

Report No. 55731-ET

THE ETHIOPIAN URBAN MIGRATION STUDY 2008:

THE CHARACTERISTICS, MOTIVES AND OUTCOMES OF MIGRANTS TO ADDIS ABABA

Final Version, August 24, 2010



Document of the World Bank

Poverty Reduction and Economic
Management

Africa Region

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

CSA – Central Statistics Agency
ETUMS – Ethiopia Urban Migration Survey
ILO – International Labour Organization
MOFED – Ministry of Finance and Economic Development
SNNPR – Southern Nations and Nationalities Region
TFR – Total Fertility Rate
UN – United Nations

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Executive Summary gives an overview of the most important findings of the report. Given the rich and detailed nature of the report, we use this summary to focus on issues important for informing policy and to stimulate public debate. The interested reader should refer to the main body of the report for an accessible presentation of a wider range of findings.

i. Driven by rural-urban migration, urbanization is expected to be a key feature of Ethiopia's development path in the near future. Even if Ethiopia is one of the least urbanized countries in Sub-Saharan Africa, urbanization has recently accelerated and the urban population share is estimated to almost double from 16 percent in 2007 to 27 percent by 2035. The Ethiopian government therefore has to tackle large challenges that may arise from this process, but also the opportunity to realize the huge potential gains from having a higher concentration of people in urban areas.

ii. The first step in this direction is to use empirical evidence to inform policy responses. This report presents the results from the 2008 Ethiopia Urban Migration Survey – a household survey representative of Addis Ababa that was designed to also be representative of migrant households in the city. The survey provides information on demographic characteristics, livelihood, economic and educational status of migrants and non-migrants and on migrants' decision to move to the capital and on their own subjective assessments of their migration experience.

iii. **Who are the migrants to Addis Ababa?** The migrants represent a large share of the city's population in that 37 percent of the inhabitants are born outside of Addis Ababa and have subsequently moved to the city. Looking at the migrants who came to Addis Ababa during the last 5 years, which we define as recent migrants, it is interesting to note that almost two-thirds of them are female. Moreover, most of them came alone or with one other relative, and seldom with a larger family. Very few children were brought along, so the migrant population is older on average than the non-migrant population. As a result, migrant households have, on average, more adults and fewer children. Almost half of the migrants come from other cities or urban towns in Ethiopia, and most of the migrants come to stay: Almost 90 % of those who migrated to Addis Ababa state that they have no intention of moving further.

iv. **Why do they migrate to Addis Ababa?** Contrary to what many believe, it is educational opportunities offered by the city that is the most important reason for migrants to come to Addis Ababa – especially for female migrants. Excluding migrant domestic workers and guards, who mainly come to search for work, 43 percent of recent migrants came for education – and most of these were successful in enrolling. This is a good sign since it indicates that people respond to the incentives – the return to education is found to be high in Addis Ababa. Employment opportunity is the second most important reason for migrating – listed as the primary motive for moving by 31 percent of migrants (excluding migrant domestic workers and guards). Taken together, 80 percent of all recent migrants moved because of the education or employment opportunities in Addis Ababa. Contrary to popular perception, no one in our survey migrated because of shortage of land, and less than 2 percent moved because they were displaced for various reasons (drought, war etc.). Nevertheless, hardship in their area of origin affects their migration decision. More than 42 percent of recent migrants state that they would not have been able to make a living in their original place of living, suggesting that these migrants' decision to move might be associated with poor livelihoods, destitution, need to support the family or to relieve the family of the burden of sustaining dependent members.

v. **What are the conditions that need to be in place for them to move?** Most of the recent migrants state that a personal contact in Addis Ababa was decisive for their choice of Addis Ababa as the destination. More than 80 percent of migrant guards and domestic workers listed such a contact as the most important condition for moving, while 60 percent of other migrants stated the same. Moreover, most migrants rely on their relatives for information important for the move, and only 10 percent relied on their own information about Addis Ababa. Also, very few migrants indicate that the cost of migrating was decisive in choosing Addis Ababa as their final location. Even if migration movements follow social ties and personal contacts, urban migrants do not seem to be assisted by well-established migration networks, which could provide information and support in settling in the new place of residence, in finding a job or an accommodation.

vi. **Is Kebele registration an obstacle to migration?** Some have suggested that the registration system hinders migration as movement out of a Kebele (district) requires an official leaving letter, and as the migrant is also obliged to register in the destination Kebele. However, 94 % (63%) of recent migrant domestic workers (other migrants) were *not* registered in their present Kebele even though they stated they were well aware about the rules. Given the reported perception that many would not migrate because they are afraid that their land may be confiscated, it is interesting to note that only 6 to 7 percent stated that they did not want to register in Addis Ababa because they wanted to keep their registration in another area. Moreover, most migrants did not know of any difficulties lack of registration could cause, and 30 percent indicated that they did not register because there were no benefits to them of registering. More than one third of the migrants indicated that the reason for not registering was that they were not able to obtain the official leaving letter from their Kebele of origin. So, for those who *actually migrated*, there is no reason to believe that Kebele registration was a substantial obstacle, but we do not have information on whether someone *did not migrate* due to these requirements. In addition, if people fear confiscation of their land if they migrate they could choose to send a member of the household other than the one listed on the land certificate. If this is the case, then the fear of confiscation impacts the characteristics of the migrations and not so much the scale. However, the survey only included data for people who were presently living in Addis Ababa, and hence, there is not adequate information on household decision in the sending areas or on people who wanted to migrate but were unable to do so for some reason or another. Thus, the report does not provide conclusive evidence on whether the Kebele registration practice is an obstacle to migration or not.

vii. **What are the costs of migrating, and how are these financed?** The monetary cost of migration is not found to be large – well below 100 Birr on average - and thus does not pose a significant obstacle to migration. Since we only have data for those who moved, we cannot say anything about whether migration costs prevented *other* people from moving to Addis Ababa. In financing these costs, the data indicate that only one third of recent migrants used their own savings for this purpose. Most of them resorted to donations from relatives or friends, and no one borrowed from other people on market terms. This might imply that people excluded from credit markets and social and family networks may not be able to get hold of the capital needed to migrate. This may occur despite their seemingly high probability of having future capacity to repay it – most of the migrants who were seeking a job got one. But again, the data do not contain information about those who *failed* to get a job and returned home, so it may well be that incurring costs of migrating may be higher than suggested by the survey.

viii. **What do migrants earn?** There are large differences in wages across migrants. Recent migrant domestic workers and guards earned around 100 Birr per month on average, and very few earned more than 200 Birr per month. Other recent migrants, in contrast, earned 700 Birr per month on average, but with a much wider distribution indicating that many were less successful and many were more successful than the average. Migrants that have lived in Addis Ababa for more than 5

years earned more than 1000 Birr per month – which is substantially higher than the average for non-migrants (800 Birr per month). Comparing the wages with the cost of migration suggests that the migrants who seek and get a job would be in a favorable position to cover the cost of moving.

ix. **How much do they send back to their family?** Only 13 percent of migrants send remittances back to their family in the area of origin, and the reason why so few do it is because they cannot afford it. However, the level of remittances from those who send back money is high: During the last 12 months, recent migrant domestic workers and guards remitted on average 300 Birr, which amounted to 25 percent of their average annual income, while other migrants sent on average 800 Birr, which amounted to almost 10 percent of their average annual income. So even if the impact of remittances on the sending areas would have been higher if more migrants remitted, there is still a substantial flow of money to the areas of origin. Moreover, there is also a substantial information flow between Addis Ababa and the sending areas in that more than 80 percent of the migrants keep contact with their families back home.

x. **What is the educational background of the migrants?** It is important to recognize that the migrants come from families with much lower educational levels than non-migrants. For example, the share of individuals whose father had less than first primary cycle of education is twice as high among migrants as among non-migrants – and this difference is fairly similar for higher levels of education as well. Moreover, recent female migrant domestic workers have ten times the illiteracy rate as compared to non-migrant female domestic workers, and other female migrants are three times more likely to be illiterate than non-migrant females. The data indicate that there are no differences between illiteracy rates between migrant and non-migrant males.

xi. **What are the outcomes for the migrants?** The migrants' own assessments of their migration experience indicate that the move has improved their living conditions. More than two-thirds of recent migrant domestic workers and guards state that their lives improved or were about the same as before they moved – and hence one third said that their conditions worsened after migrating. Other recent migrants are more positive, three out of four state that their situation improved after migrating or were about the same as before. The details of the migrants' living conditions suggest why so many had a positive experience from moving to Addis Ababa:

- Migrant households have on average the same standard of their housing as non-migrants.
- The distribution of assets is similar in migrant and non-migrant households, and some migrants seem to work themselves out of asset poverty over time. Recent migrants start with a larger share of asset poor, while older migrants have a lower share of asset poor.
- Boys in migrant households have the same probability of having primary and secondary education as non-migrants.
- However, in some important areas the migrant households lag the non-migrant households. Girls in recent migrant households seems to be discriminated against: They have a 20 percentage points lower probability of attending primary school, and are three times less likely to attend secondary school as opposed to girls in non-migrant households.
- Unemployment rates for male migrants are lower than for male non-migrants. However, unemployment rates for female recent migrants start at a much higher level as compared to non-migrants, but are drastically reduced for older female migrants indicating that the future employment prospects for female migrants seems to be favorable as they adapt to the society.

xii. **Despite success for many, it is risky to migrate, and challenges must be overcome in order to progress.** After moving to Addis Ababa, one in three recent migrant domestic worker

experience worsening living conditions, while one in four of other migrants indicate the same reduction in quality of life. This suggests that migration is risky and, for some migrants, the ETMUS find that they do not have the option to move back to where they came from. There is no information about those who actually moved back, so the migration experience could well be associated with much more hardship than what the ETMUS figures indicate. Moreover, in their first years in the city, migrants have to face a bundle of obstacles to exploit the labor and educational opportunities of urban life. However, after a period of transition, on average, the living conditions of the migrants who remain in Addis Ababa are similar to those of non-migrant dwellers. Therefore, evidence suggests that they are able to improve their quality of life over time, despite their initial disadvantages. Indicators of employment conditions, access to labor markets for migrants who moved to Addis Ababa more than five years ago, housing conditions and asset poverty are all similar to those of non-migrant population. Migrant's capacity to recover their adverse initial positions and disadvantages indicate that they represent a dynamic component of urban economy. These findings suggest that migration might have a pro-growth role in urban areas, mainly through the labor/economic activity channel and through increased educational attainment.

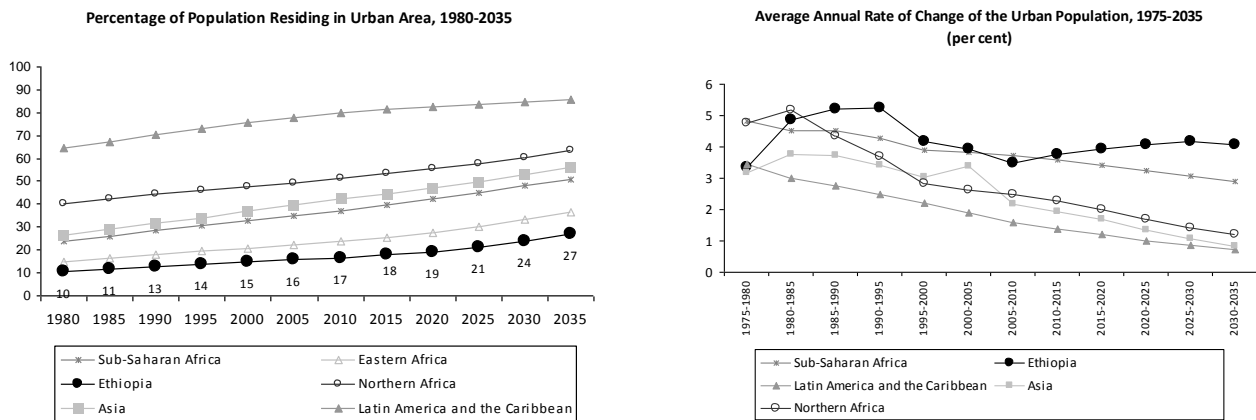
xiii. **Some vulnerable groups require attention.** Not all groups of migrants fare equally well. In particular, domestic workers and female migrants are more vulnerable to adverse conditions and are less able to overcome the obstacles arising from their migration status. Migrants, mostly girls, constitute a large share of domestic workers in Addis Ababa and they are disadvantaged along different welfare dimensions. They are less likely to attend school compared to other migrant and non-migrant groups; they are more likely to move alone and when they are children or young adults. They mainly move for job-related reasons, but empirical literature largely finds that they are vulnerable to exploitative and harmful labor and living conditions. This is also mirrored by their lower capacity to send remittances home compared to other migrants and by their average wage that is barely one sixth of the salary paid to other recent migrants who work as wage workers in Addis Ababa. Nevertheless, most domestic workers perceive their circumstances as an improvement in living conditions compared to those in the area they migrated from, which indicates the hardship they experienced in the sending area. Contributing to their positive experience may also be the fact that many of them are able to get education in parallel with working. Hence, the conclusion is that helping them where they are is the right policy, not to restrict their ability to move.

xiv. **In conclusion,** migrants come for education and jobs – and are, after a lag, successful in both. Migration improves their wellbeing, and is likely to contribute substantially to the growth of Addis Ababa – both economically and demographically. Hence, the survey supports the argument that there should be no formal or informal restrictions on internal migration. Moreover, information on obstacles faced by migrants and on their decision to move provides some insights on how policy actions can intervene for promoting the potential benefits of migration. In particular, the government could consider measures for improving access to credit markets for potential migrants, strengthening communication systems between rural and urban areas, provide information about available jobs and introducing supportive programs including education for the most vulnerable groups of migrants such as domestic workers and guards. Finally, given the continued population increase in the city, the Government should facilitate building of adequate low-cost dwellings, expand public services to care for a rapidly growing population and provide the necessary life-sustaining infrastructure for urban dwellers.

1. INTRODUCTION

1. In Ethiopia, the level of urbanization is lower than Sub-Saharan average, but is proceeding at a fast pace. Ethiopia's urban population is estimated at 16 percent in 2007 (CSA 2008), while in Western, Middle and Eastern Africa the urban population share in 2005 already reached 42, 40 and 22 percent, respectively (UN Population Division, 2009). However, in Ethiopia, urban population grew at an average annual rate of 3.8 percent from 1994 to 2007 (1994 and 2007 Population and Housing Census), compared to a growth rate of 2.3 percent for the rural population. The rate of urbanization is expected to further accelerate in the coming years, averaging 3.9 percent between 2015 and 2020, compared to an estimated average growth rate of 3.1 for Africa (UN Population Division, 2009). As a result, the Ethiopian urban population share is expected to increase by 70 percent and to reach about 27 percent by 2035 (UN Population Division, 2009).

Figure 1a and 1b: Urbanization in Ethiopia vs. other regions of the world



Source: UN Population Division, 2009

2. Almost doubling of the urban population in one of the poorest countries in the world with a very low level of public services poses large challenges, but also many opportunities. The aim of this report is to use recent data (2008) of households in Addis Ababa, which was collected purposively to reflect migration, to highlight some of the main issues that policymakers should consider in tackling the Ethiopian urbanization process. In particular, the report investigates the determinants and features of migration to urban areas and its potential effects on migrants, their families and the city society.

