FLOWS AND CHARACTERISTICS OF MIGRANTS: A MIGRATION EVENT HISTORY ANALYSIS IN THE RURAL AREAS OF ETHIOPIAN GAMO HIGHLANDS

MALEBO MANCHA MASSA[1, 2], Dr. SUKHWINDER SINGH[3]
[1] PhD Scholar, Department of Economics, Punjabi University, Patiala, Punjab-147002, India
[2] Lecturer, Department of Economics, Arba Minch University, Ethiopia, P. O. Box 21, Arba Minch, Ethiopia
[3] Professor of Economics, Centre for Research in Economic Change, Punjabi University, Patiala

Abstract: Human mobility is part of livelihood and is increasing in the Gamo Highlands of southwest Ethiopia. We postulate that this substantial phenomenon is less documented and not well informed. To explore this, a migration event history analysis was done. The results indicate that the outmigration rate is larger when compared with the average migration rate counted for Ethiopia in the 2007 census; distance appears to be a weak determinant of rural-urban outmigration; migrant statuses are common knowledge to the family at origin; many young adults (mainly men aged between 10 and 34 years) leave the underdeveloped agriculture and few of them return home with some more but non-agricultural skills acquired at the area of destinations; out-migrants mainly move for economic motives but return-migrants return back home for non-economic reasons; and relatively larger proportion of male moves out for economic motives than female. These results should be of concern to policy makers.

Keywords: Event History Analysis, Ethiopia, Gamo Highlands, Migration.

1. INTRODUCTION

The migration of labour geographically out of dispersed rural areas to concentrated urban areas and occupationally out of on-farm jobs to off-farm jobs has been documented among the most persistent features of economic transformation in rural areas (Bardhan and Udry, 1999). Dual sector development theories recognize such transformation as natural and growth process through which surplus labour is gradually withdrawn from less productive rural agriculture to more productive urban economies, arguing prosperous employment and profitable production in urban areas and increased rural income per remaining labour on account of productivity gains from increased per capita land holding in rural areas (Lewis, 1954, Ranis and Fei 1964). These were largely documented in the economic history of the now developed countries (Greenwood, 1997, Lucas, 1997).

Inconsistently, the emerging theoretical and empirical literature in the context of the now developing countries document positive association between migration and on-farm labour shortage, feminization of farming, decay of long-established and unadventurous labour-intensive agricultural practices, turn down of cultivation and cropping income, and exposure to food insecurity (Alwang and Siegel, 1999, Schmook and Radel, 2008, Qin, 2010, Ellis, 2000, Taylor et al., 2003). Based on this concern of migration, Harris and Todaro (1970) suggest to slow down the intensity of rural-urban migration through policy reforms designed to increase the opportunity cost of rural-urban migration. Attempts were also made to inhibit it, but they have been resulted in social segregations, economic fractures, informal settlements and bulging of urban unemployment in their cities (Tacoli et al., 2014). In spite of these, the worldwide facts show that the number of migrants had continued to rise rapidly over the past two decades reaching 244 million in 2015, up from 173 million in 2000 and 222 million in 2010 (United Nations, 2016). The most recent census data of Ethiopia also reveal that the number of internal migrants reached 12,218,893 (16.6 percent of population) in 2007(CSA, 2008).

The study is aimed at documenting flows and characteristics of migrants. It is partial to two dominant types of migration, namely: outmigration and return-migration; and two prevalent streams of migration, namely: rural-rural and rural-urban out-migrations and their counter rural-rural and urban-rural return-migrations. Out-migration is defined as a change of residence involving a departure from the origin village and a contiguous stay for duration of six or longer months at the area of destinations. Similarly, an out-migrant is a person who moved away from the home village for six or more months and did not return to stay with families during the survey period. A non-migrant is an individual who is not moved out during the observation period. Likewise, a return-migrant is a person who arrived back home in the year t after a continuous stay of six or longer months outside the present place of residence and continuously lived for at least six months in the origin. The six-month duration was supposed long enough for migrants to participate in and accustom socioeconomic activities at the destination. This is also widely applied in the census migration definitions in Ethiopia (CSA, 1991, CSA, 1996, CSA, 2008).

Women who moved out from the household for marriage, migrant and non-migrant children aged below 10 years and household members who moved out prior the observation period were excluded from this analysis. Marriage mobility in East Africa is less likely to result in return-migration, mainly because “a daughter often leaves the household for good when she is get

married" (Bigsten, 1996). The pilot survey of this study had also identified that the Gamo people consider marriage movements as "social" and "natural law" rather than as part of migration event, and their marriage mobility is surprisingly specific to young girls, who often move to marry her husband at his origin place of residence, and these are with no possibility for return-migration and with no or less possibility to impact economic status of source households, unless divorced or widowed and rejoin the family again. For these reasons, no detailed information was collected concerning women who had moved for marriage. Consistently, those women who married in were considered as usual member of the household since the date of marriage.

This study, of course, faces some undeniable limitations. First, the survey design has targeted on households that were permanently residing in their areas of origin at least until the time of the survey. There is no way of getting information in cases where the whole members of a household had moved out. The study documents known migration and characteristic of migrant histories. Second, the survey asked the household head or spouse as a proxy respondent for the mobility of household members. It is generally known that the quality of data obtained from a proxy respondent is usually lower than that directly collected from the migrants. Third, the study only used few time-varying covariates that the household head or representative respondents can easily recall and give acceptable data retrospectively. Some of the respondents were observed reluctantly to positively respond to questions about their incomes and expenditure. Fourth, the study is constrained only to ten years periods (September 2007 and August 2017), with less due consideration to prior migrants, though it had observed that some of the migrants had left their place of origin more than a decade before. Despite these weaknesses, the study had devoted its optimal effort. There were no observations that is systematically excluded (i.e., households were randomly included into the sample, giving equal chance). Hence, the results can be taken as good approximations for the rates of migration and the characteristics of migrant histories, at least to the contexts in the Ethiopian Gamo highlands.

The study is structured into six sections. The reminder is organized as follows. Section two reviews the relevant literature. Section three describes the study area. Section four explains data collection procedures and methods of analysis. Section five presents the empirical results with a discussion of their relevance to the migration literature in developing countries. The final section concludes.

2. THEORETICAL ISSUES AND LITERATURE REVIEW

Earlier "laws of migration" (Ravenstein, 1885, Ravenstein, 1889) see human mobility as an "inseparable part of development" and according to which people flow from spots where they are not wanted and less paid to the fields where their labour is in demand and able to earn higher wages. Ravenstein (1885) further points that migration takes place in a step-wise process: first to the nearby towns, and then towards larger cities where transport, communication, manufacture and commerce were expanding. He however rationally saw that cities can fail to absorb the inflows of rural-urban migrants could be developmental only if the towns are great enough to absorb the labour inflows, applying the division of labour in the economic activities.

Johnson (1948), in his "mobility as a field of economic research", views that migration involves a change of residence and occupation outside rural areas, and the decision to migrate is the result of an individual's ability to make comparison between real earnings at the origin and comparable expected earnings at the destination. Supporting Johnson's argument, Beshers and Nishiura's sociological theory (1961) of "internal migration differentials" see that migration involves a shift of residence from one locale to a new locale. They, however, claimed that the decision to migrate can involve the household head, and the household is presumed "purposive rational" in listing and comparing alternatives and hence has a "considerable independence" in making decisions. In their orientation, migration decisions are largely determined by economic factors affecting the head and that of the other members of the household accompany him. They further provide predictive hypotheses; namely: migration within the professional category is greater than that of within other occupations; migration among farmers is less than that of most other occupation groups; migration out of rural areas will occur among young adults than that of other age groups and migration of people with fewer years of education is less than that of higher years education.

