



Living conditions of adolescent rural-urban migrant girls
before and after migration in Addis Ababa:
A qualitative study

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DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, declare that the thesis is my original work, has not been presented for degrees in any other University and all sources and materials used for the thesis have been duly acknowledged.

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Abstract

The purpose of this study is to focus on the living conditions of migrant girls before and after migration and thereby oversee the impact of their migration to the city. In fact, very few attention is given to internal migration in Ethiopia where government officials and policy makers prioritize monitoring international migration in order to reduce its risk and all the negative consequences associated with it. Furthermore, those existing studies on migration mostly highlight the negative challenges migrants face at the new destination and during their journey to the city. Indeed, very few researches tend to describe the positive impact of migration and all the positive results that come with it. A qualitative study with case studies is used to understand the migration experience and outcomes supplemented by a literature on the subject. Case studies focussing on the living histories before and after migration were used to understand the livelihood of migrant girls both at the rural and urban areas. Access to basic needs such as health, nutrition, education, water sanitation and hygiene (WASH) are critically analysed. Lessons are taken from each administered individual cases. In order to assess the issue under study, the main research participants are urban adolescent migrant girls who migrated to Addis Ababa before the last three years and currently reside and / or work in Nifas Silk Lafto Sub - City, woreda 2, "Kore area". Back home poverty, family relationship with stepparents, education and child marriage are the major factors for girls migration to the city. Girls affirmed to be in a better financial situation in the city with more opportunities to income generating activities. However, there is equal health condition before and after migration yet with better health facilities and services in the city as opposed to back home. Similarly, there is better access to nutrition, electricity, water in the city as opposed to back home despite the power and water outage. Education is well accessible in the city as stated by the girls. School dropouts due to excessive labour work and inaccessibility of schools are common issues in rural areas. As such, girls aspire to have a comprehensive support in meeting their educational aspirations and thereby future professional goals. Dominantly, migrant girls confess having a better living condition in the city compared to back home. The girls appreciate the better services as well as employment opportunities in work with pay, access to basic needs such as water, electricity, good housing, nutrition, hygiene, as well as access to better health services. All in all, interviewed girls affirm having a positive feeling in the city with more promising outlook about the future.

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Acronyms and Abbreviations

ACRWC African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child

CSA Central Statistics Agency

CRC Convention on the Rights of the Child

EPRDF Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front

FDRE Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia

HIV/AIDS Human Immunodeficiency Virus/ Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome

IHRM International Human Rights Movement

NELM New Economics of Labour Migration

SRH Sexual Reproductive Health

STI Sexually Transmitted Infection

UN United Nations

VCT Voluntary Counselling and Testing

Water, Sanitation, and Hygiene (WASH)

Chapter one

1.1 Introduction

Migration is the movement of persons away from their place of usual residence, either across an international border or within a State. There are various forms of migration across the globe such as climate migration, displacement, internal migration, international migration, irregular migration, labour migration, safe, orderly and regular migration, etc. (R. Luthra, 2018). Despite the various forms of migration mentioned - above and practiced in the country, there is limited attention given to this propensity, mainly internal migration (UNICEF, 2017) with restricted programs and policies to understand and support the wellbeing of migrants, mainly internal migrant girls and children in general in respect to the Rights of the Child.

Recent migrant girls represent around 80 percent of urban adolescent girls in sub-Saharan Africa. There are more urban migrant girls between the ages of 15 - 19 compared to urban migrant boys within the same age group (Temim et al., 2013). Researches made on girls' migration by (Gedlu, 2010), (Assazineu 2010) and (Tolera, 2015) indicated that early marriage and sexual violence are among the push factors for migration by young female migrants. Moreover, poverty, preference to male children for land inheritance due to land scarcity, fewer educational opportunities for girls (due to heavy house chores responsibilities resulting in less available time for learning, lower positive expectations from education by parents and the community in general and absence of schools at an accessible distance and secure location for girls), poor family relationship mostly in the case of step parents, more promising opportunities available to young girls rather than boys at the destination encourage parents to send their girls to urban areas. In addition, parents and families in rural areas usually find girls more reliable than boys to send remittance after migration. Thus, parents

with no or lower educational level have confidence to invest in girls 'migration (by selling properties including livestock and sometimes getting into debts) with its long-term positive outcomes for their children and families. Migration is both, short-term and long-term strategy for enhancements. The long-term outcomes are more realistic and promising (Atnafu et. al., 2014).

Regardless, the above mentioned studies on migration tend to highlight more the negative experiences of migration including migration of children and girls by describing the difficulties they face during their trip to (trafficking, smuggling, etc.) and stay at the new destination. Factors related to forced labour, difficult working conditions affecting their health and overall wellbeing as well as housing, educational and other related challenges were dominantly described.

Thus, the aim of the research was to assess the existing living conditions of rural – urban migrants by focusing on the challenges faced both at rural and urban areas. The study focussed on adolescent migrant girls who migrated to Addis Ababa, district 02 (one out of the thirteen districts in the city) also named “*Kore area*” before the last three years where migrants represent the majority of the population as indicated by a key informant. Minimum three years residency at the new destination was required to fully assess the changes resulting from their migration experiences.

1.2 Statement of the problem

A number of studies have been conducted on various forms of migration including internal and international migration, regular and irregular migration / legal and illegal migration across the globe. For instance, a study was conducted on illegal international

migration in Ethiopia where variables such as “age, political unrest, unreliable information from social media, social networks, the desire for life enhancement, and readiness for taking a risk” were mentioned as major factors “predicators” initiating irregular international migration among youth in Jimma Zone, South West of Ethiopia (Woldemichael and Getu, 2020).

The Ethiopian government including public and private Social Media has made more focus on international migration, mainly illegal migration to African countries, the Middle East, and the Mediterranean. Regardless, there are growth in the urban population in Ethiopia where UN data estimated a 25.8percent and 33.4percent growth in urban population by 2028 and 2041 respectively (Pankhurst and Dom, 2018).

There are various factors driving rural-urban migration in Ethiopia and at the same time, this is a contributing factor to the rise of the urban population (Pankhurst & Dom, 2018). However, very few research/programmes on internal migration have been implemented in Ethiopia. Those few researches in Ethiopia have examined the challenges of internal migration and its negative outcomes, like becoming a child domestic worker or sex worker or a difficult transition and adjustment to the new location (lack of friends, social support, etc.) (Erulkar et.al. 2006).

For instance, very few adolescent migrant girls lived with their parents at the destination. School drop-outs are high among adolescent girls after migrating to urban areas. With a limited educational background and thereby limited health and Sexual Reproductive Health (SRH) awareness as well as little or no social network at the destination, migrant girls are exposed to vulnerability by strangers or brokers with sexual violence and confronted to mental pressure on their way to or at the destination (Erulkar et.al. 2006).

In Bahir Dar, Ethiopia, strangers and local brokers trafficked children who had little or no knowledge of their rights and exploited them through forced child labor, sexual exploitation (child sex work) as well as begging and sales activities on the street and along the roads where the profit goes directly to the broker. The study indicated that the majority of child domestic workers in the informal sector in Bahir Dar city are girls between the ages of 16 -17 (Tegegn and Asres, 2010).

Migration is one of the leading factors for child labour in Gullele Sub – City (district), in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. Children involved in child migration are exposed to difficult working and living conditions where they lack basic needs such as shelter, food, etc. They usually perform difficult tasks for a small and/or irregular pay income. Thus, child labour affects the physical and psycho-social, health and the overall wellbeing of children (Gedlu, 2010).

During a pre - assessment on the living conditions of migrant girls in Addis Ababa, Biruh Tesfa Girls' Education Program in Ethiopia has discovered the benefits of migration to adolescent girls, like access to facilities (eg. water, electricity, etc.) and services (eg. education, medical care, etc.) and standard of living. For instance, when talking about moving back to the rural area, one of the Biruh Tesfa Girls said something like: “How can I go back to drinking river water when I am able to drink tap water” (Personal communication, A. Erulkar).

Usually, urban migrants have the expectation of better living conditions in the city. Most migrants, including adolescent migrant girls, envisage getting a better income at the destination and thereby support themselves and their families as well as relatives back home using remittance. On the other hand, there are adolescent migrant girls who faced many

challenges after migration where some performed lower-skilled jobs affecting their well-being and even putting their life at risk (Erulkar et. al., 2006).

Thus, it would be interesting to assess the living conditions including the socio-economic conditions of adolescent migrant girls in Addis Ababa before and after migration using high-quality interactive qualitative research (life stories).

1.3 Research objective

1.3.1 General objective

The general objective of this research is to assess the living conditions of migrant girls before and after migration and thereby oversee the challenges encountered during and after migration to the city.

1.3.2 Specific objectives

The following are the specific objectives for the research.

1. To assess the living conditions back home (rural area) and at the new destination (urban area) for adolescent migrant girls (15 - 19 years old).
2. To recommend government and concerned bodies working on adolescents and children about the situation of migrant girls at the new destination for possible alternative support programmes if required.

1.4 Research questions

The following are relevant research questions for our study:

1. What are the major characteristics of migrant girls to the city?
2. What is the difference in living conditions before and after migration for migrant girls?

3. What are the main challenges for adolescent migrant girls back home as well as at the new destination?

1.5 Significance of the study

The study on the living conditions of migrant girls before and after migration has a first benefit to migrant girls themselves by engaging them throughout the study. Hence, the girls are able to share their insights and living experiences of migration through interactive interviews. The engagement of migrant girls in the study assures the objectivity and trustworthiness of the findings. Thereafter, the applied research accomplishes one of its main objectives which is to recommend governmental and private stakeholders working to support the well-being of adolescents (adolescent girls) the actions that must be taken in order to accommodate the needs of adolescent girls and notably migrant girls.

Through the analysis of the living conditions after migration, it is easier to notice both the positive and negative outcomes of migration to migrant girls. The challenges encountered both back home and at the new destination are to be transferred into the design of programmatic activities and policies in order to help migrant girls overcome their problems and support them of making a positive living condition at both locations. The supportive programs and policies would eventually ensure the empowerment of adolescents and migrant girls and thereby help them realize their aspiration and expectation from migration. By engaging migrant girls, their parents and the community members into the design of programmatic programs and policies, migrant girls may be able to reach their aspiration from migration by ensuring their own safety and protection.

1.6 Scope of the research

This research will be limited to the study of Ethiopian adolescent migrant girls aged 15-19 who migrated to Addis Ababa before the last three years and currently live and /or work in Nifas Silk Lafto Sub - City, woreda (district) 2. The first two to three years of first migration represent generally an adjustment period where migrant girls may face challenges as well as vulnerability (Temim et al., 2013). Thus, a minimum of three years of presence at the destination is required to fully measure the change that may occur in the wellbeing of the migrant girls.

During an area assessment with the highest prevalence of adolescent migrant girls, Representatives from the Bureau of Women and Children Affairs (BoWCA) and Bureau of Labour and Social Affairs (BoLSA) confirmed woreda (district) 2, among the woredas (districts) with the highest rate in migrant population in Nifas Silk Lafto Sub - City.

Chapter two

Literature review

2.1 Migration as a spatial and temporal process

2.1.1 Spatial process

International and internal migration are the two major forms of migration. International migration is a cross border migration outside the country whereas internal migration is a local migration. . A study on migration demonstrated that urban migration, migration to Addis Ababa is most of the time a step migration to legal and illegal international migration (Jones et al., 2015). Two authors consider similarities between internal and international migrations. Both migrants experience almost common challenges as a result of being in a new environment, far from families, relatives and friends (De Regt. & Beltsi, 2017). The same authors analysed narratives from migrant girls and concluded that migrants who experience trafficking is only for a short time for internal migrants as opposed to the international ones (De Regt. & Beltsi, 2017).

However, there are different types of internal migration such as rural - rural, rural - urban, urban - rural as well as urban - urban (Mersha, 2018). A study on migration in developing countries emphasized that rural - urban migration is less likely common. Instead, urban - urban migration is the most practiced phenomenon (Temin et al., 2013).

Migration to Addis Ababa, rural - urban migration is most of the time considered an opportunity for recognizability as well as better income and prosperity. Migrants tend to migrate to distant destinations in order to escape from being taken back to the community. This is mostly the case of migrant girls who migrate long distance to escape child marriage. Once

they arrive at the new destination, far from their surroundings, they even tend to change their names (Gebre, 2010).

