital or engaging oneself in any available job.

5.2. Recommendations

Based on the findings and discussions in the previous chapters the following points could be suggested:

Concerning the infrastructural causes of out migration the community and government need to work together to fill the gap in infrastructural limitations especially road and electricity, and social services like education, health station and water supply. The available land should be utilized intensively to diversify livelihood and obtain independent income sustainably. The livelihood assets like the physical, natural, human and social capital need to be developed to ensure sustainable livelihoods. Moreover the government is expected to work on awareness creation for the community members as how they can change their livelihood other than out migration.

With regard to tackling the negative impacts of out migration, the community and mainly the migrants themselves need to think how the remittance from migration could be utilized in the way that can create sustainable rural livelihood and avoid remittance-dependency. The migrants need to consider how they can spend their money on productive investment that can bring lasting effects on the livelihood of the rural residents and their own. In addition, to bring meaningful economic changes in livelihoods of the rural residents, credit associations need to facilitate access to credit and savings.

In order to minimize the challenges the migrants encounter on their destinations, efforts should be done both by the migrants and government. On the behalf of migrants, they are expected to make sure that they can find jobs on their destination and get rid of physical and psychological abuses.

Moreover, it is better they complete grade 10 for at least to join technical and vocational training colleges. The government is expected to formulate and implement effective policy mechanisms to protect the human, civil and democratic rights of migrants elsewhere.

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I – Survey Questionnaire for residents in Muher and Aklil Woreda (Selam and Ginab Kebeles)

Preamble

This questionnaire is prepared for the purpose of conducting a study on the impacts of child out-migration on rural livelihoods. The study is being conducted as part of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts thesis writing by Kelil Demsis, graduate student at Addis Ababa University Department of Sociology.

The questionnaire contained both open-ended and close-ended questions with mutually exclusive and multiple responses. The information you provide is very crucial for the successful accomplishment of the objectives of the study.

Therefore, the researcher politely requests you to kindly and genuinely respond to the questions that will be asked. Finally, the information you provide will be used only for the purpose of the study, and your personal information will be kept confidential and undisclosed.

Section 1: Certification

Interviewer's Name _____

Signature _____

Date Western (D-M-Y) _____

Signature _____

Section 2: Identification

i. Questionnaire ID Number: _____

ii. Kebele: _____

Instruction – The questionnaire is composed of mutually exclusive and multiple responses. Please give your responses by writing the number of your choice in the box for mutually exclusive questions and **you can circle more than one answer** for the multiple response questions.

Section 3: Demographic and Socio-Economic issues

- 1. Sex (Male = 1, Female = 2)
- 2. Age

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- 3. Family Size

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- 4. How many of your children migrated to towns?
- 5. Marital Status (Never married = 1, Married = 2, Divorced = 3, Widowed = 4)...
- 6. Educational Status (Illiterate =1, Read only =2, Read and Write = 3, Primary complete = 4, High School Complete =5, Diploma = 6, Degree and more = 7,...)
- 7. Occupation (Farmer = 1, Petty trader = 2, Artesian =3, Government employee = 4, Other = 5)

Section 4: Factors for migration

4.1. Infrastructural factors

- 8. Do you believe infrastructural facilities had an impact on the migrants' decision to migrate?
 - A. Yes
 - B. No
- 9. If your answer for question number 8 is Yes which of the following infrastructural limitation instigates child out-migration?
 - A. Electricity
 - B. Road
 - C. School
 - D. Health station
 - E. Potable water
 - F. All of the above

10. Do you believe governmental interventions in reducing the gap can bring change in the migration trend?

A. Yes

B. No

11. If your answer for question number 10 is yes how, if no why?

4.2. Socio-cultural factors

12. What is migration in your locality?

A. It is cultural norm

B. It is necessity

C. It is personal choice

D. It is a means of survival

E. All of the above

13. Who makes the decision of child migration?

A. The children themselves

B. The household head

C. Parents

D. Members of extended family

E. If other please specify _____

14. In comparison which gender group is migrating at higher rate?

A. Males

B. Females

C. Both

15. In which age group the children are more likely migrate to towns?

A. 5-10

B. 11-15

C. 16-18

16. Do you believe every family should send at least one of its children to urban centers to change its livelihood?

A. Yes

B. No

17. If your answer for question number 16 is yes why, if no why?

18. Do you believe large family size is a factor for child out-migration?

- A. Yes
- B. No

19. If your answer for question number 18 is yes how, if no why?

4.3. Economic factors

20. Do you encourage child out-migration?

- A. Yes
- B. No

21. If your answer for question number 20 is yes what is your reason?

- A. Because migration can change the living standard of migrants and their family
- B. Because migration can decrease the burden of food demand in rural households
- C. Because migration is the only choice for the children
- D. Because migration increases the social ties between place of origin and destination
- E. If other please specify _____