Truly, systematic study on the migration was silent in the first half of the twentieth century, as recognized by Lee (1966). Dual sector model of economic development (e.g., Lewis, 1954, Ranis and Fei, 1961) emerged as an accepted wisdom of development in the 1950s and 1960s argues that the most developing economies consist of two sectors: a subsistent traditional rural agricultural sector characterized by surplus labour with low/zero marginal productivity, low incomes and high levels of unemployment; and a modern urban industrial sector characterized by a high demand for labour having advanced technologies and able to offer wages higher than that of the rural agriculture. Economic development in this context is defined as that requires large scale transfer of surplus labour from the agricultural sector to the urban-industrial sector. This was justified on two competing arguments: first, the traditional agriculture is full of excess labour supply and hence is unable to make "reproducible investments"; and second, the urban industrial sector is capable to create a "reproducible capital" and then reinvest all of its profit in such a way that surplus resources are fully absorbed and higher wages maintained there are sufficient enough to create unlimited transfer of surplus labour from rural areas. These cases were proved true in the history of advanced countries (Greenwood, 1997, Lucas, 1997). Of course, Arthur Lewis (Lewis, 1954) article gives due emphasize basically on the significance of "capitalistic growth with unlimited supplies of labour" (Enke, 1962).

Sjaastad (1962) models human migration as a "resource allocation and an investment decision" that involves both money and non-money costs and returns. The money cost components include simply the expenses of movements such as for transportation and any training payments for a new job, and the non-money costs comprise wages foregone while in moving from origin to destination, disposal of assets and materials caused by a shift in residence, psychic cost of leaving the familiar neighborhoods and culture, and the cost of adopting new dietary habits and social customs at destination. Likewise, the money

returns include the difference in earnings within occupation before and after migration and the non-money costs are the "psychic benefits" that arise from changes in the preference of location. According to him, the decision to migration is based on migrant's preference to maximize the "net real-life span incomes" after paying costs.

Everett S. Lee, an American sociologist, theorizes "a general schema into which a variety of spatial movements can be placed (Lee, 1966). In so doing, he figures out a number of conclusions with regard to the meaning of migration, the factors to influence the decision to migration, the volume of migration, the development of streams and counter-streams of migration, and the characteristics of migrants. He simply defines migration as a permanent or semi-permanent change of residence and categorizes the forces exerting influence onto the act of migration into "push" and "pull" factors having "plus" and "minus" signs and summarizes them under four broad headings;: namely: "(i) factors associated with the area of origin; (ii) factors associated with the area of the destination; (iii) intervening obstacles; and (iv) personal characteristics" Lee (1966).

According to Lee, to migrate decisions are based on a comparison of factors associated with area of origin and area of the destination and are likely to be enforced if the balance of "pluses" and "minuses" at area of the destination outweighs that of the area of origin. Lee notes that factors associated with areas of origin would be more important than those associated with areas of the destination, and the ratification of the decision can be constrained by a migrant specific characteristic as well as intervening obstacles involve between area of origin and area of the destination. Lee adds that "both the volume and rate of migration increases over time", but is inversely with the difficulty of overcoming intervening obstacles (1966). He adds that migration tends to take place in a "step-wise"; first, largely from rural areas to nearby urban areas, and then towards major cities. For every major stream of migration, there also develop counter streams of migration. He also theorizes that migration is "selective" in the sense that migrants are not a random sample of the population at origin.

Unlike the aforementioned theories, Todaro's (1969) and Harris and Todaro (1970) model an accelerated rural-urban migration and rising levels of urban unemployment in the context of the present-day less developed countries. Their theoretical model has brought a new orthodoxy in the rural-urban migration that "with the existence of positive marginal products of labour in rural agriculture and significant levels of urban unemployment in urban areas, rural-urban labour migration would not only continue to exist but also appear to be accelerating" (Harris and Todaro, 1970). Harris and Todaro (1970) explain migration in their words as: "the bright lights of the city are acting as a magnet to lure peasants." Migration decisions are assumed to base on "expected income differentials" between rural and urban areas rather than just on "nominal wage differentials" and a rural-urban migration, and this is argued can be economically rational if expected urban income exceeds expected rural income, even within the context of high urban unemployment; implying that migrants would continue to move, expecting wages that would compensate the current loses into the future. According to their model the migration process would likely follow up two stages: initially, the migrant joins an urban area, and there would spend a certain period of time either unemployed or underemployed in the informal sector, and in the due course of time, in the second stage, he /she would attain a more permanent and higher paid modern urban sector job (Todaro, 1969). The economic success of migrants in the urban area is, thus, would directly relate to the probability of have been selected from the pool of urban traditional workers, which may not be economically rational into the short run but in the long-run. Of course, as they note and Byerlee (1974) adds to it, the chance of being with no employment, less paid employment or delayed access to employment shall adversely affect income and living status of migrants at the destination and their will to stay there.

A new economics of labour migration (NELM here after) theory, emerged in the 1980s (Stark and Bloom, 1985), takes a new perspective of labour migration conceptualizing to migrate decisions just like as a family portfolio diversification strategy that migrants and their families make contractual arrangements through which the migrants remit and families solve economic problems at the origin. Stark and Lucas (1988) clearly describe that families invest in migrants in the expectation of returns in the form of remittances and that migrants remit their families with the expectation of returns in the form of inheritances. Rural households in Ethiopia are expected to adopt migration as a family strategy to minimize risk (Ezra and Kiros, 2001). Recent studies have developed life-course approaches that help to understand the dynamics of migration (Ezra and Kiros, 2001, Henry et al., 2004). By using these perspectives of migration, this study emphasizes to document the rate of migration and the characteristics of migrants in the Ethiopia Gamo highlands.

3. Description of the Study Area

Ethiopia is a multilingual nation with more than 80 ethno linguistic groups. This study is conducted in the Ethiopian Gamo highlands, which, located above two East African Great Rift Valley lakes in the South West Ethiopia, Lake Abaya and Lake Chamo, is part of the Gamo Gofa province in SNNP regional state of Ethiopia. The Gamo highlands reach an altitude of 4207 meters above sea level at the top of mount Gughe (Samberg et al., 2013, Freeman, 2002, Scott, 1952, Hamer, 1986), the highest peak in SNNP and the third in Ethiopia. Currently, the Gamo highlands comprise nine administrative districts called woredas[1] and four town administrations and host the 2007 census counted 198,949 rural and 30,842 urban households (CSA, 2008).

The economy of people in the Gamo highlands, like many other rural areas in Ethiopia, is dependent on rain-fed smallholders' agriculture (Samberg et al., 2013, Forster, 1969). The area has a long agricultural history and is largely dominated by smallholder subsistence agriculture. Among others, traditional enset-based[2] agriculture has been cultivated for centuries,

[1] A kebele in Ethiopia, whether it is in a rural area or in an urban area, is the smallest political and administrative centre and that comprises on the average about 500 to 1000 households.

[2] Enset, usually named as "false banana, is similar in appearance to Banana, but different in various respects. It produces no edible fruit, but rather a large, starchy, underground rhizome bulb and stem that are used to produce a variety of food products. Enset supports a greater

allowing smallholder farmers cope with economic shocks, making the area uniquely resistant to food insecurity, building the region a model of sustainability and resilience, and supporting one of Africa's densest rural populations (Hamer, 1986, Harlan, 1969, Harlan, 1975, USAID FEWS NET and DPPC, 2005).

