

# **Education: an opportunity or a threat?**

A research about the relationship between education, in particular TVET, and the perceptions on international migration of youth in Ethiopia



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Master thesis Human Geography

Specialisation Conflicts, Territories and Identities

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Internship Edukans The Netherlands & Ethiopia

Date of completion: 20-11-2018



## **Preface**

Doing a second master studies, including writing a second master thesis, some people called me crazy. Luckily, I experienced this differently. While the courses gave me many new insights and knowledge, I learned the most during my stay in Ethiopia. While being there, I collected the data for this research, which was also executed for my internship organization, Edukans. The conversations with, amongst others, Ethiopian students and returnees of my own age, gave me a totally different perspective of life. While I was there, satisfied that I got the opportunity to execute this research, they were struggling to finalize their education and to survive in their country. The stories about their opportunities, their way of life and their experiences in Arab countries, confirmed that our way of life should not be taken for granted. By (temporarily) living there, I experienced the struggles they face on a daily basis. However, I am very grateful that I have been able to experience this adventure. It was an amazing opportunity and an enriching experience.

Finally, after months of reading, writing and rewriting, I finished the research. This master's thesis is the final proof of competence in obtaining the Master of Science degree in Human Geography, specialization Conflicts, Territories and Identities. I am really satisfied with the overall research process, experiences and its outcomes. I would like to take the opportunity to express my gratitude to several people. First of all, I would like to thank all the respondents. Without your (tough) stories, I would not have managed to give an overview of the current situation and opportunities in Ethiopia. Even if the topics were sensitive, you were almost always willing to talk about these. Also, I am very thankful to Edukans, which gave me the opportunity to do this research, with this master's thesis as final result. Especially, I would like to thank the staff of Edukans Ethiopia, the Development Expertise Center and HOPE Enterprise for supporting me during my stay in Ethiopia, and helping me to collect the data. Moreover, I would like to thank Bert Bomert for the guidance and supervision during the writing process. The questions that were asked, and the feedback helped me to make it a better result. Finally, I would like to thank my family and friends who always supported me. You made sure that I was able to enjoy the writing process and to finalise the thesis. Now, after six years and three months of studying at the Radboud University Nijmegen, it is time for new adventures.

I hope you enjoy reading this thesis,

Martine Krabben

## Executive summary

An important theme on the international agenda is the stimulation of youth employment. Also in Ethiopia, various programs and projects focus on education and skills development in order to improve opportunities for youth. In particular, Technical and Vocational Education and Training (TVET) provides youth with the technical and practical knowledge and skills in science, technology and innovations. These trainings should match the skills demands of the economy, so youth are able to find employment or to start their own business. If there is a lack of education and skills, and there are no appropriate job opportunities, there is a risk of increased migration because youth might look for better livelihoods elsewhere. However, critics argue that TVET triggers migration because educated youth might have better opportunities elsewhere, and might look for better standards of living. This research contributes to the ongoing debate regarding the consequences of TVET in developing countries by exploring the perceptions on international migration of youth in Ethiopia. Therefore, the aim of this research is: *exploring how education, especially TVET, influences perceptions on international migration of youth in Ethiopia, in particular in Addis Ababa and Amhara.*

The relationship between education and the perceptions on international migration, and also the ambition to migrate, are explored within a broader context. A conceptual model has been designed, consisting of different determinants, which can influence the ambition to migrate. These determinants are divided into macro-level or contextual determinants, mezzo-level or social network determinants, and micro-level or individual determinants, respectively.

Based on the analysis, it can be concluded that there is an influence of TVET on the perceptions on international migration of youth in Ethiopia. Many students mention they have more opportunities abroad and more ambition to migrate because of their diploma. However, to understand and explain this conclusion, it is important to take their context into account. Many students also mention that they would like to work in Ethiopia, if possible. However, there are not enough local job opportunities, and the recruitment process is corrupt, while there are many external job opportunities, with a (much) higher salary. Also the image and quality of TVET are low, so youth will not have good opportunities locally. In addition to that, families and other members of the social network often propose or push youth to migrate. They are willing to support and facilitate them, although they are aware of the risks, in order to improve their life. Also youth are aware of the obstacles they might face, and have the knowledge of (and sometimes experienced) these risks. However, the expectation of improving their own and their families economic situation is still a major reason for them to migrate.

It can be concluded that a migrant chooses to migrate, even if he/she has the perception that he/she will face other major challenges in the country of destination, as long as he/she believes that life in the home country is more challenging. Education can thus both be an opportunity and a threat for youth.

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## **List of Abbreviations**

AU	African Union
BoLSA	Bureau of Labour and Social Affairs
BoWC	Bureau of Women and Children
BoYS	Bureau of Youth and Sport
CoC	Centre of Competency
CS	Customer Service
EU	European Union
DEC	Development Expertise Center
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
GMFA	General Mechanics and Fabrication Adjustment
GoE	Government of Ethiopia
GTP	Growth and Transformation Plan
HCT	Human Capital Theory
IEMD	Industrial and Electrical Machine Drives
IGAD	Intergovernmental Authority for Development
ILO	International Labour Organization
IOM	International Organization for Migration
IT	Information Technology
ITSM	Information Technology Service Management
MoLSA	Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs
NGO	Non-governmental organization
PPP	Public private partnership
REC	Regional Economic Communities
RMPF	Regional Migration Policy Framework
SINCE	Stemming Irregular Migration in Northern and Central Ethiopia
SME	Small and Medium-sized Enterprise
TVET	Technical and Vocational Education and Training
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization



# **1. Introduction**

## **1.1 Background**

Over the past decade, an important theme on the international agenda has been the stimulation of youth employment (ILO, 2016). Various programs and projects focus on education and skills development in order to improve opportunities for youth. It should, amongst other things, contribute to their well-being, but also to poverty eradication and sustainable development (UN, n.d.; UNSDN, 2016). If there is a lack of education and skills, and there are no appropriate job opportunities, there is a risk for increased migration. Youth might look for better livelihoods and opportunities elsewhere, either within or outside the country (ILO, 2016).

In Ethiopia youth employment and migration are considered to be prominent points of interest as well. 71% of its population is under the age of 30, which leads to challenges for the country and its labour market. Many young people, especially women, do not have a decent job or work opportunities (ILO, 2016). Partly due to this problem, Ethiopia is still one of the poorest countries in Africa. The country is highly dependent on agriculture, which is the main driver of growth and development, and thus poverty reduction (National Planning Commission, 2016; Solomon, 2016). 85% of the population is working in this agricultural sector: producing sufficient food for themselves and the Ethiopian citizens (ICCO Cooperation, 2016, p. 8). The agricultural sector is therefore considered to be the major source of sustainable growth and development. While the country is characterized by progress, many citizens still live under the poverty line (National Planning Commission, 2016). Because of a lack of jobs and limited livelihood opportunities, many citizens decide to migrate. As a consequence, labour migration is a recent phenomenon in Ethiopia as well (IOM, 2017a).

In order to reduce the rate of youth unemployment, to accelerate development and to decrease the number of migrants, improved education and skills development are main priorities for the Government of Ethiopia (GoE). With the implementation of the so-called Growth and Transformation Plan 1 (GTP) 2010-2015, the Government tried to set the foundation for economic transformation by, amongst other things, improving education and reducing unemployment. As a result, the country achieved some economic growth, which was mainly attributed to the agricultural sector (ICCO Cooperation, 2016). However, efforts are still needed to improve the situation. While the access to jobs increased and jobs have been created, the number of unemployed educated youth has increased as well (ILO, 2016). Based on GTP 1 and other policies and programs, the Government formulated GTP 2. This plan states that “the major objective of GTP 2 is to serve as a spring board towards realizing the national vision of becoming a lower middle income country by 2025, through sustaining the rapid, broad based and inclusive economic growth” (National Planning Commission, 2016, p. 4).

Several strategies will contribute to this aim, like enhancing productivity of the agriculture and manufacturing sectors. In order to enhance productivity and to reach sustainable economic growth and transformation, it is important to have a healthy national workforce. Employees should possess the appropriate knowledge, capabilities and skills to be productive and generate innovations and technological developments (National Planning Commission, 2016, p. 88). Quality and accessible education should be ensured to augment skills and to develop the human resource capabilities (National Planning Commission, 2016). However, youth do not always have access to education, and they are therefore not competent for employment. The skills are insufficient, and technical knowledge to improve productivity is missing (ICCO Cooperation, 2016; Solomon, 2016). Because the skills of the youth are not in line with the demands of the labour market, productivity is low, and it is hard to link the youth to the growing labour market (Krishnan & Shaorshadze, 2013).

Therefore, it is important to close the gap between education and the necessary skills and/or private sector needs (ICCO Cooperation, 2016, p. 6). Youth should develop the appropriate skills based on education, and training programs should match the skills demands of the economy (National Planning Commission, 2016; Sisay, 2013). In particular Technical and Vocational Education and Training (TVET) provides youth with the technical and practical knowledge and skills in science, technology and innovations, which is also promoted in GTP 1 and 2 (Krishnan & Shaorshadze, 2013; National Planning Commission, 2016, p. 92). The skills should be linked to practical experiences and work placements in order to make sure they can use the developed skills (UNSDN, 2016). It is expected that due to the training of young people in skills relevant to the market, and by providing and strengthening job and business support services to graduates, young people are able to demonstrate relevant skills for the labour market and are able to find employment or to start their own business (Edukans, n.d.a). In the end, this will empower youth, address unemployment challenges and contribute to the productivity of the economy (National Planning Commission, 2016, p. 92).

## **1.2 Research problem**

As previously mentioned, unemployment and migration among youth pose a challenge for Ethiopia (Global Migration Group, 2014). Therefore, the Government and other public and private organizations invest in TVET to help youth to learn a trade, enable them to find a job or to start a business. It is expected that this will contribute to improved living conditions and economic development of the country (Edukans, n.d.a; Krishnan & Shaorshadze, 2013). Despite this more general assumption, scholars disagree on the consequences of TVET in developing countries (Baraki & Van Kemenade, 2013). Critics argue that TVET cannot be a remedy for unemployment, and that it is deemed to fail in developing countries (Baraki & Van Kemenade, 2013; Lee, 1998; Lewis, 2009; Oketch, 2007; Psacharopolos, 1997; Selvarantnam, 1988). In addition, some scholars doubt whether

employment and development are the only and actual consequences of TVET. Some studies point out that education rather triggers migration because educated youth might have better opportunities elsewhere, and might look for better standards of living. They get new and better opportunities, because they have gained more work experience and earn higher wages (Dodani & LaPorte, 2005; Global Migration Group, 2014).

This research will contribute to the ongoing debate regarding the consequences of TVET in developing countries by exploring the perceptions on international migration of youth in Ethiopia. This relationship will be explored within a broader context. This context will be presented by elaborating contextual factors, like local and external job opportunities. Also, the role of the social network of youth will be included in this research. It will be clear how and to what extent these determinants influence the migration aspirations of youth. Finally, the experiences with TVET and the expectations of youth in relation to their opportunities will be addressed. It will be examined whether these youngsters have the ambition to migrate after graduation, and thus whether education can be considered to be a cause of migration.