Age has an influence on migration route. Young migrant girls tend to move directly to urban areas such as Addis Ababa whereas older girls stop and work in small towns to earn some money for transportation to big urban destinations (Gebre, 2010). Migrations to urban destinations by older girls are most of the time the results of step migrations to small towns. Migrants first move to small towns followed by semi urban locations before reaching their final urban destinations. For instance, girls from Gondar have step migrations to Debre Tabor and Woreta before reaching Bahir Dar as a final destination. (Gebre, 2010). A study on Girls on the Move also revealed that more urban migrant girls originate from cities and towns rather than directly from rural areas (Temin et al., 2013).

The migration experience may differ depending on place of origin and destination; whether rural or urban areas.

Girls' migration in Amhara Region is usually at the same time as agricultural workers' as well as soldiers' movement in search for commercial sex work. For instance, when workers who migrate to work at sesame plantations cease their activities, migrant girls who work as commercial sex workers leave the place together with the workers and look for other destinations where they can find potential clients (Gebre, 2010).

2.1.2 Temporal process

There are temporal and permanent migrations (Mersha, 2018). Both forms of migration are practiced regardless of the origin or destination of the migration. Whether it is a rural -

rural, rural - urban, urban – rural or urban - urban, the migration could be made for as short period of time (temporal), or for a longer duration (permanent).

People migrating from rural areas generally migrate less during high agricultural production period. There is less migration during harvest time. During crop scarcity, people from rural areas aspire to migrate to urban areas for a short period of time to earn money. However, the reality is different. They rarely move back home (Gebre, 2010). Those who refuse to return home are generally those who have not yet fulfilled their expectations and aspirations (Gebre, 2010).

Migration reaches its peak during holidays when urban migrants return home to visit family and relatives. They move back to urban areas accompanied by rural children who aspire better opportunities at the new destination. Returnees who visit their families during holidays have also a greater contribution to child trafficking on their way back to urban destinations. They convince parents to send their children to urban areas through child trafficking. Migrants with limited or no money for transportation and / or gift do not visit their families during holidays (Assazenew, 2010).

Adolescents who fail the general Grade 8 exam generally loose hope and decide to migrate looking for an income generating activity. With limited opportunities at the place of origin, most girls migrate permanently to urban areas after failing Grade 8 general exam (Gebre, 2010). After their arrival at the urban area, migrants tend to concentrate around specific neighbourhoods (Temin et al., 2013).

2.2 Urban migration globally, in developing countries and in Ethiopia

Urban areas attract more than half of the world's population with an estimated rise of 75 percent by the year 2050 (IOM 2014). Migration is in fact an opportunity to promote the productivity and development of urban areas (Migrating Out of Poverty, n/a). Nevertheless, with the growth of urban population across the globe, larger cities struggle to manage well population growth which is diverse in nature. Most of the “megacities” including those in developed countries such as Japan, USA, etc. have over 1 million residents in slum areas. As a result, countries encounter local migration - related governance issues with poor housing conditions, limited access to basic infrastructure, public utilities, transportation, etc. As in the Global South, both internal and international migrations with rapid urbanization have contributed to the formation of slum areas. Thus, migration is seen as a significant problem in large cities which is expediting poverty. In order to monitor problems related to the formation of poor slum areas, cities in the Global South have taken measure to limit temporarily rural - urban migration as a result of their inability to meet the basic needs of newcomers as well as urban residents (GSDRC, 2016).

Global urbanization has come to developing countries where Asia and Africa have the highest rates of urbanization. Those living in urban agglomerations in developing countries have twice as many people as in industrialized cities. The growth in urban population in the Southern Hemisphere is expected to reach almost 3.9 billion people where 60 percent represent those below the age of 18 (IOM 2015). Among the developing countries, Africa has the highest rate of urban growth with 3.5 percent yearly and this will continue until the year 2050.

Urbanization is due to migration where by the year 2025, it is estimated that more than half of the population of Africa is expected to live and work in urban area (GSDRC, 2016).

Despite the high urbanization rate in the developing countries including Africa, 84 percent of the population in Ethiopia live in rural areas. Adolescent girls constitute 12 percent of the population where the majority lives in rural areas with lack of access to basic needs. More and more migration in Ethiopia is held between urban to urban areas (39percent) rather than rural to urban locations with only 27percent (Bezu and Holden, 2014). On the other hand, other researches indicated growth in urban population, generally due to rural - urban migration rather than natural increases (Gebre, 2010). The Southern hemisphere including Ethiopia is expected to have the number of its urban inhabitants doubled in few years. In fact, growth in an urban population in Ethiopia is expected to reach 25.8percent and 33.4percent in 2028 and 2041 respectively (Pankhurst & Dom, 2018).

Ultimately, there is a massive concentration of child migrants in Addis Ababa (Gebre, 2010). Several pushes and pull factors are associated with urban migration that will be developed later. A study on Girls on the Move in the Developing World indicated that recent migrant girls represent around 80 percent of urban adolescent girls (Temim et al., 2013).

2.3 Determinants of urban migrants in Ethiopia

Gender, age, education, family size, asset base, land size, income and information and network are key determinants of rural - urban migration in Ethiopia.

Females, mainly young females tend to migrate more compared to their compatriot males.

With land scarcity, limited employment opportunities and lack of income in rural areas, young

females migrate to urban areas looking for employment opportunities. Moreover, education is a key factor for rural - urban migration. Educated people are more likely to engage themselves in different migration patterns as opposed to those with little or no education. Less educated people experience pushed migration whereas well educated ones are more mobile seeking for migration that matches their skills and expectations. Rural to urban migration is usually associated with the size of the family. As the family size gets larger and the per capita reduces, migration is seen as an option for survival. On the other hand, members of large family size tend to migrate less as their livestock increases and they are able to assure food security. Furthermore, land tenure and farming activities in rural areas are related to the decision of migration. The land available to most rural households in Ethiopia are not good enough to provide sufficient food to their family members. Thus, migration is an opportunity to overcome rural poverty. Wage and revenue differences between rural and urban areas also initiate rural - urban migration in Ethiopia. The lower rural income is the higher rural out - migration is induced. Migration is an opportunity to diversify livelihood activities and thereby generate greater income. Also, households with good income in rural areas may opt for migration to appreciate the diversified amenities in urban areas. Finally, access to information facilitates migration processes. Friends, relatives and former and already migrants provide good information and advice to those who wish to migrate to urban areas.

2.4 Urban adolescent migrant girls in Ethiopia

The young population usually takes more risks and uses migration to escape hardship than any other age group of population. Adolescent girls are the highest among urban migrants

(Erulkar et al., 2006). Girls migrate to urban areas where there are intense work opportunities and more potentials for improvement (Gebre, 2010).

A study on Girls on the Move in the Developing World found that there are more urban migrant girls between the ages of 15 - 19 compared to urban migrant boys within the same age group (Temim et al., 2013). Moreover, another study on migration in Bahir Dar, Ethiopia revealed the majority of domestic workers in the urban area being migrant girls between the ages of 16 -17 (Asres & Tegegne, 2010).

When the decision of migration comes from the family, parents usually prefer to send girls rather than boys for migration. This is mainly because there is a strong belief that a girl would obey and send regular remittance to the family as opposed to boys. Most girls believe that it is a curse not to obey the family (Assazenew, 2010). Hence, there are more migrant girls as compared to boys. Sometimes, families sell cattle or get into debt to cover the cost associated with a girl's migration. As compared to migrant girls originating from poor families, girls migrating from well-off families tend to experience a better migration journey and experience at the new destination (Jones. et al., 2015).

Parents who decide that a girl migrates encourage the girl to get married to then divorce before migrating. The decision of divorce is put in place so that the girl sends remittance to her family rather than the spouse. Similarly, marriage before migration is encouraged because it is nobler to lose virginity in marriage than being raped during the migration journey or at the destination (Assazenew, 2010).

Adolescent girls are mostly victims of early trafficking. Sometimes parents and more importantly male parents are involved in a girl's trafficking. They collaborate with brokers so that girls who migrate send their earnings to the family. In case a girl refuses to give cash to the family, brokers will move out the girl from the potential employer. There are also occasions where brokers fully take migrants' earnings without sharing it with the family (Assazenew, 2010).

Nevertheless, girls migrate to urban areas looking for a multitude of opportunities such as education, health, employment as well as capital which are unavailable or rarely available at the place of origin. The above resources contribute to the overall wellbeing and prosperity of the girls as well as that of the family (Temim et al., 2013).

2.5 Outcomes of urban migration on migrant girls

Migration has both positive and negative impacts on migrants. Aspects such as working condition, education, health status are good indicators to oversee the living conditions of migrant girls after migration. Existing literatures on migration have indicated the following observations on the effect of migration on migrant girls.

Child labor is authorized in Ethiopia from age 14 (Assazenew, 2010). Consequently, rural-urban migration in search of employment occurred when rural sources of entitlement failed (Tolera, 2015). There are generally fewer jobs available for girls in rural areas (Jones. Et al., 2015). Hence, girls migrate to urban areas with bigger employment opportunity potentials. Once in the city, migrant girls engage in different low-paying activities including begging (Asres & Tegegne, 2010). With limited social networks and skills, urban migrant girls mostly perform low-paying jobs such as domestic work which is not a well-regulated and inspected

job by government authorities and thereby provides uncomprehensive protection to workers (Jones et al., 2015). Migrant girls often work long hours with little or no pay (Erulkar et al., 2017) and are exposed to dangerous tasks where they experience hardship and discomfort. Girl service jobs are usually unattractive and low pay (Jones et al., 2015). As a result of the difficult working conditions, the majority of child domestic workers in Bahir Dar who are between 16 - 17 years old are later involved in commercial sex work (Asres & Tegegne, 2010). Domestic work with long working hours could also be a factor for school drop-outs by urban migrant girls (Gedlu, 2010).

Contrary to girls who voluntarily migrate to urban areas in search of employment, some girls are forcibly taken to these locations such as Addis Ababa for domestic work. Children whose families cannot fulfill their basic needs are mostly trafficked (Assazenew, 2010). In rural areas such as Gurage Zone, children may be a source of income for the family (Asres & Tegegne, 2010). Thus, with the support of neighbors and relatives, family and parents contribute to forced child migration; child trafficking. Children are sent to urban areas at an early age to work and generate income for the family (Assazenew, 2010). During hardship in rural areas, urban earning in a form of remittance has a positive impact on the survival of rural households (Tolera, 2015). Brokers usually make false promises to children that they will pursue their education which is a lie. Sometimes, traffickers/brokers take the salary without giving it to the family (Assazenew, 2010). For girls engaged in commercial sex work, bar owners usually share the earning. Sex workers are often vulnerable to sexual, physical, and verbal assaults with forced sexual intercourse without pay (Asres & Tegegn, 2010). Likewise, domestic workers are victims of similar assaults (Erulkar et al., 2017).

Research on migration to Bishoftu town indicated employment opportunities are not being always straightforward in the town. There is high unemployment in urban areas such as Bishoftu although there are industries, manufacturing, and growth of the economy in the informal sector. Rural-urban migration has led to an increase in population in urban areas followed by shorter employment opportunities. With limited social networks and skills, urban migrants face the highest level of unemployment. With a lack of employment, food shortage is a serious problem among migrants in urban areas. In addition, with an employment problem and thereby reduced income, urban-rural remittance has also reduced overtime (Tolera, 2015).

Besides, migration, including child's migration, is generally perceived as an opportunity to improve schooling and work conditions with a more secure future for the migrants as well as their families. With better education and employment opportunities, migrants can assert their independence and make their own decisions. However, when away from parents and families, migrant children are exposed to greater risks of exploitation and human rights violence (Jones et al., 2015).

Urban migrant girls are exposed to difficult living conditions. For instance, migrants in Bishoftu experience high food insecurity. The situation is sometimes worse than that in rural areas and not as expected. With limited employment opportunities, urban migrants in Bishoftu largely depend on the food they receive from friends and relatives in rural areas. In return, urban migrants send remittance to rural households when available. In addition, when urban migrants face economic stress and food scarcity, they often send their children back to rural areas to stay with relatives. Urban migrants with no or little linkage with rural areas as well as

limited economic and social capital in urban areas are the most vulnerable facing many challenges for survival (Tolera, 2015).

Living conditions vary according to the employment sectors migrant girls are engaged in. Sex workers have better "freedom of movement, access to social networks and building up human capital and other resources" than domestic workers. Domestic workers are isolated with limited social networks and contact with friends. However, those who attend evening classes see much better opportunities for human contact. Education opens the door to social networks for migrant domestic workers who have limited opportunities to interact with others (De Regt, 2016). Children working on the street face difficult working and living conditions including problems with accessing adequate food and shelter. Those engaged in self-employment where they sell items on the street, peddlers have in general better-living conditions and independent life (Gedlu, 2010).