22. What do you think of the trend of migration?

- A. Increasing
- B. Decreasing
- C. Don't know

23. Do you think land shortage can be a factor for child out-migration?

- A. Yes
- B. No

24. If your answer for question number 23 is yes how? If no why?

25. Do you think there are other livelihood strategies other than migration?

- A. Yes
- B. No

26. If your answer question number 25 is yes what are they? If no why?

27. For what purpose did you used the remittance obtained?

- A. To repay debt
- B. To buy cattle
- C. To construct house
- D. To cover festival expenditure
- E. If other please specify _____

28. Do you believe migration can change the livelihood of sending household in sustainable manner?

- A. Yes
- B. No

29. If your answer for question number 28 is yes how? If no why?

Section 5: Positive and Negative Impacts of child out migration

30. What are the positive impacts of child out-migration?

- A. Remittance (cash income or in-kind)
- B. Reduced vulnerability
- C. Asset accumulation
- D. Knowledge transfer
- E. If other please specify _____

31. What are the negative impacts of child out-migration?

- A. Decreased agricultural productivity
- B. Creates dependency
- C. Rural poverty
- D. Socio- demographic imbalance
- E. Change of culture
- F. If other please specify _____

32. How much change do you think migration can bring on the economic condition of their families?

- A. Very much change
- B. Much change
- C. Little change
- D. Very little change
- E. No change

33. Do you believe the positive outcomes outweigh the negative ones?

- A. Yes
- B. No

34. If your answer for question number 33 is yes how? If no why?

35. What challenges do you face as a result of your children migration to towns?

36. How do you manage those challenges created as a result of migration of your children?

Annex II – Survey Questionnaire for migrants

Preamble

This questionnaire is prepared for the purpose of conducting a study on the impacts of child out-migration on rural livelihoods. The study is being conducted as part of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts thesis writing by Kelil Demsis, graduate student at Addis Ababa University Department of Sociology. The questionnaire contained both open-ended and close-ended questions with mutually exclusive and multiple responses. The information you provide is very crucial for the successful accomplishment of the objectives of the study.

Therefore, the researcher politely requests you to kindly and genuinely respond to the questions that will be asked. Finally, the information you provide will be used only for the purpose of the study, and your personal information will be kept confidential and undisclosed.

Section 1: Certification

Interviewer's Name _____

Signature _____

Date Western (D-M-Y) _____

Signature _____

Section 2: Identification

iii. Questionnaire ID Number: _____

iv. Sub city: _____

Instruction – The questionnaire is composed of mutually exclusive and multiple responses. Please give your responses by writing the number of your choice for mutually exclusive questions and **you can circle more than one answer** for the multiple response questions.

Section 3: Demographic and socio-economic issues

- 1. Sex (Male = 1, Female = 2)
- 2. Age
- 3. Family Size
- 4. Marital Status (Single = 1, Married = 2, Divorced = 3, Widowed = 4)
- 5. Educational Status (Cannot read & write =1, Read only =2, Read and Write = 3, Primary complete = 4, High School Complete =5, Diploma and more = 6,)
- 6. Occupation (Merchant = 1, Petty trader = 2, Student =3, Government employee = 4, other = 5)

Section 4: Factors for Migration (infrastructural, socio-cultural and economic factors)

- 7. How old were you when you came to Addis Ababa?
- 8. With who did you came to Addis Ababa?
 - A. With my brother
 - B. With my sister
 - C. With my uncle
 - D. With my aunt
 - E. With relative
 - F. By my self
 - G. If other please specify _____
- 9. Who made the decision for your migration?
 - A. My self
 - B. My father
 - C. My parents
 - D. My relatives
 - E. If other, please specify? _____

10. What is migration in your place of origin?

- A. It is cultural norm
- B. It is necessity
- C. It is personal choice
- D. It is means of survival
- E. All of the above
- F. If other, please specify? _____

11. What do you think is the cause for migration?

- A. Lack of access to infrastructures like (electricity, road, school, potable water,)
- B. Shortage of land
- C. Influence of preceding migrants
- D. Sense of independence
- E. If other please specify _____