3. Existing evidence suggests that rural-urban migration is one of the driving forces of Ethiopia's urbanization. Other possible determinants of urban population growth, such as natural demographic growth, might exert a lower influence. In fact, fertility rates have considerably decreased in urban areas in Ethiopia over the last years, especially in major towns. Data from Ethiopia Demographic and Health Surveys show that, in urban areas, total fertility rate (TFR), one of the principal indicators of population dynamics, declined by 27 percent in the 2000-2005 period passing from 3.3 to 2.4 births per woman. In Addis Ababa the reduction was more pronounced and TFR decreased from 1.9 to 1.4. In contrast, TFR in rural areas continues to be much higher (6 births per woman in 2005) and to decrease at a slower pace. On the other hand, the scale of rural-urban migration is not negligible even if the bulk of internal domestic movements are intra-rural. Estimates based on 2005 Labor Force Survey (Guarcello et al. 2009), for example, found that migrants account for slightly less than half of the urban population (49 percent), and 18 percent of the urban population moved to their current places of residence less than 4 years prior to the interview. In several cases, migrants to urban areas arrive from other towns, but 57 percent of them came from rural areas.

4. The role of rural-to-urban migration in poverty reduction is currently under debate in Ethiopia. Recently, the Ethiopian government recognized the potential role of urban areas' contribution to national economic growth and poverty reduction and the need to leverage welfare and developmental potentials of rural-urban linkages and of labor mobility between rural and urban areas. However, in addition to practical and social obstacles to migration (costs, lack of information or skills, cultural adverse towards migration), in rural areas it is widely perceived that administrative barriers to people's mobility are still in place (Ellis and Woldehanna 2005)¹. At the same time, the Ethiopian Government (MoFED 2006) is concerned that rural-to-urban migration makes it more challenging to improve welfare for urban residents, especially in the provision of housing, employment and public services². Hence, there is a dire need for evidence on how rural-to-urban migration affects urban poverty along different dimensions in order to guide the Government's efforts to improve the living conditions in urban areas. This paper is a step in this direction.

5. Rural-urban migration and human mobility can create a range of positive consequences as well as new challenges for the Ethiopian population and the policy makers, but the effects of migration to urban areas both on the economy and on the migrants themselves are not fully understood. Qualitative case studies conducted in two urban and three rural sites in Ethiopia, for instance, revealed that rural-urban migration, especially seasonal movements, tend to reduce rural household vulnerability and increase opportunities to livelihood diversification (Tadele et al. 2006). Long-term migration often brings positive effects to households and communities of origin. In some cases, however, and for particular groups of migrants, individual wellbeing does not necessarily improve. Anecdotal evidence suggests that female migrants working as domestic workers are particularly vulnerable to exploitative labor conditions.

6. Much of the empirical literature on internal migration in Ethiopia, however, is based on qualitative information and non-representative data, and most studies focus on the return to rural-urban migration for those left behind or for specific groups of migrants. This paper gives a contribution to fill this gap by analyzing data from the 2008 Ethiopia Urban Migration Survey (ETUMS). This survey is representative of migrant and non-migrant households living in Addis Ababa and includes specific questions to migrants about their migration experience. These data provide information on migrants' characteristics, the prevailing migration patterns and decision-making mechanisms as well as the livelihood of internal migrants and their perceptions of their new lives.

7. The report is organized as follows. The next section provides an overview of the survey methodology and data collection, while the following section describes the size of the internal migration to Addis Ababa, from where they are coming and the reason for why so many state that they will not move further. Then, in Section 4, the basic demographic characteristics of the migrant households are compared with non-migrant households. Section 5 analyzes the reasons for migrating –both push and pull factors –while the following section investigates the migrants' basis for choosing the particular area, and to what extent their network in the destination was useful for the migration decision. Section 7 sheds light on the degree to which formal kebele registration is perceived to be a constraint among migrants, and whether the required registering system is a source of hardship for migrants. Section 8 analyses the cost of migration, the wages that migrants

¹ More precisely, it is common belief that migration beyond certain duration can result in revocation of the land rights of the person.

² In fact, the sluggishness of urban poverty reduction has been highlighted by estimates from the Ministry of Finance and Economic Development (MoFED) indicating that, despite urban growth and sustained decreases in the incidence of rural poverty, urban poverty rates have remained stagnant since the mid-1990s (MoFED 2006).

earn and how they finance the move. The next section compare employment patterns, education and the living conditions between migrants and non-migrants, while Section 10 discusses the ties between the migrants and their family in the sending area together with to what extent migrants transfer money to their place of origin. Finally, the last section summarizes the main findings and highlights the future direction for analytical work on migration in Ethiopia.

2. SURVEY METHODOLOGY AND DATA

1. The 2008 Ethiopia Urban Migration Survey (ETUMS) was designed to be representative of Addis Ababa's population as a whole and at sub-city level.³ The survey provides socio-economic data from 1,115 households and 6,085 household members, including members that previously lived in the household during the past 10 years. The information for the ETUMS survey was collected using two questionnaires. The household questionnaire provides information on housing conditions and assets and, for all individuals in the household, on demographics, migration, education, health, labor and engagement in productive activities. The second questionnaire comprises questions that are asked to only one migrant member per household in all households with at least one migrant who has moved to his/her current residence in the last five years. The questionnaire for migrants only collects information of migrants' migration history and choices, registration status, ties with area of origin and household assets of those left behind, costs and benefits of migration and remittances.

2. In this report, the term "non-migrants" is used for those individuals who have lived continuously in Addis Ababa since their birth while "migrants" are defined to be those who arrived in Addis Ababa after they were born. Then "recent migrants" is used for individuals who arrived in Addis Ababa during the last 5 five years and the term "old migrants" identify people who migrated to Addis Ababa more than five years ago. A migrant household is a household with at least one migrant member who is not a domestic worker or guard, while recent migrant household is a household with at least one recent migrant member who is not a domestic worker or guard. The reason for keeping migrant domestic workers and guards separate from the household of which they live with is that they usually do not share the economic and wealth conditions of their employers, they have specific demographic and welfare characteristics, they do not participate in intra-household decision-making, and their cohabitation with other household members is mainly regulated by working and not by family relationships. Finally, migrant children are defined as children who have moved to Addis Ababa over the last ten years, while children in migrant households are all (migrant and non migrant) children who live in a migrant household.

3. Detailed information on migration experience is asked to only one recent migrant per migrant household. This implies that the respondents to the questionnaire for migrants constitute a subset of the whole migrant population. More precisely, the migration questionnaire was asked to 351 recent migrants (86 domestic workers and guards and 265 other migrants) who represent a population of around 119,000 and, therefore, correspond to 29 percent of all recent migrants identified by the survey. Due to this survey design, the questionnaire that is used and the population of reference will be specified in each table.

³ The sample was drawn in 2 stages. The first sample, representing the core survey, contains 840 households from 24 *kebeles* (35 households per *kebele*) across all 10 sub-cities. The 24 *kebeles* were selected by first distributing them proportional to best available estimate of the population of the 10 sub-cities. *Kebeles* were then selected randomly within each sub-city. A second stage of the sample was selected as a reserve screener sample to ensure a sufficient number of migrant households. Weights for the data were derived by weighting the core survey results to the relative size of the *kebele* in its sub-city and the relative size of the sub-city in Addis Ababa. The weights assure that, combined, the core sample of each sub-city reflects the proportion that that sub-city represents in the total population of Addis Ababa. Once weights were derived for the core sample, weighted incidence rates were calculated for each sub-city. The reserve screener sample was then added to the migrant-only sample so as to preserve the estimated incidence rate within the sub-city. Again, the relative size of the *Kebele* was adjusted for in this final step. The final weights are intended to allow for analysis at the sub-city level.

3. SIZE OF MIGRATION TO ADDIS ABABA, THE SENDING AREAS AND CHOICE OF DESTINATION

1. The scale of Ethiopian internal migration seems to be lower than in other Sub-Saharan countries. Nevertheless, over time migration flows have been an important contribution to the growth of Addis Ababa. According to data from 2008 ETUMS, recent migrants represent only 15 percent of the population living in Addis Ababa.⁴ However, more than one third (37 percent) of the Addis dwellers arrived in the city after they were born.

Table 1: Percentage of population by migration status

Number of years living continuously in Addis Ababa	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
Less than 5 years	415,070	15	15
More than 5 years	594,354	22	37
Since birth	1,699,367	63	100
Total	2,708,791	100	

Note: ETUMS. Module for all household members.

2. While migrants arrive in Addis Ababa from all over Ethiopia, a considerable share comes from the areas surrounding the capital. Most of the migrants arrive from Amhara, Oromiya, SNNPR and Tigray (Table 2) and 28 percent of them come from the areas closest to the capital (North Shewa, West Shewa, Gurage and East Shewa). Among the other areas, relevant out-migration zones to Addis are those in northern Ethiopia: Central Tigray, South Wello and North Gonder, for example, are regions of birth of 9 percent of all migrants living in Addis.

Table 2: Region of birth by migration status

Number of years living continuously in Addis Ababa	Migrant servants or guardians			Other migrant household members			All migrants		
	Less than 5 years	More than 5 years	Total	Less than 5 years	More than 5 years	Total	Less than 5 years	More than 5 years	Total
Addis Ababa	1.6	0.0	1.4	1.5	1.2	1.3	1.5	1.2	1.3
Tigray	2.6	0.0	2.2	11.7	10.7	11.1	11.0	10.6	10.7
Amhara	48.4	64.8	50.7	26.7	31.2	29.4	28.5	31.5	30.2
SNNP	19.2	19.3	19.2	22.9	27.0	25.4	22.6	26.9	25.1
Oromiya	28.2	15.9	26.5	35.0	28.2	30.9	34.5	28.1	30.7
Afar	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Harari	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.3	0.2	0.1	0.3	0.2
Somali	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.3	0.2	0.1	0.3	0.2
Dire Dawa	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	0.4	0.6	0.9	0.4	0.6
out side	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.9	0.8	0.9	0.9	0.8	0.8
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100.0	100.0	100.0

Note: ETUMS. Module for all household members. "Other migrant household members" are "All migrant members" minus "Migrant servants and guards".

3. More than half of Addis migrants arrive from rural areas, and this pattern mirrors the national trend. Data from 2008 ETUMS indicate that 56 percent of the migrants living in Addis Ababa are from rural areas and according to the 2005 Labor Force Survey rural migrants account for 57 percent of the migrants who moved to urban areas (Guarcello et al., 2009). Moreover, rural

⁴ According to Guarcello et al. (2009), 8 percent of Addis' population migrated less than 4 years ago, 35 percent migrated 5 or more years ago, and 57 percent have never moved. This is consistent with our data if there is an increasing trend – if the growth of migrants increased from the 2005 LFS and to 2008, then the percent of recent migrants should be higher.

migrants are more likely than those who moved from urban areas to work as domestic servants or guards. More than 80 percent of migrant domestic workers come from rural areas compared to 54 percent of other migrants.

4.

Table 3: Sending area - previous area of residence before going to Addis Ababa

<i>Number of years living continuously in Addis Ababa</i>	Migrant domestic servants or guards			Other migrant household members			All migrants		
	<i>Less than 5 years</i>	<i>More than 5 years</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Less than 5 years</i>	<i>More than 5 years</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Less than 5 years</i>	<i>More than 5 years</i>	<i>Total</i>
Large towns	4	12	5	19	15	17	18	15	17
Medium towns	7	10	7	15	10	12	14	10	12
Small towns	5	6	5	14	18	17	13	18	16
Rural areas	84	73	83	52	56	54	55	56	56
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Note: ETUMS. Module for all household members.

5. Addis Ababa is an area of permanent or long-term destination rather than an intermediate stop on step migration or a transit city. Only about 11 percent of migrants recently arrived in the city expect to move again, while 88 percent of them state that they will not migrate in the next three years (Table 4).

Table 4: Expectation of further movements in the following three years.

	Migrant servants or guards	Other migrants	All migrants
Yes	15.4	10.8	11.6
Not certain	0.4	0.9	0.8
No	83.5	88.0	87.2
Don't know	0.7	0.3	0.4
Total	100	100	100

Note: ETUMS. Only recent migrants, module for migrants only. Information referring to the respondent only.

6. After settling in Addis Ababa, the main reason to stay is linked to educational opportunities offered by the city, especially for migrants who are not domestic servants where almost half of them state this as the reason for not moving. Also, job opportunities and actual occupations are important causes for not leaving, in particular within the group of domestic workers. Table 5 reports information on reasons for not expecting to move, and it shows interesting differences between our two main groups. Almost two thirds of migrant domestic servants or guards who do not expect to move state that they are satisfied with their current work or do not know of better jobs or more prosperous economic opportunities elsewhere. The other third of this group indicates that reason for staying is that they attend school or that there are limited educational opportunities elsewhere. Among the migrants who are not servants or guards, only 20 percent state that reason for staying is that they are satisfied with their job or that they do not know of better economic opportunities. However, a much higher share of this group states that education is their reason to stay – more than 50 percent report that they are attending school or that they reckon that in other places the availability of their preferred education is limited.

Table 5: Reason for not expecting to move

	Migrant domestic workers	Other migrants	All migrants
Already have a satisfactory work	31.2	10.2	13.9
Family ties	0	14.9	12.3
Educational level limits opportunities elsewhere	15.0	7.2	8.6
Attending school	14.7	43.4	38.4
Do not know if better jobs/higher income are available elsewhere	32.9	11.4	15.2
Health problems	5.3	1.2	1.9
Other	0.8	10.0	8.4
Don't know	0	1.7	1.4
Total	100	100	100

Note: ETUMS. Only recent migrants, module for migrants only. Information referring to the respondent only

7. Data also suggest that, when Addis Ababa is the final destination, people tend to avoid step migration. Only 10.5 percent of recent migrants (12.4 and 3.5 percent of female and male migrants, respectively) reported that they had lived for at least three months in other places apart from residence at birth (Table 6). Information on origin areas are also in line with these results. The zones surrounding Addis Ababa are not only the main areas of residence prior to moving to the capital, but also the areas of origin of 28 percent of recent migrants who responded to the questionnaire for migrants only.

Table 6: Share of migrants who had lived in other places for at least three months prior to their last movement

	Males	Females	All
Migrant servants or guards	0.0	20.5	19.3
Other migrants	3.7	10.1	8.5
All migrants	3.5	12.4	10.5

Note: ETUMS. Only recent migrants, module for migrants only. Information referring to the respondent only.

8. Our data suggest that migrants often move alone or with only one other family member, while migration of families is infrequent. Table 7 below shows the distribution of migrant households in Addis by the number of migrants who belong to the same family (i.e. the household head or one of his/her relatives). Migrant domestic servants and guards have a significantly different pattern from other migrants so they are excluded in this computation. The table includes the cases in which the term “family” comprises either only the nuclear family (head, spouse and sons and daughters of both or of one of them) or all relatives. In both cases, the share of migrant households with only one recent migrant family member is quite high: 35 and 45 percent when only blood relatives and all relatives are, respectively, considered. On the one hand, migrant households host migrants who are not members of the nuclear family in 27 percent of the cases. On the other hand, only 11 percent of migrant households have more than two migrant members of the nuclear family.