Another study on the vulnerability of rural-urban migrants in Addis Ababa revealed the first point of entry into cities being the slum areas with difficult infrastructure, limited health, and other services (Erulkar et al., 2006). The study also declared that urban migrants experience more difficult living conditions than non-migrant urban residents.

For instance, migrant girls have their health conditions more at risk than non - migrant girls (Temim et al., 2013). The vulnerability is high among rural to urban migrants, domestic workers, and girls who were married early (Erulkar, 2014). Although urban areas have much better (both in number and quality) health services than rural areas, migrant girls are less likely to access the services. Either they do not afford to pay for the medical treatment services or

employers encourage them less to consult health professionals. Rather, employers consider that it is much cheaper to use traditional, in-house treatment (Gedlu, 2010).

Migrant girls are vulnerable to injuries as a result of being involved in difficult and hazardous working conditions; working conditions which are inappropriate to their ages. In addition, migrant girls have poor personal hygiene where the quality of food and water they consume is not always at a good standard. Works migrant girls perform may also contribute to poor health conditions such as headache, typhus, back pain, etc. The risk is much higher for migrants involved in the weaving industry. Similarly, migrant girls involved in commercial sex work have their health conditions more at risk (Gedlu, 2010).

Although migrant girls are aware of HIV and AIDS, their knowledge about specific matters related to all the major transmission modes is limited. Girls have in general less information about all the possible HIV/AIDS transmission modes. However, among all migrant girls, commercial sex workers have a better understanding of the virus. Similarly, girls who experience Voluntary Counselling and Testing (VCT) are low among migrant girls except for commercial sex workers. Overall, commercial sex workers have a good understanding of Sexually Transmitted Infections (STIs) than any other migrant girls of the same age (Erulkar et al., 2017). However, poverty has an impact on the vulnerability of commercial sex workers. The latter may serve clients who refuse to use condoms for a better cash payment (Temim et al., 2013). Hence, commercial sex workers are also vulnerable to STIs as well as HIV/AIDS (Asres & Tegegne, 2010). Finally, migrant girls involved in commercial sex work have the highest mental depression rate followed by girls working in a bar / café, domestic workers, and

other migrant girls. On the other hand, rural girls have the least mental depression cases (Erulkar et al., 2017).

Migration to Addis Ababa does not necessarily bring positive changes and does not always help migrants to improve their lives. Using qualitative and quantitative research methods, studies on the livelihoods of rural-urban migrants in Ethiopia indicated that the most available jobs to new urban migrants with limited skills and exposure to urban lifestyle are domestic work and sex work with low employment wages insufficient to change migrants' lives. Parents and the community give more recognition to international migration because of its international remittance. Money gained from internal migration is not enough to change migrants' lives and those of their families (De Regt & Beltsi, 2017).

Rural-urban migration is "often associated with notions of modernity, such as the desire to enjoy an urban lifestyle and have access to education." (De Regt & Beltsi, 2017). A study on adolescent girls' migration in Ethiopia by "Girl Effect", an International Non- Profit Organization working on girls revealed most migrants are disappointed by their living conditions and wellbeing after migration. "All migrants aspire to become economically independent, have their accommodation and improve their living conditions." (De Regt., 2016). Economic independence is the aspiration of most migrants. Almost all young urban migrant girls value economic independence over marriage. Although migrants admit having gained new experience, autonomy, freedom, and economic independence, they indicated facing many challenges and new risks at the destination to develop themselves and thereby support their families. Thus, some migrants finally regretted their migration (De Regt, 2016). Domestic and sex workers experience difficult working conditions and encounter threats, making their lives

at risk. However, the study by Girl Effect found that domestic workers are happier than sex workers with their migration. More and more regrets come from sex workers. As described by one of the Girl Effect's studies on migration, although two third of interviewed migrant girls in Addis Ababa indicated their lives been improved as a result of migration, 20 out of 30 migrant girls affirmed not obtaining what they aspired from migration. Most of the interviewed girls (23) are hoping to have better jobs and salaries. Finally, a few of them (8) aspired for a good education and others (7) deisre to improve their housing conditions.

Chapter three

3. Methods and procedures

3.1 Research design

This is a qualitative case study to understand the changes in the well-being of migrant girls in Addis Ababa, Nifas Silk Lafto Sub City. As a case study, migrant girls were the unit of analysis in this study. Migrant girls were identified because of their lived experiences and asked to narrate past moments and living experiences at the place of origin and thereafter compare those experiences to the current living conditions and well-being. In addition, the research employs an inductive approach because “specific change in the well-being”, “change in the wellbeing patterns”, “resemblances” and “regularities of experience” contributed to coming up with a conclusive idea about migrant girls in Addis Ababa Nifas Silk Lafto Sub City. In-depth interviews were used to have one-on-one interviews with migrant girls from the defined area. The study will be applied research where the findings could help the government and concerned bodies dealing with the well-being of adolescents and youth, mainly girls in Ethiopia.

3.2 Study area

Research on the vulnerability of rural-urban migrants in slum areas of Addis Ababa (Erulkar et al., 2006) indicated the majority of urban migrants in Addis Ababa mostly settle in the slum areas of the city. The study area (woreda /district 2) for this research is an expansion area within the Nifas Silk Lafto Sub-City with slum zones across its border.

The population size of woreda (district) 2 is between 60,000 to 70,000 inhabitants. Almost two-thirds of the population are migrants. Migrants mostly originated from the

Amhara Region which includes Gondar, Gojam, and Wollo as well as the Gurage Zone. They have formed a community where new migrants continue to afflux through well-established networking with previous migrants. These migrants came up to the area through a network with big expectations about life in the city. However, the reality was different after they arrived in the city, most migrants faced many challenges to cope with urban life. Hence, male household heads were forced to migrate to new areas including rural and other urban areas looking for jobs. As a result, single mothers had the responsibility to raise their children on their own. With a limited income, single mothers encounter challenges to look for work. They have no one to look after the children while the family goes out to work. Thus, they are mostly unemployed facing economic challenges in making their living. Single female-headed households living in poverty are the majority in the “*Kore*” area. Since these households are in extreme poverty, they generally have difficult health conditions with poor hygiene and mental health conditions. They are vulnerable to diseases resulting from poor hygiene as well as stress due to difficult living conditions.

Seasonal workers from nearby towns pass through woreda 2 when going to Jimma to collect coffee beans during the harvest season. On their way back home, they usually stop by the woreda for a short stay. During the temporary sojourn, they engage as domestic workers, security agents, daily laborers as well as commercial sex workers.

Migrant youth generally make their living by carrying water jars, firewood, etc. to the nearby locations in exchange for cash. They offer the service using a horse cart. Some are daily laborers, working at construction sites. Child labor is also a common issue in woreda (district) 2. Migrant children offer bodyweight measuring services on the street in exchange

for coins. They sometimes do not own the device and work for someone else in exchange for food or small cash.

As stated by Government Officials, woreda (district) 2 is an expansion area and a transportation hub for the West and Southern Regions. There is also a well-organized centre for brokers where migrants are linked to potential employers. All in all, a well-established network of migrants exists at the specific woreda (district).

3.3 Participant selection

The target population for this research is rural-urban adolescent migrant girls aged 15-19 who live in Nifas Silk Lafto Sub-City, woreda (district) 2, and have been in the area for at least three years. The study is restricted to older adolescent girls as they are the ones who largely migrate to the city compared to adolescent boys and younger adolescents based on previously done research on migration in Ethiopia. Relevant data on migrant girls were obtained from a Non - Governmental Organization (NGO) which has a recent record of migrant girls in the study area. From the existing list, we purposefully identified and selected migrant girls who have settled in woreda (district) 2 for at least three years. Migrant adolescent girls (15-19) from the locality and those who fulfill the minimum residence duration were interviewed in the study. Overall, migrant girls who fulfill all the following criteria were considered eligible to participate in the study:

1. Adolescent migrant girls who were between the ages of 15 -19
2. Girls who migrated to Addis Ababa from a rural area and currently residing and/or working in Nifas Silk Lafto Sub-City, woreda (district) 2.

3. Girls who migrated to Addis Ababa for at least before three years.

In addition, those who were willing to respond to the one-on-one interview were sampled purposefully to affirm diversity in backgrounds and circumstances. As such, we have selected girls with the various educational background; those who have never been to school as well as those with some schooling or a certain educational level; girls who perform various activities at the destination from the domestic worker; commercial sex work, unemployed, café bar workers, independent workers, etc. were identified. Girls with all types of marital status; those who have been married or single were also targeted for the study. Having diversified respondents enabled us to have a more comparative outcome from migration leading to a credible and objective result while measuring the changes in the wellbeing before and after migration. It also enabled us to select study participant girls across a range of characteristics that reflect the population in a study in the community.

3.4 Sampling size

We selected respondents for our qualitative study in such a way that they can share their diversified experiences. The method provides an in-depth understanding of the topic under study. Having that in mind, we primarily look to focus on the qualitative study as we expect to find in-depth narratives with information about migrant girls' livelihood both at the destination and back home. This later helped us to compare the living conditions and thereby measure the changes in well-being before and after migration.

Quite a several research experts argue that interrogations such as “how many” interviewees for an in-depth interview are not appropriate and that the accuracy of the method

“depends upon developing the range of relevant conceptual categories, saturating those categories and fully explaining the data” (Charmaz, 1990) cited in (Dworkin, 2012). Nevertheless, a great number of books, articles, and book chapters advise anywhere from 5 to 50 participants as sufficient for a qualitative study (Dworkin, 2012). Thus, 5 one-on-one interviews with migrant girls in Nifas Silk Lafto Sub-City, woreda (district) 2 were administered for this study.

3.5 Method of data collection

We have used both primary and secondary methods of data collection. As for the primary source, an in-depth qualitative method was used to assess the changes resulting from rural-urban migration in the lives of migrant girls. The secondary data helped us to validate and confirm the trustworthiness of our findings. The data were found in published articles, journals, online, etc. about internal migration in Ethiopia focusing on adolescent girls.

One-on-one interview - Life story interviews

An in-depth interview was administered with migrant girls 15 - 19 where they were allowed to describe their living conditions both at the place of origin and destination. Themes such as factors for migration, perception about living conditions both at the place of origin and a new destination, access to basic needs and social interaction before and after migration, likes, dislikes as well as lack and challenges encountered at both locations, personal evaluation of satisfaction in life at the rural and urban areas were deeply discussed during the in-depth interview. We expected a more subjective assessment of the migration outcomes. However, the findings were supplemented by secondary data (literature reviews) to validate the findings and thereby confirm the objectivity of the results.

The questions for the one-on-one interview were using open-ended questions where study participants were requested to express, clarify as well as justify their responses, thoughts, and insights. The interview was administered in Amharic. It was tape-recorded and transcribed verbatim. All writings were translated into English to facilitate data analysis and the draft report. The researcher was the only person involved in the data collection and analysis of the qualitative study.

The qualitative study was administered in a private setting, far from the household heads and/or employers if a girl happen to be employed. It was conducted at a local government agency in a private setting/room. The average time allocated for the study was 45 minutes. Given the small number of participants and considering the current exasperating Covid 19 pandemic, ETB 50 was given to each study participant to help them buy small items such as face masks and /or sanitizers.

Secondary data sources

Secondary data sources used in the research include previous studies conducted on migration and notably adolescent migrant girls by social researchers, technical experts, academicians as well as Non - Governmental Organizations (NGOs). A very recent household listing directed by a Non - Governmental Organization (NGO) in the study area under the Biruh Tesfa Girls' Programme has been supportive in identifying the study population and thereby contributing to the research to be realized.

Furthermore, the secondary data sources were used to verify and complete information collected through primary data resources. Finally, other secondary data sources such as the

Ethiopian Child Policy, the Ethiopian Labour Convention as well as the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (ACRWC) were the basis to objectively measure the impact of migration on the well-being of adolescent migrant girls and ensure their protection and safety.

3.6 Method of data analysis

The collected qualitative data from the one-on-one interviews were transcribed verbatim and translated into English for analysis. The data gathered from the study participants provide a detailed explanation of the topic under study. The data analysis was supported by identifying common patterns with the responses and critically analyzing and comparing them to achieve the research goal. That enabled us to oversee the living conditions of adolescent rural - urban migrant girls and also design the survey questionnaire. Categorizing the main research theme from the qualitative data was important to identify key elements /findings in response to the research question. Repetitive themes from all conducted interviews helped us to come up with an objective fact with our findings. Two categories; living conditions “before” and “after migration” were compared to track the impact of migration on the life of the girls. All data collected from the in-depth interview as well as the literature review was thematically converged in the analysis process. The finding was supplemented and validated by secondary sources.