The *Gamo* people are incredibly labour intensive agriculturalists and for this reason their most important economic resource is not land but labour (Olmstead, 1973, Hamer, 1986, Halperin and Olmstead, 1976). Of course, the Gamo highlands are severely restricted against land expansion as it is densely populated and has almost no open access land for further expansion. Moreover, the agricultural yield in their landscape critically depends on the extent at which soil fertility and land management techniques are applied. The heavy clay soil of the area is naturally low in quality as it is lacking plant nutrients (Hamer, 1986). Labour often rotates legumes crops, add animal manure to the soil, and practice mulching to restore fertility of their fragmented and endlessly over cultivated fields (Olmstead, 1974). Human labour is also necessary to construct and then maintain terracing systems on steep slopes (Halperin and Olmstead, 1976, Hamer, 1986, Freeman, 2002). Animal manure is essential for successful agriculture, and thus cattle are reared by most farm households. Human labour thus is required to cut on grasses in the mountainsides and carry it for stall-fed cattle at home (Halperin and Olmstead, 1976). Thus no matter how much land is owned, labour and its power was the critical source of income in Gamo highlands.

Gamos are also Ethiopia's artful and well-skilled weavers (Kloos, 1982, Olmstead, 1975, Hamer, 1986). Weaving is also the second dominant source of livelihood in the Gamo highlands, next to agriculture (Tesfaye et al., 2018b). Weaving as an economic occupation, however, is predominantly done outside their home origin, largely in Addis Ababa (Malebo, 2005, Wondimu, 2010). Weavers' out mobility seem first appeared immediately after Emperor Menilek II took power and established his capital in Addis Ababa in 1898. The then emperor has forced skilled Gamo weavers to move from their home origin and settled them at *Shiro Meda* of Addis Ababa (Olmstead and Sugar, 1973).

These days, the young adults of the Gamo people commonly leave their home origin to generate additional income through weaving (Wondimu, 2010 cited Gamo Gofa zone Culture and Information Department, 2004). If active labour force extraordinarily leaves the underdeveloped agriculture, children may be taken out of school to work on farms, terraces and traditional labour intensive farming practices that have been enabled sustainable farming in steep mountains of the area may be eroded, and food security status of households at origin may be affected (von Dach et al., 2013 p.14-16). There is, however, a long documented evidence that out-migrants from Gamo Highlands remit their families at origin (Forster, 1969), but the Gamo weavers have been paid far less compared to the occupation's labour intensity and the artfulness of the product (Olmstead, 1975, Olmstead and Sugar, 1973). To the knowledge of this study, nothing is documented about this mobility in the study area. We study the characteristics of people moving away and staying put at origin.

4. Data Collection and Methods of Analysis

The data for this study come from a household survey and focused group discussions carried out between September 2017 and January 2018 in rural areas of Chencha, Dita and Arba Minch Zuria districts in the Ethiopian Gamo highlands. Twelve peasant associations (PAs)[3] and 12 villages within them were systematically selected based on migration history, number of household population, access and proximity to public road and towns, proximity to the now growing banana plantation belts, land fertility status, and vulnerability to food insecurity. The extent of vulnerability to food insecurity is based on the proportion of safety net beneficiaries, and the extent of land fertility status is based on historic observation reported by the agricultural extension workers have been working in the area. Then, each PA is sub-divided into socially constructed sub-villages called '*got*' (in Amharic) or '*gutta'* or '*shshoro' (in Gamoththo)*[4]. Due to absence of a complete list of households in each *gutta'*, a day prior the survey date, a complete list of households was developed in a separate sheet designed for this purpose. The list was used to identify the households interviewed. A total of 414 household surveys and 12 focused group discussions were conducted. Households were randomly sampled, depending on household size in each PA. The total sample size was based on Israel's presentation of simplified sample size calculation formula (Israel, 1992 cited Yamane 1967 p.886).

The data collection process was cautious, and as a result reliable date was obtained from 397 households. Recall errors were limited by restricting the survey on migration to departures from origin and continuous stay at the destination for six or more months, and the duration of the study only to ten years. Moreover, major events occurred were prior recorded and were used in order to refresh the timing when the household members left the household. Likewise, proxy responses were qualified and reliably quantified by representing departed migrants by a close relative residing at origin, mainly by parents (mother and father) and heads of the household.

The household survey had a list of social, economic, and demographic event history roster of both individuals and the household for the period between September 2007 and August 2017. This study used a person-year dataset constructed for both migrants and non-migrants. Each person-year data represented one year in the life of a person at risk for outmigration. Individual event history data contained information on personal characteristics such as age, sex, marital status, education level, religion, relationship to the household head, and migration. Household level data, on the other hand, consisted of many social, economic

density of population than cereal grains, has higher caloric yields per land unit, and is far more drought resistant but takes three to six years to build up a sufficient store of carbohydrates to be used as food. Its production it highly labour intensive.

[3] A PA is the smallest political administrative unit in rural Ethiopia, and it comprises on average about 500 to 1000 households (Ezra and Kiros 2001; CSA 2008).

[4] The *gutta* and/or *shshoro* are non-overlapping institutional arrangements thorough which the *Gamos* frequently meet and discuss social affairs and make decisions accordingly.

and demographic aspects event histories, including birth and death, housing quality and related utilities, possession of durable goods and cattle, land management and use, technology adoption and livelihoods. Focus group discussions were conducted to gather information on village characteristics and qualitative information required to complement the quantitative data collected from households. This study used a discrete-time event history data analysis technique suggested by previous studies (e.g., Bilsborrow et al., 1987, Ezra and Kiros, 2001, Henry et al., 2004, Gray, 2009, Taylor et al., 2003, Junming, 1997, Findley, 1987).

5. Results and Discussion

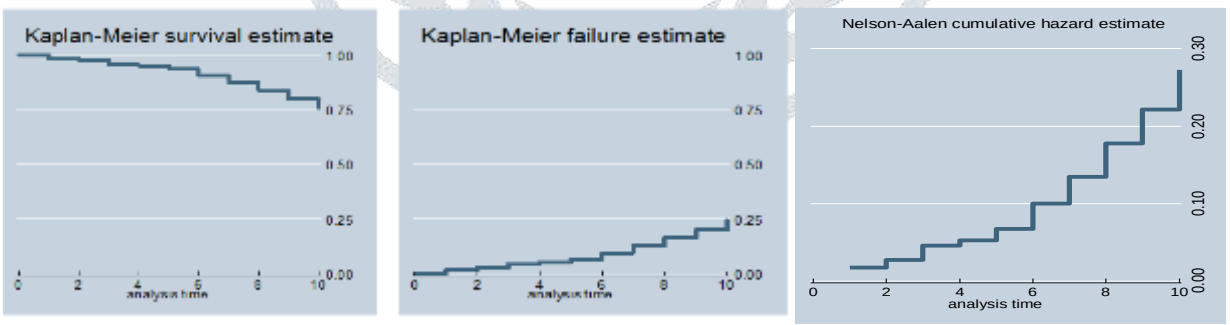
5.1. Rates of Migration

The study surveyed 1,939 persons from 397 household samples. The data indicated that 214 households (53.9 percent) had no out-migrant, 183 (46.1 percent) had at least one out-migrant, 103 (29.68 percent) had more than one out-migrant, and 29 (7.3 percent) had more than one category of migrants. Of 1939 persons aged 10 and above, 347 (17.9 percent) were out-migrated during September 2007 to August 2017. This rate is larger when compared with the average migration rate counted for Ethiopia in the 2007 (16.57 percent) (CSA, 2008). Of out-migrant households again, more than half (56.3 percent) had two or more migrants. The minimum number of out-migrant per household was one and the maximum was eight. The data, therefore, showed that about 46.1 percent of sampled households (183 households) had at least one migrant during the observation period. Destination wise, about 84.15 percent of out-migrants (292 persons) moved to urban areas, 14.41 percent (50 individuals) to rural areas and the remaining 1.44 percent (5) were young girls who moved to abroad outside Ethiopia. Most rural-urban migrants moved to Addis Ababa, capital of Ethiopia, wherein most male migrants perform weaving. Addis Ababa is distance located.