Table 7: Migrant households by number of migrants belonging to the same family as the household head

Number of migrants belonging to the nuclear family of the household head	Migrant hh	Recent migrant hh	Number of migrants who are the household head or household head's relative	Migrant hh	Recent migrant hh
0	4.7	27.1	0	1.3	3.7
1	44.8	34.8	1	34.4	44.9
2	39.4	27.6	2	34.1	20.2
3	6.2	4.3	3	19.6	17.8
4 or more	4.8	6.2	4 or more	10.6	13.4
All	100.0	100.0	All	100.0	100.0

Note: ETUMS. Migrant households are defined as households with at least one migrant, domestic servant and guards excluded. The category “nuclear family” comprises the head, the spouse, and the sons and daughters of both or of one of them. Module for all household members.

9. This pattern is mirrored by the composition of the family members left at home. The vast majority of migrants have family members — mostly parents and brother or sisters — living in their areas of origin (Table 8). In contrast, almost no migrant leaves behind his/her children and spouse. As the section on demographic profile of migrants will implicitly show, this is also the result of the fact that several migrants are without children and, if they are married, tend to live with their spouses.

Table 8: Family members left behind.

Migrant's age	Share of migrants with family members living in their area of origin		Share of migrants with family member who stay behind – status of the family member(s)					
	Male	Female	Father/Mother	Wife/Husband	Brother/Sister	Daughter/Son	Other relative	Non-relative
Age group 5-14	0.77	0.79	0.98	0.00	0.85	0.03	0.46	0.13
Age group 15-24	0.95	0.94	0.90	0.00	0.89	0.02	0.55	0.21
Age group 25-35	0.99	0.84	0.99	0.00	0.80	0.00	0.76	0.14
Age group 35-45	1.00	0.24	0.90	0.00	0.58	0.03	0.69	-
Age group 46+	1.00	0.78	0.73	0.03	0.95	0.10	0.77	0.18
All	0.97	0.88	0.91	0.00	0.85	0.03	0.59	0.17

Note: ETUMS. Recent migrants. Module for migrants. Information referring to the respondent only.

4. DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF POPULATION BY MIGRATION STATUS

1. Migration can divide or reunite families, migrants can join other households already living in Addis Ababa, and they can live alone or with other migrants. Migration flows, therefore, might lead to a restructuring of households. At the same time, the likelihood of migration can be linked to some demographic characteristics, such as age and family relationships. Indeed, migrant population presents demographic characteristics that partially differ from those of non-migrant dwellers of Addis Ababa.⁵

2. Migrants tend to live in larger households - perhaps reflecting that when they arrive, they are often hosted by their relatives. Table 9, which reports some indicators of household composition and size by migration status, shows that migrant households are on average statistically significantly larger than non-migrant ones, although they do not substantially differ from households without migrants with respect to the dependency ratio and number of infants, regardless of the definition of migrant status adopted.

Table 9: Household composition and size

	Household size	Number of children aged less than 5	Dependency ratio	Share of female headed households, percentage
HH with at least one migrant	5.0***	0.3~	0.49~	31.0**
HH without migrants	4.0***	0.4~	0.48~	39.8**
HH with at least one recent migrant	5.3***	0.3~	0.46~	28.8**
Households without recent migrants	4.6***	0.3~	0.50~	34.9**

Note: ETUMS, module for all household members. Statistically significant difference between migrant and non-migrant households: ~ not statistically significant; ** statistically significant at 10 percent level of confidence; ***statistically significant at 5 percent level of confidence

3. These similarities in household structure might hide considerable demographic differences. Indeed, data on gender composition reveal a feminization of migration, especially among recent arrivals in the city. Even if the share of female-headed households is lower among migrant (31 percent) than non-migrant households (40 percent) we can note that, while the non-migrant population is split in half between males and females, women account for 63 and 59 percent of recent and old migrants, respectively (Table 10).

Table 10: Population distribution by gender and migration status, %

Years living continuously in Addis	Migrant domestic servants or guards				Other migrants				All population			
	Less than 5 years	More than 5 years	Since birth	Total	Less than 5	More than 5	Since birth	Total	Less than 5	More than 5	Since birth	Total

⁵ There are several reasons why the migrant population is different from the non-migrant population. First, migrants move for a reason. If the poorest and most vulnerable are forced to migrate from their area due to hardship, one could find that migrants have a less favorable position than the non-migrant population (negative selection). On the other hand, if migrants move to get education and work, one could get the opposite situation in that those who move are those with the highest probability of success in education and in the labor market. Hence, one could have a migrant population in a more favorable position than the non-migrant population (positive selection). Finally, there could be different types of migrant moving at different points of time (selection within the sample of migrants). In case of a drought, one might have more migrants escaping hardship and hence negative selection, while in times of regional economic booms, one could have people moving to take advantage of opportunities and hence positive selection. Disentangling the selection mechanisms that prevailed for our sample is inherently difficult and must be left to future research.

<i>Ababa</i>					<i>years</i>	<i>years</i>			<i>years</i>	<i>years</i>		
Male	12.7	2.9	57.2	13.5	39.5	41.8	49.9	46.7	37.3	41.4	50.0	46.1
Female	87.3	97.1	42.8	86.5	60.5	58.2	50.1	53.4	62.7	58.6	50.1	53.9
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Note: ETUMS, module for all household members

4. Migrant households are also characterized by a different composition in terms of family relationship. Migrants, in particular those who moved to Addis more than five years ago, are more likely to be household heads than non-migrants and less likely to be children of the household heads or/and their spouses. As shown in Table 11, about 30 percent of recent migrants and almost half (47 percent) of old migrants are household heads compared to 10 percent of Addis Ababa non-migrant dwellers. The population share of household heads and their spouses is much higher among migrants (49 percent of recent migrants and 74 percent of old migrants) than non-migrants (16.5 percent), while only 13 and 10 percent of recent and old migrants, respectively, are children of household heads or their spouses compared to 70 percent of non-migrants. Finally, the higher incidence of other relatives among recent migrants (29 percent) than the rest of the population (8-9 percent) might confirm that, when they arrive in the city, several people live with their relatives already in the city.

Table 11: Kinship status in the household by gender and duration of stay in Addis

Migrant's gender	Male			Female			All		
	<i>Less than 5 years</i>	<i>More than 5 years</i>	<i>Since birth</i>	<i>Less than 5 years</i>	<i>More than 5 years</i>	<i>Since birth</i>	<i>Less than 5 years</i>	<i>More than 5 years</i>	<i>Since birth</i>
Head	55.0	74.2	13.0	13.0	27.4	7.0	29.6	46.9	10.0
Spouse of the head	0.4	3.1	0.7	32.3	44.8	12.3	19.7	27.4	6.5
Son/daughter of head and spouse or of one of them	12.1	13.2	73.9	13.5	8.6	66.8	13.0	10.5	70.4
Father/mother of head/spouse	0.6	0.0	0.1	1.7	1.8	0.4	1.2	1.1	0.2
Brother/Sister of head/spouse	4.4	3.0	3.7	4.2	5.3	3.4	4.3	4.3	3.5
Other relative	25.0	6.3	8.2	31.3	9.9	9.2	28.8	8.4	8.7
Non relative	2.5	0.3	0.4	4.1	2.3	1.0	3.5	1.4	0.7
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Note: ETUMS, module for all household members, domestic servants and guards excluded. Domestic workers are excluded because the survey does not provide information on their family relationship with the head of household. They are simply classified as employed domestic servants or guards.

5. The migrant population is mainly adult and it is characterized by a low children's share. This is suggested by the lower share of son and daughters in migrant households and is confirmed by the distribution of population by age group reported in Table 12. The demographic pyramid among migrants has a narrower base, perhaps reflecting the higher propensity to migrate among adults without children. The population share of the age group between 35 and 55 is 24 percent for recent migrants but only 11 percent for non-migrants. Moreover, adults between 25 and 54 years of age constitute the main age group among the migrants accounting for 43 and 55 percent of recent and old migrants. In contrast, the same age group represents only 31 percent of the non-migrant population.

Table 12: Population distribution by age group and migration status, %

<i>Number of years living continuously in Addis Ababa</i>

Age groups	Migrant domestic servants or guards				Other migrants				All			
	<i>Less than 5 years</i>	<i>More than 5 years</i>	<i>Since birth</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Less than 5 years</i>	<i>More than 5 years</i>	<i>Since birth</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Less than 5 years</i>	<i>More than 5 years</i>	<i>Since birth</i>	<i>Total</i>
Less than 15	8.3	0.0	5.8	7.1	15.5	4.9	32.2	23.8	14.9	4.9	32.2	23.6
15-19	56.3	58.5	50.8	56.3	13.2	6.8	17.2	14.3	16.8	7.3	17.2	15.0
20-25	25.2	21.9	37.8	25.4	12.8	7.9	16.7	14.2	13.9	8.1	16.7	14.4
25-35	9.4	19.6	2.8	10.5	19.9	16.7	19.8	19.1	19.0	16.8	19.8	19.0
35-55	0.8	0.0	2.8	0.8	26.3	38.4	11.1	19.3	24.2	38.0	11.1	19.0
More than 55	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	12.2	25.2	3.1	9.3	11.2	25.0	3.1	9.2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Note: ETUMS, module for all household members.

6. A completely distinct demographic structure characterizes the population of domestic servants and guards, the vast majority of whom are migrant young women and girls. As shown in Table 13, about 82 percent of domestic workers living in Addis Ababa are recent migrants, and an additional 14 percent are old migrants. Moreover, more than 80 percent is between 15-25 years of age with few differences across the migration status, while the female share ranges from 43 percent among the non-migrant domestic workers to 97 percent of migrants who arrived more than five years ago.

Table 13: Domestic servants and guard by migration status.

Number of years living continuously in Addis Ababa	Domestic servants and guards	
	<i>Freq.</i>	<i>Percent</i>
Less than 5 years	34.319	82
More than 5 years	5.682	14
Since birth	1.983	5
Total	41.984	100

Note: ETUMS, module for all household members.

7. Demographic differences between migrants and non-migrants also extend to marital status: while marital dissolution due to divorce or widowhood does not present strong variations across migration status, adult migrants are more likely than non-migrants to be currently married. As displayed in Table 14 below, in the age group between 24 and 45, about 62 percent of men and 38 percent of female recent migrants are married, compared to only 28 and 36 percent of non-migrants. This divide is even more marked among long-term migrants. The data on marital status also point out that, unlike men, women who were formerly married account for a considerable share of female migrants over 46 years of age: more than one third of them are widows and 13-14 percent are divorced. This pattern, however, is similar to the one within the corresponding group of non-migrant women.

Table 14: Marital status by migration status

Age group		25-45 year-old			Older than 45 years		
<i>Number of years living continuously in Addis Ababa</i>		<i>Less than 5 years</i>	<i>More than 5 years</i>	<i>Since birth</i>	<i>Less than 5 years</i>	<i>More than 5 years</i>	<i>Since birth</i>
Males	Married	61.5	72.4	28.3	88.7	92.1	87.8
	Divorced	0.5	0.7	1.1	2.2	3.2	3.9
	Widow	0.0	0.0	0.3	9.1	4.1	2.1
	Never married	37.9	26.9	70.2	0.0	0.5	6.3
Females	Married	65.6	70.4	36.0	49.0	42.7	46.6

	Divorced	5.6	10.0	8.8	13.9	12.9	13.0
	Widow	2.9	4.2	3.4	37.2	42.8	36.2
	Never married	25.9	15.4	51.9	0.0	1.6	4.2

Note: ETUMS, module for all household members. Domestic servants and guards are excluded.

8. In light of the demographic characteristics of migrants, the comparisons between migrants and non migrants are usually disaggregated by gender and age in the following sections. Moreover, the data for migrant domestic servants and guards will be presented separately from those of the other migrants as the characteristics of those groups are so distinct that they require separate analysis.

5. REASONS FOR MIGRATION - PULL AND PUSH FACTORS

9. The selection of migrants tends to be towards people who are, at least by their own perception, qualified for higher education or a job in the city. Almost 77 percent of migrants move in search of employment or for an education with a differentiation between domestic workers who are more willing to move for job-related reasons and other migrants who more often migrate to continue their studies. Information on primary reasons to migrate, in fact, shows that about 43 percent of recent migrants who are not domestic workers moved to Addis Ababa to take advantage of educational opportunities of the city and 31 percent to look for a job (see Table 5.1 below). In contrast, three fourths of migrant domestic workers (74 percent) indicate that they moved to search for a job.

10. **Primary reason to migrate slightly varies across gender: males are more like to migrate for a job than females.** Job-related reasons are reported by 58 percent of men who have arrived in the capital during the last five years: half of recent male migrants went to Addis Ababa to look for work, and 7.5 percent already had a job in the city. In contrast, only 36 percent of female migrants indicated searching for work, having a job, job transfer or displacement of work as the primary reason for migrating.

11. Earlier evidence found that, in other Ethiopian areas, the causes for the long-term rural-urban female migrations are mostly attributed to early marriage, rape and abduction, divorce, death of spouse, marriage arrangement and family relocation (Tadele et al. 2006). In contrast, data from ETUMS 2009 point out that events linked to marriage have a low influence on migration flows to Addis Ababa. Women are more likely to migrate for marriage arrangements (4 percent of the cases compared to zero percent for the males), but this reason is overall infrequent and migration due to marriage dissolution is even more rare (Table 15).

Table 15: Primary reason to migrate for recent migrants by gender (in percent)

	Males	Females	Migrant domestic servants and guards	Other migrants	All recent migrants
Education	31.3	41.4	11.0	43.3	39.1
Search for work	50.1	34.9	74.1	31.3	38.3
Marriage arrangement	0.0	3.8	0.0	4.0	2.9
Divorce/marriage dissolution	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.2	0.2
Death of spouse	0.0	0.7	0.0	0.7	0.5
Death of other household member	1.2	1.7	0.0	1.8	1.5
Job transfer/have a job	7.5	0.8	0.0	3.1	2.3
Displacement/war drought	1.0	2.1	0.0	2.3	1.9
Displacement of work	0.0	1.7	0.0	1.8	1.3
Along with family	0.1	2.7	8.6	1.0	2.2
Return back home	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.1
Shortage of land	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Health problems	5.9	3.8	1.0	4.6	4.3
Other	2.8	6.0	5.3	5.9	5.3
Sum	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Note: Recent migrants. Module for migrants. Information referring to the respondent only.

12. Migrants did not report having moved to Addis Ababa because of lack of farmland.⁶ The progressive population pressure and the high degree of plot fragmentation⁷ in rural Ethiopia are

⁶ Note that 50% of the migrants came from urban areas where lack of farm land may not be a relevant issue.

⁷ According to data from the 2006/2007 Agricultural Sample Survey, average holding per household in Ethiopia is 1.25 hectares.

often viewed as important push forces of rural-urban migration. According to the qualitative study carried out by Tadele et al. (2006), for example, shortage or lack of rural farmland, heavy land tax and food insecurity distress are among the main reasons for the majority of the analyzed case studies of seasonal, male and adult urban migrations. Admassie et al. (2003), instead, found no statistically significant relation between size of landholding and tendency to migrate. However, they interpreted this result as due to extra-economic factors, such as land policy and chronic relief food aid, which discourage or constrain the landless from leaving. According to the authors, in absence of these factors, landlessness would be an important push force of rural-urban migration. The ETUMS 2008 data, however, indicate that shortage of land is not a primary reason to migrate to the capital city (Table 15).