3.7 Quality assurance

The researcher assures the quality of the paper at every step of the research process. The research was based on a long-term engagement with the study participants. The researcher spent enough time with respondents to gain a better understanding of their day-to-day living experiences, values, and social relationships in a social context.

In addition, consent assurance before the start of data collection as well as a method of triangulation confirmed the reliability and credibility of the study. Triangulation was important as it enables test validity through the convergence of information from qualitative data to secondary sources. A member checking was also applied to validate the trustworthiness of the study. After data collection and proper transcription, respondents were given the chance to look at the transcribed documents as well as listen to the recorded tape. This allows the study participants to monitor and confirm the exactness of the information provided.

Face and content validity was practiced to verify and make adjustments to the measurements of the study. This enabled us to obtain accurate and objective findings. The qualitative study tool will first be approved through peer reviews before conducting the data collection. Finally, the study made sure to consider precise statements of participants in data analysis as well as a draft report through quotations.

3.8 Ethical considerations

Once selected, respondents were contacted for a face-to-face interview using the Covid 19 protocols. Informed consent was obtained from respondents before being engaged in the interview/discussion. As for migrant girls (15 -17), consent was obtained from the caregiver/guardian or employer to confirm their permission for the girl to participate in the interview. In addition, assent was obtained from the girls (See Annex: consent & assent forms). For those girls who were working, in case the employer or guardian was not available at the time of the interview, a telephone appointment was made at the convenience of the latter. Thus, we were limited to verbal consent over the telephone from the employer where I as a researcher had the responsibility to code the consent on a consent form dedicated to the same purpose. Both the

consent and assent forms clearly state the confidentiality of any information provided by the participants.

In addition, the respondents were also notified in advance that their voice were be tape recorder and that they must give their consent to continue with the interview. Participants were informed that they have the full right to withdraw from the study at any stage of the research process or reschedule the interview for another time in case she is limited in time or uncomfortable in responding to the questions at the moment.

Moreover, participants were informed of the short and long-term benefits of the study which is to understand their conditions and measure the impact of migration on their lives as well as alert government and concerned bodies about the living conditions of adolescent migrant girls. This may initiate filling any gap that may occur in their daily lives by designing and implementing specific support programs.

Girls who risk experiencing psychological and/or emotional distress as the result of the questions creating nostalgia and reminding them about past difficult moments in their lives were most referred to local therapy centers. The study was conducted following the protection of all individuals involved in the research as well as concerning their well-being and safety.

Chapter four

4. Findings

4.1 Characteristics of interview participants

Background information about interview participants

Age	17	17	19	15	19
Place of origin	Rural - Oromia Region	Rural - Oromia	Rural - Oromia	Rural - Oromia	Rural - Amhara
Marital status	Single	Single	Married	Single	Single
Children	No	No	1	No	No
Religion	Christian Orthodox	Christian Orthodox	Protestant	Protestant	Christian Orthodox
Education	Grade 1	Grade 1	Grade 1	Grade 4	Grade 3
Parent	Father passed away	Father passed away	Both parents	Mother and step father	Both parents
Siblings	2	3	7	1 step sibling	5
Arrival to the city	3 years ago (2018)	2 years ago (2019)	6 years ago (2007)	3 years ago (2018)	14 years ago (2007)

Five life story interviews were conducted during the qualitative study in order to assess the living conditions of migrant adolescent girls before and after migration.

Out of all the interviewed girls, most of them indicated that they migrated to the city for the first time at the age of 13. The remaining ones migrated to Addis Ababa at the ages of 12 and 15. All in all, all the interviewed girls experienced migration at an early age (early adolescence). They were either accompanied by a family member/relative or migrated alone to escape poverty and other related issues including eagerness to experience a new lifestyle in the city. Moreover, the interviewees migrated to the city at different periods during the year. Only a few of them indicated that they migrated in the month of May. The remaining girls migrated

in the months of October, after the Ethiopian New Year as well as January, around Christmas time.

There are various factors associated with the migration of adolescent girls to the city. Out of all the interviewed migrant girls in Addis Ababa, Nifas Silk Lafto Sub - City, woreda 2, most of them indicated that they experienced a difficult living condition back home. The transcribed data revealed that the most common factor for migration is economic poverty back home where girls often struggled to meet their basic needs. Similarly, another interviewed girl mentioned poverty back home to be a factor for her migration to the city by explaining how her mother struggled to meet one of the basic needs such as food at home. Thus, there are girls who migrated to the city to escape poverty from back home.

Moreover, back home poverty is often linked to family issues such as divorce or parents' death. There are migrant girls who described the difficult living conditions with their step-parents when back home by comparing the later with their biological parents. Thus, the girls indicated migration to the city be an opportunity to escape back home stress. In addition, out of all the interviewed migrant girls about their migration decision to the city, most of them indicated that they had no opportunity for going to school back home and that they looked for educational opportunities in the city. Moreover, migration looks like an opportunity to change a lifestyle and experience a new way of life. Among all the interviewed girls on their migration experience, a few of them confirmed their decision for migration to the city to be linked to a search for a new lifestyle in the city on top of the other factors indicated here above.

Finally, issues related to early marriage were also indicated as factors for migration to the city although it was only witnessed by a few girls out of all migrant girls who were interviewed about their migration experience to the city.

Economic situation and poverty, access to basic needs such as access to health services, nutrition, shelter, water and electricity as well as access to education are the major elements that are used when assessing the living conditions of migrant girls before and after migration. Similarly, as girls often migrate to the city to make incomes, their working conditions and personal safety before and after migration are also well assessed. The outcome of the study is to evaluate the impact of migration on the lives of girls migrating to the city and thereby focus on the main challenges they face both back home and at the new destination.

4.2 Household income, poverty, and financial wealth

All the interviewed girls indicated that they had difficult living conditions when back home. In fact, poverty had been one of the major reasons for their migration to the city with the exception of one girl.

The girls confirmed that their parents/relatives back home used to earn very little income making their lives hard and at risk. They added that their parents/relatives back home were either involved in agricultural-related activities as a daily laborer or sales (mostly vegetables, cereals, and legumes). Those who engaged in farming had seasonal work and used to earn a small income, sometimes even working for no pay only in exchange for food. The jobs available back home were often not sustainable with irregular pay. Similarly, those involved in the sales were making small money with daily sales below 100 birr. The income earned was not sufficient enough to help the family have a good living conditions. They often

struggled to fulfill their basic needs such as food, clothes, keep good hygiene, etc. The girls also indicated that the rise in price made their lives difficult and led them to a more pronounced poverty situation. Overall, the girls mentioned that they lived in poor families with a very limited household income not always enough to satisfy the basic needs of the family members. The girls described the poverty they used to live when back home in detail. For instance, Abebech and Woynitu talked about poverty when back home as follows:

Life back home was difficult. My mother was poor. She was a daily laborer on the farm and earned a small income. Her job was seasonal, mostly during harvest and cropping times. When she had no money, her father sometimes gave her small cash. He earned a good income. He rented a farming land. Although I liked living close to the family, I often complained when there was nothing available at home; when there was no food to eat. I always felt worried. We usually had a very small portion of food available. I would not come to the city if life was not difficult to back home.

My mother is poor. She does not have enough income to feed the family. Consequently, my mother suggested that I came to Addis Ababa to live with her sister. I remember that life was not well back home. There was nothing. My mother usually spent her day at the market. She sold vegetables like kale, tomato, onion, etc. She got the vegetables from the nearby farmers. My mom made around 100 birrs per day. Life back home was very difficult. My mother had a very limited income. Moreover, life was expensive. Everything at the market was costly. For instance, the price of "Teff" was expensive.

Contrary to back home, most of the interviewed girls indicated being in a better financial condition in the city. In case the household's income is limited, the girls have the opportunity to look for income generating activities by themselves or the support of friends and / or relatives. One of the girls, Ayaltu described the households' income and wealth status in the city as follows:

The woman who helped me with my journey to the city suggested that I helped her with house chores and that she would pay me 250 birrs monthly. The woman did not have a good income and that was all she could pay. After staying one year with her, I went to look for a better-paying job. All I wanted at that time was to get good money in order to support well my parents financially.

4.3 Access to basic needs before and after migration

Most of the interviewed girls about their migration experiences indicated that they had either almost the same or better housing conditions at the new destination as compared to back home. One girl even indicated that she rented an independent home in the city. Ayelech who migrated to the city indicated: *“I got fed up with domestic work and looked for ways to have my own life. I wanted to live independently. I then moved out and rented a one-room small size house”*.

On the other hand, very few girls indicated that their housing at the new destination was worse than back home. One girl even mentioned that the house where she currently resides is dangerous with very poor conditions. The girl stated the following:

When the landlord increased rent, we moved to “Koshe” area near Saint Michael Orthodox Church where we currently live. We pay 1,000 birrs monthly for rent. The house is made of shade and is too small in size. Water enters inside the house when it rains. There are also termites. They almost fully destroyed the wood. Our house is about to collapse. It is very dangerous. We do not feel safe at all.

Overall, the interviewed girls specified that their houses back home were made of mud or were a toukoul whereas the ones in the city were made of steel or a combination of mud and steel. From the conversations I had with the girls, the majority of them seemed to appreciate most of their homes at the new destination. For instance, a girl, Woynitu described her home in the city as follows: *“I came to the city to live with my aunt in “Koshe” area. Her house is much better than back home. It is made of steel whereas my house back home was made of mud”*.

Although not all the interviewed girls fully described their housing conditions both back home as well as at the new destination, one girl, Abebech confessed that she never had a fixed place to live back home and thereafter explained how the situation made her living difficult. She indicated the following:

I did not have a fixed place to stay back home. I often moved from house to house seeking better living conditions. When there was a conflict with my step-parents, I went to live with my relatives. When another conflict occurred with the latter, I went to friends and neighbors.

Almost all the interviewed girls affirmed that they were in a good health both before and after migration. The girls indicated either never experienced any major health issues or that they experienced it only once in a lifetime. For instance, an interviewee, Ayelech indicated: *“There is a clinic in Ginchi town, almost three hours walk from my town. Luckily, I never had to visit the clinic. I never had any health issues when I was back home”*. Another girl, Woynitu also stated: *“I was in a good health back home. I only felt sick once. I felt a pain on my stomach. I then went to see a doctor in a clinic located about three miles away from home”*.

Overall, the health centers in rural areas are located far away from home. Based on the interviews that were conducted, the nearest clinic was found 5 kilometers away from home. As such, Taitu indicated: *“I was in a good health back home. I only felt sick once. I felt a pain on my stomach. I then went to see a doctor in a clinic located about three miles away from home”*. Other girls indicated that they either had to walk from 3 to 5 hours or drive 30 minutes to 3 hours to find a clinic. For instance, a migrant girl from Lalibela town, Ayelecch indicated: *“I once was sick back home. There was a clinic at the nearby town. It was a little far from home. We had to walk for at least five hours to visit the clinic”*. Similarly, another girl from the Oromia Region, Demekech stressed the following: *“The nearest clinic to home was found in Ambo town. Unfortunately, there was not any health center in our vicinity. The clinic was thirty minutes’ drive from Amaru town”*.

Furthermore, traditional medication seems to be more practiced than modern medical treatment in selected areas. Most people tend to choose first traditional over modern medical treatment when experiencing a health problem. For instance, Taitu explained:

When I lived with my aunt in Kumando town, there was a clinic. Public transport such as “Bajaj taxies” were available to go to the clinic. The clinic was found 30 minutes drive from home. However, when I lived with my aunt I tended to use more in house medication. I never went to the clinic.

Likewise, another girl, Abebech also explained that she once felled down on the ground with an injury on her knees where she had to visit the clinic because the in-house treatment was not effective.

Finally, a few interviewed girls indicated health services being more accessible and efficient in the city as opposed to back home. One of the girls, Ayelech described her bad experience at the clinic while she was back home as follows:

I once was sick back home. There was a clinic in the nearby town. It was a little far from home. We had to walk for at least 5 hours to visit the clinic. When I was sick, I remember how difficult was to get medical treatment. It was not easy. The medical service at the clinic was very poor. The customer service was also very bad. People back home usually prefer in-house, traditional treatment rather than going to the doctor. I once fell on the ground and had an injury to my knees. I had to visit the clinic because the in-house treatment was not effective. My neighbors took me to the clinic using a horse ride. I did not get a quick treatment at the clinic. I had to wait for long hours to get treatment. The service was very weak. I waited long hours to visit the doctor. It was not a good experience at all.