The aim of this research is formulated as follows: *exploring how education, especially TVET, influences perceptions on international migration of youth in Ethiopia, in particular in Addis Ababa and Amhara.*

In order to reach this aim, the following research question will be answered: *how and to what extent does education, especially TVET, influence perceptions on international migration of youth in Ethiopia, in particular in Addis Ababa and Amhara?*

To answer this research question, various sub-questions have to be addressed first:

1. What is Technical and Vocational Education and Training?
2. How is TVET integrated in the education system in Ethiopia?
3. To what extent is there international migration in Ethiopia?
4. How and to what extent does education contribute to development?
5. How and to what extent does education contribute to migration?
6. How and to what extent do macro-, mezzo- and micro-level determinants, respectively, influence the perceptions on migration of youth in Ethiopia, in particular in Addis Ababa and Amhara?

### **1.3 Societal relevance**

Education for employment is considered to be an essential factor for economic and social development in a country. TVET is a training method which contributes to enhancing productivity and reducing poverty (Pavlova, 2014). By offering trainings, it is assumed that young people will increase their skills and will be able to find employment or to start their own business. It is thus expected that these trainings close the gap between vocational education delivery and private sector needs. Therefore, many countries have, in some form or another, implemented TVET in their educational system (Edukans, n.d.b; Schewel & Fransen, 2018). However, there is disagreement about the consequences and effectiveness of TVET, so this research will explore the influence of TVET on opportunities of youth in Ethiopia. If it turns out that TVET creates the opposite effect, in that it stimulates migration rather than contributes to employment and development, the effectiveness of TVET can be questioned. If so, current policies aiming to facilitate and improve TVET, should possibly be revised. It is therefore important to understand how education relates to migration in developing countries, like Ethiopia. The country places trainings at the centre of its strategies for economic development and poverty reduction. If the educated youth decide to migrate because better opportunities are available elsewhere, local society will not benefit, and the initial aim will not be achieved (Anyidoho, Kayuni, Ndungu, Leavy, Sall, Tadele, & Sumberg, 2012). This research thus gives insights in the consequences of TVET in relation to the local society. The outcomes might contribute to recommendations and changes in the current policies and programs in order to increase the effectiveness of the trainings and thus contribute to development and transformation of the local society (Schewel & Fransen, 2018).

### **1.4 Academic relevance**

In addition to the societal relevance, this research is scientifically relevant as well. As previously mentioned, the literature lacks a broad agreement on the consequences and effectiveness of TVET in developing countries (Baraki & Van Kemenade, 2013). This research will contribute to the ongoing debate about the effectiveness by elaborating upon the relationship between education, in particular TVET, local job opportunities and migration by doing an empirical case-study research. Given this form, in-depth data can be required which gives insights in the perceptions of the youth in relation to their opportunities. While there is much literature about education and migration, the impact of (increased access to formal) education on migration has so far received little attention (Schewel & Fransen, 2018). This thesis will contribute to this gap in the literature by doing field research in Ethiopia. It will generate in-depth data concerning the question whether or not education leads to migration. While the literature is mainly quantitative in nature, this research will be qualitative in order to gain more specific knowledge about the motivations, ambitions and personal stories of the youth.

## **1.5 Thesis outline**

Because this research aims to explore how education, in particular TVET, influences perceptions on international migration of graduated youth in Ethiopia, a general overview of Ethiopia is given in Chapter 2. After explaining the concept TVET, the chapter elaborates the regular education and other training opportunities in Ethiopia as well as the current migration trends. Next, in Chapter 3, the key concepts and theories used in this research are discussed. This theoretical section is needed to elaborate upon the descriptive and explanatory purposes of this research. The relationship between education and development as well as the relationship between education and migration are discussed. Both relationships can be explained by two paradigms: the equilibrium paradigm and the conflict paradigm. These paradigms show that there is no agreement about the consequences of education within societies. Therefore, this research contributes to the solution of these ambiguities in the literature by exploring the relationship between education, development and migration in Ethiopia, while focusing on different levels and coherent determinants. In Chapter 4, the design of this research is described. In addition to the research design, the case selection, data collection methods, data analysis methods, operationalization, and the validity and reliability are discussed. Based on various data collection methods - interviews, focus group discussions, observations and content analyses -, the main research question is answered. To analyse the data, all interviews and observations are transcribed and coded by using both inductive and deductive coding strategies. In Chapter 5 it is explored how and to what extent the macro-, mezzo- and micro-level determinants influence the perceptions on migration of youth in Ethiopia. The data is analysed, and each determinant is discussed. The goal is to contribute to the solution of the mentioned ambiguities. Finally, Chapter 6 concludes the research with answers to the research (sub-)questions, a theoretical and methodological reflection, and some recommendations for further research as well as for Edukans regarding current policies and programs.

## **2. General overview regarding Ethiopia**

This chapter provides a general background of Ethiopia. It forms the base of this research; understanding the relationship between education and migration. Firstly, a general background is provided in order to outline the current situation in the country. Next, a description of TVET is given and the education system in Ethiopia is explained. Finally, the major migration trends from Ethiopia to other countries are elaborated. This section will contribute to the answer of the first, second and third sub-question.

### **2.1 General background**

The official name of Ethiopia is the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia. The country is located in the northern part of Africa (Horn of Africa), bordered by Djibouti and Somalia to the east, Eritrea to the north, Sudan to the west and Kenya to the south. The capital city is Addis Ababa (Ethiopian Government Portal, 2018). In 2013, the country counted around 85.8 million citizens, while it currently has approximately 107 million citizens. Although the fertility rate is decreasing, in 2018 it is still 4.50. The median age is 18.8 years. A consequence of this is the large number of youth entering the labour market (Worldometers, n.d.). The Human Development Index value in 2017 was 0.448, which places the country in the category 'low human development' and ranks it at place 174 out of 188 (Solomon, 2016; United Nations Development Programme, 2017).

Ethiopia is one of the most rural countries in Africa. In 2013, 80% of the citizens were living in rural areas, and 73% was working in the agricultural sector (Schewel & Fransen, 2018; The Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Central Statistical Agency, 2013). Citizens from the urban areas are mainly employed in the service sector, like Public Administration, Defence and Health. Due to globalization and industrialization, the number of people working in the industry and service sector is rising. Many people are also employed by the informal sector. A major reason to work in the informal sector is the salary. People in the informal sector often receive more income than people in the formal sector. However, the working conditions are often worse and workers have less security. Therefore, it is encouraged to work in the formal sector rather than the informal one (K7<sup>1</sup>).

According to the Ethiopian Central Statistical Agency, in 2013 the rate of youth unemployment was 6.8%. More females than males are unemployed. Also, youth in the urban areas are more often

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<sup>1</sup> These codes refer to a particular respondent or observation used in this research. Information about the codes is given in Appendix II: Overview conducted interviews key-informants, focus group discussions, and observations.

unemployed than the rural ones (The Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Central Statistical Agency, 2013). However, according to the International Organization for Migration (IOM), in 2013, the overall urban unemployment rate was 16.5 per cent. Youth unemployment (citizens between the ages of 15 and 29 years old) exceeded 20% (IOM, 2017a, p. 7). 54.9% of the unemployed have been jobless for less than thirteen months, while 20.9% has been unemployed for more than 96 months. The level of unemployment should be decreased by improving the quality of education in the country (The Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Central Statistical Agency, 2013). The different numbers given by both organizations illustrate that (official) services are often confronted with limitations in collecting data. This can obviously have important consequences for the reliability of these numbers.

## **2.2 Education in Ethiopia**

In order to understand Technical and Vocational Education and Training (TVET) in Ethiopia, this form of education has to be described first. Next, the education system in Ethiopia, including TVET, will be briefly addressed.

### **2.2.1 Technical and Vocational Education and Training**

In this research, the focus is on TVET as a specific form of education for youth. Broadly speaking, education is considered to be a tool to improve the knowledge and practical skills of individuals necessary for development (Psacharopoulos & Woodhall, 1985). In order to keep up with structural changes in the economy (like urbanization) and technological changes, there is a growing demand for relevant skills (Adams, 2012). In this, TVET is seen as a solution for underdevelopment as a consequence of a lack of skills (Krishnan & Shaorshadze, 2013). It prepares youth for employment and direct entry into the labour market by including classes on technologies and related sciences in addition to the general education. During these courses, youth acquire the practical skills, attitudes, understandings and knowledge related to jobs in various sectors of the economic life (Alhasan & Tyabo, 2013, p. 150; Oketch, 2007).

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) defines TVET as “those aspects of the educational process involving, in addition to general education, the study of technologies and related sciences and the acquisition of practical skills, attitudes, understanding and knowledge relating to occupation in various sector of economic life”. TVET aims to strengthen individuals by building the skills required by the labour market (UNESCO, 2017b).

Several assumptions regarding TVET are made. It is assumed that TVET can cure youth unemployment because trainings provide youth with relevant skills for the labour market. It is stated that economic progress depends on technological knowhow, thus TVET should be expanded. Also,

TVET should offer hope to lower-level students, and provide many middle-level technicians. Finally, due to educated youth, the unemployment rate will reduce, incomes will increase, which will consequently lead to poverty alleviation, social and economic transformation and sustainable welfare. Based on these assumptions, many (international) organizations support the implementation of TVET in developing countries (Alhasan & Tyabo, 2013; Oketch, 2007, p. 221).

### **2.2.2 Regular education and other training opportunities in Ethiopia**

In Ethiopia too, education is considered as an effective tool to improve the knowledge and skills of children and youth. Due to the investment in human capital, it is argued that sustainable economic development and poverty reduction can be achieved. To provide basic literacy and numeracy skills, children start with primary education: grades 1 through 8. General secondary education (grades 9 and 10) should provide students the possibility to identify areas of interest for further education. After completing grade 10, students can decide to go to the preparatory level or to enrol in TVET. The preparatory level (consisting of grades 11 and 12) should prepare the students for higher education. Approximately 30% of all students in grade 10 continues to higher education. The other 70% enrolls in TVET or leave the formal education system. The score of the centralized exam determines whether a student continues to the preparatory school or will be placed in a TVET track, and at what level (Krishnan & Shaorshadze, 2013).

TVET colleges offer trainings from level 1 through 4; polytechnic colleges also provide level 5. Depending on the scores received at the national exam, the level of enrolment is set: 1) a one-year training (10+1), a two-year training (10+2) or a three-year training (10+3). Each level has a number of units of competencies, for which the students will take a Centre of Competency (CoC) exam. Students will transfer from one level to the other level (K5). Completing a three years training is considered to be the same as completing the first year of college-level education. These students have the possibility to join university in order to complete the undergraduate degree. Students who attain level 4 can move on to higher education (Krishnan & Shaorshadze, 2013, p. 11-12). If a student has finished university and enrolls in TVET, he/she will start at level 5. This educational structure is depicted in Figure 1 (Solomon, 2016, p. 19).

The regular trainings are provided in different skills departments, like General Metal Fabrication and Assembling, Machining, Electricity, Information and Communication Technology, Construction, Leather, Textile and Garment, Automotive, and Road Transport (UNIDO & ILO, n.d.). Students get 30% theoretical training and 70% practical training per unit of competency. These practical trainings take place at school as well as within enterprises (K3; K4). They work at companies in order to get experience, and to improve the practical skills and operational activities (K16).