13. Our result is consistent with information from the 2005 Labor Force Survey, according to which only 0.1 percent of migrants to Addis Ababa was forced to migrate because of land pressures (World Bank 2009a). In contrast, the 2005 Labor Force Survey found that 23.5 percent of migrants to rural areas decided to move because of land shortage (World Bank 2009a). On the other hand, most migrant domestic servants and guards were unpaid family workers before they moved, and they usually come from families who own land (82 percent, see Table 16). Thus, sending young household members to urban areas as domestic servants might be a strategy for reducing the number of people who rely on small land plots to be fed. Within the group of other recent migrants, the link between landlessness and migration is stronger, with 41 percent of them coming from families without land. Moreover, 58 percent of those with land worked as unpaid family workers before migrating.

Table 16: Share of recent migrants whose family at home owns land

		Sending areas		
		Rural	Urban	All
Recent migrant servants and guards	<i>Male</i>	0.93	0.0*	0.93
	<i>Female</i>	0.85	0.60	0.81
	<i>All</i>	0.86	0.60	0.82
Other recent migrants	<i>Male</i>	0.67	0.69	0.68
	<i>Female</i>	0.63	0.43	0.56
	<i>All</i>	0.64	0.50	0.59

Note: Recent migrants. Module for migrants only. Information referring to the family of the respondent.

*all respondents who are domestic workers come from rural areas.

14. The role of land shortages in triggering migration flows might be differentiated across regions of origin. Women who are born in SNNPR, for instance, are more likely to come from landless families than women arriving from the other two main sending regions of migration flows to Addis Ababa, namely Amhara and Oromiya (Table 17). Therefore, though aggregate data do not highlight gender discrimination in terms of land endowments of origin family, further research may investigate whether different cultural norms on women's land rights are behind this differentiated pattern across regions⁸.

⁸ While in regions such as Amhara and Tigray some progresses to ensure women enjoy equal rights to land, elsewhere in Ethiopia women are more likely to lose their lands in case of divorce, separation of the death of the husband, even if legislative provisions to the contrary exist (World Bank 2009b).

Table 17: Share of recent migrants whose family at home owns land, migrants from rural areas

		Region of birth		
		Amhara	SNNP	Oromiya
Domestic servants and guards	Male	0.92	n.a.	n.a.
	Female	0.75	0.93	0.95
Other recent migrants	Male	0.58	0.74	0.59
	Female	0.78	0.37	0.78

Note: Recent migrants. Module for migrants only. No observations for male domestic servants who come from rural SNNP and rural Oromiya.

15. Empirical evidence on previous economic activities supports the hypothesis that migration to Addis Ababa is due to relatively favorable working opportunities offered in the city. In fact, before moving to Addis Ababa, the majority of migrants worked as unpaid family workers and had not gained job experience in formal sectors. Data reported in Table 18 point out that prior to migrating only 2.7 percent of recent migrants worked as paid employees in the public, parastatal and private organizations or for NGOs. Moreover, about half of recent migrants helped in family farms or businesses without payment, and this share increases to 70 percent for domestic servants.

Table 18: Activity before moving

Activity before moving	Domestic servants and guards			Other recent migrants		
	Area of origin			Area of origin		
	Rural	Urban	All	Rural	Urban	All
Non-agricultural wage work	23.1	0.0	19.9	1.3	5.0	2.7
Run a business big or small for self or with partners (e.g. barber, shoe shining), produce goods for sale	0.7	3.1	1.0	4.1	9.4	6.1
Work in agriculture privately/salaried (e.g. ploughing, cattle rearing...)	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.9	2.6	2.2
Unpaid family job	66.6	92.2	70.3	57.4	44.2	52.3
Other productive activity not mentioned above for own or family gain	9.5	4.8	8.8	35.4	38.8	36.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Note: Recent migrants. Module for migrants. Information referring to the respondent only.

16. The importance of the need to find income sources behind people's decisions to move is mirrored in the data about living conditions prior to migration. One third of recent male migrants and 45 percent of female migrants reported that they would not have been able to make their living in their previous area of residence, thus suggesting that **also push factors constitute a key force driving internal migration flows towards Addis Ababa** (Table 19).

Table 19: Percentage of recent migrants who state that they would not have been able to make a living in the previous area of residence if they had not moved.

	Males	Females	All
Domestic servants and guards	88.2	39.8	42.4
Other recent migrants	32.1	45.5	42.1
All	34.7	44.3	42.17

Note: Only recent migrants, module for migrants only.

6. CHOICE OF DESTINATION AREAS IN ADDIS ABABA AND MIGRATION NETWORKS

17. The data suggest that social networks influence the patterns of internal movement. Most of the migrants move to areas where they already know people or where they have information about the place. As shown in Table 20, having personal contacts appears to be a decisive factor: 83 percent of the servants and guards who recently migrated to Addis Ababa and 59 percent of the other recent migrants decided where to move according to this criterion.

18. Albeit to a lesser extent, also migration costs influence choice of destination. More than 4 percent of migrant domestic workers stated that the primary reason for choosing Addis before other destinations was that the costs were lower. However, among other migrants, the rate of people indicating that costs were a primary reason for choosing Addis is almost thrice as high as for servants and guards (almost 11 percent). In contrast, the distance to their family does not affect the decision about the migration area.

Table 20: Primary reasons for the choice of the destination area

	Domestic servants or guards			Other migrants		
	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>All</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>All</i>
I knew people	100	82.1	83.1	56.6	59.9	59
Information about the place	0.0	11.8	11.2	11.1	6.9	8
Job offer	0.0	0.4	0.42	5.7	1.3	2.4
Distance to family	0.0	0	0	0	0.7	0.5
Costs	0.0	4.4	4.1	11.7	10.3	10.7
Other reasons	0.0	1.2	1.2	18.3	20.6	20

Note: only recent migrants, module for migrants only. Percentages do not add up to 100 percent because of the acceptance of multiple answers from respondents answering that question.

19. A considerable share of the migrants, when they arrived in Addis Ababa, had already accumulated some information on the general opportunities offered and on the potential challenges posed by the city. Table 21 below summarizes the responses from recent migrants to the question of what information was available to them before they migrated. Probably as a result of the role of personal contacts in the decision of destination area, prior to migration, about half of recent migrants had information on job opportunities (54 percent), housing conditions (53 percent), cost of living (49 percent) and climate conditions (44 percent). In addition, about two thirds had an idea about education opportunities (71 percent) and other public services (63 percent) in the destination area.

20. Type and availability of information on destination areas slight differ across gender. Interestingly, Table 21 also reveals that more than 31 percent of women (excluding servants) who recently moved to Addis Ababa were already aware of the possibility to find a cultural environment more tolerant than in their areas of origin. This finding deserves further research, but we note that it is consistent with the hypothesis that many women migrate from rural areas in search of less restrictive social norms and traditional beliefs. Women are also less informed than men in terms of employment opportunities, a fact that can be associated with different motivations to migrate (they are less likely to migrate to look for a job) but that can also result in greater obstacles in labor markets. Women recover their disadvantage when information is related to health, education and other social services. In these domains, gender gaps are not statistically significant, and women are much more informed than about other aspects of urban life: before migrating, two thirds already had some knowledge of public facilities available in Addis Ababa.

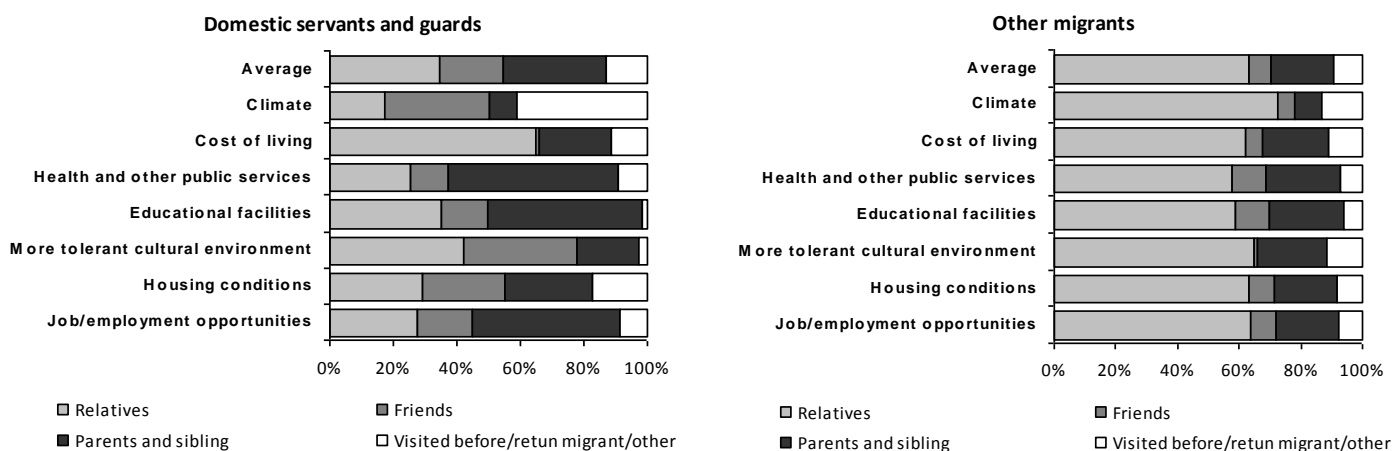
Table 21: Availability of information about the destination area before migrating

	Domestic servants and guards			Other migrants		
	Male	Female	All	Male	Female	All
Job/employment opportunities**	100	58.7	61	67.4	49.6	54.1
Housing conditions***	100	23.5	27.7	70.3	47.4	53.2
More tolerant cultural environment***	15	16.1	16	54.6	31.5	37.4
Educational facilities~	19.6	52.4	50.6	78.8	68.5	71.1
Health and other public services~	100	50.9	53.6	68.9	61.3	63.2
Cost of living~	15	29.7	28.9	60.7	45.7	49.5
Climate**	15	24.1	23.6	58.2	39.1	44

Note: only recent migrants, module for migrants only. ~Differences by gender within other migrants are not statistically significant; ** Differences by gender within other migrants are statistically significant at the 10 percent level of confidence; ***Differences by gender within other migrants are statistically significant at the 5 percent level of confidence.

21. Relatives are the main source of information for most of the migrants (Figures 2a and 2b). About 32 percent of domestic workers list their parents and siblings as their main source of information, while 34 percent state that other relatives are their main source. Excluding this category of migrants, we find that around every fourth of the other migrants state that parents and siblings are the main source of information, while most of “other migrants” (63 percent) state that the main source of information comes from other relatives.

Figure 2a and 2b: Migrants’ source of information



Note: only recent migrants, module for migrants only.

22. Despite the importance of information availability and personal contacts for the choice of destination areas, migrant networks do not appear to be very deep-rooted and well-organized. Data suggest that the choice of destination areas is shaped by the desire to avoid a sense of isolation and to look for social ties, rather than by the search for service- and resource-migration networks. The above Table 20 on primary reasons for the choice of destination area shows that only 2.4 percent of migrants have already got a job offer prior to move and this percentage declines to even less than 1 percent among domestic migrants and servants. At the same time, information on migrants’ helpfulness to provide assistance to their new peers point out that migrant networks are not associated with strong practical reasons. In fact, the majority of recent migrants (68 percent of domestic workers and 87 percent of the remaining migrants) would not be available to help friends and relatives if they moved to Addis Ababa. In addition, in most cases, those willing to help their friends and relatives in case of migration report that they could provide economic help or spiritual

support. More tailored, practical or demanding forms of solidarity (accommodation, help and information to find a job) are less frequent (see Table 22 below).

Table 22: Among the recent migrants who would be willing to support friends/relatives left behind if they also migrated to Addis: Type of support that could be provided.

Accommodation for housing only	11.9
Accommodation for meals only	13.7
Accommodation for housing and meals	12.6
Economic help	47.9
Information concerning work	23.7
Help to find a job	33.4
Spiritual support	46.7

Note: Module for migrants only. Percentages do not add up to 100 percent because of the acceptance of multiple answers from respondents answering that question.

7. OBSTACLES TO MIGRATION: THE ROLE OF KEBELE REGISTRATION

1. Ethiopian land policy and population registration system are sometimes regarded as a possible obstacle to migration and to people's mobility. Land is formally state-owned, and law demands permanent residence in a farming community to be eligible for the use right to a land plot (Solomon and Mansberger 2003). The fear of losing their land could therefore prevent people from making the decision to migrate. On the other hand, the *kebele* registration system⁹ could be used as an instrument to hamper people's mobility since the movement out of the *kebele* requires an official leaving letter (Ellis and Woldehanna 2005). Finally, migrants' lack of registration in the destination *kebele* could jeopardize their access to social services and, potentially, discourage the migration decision. In urban areas, a certificate from the *kebele*, for instance, may be needed to have access to some public services, such as health care (Ellis and Woldehanna 2005).

2. Are these potential obstacles really at stake? Information from ETUMS is in line with three main findings. Firstly, the *kebele* registration system is not pro-migration and pro-human mobility but seems not to deter many migrants from their choice to move. Secondly, employment status, time of the arrival and gender affect migrants' decision to register. Some groups, such as migrant domestic workers, unemployed migrants, and recent female migrants, are more likely to be unregistered in their current *kebele* of residence than the rest of the dwellers in Addis Ababa. Finally, data do not provide conclusive evidences about the effects of migration status on access to benefits and services associated with *kebele* registration.

3. A first idea of the actual role of the *kebele* system in preventing people's migration is provided by data on registration coverage by migration status. The picture actually changes according to the data we consider. We firstly analyze the results from the module asked to only a recent migrant per household, namely to the migrant who was the main decision-maker of the choice to migrate among the household members. This questionnaire provides information that covers only a share of recent migrants, but it was asked to both employed and unemployed migrants. About 63 percent of decision-maker migrants, excluding servants and guards, are not registered in the *kebele* where they live. This share is above 90 percent among migrants employed as domestic workers (Table 23). Moreover, migrant women – as opposed to their male counterparts – are more likely to be without registration. This would indicate that possible obstacles faced by migrants in obtaining *kebele* registration in many cases do not discourage people's decision to move to Addis Ababa. Indeed, most of the unregistered migrants declare that they were not aware of the difficulties that the lack of registration may have caused, and almost all of them reported that these difficulties would have not influenced their decision.