The proportion of out-migrants to urban areas outside the study area plus outside SNNP region is significantly larger than to urban areas within the study area plus within SNNP region. More specifically, there on appeared relatively small number of out-migrants to the urban areas within Gamo Gofa province and SNNP region (44.49 percent of 292). In contrary, 14.17 percent of 120 rural-rural migrants moved within study district, 13.33 percent outside study district but within Gamo Gofa province, and 36 percent outside Gamo Gofa province but within SNNP region. And, more than half of out-migrants were moved to Addis Ababa city administration. Unlike earlier "laws of migration" (Ravenstein, 1885), this study confirms that rural-urban migration over greater distances tend to be dominated by both young women and men. Distance thus appears to be a weak determinant of rural-urban outmigration from villages of Ethiopian Gamo highlands, where most rural-urban migrants move to long distance. Outmigration decisions in the study area thus may be made based on prevailing institutional and structural contexts of source households and labour market conditions at the area of destination.

Nonparametric estimate was done for seeing the shape of the hazard rate. The Kaplan-Meier survival and failure estimates presented in Figure 1 shows that the hazard rate is going down over time, indicating that as time goes people are less likely to survive in the sense they are more likely to move out. The counter survival estimate, i.e., the failure rate further shows that the proportion of people failing to move out smoothly rises with time. The cumulate hazard function indicating the sum of the hazard rates over time confirms the apparent evidence that the rate of migration in the Ethiopia Gamo highlands has experienced a non-decreasing trend over the observation period. Basically, at the end of the observation period (i.e., August 2017), 17.9 percent of the sample and 22.43 percent of the young adults aged between 10 and 35 years were out-migrants.

Figure 1 Kaplan-Meier's Survival, Failure and Cumulate Hazards of Migration

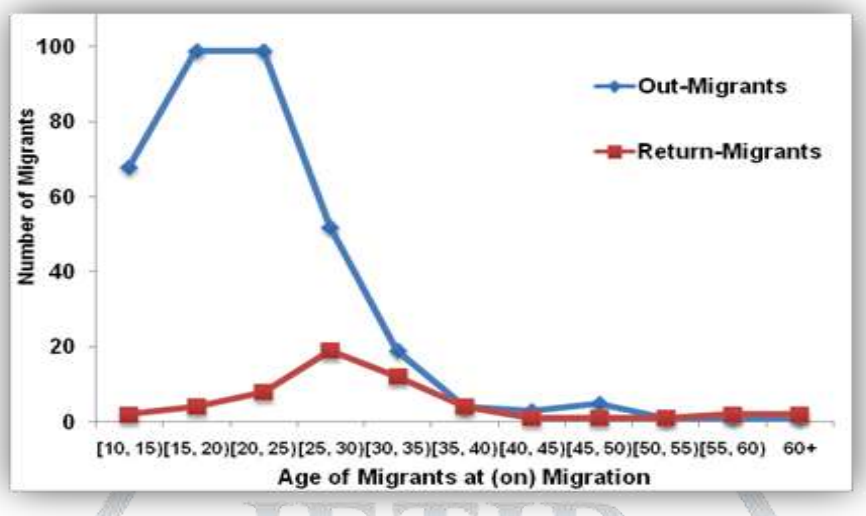


Source: household survey data, 2017

The survey also identified 440 out-migrants who are eligible for return-migration, of whom 93 were moved out earlier during the observation period; and of which only 12.73 percent (56 individuals) were returned, indicating relatively significant proportion of out-migrants (77.6 percent) were not returned back home during the observation period. Furthermore, we tested the data for between gender differences of return migration. The result showed that the returnees distribution was found insignificant to reject the null hypothesis that "the distribution of return-migrants between the two groups is the same" (Pearson chi-square with 7 degrees of freedom = 5.8413 and Pr = 0.558) while it was tested would have significant difference for non-returnees with Pearson chi-square with 11 degrees of freedom = 17.9894 and Pr = 0.082. These imply that return-migration in the Gamo highlands is gender indeterminate while outmigration is definite. With regard to the returnees' previous place of residence, 83.93 percent were from urban areas, 14.29 percent from rural areas and the remaining 1.79 percent from abroad. Relative to the number of out-migrants in each category, about 18 percent of rural-rural, 16.49 percent of rural-urban, and 20 percent of rural-abroad migrants were returned during the observation period. Therefore, on average, return-migration to the study districts is previous place of residence varying [Pearson chi-square with 4 degrees of freedom is = 50.2506 with its Pr = 0.000], but it is sex

invariant [Pearson chi-square with 2 degrees of freedom is = 4.2979 with its Pr = 0.117]. Migration, therefore, begets return-migration as most returnees are from urban.

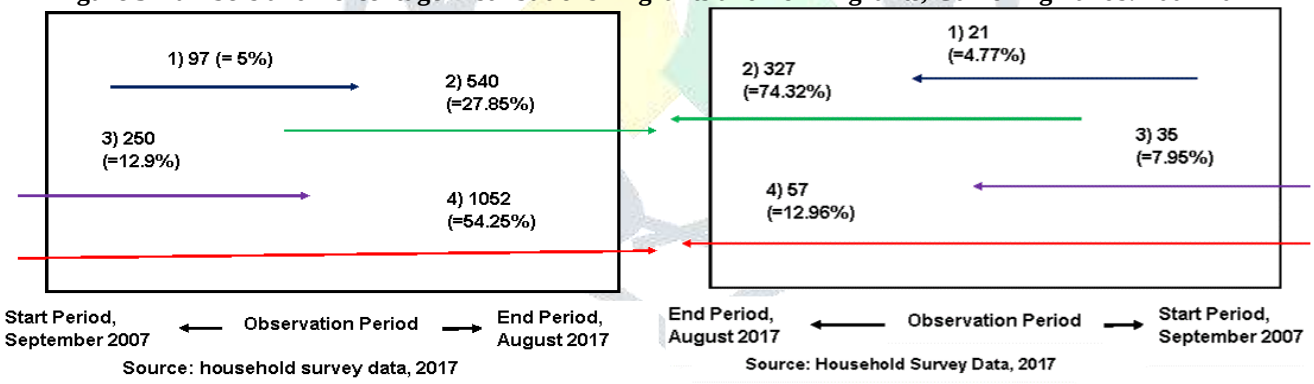
Figure 2 Average Life-Course Histories of Out-Migrants and Return-Migrants at Age of Migration, 2007-2017



Source: household survey data, 2017

Generally, as Figure 2 compares, the number of out-migrants aged less than 35 years by far exceeds the number of return-migrants of the same age category. The study thus finds that the rate of labour outmigration in the Gamo highlands exceeds the rate of return-migration. After the age of 35, the number of returnees is at least as equal as the number of out-migrants. As the number of in-migrants to the area surveyed nearly non-existent, these figures give an impression that the rural areas of the Ethiopian Gamo highlands is losing its larger proportion of labour force aged between 10 and 34 years due to outmigration. One more point should be noted here is that this study found out-migrants basically move for economic motives where returnees return back for non-economic motives. As 94.24 percent of 347 out-migrants of the observation period and 61.96 percent of earlier out-migrants did not return to their village, the long-term and probably permanent migration dominant the type of move in the study area.