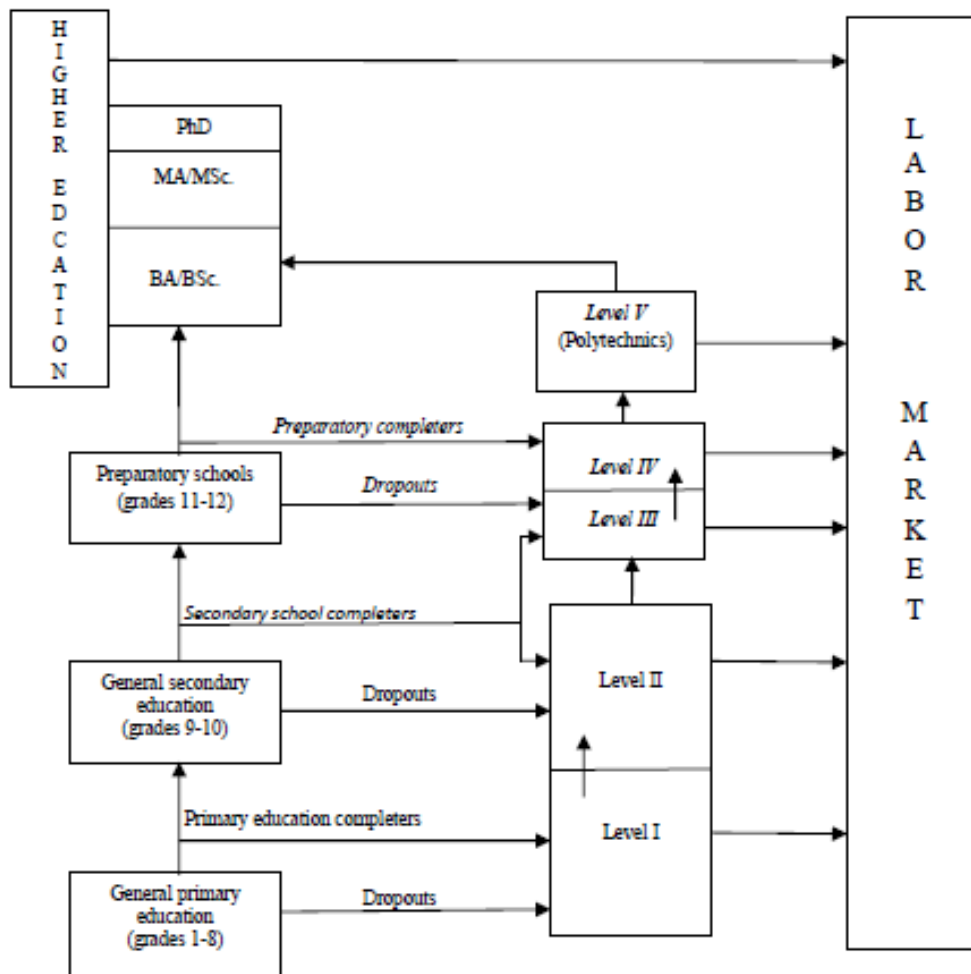


Figure 1: Ethiopian education structure showing academic and TVET pathways (Solomon, 2016, p. 19).

Next to the regular trainings, TVET colleges provide other trainings as well. Some colleges offer industry extension trainings for companies. These are given to support the sector and consist of different fields: 1) technical training, 2) technological support, 3) Kaizen (being a Japanese philosophy for self-improvement) and 4) entrepreneurship (K3; K4; K15).

Also, short-term trainings are provided in cooperation with TVET offices. The TVET offices aim to create job opportunities for youth, since the trainings will enable them to start their own business. The short-term trainings are conducted for jobless people (although they are university or TVET graduates) and aim to prevent youth from migration, by giving them opportunities in Ethiopia (K5; K15). First, they receive training in the various fields of the industry extension trainings. Next, based on their interest and the interest of the market, they are offered training in departments, like Textile, Garment or Automotive (K9; K5; K10). Thereafter, if youth still have the ambition to migrate, they receive training in household or caregiving. They have already participated in awareness programs. The trainings last one or three months. It is explicitly stated that citizens who migrate without trainings will

face a lot of problems in other countries. The trainings are meant to contribute to working inside Ethiopia, or to give them better access in other countries (K12; K15).

Finally, trainings are also provided for returnees. For example, in Dessie returnees are offered several training opportunities in a beauty salon. The goal is to let them work in other working conditions, and to work inside, rather than outside Ethiopia. Returnees are often vulnerable people, with many problems. After finishing this particular training, they might get a job in Ethiopia (K12).

## **2.3 Migration trends in Ethiopia**

Migration is a recent phenomenon in Ethiopia. While rural-to-rural migration was the primary mode of movement within the country, nowadays rural-to-urban and urban-to-urban migration are the most common migration trajectories of internal migrants. In addition to internal migration, many migrants prefer international migration. For international migration, three main routes can be distinguished, as shown in Figure 2 (IOM, 2014, p. 10). According to the IOM, these routes are

“1) eastern route whereby migrants go through Djibouti and Northern Somalia towards the Arabian peninsula with some staying in either Yemen or Saudi Arabia while others proceed onward to Europe; 2) northern route (or western route) that extends through Sudan, Chad, The Niger, Libya and Egypt for migrants who aim at Europe or Israel as their final destination; and 3) southern route through Kenya, the United Republic of Tanzania, Zambia and Malawi, Mozambique at times with the final destination being South Africa”. (IGAD, 2012, p. 5)

According to reports of the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs (MoLSA), between 2008 and 2013, 460,000 legal migrants have been registered at the eastern route. 79% of these migrants travelled to Saudi Arabia, 20% to Kuwait and 1% to Dubai and other countries. It is expected that 60-70% of migration is irregular, either trafficked or smuggled (Stocchiero, 2017, p. 3). According to the IOM, in 2013 7.5% of all migrants to the Middle Eastern countries were underage; between the ages of 13 and 17 years. The IOM estimates that a total of about 182,000 migrant workers processed their migration through private employment agencies. Most of these migrants are females, working as maids and service workers (IOM, 2017a). According to the Regional Mixed Migration Monthly Summary Report 2018, the expected number of returning irregular migrants from Saudi Arabia to Ethiopia is 2,800 per week since November 2017 (Baseline SINCE Amhara, 2018, p. 10). It should be kept in mind, however, that the numbers of migration are hard to determine (IOM, 2017a).

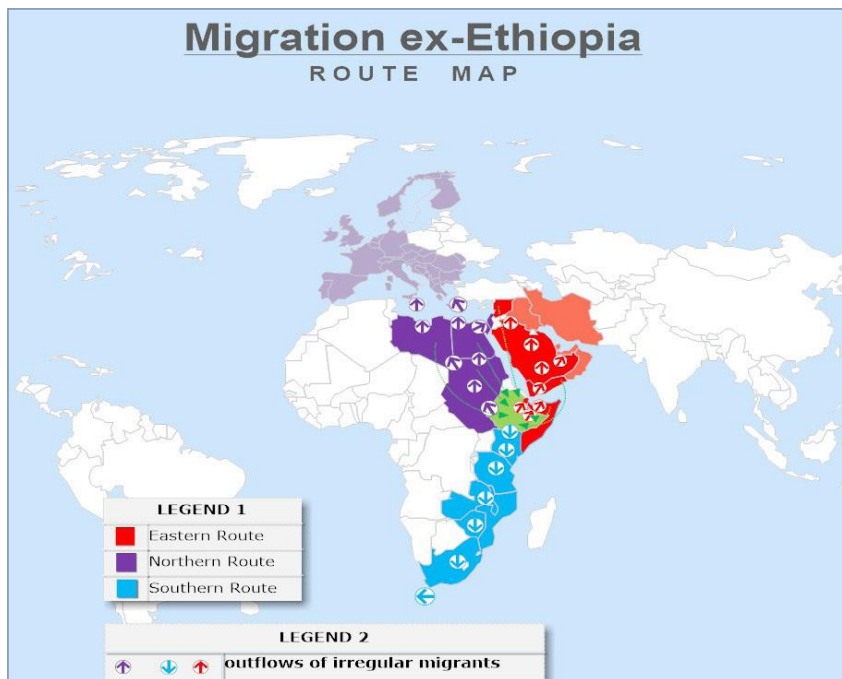


Figure 2: Irregular migration routes from Ethiopia (IOM, 2014, p. 10).

During the journey to as well as in their destination country itself, migrants often face many challenges. Some of them prefer irregular routes because they are more accessible and less costly than the regular ones, also being persuaded by brokers. Migrants are exposed to psychological and physical violence, unbearable workloads, a lack of freedom and

salary, plundering of properties, and the risk of getting arrested and deported (IOM, 2017a; Stocchiero, 2017). Because of these risks and an increasing number of illegal migrants, in 2013 the GoE decided “to put a ban on all overseas employment services to any destination countries which are facilitated both individually and through private employment agencies” (IOM, 2017a, p. 49). After that, binding bilateral labour agreements were signed with Middle Eastern countries. These should protect the rights and interests of migrant workers, while defining the roles and responsibilities of private recruiting agencies. Since February 2018, the ban is lifted (CTGN Africa, 2018).

Currently, in order to structure the demand and to facilitate the working opportunities abroad, the GoE has signed several agreements with various countries. There are three kind of agreements: 1) personal/private agreements (between an individual and a country); 2) governmental agreements (between two countries); and 3) agency agreements (between an agency and a country). The latter type of agreement tries to satisfy the demands of the receiving country. Nowadays, the only demand of the receiving countries, mostly Arab ones, is in household and caregiving. Based on such an agreement, it is not possible to work in another profession, as provided by the TVETs. If a graduate wants a job opportunity in his/her own profession, this is only possible through a personal/private agreement (K12).

Due to the increased level of migration, the inflow of remittances has grown as well. In 2013/2014, based on a comparative table of the National Bank of Ethiopia, a total of USD 2.971 billion in remittances was received in several ways, like cash, commodities, or underground transfers. Remittances obviously contribute to the economic development in Ethiopia (IOM, 2017a).

## **2.4 Conclusion**

This chapter provided a general background of Ethiopia. The education system in Ethiopia, including TVET and other training opportunities, have been elaborated. The Ethiopian government considers education to be an important driver of development and poverty reduction. Although the government is investing in education, many people nevertheless decide to migrate. These migration trends are also elaborated in this chapter. Because of the risks and the high number of migrants, the Government decided to put a ban on overseas employment services. Currently, this ban is lifted, so legal migration is allowed.

### **3. Perspectives on education**

This chapter addresses the key concepts and theories that are used in this research. Based on these concepts and theories, it aims to explore the relationship between education, in particular TVET, development and migration amongst youth. As mentioned in the Introduction, on the one hand it is assumed that education contributes to job opportunities and economic development, while on the other hand it is also assumed that education contributes to migration (aspirations). Therefore, firstly, the concept ‘youth’ is explained. Next, it will be discussed what the current literature states about the role of education in individual and economic development, and about the role of education in migration. This section will contribute to answering the fourth and fifth sub-question.

#### **3.1 Defining ‘youth’**

Organizations and states do not always use the same definition of ‘youth’. For example, the United Nations (UN) considers youth as “a period of transition from the dependence of childhood to adulthood’s independence and awareness of our interdependence as members of a community”. Based on this claim, it is stated that “it is a person between the age where he/she may leave compulsory education, and the age at which he/she finds his/her first employment. These persons are between the ages of 15 and 24 years” (UNESCO, 2017a). This is a more fluid categorization rather than a fixed one. Because some youth leave education at a later stage, the African Youth Charter defines youth as “every person between the ages of 15 and 35 years” (UNESCO, 2017a).

Both definitions are not completely applicable to this research. Therefore, some adaptations should be made in order to come up with an appropriate working definition. While the UN uses the concept ‘compulsory education’, this research only focuses on TVET, which is an addition to general and compulsory education: the notion of ‘compulsory education’ should therefore be adapted by TVET. In this research the focus is on finishing TVET and finding a first employment, and therefore the age of youth as such is considered as not being important. Also, youth without an education or studying at university are not taken into account, although it is acknowledged that they are normally included in the group of ‘youth’. Based on this, the working definition that is used in this research is as follows: “the category of youth comprises persons between the age where he/she leaves TVET, and the age at which he/she finds his/her first employment”.