⁹ All citizens have to be registered in their residence *kebele*. *Kebele* is the smallest administrative unit of Ethiopia, and it is made up of an elected council, an executive committee (5-7 citizens) and a social court (Garcia and Rajkumar 2008). It represents a link between the community residents and the government: citizens have to go to their *kebele* to receive ID cards or other official documents, such as certification for free medical services (Rahmato and Kidanu 1999). A *kebele* is also in charge of collecting land and agricultural income taxes, organizing a community's contribution to local development activities, and resolving conflicts within the community (Garcia and Rajkumar 2008). Established in 1975 to provide political, administrative and social services, *kebeles*, in conjunction with the 1975 Rural Land Act, also served as instruments of sociopolitical control (Baker and Akin Aina 1995; Mberu 2006). With the collapse of Derg in 1991, restrictions to people's mobility were relaxed or removed, and now, within the decentralization process, a *kebele* is also seen as a possible forum to enhance citizens' monitoring of service delivery (Garcia and Rajkumar 2008). Qualitative evidences from studies conducted in 1999, however, suggest that citizens have a little confidence in the local community leader (Rahmato and Kidanu 1999).

Table 23: Share of recent migrants without *kebele* registration

	Male	Female	All
Migrant servants or guards	100.0	93.4	93.8
Other migrants	45.5	69.2	63.2

Note: Only recent migrants, module for migrants only.

4. This picture of registration coverage partially changes when we focus on all migrants (not only the decision maker) who have worked during the 12 months prior to the interview. A main result, as can be seen from Table 24 below, is that working migrants who have been living in Addis for more than 5 years are just as likely to register as those who have been living in Addis since their birth. Seen in relation to the slightly lower registration rates for recent migrants, this indicates that migrants do register, although some postpone registering for some years.

5. It is interesting to observe that kebele registration is lower among female than among male recent migrants (76 percent for women vis-à-vis 92 percent for men), and that this gender-gap is closed for migrants that have been living in Addis for more than five years and for non-migrants. In particular, among the employed, migration status seems to matter only among women, while, for men, kebele registration coverage does not change across migration status. Being a migrant domestic servant also represents a disadvantage in this case: the share of registered people declines to 25 percent and to 45 percent among those who migrated five or more years prior, respectively, in comparison to a share of 92 percent among non-migrant domestic servants. Therefore, in line with other evidence¹⁰, the lower registration rate among recent female migrants and in particular among migrant domestic servants suggests that there are some barriers for female registration that takes time to overcome.

Table 24: Registered population as a share of people who have worked in the last 12 months excluded domestic servants and guards.

<i>Number of years living continuously in Addis Ababa</i>	<i>Less than 5 years</i>	<i>More than 5 years</i>	<i>Since birth</i>
All	86.7	97.8	97.3
Male	91.6	97.4	96.7
Female	76.3	98.5	98.3

Note: module for all household members.

6. Data on reasons for not being registered (Table 25) provide insights into the gender divide in registration coverage. This gender gap can be partially explained by the fact that women are less aware of possible benefits of registration than men are or tend to consider these benefits of little importance or relevance for their needs. In fact, one third of female migrants are not registered because of this reason compared to 17 percent of men, a result which is statistically significant. This finding doubts the capacity of kebele, which should be the governmental body closest to citizens, to respond to women's needs and to involve them in the life of their communities.

¹⁰Qualitative information indicates that women's participation in community decision-making is quite limited: Rahmato and Kidanu (1999) found that major responsibilities and key positions in local governments and community organizations (*kebele*, *iddir* etc) are male dominated both in urban and rural areas. Other evidence comes from some recent assessments of land registration programs undertaken in Tigray, Amhara and Oromya. A study commissioned by the Network of Ethiopian Women's Association (NEWA) and based on focus group discussions and a restricted sample of women found that women were not empowered to participate actively in the process of rural land administration (Tsfay 2007). At the same time, a panel survey, which was carried out in these three regions, revealed that 23 percent of households have a male participant in the *kebele* council, but only 6 percent of households have a female participant (Deininger et al. 2007).

Table 25: Reasons for not having kebele registration

	Migrant servants and guards			Other migrants		
	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>All</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>All</i>
Not aware of the rules	0.0	9.4	8.8	2.5	4.2	3.9
Cannot see the benefit	0.0	12.1	11.4	17.6	33.0	30.2
Wants to keep current registration elsewhere	80.4	2.9	7.5	1.8	7.0	6.0
Could not obtain letter from kebele of previous residence	19.6	70.1	67.1	40.1	34.9	35.8
Other	0.0	5.6	5.3	38.0	21.0	24.1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Note: Recent migrants. Module for migrants. Information referring to respondent only.

7. The kebele system does not always help regularization of migrants' registration status. This result is in line with the Participatory Poverty Assessment 2004-2005 that underscored the widespread fear that long-term migration can lead in forfeit of land plots by the kebele administration (Ellis and Woldehanna, 2005). Table 25 reveals that almost 36 percent of recent migrants without registration in the kebele claim that they did not obtain the necessary letter from their kebele of origin. This figure reaches 70 percent among female domestic servants. An additional 6-7 percent of non-registered migrants, instead, decided not to apply in order to avoid losing their registration in another kebele (Table 25).

8. The low coverage of kebele registration among certain migrants' groups raises concerns about the consequences of their entitlements to access to public services and support programs. Available data, however, do not show a negative effect of lack of kebele registration. Only 6.4 percent of unregistered recent migrants declare to have encountered problems in accessing social benefits or in economic activities because they are not registered (Table 26). Moreover, this percentage increases only moderately for domestic workers (9.6 percent) and female recent migrants (6.8 percent), which are two groups of migrants who are more likely to be unregistered.

9. At the same time, net primary and secondary enrollment rates do not statistically differ between children living in migrant and non-migrant headed households and between children living in registered and non-registered headed households (Table 27).

Table 26: Share of unregistered recent migrants who experienced problems in accessing to some services due to lack of kebele registration

	Migrant servants or guards	Other migrants	Total
Health care	0.0	0.8	0.6
School	0.0	0.5	0.4
Housing/renting a place	0.4	1.3	1.1
Obtaining a job	0.0	3.9	2.9
Starting your own enterprise	0.0	0.5	0.4
Obtaining land	0.0	0.5	0.4
Other benefit	9.2	1.2	3.2
Problems in at least one of the above benefits	9.6	5.4	6.4

Note: Only recent migrants, module for migrants only. Data referring to all family members.

Table 27: Net enrolment rates within household members in school age by registration and migration status of the household head

	Net primary enrolment rates within the household	Net secondary enrolment rates within the household
Migrant household head without registration	0.83	0.45
Migrant household head with registration	0.89	0.41
Non migrant household head without registration	0.87	0.44
Non migrant household head with registration	0.83	0.50
Registered household head	0.87	0.43
Non registered household head	0.87	0.44

Note: Questionnaire for everybody.

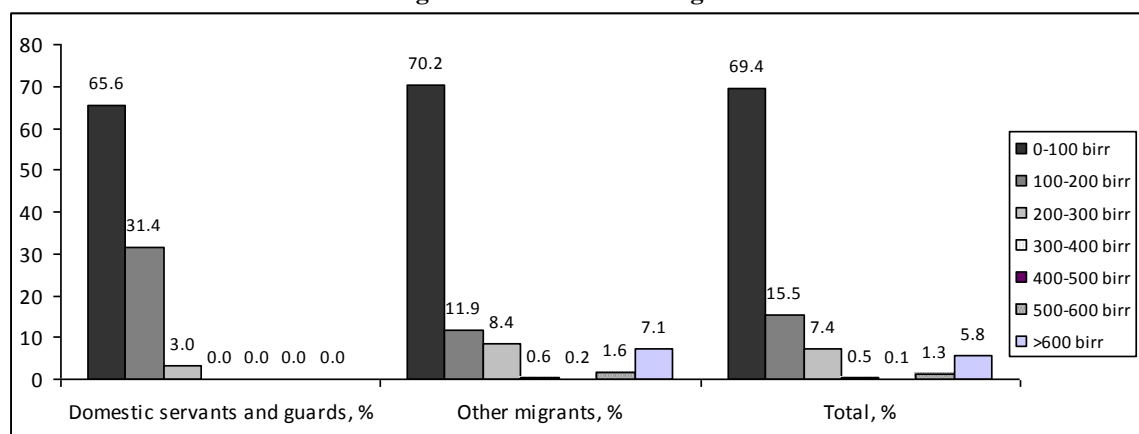
10. Adding to the finding that registering is important for accessing services in Addis is the fact that medical assistance is a particularly important social service that is linked to kebele registration. However, the low incidence (4 percent) of population reporting health problems in the previous 30 days does not allow verification of what extent the lack of registration affects health consultancy.

8. THE COST OF MIGRATION, WAGES AND FINANCING THE MOVE

1. Migration is usually a choice that is planned in advance also because the change of residence is accompanied by several additional expenditures: from cost of transportation to expenses linked to settling in a new area. This section analyses the composition, distribution and affordability of costs of migrating in order to evaluate to what extent these expenses can constitute a disadvantage and burden for migrants' welfare or for specific groups of migrants.

2. The average total costs of migrating are about 70 birr for domestic servants and guards and 95 birr for other recent migrants. Figure 8.1 below confirms this in that it indicates that the distribution of total costs is quite concentrated around its mean. More than 69 percent of recent migrants spent less than 100 birr to migrate and an additional 15 percent spent between 100 and 200 birr. About 7 percent of recent migrants spent between 200 and 300 birr, and only the remaining 8 percent incurred expenses above 300 birr. Migration expenditures met by domestic workers are even more concentrated towards the low end of distribution: 97 percent spent less than 200 birr.

Figure 3: Total costs of migration



Notes: Only recent migrants. Questionnaire for migrants only.

3. The data indicate that there are large differences in migration costs across area of origin. Table 8.1 below shows that migrants coming from rural areas and small towns tend to spend less than those from large and medium towns.

Table 28: Cost of migrating by area of residence before moving to Addis Ababa, birr

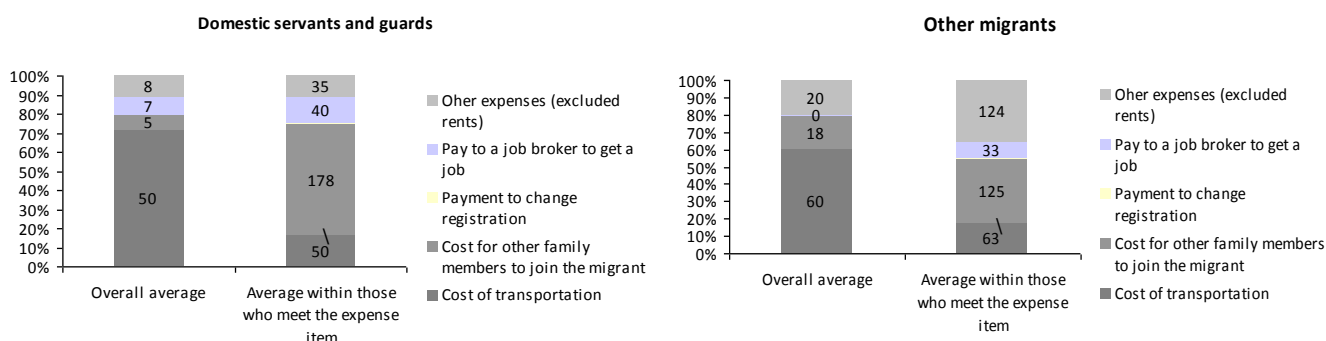
	Domestic servants and guards	Other recent migrants	All recent migrants
Large town	n.a.	171	164
Medium town	66	167	157
Small town	135	65	81
Rural areas	60	64	63

Notes: Only recent migrants. Questionnaire for migrants only. Total costs include transport costs for the respondent only and additional cost for family reunion. No observations for domestic workers coming from large towns.

4. **The composition of costs also affects the total amount of migration expenses.** Information on different expenditure items reported in Figures 4a and 4b sheds some light on differentiation across the total cost of migration. We can note that costs of transportation for one's own travel are the main expenditure item that all migrants have to pay and, on average, it amounts to 60-63 birr. In contrast, family reunion is a relatively expensive option (125 birr on average among "other" migrants who actually had family that joined later) which is chosen by only 14 percent of recent migrants, excluding domestic servants and guards. Only 3 percent of domestic

workers manage to face costs of family members to join them and, in fact, domestic workers' costs of migration are more homogenous.

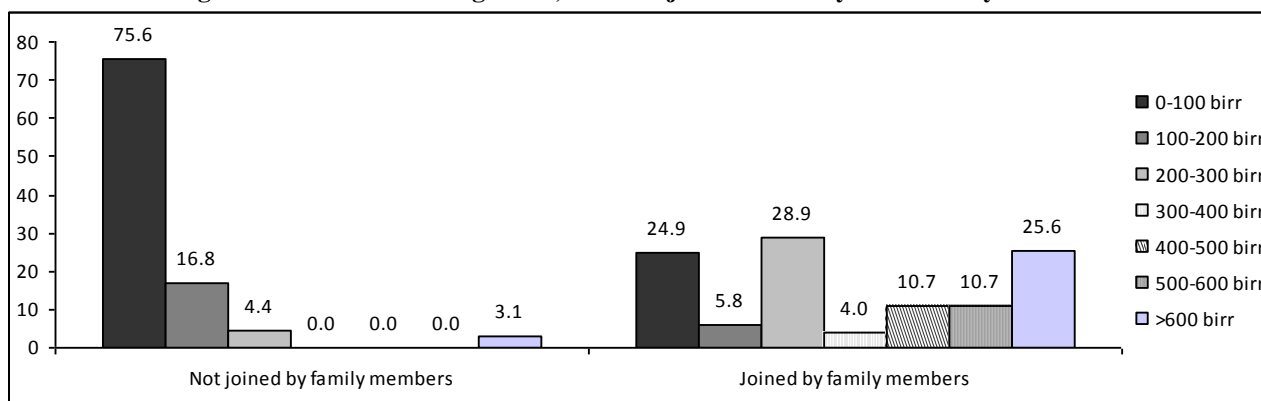
Figure 4a and 4b: Migration expenditure shares



Note: Recent migrants. Module for migrants only. Unit of measurement: Birr.

5. The role of family reunion in shaping differentiation of migration costs is also confirmed by Figure 5, which shows distribution of costs among those who have been joined or not by their family members.

Figure 5: Total costs of migration, whether joined or not by other family members



6. Since a large share of migrants engaged in economic activities are wageworkers (more than 70 percent), the wage rate within this group can represent a useful comparison for assessing the affordability of migration costs. Table 29 below shows the extremely large differences in wages earned by domestic workers and other workers, but also the fact that recent migrant domestic workers earn only half of that of older migrants doing the same work but twice as much as the domestic workers that were born in Addis. Excluding domestic workers, it is interesting to note that other migrants that came more than five years ago have substantially higher wages than those born in Addis. When it comes to the difference in this category of migrants between those who moved recently and those who moved five years ago, we see a similar pattern as for domestic workers in that those who arrived earlier earn substantially more than the more recent entrants.