The same girl talked positively about her medical experience in the city. Ayelech described her experience as follows: *“I once was sick and went to the clinic looking for medical treatment. I had gastritis. I went to the clinic and received immediate care. The service was fast and efficient. The clinic was very close to home”*. As a result, health centers seem less accessible and do provide weaker services in rural areas as compared to the cities.

Out of all the interviewed girls, only a few of them indicated that they had good food or never had experienced any problem finding food back home. When talking about food, the two girls, Woynitu and Taitu indicated the following: *“We had good food back home. We often had oats with butter and roasted maize for breakfast. We mostly had “injera” with green kale or potato sauce for lunch. Dinner was often barely porridge. The food back home was good”*. The same girls talked about the good food when back home as follows *” We shared food on the same plate. We mostly ate “injera”. We had either a whole wheat “injera” or “Teff injera”. We had “injera” for lunch as well as dinner. We always had something to eat. Food was never a problem back home”*.

However, other girls indicated that they had a problem with food when back home. They either indicated that they had not enough food or ate only once a day. They also mentioned that the price of food was very expensive. One of the girls, Abebech described in her own words her experience with food when back home:

When I was back home, we usually had food only once a day. We only had lunch. We normally had “injera” with either “Shiro wot” or spicy potato sauce. The “injera” was made of barley. If not, we had purely boiled potatoes with chili powder. We usually got the potato for free from farmers who were close to the

family. Those farmers who were rich used to give us potatoes for free. When lucky, we got legumes such as roasted beans, peas, etc. and coffee for dinner.

Regardless, most of the interviewed girls indicated that they had the same types of food back home and in the city such as injera, shirowot, potato, roasted beans, bread, and coffee, sometimes in small portions. However, only a few interviewed girls indicated that they had better food back home than in the city. For instance, Ayelech mentioned the diversified food she had when back home as follows: *‘‘We had good food back home. We often had oats with butter and roasted maize for breakfast. We mostly had ‘‘injera’’ with green kale or potato sauce for lunch. Dinner was often barely porridge. The food back home was good’’*. Ayelech talked about her experience of food at the new destination differently. She also indicated that she had faced many challenges in finding enough food in the city. Ayelech talked about her experience as follows:

We also face challenges in terms of food after our migration. Overall, the food was better back home than in the city. We usually have only bread and tea for breakfast in the city. When my mom does not have enough money to buy injera, we cook either rice or pita bread for lunch. We eat the same for dinner. There are times when we sleep with an empty stomach or we do not get enough food. I remember that I had good food while I was back home. It was much better than in the city.

Consequently, Ayelech, who stated experiencing food shortage at the new destination indicated that she would appreciate it if she received support in fulfilling her basic needs. *‘‘I would appreciate it if we received donations such as food, products for good hygiene. Instead*

of buying “injera” from the market, we would appreciate it if we could receive foods such as spaghetti... It would really help us ‘.

Moreover, all the five interviewed girls indicated that they had no access to water nor electricity when back home. Except for one girl, all the four interviewed girls indicated walking long - distances every day to fetch water as well as collect firewood. The available water in rural areas is not always of good quality. One of the interviewed girls, Taitu described her access to water as follows:

I did not like back home because there was no access to electricity. It was really bad in the dark. Moreover, we only had access to river water. The water was not clean at all. We had to brew it before drinking. There was not any water tap in the vicinity. These were the main challenges back home.

Taitu also indicated how difficult it was for her to do her assignment without electricity.

Since there was not any access to electricity, I could not study in the evening, in the dark. I had to do all my homework during the day. We used kerosene lamps only for cooking dinner and brewing coffee. The kerosene lamp was not convenient for studying at night.

In contrary, most of the interviewed girls indicated that they had better access to water and electricity in the city than back home. The girls described their access to water as follows:

There was no access to electricity nor tap water in rural areas, at my parents’ place. However, when I lived with my aunt in Kumando town, we had access to tap water as well as electricity. Similarly, I have access to electricity and tap water in

the city. We have a water tap in the compound. Moreover, I no longer have to collect firewood for cooking like I used to do back home. I now use stove or charcoal for cooking.

I prefer life in the city rather than in a rural area. When you live in a rural area, you have to walk a long distance to fetch water and/or collect firewood. You do not need to do such things in the city. You have access to electricity and water at your door. This makes life in the city different and better than in a rural area. .

However, some complained about the power and water outages in the city: *'There are also other issues in Addis Ababa such as power and/or water outage'*. Regardless, the girls also indicated that they now use charcoal and/or stove for cooking and that they no longer have to walk long - distances to collect firewood or fetch water.

Finally, most of the interviewed girls indicated that they had good hygiene as well as nice and clean clothes in the city as opposed to back home. The girls described their experiences in the city as follows: *'I live with my aunt in the city. Since I do not work for pay, she buys me clothes and small things like slippers, underwear, etc. If not, she gives me second-hand clothes'*.

There is good hygiene in the city. It is much better than back home.

There is good hygiene in the city. My aunt and her husband buy me clean clothes. I dress well. I am happy in the city. My mother had no money back home to buy me clothes. I was not wearing nice when I was back home. My clothes were not clean at all.

When I first came to the city, I got new clothes. I took off all my old clothes and placed them in the garbage. My aunt gave me her daughters' clothes. I had everything accessible to keep my hygiene. It was different from back home.

As for access to education, most of the interviewed migrant girls indicated educational opportunities in the city to be one of the pull factors for their migration. The girls stated the following: *“One day, my aunt who lived in Addis Ababa informed my mother about educational opportunities in the city. My mom got excited and sent me to the city to live with my aunt. I got the chance to join a school in the city”. “By the way, I always wanted to come to Addis Ababa. I wanted to come to the city to get a better education”.*

In this particular study, out of all the interviewed girls, only a few of them went to school or dropped out of school after one month when back home. Either the girls had no one who could afford to pay for their school or their families tended to motivate the girls to do more house chores and/or work for pay. On the other hand, boys were encouraged to go to school. This looks like a common practice in some parts of the country where girls never complain about the situation. For instance, two girls, Ayelech and Woynitu talked about their life back home as follows:

I never went to school while back home. However, my older brother went to Grade 1 but he later dropped school. My brother first joined school when he was five years old. My other older brother also went to school for a few years. Contrary to my brothers, my sister and I never went to school. My mother had no money to send us to school. Instead, we stayed at home to help her with house chores. We cleaned the house; made coffee for the family and helped our mom in cooking. I

learned that my sister recently joined school back home. She is in Grade 1. I never complained about doing the house chores. I was always happy for helping my mother with house chores. Surprisingly, I never asked my mother about going to school. I never thought about going to school”.

Poverty, such as parents not being able to pay for their children’s school as well as a limited awareness about education among parents in rural areas prevented girls from going to school. For example, two interviewed girls, Taitu and Demekech explained why they did not go to school when back home as follows:

I did not go to school when I was back home. However, I once got to Grade 1 when I was 10 years old but completely dropped out of school one month later. With a very limited income, my mother did not afford to pay for my school. My mother was not even able to give her children enough food. At that time, I never thought about going to school because I knew that no one would afford to pay for my school.

My father had limited awareness about education. My other siblings did not go to school as well. Instead, they got married and have children. My father was not interested at all that I should go to school. He rather preferred that I worked for pay.

The qualitative data analysis indicated that those girls who had a certain educational background when back home were in low grades from Grade 1 to Grade 4. Surprisingly, they all joined the school at a later age. For instance, one of the interviewed girls, Woynitu

indicated the following: *“I did not go to school when I was back home. However, I once got to Grade 1 when I was 10 years old but completely dropped out of school one month later”*.

Now that all the interviewed girls live in the city, they acknowledge the importance of education for promoting their wellbeing as well as improving their living conditions. Those girls who never complained about not going to school when back home as well as those who dropped out of school looking for income-generating activities now affirm that education is a key factor for a successful living. For instance, two interviewed girls, Taitu and Ayelech explained how they prioritized school overwork.

I wish I had worked for pay. However, I first want to go to school before joining the labor market. I did not get the chance to go to school when I was back home. I now want education. It is my priority. I would be happy to get a good job afterward. After completing my school, I want to get a paying job and help my aunt as well as my family back home.

Similarly, two other girls, Demekech and Woynitu also indicated the following:

I like living with my aunt and her family. My aunt has a good personality. I like living with her. She always encourages me to go to school. She wants me to stay with her until I complete school. She wants me to have a good future. She does not want me to work for pay before I complete school. She says that I will get a good-paying job after completing school. I like living in the city because I can join the school. I want to remain in Addis Ababa. I am grateful with life in the city.

My primary aspiration is to attend school. In the future, I want to work in an office. I want to have a good office job. I also want to help my mother financially. I do not want to work for pay before completing school. I want to live with my aunt.

The same girls indicated that they required support in meeting their educational aspirations and thereby future professional goals. For instance, one of the interviewed girls, Ayaltu declared the following:

I want all the necessary and possible supports to help me have a better life. Support in terms of education is very important. After completing my school and getting a well-paying job, I want to help my mother financially.

Moreover, another migrant girl, Dessie who first worked as a domestic worker in the city indicated how education was important for girls engaged in domestic work to raise their awareness and improve their social life including overall wellbeing:

From my own experience, I believe that girls working as domestic workers should attend school. They are often isolated with no education. Additional effort and support should be done to promote girls' education, notably those who are isolated. Otherwise, girls will be forced to live isolated and abstained from social life. In this situation, they will find it difficult to interact with people. They will face many challenges.

Similarly, one more interviewed girl, Taitu underlined the importance of education in facilitating the transition to urban life for most migrant girls to the city. The girl stated the following: *“With limited skills and knowledge and no educational background, the transition to*

urban life was first difficult”. Taitu also added the following: “Not having any educational background has a negative impact on my employability. Education is important for good employment. I want to get a sustainable job and earn a good income”.

As a consequence, The Biruh Tesfa Girls’ Education Program is contributing to ameliorating the aspiration and future living conditions of migrant girls with little or no education. According to the girls, the education program is a great opportunity for them to raise their awareness, reach their goals as well as aspire a better living condition in the future.

Among the interviewed girls who attended school back home, one of them, Ayelech indicated the challenges she faced when going to her school. She indicated that the school was located far from home with long walking distance as well as inconvenient roads, usually muddy during the winter. Ayelech also indicated how difficult it was for her to do her homework without electricity and with numerous house chores.

Although all the interviewed girls are now attending school with the Biruh Tesfa Girls’ Education Program, one girl, Woynitu indicated having dropped out of school as a result of her migration to the city. She also indicated that she had completed Grade 4 when back home. Due to a language barrier as well as her obligation of helping her mother with income-generating activities, she affirmed having dropped out of her school immediately after she migrates to the city. Woynitu described her experience as follows:

I dropped school when I came to the city. I did not go to school in Addis Ababa. I did not speak Amharic until I spent two years in the city. However, I recently

joined the Biruh Tesfa Girls' Education Programme. I am in Grade 1. In the past, my main focus was to support my mom with her work.

As a conclusion, except for a very few girls, migration to the city has been an opportunity for all the other interviewed girls to meet their aspirations in terms of education. The girls started giving more value to education after migrating to the city. Therefore, migrant girls require more comprehensive support to continue their education. Thus, an interviewee expressed her wishes as follows: *“I want all the necessary and possible supports in order to help me have a better life. Support concerning education is very important. After completing my school and getting a well-paying job, I want to help my mother financially”.*

In addition to the education and literacy skills acquired, most of the interviewed migrant girls affirmed learning new skills in the city to do house chores although the process was sometimes challenging. Furthermore, among all the interviewed migrant girls, one girl, Demekech indicated that her responsibilities for house chores back home helped her well with domestic work in the city. She stated:

Learning new skills was easy except for baking “injera”. Overall, it took me three months to learn well the new skills. Learning new skills was easy because I had the experience of doing house chores back home, in Kumando town (Oromia Region). The experience was very helpful. It would have been very difficult if I came to the city straight from back home; rural area.