Figure 3 Numbers and Percentage Distributions Migrants and non-migrants, Gamo Highlands: 2007-2017



a) Out-migration event history **b) Return-migration event history**

The study also categorized individuals at risk of out-migration and return-migration into four groups, namely: 1) whose exposure to (start time) and occurrence of (end time) outmigration were within the observation period, 2) whose exposure was within observation period but outmigration was not known (i.e., "censored"), 3) whose exposure was outside observation period but outmigration was within observation period, and 4) whose exposure and migration were outside observation period[5]. As shown in Figure 3, of 1939 individual samples 5 percent (97 persons) were at risk of out-migration and moved out within the observation period, 27.85 percent (540 persons) were exposed within the observation period but "right censored" at the end of the observation period, 12.9 percent (250 persons) were at risk prior the observation period but migrate during the observation period, and 54.25 percent (1052 persons) were eligible earlier the observation period but remained non-migrants at the end of observation period. Of 440 individuals at risk of return-migration, 4.77 percent (21 persons) were migrated out and returned back home within the observation period; 74.32 percent (327 individuals) were migrated out within the observation period but stayed away (i.e., censored) till the end of observation period, 7.95 percent (35 persons) were eligible for return-migration earlier the observation

[5] Note that, in figure 3, arrowheads indicate time period during when out-migration occurs and arrow tails indicate time period during when individuals are eligible for the stated event, out-migration, which is supposed to start at 10. For right-censored cases, we do not observe migration time for individual samples, but we only observe the time at which they were censored.

period but retuned back origin during the observation period, and 12.96 percent (57) were migrated out earlier the observation period and were staying away till the end of observation period. These estimates suggest that most people migrate out but few people return home.

5.2. REASONS FOR MIGRATION

Proxy respondents were also asked to report the reasons why migrants left home. As shown in Table 1, the main reasons for migration, as reported by the household head and other knowledgeable members of the household at origin, reveal that the motives for outmigration mainly emerge for economic reasons than for non-economic reasons. The average rate of outmigration for economic reasons is more than threefold (76.66 percent) compared to the non-economic reasons (23.34 percent). The study classifies lack of enough paying work opportunity at the origin, lack of land area for cultivation, loss of land productivity, search for better way of living, and high incidence of famine and poverty as economic reasons for migration. On the other hand, migration for schooling, living with relatives and friends at the destination, escaping conflict and health problems at origin, and some other factors were categorized under non-economic reasons for migration. Our listing of the factors here under economic and non-economic categories was not to open a debate regarding the meanings of "economic" and "noneconomic" migrants, but simply to relate the motives of migration with immediate economic needs of migrants and source households. Migration for education, for instance, as suggested by previous studies (e.g., Bilsborrow et al., 1987), may be motivated for long-run economic goals.

Economic motives are equally important for male and female because the proportion of "economic-migrants" among all male migrants (76.22 percent) is as equal as female migrating for economic reasons among female migrants (75.5 percent). The chi-square test (pr = 0.127) also proved no significant difference between group of male and female samples. This suggests that the factors motivating outmigration in Gamo highlands are invariable among male and female. In contrary, the reasons for outmigration is district specific because the chi-square test proved significant between district differences, estimating Pearson chi-square (18) = 72.5845 and pr = 0.000 for ten reasons identified for outmigration. With no consideration of marriage migration, this provides a strong empirical support for the importance of economic incentives in out migration decisions for both male and female. The major difference between male and female is that female does not move out as a result of famine and poverty, conflict, and health problems at origin. This may be due their lion's role in caring families and children.

Table 1 the Main Reasons for Out-Migration by Sex

Main Reasons for Outmigration	Out-migrants		
	Male (N = 227)	**Female (N = 120)**	**Total (N = 347)**
Economic reasons	**76.22**	**77.5**	**76.66**
• **No enough paying job at origin**	64.76	72.5	67.44
• **No enough land area for cultivation**	3.52	1.67	2.88
• **Loss of land productivity at origin**	1.32	2.5	1.73
• **Frequent famine and poverty at origin**	2.2		1.44
• **To look for better way living**	4.41	0.83	3.17
Non-economic reasons	**23.78**	**22.5**	**23.34**
• **To attend schooling at destination**	17.18	15.83	16.71
• **To live with relatives and/or friends**	1.32	1.67	1.44
• **To escape from conflict at origin**	2.2		1.44
• **Health problem at origin**	0.88		0.58
• **Other reasons**	2.2	5	3.17
Between group difference test statistics: Pearson chi2 (df = 9) = 13.8593 Pr = 0.127			

Source: household survey data, 2017

The data on main reasons for return-migration in Table 2 show that the motives for non-economic reasons are comparably lower than for economic reasons, though economic reasons are also large enough. Of 56 returnees, for example, 53.57 percent were returned for non-economic reasons as compared to 46.43 percent for economic reasons. Specifically, 23.21 percent were returned due to low paying job opportunity at the destination, 23.21 percent were returned to provide labour support for family at the origin, 10.71 percent were returned after completing their studies, 7.14 percent hated the way of living at the area of destination, 7.14 percent were to live with relatives and friends at origin, 5.36 percent faced conflict at the destination, and the remaining 23.21 percent were returned for other non-economic reasons. Return-migration rates are relatively higher for educated migrants. These reasons were found to have significant differences between male and female (chi-square test showed Pr = 0.000).

Table 2 the Main Reasons for Return-Migration by Sex

Main Reasons for Return-Migration	Return-migrants		
	Male (N = 42)	**Female (N = 14)**	**Total (N = 56)**
Economic reasons	**47.62**	**42.86**	**46.43**
• **Low paying work at destination**	21.43	28.57	23.21
• **To provide labour support for family**	26.19	14.29	23.21

Non-economic reasons	**52.38**	**57.14**	**53.57**
• **Study ended**	9.52	14.29	10.71
• **Not liked way of living at destination**	7.14	7.14	7.14
• **To live with relatives and/or friends**	4.76	14.29	7.14
• **To escape from conflict at destination**	7.14		5.36
• **Other Non-economic reasons**	23.81	21.43	23.21

Source: households survey data, 2017

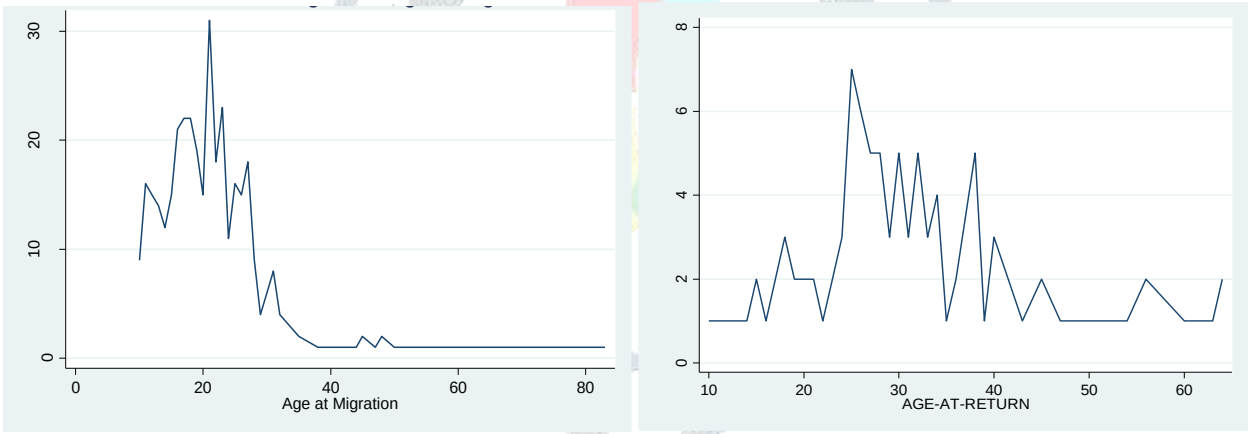
5.3. Characteristics of Migrants and Non-migrants

Demographic Characteristics

This sub section compares some selected sociodemographic and economic characteristics of out-migrants and non-migrants identified in the survey. The estimated results are presented in Table 3. Consistent with previous migration literature (e.g., Ezra and Kiros, 2001, Oberai and Singh, 1983), the data showed that out-migration in the Ethiopian Gamo highlands is selective in the sense that migrant showed distinctive characteristics that distinguish them from non-migrants at origin. As shown so far, migration occurs in all ages but young selective. Of 347 out-migrants, 96.25 percent (334 individuals) were young adults aged 10 to 34 years at the time of their outmigration, and of whom 1.44 percent (5 persons) was very young girls who moved abroad. Female out-migrants tend to be relatively younger (average age = 19.88 years) compared to their male counterparts (average age = 21.34 years).