Table 29: Median and mean monthly wage (Birr) by migration status

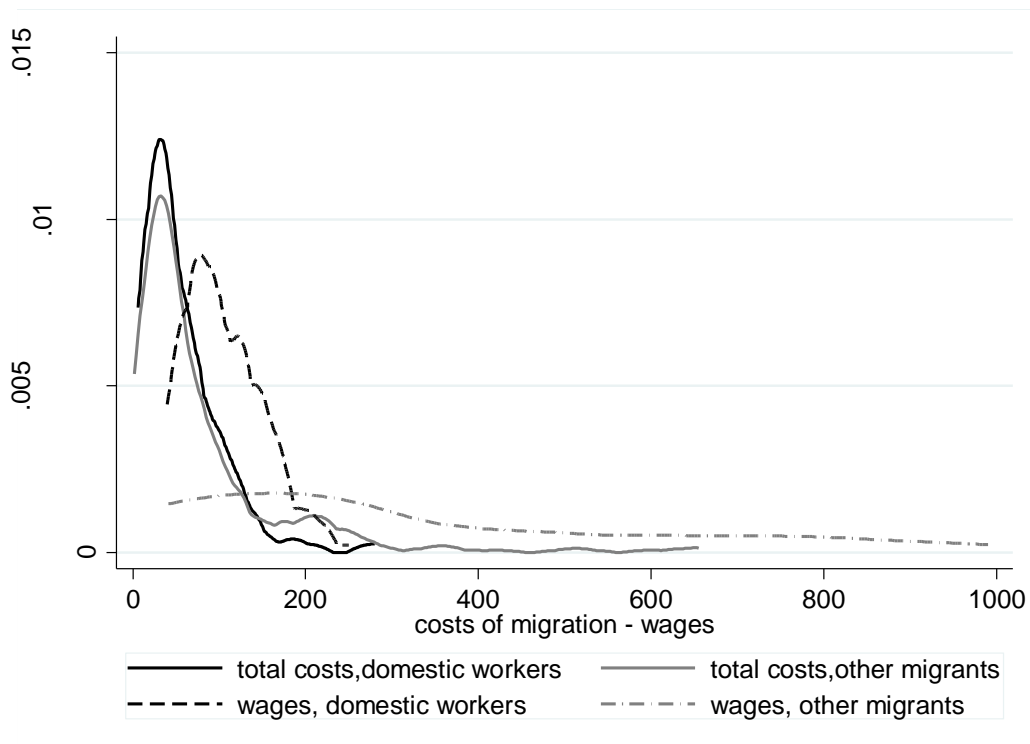
Number of years living continuously in Addis	Domestic servant and guards		Other household members		All household members	
	Mean wage	Median wage	Mean wage	Median wage	Mean wage	Median wage
<i>Less than 5 years</i>	103	100	700	600	549	338
<i>More than 5 years</i>	203	150	1003	800	988	800
<i>Since birth</i>	57	50	785	600	783	600
Total	111	100	836	630	796	600

Note: Only recent migrants. Data from the questionnaire for everybody

7. If we compare costs of migration with migrants' earnings, it seems that **migration is relatively less lucrative for migrants who end up to work as domestic servants or guards.** Recent migrant domestic workers and guards earn on average only 100 birr per month compared to average total migration costs of about 70 birr. Costs linked to migration seems more affordable for other recent migrants who have 36 percent higher expenses (95 birr), but can also rely on much higher levels of income. However, domestic workers often get free meals and accommodation from their employer in addition to the wage, so care should be made in interpreting the comparison.

8. The differences are illustrated by Figure 6, which reports the distribution of total costs of migration together with the distribution of migrants' earnings. Domestic workers tend to encounter costs that are below their monthly wages. For other migrants' wages, the probability distribution is much flatter and translated to the right than the distribution of migration costs. This suggests that there is a much wider range of higher salaries available for this group. Moreover, as many as 24 percent of domestic workers met costs of migration that were higher than their current monthly wage compared to only 8 percent of other recent migrants.

Figure 6: Distribution of total costs of migration and migrants' earnings



Note: recent migrants, module for migrants only.

9. Affordability of migration expenditures can be evaluated also in comparison to sources of capital that migrants relied upon to pay the expenses they incurred when they moved to Addis Ababa. Migrants usually depend on assistance from others, while only a minority is able to meet the basic costs associated with migration with their own savings. This suggests that migration is a relatively expensive option for many people, and is probably often a family strategy rather than an individual choice. Data on sources of capital for covering costs of transportation, in particular, highlight that only one third of recent migrants count only on their own savings, while 63 percent of migrant domestic servants and 44 percent of other migrants resort to donations from relatives or friends (Table 30).

Table 30: Source of capital for transport cost of migrating

	Domestic servants and guards, %	Other migrants, %	Total, %
Own saving	30.4	35.1	34.3
Borrowing from friends/relatives	4.8	10.2	9.2
Donation/assistance from friends/relatives	62.7	43.7	47.2
Inheritance	2.0	0.5	0.8
Borrowing from individuals on terms	0.2	0.0	0.0
Other	0.0	10.6	8.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Note: Recent migrants. Module for migrants only. Data referring to the respondent only.

10. Given the average wage level indicated above, migrants who find a job would probably be able to return the money they have received from their relatives and friends without large difficulties. However, this did not need to be true for migrant domestic workers. The low incidence of this group of migrants relying on loans can be interpreted in two ways: either the risk of no payment is high and is not covered by collateral, or migration is a sort of family investment or grant whose return in the long run more than compensates the initial cost.

9. EMPLOYMENT, EDUCATION AND LIVING CONDITIONS BY MIGRATION STATUS

1. This section provides a broad comparison of living conditions of migrants and non-migrants by focusing on some of the main developmental outcomes, namely education, employment, housing and economic status.

9.1 Human capital: starting conditions

2. Human capital in urban areas is a fundamental asset affecting the ability to take advantage of good job opportunities and to access the labor market while, at the same time, partially capturing endowments of other complementary factors. Hence, educational indicators are quite informative in delineating migrants' starting conditions, especially in the face of the labor market¹¹.

3. Since the Ethiopian Urban Migration Survey did not collect data on education levels for the entire sample of migrants, information on migrants' initial position in terms of human capital are provided only by indirect and first-level indicators, such as literacy rates and parents' education.

4. **ETUMS data indicate that female migrants suffer greater disadvantages than males in terms of literacy.** As shown in Table 31, males' literacy rates, in particular, have small variations across migration status: literacy rates of both males born in Addis Ababa and males who have moved to the capital in the last five years are around 92 percent, while those of old migrants are ten percentage points lower (83 percent). Progress in educational achievements in rural areas might explain this trend. In contrast, migrant women, especially those arrived for more than 5 years ago, appear to perform worse because they are much more likely to be illiterate than non-migrant women: 29 percent of female recent migrants and 37 percent of old migrants are illiterate compared to 8 percent of non-migrant women.

Table 31: Literacy rates by migration status

	<i>Number of years living continuously in Addis Ababa</i>	Domestic servants and guards	Other household members	All (both domestic workers and other household members)
Males	Less than 5 years	6.1*	92.6	90.2
	More than 5 years	0.0*	83.6	83.6
	Since birth	90.2	92.4	92.4
Females	Less than 5 years	45.8	70.6	67.7
	More than 5 years	70.3	63.2	63.3
	Since birth	95.4	91.7	91.7

Note: module for all household members. *Figures based on a limited number of observations.

5. At the same time, migrants usually come from families with lower levels of education than other urban dwellers and, to the extent that parents' education affects children's labor and educational opportunities, this divide can indicate that migrants suffer disadvantaged initial conditions. In particular, since more than half of migration flows come from rural areas where schooling indicators are significantly worse than in urban areas, on average migrants' parents reach lower levels of education than non-migrants. The majority of migrants have uneducated parents (Table 32). About 77 percent of recent migrants have an uneducated father, compared to 41 percent of non-migrants. At the same time, recent migrants (8 percent) are less likely to have a father who completed secondary schools than non-migrants (29 percent), and the differences in mother's

¹¹ On the role of educational level and quality on income opportunities in urban areas, please refer to World Bank (2009c).

education are even more pronounced. This evidence is in line with earlier findings based on 2005 Labor Force Survey data which suggest that, unlike the national pattern, migrants in Addis Ababa have on average almost 30 percent fewer years of schooling compared to non-migrants (Guarcello et al. 2009).

Table 32: Parents' education by migration status

<i>Number of years living continuously in Addis Ababa</i>	Father's education				Mother's education			
	Less than 5 years	More than 5 years	Since birth	Total	Less than 5 years	More than 5 years	Since birth	Total
No formal education or less than first cycle primary	78	84	41	63	92	95	71	85
First cycle primary	4	3	5	4	1	1	4	2
Second cycle primary	6	4	17	10	2	2	9	5
Secondary	7	4	18	11	2	1	9	4
Higher education and post-graduation	1	2	12	6	0	0	4	2
Don't know	5	4	7	6	2	2	3	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Note: module for all household members. The classification in the table follows the current Ethiopian educational system according to which the first cycle primary covers grades 1-4 (normal age 7-10), the second cycle primary covers grades 5-8 (normal age 11-14), and secondary grade covers grades 9 – 10 of general secondary education (normal age 15-16), 11-12 grades of preparatory education (normal age 17-18) and 10+1, 10+2 and 10+3 of Technical Vocational Education Training (normal age 17-19).

9.2 Education: migrant children

6. According to data from the survey, recent migrant children, domestic servants and guards excluded, account for about 13 percent of school-age children, while about 75-80 percent of school-age children have been living in Addis Ababa since their birth (Table 33).

Table 33: Share of children in school age, by migration status (domestic servants and guards excluded)

<i>Number of years living continuously in Addis Ababa</i>	<i>primary school age (7-14 year-old) %</i>	<i>primary school age (7-14 year-old)</i>	<i>secondary school age (15-18 year-old), %</i>	<i>secondary school age (15-18 year-old)</i>
Less than 5 years	13.1	49,606	13.6	43,558
More than 5 years	6.8	25,838	10.8	34,549
Since birth	80.1	304,410	75.6	241,284
Total	100.0	379,854	100.0	319,391

Note: Domestic servants and guards excluded. Module for everybody

7. As reported in Table 34 below, boys' primary net enrolment rates range between 95 percent for recent migrants and 81-86 percent for the rest of males and about half of boys in secondary school age are enrolled in secondary schools regardless their migration status.¹² The picture changes for migrant females. While gender discrimination among non-migrant children does not emerge either in primary or in secondary school, only 70 percent of recent female migrants between 7 and 14 years old attend primary school, compared to 89 and 81 percent of girls living in the city since birth or for more than five years, respectively. The gap is more marked in secondary education where the enrolment rate decreases to 15 percent for recent female migrants, a rate three times lower than that of non migrant girls and of migrant boys.

8. Within the group of children in schooling age, domestic workers excluded, boys' likelihood of attending school does not appear to be remarkably affected by migration status. In contrast, girls

¹² Note that secondary enrolment rates are significantly lower than primary across different migration statuses

who recently arrived in the city face greater difficulties and obstacles than migrant boys and other girls in accessing schools, although almost 80 percent of people who moved to Addis Ababa mainly for educational reasons report that they are currently attending school with no statistically significant differences across gender.

Table 34: Net enrolment rates among migrants and non-migrants in schooling age, domestic servants and guards excluded

<i>Number of years living continuously in Addis Ababa</i>	Primary net enrolment rates		Secondary net enrolment rates	
	<i>Boys</i>	<i>Girls</i>	<i>Boys</i>	<i>Girls</i>
Less than 5 years	95.1	69.5	46.0	14.9
More than 5 years	80.7	81.1	52.7	35.4
Since birth	85.6	89.1	49.2	48.2

Note: Domestic servants and guards excluded. Module for everybody.

9. It is usually perceived that migrant females working as domestic servants are particularly vulnerable. However, when looking at average school attendance only for women and children below the age of 25 years (Table 35 below), we find a much larger share of migrant servants attend school compared to non-migrant servants. When it comes to migrant males in the same age group, we get the opposite picture. Table 35 indicates that none of the male migrants working as guards attends school, while 95% of the non-migrant guards go to school. For other migrants, it is evident that school attendance is lower for migrants than non-migrants, but there are no big gender differences.

Table 35: Share of migrants attending school, young and children aged less than 25 years

<i>Number of years living continuously in Addis Ababa</i>	Domestic servants and guards			Other migrants		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Less than 5 years	0.00	0.26	0.24	0.68	0.63	0.64
More than 5 years	0.00	0.63	0.61	0.64	0.63	0.63
Since birth	0.95	0.14	0.58	0.72	0.73	0.72
Total	0.22	0.31	0.30	0.71	0.70	0.70

Note: Module for everybody.

9.3 Housing conditions and economic status

10. **In Addis Ababa, migrant status is not associated with worse housing conditions.** On the contrary, access to improved water source, access to private electricity, as well as the incidence of overcrowding, is not statistically different between migrant and non-migrant households (Table 36).

Table 36: Housing facilities by in migrant and non migrant households

	Share of household with access to improved drinking water sources	Share of households with access to private electricity	Share of population in overcrowded dwellings (two or more people occupying a room)
HH without recent migrants	0.80	0.65	0.24
HH with at least one recent migrant	0.78	0.67	0.25
HH without migrants	0.74	0.59	0.18
HH with at least one migrant	0.81	0.67	0.25

Note: Improved drinking water sources include piped water into a dwelling or into a compound. According to the UN-Habitat definition, overcrowding is defined as an occupancy rate above 2 persons per room. Differences between migrant and non-migrant households and between households with and without recent migrants are not statistically significant. Migrant households are defined according to the presence of migrants with the exclusion of domestic servants and guards. Module for everybody.

11. Analogously, data on wealth distribution based on endowments of household assets reveals that there is not large differentiation of the Addis Ababa population according to the migration status. Nevertheless, an interesting pattern emerges. **Data seem to indicate that migrants over time work themselves out of (asset-) poverty and end up at least as good as non-migrants in terms of asset accumulation** – perhaps even with a slightly lower (asset-) poverty rate. **Hence, it is likely that migrants contribute significantly to the economic growth of Addis Ababa.** Table 37 below reveals that recent migrants are slightly more likely to be in the lowest asset quintiles (i.e. asset-poor) than non-migrants, but the opposite is true for older migrants – a lower share of older migrants as compared to non-migrants are in the poorest asset quintile. This pattern could indicate at least two different trajectories. First, it could be that the average asset holding for asset-poor recent migrants was lower than the asset holding of the asset-poor migrants who came earlier. Second, since assets are accumulated over time, and the primary reasons for migrants to move to Addis is education or work, it is likely that the more advantaged situation of older migrants is due to their saving and investments in their assets. As the economic growth in rural areas has been substantial in the five years prior to the survey, the second explanation seems to be more plausible. The differences are large in that the share of the population in the lowest asset quintile among recent migrants is 40 percent higher than the share of asset poor among older migrants. So if the larger asset base is due to investments and not selection effects, it is plausible that, overall, migrants are able to overcome their initial drawbacks in asset wealth.

Table 37: Population distribution by household asset endowment

Asset quintiles	<i>Number of years living continuously in Addis Ababa</i>			<i>Total</i>
	<i>Less than 5 year</i>	<i>More than 5 years</i>	<i>Since birth</i>	
1	20	14	16	16
2	19	21	19	19
3	20	27	22	22
4	19	17	20	19
5	23	21	23	23
Total	100	100	100	100

Note: Module for everybody. Significance of variation in the share of the population in the lowest quintile across migration status: differences between recent and old migrant and between recent migrants and non migrants are statistically significant at a 5 percent level of confidence; difference between old migrants and non migrants is not statistically significant.