4.4 Working conditions and safety before and after migration

All the interviewed girls were responsible for doing house chores with no pay when back home. Their daily tasks included cleaning the house and shed, keeping an eye on the cattle, walking long - the distance in order to fetch water from a river as well as collecting firewood, carrying heavy water jars for long hours, cooking, brewing coffee, etc. Most of the interviewed girls stated that the tasks were difficult and very exhaustive. The girls also mentioned that they had to wake up early in the morning every day to do the house chores making them busy the whole day. One of the interviewees, Woynitu described her journey as follows:

I had to go far to collect firewood for cooking. The road was not always convenient for walking. We often left home at 6:00 am to go to collect firewood and got home in the afternoon around 2:00 pm. Only collecting the firewood took about 4 hours. We spent almost the same time on the trip. We had to walk 4 hours (round trip) to get home. Similarly, we left home early in the morning to fetch water. Otherwise, it would be very difficult to find available water. We went to fetch water in a team. We usually spent 3 - 4 hours to fetch water including the time for the trip. We fetched water every day. In addition, I baked "injera", cooked meals, and cleaned the house. Once a month, I also washed clothes. It is not very common to wash clothes very frequently back home. When needed, I manually ground cereals such as wheat, maize, etc.

Similarly, another interviewee, Chaltu talked about her journey as follows:

I woke up early in the morning to fetch water. When I got home, I guided the cattle to go out in order to get fresh air. After cleaning their shed, I prepared breakfast for the family. After having my breakfast, I went out to look after the cattle. I stayed outside with the cattle until 2:00 - 3:00 pm. I then went back home to have a rest because the sun was often fiery. I also made coffee for the family. I then went back to the cattle to bring them back to their shed and feed them. Later, I cooked dinner, brewed coffee, and cleaned the dishes.

The girls also added that doing house chores was part of their daily responsibilities and that the tasks often required good physical labor. Finally, the girls evoked the difficult working conditions when doing the house chores but they indicated never complaining about it as they had no alternative options. For instance, Demekech stated the following:

I got mad and went to live with my grandmother and aunt who were also in the same town. They gave me better food than my mother. My duty was to help them clean the waste of the cows and oxen. I also had to regularly keep an eye on the cattle during the day. I had to make sure that they were safe and in a good condition. The work was sometimes difficult but I never complained. I had to accept the burden as I had no other options. I did an effort to manage well the tasks.

Another girl, Ayelech described how risky was to walk for a long - distance in order to fetch water and collect firewood. She remembered all the dangerous situations she faced and which made her life at risk. She talked about encountering wild animals as she walked in the

forest. Ayelech also mentioned experiencing a sexual assault with horrifying experiences which left negative emotions with her.

Once, while going back to my employers after visiting my parents, a man grabbed my body and took me to the forest. He dropped me down. The ground was grass and there were stones in the middle. I immediately fainted. I did not know what was happening. All I remember was that something hurt my knee. I felt serious pain but immediately lost myself. I was unconscious. When I woke up after a few hours, there was no one around. I was alone. Surprisingly, there was blood all over my legs. I also noticed that my dress was taken off. I was all naked.” [Interviewee felt too emotional; interviewee got interrupted; the interview moved to the next question].

With the exception of very few girls, most of the interviewed girls prioritized work over education when back home. They either dropped out of school at an early age or never joined the school at all.

Moreover, one girl indicated being involved in forced child labor when back home. She described her experience of being always forced to work beyond her capability. The girl was obliged to do sewing the whole day without stopping. The same girl also indicated being involved in risky jobs such as bar girl requiring sexual intercourse with clients in exchange for small cash or no pay at all. She described her experience as follows:

I went to join one of my sisters-in-law. She convinced me to move to Kumando town. She said that I would sell the snack “Kolo” on the street like her and earn

good money. But she lied to me. I finally ended up in a bar serving alcoholic drinks to clients. I was only 13 years old. I faced many challenges while working at the bar. I went into sexual relationships with clients without my will. I did not tell anything to anyone. I knew that no one would trust me. I knew that no one would understand my problem. Moreover, in the Oromia Region, it is forbidden for minors to work in a bar. It is illegal.

Girls who were very busy doing house chores when back home indicated not having had enough time to look after themselves. For instance, Taitu talked about her morning activities as follows:

When I lived with my step-parents back home, I did not know about cleaning myself in the morning. I started the morning with house chores. Early in the morning, I first cleaned the shed of the cattle. I then collected the wastes and placed them under the sun until they were dry. The product was used as cooking energy. After having my breakfast, I did sewing. I was always busy with sewing. I spent most of the day sewing.

Almost all the interviewed girls also indicated doing similar jobs as back home after migrating to the city. The tasks are mostly doing house chores. Contrary to back home, some of them do the task in exchange for small cash. In addition to doing the regular house chores such as cleaning the house, brewing coffee, cooking, baking injera, washing clothes, etc. the girls do babysitting and help their relatives at the market. They often deliver a free service and are happy with it. For instance, Ayelech and Demekech describe their responsibilities in the city as follows:

I like living in the city. I enjoy helping my aunt with the house chores. I also adore going around the city. When I wake up in the morning, I first make tea for breakfast for the family. I clean the house after having my breakfast. I also wash the clothes of the children. I then cook lunch for the family. I also cook dinner late in the afternoon. Once I am done with cooking, I look after the children. I do most of the house chores. My aunt only bakes "injera.

I spend most of the day helping my aunt in taking care of her son. I never worked for pay in the city. I had to replace my aunt in selling vegetables at the market. I also had to help her with house chores in the evening. I had a busy day and was forced to drop school.

The girls mentioned facing physical and/or verbal abuses when committing mistakes while doing the house chores for relatives and/or private employers in the city. Regardless, other girls affirmed enjoying doing house chores as they expect to have a better life in the future.

Sometimes, life in the city is difficult. From time to time, my aunt has a difficult temperament. She is difficult to live with. She sometimes behaves like a devil. She easily gets angry. Let's say; if her son falls on the ground, she yells at me. She blames me for everything. She shouts at me. She uses bad words.

I like living in the city. I enjoy helping my aunt with the house chores. I am responsible for doing the house chores. I cook for the family and clean the house.

I also take care of the children. The oldest child is 10 years old whereas the second child is 3 years old. There is also a newly born baby who is only 2 months.

Another girl, Woynitu even indicated how doing house chores when back home helped her to adjust very quickly to domestic work in the city. She also specified that she had a good relationship with her employers and that they were very supportive and after all compassionate. Now that Woynitu has an independent life with a husband and a baby, she finds it difficult to go out for work as she has no one who looks after her son. Finally, the girl indicated that it was difficult to find sustainable jobs without having a good education.

Finally, another migrant girl, Demekech indicated how difficult was to do domestic work in the city. She explained that most domestic workers in the city are isolated because they are always busy with house chores. According to her, most domestic workers in the city have no time available to socialize with limited or no contact with others.

I had a poor social life while working as a domestic worker for private employers. I did not have the chance to go out and meet people. I spent the whole day at home making myself busy with house chores. My interaction with the employers was very limited. Now that I live on my own, I have a better social life. I have friends. I also interact with my neighbors. I have a good social relationship.

Demekech also remembered the verbal abuses she experienced when making mistakes due to a lack of skills. Now that she has an independent life and is working office hours in a woodshop, Demekech attested earning a better income and enjoying more and more living in the city. She is also excited about joining a school with The Biruh Tesfa Girls' Education

Programme. Demekech stated how education is very crucial if one is looking for a job outside domestic work.

From my own experience, I believe that girls working as domestic workers should attend school. They are often isolated with no education. Additional effort and support should be done to promote girls' education, notably for those who are isolated. Otherwise, girls will be forced to live isolated and abstained from social life. In this situation, they will find it difficult to interact with people. They will face many challenges.

Contrary to the above difficult working conditions in the city, one of the interviewed girls, Ayelech indicated that she was employed in a woodshop when in the city. She works only during office hours. She spends the rest of her time going to school and taking good care of herself.

As opposed to the findings from various researches on young adolescent girls, most of the interviewed girls indicated that they had a spare time to play with friends, read books, go to school, and/or take a rest at home in the city. Two girls described their experiences as follows:

I spend the rest of the day reading books that I borrow from friends and/or neighbors. I also exercise writing words and letters and update myself. I also play with my friends when I get free time.

I go to school after work at 5:00 pm. I get home after school. In case I find already prepared food I eat dinner. Otherwise, I quickly cook something for dinner. I then clean myself and go to bed.

Most of the interviewed migrant girls indicated educational opportunities in the city to be one of the pull factors for their migration. The girls stated the following:

One day, my aunt who lived in Addis Ababa informed my mother about educational opportunities in the city. My mom got excited and sent me to the city to live with my aunt. I got the chance to join a school in the city". "By the way, I always wanted to come to Addis Ababa. I wanted to come to the city to get a better education".

In this particular study, out of all the interviewed girls, only a few of them went to school or dropped out of school after one month when back home. Either the girls had no one who could afford to pay for their school or their families tended to motivate the girls to do more house chores and/or work for pay. On the other hand, boys were encouraged to go to school. This looks like a common practice in some parts of the country where girls never complain about the situation. For instance, two girls, Ayelech and Woynitu talked about their life back home as follows:

I never went to school while back home. However, my older brother went to Grade 1 but he later dropped school. My brother first joined school when he was five years old. My other older brother also went to school for a few years. Contrary to my brothers, my sister and I never went to school. My mother had no money to

send us to school. Instead, we stayed at home to help her with house chores. We cleaned the house; made coffee for the family and helped our mom in cooking. I learned that my sister recently joined school back home. She is in Grade 1. I never complained about doing the house chores. I was always happy for helping my mother with house chores. Surprisingly, I never asked my mother about going to school. I never thought about going to school”.

Poverty, such as parents not being able to pay for their children’s school as well as a limited awareness about education among parents in rural areas prevented girls from going to school. For example, two interviewed girls, Taitu and Demekech explained why they did not go to school when back home as follows:

I did not go to school when I was back home. However, I once got to Grade 1 when I was 10 years old but completely dropped out of school one month later. With a very limited income, my mother did not afford to pay for my school. My mother was not even able to give her children enough food. At that time, I never thought about going to school because I knew that no one would afford to pay for my school.

My father had limited awareness about education. My other siblings did not go to school as well. Instead, they got married and have children. My father was not interested at all that I should go to school. He rather preferred that I worked for pay.

The qualitative data analysis indicated that those girls who had a certain educational background when back home were in low grades from Grade 1 to Grade 4. Surprisingly, they all joined the school at a later age. For instance, one of the interviewed girls, Woynitu indicated the following:

I did not go to school when I was back home. However, I once got to Grade 1 when I was 10 years old but completely dropped out of school one month later.

Now that all the interviewed girls live in the city, they acknowledge the importance of education for promoting their wellbeing as well as improving their living conditions. Those girls who never complained about not going to school when back home as well as those who dropped out of school looking for income-generating activities now affirm that education is a key factor for a successful living. For instance, two interviewed girls, Taitu and Ayelech explained how they prioritized school overwork.

I wish I had worked for pay. However, I first want to go to school before joining the labor market. I did not get the chance to go to school when I was back home. I now want education. It is my priority. I would be happy to get a good job afterward. After completing my school, I want to get a paying job and help my aunt as well as my family back home.

Similarly, two other girls, Demekech and Woynitu also indicated the following:

I like living with my aunt and her family. My aunt has a good personality. I like living with her. She always encourages me to go to school. She wants me to stay with her until I complete school. She wants me to have a good future. She does not

want me to work for pay before I complete school. She says that I will get a good-paying job after completing school. I like living in the city because I can join the school. I want to remain in Addis Ababa. I am grateful with life in the city.

My primary aspiration is to attend school. In the future, I want to work in an office. I want to have a good office job. I also want to help my mother financially. I do not want to work for pay before completing school. I want to live with my aunt.

The same girls indicated that they required support in meeting their educational aspirations and thereby future professional goals. For instance, one of the interviewed girls, Ayaltu declared the following:

I want all the necessary and possible supports to help me have a better life. Support in terms of education is very important. After completing my school and getting a well-paying job, I want to help my mother financially. .

Moreover, another migrant girl, Dessie who first worked as a domestic worker in the city indicated how education was important for girls engaged in domestic work to raise their awareness and improve their social life including overall wellbeing:

From my own experience, I believe that girls working as domestic workers should attend school. They are often isolated with no education. Additional effort and support should be done to promote girls' education, notably those who are isolated. Otherwise, girls will be forced to live isolated and abstained from social life. In this situation, they will find it difficult to interact with people. They will face many challenges.

Similarly, one more interviewed girl, Taitu underlined the importance of education in facilitating the transition to urban life for most migrant girls to the city. The girl stated the following:

With limited skills and knowledge and no educational background, the transition to urban life was first difficult.

Taitu also added the following:

Not having any educational background has a negative impact on my employability. Education is important for good employment. I want to get a sustainable job and earn a good income.