#### **3.2 Education and development**

This section addresses the current state of affairs of the literature dealing with the relationship between education and development. There is a widespread belief that education contributes to individual and national development (McGrath, 2010). Already in 1776, Adam Smith considered human capital, co-

developed by investments in education, as an important element in the promotion of the national economy (Breton, 2012; McGrath, 2010). Despite this general assumption, scholars disagree about the role of education in individual and national development. Therefore, firstly the concepts of individual and economic development are elaborated, followed by an exploration of some theories about the role of education in development.

### **3.2.1 Individual and economic development**

Within the literature several definitions of the notion of development are given. Generally, it is associated with ‘things getting better over a period of time’ or ‘improvement’ (Newint, n.d.). While it includes many fields, like health, democracy and human rights, this research especially focuses on the role of education in development. Because of the assumed relationship between education and development, development is explored from an economic perspective. Within this perspective, a distinction can be made between individual and economic development. In this research, individual development is considered to be the improvement of job opportunities for an individual after finishing TVET. Economic development is considered to be the improvement of the economy as a consequence of the increased number of graduated TVET students. However, this research mostly focuses on individual development. It is assumed that individual development contributes to economic development.

### **3.2.2 The role of education in development**

In the literature, scholars disagree about the role of education in individual and economic development. Several (contradicting) theories are elaborated. These theories can be categorized into two broad paradigms: the ‘equilibrium paradigm’ and the ‘conflict paradigm’. Both have had a major influence on the studies of education in society, and will be discussed in this section.

#### **The equilibrium paradigm**

Especially during the 1950s and the 1960s, most of the studies on education were carried out from the equilibrium paradigm. Under this paradigm, theories of functionalism are discussed. These theories can be applied at the macro (system or society) level as well as the micro (individual) level. Based on the theories of the equilibrium paradigm, it is stated that education contributes to individual development and to national economic growth. Several scholars confirm the coherent assumptions. For example, Schultz (1961) and Denison (1962) both show that improving skills and capacities by education directly contributes to a growth of the national income. Also, the World Development Report of the World Bank (1980) confirmed this.

### *Functionalism*

The founding father of functionalism is Emile Durkheim, who was interested in social order and stability of societies. He explains the existence of social institutions in terms of their functionally necessary contributions at the macro-level (Pope, 1975). A functionalist can be defined as

“one who (1) views society as a whole composed of interrelated parts (i.e., as a system); (2) assumes a tendency toward system equilibrium; (3) considers how society or the social order is possible and, hence; (4) views structures in terms of their contributions to the perpetuation or evolutionary development of society; and (5) sees pervasive commonalities or consensus as the ultimate basis of social order”. (Pope, 1975, p. 361)

According to functionalism, each part of society has thus an influence on and is functional for the stability and social equilibrium of the entire society. These parts are social institutions fulfilling the needs of society, and are interrelated and dependent on each other (Mooney, Knox & Schacht, 2007). Core institutions are, for example, family, government, religion and education. If an institution is not vital and does not play a role in society anymore, it will cease to exist (Crossman, 2018).

Functionalist theorists consider education as an instrument of social mobility, necessary for the maintenance of the system. Proponents of the functionalist theory believe that education is functional and serves the needs of society. Due to education, not only knowledge and skills, but also other abilities like moral education and networking will be transmitted to the learner (CliffsNotes, 2016; Potthoff, 1943, p. 148). The government or the state provides this education for the children, while they, or rather their families, pay taxes and fees on which the state depends. If this process is going well, these parts of society will produce order and stability (Crossman, 2018). Underprivileged individuals get new opportunities, which will contribute to the reduction of the overall inequality (Kinyanjui, 1980).

### *Modernization Theory and the Human Capital Theory of national development*

Theories that are an offspring of functionalism are the Modernization Theory and the Human Capital Theory (HCT). These theories evolved in a particular social, economic and political context, in particular after the Second World War. During this period, the dominant Western powers focused on modernization and development (Bernstein, 1971; Kinyanjui, 1980). Modernization was defined as “the process of social change whereby the less-developed societies acquire characteristics common to the more developed societies” (Lerner, 1969, p. 387). Therefore, the West attempted to transform the underdeveloped countries into industrialized societies (Kinyanjui, 1980). In order to reach this transformation, it is assumed that education plays an important role in economic growth, which is also the basis of the HCT (Harbison & Myers, 1964; Kinyanjui, 1980). For example, Coleman states that

“education is unquestionably the master determinant in the realization of equality in a modernizing society dominated by achievement and universalist norms” (1965, p. 15). Due to (investing in) the development of human resources or human capital, underdevelopment should be overcome and stability in society will be reached (Kinyanjui, 1980). According to the HCT, education is thus considered to be the source of economic development.

#### *Human Capital Theory of individual development*

The HCT can also be applied at the micro-level; an investment in human capital will contribute to the development of an individual. The theory is based on a neoclassical school of thought, which assumes that individuals seek to maximize their own economic interests. Education is considered to be an investment because it increases the productivity of an individual and thus contributes to the transformation, enhancement and empowerment of this individual (Harvey & Green, 1993). Due to education he or she acquires knowledge and skills, called human capital (OECD, 2007; Tan, 2014). The increased productivity will lead to a higher income for the individual. Logically, it is expected that individuals will invest in education because productivity rates will increase and with this they will receive a higher income in the future (Acemoglu, n.d.). A balance should be found up to the point where the costs of the investments in education are equal to the future benefits derived from the investments (Psacharopoulos & Woodhall, 1985). Sources of human capital (and the differences in human capital between individuals) are, for example, schooling, training, the quality of school and non-schooling investments, and the labour market (Acemoglu, n.d.). According to this theory, education can thus be considered as an investment in human capital, and a contribution to the development of an individual.

Acemoglu (n.d.) distinguishes several views of scholars who differ in their way of thinking about human capital. He states that the Becker view considers human capital to be directly useful in the production process, being a unidimensional object, while the Gardener view on the other hand states that human capital is not unidimensional, because there are many dimensions or types of skills. The Schultz view considers human capital to be the capacity to adapt, while the Bowles-Gintis view argues that it is rather about the capacity to work in organizations. Despite these differences, all agree on the essence of the HCT, being that human capital increases the profit of a firm or organization and is therefore valued in the market (Acemoglu, n.d., p. 5).

#### *Critiquing the Human Capital Theory*

The HCT is based on two paradigms: methodological individualism and the rational choice theory. However, both can be criticized. Methodological individualism implies that the roots of all social phenomena can be traced back to the behaviour of individuals (Tan, 2014, p. 413). More specific, the collective or society is the product or sum of the individuals; thus collective interests are made up of



the sum of the interests of individuals in a community. This is in contrast with the reductionist view that argues that in order to make sense of a phenomenon, it is important to understand the context and dynamics in which it takes place. The behaviour of an individual is thus the product of social and cultural factors, rather than the social phenomenon as a product of the individual's behaviour. Therefore, it is important to take the political and economic context into account as well, rather than to analyse education as an independent institution.

HCT is also based on the rational choice theory which assumes that individuals attempt to maximize their interest and utility by making optimal and rational decisions. In this, individuals are considered to be rational beings, *homo economicus* (Tan, 2014). However, some scholars argue that an individual cannot act completely rational, that he/she is rationally bounded. Bounded rationality, a notion introduced by Simon (1972), means that an individual does not have the perfect knowledge in order to make an optimal decision, because he or she has limited skills and memories and incomplete information about alternatives, for example.

### **Conflict paradigm**

The critiques on the 'equilibrium paradigm' resulted in the 1970s in the upsurge of interest in theories that fall under the heading of the conflict paradigm. While proponents of functionalism consider the society as a composition of different, interrelated parts working together, proponents of the conflict theory disagree and consider society as a composition of different groups and interests competing for power and resources. Rather than diminishing inequality, it is argued that education reproduces and increases inequality in society (Kinyanjui 1980; Tan, 2014). One of the founding fathers of this perspective is Karl Marx. He argues that all societies evolve from agricultural to industrial, becoming a capitalist system. This industrialization process leads to the development of two classes of people in society: the bourgeoisie, the owners of the means of production, and the proletariat, the workers who earn wages. In this society, the bourgeoisie has the power to control the institutions, while the proletariat does not have access to those resources (Mooney et al., 2007, p. 2).

According to conflict theorists, this inequality and power imbalance is also maintained in education. The educational system maintains the status-quo, in which the proletariat will be educated to become obedient workers who accept their position as a lower-class member in the society. It is stated that less prosperous districts do not have enough money to attract better teachers and to purchase newer means and technology, while prosperous districts do have these opportunities. Education can therefore be seen as a powerful means to maintain the power structures (CliffsNotes, 2016). It constantly reflects and reproduces the unequal relationships of production within society, and therefore cannot equalize the opportunities for individuals (Kinyanjui, 1980).

### **3.2.3 Current (international) policies**

As shown in the previous section, scholars do not agree on whether education leads to equality or inequality in society. The different theories also showed that education can influence development at the micro- as well as the macro-level. While some argue that education provides (underprivileged) individuals new opportunities which will contribute to the reduction of the overall inequality, others state that education reproduces the unequal relationships of production. Irrespective of these disagreements, many (international, public) actors, like governments, policy makers and international agencies, base their policies on the first paradigm, the equilibrium paradigm. They state that investments in human capital, and thus in education, contribute to individual development, and in the end also to economic development (OECD, 2012; Patrinos, 2016). Because education is considered to be a human right and an important driver of economic and social progress, many actors invest in education in (mainly) poor countries. However, the question still remains whether or not education contributes to development and social equality (Psacharopoulos & Woodhall, 1985).

### **3.2.4 Education, unemployment and conflict**

In addition to the contribution to the well-being of citizens and development within a country, it is also argued that education has a positive influence on the dynamics of conflict and contributes to peacebuilding in a country (Smith, 2010). In 'Education for All', it is stated that "education is increasingly seen as one means to reduce and overcome the effect of violence. It can help prevent emergencies from occurring and can bring a sense of normalcy and stability into an otherwise chaotic situation" (Smith & Vaux, 2003, p. 18). In order to reach peace, it is therefore important that basic services, like education, are provided. Education can be considered to be a means of socialization and identity development based on the dissemination of knowledge, skills and values, and can contribute to conflict transformation and peacebuilding. Thus, the relationship between education and conflict is important. Firstly, education is a fundamental right, and may provide a mechanism to protect children and youth against abuse. Secondly, education is a tool for human development and eradication of poverty. If children and youth do not get the opportunity to go to school, it will result in a loss of social capital and capacity of a society to recover from conflicts (Smith, 2010, p. 1). Also, unemployment, caused by a lack of education, can lead to conflict. It leads to frustration amongst youth, and to social exclusion and inequalities. Consequently, youth can decide to unite and to start revolutionary movements in order to improve their current situation (Collier & Hoeffler, 2002; Gurr, 1970).

### **3.3 Education and migration**

As the previous section has shown, according to the equilibrium paradigm education can contribute to individual development as well as to the economic development of a country. Due to education and individual development, youth can get new or better livelihood opportunities. Based on this idea, it is also expected that development, partly as a consequence of education, reduces the need to migrate. A popular notion is that the “the poorest, the hungry and the desperate have the highest tendency to migrate” (De Haas, 2007, p. 18; Rhoda, 1983). By improving the conditions of an individual, as a result of rural development projects, organizations aim to reduce migration.