Specifically, excluding marriage migration and mobility of children with their parents, 72.05 percent of out-migrants are in the age group 15-29, while the corresponding proportion for non-migrants was 31.73 percent. In contrary, the proportion of people aged below 15 and above 35 is high among non-migrants (68.27 percent) compared to migrants (27.95 percent). Figure 4 further shows an inverted u-shaped relationship between age at out-migration and the propensity to migrate. Migration of young adults aged 10 years and above tends to rise at lower levels of age, reaches its peak around the onset of 20s and then declines. Moreover, the average age of sampled non-migrants at home is by far larger (31.51 years) than the average age of out-migrants at the time of their migration (20.84 years). These together suggest that out-migrating persons are individuals who are ready for work.

Figure 4.7 Ages at migration and the Propensity to Migration, 2007-2017



Source: household survey data, 2017

Moreover, the data on number of out-migrants shows that outmigration has been increasing up in more recent years than it was earlier. It thus may put socioeconomic burdens on relatively older people stayed at home. As both young men and women migrate, relatively older people will be staying at origin. The data on age structure of returnees further shows that there appears no sex selectivity as compared to the size of persons at outmigration but fairly large numbers of returnees are still young adults (76.79 percent are between 15-35 years), with an average age on return of 30.71 years for males, 28.29 years for females, and 30.2 years for both male and female. The number of return-migrants peaks at the age about 24 years, which is the period during when most education migrants return back home. Moreover, there was comparatively large percentage of returnees in the age category of 35 years and above (19.64 percent) than out-migrants (3.74 percent) in the same age category.

With regard to relationship to the household head is concerned, 82.47 percent of out-migrants are sons or daughters of the head of the household, 6.05 are either spouse of heads or heads of the household, and 11.5 are other household members. In addition, female household heads are by far less likely to migrate than male household head. In contrary, female family members other than sons/daughters of the head are more likely to migrate than male family members other than sons/daughters. Gender wise, the pattern of outmigration was largely male dominated: 65.42 percent (227 persons) were male. The sex-ratio of migrants (189.2) defined as the number of male over female multiplied by 100 is largely more than that of non-migrants (100) and total sample at origin (117.7), suggesting that male are more likely to move than female. This may be due to cultural reasons restricting female mobility. To the knowledge of this study, no male moved abroad from the study area. Most of these figures are consistent with a study results in china (Junming, 1997), but are not supported by a study in Ethiopia (Ezra and Kiros, 2001).

Marital Status is also another important variable in the study of human migration. Migrants are by far more likely to be single in comparison to non-migrants. The data on marital status in Table 3 show that the incidence of outmigration is significantly higher among never ever married persons (79.83 percent had never married) than the combined average of married, divorced and widowed individuals: i.e., young adults who are in marriage are less likely to leave their village compared to never married and divorced/widowed. This result is consistent with the literature on the relationship between marital status and outmigration. Marital status, however, was found age selective. Most married young adults were aged at least 18. The selectivity of outmigration in terms of marital status is not sex specific (both unmarried men and women migrate out). As the data indicates, the proportion of female out-migrants is as equal as male out-migrants in the three categories of marital status. These estimates are consistent with most previous (e.g., Zhao, 2002). Therefore, a relatively larger percentage of both unmarried young men and young women are migrating out from the Ethiopian Gamo highlands. This may induce relatively lower rates of return-migration, as unmarried migrants may marry at their destination and form families there. This aspect of migration may also put socioeconomic pressure on aging population at home.

Socioeconomic Characteristics

Studies show that education is one of the major socioeconomic factors that influence a person's attitude towards decisions and actions. Educational status of migrants is diverse, ranging from no formal education to secondary or more levels of education. The data show difference in educational attainment and distinguishes migrants from non-migrants. The survey showed that nearly quarter (i.e., 23.06 percent) of the migrants had no formal education, 45.55 percent had completed primary education, and 31.41 had at least a secondary or more level of education. In contrary, the non-migrants were relatively less educated than migrants with 46.29 percent having no formal education, 42.72 percent had at least one grade level of primary education, and the remaining 10.99 percent had had one or more grade levels of secondary or more education.

Outmigration appears to be selective with respect to education levels. As presented in Table 4, 76.94 percent of out-migrants were literate (had formal education and able to read and write), and of whom about 40.82 percent had at least one or more grade levels of high school education. Also, the average education level of out-migrants (2.08, a little higher than primary education) was significantly higher than the average educational level achieved by non-migrants (1.65, about half of primary education) and the educational levels of the total sampled population in the study (1.73). The survey further showed that only 9.43 percent of adults (aged 10 and over) with no formal education had migrated, compared to 23.71 percent for those with some primary or more levels of schooling (18.79 percent for adults with primary education and 61.75 percent for secondary or more levels of formal education). Therefore, there appears a positive association between secondary education and the propensity to outmigration.

The data in Table 4 further show that male out-migrants have a higher level of education (2.15) than female (1.95). Male out-migrants also tend to be disproportionately more educated compared to female. The selectivity of migration in terms of education thus may be mainly happened by the success of relatively higher education of male migrants. The data further showed that literate out-migrants to the urban areas are relatively larger than literate out-migrants to the rural areas. Education migration was occurred to urban areas among young adults aged between 15 to 24 years of age. Likewise, relatively larger proportion of illiterate out-migrants moved to the rural areas than literate out-migrants moved to the urban areas. This further suggests that migrants' educational status in the study area differed not only by gender but also by the area of destination. Male migrants accounted to have about 81.06 percent of the total migrants who had primary or more level of education, but female migrants tended to have only 69.17 percent of this category of education. And the share of out-migrants who had secondary or more levels of education (31.41 percent) is three times higher (10.99 percent) than non-migrants. These differences may be a reflection of the overall educational disparity observed between men and women population of the study area.

Employment and occupation status of people at origin are among important factors of migration. As far as main occupation of overall sample is concerned, 60.03 percent were agricultural labourers, 23.31 percent were unpaid family workers, 3.56 percent were weavers, 10.52 percent were reported too-child and too-old to work, only 0.93 were traders and 1.65 percent were others. The data showed one interesting result that migration decreases the relative share of both female and male labour can be available for agriculture compared to total sample. The agricultural and unpaid family labourers constitute the largest category among out-migrants to both rural and urban areas compared to other members sampled in the study, respectively sharing 73.49 and 15.85 percent all out-migrants. As suggested in the previous studies (e.g., Oberai and Singh, 1983), most unpaid workers are relatively younger and underemployed than self-employed workers, and are more likely to move out than the latter. Moreover, agriculture in the Gamo highlands is not sufficient enough to produce marketable surplus (Tesfaye et al., 2018a); and hence, individuals may consider it as unpaid family business and seek for paid employment. Significant proportion of persons (10.52 percent) who are too-old and too-child to work are migrating out from the study area. This part of migration may not have an impact on overall agricultural production at their origin, rather may reduce household consumption and hence increase saving and then investment as reduces household size. The data also reveal that weaving is purely male occupation and that weavers mainly move towards urban areas than rural areas, especially to Addis Ababa, capital of Ethiopia, the first urban area where in Gamo people emerged there as Ethiopia's weaving community in the late 19th century. The data further show that those who were employed and have work tend to have lower propensity to migrate than underemployed as well as unpaid family workers. This is evidenced from fact that traders and self-employed are fewer movers.