As a consequence, The Biruh Tesfa Girls' Education Program is contributing to ameliorating the aspiration and future living conditions of migrant girls with little or no education. According to the girls, the education program is a great opportunity for them to raise their awareness, reach their goals as well as aspire a better living condition in the future.

Among the interviewed girls who attended school back home, one of them, Ayelech indicated the challenges she faced when going to her school. She indicated that the school was located far from home with long walking distance as well as inconvenient roads, usually muddy during the winter. Ayelech also indicated how difficult it was for her to do her homework without electricity and with numerous house chores.

Although all the interviewed girls are now attending school with the Biruh Tesfa Girls' Education Program, one girl, Woynitu indicated having dropped out of school as a result of her migration to the city. She also indicated that she had completed Grade 4 when back home. Due

to a language barrier as well as her obligation of helping her mother with income-generating activities, she affirmed having dropped out of her school immediately after she migrates to the city. Woynitu described her experience as follows:

I dropped school when I came to the city. I did not go to school in Addis Ababa. I did not speak Amharic until I spent two years in the city. However, I recently joined the Biruh Tesfa Girls' Education Programme. I am in Grade 1. In the past, my main focus was to support my mom with her work.

As a conclusion, except for a very few girls, migration to the city has been an opportunity for all the other interviewed girls to meet their aspirations in terms of education. The girls started giving more value to education after migrating to the city. Therefore, migrant girls require more comprehensive support to continue their education. Thus, an interviewee expressed her wishes as follows:

I want all the necessary and possible supports in order to help me have a better life. Support concerning education is very important. After completing my school and getting a well-paying job, I want to help my mother financially”.

In addition to the education and literacy skills acquired, most of the interviewed migrant girls affirmed learning new skills in the city to do house chores although the process was sometimes challenging. Furthermore, among all the interviewed migrant girls, one girl, Demekech indicated that her responsibilities for house chores back home helped her well with domestic work in the city. She stated:

Learning new skills was easy except for baking “injera”. Overall, it took me three months to learn well the new skills. Learning new skills was easy because I had the experience of doing house chores back home, in Kumando town (Oromia Region). The experience was very helpful. It would have been very difficult if I came to the city straight from back home; rural area.

Chapter five

5. Discussions

5.1 Conditions of migration to the city

The study population are girls who migrated to the city at different ages ranging from age 12 to 15. Girls with two parents tend to migrate at a later age (14.6 years) than those who live without parents (13.6 years) (GEAS, 2019).

The same study also elaborated on the most common motivations and accompanying associated with the migration decision by young females in Ethiopia. Therefore, the majority of migrant girls (42 percent) migrated to the city accompanied by a relative, spouse/partner, or sibling whereas 39 percent of girls migrated on their own without any accompany.

All the interviewed girls first came to the city to live with relatives/families. However, those who have spent over three years in the city have now managed to lead an independent life. The girls declared that the families they first joined in the city were not necessarily making too much money but they somehow had a better living condition than back home except for a few girls. The families were mostly involved in the sales (vegetables and coffee sales), daily labor such as carpenter, builder, etc. as well as unskilled and small jobs in particular washing clothes, cleaning houses, baking “injera”, etc. According to the girls, the jobs that are available in the city are not always sustainable resulting in the fluctuations of incomes earned.

There are various factors associated with the migration of adolescent girls to the city including poverty, parental situation, work and education among others. Migration as a means to escape rural poverty and thereby find a better life, to escape hardship after the deaths of one

or two parents or guardians back home including to join a spouse/partner (Population Council, 2017).

Moreover, work (52 percent) followed by schooling (15 percent) are the two major factors for adolescent rural girls' migration to the city. Regardless, migrants are more vulnerable than natives in the city where 39 percent of migrants had never been to school, as opposed to only 6percent of non – migrants (Population Council, 2009).

The qualitative data analysis has revealed early marriage to be one of the major factors for girls' migration to the city. Early marriage is a common practice in the region where the marriage is most likely to be arranged between families. Early marriage is also a common practice in developing countries such as sub- Saharan Africa and South Asia. Over one-third of girls in Africa and nearly one-half of girls in South Asia are married before the age of 18 (Population Council, 2010).

Migration is a tool to escape marital oppression as well as prevent an early marriage from occurring (GEAS 2019). Similarly, another study on The Journey of Out- School Girls in Ethiopia related young females' urban migration to early marriage where girls use it as an opportunity to escape early marriage (Population Council, 2017).

5.2 Impact of migration on access to basic needs

The study on the living conditions of migrant girls before and after migration stressed that girls have better access to basic services in the city as opposed to back home (rural areas). Despite the negative experiences with health centres in rural areas by migrant girls, several programs in developing countries including Ethiopia were designed by Government as well as

Non - Governmental Organizations to tackle issues related to Sexual and Reproductive Health (SRH) including HIV and AIDS, STIs, etc., to promote good health through community engagement activities and gender-based clubs with the support of well-trained mentors and/or peer educators as well as Health Extension Workers (HEWs).

Those programs have been successful in raising the awareness of a vulnerable group of people including youth and adolescents on health-related matters. Regardless, additional efforts must be integrated to make health centers more accessible and be able to provide adequate and standardized services to all those who require the assistance and more importantly to those residing in remote and rural areas of Ethiopia.

Only a very few proportions of youth visit health facilities with only 28percent visits of health posts, 19percent of health centers, and 3percent of hospitals out of 1,440 adolescent boys and girls aged 12 - 24 who participated in the study (Population Council, 2010).

Migrant girls who participated in this study declared the limited availability of foods when back home. They also described the different food and number of meals they got in the city and thereby affirmed having much better food at the new destination as opposed to back home. The observed difficult nutritional conditions in rural areas for most of the interviewed girls corresponds to the findings of a study on National Adolescent and Youth Health Strategy where 31 percent of girls between the ages 15 - 19 in rural areas were underweight some suffering from “Iron Deficiency Anemia (IDA)” (Population Council, 2010).

Similarly, the same study estimated 17 percent of urban females aged 15 to 19 being underweight which is a lower proportion compared to those in rural areas. Moreover, 66

percent of females in urban areas received iron supplementation during pregnancy whereas only 43 percent were females in rural areas.

Almost all the interviewed girls described the difficult access to water and electricity when back home. As such, the Berhane Hewan, “Eve for Light” project in Beninshangul Gumuze Region in Ethiopia with solar lanterns in remote areas without access to electricity had the primary objective to support adolescent girls with education by distributing solar lanterns to the eligible ones. Then the girls were using the solar lanterns for income-generating activities, doing their homework, and thereby earning an income to support themselves with education as well as their families with household expenses.

As for access to education, alike the findings of the study where almost all migrant girls declared having fewer educational opportunities back home, there is more educational opportunities in the city as compared to rural areas. For instance, out of a sample of 2,160 individuals (1,440 adolescent boys and girls aged 12-24 and 720 women aged 25-49), a great number of urban boys and girls (97 and 95 percents respectively) affirmed going to school as opposed to only 75 and 66 percents of rural boys and girls respectively having attended school (Population Council, 2010). Regardless, the study on the living conditions of migrant girls before and after migration indicated that most of the study population never found opportunities of going to school after their migration to the city, until they very recently joined the Biruh Tesfa Girls’ Education Program. They now valorize education and hope to find a better paying job and thereby prosperous future after joining the school.

Although there is a gender parity between boys and girls in attending primary school in Ethiopia, the rate declines for girls after primary school. School enrollment declines in later -

adolescence both for boys and girls with a strong drop-off for rural girls starting from age 15 - 16 (GEAS 2019). Therefore, based on the qualitative studies conducted for this particular research, rural girls mostly choose to migrate to the city between the ages 12 - 15 to pursue their educations. They confessed to having found better opportunities in the city to join the school as compared to back home (rural area) although there was some delay following their first migration to the city.

The absence of value given to education by parents and early marriage were two of the major factors preventing young rural girls from going to school. In addition, other factors such as family poverty and long distance to school were cited to discourage rural girls from going to school (Population Council, 2007). Additional factors for girls not attending schools are the burden of domestic responsibilities, death of parents, and lack of interest as well as illness (Population Council, 2009).

Regardless, all the interviewed girls are now attending school in the city with the Biruh Tesfa Girls' Education Program for free. The program has been supported by an International Non - Profit Organization to promote the education and wellbeing of girls in major cities in Ethiopia including Addis Ababa. All the girls are now attending Grade 1.

Furthermore, those girls who are neither going to school nor doing paid work in developing countries are basically confined at home and do experience isolation and vulnerability (Population Council, 2000). Thereafter, the girls spend their journey doing unpaid domestic work at home for their families, relatives, and/or guardians. As stressed by the qualitative study, girls are supporting themselves as well as their families in doing house chores for free at home.

5.3 Working conditions and personal safety before and after migration

Most of the studies on adolescent girls indicated that young female domestic workers spent a large amount of their time to both paid and unpaid work with over 50 percent of their working hours to paid work and 18 percent to unpaid work respectively. The proportion of girls who affirmed doing nothing stepped down with age in both rural and urban areas. Girls use more and more of their time as they become older adolescents. Also, among those young people who declare doing nothing in developing countries, the majority of them are basically busy doing unpaid house chores to help their families and relatives at home (Population Council, 2000).

Girls engaged in domestic work are working as domestic workers and exploited by their employers in the city with more and more negative experiences in their working conditions and thereby good life balance (Population Council 2004). Migrant girls in urban areas experience abusive working conditions, notably those engaged in the domestic work, and sexual exploitation. However, very few of them were decisive in reporting the incident to the concerned bodies (Population Council, 2017).

A few interviewed girls indicated experiencing sexual violence when back home including when working for pay. Consequently, out of school girls between the ages 10 - 19, 25 percent reported having been sexually active where almost one-third talked about their first sexual experience as forced. However, they never had the opportunity to report the act to a third party (GEAS, 2019). With limited awareness about Sexual and Reproductive Health (SRH), they neither sought any medical care after the sexual assault. Very few girls including those living in urban areas looked for legal assistance after experiencing forced sex/rape.

Instead, they blame themselves for experiencing sexual violence act (Population Council, 2010).

A similar study on the Journey of Out - of - School Girls in Ethiopia: Examining Migration, Livelihoods, and HIV (2017) demonstrated how domestic workers and rural girls were less likely to report sexual violence or tell anyone about it. However, commercial sex workers and bar / café workers were more likely to report the violence.

Another study on Adolescent Girls in Urban Ethiopia: Vulnerability and Opportunity (2009), 28 percent of girls reported experiencing a fear of being beaten and 11 percent sexual abuse by a male in the neighborhood. Consequently, the same study indicated that 5 percent of girls knew of a girl who had experienced a non - consensual, coerced sexual relationship. The study also revealed girls experiencing forced first sex were those before the age of 15 who had first sex before marriage. Thus, out of girls who had first sex before age 15, 48 percent indicated having had coercive sex as compared to only 22 percent girls who debuted sex at age 15 and older.

Likewise, most of the interviewed girls indicated also experiencing safety/security issues in the city. They either felt unsafe to walk alone to school or have been persecuted by an alcoholic family member putting their lives at risk.

Seventy five percent of girls who participated on a study on Adolescent Life in Low Income and Slum Areas of Addis Ababa Ethiopia expressed their feelings of insecurity in the neighborhood including experiencing a form of harassment. A great proportion of girls also fear being raped. Overall, young people living in slum areas of Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

associate their neighborhood with crime, harassment, and pollution (Population Council 2010). As a key note, researches on migration indicated that most rural to urban migrants live in slum areas of the city where housing and services are less pricy (Population Council, 2004). Hence, among the interviewed migrant girls who reside in slum areas of Nifas Silk Lafto Sub - City, woreda 2, most of them live in better housing conditions as compared to back home.

Similarly, almost all the interviewed girls described the difficult access to water and electricity when back home. As such, the Berhane Hewan, “Eve for Light” project in Beninshangul Gumuze Region in Ethiopia with solar lanterns in remote areas without access to electricity had the primary objective to support adolescent girls with education by distributing solar lanterns to the eligible ones. Then the girls were using the solar lanterns for income-generating activities, doing their homework, and thereby earning an income to support themselves with education as well as their families with household expenses.

Chapter six

6. Implication for social work practice and summary

6.1 Social Work implications

The study recommends more and more tailored advocacy work plans to be designed and implemented to further ameliorate the living condition as well as address the specific problems associated with the immediate needs of adolescents and youth both in rural and urban areas. In doing so, a multi-sectoral and cross-sectional program must be developed to address the needs of adolescents and youth-specific with their gender and age as underlined on the Child Right Based Approach requirements.