12. Do you think child out-migration had a relationship with number of children in household?

- A. Yes
- B. No

13. If your answer for question number 12 is yes how? If no why?

14. Do you encourage child out-migration?

- A. Yes
- B. No

15. If your answer for question number 14 is yes why? If no why?

16. What was your first job when you came to Addis Ababa?

- A. Shoe shining
- B. Keeping shop
- C. Circulating lottery
- D. Petty trade

- E. Assistant of taxi driver
 - F. If other, please specify? _____
17. What is your job now?
- _____
18. What is your average monthly income? (In Birr) _____
19. Is your current income sufficient to fulfill in good living standard?
- A. Yes
 - B. No
20. If your answer for question number 19 is yes how? If no why?
- _____
- _____
- _____
21. How do you support your family?
- A. By sending cash money
 - B. By sending remittance in-kind
 - C. By purchasing and spending on fixed assets
 - D. By covering costs for holidays and ceremonies
 - E. If other please specify _____
22. What is your future plan?
- A. Returning home and establishing life in my locality
 - B. To expand my business here and support my family
 - C. Continue my education
 - D. If other, please specify? _____

Section 5: Impacts of child out migration

23. What do you think is the positive impact of child out-migration?
- A. Remittances (cash, in-kind)
 - B. Decreasing the vulnerability of the rural households
 - C. Decreasing the economic burden of the rural household
 - D. Transfer of knowledge, skills, etc.
 - E. If other, please specify _____
24. What is the negative impact of child out-migration in place of origin?
- A. It creates dependency in the rural households
 - B. It disrupts the socio-demographic composition of the rural community

- C. It affects the production process
- D. It would leave the parents helpless
- E. If other please specify _____

25. What is the negative impact of child out-migration on the migrant's life?

- A. Stress as a result of demand by the parents
- B. Affects the personal life of the migrant (e.g. take longer to get married)
- C. Being unable to save money for the future
- D. If other please specify? _____

26. How much change do you think migration brought on your economic condition?

- A. Very much change
- B. Much change
- C. Little change
- D. Very little change
- E. No change

27. Do you believe your financial support has brought a change in your family's living standard?

- A. Yes
- B. No

28. If your answer for question number 27 is yes how? If no why?

29. Do you believe the financial support of migrants brought sustainable change in the livelihood of the rural households?

- A. Yes
- B. No

30. If your answer for question number 29 is yes how? If no why?

31. Do you believe the positive outcomes outweigh the negative ones?

- A. Yes
- B. No

32. If your answer for question number 31 is yes how? If no why?

33. What challenges did you face when you came to Addis Ababa?

- A. Lack of working capital
- B. Lack of marketable skills
- C. Unemployment
- D. Uncertainty
- E. If other specify _____

34. How did you manage those challenges?

- A. Expanding social networks
- B. Engaging in dead-end jobs
- C. Make Saving
- D. Taking Loan
- E. If other please specify _____

Annex III – FGD Guidelines

1. What is the basic reason behind the child out migration in your community?
2. What seems the trend of child out-migration in your village?
3. Do you encourage child out-migration? If yes why?
4. If your answer is no what should be done to decrease the trend of migration?
5. What are the positive and negative impacts of child out-migration?
6. Can migration change the rural livelihood on sustainable manner? If yes how? If No why?

Annex IV – Interview Guide for Parents

1. How many children you have sent to urban centers?
2. What do you think is the cause for child out-migration?
3. Why do you sent your child/children to town?
4. With whom your child/children have migrated to town?
5. Does the remittance from your child/children have changed your household livelihood?
If Yes How? If No, Why?
6. What do you think are the negative impacts of child out migration?

Annex V – Interview Guide for community elders

1. When do you think children began to migrate to towns?
2. What are the causes for child out-migration?
3. What seems the trend of child out-migration in your community?
4. Do you encourage child out migration? Why?
5. What are the positive impacts of child out-migration?
6. What do you think are the negative impacts of child out-migration?

7. Do you believe migration had changed the socio-demographic composition of the community?

Annex VI – Interview Guide for Muher and Akilil woreda officials, Selam and Ginab kebele officials

1. What seems the trend of migration in Muher and Akilil woreda/ Selam and Ginab kebeles?
2. What do you think are the causes for child out-migration in the woreda/ kebele?
3. Do you believe the infrastructural facilities like electricity, schools, health stations, road, etc. had an impact on child out-migration?
4. What efforts done by the government to address the infrastructural limitations?
5. Do you think migration is a threat to sustainable livelihood? If Yes how? If No Why?
6. Do you think the child out-migration can change the livelihood of their family/community in sustainable manner? If Yes How? If No Why?
7. Do you believe there are non-economic factors for child out-migration?
8. Do you believe the remittances from the migrants had brought significant changes in livelihood of their families?

Declaration

I, here the undersigned, declare that this thesis is my own original work and has not been presented for a degree in other university and all the sources of materials used for the work has been duly acknowledged.

Kelil Demsis

Confirmed by

Name: _____

Signature _____

June, 2015