Table 4 Selected Demographic and Socioeconomic Characteristics of Migrants and Non-Migrants, 2007-2017

Characteristics	Out Migrants	Non-Migrants	Total

	Male (N = 227)	Female (N = 120)	Male (N = 796)	Female (N = 796)	Male (N = 1023)	Female (N = 916)
Sex (in percent)	65.42	34.58	50	50	52.76	47.24
Average age (in years)	21.34	19.88	31.22	31.8	29.02	30.24
Age Groups (in %)						
[10, 15)	18.50	19.17	21.86	18.09	21.11	18.23
[15, 20)	26.87	31.67	16.96	13.19	19.16	15.61
[20, 25)	26.43	32.50	8.92	8.04	12.81	11.24
[25, 30)	17.18	10.83	7.16	9.17	9.38	9.39
[30, 35)	6.61	3.33	17.59	24.5	15.15	21.72
[35, 50)	3.52	1.67	6.16	6.91	5.57	6.22
50+	0.88	0.83	21.36	20.1	16.81	17.58
Marital Status (in %)						
Never married	79.74	80	50.75	37.31	57.18	42.9
In marriage	17.62	19.17	46.61	55.15	40.18	50.44
Divorced/widowed	2.64	0.83	2.64	7.54	2.64	6.66
Relationship to the household head						
Head / spouse	7.49	3.33	43.22	49.75	35.29	43.67
Son/daughter of head	88.99	70	53.89	36.43	61.68	40.83
Others	3.52	26.67	2.89	13.82	3.03	15.5
Education Status (%)						
No formal education	18.94	30.83	37.44	55.15	33.33	51.97
Primary education	47.58	41.67	48.87	36.56	48.58	37.23
Secondary+ education	33.48	27.5	13.69	8.29	18.09	10.8
Average Education Status	2.15	1.97	1.79	1.53	1.85	1.59
Religion						
Protestant & others	32.6	25	34.42	33.54	34.02	32.42
Orthodox Christian	67.4	75	65.58	66.46	65.98	67.58
Main occupation at origin						
Agriculture	75.33	70	51.76	62.44	56.99	63.43
Salaried employment		1.67	2.64	1.13	2.05	1.20
Unpaid family work	11.45	24.17	27.39	22.49	23.85	22.71
Too-old to work	0.44	1.67	2.14	2.14	1.66	1.86
Trade			0.13	1.76	0.20	1.75
Too-child to work	4.41	2.50	9.67	10.05	8.50	9.06
Weaving	8.37		6.28		6.74	

Source: household survey data, 2017

This study also believed that the effects of labour force migration could depend in part on who makes the decision. In view of this claim this study assessed the decision maker of migration, and identified that to migrate decisions are not unique and selective to one social group. Some are enforced by own decisions, other by the household, and the remaining are by friends and relatives. Specifically, of 347 out-migrants identified, 70.04 percent (243 persons) were reported self-decisions, 25.65 percent (89 persons) were by family pressure, and 4.32 percent (15 persons) were influenced by friends and relatives. These estimates suggest that even weak social ties matter in the migration decision, though the influence of these ties appears on relatively small as compared to strong social ties. However, as focus group discussed during the survey, whether the decision made at an individual or a family level, it is common knowledge the family; and the family involves bases on cost benefit calculations and enforces when the benefits are perceived to overweigh the costs associated with the movement. In their influence, households take into account both expected earnings and future remittances when choosing where to allocate its members. This is consistent with the conclusion drawn from earlier migration theories (e.g., Sjaastad, 1962, Stark and Bloom, 1985, Taylor, 1999, Todaro, 1976). The data on their frequency of outmigration show that more than half (51.72 percent) had moved away for the first time, about one-fifth had moved for the second time and 27.59 percent had moved out for the third or more times. This further suggests out-migrants attachment to the household at origin.

As far as remitting behaviour is concerned, only 37.18 percent of migrants were reported remitting during the observation period. The remitting behaviour is somewhat different with respect to gender. There is a higher propensity among male to remit (44.93 percent) than among female (22.5 percent). This may be due to the fact that most migrants are young and unmarried adults and of whom a female rural out-migrant who is going to marry and acquire here life-time resource at her husband's destiny is culturally and socially not allowed to share her parents' wealth with her brothers. Of course, households were also reported receiving remittances from their earlier out-migrants. Like migration, therefore, distance does not appear to weaken family remittance ties (mainly male) in the Ethiopian Gamo highlands. There also tested a significant remitting behaviour difference between rural-urban, rural-rural and rural-abroad out-migrants [Pearson chi2(2) = 2.0239 and Pr = 0.364]. The inflow of remittances is largely from urban areas. One possible point should be noted here is that most migrants take time to remit back home.

5.4. Characteristics of Return-Migrants

This study also surveyed information on selected social, economic, and demographic characteristics of return-migrants. The intention of this attempt was to show up answers to questions: who return? How many returns? Who benefits from the return? The data is analyzed using descriptive statistics and tested between male and female groups. Totally, there were 56 returned migrants during September 2007 and August 2017. As presented in Table 5, outmigration begets return-migration of both male and female, but that is relatively insignificant in size. Most returnees were from urban areas (83.93 percent or 47 of 56) compared to rural areas (16.07 percent or 9 of 56); and 52.32 percent of returnees were from Addis Ababa, 19.05 percent from SNNP regional state outside Gamo province, 26.19 percent were from Gamo province outside study district, and only 2.38 percent were within the study district. In contrary, all returnees from rural areas were within SNNP regional state, of whom 62.5 percent were from SNNP regional state outside Gamo Gofa province and 37.5 percent were from Gamo Gofa province outside study districts.

Table 4.11 Percentage Distributions of Return-Migrants by Selected Socioeconomic and Demographic Characteristics, Ethiopian Gamo Highlands: 2007-2017

Characteristics	Return Migrants		
	Male (N = 42)	Female (N = 14)	Total (N = 56)
Sex	75	25	
Average age on return (years)	30.71	28.29	**30.2**
Age on return (years)			
[10, 15)	2.39	7.14	3.57
[15, 20)	7.14	7.14	7.14
[20, 25)	14.29	14.29	14.29
[25, 30)	33.33	35.71	33.93
[30, 35)	23.81	14.29	21.43
35+	19.04	21.43	19.64
Education on return			
No formal education	16.67	28.58	19.64
Primary education	42.85	35.71	41.07
Secondary & more	40.48	35.71	39.29
Religion on return			
Protestant & others	26.19	14.29	23.21
Orthodox Christian	73.81	85.71	76.79
Years of continuous stay at migration			
Less than 3	19.05	7.14	16.07
[3, 6)	38.1	50	41.07
[6, 9)	7.14	21.43	10.72
9 and more	35.71	21.43	32.14
Marital Status on return			
Never married or not in marriage	42.86	14.29	35.71
Married and living in marriage	57.14	85.71	64.29
Status in the household			
Head /spouse	30.95	42.86	33.93
Son/daughter of head	57.14	7.14	44.64
Others	11.91	50	21.43
Main Job Done while Away			
Agriculture	7.14		5.36
Daily wage labourer	33.33	85.71	46.43
Salaried employment	2.39		1.79
Weaving	50		37.5
Full time student	7.14	14.29	8.92
Sends remittances to family while away?			
Yes	50	85.71	58.93
No	50	14.29	41.07
Main Job done since return			
Agriculture	57.14	64.29	58.93
Unpaid family worker	9.52	21.43	12.5
Salaried employment	16.67	14.28	16.07
Weaving	16.67		12.5
Return-Migration decision maker			
Own	69.05	57.14	66.07
Family	26.19	42.86	30.36