9.4 Subjective assessment of benefits of migration

12. Data on migrants' subjective assessment of their experience show that migration is evaluated positively as a livelihood strategy by most of the recent migrants. At the same time, migration remains a risky option that can bring a worsening in living conditions and can be irreversible for a not negligible share of migrants. Table 38 below shows that more than 60 percent of recent migrants believe that migration has meant an improvement in their living conditions. Migration is, however, associated with a worsening in welfare by 33 percent of migrant domestic workers and 26 percent of other migrants (Table 38). By considering that domestic workers could have been interviewed in the presence of their employers, these figures could also underestimate the share of migrants experiencing a worsening in their living condition.

Table 38: Subjective comparison between living conditions now and before the move.¹³

	Recent migrants who are domestic servants or guards	Other recent migrants
Much better	20.2	29.0
Somewhat better	41.1	33.9
About the same	6.2	10.8
Worse	23.7	17.3
Much worse	8.8	9.0
Total	100.0	100.0

Note: Module for migrants. Data referring to the respondent only.

13. For about 80 percent of the migrants, the current status is better than expected (Table 39). Moreover, women, who are not domestic servants, are more likely than men to experience living conditions that were above their expectations: 83 percent of female recent migrants reported that their situation in the city was better than expected, compared to 63 percent of male migrants.¹⁴

Table 39: Current living conditions compared to the expected ones.

	Recent migrant who are domestic servants or guards	Other recent migrants
Much better	37.6	39.3
Somewhat better	54.0	38.5
About the same	1.7	13.6
Worse	6.6	6.1
Much worse	0	2.6
Total	100.0	100.0

Note: Module for migrants. Data referring to the respondent only.

14. Moreover, returning to the area of origin is not always an option: More than half of the recent migrants say that they would not be able to make a living if they returned to the place they migrated from. Around 20 percent of migrants (domestic servants and guards excluded) state that, before moving, they were able to make a living, while now, if they came back to their previous area of residence, they would not (Table 40).

Table 40: Subjective comparison between different scenarios: having remained in the place of previous residence and coming back now.

		Would you be able to make a living if you went back home					
		All recent migrants		Recent migrant domestic servants and guards		Other recent migrants	
		yes	no	yes	no	yes	no
Were you able to make a living in your previous area of residence	Yes	40.9	17.9	48.8	8.8	39.4	19.8
	No	7.9	33.3	23.8	18.7	4.7	36.2

Note: Only recent migrants aged 18 and above, module for migrants only. Data referring to the respondent only.

9.5 Employment conditions by migration status

15. Lack of information on job opportunities, costs of migration and inadequate skills can create obstacles to migrants' access to the labor market. We can evaluate the scope of these obstacles by comparing activities performed by migrants and non-migrants in the 15-35 age group, which

¹³ Differences by gender is not statistically significant and therefore not reported.

¹⁴ The difference by sex is statistically significant.

accounts for a large share of both populations and which comprises people at the beginning or in the middle of their working life.¹⁵

16. Overall, recent migrants, excluding domestic servants, are more likely to be unemployed than non-migrants, but this gap is likely to be explained by the much higher unemployment rates among women than men in Addis Ababa. The 2005 Ethiopian National Labor Force Survey found that unemployment rates in Addis were almost twice as high for females (45 percent) as for males (23 percent), while the ETMUS suggests unemployment is around 50 percent higher for females. Adding the more disadvantaged situation with respect to education, these findings indicate that it would be harder for a migrant woman to find a job than for a migrant man. Women account for about two thirds of all recent migrants, and detailed data on migration experience show that only 37 percent of women, excluding domestic servants, who have migrated in the last five years to Addis Ababa to search for a job, are engaged in productive activities vis-à-vis 75 percent of their male counterparts.

17. Recent female migrants face more severe constraints in finding a job than non-migrant women, while being a migrant does not affect men's employment rates. As shown in Table 41, about 45 percent of women in the considered age group who recently arrived in Addis Ababa are unemployed, compared to 32 percent of non-migrant women. Moreover, the unemployment rate of recent male migrants (20 percent) between 15 and 35 years old is not higher than that of non-migrants.

18. **After a period of adjustment, a migrant's capacity to exploit job opportunities improves considerably.** Within the same age group, unemployment rates of female and male migrants who migrated five or more years ago decrease to 26 and 16 percent respectively. That is, older migrants are less likely to be unemployed both than recent migrants and non migrants.

Table 41: Activity by migration status

	<i>Number of years living continuously in Addis Ababa</i>	<i>Less than 5 years</i>	<i>More than 5 years</i>	<i>Since birth</i>	<i>Total</i>
Male	work only	55.6	55.2	41.2	44.4
	study only	15.0	12.9	22.0	20.2
	work and study	9.2	12.1	10.7	10.7
	nothing	0.3	3.6	4.1	3.6
	unemployed	19.8	16.2	22.0	21.1
Female	work only	20.1	38.0	28.4	28.7
	study only	17.8	12.6	25.7	22.0
	work and study	8.0	14.1	8.7	9.5
	nothing	9.0	9.0	5.5	6.7
	unemployed	45.1	26.3	31.7	33.0
All	work only	33.0	44.2	34.9	36.1
	study only	16.8	12.7	23.8	21.2
	work and study	8.5	13.4	9.7	10.1
	nothing	5.8	7.1	4.8	5.3
	unemployed	35.9	22.6	26.8	27.4

Note: Reference population: 15-35 year-old people, excluding guards and servants. Module for all household members 15 years and above. Unemployed population comprises people who are not engaged in productive activities but who

¹⁵ Unemployment rates tend to change across age groups (being usually lower among older subpopulation groups) and migrant and non-migrant population have a different age composition. Therefore focusing the analysis on people of the same age group reduces the risks of considering groups which are not directly comparable and of attributing difference across groups to migration status instead of to other characteristics such as age.

have looked for work or tried to establish their own business during the last 3 months or who are willing and ready to work for income/earning if opportunities for work existed in the month subsequent to the interview.

19. The high incidence of female migrants employed as domestic servants can be interpreted as the other side of the coin of migrant women's difficulties in the labor market. With more than two thirds of the population between 15 and 35 years working as wage earners, domestic servants included, the type of employment does not remarkably change across migration status (Table 42). Recent female migrants, however, are much more likely to be employed as domestic servants (39 percent) than non-migrant females (0.4 percent) and old migrants (5 percent), and they represent the main source of labor force for domestic works: almost 82 percent of female domestic workers are recent migrants. Since existing qualitative information point out that domestic servants are often exposed to bad conditions, recent female migrants, represent a group vulnerable to exploitation¹⁶.

Table 42: Type of employment

		<i>Less than 5 years</i>	<i>More than 5 years</i>	<i>Since birth</i>	<i>Total</i>
Male	Non agricultural wage (excluding domestic servants and guards)	66.1	67.4	66.5	66.5
	Non agricultural self-employment	20.6	25.0	24.1	23.7
	Unpaid family	6.7	5.2	6.4	6.3
	Goods for sale				
	Wage earner domestic servants and guards	4.5	0.0	0.4	0.9
	Work in agriculture privately/salaried	2.2	2.4	2.7	2.6
Female	Non agricultural wage (excluding domestic servants and guards)	39.9	40.3	67.4	55.7
	Non agricultural self-employment	8.4	24.1	16.3	16.5
	Unpaid family	11.3	27.2	14.3	16.7
	Goods for sale	0.5	0.6	2.0	1.4
	Wage earner domestic servants and guards	39.0	5.2	0.04	8.9
	Work in agriculture privately/salaried	1.0	2.5	0.0	0.8
All	Non agricultural wage (excluding domestic servants and guards)	51.5	51.4	66.9	61.5
	Non agricultural self-employment	13.8	24.5	20.9	20.4
	Unpaid family	9.3	18.2	9.6	11.1
	Goods for sale	0.3	0.4	0.8	0.6
	Wage earner domestic servants and guards	23.7	3.1	0.3	4.6
	Work in agriculture privately/salaried	1.5	2.5	1.6	1.7

Note: Reference population: 15-35 year-old people. Module for all household members 15 years and above.

20. Data on the type of employment also suggest that female migrants who migrated five or more years ago and who are between 15 and 35 years old tend to suffer high constraints in getting salaried work. In fact, they are more likely than the rest of population to be self-employed and about 27 percent of them are unpaid family workers, compared to only 14 percent of Addis non-migrant women in the same age group (Table 42).

¹⁶ An ILO assessment (Kifle 2002) based on qualitative information and interviews to 100 child domestic workers living in Addis Ababa confirms that child domestic workers are vulnerable to exploitation and the most difficult to protect. Even if the child domestics who have been interviewed think that their quality of life has improved, they usually suffer a number of abuses and deprivation. According to this study, they have no time and means for recreation as they work on the average more than 11 hours per day, seven days a week; they work under stress, intimidation, and threat; verbal and physical violence against them are frequent; a good proportion of girls were sexually harassed, and 45 percent of child domestics worry about or fear the sexual intentions of family members or of others.

21. However, migrants are not the only ones facing difficulties in the urban labor market. Overall, a large share of workers, regardless their migration and gender status, encounter several difficulties in finding a job or a business opportunity and the types of problems do not vary a lot by migration status, with the only exception of financial constraints that are reported more frequently by migrants. Unemployment, little job creation, inadequate job skills, low support services for small business and private enterprises are common problems for both migrants and non migrants. Data from the survey (Table 43) point out that, while domestic workers find relatively easily their job as servants and guards in private households¹⁷, only 37 percent of the remaining population had no difficulties (33, 42 and 36 percent of recent, old and non migrants, respectively), with slightly higher percentages for male than female migrants and no differentiation across gender within the group of non-migrants. Lack of information is an important obstacle in finding a job or a business opportunity: 23 percent of people aged 15 to 35 claimed that lack of access to information, networks, relationships, and contacts were their main difficulties. Interestingly, this percentage is not higher for migrants (24 percent) than for non-migrants (23 percent).

Table 43: Main difficulty in finding a job or business opportunity

<i>Number of years living continuously in Addis Ababa</i>	Males			Females			All			
	<i>Less than 5 year</i>	<i>More than 5 years</i>	<i>Since birth</i>	<i>Less than 5 year</i>	<i>More than 5 years</i>	<i>Since birth</i>	<i>Less than 5 year</i>	<i>More than 5 years</i>	<i>Since birth</i>	<i>Tot</i>
Lack of funds	14.3	4.7	8.8	12.8	6.3	5.2	13.7	5.5	7.4	7.8
Lack of skill and professional knowledge	10.9	2.5	9.5	8.6	2.8	9.1	10.0	2.6	9.3	8.2
Lack of information, Inadequate network or relationships, Too few people knew me, Cannot contact employers	21.7	24.5	23.2	21.7	28.5	23.5	21.7	26.4	23.3	23.7
Too old/disabled/sick or being a woman	0.0	2.0	1.0	3.8	3.9	3.0	1.5	2.9	1.8	2.0
Lack of jobs, Too much competition	22.6	14.0	19.4	15.9	20.5	21.9	19.9	17.2	20.3	19.8
Lack of registration	0.0	1.2	0.9	0.0	0.0	1.2	0.0	0.6	1.0	0.8
I had no difficulties	30.5	46.3	36.3	37.1	38.1	35.8	33.1	42.3	36.1	36.8
Language difficulty, Ethnicity, other	0.1	4.7	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.1	2.4	0.8	1.0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Note: Excluding domestic guards and servants. Reference population: 15-35 year-old people. Module for all household members 15 years and above who have worked in the last 12 months.

22. Adverse conditions in labor market are also regarded as an important problem: 20 percent of the working population, with few variations across migration status and gender, think that excessive competition in labor supply, on the one hand, and an urban economy which is not sufficiently dynamic or which offers few jobs, on the other, have been their main problems in finding a job.

23. Interestingly, recent migrants (10 percent) and the non-migrant population (9 percent), appear to be equally likely to suffer from lack of skills and professional knowledge, while only 2.6 percent of old migrants reported having faced this difficulty. In contrast, migrants more often report lack of financial resources as constraints. About 14 percent of recent migrants reckon that lack of financial funds was their main obstacle in running a business or in undertaking a productive activity, compared to 5.5 percent of old migrants and 7.4 percent of non migrants. Finally, overall,

¹⁷ About 80 percent of domestic workers declare that they have not faced any difficulty.

lack of registration to *kebele* of residence is not considered a disadvantage in having access to the labor market.

24. In the labor market of domestic services, barriers to entry are lower: most domestic servants or guards do not report any difficulty in getting their job, and only 10 and 7 percent of recent migrants think that they have been disadvantaged by a weak labor demand or by their lack of information and connections, respectively.

10. TIES WITH AREA OF ORIGIN AND REMITTANCES

1. The ETUMS data show that migrants maintain the relationship with family in their area of origin, albeit migrant domestic workers are less able than other migrants to keep in contact with their families. Table 44 reveals that about 80 percent of recent migrants who are not domestic workers communicate occasionally or regularly with their family by phone (61 percent), while going to visit them (17 percent) or to communicate by letter (5.5 percent) is less frequently used. Male migrants communicate more by phone (74 percent) than female migrants (56 percent), while females go more often to visit their family than male migrants. Migrant domestic workers are more isolated. As show in Table 10.1, less than half communicate regularly with family at home.

Table 44: Share of recent migrants who have occasional or regular communication with family. Members in the area of origin, by type of communication

	Domestic workers			Other migrants			All recent migrants		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Communication by phone	7.8	28.7	27.6	74.4	56.3	61.4	71.2	49.4	54.5
Communication when someone goes to visit them	4.6	5.0	5.0	11.4	19.0	16.9	10.9	19.5	17.5
Communication by letter	0.0	21.1	19.9	4.1	6.1	5.5	4.1	5.8	5.4
Communication by one of the above means	12.4	51.2	49.1	87.9	80.3	82.5	84.3	73.2	75.8

Note: Recent migrants. Module for migrants. Data referring to the respondent only, multiple answers allowed.

2. Visits from the family in the area of origin are also quite common (Table 45): about one third (33 percent) of migrants have received at least one visitor from home in the 12 months prior to the interview. A similar figure is found for recent migrants who have visited his/her family members (32 percent). Also 31 percent of domestic servants and guards went back home at least once during the last year, but only 9 percent of them have received visits from relatives and friends and the percentage of those who communicate regularly or occasionally with family members left behind decreases to 49 percent.

Table 45: Ties with home - visits

	Migrant's gender	At least one visit to home in the past 12 months*	At least one visit received from home
Recent migrant who are domestic servants or guards	<i>Male</i>	7.8	0.0
	<i>Female</i>	32.8	9.1
	<i>Total</i>	31.4	8.6
Other recent migrants	<i>Male</i>	28.6	22.2
	<i>Female</i>	33.2	37.2
	<i>Total</i>	32.1	33.4
All recent migrants	<i>Male</i>	27.7	21.2
	<i>Female</i>	33.1	30.9
	<i>Total</i>	31.9	28.8

Note: * visits from the interviewed migrant or her household member in Addis Ababa. Recent migrants. Module for migrants only.