However, there are also scholars who argue that education has the opposite effect and actually leads to migration because of better opportunities somewhere else. Migration is considered as a livelihood strategy, which minimizes risks by spreading household incomes (Global Migration Group, 2014). It can therefore be questioned whether education contributes to economic development in a specific region or that it rather leads to migration of educated individuals. This section will examine how education is treated within migration theories. Therefore, first some definitions of migration will be elaborated.

#### **3.3.1 Definitions of migration**

In 2015, approximately 244 million people internationally migrated, while 740 million people moved within their own country. One-eighth of these migrant workers are youth migrants, between the ages of 15 and 24 (Deotti & Estruch, 2016). The word ‘migration’ derives from the Latin word *migrate*, meaning to change one’s residence. Broadly defined it means a (semi-)permanent change of residence (Lee, 1966). Migration is then considered to be a physical transition from one geographical place to another (Beijer, 1969; Du Toit & Safa, 1975). Eisenstadt (1953) adds that it involves the move from one social setting to another. Fortes (1971) makes a distinction between mobility, which is the movement within boundaries, and migration, which is the movement across boundaries. These boundaries are not only geographical in nature, but can also be structural or ethnic, and thus include a new setting. A person takes a decision based on weighing the advantages and disadvantages of staying or leaving (Du Toit & Safa, 1975). It can have major societal, regional, national and transnational consequences (Otoiu, Titan & Dumitrescu, 2014).

As said, migration can take place within a country (internal) as well as to another country (international) (Lee, 1966). The IOM defines internal migration as “a movement of people from one area of a country to another for the purpose or with the effect of establishing a new residence” (IOM, 2004, p. 32). Youth mainly move from rural areas towards urban areas (Deotti & Estruch, 2016). However, this research only focuses on international migration. International migration is defined as

“the movement of persons who leave their country of origin, or the country of habitual residence, to establish themselves either permanently or temporarily in another country” (IOM, 2004, p. 33). International migration sometimes takes place irregularly, meaning that a movement takes place outside the regulatory norms of the sending, transit and receiving countries (IOM, 2018). This can take place in different ways: entering without a proper visa, overstaying after a visa or residence permit has expired (initially the travel was legal), being employed by someone who is not the sponsor, disappearance from a sponsor, or being born to parents with an irregular status (Baseline SINCE Amhara, 2018, p. 9).

As the second definition points out, migration can take place either temporarily or permanently. Three different types of temporary migrants can be distinguished: 1) the migrant who works in the city, but lives on the outskirts of the city; 2) seasonal migration, which means that migrants, mostly males, go to the city for five or six months when rural agricultural undertakings do not require their presence; and 3) migrants leaving the rural area and going to the urban area for work periods of up to two years (Du Toit & Safa, 1975, p. 51). This illustrates that migration is most often from rural areas to urban areas (Rhoda, 1983). With permanent movements “people sever completely their links with rural areas and settle permanently in towns” (Prothero, 1965, p. 2). While these descriptions of migration suggest that it mainly takes place within a country, in this research it is assumed that these forms also can take place outside a country. Migrants can decide to work in another country temporarily or permanently.

Next to the distinction between internal and international migration, and between temporary and permanent migration, the literature also refers to several types of migration. Because this research deals with the role of education in development and migration, the focus is on two types of migration: distress migration and labour migration. Distress migration refers to “all migratory movements made in conditions where the individual and/or the household perceive that the only viable livelihood option for moving out of poverty is to migrate” (Deotti & Estruch, 2016, p. 1). The IOM defines labour migration as “the movement of persons from one state to another, or within their own country of residence, for the purpose of employment” (IOM, 2018). In this research it is assumed that both types are related. In order to move out of a situation of poverty, someone can decide to find a job elsewhere.

Based on these definitions, in this research the following working definition of international migration is used: international migration is the movement of persons from one country to another, either permanently or temporarily, for the purpose of employment in order to increase the livelihood option for moving out of poverty.

### **3.3.2 The impact of migration**

Migration can affect the rural livelihoods in both positive and negative terms. While there might be several reasons to migrate, one of the main reasons is to look for better income and employment opportunities in urban areas. The impact depends on a variety of factors, such as: who migrates, for how long does this person migrate, and what relations are maintained in order to transmit know-how and norms and values to non-migrants (Deotti & Estruch, 2016, p. 16). The Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) lists several positive as well as negative impacts of migration. For example, regarding labour productivity, a positive effect is that there is less pressure on the local labour market. At the same time, it leads to a loss of the most productive workforce. Also, migration might lead to more stable income through remittances and increased household capacities to face production and other shocks. On the other hand, it can also lead to remittance dependency and increase the vulnerability of remittance receivers to fluctuations in labour demand and sudden shocks. This is the same for income inequality. While on the one hand it can be argued that migration can lead to less inequality at the community level when it is the poorest and landless households receiving remittances, on the other hand it leads to greater inequality when it is not the poorest and landless households receiving remittances. Finally, if migrants return, there is an increased number of people in communities of origin aware of new agricultural skills and knowledge. However, migration results in a brain drain; a decrease in human capital stock and slowdown in innovation and agricultural transformation (Deotti & Estruch, 2016, p. 18).

In addition to these impacts, migration might also bring opportunities as well as threats for individuals. Especially the lower skilled youth face various risks when they migrate. Youth are often more vulnerable than older migrants because they lack important capital, like skills and resources, to be competitive in the formal labour markets (Deotti & Estruch, 2016). Therefore, migration is not always considered to be the most preferred option (Global Migration Group, 2014). The human and labour rights of workers can be violated. For example, workers can be abused and exploited. According to the Global Migration Group (2014), the rates of workplace accidents and deaths are higher for migration workers than for national cohorts. This can be explained by the fact that migrants often do not have the knowledge about labour standards and rights, and do not organize in trade union organizations to protect and defend themselves. They often have informal or undocumented employment agreements, so they are vulnerable and less willing to protect themselves out of fear of non-payment or even the loss of their jobs. Also, migration often has implications for health and access to medical care (because of financial, cultural and/or linguistic barriers, for example) (Global Migration Group, 2014).

### **3.3.3 The role of education in migration**

Within the literature, several dimensions of migration are distinguished, based on different theories. Because this research focuses on the relationship between education, development and migration, mainly economic oriented theories will be discussed. The economy is often considered to be the main driving force in migration. It is assumed that formal education increases the likelihood of migration, because education boosts the economic returns (Ravenstein, 1885; Schewel & Fransen, 2018). However, it is recognized that other, non-economic factors can influence the decision to migrate as well. In this section, again a distinction is made between the ‘equilibrium paradigm’ and the ‘conflict paradigm’.

#### **Equilibrium paradigm**

The equilibrium paradigm can also be used to explain the relationship between education and migration. As previously mentioned, under the equilibrium paradigm, theories of functionalism are discussed. Functionalists see society as a system, consisting of different interdependent parts, aiming to move towards an equilibrium. Migration is also considered to be an instrument, helping to reach equilibrium in society (De Haas, 2011). For example, if the ‘home society’ fails to provide job opportunities, (educated) people might take the decision to migrate to another place. Therefore, migration can be considered to be the consequence of the failing of society in providing (basic) needs (WordPress, 2008). Because functionalism is already extensively elaborated upon in a previous section, no further comprehensive explanation will be given. A model and theories based on functionalism will be used in order to explain migration.

#### *Push and pull model*

Migration always includes an origin, a destination, and an intervening set of obstacles (Lee, 1966). According to Lee, four factors enter into the decision to migrate and the process of migration. These can be distinguished as: 1) factors associated with the area of origin; 2) factors associated with the area of destination; 3) intervening obstacles; and 4) personal factors (1966, p. 50). As shown in Figure 3, different factors, depicted by + and -, influence the decision of people to stay in the original area or to move to another place. These factors, like economic and environmental, can differ per person, and can be considered to be push and pull factors (Lee, 1966, p. 50). Because ‘push and pull’ models can be considered as a list of factors playing a role in migration (and lacking the ability to determine dominant factors), it is not considered as a theory. These push and pull factors are interrelated, and do not operate in isolation (De Haas, 2011).



Figure 3: Origin and destination factors, and intervening obstacles in migration (Lee, 1966, p. 50).

On the one hand, migration can be driven by pull factors. Currently, the ‘pull demand’ for labour is growing because of technological changes. Due to the globalized economy, there is an international interdependence between technology, knowledge and people. Transformations in technology and industrial processes require other work activities, specialization and diversity of workers’ skills. Especially workers from developing countries are attracted because they are mobile, require lower salaries and lower social costs. Migration contributes to fulfil the demands of the labour market (Global Migration Group, 2014). If another region or country has jobs or opportunities available, this is a pull factor for this particular place. On the other hand, a push factor to migrate is the lack of employment and job opportunities for youth, as addressed in the previous section (Deotti & Estruch, 2016). While these youth are initially seen as a contributor to the development of the home region, as a consequence of migration they rather contribute to the economic and social development of the destination region or country. The difference in income between the home and destination region or country is also a push (and pull) factor (Global Migration Group, 2014, p. 2). Nevertheless, if training programs are in line with the local demands of the labour market, youth have more choices than just migration. Due to decent (rural) employment possibilities, youth have the opportunity to remain in their community and migrants have the opportunity to return. Decent is defined here as “productive work undertaken in conditions of freedom, equity, security and human dignity” (Global Migration Group, 2014, p. 8).

#### *Neo-classical migration theory: international migration theory*

The best-known application of the functionalist paradigm in migration studies is the neo-classical migration theory. This theory can be applied at two levels, namely the macro-level and the micro-level. Lewis (1954), Hicks (1963), and Harris and Todaro (1970) came up with the neoclassical macroeconomic theory, based on the neoclassic theory of the labour market. This theory is known as the international migration theory and explains migration in the face of economic development. More specific, it states that the main cause of migration can be explained by (geographical) differences in the supply and demand for labour, and the differences in wages between the original place and the

place of destination (De Haas, 2011; Tomanek, 2011). As addressed in the previous paragraph, economic development can be explained by education. Workers leave labour-abundant and low-income countries, and move to labour-scarce and high-income countries, which consequently leads to a redistribution of production factors (Arango, 2000). The decision to move is thus based on income maximization. However, the extended neoclassical models state that the decision is based on the expected rather than the actual earnings, as well as the probability of employment (Bauer & Zimmermann, 1999). Lowry (1966), in his migration model, shows that the relative level of employment and wage conditions influence migration; people migrate from places with low wages and high unemployment to places with high wages and low unemployment (Wright & Ellis, 2016).

These differences in supply and demand for labour, as well as the differences in wages can also be seen as the previously mentioned push and pull factors. For example, structural deficiencies of the labour market in the home region strengthen the process of migration. If the labour market is characterized by high unemployment, lack of decent jobs and opportunities for education, youth are more willing to migrate. In particular the mismatch between educated skills and the needs of the labour market contributes to the high level of unemployment in a region (Global Migration Group, 2014). Therefore, by offering more and better employment opportunities, the root causes of migration will be addressed (Deotti & Estruch, 2016).

While it is acknowledged that economic factors do have a major influence on migration, the theory has received some critiques. For example, it is argued that the theory lacks the influence of other, non-economic factors. Also, the theory fails to explain non-random migration processes, like migration without wage differences and return migration, and also to elaborate upon the role of the state and other institutions in migration (De Haas, 2011).