Characteristics	Return Migrants Male (N = 42)	Female (N = 14)	Total (N = 56)
Others	4.76		3.57
Frequency of Returning			
First	26.19	28.57	26.79
Second	9.52	28.57	14.29
Third and more	64.29	42.86	58.92
Previous Place of Residence			
Within Study District	2.38	7.14	3.57
Outside District But Within province	26.19	21.43	25
Outside Province But Within Region	19.05		14.29
Addis Ababa	52.38	64.29	55.36
Abroad		7.14	1.78
Will intend to migrate out again?			
No	38.1	50	41.07
Yes	14.28	14.29	14.29
Indeterminate	47.62	35.71	44.64

Source: household survey data, 2017

The data showed that about 42.86 percent of returnees were continuously away for six or more years, of which 75.16 percent were away for nine and more years. The percentage of returnees who returned within three years of their migration was only 16.07 percent. Therefore, there exist on large numbers of out-migrants who stay away for long duration. The data further show that continuous stay at urban areas is by far larger than the continuous stay at rural areas. As shown in Table 5, more than two-fifths of urban-rural returnees were away for 9 or more years as compared to only 12.5 percent for rural-rural returned-migrants. Gender wise, continuous stays of returned-migrants at their previous place of destination were relatively less clear, as male as well as female out-migrants stayed away for less than 3 years, [3, 6) years, [6, 9) years, and 9 and more years was comparably equal.

The educational structure of returnees shows that fairly large proportion were with secondary or more level of education (39.29 percent) compared to the proportion of out-migrants living away in this category (31.32 percent). In contrary, relatively small proportion of persons with no formal education and with primary education were returned than stayed away. As compared to out-migrants, return-migrants accounted for relatively a lower percentage of persons with no formal education (19.64% < 23.28%) and primary levels of education (41.07% < 45.5%), but a higher percentage of secondary or above levels of education (39.29% > 31.32%). Return-migrants thus acquire higher level of education away.

As far as the frequency of returns is concerned, about three-fifths (58.92 percent) were returned for at least third time, 14.29 percent for the second time and the remaining 26.79 percent for the first time. Besides, the data on future intention to outmigration shows that 14.29 percent decided to re-migrate out, 44.64 percent are indeterminate and 41.07 percent have no intention to re-migrate again. These rates are comparably the same for both female and male urban-rural returnees. In contrary, of eight rural-rural return-migrants, 75 percent has no intention to move out again while 25 percent remained indeterminate to decide till the survey, which considerably suggests different implication than the intention reported by urban-rural return-migrants. These figures together suggest that there exists on large degree of rural-urban "circular" outmigration as compared to a rural-rural stream of outmigration in the Ethiopian Gamo highlands, and this would continue to rise as 14.29 percent of returnees are certain to re-move.

In contrary to out-migrants, fairly large percentage of returnees was married and in marriage (64.29 percent). As it was reported, most of them were married prior their outmigration. Unlike out-migrants relatively large proportion of returned-migrants (33.94 percent) were either heads or spouse of heads, all of them are married and in marriage as well. The data on remitting behaviour further show that 58.93 percent of returned-migrants found remitting to the family while they were away. The returned-migrants thus may have a closer degree of attachment to their spouses and family at origin and this could have influenced their decision to return-migration. Again, consistent to outmigration decisions, return migration decisions are made by individual returned-migrants (66.07 percent of 56), households (30.36 percent of 56), and relatives and friends (3.57 percent of 56).

The survey also collected information on return-migrants employment status and main jobs done while they were away and after they returned back home. The data showed that 26 (46.43 percent of the return-migrants) were daily wage labourers; 21 (37.5 percent) were weavers; 5 (8.92 percent) were full-time students; and the remaining were farmers and salaried employees while they were at migration. With the exception of small number of full-time students all female return-migrants were daily wage labourers while they were away from the village, and weaving, farming and salaried employment seemed occupations of men and of which weaving was proved realty. The data on main occupations done since return at home shows one interesting result. Majority of return-migrants (58.93 percent) re-join agriculture and small number of educated returnees join full-time employment. Gender wise, larger proportion of female return-migrants would become unpaid family labourers as compared to their male counterparts. Generally, most return migrants were observed had different economic activities while at outmigration and after return-migration. This suggests that the skills that out-migrants acquire at migration are not directly related to their main occupation (agriculture) at origin, but may be used for off-farm economic diversification.

6. Conclusion

The main objective of this study has been to examine migration in the Ethiopian Gamo highlands, focusing at the rates and reasons for migration and the characteristics of out-migrants and return-migrants in comparison with non-migrants. Descriptive statistics has indicated that internal outmigration is an individual and a household life-course history and a social event of smallholder households. Internal outmigration decisions in the study area thus are largely constrained by the prevailing institutional and structural contexts of source households and the labour market conditions prevailing at the destination, rather than by distance. The Gamo people are known weavers in Ethiopia and their current out-migration seemed to have a link with their earlier rural-urban mobility for weaving at Addis Ababa. This may be partly because urban areas at origin are not production or industrial centers but either local administrative centres or market places, and hence generate less market for their products.

Internal rural-urban outmigration and internal urban-rural return-migration were observed the most dominant types of internal migration in the Ethiopian Gamo highlands. Of 1939 individual samples 347 were out-migrants and of 440 out-migrants only 56 persons were returned back home when last surveyed. Of 347 out-migrants, 84.15 percent (292 persons) moved to urban areas, 14.41 percent (50 persons) to rural areas and 1.44 percent (5 young girls) to abroad. Most migrants move to urban areas and most rural-urban migrants move long distances. Out-migrants basically move for economic motives whereas returnees return back for non-economic motives. Internal migration in the Ethiopian Gamo highlands is a household strategy as migrants statuses are common knowledge to family member at origin and households involve in migration decisions so as to spread economic risk as economic motives dominate the choice of migration. Therefore, the "new economics of labour migration" can satisfactorily explain the pattern of internal out-migration, at least in the Ethiopian Gamo highlands.

Moreover, migration occurs in all ages but young selective. Evidently, of 347 out-migrants, 96.25 percent (334 individuals) were young adults aged between 10 and 34 years at the time of their outmigration, of whom 5 girls moved abroad. The study further reveals that internal outmigration is repeatable and its determinants are interactive process of the individual, household, and village level characteristic. The factors motivating the choice of internal outmigration are not meaningfully invariable among male and female. Contrary to a previous study that documents "female are more mobile than male" (e.g., Ezra, 2000, Ezra and Kiros, 2001), this study shows that young men are more likely to move than young women and relatively larger proportion of male moves out for economic motives than female. Generally, the cumulate hazard rate indicating the sum of the hazard rates over time confirms that internal outmigration in the Ethiopian Gamo highlands would continue to rise unless effective measures are taken.

This result should be of concern to policy makers, since out-migrants comprise relatively young adults who remit less to the elderly at origin and returnees acquire skills which are not directly related to the traditional labour-intensive agriculture practiced for centuries. Focus should be given more towards agricultural intensification and economic diversification, especially in areas with high levels of internal migration. The data examined here provided only a measure of internal migration at the household level, using retrospectively surveyed data at origin.

Future research may extend this analysis to other areas, especially in Ethiopia, where internal migration is an important feature of the labour market and part of the livelihoods of people. Among others economic effect of remittance and return migration on household should be the priority.

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