Multi-sectoral programs, such as programs related to awareness sessions in promoting education to both parents, children (adolescents), and youth before and after the migration (in rural and urban areas) by providing sessions on topics related to Sexual Reproductive Health (SRH), good hygiene, communicable and chronic diseases, Human Rights and Child Rights, life skill training and the like. Discussion topics on issues related to nutrition and overall wellbeing should also be included in the awareness-raising sessions. The programs should be tailored according to the specific needs of every adolescent and youth to bring a more sustainable change in their wellbeing.

Furthermore, activities should engage the community members, families/guardians including adolescents and youth themselves in order to better understand their specific needs as well as the changes they wish to see in the future for a more sustainable living meeting their basic needs as required by all State Parties signing the Convention on the Child Right (CRC) agreement, including Ethiopia.

Multi-sectoral and cross-sectional programs must be shaped under community-based activities which include peer discussions, youth Aflatoon, coffee ceremonies for parents and guardians, in order to promote their awareness in child-rearing, protection, and safeguarding with respect to the local cultural values as already implemented by Government and Socio - Development Organizations in most developing countries.

As a result, dealing with the day-to-day socio-economic problems and overall wellbeing of adolescents and youth living both in rural and urban areas and thereby raising their awareness of parents and caregivers in taking good care of their children would most likely limit rural to urban migration and consequently prevent the difficult living conditions adolescent and youth migrants experience after migrating.

However, in this particular study, almost all the study population affirmed being happy with life in the city with the exception of a very few girls. Those girls who experienced a positive change out of migration clearly indicated that they had a better education and employment opportunities, improved access to health services, better nutrition, and a more diversified social relationship. They all started living a better life in the city as compared to that of back home.

Programs related to migration such as designing specific support programs to accommodate and respond to the basic needs of migrants and mainly migrant adolescents and youth should be well discussed in order to measure its necessity as well as efficacy. For example, would a Welcome Centre in major cities of Ethiopia addressing the basic needs of rural-urban migrants be necessary for reducing the difficult living conditions migrants face at the new destinations? Or would the Welcome Centre services simply augment rural to urban

migration and thereby create more and more competition in the labor market and shortage in housing and access to basic services at the new destinations? This would eventually limit employment opportunities, restrict incomes and generate poor living conditions in urban areas.

Thus, a more profound discussion by different experts is required on this matter in order to evaluate the importance of establishing centers like Welcome Centres in order to support new urban migrant adolescents and youth in Ethiopia. In fact, Welcome Centres for foreigners such as Immigrants and Refugees are common practices in well-developed countries such as Northern America, Europe, etc.

Consequently, it is essential to question whether implementing similar programs to address the needs of internal migrants, mainly adolescents and youth is purposeful and effective in Ethiopia. The support would effectively limit the stigma and discrimination with urban migrants at the new destination. Similar Government-owned programs must also be well-planned and designed in collaboration with other organizations working to promote the wellbeing and safety of Refugees and Internally Displaced Peoples (IDPs) in Ethiopia including the Horn of Africa.

6.2 Conclusion

The objective of the study was to assess the living conditions of migrant girls both at rural and urban areas. Factors such as economic and poverty, access to basic needs and education including working conditions and personal safety are good indicators in overseeing the living conditions of rural - urban migrant girls before and after migration.

There are different push and pull factors such as poverty, early marriage, orphanage, divorce, physical, verbal and sexual violence as well as lack of opportunities in terms of employment, education, etc. that force or motivate most girls to migrate to the city including abroad mainly to the Middle East and other destinations. Rural to urban migration is most commonly practiced in developing countries including Ethiopia during food scarcity periods in the rural areas, usually between the months of October to April / May.

Dominantly, migrant girls declare/confess having a better living condition in the city as compared to that one back home. The girls appreciate the better educational and employment opportunities (work with pay), access to basic needs such as water, electricity, better housing, food, good hygiene as well as access to better health services.

On the other hand, some migrant girls regret their decisions on migration including experiences then rather look for ways and means to return home. They are often exploited by brokers, employers, strangers, or even relatives and friends with high physical and labor demanding activities as well stressful working conditions with little or no pay.

Consequently, migration has both positive and negative outcomes for the overall wellbeing of migrant girls. Furthermore, it enables them to exercise their rights including child rights as stipulated in the International Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC).

Decisions on migration are usually made by migrant girls themselves, including by their families/ parents, siblings, and friends as well as relatives. The decisions on migration in Ethiopia are both prepared and unprepared but rarely with clear cost-benefit calculations. Girls

usually migrate to the city by taking risks both on their way and at the new destination where they face both challenges and opportunities.

Internal migration is a common practice in Ethiopia, where most adolescent girls who migrate are with little or no education. They mainly plan to pursue their education at the new destination (urban area) and thereby alleviate their socio-economic problems hoping for a better life.

This study has revealed the situation around child migration in Ethiopia. The focus was to thoroughly understand the experience of adolescent migrant girls from rural to urban areas. Based on the qualitative study which focussed on factors such as time and reasons and experience of migration on matters related to working conditions, health, education, housing, economic and wealth, etc., all the respondents indicated life back home being difficult with limited access to basic needs such as water, electricity, appropriate housing, food, education, health, etc.

On the other hand, the same girls approved having a better living condition in urban areas with more opportunities to work and education, including improved access to water, electricity, health services, etc. with the only exception of a very few girls. Among all the living condition assessing factors that most respondents seem to be equally satisfied with both in rural and urban areas, is mainly with their social relationships and network. Nonetheless, the girls seem to be happier with a more diversified social relationship and friends from different backgrounds and thereby enriching their social relationships in urban areas.

Overall, migrant girls have an optimistic view about life in the city with positive emotions as well as good personal wellbeing. They have positive feelings in the city with more promising outlooks about the future.

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Annex

Interview guiding questions for adolescent (15 -19) migrant girls

Background information

Age_____ [*Stop the interview if age is greater than 19*]

Sex_____ Marital status_____ Place of birth_____ Home (Region / City) _____

Religion_____ Educational status_____ Family status_____

Number of siblings if any _____ Number of children if any_____

I. Time and factors for migration

1. When did you move to the city?

[Stop the interview if interviewee moved to the city less than a year ago].

2. Why did you move to the city?

II. Before migration:

1. Tell me about your life before you moved. What was it like? What did you like about? What did you not like? [*Probes*]: What was your house like? Please describe. What was your nutritional experience like? How easy or difficult was for you to have access to health and / or educational services? What was your family responsibility like? What was your working conditions like? Please describe. How your social network with your relatives, neighbours, friends, etc. was like? etc. What did you do during your spare time?

2. Tell me about a typical day? What are some of the things you lacked from your previous life?

3. What were the main challenges in your life back home?

III. After migration

1. Let's talk about your life now in the city? Tell me about your life after you moved to the city. What is it like? What do you like about? What do you not like? [*Probes*]: What is your house like? Please describe. What is your nutritional experience like? How easy or

difficult is for you to have access to health and /or educational services? What is your responsibility at home? What is your working condition like? Please describe. How is your social network with relatives, neighbours, friends, etc. like? etc. What do you do during your spare time?

2. Tell me about a typical day? What are some of the things you lack from your current life?
3. What are the specific challenges you face at the new destination?
4. Now that you live in the city, do you miss anything about life back home? If yes, what are the things that you miss?

IV. Migration experiences

1. How do you describe your transition to urban life and the job search process? Was it difficult or easy?
2. How do you describe your overall migration experiences? Are they positive or negative?
3. What are the lessons you learned from your migration experience? What would you do differently if you had to migrate to the city again?
4. What are your suggestions to brokers and / or the local government based on your migration experience?

Thank you!!

Participant information sheet for consent

1. Study title

Exploring rural – urban migration in Ethiopia: The case of Ethiopian adolescent migrant girls aged 15-19 in Addis Ababa, Nifas Silk Lafto Community, woreda 2.

2. Background and aims of the study

This study will be conducted by Tigest Solomon, second degree student in the School of Social Work, Addis Ababa University (Tel: +2519 88202450; email:tgstslomon@gmail.com).

This paper will assess internal migration of adolescent girls in Ethiopia. Specifically, the research will first assess the changes in the wellbeing before and after migration based on the Rights of the Child as stipulated on the CRC and the Ethiopian National Policy. The research further assesses reasons that lead Ethiopian adolescent girls aged 15-19 to migrate to urban cities, more specifically to Addis Ababa. It also compares migrant girls' living and working conditions in rural and urban areas and thereby evaluates their expectations from migration. The study will also identify any gap that may occur in the living condition of urban adolescent migrant girls and forward its recommendations to government and concerned bodies for better response.

The research will be descriptive qualitative (narrative) study conducted for both knowledge building and practical intervention through one - on -one interview as well as secondary data analysis in order to confirm the validity of the major findings.

3. Why have I been invited to take part?

You are invited to take part in this study because you are an adolescent migrant girl aged 15-19 who arrived in Addis Ababa before the last three years and currently living and/ or working in Nifas Silk Lafto Sub - City, woreda 2.

4. Do I have to take part?

You are not obligated to participate in this study. You are free to ask any questions about the study before deciding whether to participate. If you choose to participate, you may withdraw yourself and your data from the study without precondition at any time, and without giving a reason, by advising the researcher of this decision.

5. What will happen in the study?

If you decide to take part in the study, the researcher will interview you and audio record the interview. You may participate in a one- on - one interview that will take not more than forty five minutes.

6. Are there any potential risks in taking part?

I hope that the experience of taking part in this study will be enjoyable for you. There will be no specific risks in this study, but looking back on your experience of family and community relationship could bring up memories that you might not want to share. You are not obligated to discuss any memories or incidents that you do not feel comfortable sharing.

7. What happens to the research data provided?

If you agree to participate in this study, the data collected from your interview will contribute towards the writing up of a thesis on the living conditions of rural - urban migrant girls in Nifas Silk Lafto Sub - City, woreda 2. All participants are able to request a summary of the research findings by contacting the researcher.

All interviews will be kept anonymous, both in the transcript/records of the research and in the final written thesis. The researcher will ask your permission to use direct quotes in the thesis when necessary, but you are not obligated to agree to this. The data will be stored electronically and only accessible by the researcher (Tigist Solomon).

8. Will the research be published?

If you agree to participate in this project, the research will be written up as a thesis. Once written, it will be deposited both in print and online in the Addis Ababa University archives, to facilitate its use in future.

9. Who do I contact if I have a concern about the study or I wish to complain?

If you have a concern about any aspect of this project, please speak to the relevant researcher (Tel. +251 988202450 or [email- tgstsolomon@gmail.com](mailto:tgstsolomon@gmail.com)).

Consent form

Study title: Living conditions of rural - urban migrant girls in Addis Ababa before and after migration: The case of migrant girls in Nifas Silk Lafto Sub - City, woreda 2.

Researcher details:

Tigist Solomon

MSW student in the School of Social work

Addis Ababa University

Contact:

Tel: +251 988177411

E-mail address: tgstsolomon@gmail.com

Purpose of study: To assess the living conditions of rural - urban migrant girls in Addis Ababa before and after migration.

1. I have read the study information sheet and had the opportunity to ask questions.
2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw myself or my data at any time, without giving any reason, and without any adverse consequences
3. I understand who will have access to personal data provided
4. I understand how personal data will be stored and what will happen to the data at the end of the project
5. I understand how research will be written up and published
6. I understand how to raise concerns or make a complaint.
7. I consent to being audio recorded.
8. I consent to having my photo taken.
9. I understand that audio recordings / photos will be used in research outputs.

10. I consent to the use of direct quotes.

11. I agree to take part in the study.

Name of participant: _____

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Name of researcher: Tigist Solomon

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Child assent form

We are doing a study to learn about rural - urban migration of adolescent girls in Ethiopia. We are asking you to share your thoughts and /or experience about migration to Addis Ababa, Nifas Silk Lafto Sub - City, woreda 2.

If you agree to be in our study, we are going to ask you some questions about the overall migration process and experience by adolescent girls. You can ask questions about this study at any time. If you decide at any time not to finish, you can ask us to stop.

The questions to ask are only about what you think. There are no right or wrong answers because this is not a test.

If you sign this paper, it means that you have read this and that you want to be in the study. If you don't want to be in the study, don't sign this paper. Being in the study is up to you, and no one will be upset if you don't sign this paper or if you change your mind later.

Your signature: _____ Date _____

Your printed name: _____ Date _____

Signature of person obtaining consent: _____ Date _____

Printed name of person obtaining consent: _____ Date _____