#### *Neo-classical migration theory: human capital theory of migration*

The neo-classical migration theory can also be applied at the micro-level; the human capital theory of migration. Because this theory has already been extensively elaborated upon as well, only the basic assumptions will be addressed. It is assumed that people are rational actors aiming to improve their well-being by moving to other places where the reward of their labour will be higher (Arango, 2000, p. 285). If this cost-benefit calculation leads to (expected) positive net returns, an individual will decide to migrate (Kurekova, 2011). Utility maximization will thus be achieved by choosing the location which offers the highest net income (Bodvarsson & Van den Berg, 2013).

According to this theory, educated people are more likely to migrate because their skills increase their chances of success. In this theory, education is considered as a form of human capital that increases the potential gains of an individual. It is expected that education boosts the expected benefits and thus



the decision to migrate (Schewel & Fransen, 2018). This decision is based upon the values and expectations of an individual, aiming to maximize one's own benefits. However, this model ignores the fact that people do migrate because of other reasons than income maximization. Other influencing factors are, for example, skills, age, culture, family reunification, personal preferences and expectations of migration (Bodvarsson & Van den Berg, 2013; Kurekova, 2011).

The critiques on functionalism as addressed in a previous section are also applicable in the case of migration. Both the macro- and micro-level neo-classical theories received critique; the theory cannot fully explain the reality. Firstly, in reality relatively few people do migrate, despite the huge differences in income and wages within a country or amongst countries. Also, the theory fails to explain differential migration: the differences in migration flows between structurally similar countries. Because the theories focus on the mobility of production factors, the political dimension is ignored. For example, borders between countries are not taken into account while these are barriers for the free movement of labour. Also, restrictive admission policies reduce the mobility of migrants. In addition to political factors, individual characteristics also influence the decisions and possibilities to migrate (Arango, 2000). The idea that migration can only be explained by economic factors and thus ends when there are no (or little) wage differentials anymore, does not hold. Other political and cultural determinants should be taken into account as well.

### **Conflict paradigm**

While the functionalist paradigm argues that the decision to migrate is based on a rational cost-benefit calculation of income-maximizing individuals, other theories reject this assumption. In response to the neoclassical theory, the New economics of labour migration theory was formulated. This theory questions the ideas and principles of the neo-classical theories, and can be considered as a variant of this theory.

#### *New economics of labour migration theory and the Relative deprivation theory*

The New economics of migration theory places migration within a broader context. While the neoclassical theory focuses on the individual independence, this theory argues that a shift to mutual interdependence should be made (Stark, 1991). The behaviour and migration decision of an individual should be analysed in the context of a joint decision-making unit, often the household or family, referred to as the mezzo-level. Families and/or households rather than individuals are thus considered as the unit of production and consumption (Tomanek, 2011). The decision is not only based on the aim to maximize the income and the skills of an individual, but also by the preferences and constraints of the family of this individual with the aim to minimize risks (Porumbescu, 2015; Stark, 1991).

While this theory focuses on the link between the absolute income as a consequence of migration, Stark and Taylor (1991) argue that there should be a focus on the comparative income position of individuals or households; this is the comparative income position of households compared with other households in the reference group (Stark, 1991). This notion is based on the relative deprivation theory, a theory about the feelings caused by social inequality. According to this theory, an individual might decide to migrate in order to change his/her relative position in the same reference group or to change his/her reference group. If a person is relatively more deprived than another, it is expected that he/she is not satisfied and has a stronger incentive to migrate (Stark & Bloom, 1985; Stark & Taylor, 1991). If the (expected) amount of income earned by households is thus above the current (or reference) income, it is more likely that households send migrants to another region or country (Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouaouci, Pellegrino & Taylor, 1993). The incentive thus depends on the income differentials rather than the income levels (Stark, 1991).

In addition to the income differentials of households, households also play another important role in the decision of an individual to migrate. The household invests in and supports the migrant during his formal education and the initial process of finding a job. This economic support is recompensed through remittances when the migrant has found a job. The family and the migrant therefore often have a contractual arrangement when one of the members migrates. The decision to migrate also depends on the expected amount of remittance to the family (Stark, 1991).

While the New economics of labour migration theory overcomes the problems of functionalism by focusing on mutual interdependence and analysing a decision in the context of the household or family, the theory still emphasizes the role of income distribution as a motive for migration. Some scholars therefore argue that this model is abstracted from the dynamics of social attitudes and the government policies related to migration (Stark, 1991). They argue that these factors as well as other variables influence the decision to migrate and the amount of transfers. These variables are the duration of stay, the age, the employment status, the intensity and nature of kinship ties, cohesion and social control (Stark, 1991, p. 210).

#### *Capabilities and aspirations*

In line with the mentioned critiques, Carling (2002) and De Haas (2007) argue that, in order to understand migration, it is important to look at the capabilities and aspirations of an individual to migrate and to include the dynamics of social attitudes. In order to migrate, an individual needs human, financial and social resources as well as aspirations to do so (De Haas, 2007). Capabilities, like education, infrastructure, security and access to media increase both the aspirations and capabilities to migrate (De Haas, 2007, Rhoda, 1983). Financial resources are foreign aid, development programs and remittances, for example. While these often aim to increase the local

situation of the people, they also increase the income from labour and improve the ability of workers to cover the costs of migration. As a consequence, migration will increase rather than decrease. Education leads to migration because it enables youth to acquire literacy in (Western) languages and skills. This reduction in sociocultural distance leads to migration (Rhoda, 1983).

In addition to the capabilities to migrate, the decision also depends on the aspirations of an individual. These aspirations are shaped in a political, economic, social and cultural context. Especially formal education and access to information tends to increase the aspiration to migrate. Education increases the awareness of other, alternative lifestyles (De Haas, 2007; Schewel & Fransen, 2018). These aspirations are, as already mentioned in the New economics of labour migration theory, based on relative poverty and perspectives, rather than absolute poverty. Based on this idea, it can be stated that poverty reduction itself will not reduce migration. As long as an individual has more or higher aspirations than the current livelihood opportunities, development will concur with migration. Also, if economic growth leads to income inequality, due to relative deprivation, individuals might get more incentives to migrate (De Haas, 2007, p. 19). According to De Haas (2007), there is thus a positive relationship between education, development and migration processes.

### **3.3.4 Current (international) policies**

Based on the theories, the effect of education and other development policies can work two ways. On the one hand it can be argued that education leads to more equal opportunities and equality within a society and thus has a mitigating effect on migration (Jennissen, 2004). On the other hand, if not all youth get the same educational opportunities, they will have unequal opportunities with the consequence that there also will be income differentials. This will, on the contrary, lead to more experiences of relative deprivation, with migration as result (Stark, 1991).

During the past decades, there has been an increasing growth in international migration as a feature of global development. While it is acknowledged that migration can contribute to poverty reduction and improvements in human well-being, current policies have become more selective. While during the past decades migration settlements were mostly permanent, nowadays governments favour temporary migration (UN, 2013). Currently, many Western countries consider migration to be a problem, while migrants consider migration as an opportunity or solution. Therefore, international institutions like the European Union (EU) develop policies in order to address migration (European Commission, n.d.). Also, governments and NGOs are implementing projects in order to improve the living conditions of individuals and to improve the stability in more vulnerable countries (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, n.d.). But as shown in the previous section, education leading to individual development can also

contribute to migration (aspirations), which is an unintended outcome rather than an intended. However, scholars disagree at what level the decision to migrate is affected.

### 3.4 Conceptual model

This chapter has illustrated that the decision to migrate can be affected at different levels. On the one hand, the Neo-classical migration theory states that the decision is influenced at the macro-level by contextual factors, or at the micro-level by individual factors. On the other hand, the New economics of labour migration theory states that the mezzo-level, or the household level, has an important influence as well. In this theory it is argued that the decision to migrate depends on the socio-economic characteristics and aspirations of the individual as well as the characteristics and aspirations of the individual's household (Deotti & Estruch, 2016; Stark, 1991).

Based on these different theories, it can be concluded that several determinants can influence the decision to migrate. These determinants are distinguished between macro-level or contextual determinants, mezzo-level or household determinants and micro-level or individual determinants. Because this research explores the relationship between education, development and migration, the focus is especially on educational and economic factors at the different levels. It is acknowledged that other factors, such as political, environmental or health factors, might also have an influence (Greenwood & McDowell, 1992). However, because these factors fall outside the scope of this research, they are not taken into account.

According to the academic literature and policy documents, *macro-level determinants* are, amongst others, the number of decent job opportunities locally, the job opportunities in the country of destination, wage differences, and the recruitment process. *Mezzo-level determinants* are the household's capacity and aspirations. The various *micro-level determinants* are the current situation and opportunities, the individual expectations, the knowledge of and experiences with migration, and the influence of having a diploma on migration (Deotti & Estruch, 2016; IOM, 2016).

Because scholars do not agree which factors have an influence (and to what extent), this research explores the relationship between education and migration at the various levels and whether or not other determinants are decisive. While the determinants are considered as separate, it is acknowledged that the mezzo- and micro-level determinants are taking place within, and thus to some extent are influenced by, the macro-level determinants. Therefore, first the macro-level determinants are explored in order to form the contextual framework. Next, the mezzo- and micro-level determinants within this framework are addressed in order to answer the research question. This is visualized in a conceptual model, as presented in Figure 4.

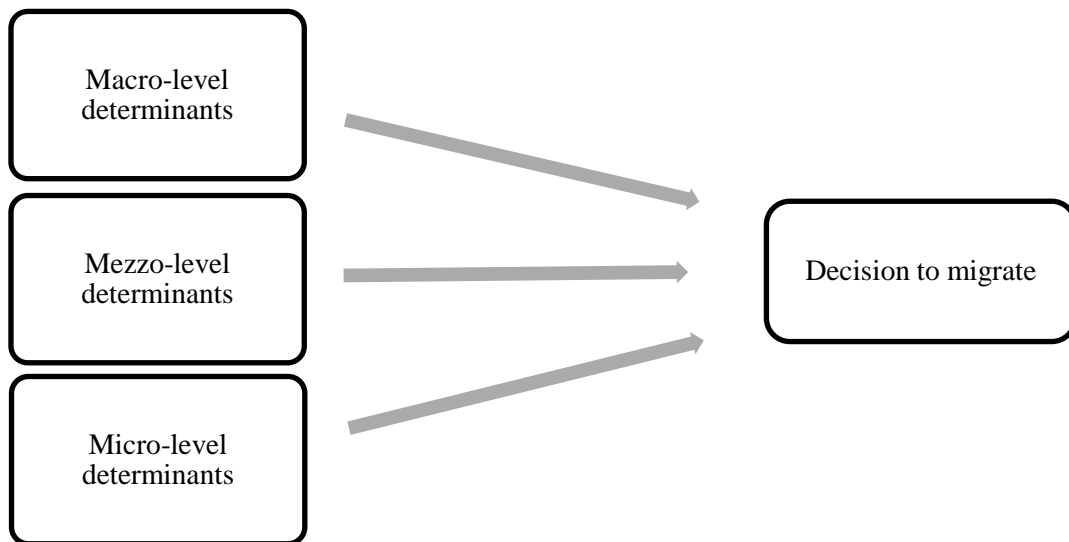


Figure 4: Conceptual model ‘Determinants influencing the decision to migrate’.

### 3.5 Conclusion

In this chapter the relationship between education and development as well as the relationship between education and migration have been discussed. Both relationships can be explained by using two different paradigms: the equilibrium paradigm and the conflict paradigm. According to the equilibrium paradigm, education leads to individual development as well as to economic development. Education is considered to be an investment in human capital and a contributor to social order within society. The conflict paradigm, however, argues that education reproduces unequal relationships within society and thus maintains the power structures. Nowadays, the equilibrium paradigm is used as a base for international policies.