3. Persistent and regular ties between migrants and their origin households are key factors in shaping migration effects both in sending and destination areas. Migrants who can rely on a family's support might be less likely to face temporary difficulties in their new areas of residence, migration costs and risks. Visits to migrants and information from migrants on education, labor

opportunities, cultural attitudes and norms in destination areas can affect decisions, habits and access to school, labor market and public services of family members that stay behind as well as their ability to migrate. Migration, however, has an impact on areas of origin most directly through remittances. Remittances can increase consumption, investments and return to activities of those left behind or help them in time of distress. Table 46 gives the overview of recent migrants' perception of their own ability to remit.

Table 46: Ties with home - remittances¹⁸

	Migrant's gender	Availability to send 150 Birr to friends/relatives back home if they asked for them and if it did not create a problem for the migrant's life
Recent migrant who are domestic servants or guards	<i>Male</i>	100.0*
	<i>Female</i>	67.8
	<i>Total</i>	69.6
Other recent migrants	<i>Male</i>	79.9
	<i>Female</i>	47.7
	<i>Total</i>	55.9
All recent migrants	<i>Male</i>	80.8
	<i>Female</i>	52.1
	<i>Total</i>	58.4

Note: Recent migrants. Module for migrants only. Data referring to the respondent only. * Figure based on a limited number of observations.

4. Data from the Rural-Urban migration survey suggest that remittances from Addis Ababa, one of the cities offering the best economic opportunities in the country, might not contribute much to reducing poverty or improving welfare in sending areas. For the migrants that do remit, these transfers can significantly improve livelihoods of families left behind, but these cases are relatively infrequent. Only 13 percent of recent migrants sent money or goods home in the last 12 months (Table 47) and, with low variation across gender and relation with the household head, most of migrants (95 percent) report that the main reason for not having sent remittances was that they could not afford it.¹⁹ For those remitting, the level of remittances is quite remarkable, especially among migrants who are not domestic workers. On average, they sent 800 birr (82.5 USD) in a year which corresponds to 10 percent of their yearly average salary. Domestic servants and guards, instead, could afford lower level of remittances - 307 birr on average - but this is a substantial fraction of their annual average salary (25%). Given the low salary they usually receive, obligation to send remittances home is also likely to substantially jeopardize their personal expenses.²⁰

¹⁸ The exact question is "if your friends/relatives back home asked you for 150 Birr for the following reason, would you send it to them if it did not create a problem for your life here?". The reasons for this request include "house expenses", "investment in production equipment", "investment as a shareholder", "rent land", "education and training fees for children/relatives", "wedding or funeral", "other ceremony", "payment of debt", "health care", "buying of durable consumer goods", "daily living expenses", "other". The table reports the share of respondent migrants who would be available to send 150 Birr home in at least one of these cases.

¹⁹ These results are consistent with earlier qualitative findings. A recent Participatory Poverty Assessment analyzed rural-to-urban mobility by interviewing ten households in 14 urban research sites. Only 33 percent of respondents (45 out of the 138) sent money or goods home, one of the reasons for not remitting being that they did not make enough money to allow for remittances. For those remitting the level of remittances was commonly 20-60 birr a year (Ellis and Woldehanna 2005).

²⁰ The fact that a small share of migrants in Addis are able to remit indicate that internal remittances play a minor role in Ethiopia since two-thirds of remittances in the country originated in Addis Ababa or in regional centers beyond local market towns (Dercon and Hoddinot, 2005).

Table 47: Remittances in the last 12 months

	Migrant's gender	Share of migrants who have sent remittances in the last 12 months	Median value of the money or goods sent to relatives or friends*	Mean value of the money or goods sent to relatives or friends*
Recent migrant domestic servants or guards	<i>Male</i>	7.8	100 birr**	100 birr**
	<i>Female</i>	20.9	300 birr	312 birr
	<i>Total</i>	20.1	300 birr	307 birr
Other recent migrants	<i>Male</i>	15.1	800 birr	751 birr
	<i>Female</i>	10.8	500 birr	839 birr
	<i>Total</i>	11.9	500 birr	809 birr
All recent migrants	<i>Male</i>	14.8	600 birr	734 birr
	<i>Female</i>	13.0	300 birr	639 birr
	<i>Total</i>	13.4	300 birr	663 birr

Note: * Median and mean values are calculated within the group of migrants who have sent remittances home. Information referring to all migrant household members. ** Figure based on a limited number of observations.

11. CONCLUSIONS AND NEXT STEPS

1. The descriptive analysis of this paper has focused on the main patterns and drivers of migration flows to Addis Ababa, the demographic characteristics, economic and social background and living conditions of migrants and some of the possible impacts of migration on family members who stay behind.

2. Generalizations of the results from 2008 ETUMS should be carefully evaluated. The survey focuses on migrants who moved to Addis Ababa, a city hosting 23 percent of the entire urban population, but which does not fully mirror the urban spectrum in Ethiopia.²¹ Addis Ababa, for example, is the truly central city,²² and it is more than 10 times larger than Dire Dawa, the second largest city in the country. Addis Ababa, therefore, can offer the best economic and educational opportunities, facilities and public services as well as the richest cultural environment in the country. On the other hand, high costs of living and high level of education can create disincentives and constraints of migration to the capital. All of these factors can affect migrants' behavior and livelihoods shaping specific features of migration flows to Addis Ababa. Earlier evidence, for example, suggests that the reason for migrating changes across different area of destination, with Addis Ababa attracting the greatest flows of work- and educational-related migration (World Bank 2009a). In contrast, the majority of the poor rural households seem to regard small towns as their main areas of destination (Tadele et al. 2006).

3. Taking into consideration that migration patterns towards Addis Ababa might differ from those of other migration flows, some main knowledge gaps and possible directions and implications for further research can be underscored.

- Migration decisions can be explained by a combination of push and pull forces. With more than 70 percent of migrants reporting education and search for work as a main reason to migrate, schooling and job opportunities in Addis Ababa are driving forces. At the same time, data reveal that economic push forces also contribute to migration. Data collected in sending and in rural areas, however, could provide better information on reasons and causes behind the choice to migrate. In particular, additional information collected among the sending households can help in interpreting unexpected results, such as the limited role of land shortage and of *kebele* registration system in the decision to move to Addis Ababa compared with other sources which found that demographic pressure on land (Admassie et al. 2003, World Bank 2009a), land tenure security and land transferability rights (de Brauw and Muller 2010) are an important determinant of migration flows to other destination areas.
- Available evidences point out that many people migrate even if, in their first years in Addis Ababa, do not register to their new *kebele* of residence. ETUMS data, however, cannot shed light on whether the registering system prevents more people from migrating to Addis. Data collected in sending areas on reasons for not migrating could provide additional information on the role of *kebele* registration systems as possible disincentive to out-migration from rural areas.
- A relatively small share of migrants can afford to send money and other resources home. The low remittance rates are consistent with earlier work in Sub-Saharan Africa, but still a

²¹ The label "urban" comprises large varieties of urban agglomerations: big cities, small and intermediate towns, rural "villages", peri-urban fringe areas, isolated, well-connected and central areas.

²² Addis Ababa population grew by 30 percent from 2,112,737 in 1994 to 2,738,248 in 2007 with an average annual rate of 2.1 percent.

puzzle in comparison to other regions. Limited remittances might limit the benefits accruing to family members left behind. Further research could provide additional evidence on remittance flows and investigate whether other channels (exchange of information between sending and destination areas, presence of migrants in urban areas that facilitates access to public services for the remaining household members) create effects to sending-households. More research is also needed to understand indirect effects that might spread from migrants to non-migrant households and to sending-communities.

- It seems unlikely that migration could have a negative impact on family members who stay behind by reducing labor supply or by depriving children of parents' presence and care. The bulk of migrants do not have sons or daughters at home, while migration flows seem to be fed by underemployment in sending areas. Before moving to Addis Ababa, in fact, about half of recent migrants helped on family farm or in a business without remuneration. However, it would be worth investigating whether migration leads to a re-allocation of labor among remaining household members, compelling them to rely more on child work²³. Moreover, a survey in sending areas could be an opportunity to collect better data on the educational attainment of migrants. In this way, we could verify whether migrants are the most skilled and active household members. This information could shed some light on possible adverse effects of migration on human capital endowments in areas of origin.
- This report finds that migrant domestic workers are disadvantaged in different welfare dimensions. More detailed information on the poverty status of domestic workers' origin households, however, would help in identifying what forces in sending areas push migration flows of this vulnerable group. Future research could also study other possible vulnerable groups of migrants. Existing evidence suggest that unmarried migrant women, female young and girls might be vulnerable to exploitative conditions. Pankhurst (2007), for instance, found that 85 percent of women who said they were sex workers were migrants.
- Finally, data from the Urban Migration Survey suggest that the decision to migrate is not an individual choice but has to be interpreted within a household decision-making framework. The integration of 2008 ETMUS with data from a survey conducted on sending households or on origin areas, therefore, might substantially contribute to a better understanding of migration decisions and impact.

²³ Migration can affect child work and educational attainments of children left behind through different channel: income effect of remittances, a change in demand of child work, the impact on incentives to invest in education (McKenzie and Rapoport 2006). International empirical evidence has not excluded any of these scenarios. Studying the impact of remittances sent by Filipino migrants to their families, Yang (2004) found that an increase in remittances lowers the amount of time that children devoted to wage employment and increases the number of hours that children work in family activities. De Brauw and Giles (2006) found a negative relationship between migrant opportunity and high school enrolment. Evidences for Pakistan (Mansuri 2006) show temporary migrations have a large positive impact on human capital accumulation.

APPENDIX 1

Basic descriptive statistics and comparison to the 2007 Census

1. The Ethiopian 2007 Population and Housing Census was carried out in May and November 2007, while the ETMUS was carried out in May-July 2008. Thus, the ETMUS can be cross-checked with the Census data. Table 1 below shows that, according to the Migration Survey, Addis Ababa hosts about 2.7 million inhabitants and this figure is in line with population size registered by the 2007 Census. Moreover, the age distribution between the sample and the census is very similar: both sources suggest that the children and the young below 19 years of age comprise of a little more than 38 percent of the population, and that adults above 25 years represent around 47 percent of the population.

Table A 1: Addis Ababa population distribution by age.

Age group	ETMUS 2008		Census 2007	
	Freq	Percent	Freq	Percent
< 14	637,941	23.6	656,233	24.0
15-19	405,343	15.0	386,363	14.1
20-24	388,847	14.4	405,134	14.8
25-54	1,028,642	38.0	1,096,506	40.0
<55	248,017	9.2	194,012	7.1
Total	2,708,791	100	2,738,248	100

Note: module for all household members

2. The similarity between the ETMUS and the Census is confirmed by the small differences between the distribution of males and females, as shown in table 2 below. Females and males account, respectively, for 53.9 and 46.1 percent of the whole population in ETMUS, and the corresponding figures from the Census are 52.4 and 47.6 percent.

Table A 2: Addis Ababa Population distribution by gender

	2008 ETMUS		2007 Census	
	Freq	Percent	Freq	Percent
Male	1,249,733	46.1	1,304,518	47.6
Female	1,459,057	53.9	1,433,730	52.4
Total	2,708,791	100	2,738,248	100

3. Finally, data on household size and composition and on the number of households from the ETMUS are consistent with the evidence based on 2004/05 Welfare Monitoring Survey, as shown in Table A3. There are, however, some significant differences with the Census that cannot be explained by natural changes between the dates of data collection. The Census 2007 finds that there were 17 % more households in Addis than what ETMUS suggests, but that average household size was 17% smaller. Still, the average number of children below 5 years of age in the households is the same in the two data sources. Taken together with the similar population sizes and age structures of the Census and the ETMUS, it seems to be some differences in the household definition – at least on how it has been practiced. We have, however, not been able to identify the exact reason for the differences.

Table A 3: Household composition and size in Addis Ababa

	Average household size	Number of children per household aged less than 5	Share of female headed households, percentage	Total number of households
2008 ETMUS	4.8	0.31	32.8	558,222
2004 WMS	4.9	0.35	38.0	487,726
2007 Census	4.1	0.30	n.a.	651,970

Note: Figures from 2008 ETUMS are calculated from the module for all household members.

APPENDIX 2

International migration

1. The ETMUS also provide some indicative data on international migration. Information was collected from the surveyed households on whether there were any family members that had been living in that household during the last ten years who had subsequently migrated abroad. Hence, the survey does not capture households that moved abroad, or people who moved abroad and where the remaining household moved to other domestic areas in this ten year period. It hence only identifies individuals who stayed with their family in Addis during any period the last ten years and then subsequently left the country, and where the rest of the household is still identified as a household in Addis. According to this data, then, less than four percent of people who have lived in the 2008-households in Addis Ababa over the last ten years migrated abroad. Moreover, the majority (72 percent) of these emigrants are women.

Table A 4: Distribution of population who lived or has lived in Addis Ababa over the last ten years by migration status

Migration status	Males	Females	Total
Never migrated abroad	1,318,505	1,535,380	2,853,885
	97.7	95.1	96.3
Migrated abroad	30,943	79,212	110,155
	2.3	4.9	3.7
Total	1,349,448	1,614,591	2,964,039
	100.0	100.0	100.0

2. Keeping in mind the data limitations, Table A5 suggests that unlike the general trend in the continent²⁴, most of international migrants from Addis go outside of Africa and the U.S. is the main destination country for males while females prefer other countries outside Africa.

Table A 5: International migrants by gender and country of destination

<i>Current country of residence</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Total</i>
Belgium	1.9	2.1	2.1
Canada	6.7	3.1	4.1
France	1.2	0.0	0.3
Italy	3.4	0.6	1.4
Netherlands	10.7	2.5	4.7
Usa	42.4	11.9	20.3
UK	7.8	9.5	9.0
South africa	4.4	0.0	1.2
Other country outside Africa	20.5	65.0	52.8
Other country within Africa	1.2	5.3	4.2
<i>Total</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>

3. Outward migration displays a basic demographic characterization similar to internal migration. Accounting for 73 percent of people reported in the ETMUS to having gone to live abroad over the last 10 years, women are overrepresented among the international migrants. Moreover, as shown in Table A6, adults between 25 and 55 years old and the young between 15 and 25 years of age are the population groups most likely to migrate abroad, accounting for 59 and 36 percent of international migrants, respectively.

²⁴ Ratha and Show (2007) estimated that intraregional migration accounts for 69 percent of all outward migration from Sub-Saharan Africa. Analogously, Sander and Maimbo (2005) observes that “Sub-Saharan African migrants have tended to stay on the continent”.

Table A 6: Distribution of international migrants by gender and age

Age group	Male	Female	Total
Less than 15	3.5	3.1	3.2
15-20	7.8	7.1	7.3
20-25	21.9	31.3	28.7
25-55	64.6	56.1	58.4
More than 55	2.2	2.4	2.3
All age	100.0	100.0	100.0

Note: Module for all household members

4. Finally, data on the relationship with the household left behind in Addis suggests that international migration could be a household strategy given that families usually send sons and daughters to live abroad: 71 percent of international migrants with previous household members in the capital are sons or daughters of the heads of the households still in Addis or of their spouses.

Table A 7: International migrants by relation with the previous household members in Addis Ababa

head/spouse	3.0
Son/daughter of head and spouse or one of them	70.8
Father/mother of head/spouse	2.2
Brother/Sister of head/spouse	9.3
Other relative	14.7
Total	100.0

Note: Module for all household members

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