However, some scholars argue that education can also produce another (unintended) consequence: migration. According to the equilibrium paradigm, education can lead to migration because individuals increase their skills, and aim to maximize their income and opportunities. If these opportunities, due to their improved capacities, are in another region or country, individuals will decide to migrate. The conflict paradigm rejects this assumption and states that migration should be considered in a broader context. While some argue that contextual, macro-level factors influence the decision, others argue that it depends on the aspirations of the individual itself. The New economic of labour migration theory states that families and/or households should be taken into account as well as the relative position of individuals and households. It can be concluded that there is no agreement about the consequences of education within societies. Therefore, this research contributes to the solution of these ambiguities in the literature by exploring the relationship between education, development and migration in Ethiopia, while focusing on different levels and coherent determinants.

## **4. Methodology**

This chapter discusses the methods used in this research. These methods contribute to answering the research question and function as a bridge between the theoretical and empirical part of the research. First, it addresses the research design - which is a qualitative case study - and a case selection is made. Subsequently, the data collection and data analysis methods are explained and the theoretical concepts are operationalized. Next, the validity and reliability of this research are discussed. The chapter ends with a conclusion.

### **4.1 Research design**

To achieve the aim of this research, a qualitative single case study is executed. Because the relationship between education, especially TVET, and the perceptions on migration of graduated youth in Ethiopia, in particular in Addis Ababa and Amhara, is explored, there is only one single case. Yin defines a case study as “an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident” (Yin, 2003, p. 13). A single case study is executed for several reasons. The complex topic requires an in-depth study of the situation, in which attention is paid to the case-specific details and the causal mechanisms at play. Because it is assumed that there are no differences between the students involved in TVET, no distinction is made between the youth of different schools, so there is only one case rather than multiple cases (Gerring, 2007; Gustafsson, 2017).

The procedure that is used to formulate and test explanations within case studies is process-tracing (Mahoney, 2015). Bennett and Checkel define process-tracing as “the analysis of evidence on processes, sequences, and conjunctures of events within a case for the purpose of either developing or testing hypotheses about causal mechanisms that might causally explain the case” (2014, p. 7). By using the theory-testing variant of process-tracing, an attempt is made to identify the factors which influence the decision to migrate. Therefore, the theorized expectations are made explicit and are explained in the theoretical framework and the conceptual model. What is important to note is that no explicit hypotheses are formulated, but conditions are drafted. It is examined whether these factors are present and how these influence the ambition and/or decision to migrate, and thus causally explain the case. In addition to theory-testing, the theory-building variant of process-tracing is also used. Because some influential factors were not identified in the literature, new conditions and factors are added. These causal mechanisms are inferred (Beach & Pedersen, 2013).

## 4.2 Edukans and the SINCE program

This research is done in cooperation with Edukans. Edukans is a Dutch NGO, part of UnieNZV. The organization aims to improve the development of children in developing countries. More specific, the focus is on two goals: 1) the access to and quality of education in developing countries; and 2) involving Dutch citizens, especially the Dutch education system (Edukans, 2016, p. 5). Four themes are distinguished in order to reach these goals. One of these themes is: ‘jobs for youth’. Edukans tries to improve the skills of youth by providing them TVET trainings, so they increase their opportunities for getting a job (Edukans, 2016).

One specific program of Edukans has been selected as a case to provide insights in the perceptions on migration of youth in Ethiopia, after finishing TVET, called *SINCE* (Stemming Irregular Migration in Northern and Central Ethiopia). This is a two-year program funded by the European Union Emergency Trust Fund for Africa (EU Trust Fund) which aims to address the root causes of irregular migration and displacement in Africa. The program is implemented in five regional states of Ethiopia: Amhara, Oromia, Tigray, Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples’ Region, and Addis Ababa. This thesis focuses on the Amhara region, on the project *‘Linking and upscaling for employment’*.

The overall objective of the SINCE program is “to reduce irregular migration in Amhara by improving the living conditions of the most vulnerable population, including potential migrants in the age group 15-29, returnees with specific focus on youth and women” (Baseline SINCE Amhara, 2018, p. 3). The specific objective is formulated as “to establish inclusive economic programs that create employment opportunities for potential migrants, returnees, especially for women and youth in targeted woredas by strengthening the capacities of the vocational training providers and promoting public private partnerships (PPPs) in strategic economic clusters” (Baseline SINCE Amhara, 2018, p. 3). This will be reached by “improving the access of youth and women to quality TVET training and decent employment opportunities in Amhara through the promotion of partnerships between the public and private sector and NGOs”, as well as “improving the capacity of textile/garment, metal and construction clusters to create additional decent job opportunities” (Edukans, 2017, p. 4).

SINCE Amhara is implemented in three zones: North Wollo (Raya Kobo, Woldya and Habru), South Wollo (Dessie, Haik, Kalu and Kombolcha), and Oromia Special Zone (Kemissie), in close cooperation with other co-applicants. The target groups are the unemployed youth and women (including returnees and potential migrants), private and public TVETs, and companies and small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) in the textile/garment, metal, and construction and service sector.

In consultation with representatives of Edukans and a partner organization, the Development Expertise Center (DEC), this program has been selected as the most appropriate case based on two parameters,

which means selection took place through a non-random sampling (Gerring, 2008). The first relevant parameter included the representativeness of the program. The program focuses on low-educated youth following TVET colleges or training, and are thus considered as being representative. The program can therefore be considered as a typical case, defined by Gerring as “a typical example of some cross-case relationship” (Gerring, 2008, p. 89). The second relevant parameter refers to the practical facilities of the programs. Because the program is executed by Edukans in the Amhara region, it was easy to make the connections with the schools and relevant key-informants.

In order to broaden the scope of the research, also a polytechnic school in Addis Ababa and a public TVET college in Dessie were included in this research. Although these schools are not part of the SINCE program, no relevant differences are identified. Therefore, both schools are also considered as useful and representative for this research. Because schools in Addis Ababa as well as in Amhara have been selected, the focus of this research is on both these regions.

### **4.3 Data collection**

Qualitative research is characterized by different data collection methods. The most important sources are interviews (individual as well as focus groups), observations and content analyses of documents. In this research all these methods are used in order to obtain the data. Data triangulation is used to ensure the validity of this research.

#### **4.3.1 Interviews**

Semi-structured interviews are the primary data source to gain specific information about the different factors influencing migration aspirations. The interview guides are adapted to the level which the respondents belong to. In order to develop a suitable interview guide, the interview guides were reviewed with a colleague. Due to the semi-structured character of the interviews, interviewees had the opportunity to share diverse answers in which they could add specific topics, and share their perceptions of important information. Also, a better understanding of the used concepts is gained. In this mainly deductive research, the interview questions are based on the operationalization of the variables derived from the theories - and thus formulated in advance. While the interviews were built on an interview guide, there was still the possibility to change the content or the order of the questions to provide the respondent with the possibility to tell everything he or she wanted to (Vennix, 2011). These interview guides are enclosed in Appendix I.

Because the goal is to draw conclusions regarding several levels, different respondents have been interviewed. The macro-level should provide a contextual framework of the situation in Ethiopia.



Therefore, mainly employees of the TVET offices, the Bureau of Labour and Social Affairs (BoLSA), the Bureau of Youth and Sport (BoYS), and the Bureau of Women and Children (BoWC) have been interviewed. Also, owners and employees of SMEs, and employees of TVET colleges, like the deans and employees of job-linking services, were interviewed. In order to get more detailed information about the SINCE program, a meeting was organized with the program officer from the Italian Agency for Development Cooperation, coordinated by the Italian Embassy. In addition, these key-informants were also able to provide some information about the mezzo- and micro-level. They explained the role of households, families and other relatives in the decision to migrate. However, also some students and returnees discussed topics regarding this level. An overview of the interviews, the related codes and the date of the interviews is given in Appendix II. These codes are used in Chapter 5 in order to ensure the clarity.

In addition to the individual interviews, focus group discussions with students were held, in cooperation with partner organizations of Edukans; DEC and HOPE Enterprise. A focus group is defined as “an informal discussion among a group of selected individuals about a particular topic” (Liamputtong, 2015, p. 4). Through focus groups, complex information is generated within a minimum amount of time. Information about the participants’ meanings and interpretation of the aspirations of migration and influencing factors are discussed. Two broad types of focus groups can be distinguished: a structured approach and a less rigid and less structured approach. In this research, the latter has been used. The researcher prepared some general questions, but the participants were encouraged to talk to each other and come up with new topics (Liamputtong, 2015).

In four TVET colleges focus group discussions were held, located in three different cities, namely in Addis Ababa, Kombolcha and Dessie. In Dessie a public TVET college as well as a private TVET college were used for these discussions. Both Kombolcha and Dessie are located in the Amhara region. An overview, with a distinction between the cities, the number of focus group discussions and respondents (divided in males and females), is given in Table 1. Given the large number of respondents, many opinions and aspirations were collected. It is tried to present the major outcomes of this collected data and therefore not all exceptions to the overall picture are discussed. However, important divergent opinions are obviously shared. There were no major differences found between the various colleges. Any noteworthy differences are highlighted in the next section.

Table 1

*Overview number of respondents in focus group discussions.*

<b>City</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>
	<b>FGD</b>	<b>FGD</b>	<b>males</b>	<b>males</b>	<b>females</b>	<b>females</b>	<b>total</b>	<b>total</b>
Addis Ababa	5	23.8	26	49.1	27	50.9	53	27.0
Kombolcha	4	19.0	23	59.0	16	41.0	39	19.9
Dessie (public)	5	23.8	14	24.7	45	76.9	59	30.1
Dessie (private)	7	33.3	31	68.9	14	31.1	45	23.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>94</b>	<b>48.0</b>	<b>102</b>	<b>52.0</b>	<b>196</b>	<b>100</b>

In order to be able to conduct both forms of interviews, an interpreter was needed in case respondents did not speak English. Prior to the interviews these interpreters were informed about the aims of the research and his/her role. Interpreters were arranged by the partner organization of Edukans or the particular TVET colleges. A consequence of this is that not all relevant information might have been translated correctly. However, by interviewing many respondents it is expected that this will not have a major impact on the outcomes of the research. Because Ethiopians are sometimes very closed and not always willing to share their information and statements, it was important to take enough time to win the trust of the respondents. The local interpreter also contributed to this process. An overview of the focus group discussions, the related codes, and the date of these discussions is given in Appendix II.

#### 4.3.2 Observations

The second form of data collection includes the observation of a case in the natural context. In this research, some participating observations have been made. To minimize the impact of the researcher, specific efforts were made like preventing interruption in discussions (Vennix, 2001). Also, because the role of the researcher was not always precisely known, the observers did not change their behaviour, which increases the possibility to get an accurate representation of the reality (Foster, 2006).

Two different meetings have been observed in order to gain additional information about migration in Ethiopia. Firstly, the launching of the SINCE program in Oromia was observed. Although this part of the program focuses on another region, it is still considered as representative because a lot of general information was provided as well; it is expected that similar problems, challenges and ideas are applicable to other regions and are thus not region-dependable. Secondly, a SINCE coordination meeting was observed, in which different people came together to discuss the progress and challenges of the program. Also, in this meeting the mentioned challenges were similar for the different regions.

These observations were executed because they are an appropriate method to explore several challenges of the program, and thus related to migration in Ethiopia. They provided information about the general context of the situation. A distinction can be made between structured or systematic observation and less-structured or qualitative observation. Structured or systematic observation refers to reductionist measurements to test assumptions (Foster, 2006). In this research in particular the structured observation has been used. The observations were captured in memos in order to reconstruct the views, so the observed data was more accurate. Next, a code scheme was used to capture the observed data about a particular factor (Vennix, 2011). Further, to discourage only looking for information that confirmed existing views – in other words, a biased viewpoint - it has been attempted to focus on all relevant factors. However, there is always a risk that the observations are filtered through the interpretive lens of the observer and thus never provide a direct representation of the reality because the observer has to select what to observe and to record (Foster, 2006). An overview of the conducted observations, the related codes and the date of the observations is enclosed in Appendix II.

#### **4.3.3 Content analysis**

The third form of data collection includes the analysis of documents. Analysing documents contributes to the reconstruction of the meanings of those documents. This form mainly contributed to the development of the macro-level contextual framework. Policy documents on education, development and migration have been analysed, such as the Growth and Transformation Plan 1 and 2. Several ILO and IOM documents were analysed as well. A risk of such a content analysis is the wrong or different interpretation of documents. However, by using different methods (data triangulation) and using peer debriefing, in which colleagues verify whether a text is interpreted correctly, it is attempted to minimize this risk (Vennix, 2011). The documents are included in the reference list.

#### **4.4 Data analysis**

The interviews have all been voice recorded and transcribed. The transcripts, and the relevant information of the documents were coded with inductive as well as deductive coding strategies. These codes are elaborated upon in Section 4.5. Keywords were assigned to the material and linked to an indication whereupon the corresponding factor was added. The codes can thus be seen as the link between the theories and the empirical material; an attempt to find patterns about a particular factor. This approach of coding can be considered to be deductive coding strategy. According to this strategy, codes are developed based on the existing theories and literature. Because some new insights are generated which contribute to the development of the theories, theory building has taken place - an inductive coding strategy. A risk of interpreting and coding the data is that one's own biases are neglected. Some member checks were executed to clarify the correctness of the observed data.

However, because of time limitations, these were not always done (Vennix, 2011). For coding the computer program ATLAS.ti has been used.

#### **4.5 Operationalization**

In the conceptual model independent variables are distinguished. These variables, consisting of macro-, mezzo- and micro-level determinants, have been operationalized to make them measurable; they are given in Table 2. In this research it is explored whether these particular determinants have an influence on the decision to migrate, the dependent variable. As previously addressed, the decision to migrate is defined as “the movement of a person from one country to another, either permanently or temporarily, for the purpose of employment in order to increase the livelihood option for moving out of poverty”. While obtaining and analysing the data, it turned out that some variables or determinants had to be added or adapted. These adaptations are thus not based on the primarily grounded theoretical framework, and are therefore listed in *italic* in Table 2.

Table 2

*Qualitative operationalization of the theoretical concepts.*

Variable	Definition	Dimensions	Observations	Indicators
Macro-level determinants	Contextual factors related to development and education which influence an individual's perception on migration	Local job opportunities	There are enough local job opportunities for individuals	Number of local job opportunities
				Accessibility of local job opportunities
		External job opportunities	There are more external job opportunities for individuals	Number of external job opportunities
				Accessibility of external job opportunities
		Wage differences	External jobs lead to more income than local jobs	A higher income is received with external jobs rather than with local jobs
		Recruitment process	Job offers are broadly advertised in order to select the best-skilled candidates	Range of advertisements of job offers
				Best-skilled candidates are selected
				<i>Competition with university students</i>
		<i>Quality of education</i>	<i>TVET colleges provide proper trainings for students</i>	<i>TVET colleges have a proper image</i>

				<i>Link between offered education and demand on the local job market</i>
Mezzo-level determinants	Household <i>and other members of the social network</i> who influence an individual's perception on migration	A household's capacity and aspirations	The household's capacity to finance and facilitate migration, and its preferences/constraints related to migration	Household is willing, and has enough assets and social networks to support migration
				The income position is lower compared to other households
		<i>Other members of the social network</i>	Other members of the social network influence youth to migrate	<i>Institutions recommending potential migrants</i>
				<i>Friends and other relatives influencing potential migrants</i>
Micro-level determinants	Individual factors related to development and education which influence an individual's perception on migration	Local opportunities due to a diploma	The opportunities due to a diploma in Ethiopia are good enough to stay	Expectations on chances due to diploma in Ethiopia
		Individual expectations of migration	The individual has high expectations and aspirations to migrate in order to improve the current (economic)	Expected obstacles to migrate
				Expectations of future (economic) situation due

			situation	to migration
		General knowledge of and experience with migration	The individual has previous experiences and knowledge of migration	Respondent has knowledge of the external circumstances
				Respondent has previous experiences with migration
		Influence of diploma on migration	The individual has previous experiences and knowledge about migration	Expected opportunities abroad based on a diploma
				Ambition to migrate due to diploma

## **4.6 Validity and reliability**

Two important indicators to measure the quality and objectivity of a specific research are the validity and reliability of research (Kirk & Miller, 2011). Therefore, both indicators are discussed in this section.

### **4.6.1 Validity**

Validity refers to “how well an instrument measures what it should be measuring” (Maughan, 2009, p. 119). A distinction is made between internal and external validity. Research is internally valid when a correct inference is made that X causes Y (Van der Heijden, 2013). In qualitative research, the thinking and interpretation of the researcher has an important impact on the internal validity compared with quantitative research. To overcome the risk of incorrect interpretations, and to increase the internal validity, several actions have been taken. Given triangulation, the use of different sources of information, crosschecking was used which increases the explanatory leverage. Further, the extensive operationalization also contributed to the internal validity. The elaborated steps of operationalization describe extensively the relationship between the variables (Van Thiel, 2010, p. 58).

External validity refers to the degree in which the results can be generalized to a larger population. It is expected that the youth interviewed in the TVET colleges can be considered as representative for the youth in Addis Ababa and Amhara. Although it is expected that youth from other TVET colleges in other regions face similar problems, there is no evidence that this is the case. For example, contextual determinants might differ. Therefore, this research only focuses on Addis Ababa and Amhara rather than on Ethiopia in general.

### **4.6.2 Reliability**

According to Maughan, reliability is “the accuracy or dependability of the instrument in measuring what you are trying to measure” (2009, p. 119). This refers to the non-systematic errors in measurements. When the research and measurements are repeated, the same results should be obtained (Vennix, 2011). The reliability of this research has been increased by taking several steps. The first refers to the confirmability and transferability of the analysis. It is attempted to precisely elaborate all steps and choices made in this research. Due to the transparency about the steps taken and the detailed descriptions of the setting and processes of the researcher, others might be able to decide whether it is applicable to their situation as well. It is also attempted to increase the dependability and credibility of the analysis and results. This research is devised in a systematic and transparent fashion; all materials used are documented. For example, the interviews have been transcribed. Further, because the researcher is aware of possible research biases, an extensive operationalization and coding procedure



has been taken. The same coding process was used with the same codes. The risk of making mistakes was counteracted by peer debriefing and discussing the differences (Maughan, 2009).

## **4.7 Conclusion**

This chapter elaborated upon the methodological framework that has been used for this research and as such forms the link between the theoretical and empirical parts. A qualitative single case study has been made in order to explore the relationship between education, in particular TVET, and the perceptions on migration of graduated youth in Ethiopia. In order to obtain the data, one program was selected; 'SINCE'. In order to collect additional data, a TVET college in Addis Ababa has also been included. The data has been collected with multiple methods; interviews (both individual and focus groups), observations and content analyses. The collected data was transcribed and coded by employing inductive and deductive coding strategies. The codes are derived from the theories and schematically listed in the operationalization table. Finally, the validity and reliability have been discussed.

## 5. Education and migration in Ethiopia

This chapter is meant to analyse which conditions influence the decision of Ethiopian youth to migrate. As previously mentioned, in this research youth refers to the students enrolled in TVET. A distinction has been made between macro-, mezzo-, and micro-level determinants. However, these determinants are referred to by other names. In order to explore these determinants, both primary and secondary data are used; data are complemented as well as compared. This chapter contributes to answering the sixth sub-question.

### 5.1 Contextual determinants

The literature identifies several macro-level or contextual determinants, related to education and development, that can influence the decision to migrate. In this section it is explored how and to what extent these determinants have an influence on the decision to migrate. If these determinants are optimal, it is expected that the ambition to migrate will decrease. The dimensions related to this variable, referred to as macro-level determinants, are *local job opportunities*, *external job opportunities*, *wage differences*, *recruitment process*, and *quality of education*.

#### 5.1.1 Local job opportunities

As previously mentioned, Ethiopia has currently approximately 107 million citizens. Because the country has one of the highest fertility rates, the median age is just 18.8 years, the labour force is quite young. Every year, around three million youth enter the labour market, against a background of rather limited employment opportunities. As a consequence, Ethiopia is characterized by a high unemployment rate (IOM, 2017a; Worldometers, n.d.). It is expected that a lack of job opportunities does increase the ambition of youth to migrate. In order to analyse local job opportunities, the focus is on the number and the accessibility of these opportunities.

##### *Number of local job opportunities*

Various studies have been done to explore the relationship between the local job opportunities in Ethiopia and the ambition to migrate. According to these studies, the most prominent reason for Ethiopians to migrate (legal and illegal) is the economic situation. Although Ethiopia is characterized by a rapid economic growth, many people decide to migrate because of the limited amount of available jobs and livelihood opportunities in general. The particular push factors are, amongst others, unemployment or underemployment, low salaries and poverty in general – all being economic factors. Migrants often perceive that they have better (socioeconomic) opportunities abroad (ILO, 2017b;

IOM, 2017a; Stocchiero, 2017). Also, in the Baseline study of the SINCE project in Amhara (2018)<sup>2</sup> 75% of the respondents indicated that the reason for migration of a family member was ‘the lack of employment opportunities in the country’, followed by ‘not qualified to get a job here’ (11%) and ‘got a job offer abroad’ (7%) (Baseline SINCE Amhara, 2018, p. 3). Overall, 83.4% of the respondents agreed to the statement that unemployment is the driving force for irregular migration (Baseline SINCE Amhara, 2018, p. 6). With the statement ‘I believe that if youth got trained and employed, the tendency to irregular migration would be reduced’, 72% of the respondents strongly agreed, 16% agreed, while only 10% disagreed (Baseline SINCE Amhara, 2018, p. 7). It can therefore safely be concluded that studies all argue that the lack of job opportunities or unemployment is a major reason for youth to migrate; employability will decrease the ambition to migrate. Returnees confirm that (future) job opportunities did indeed play an important role in their decision to stay or migrate. For many the lack of opportunities in Ethiopia, even for educated people, were a reason to leave the country. If they have good opportunities in Ethiopia after finishing their training, they will stay; if not, they will migrate again (R3; R6; R7; R8).

Some key-informants agree with these results and confirm that there is a lack of local job opportunities. Local government officials state that the number of graduates and the number of available jobs are not in line with each other (K2; K10; K11). Although youth might have a diploma or degree, they do not have a job. They volunteer to get a job outside their professional field or below their educational level. Sometimes it involves jobs without any educational requirements or even for illiterate people (K10). The importance of creating job opportunities is emphasized, because if they were to have local economic opportunities, their living conditions would be improved and the willingness to migrate would be minimized (K2; K11). It is explicitly stated they do have the right to go to other places to get a job because there are not enough opportunities available (K9).

Employers of companies and factories confirm that they have a problem with employing youth. Although they would like to expand their businesses in order to create more job opportunities for others, it is difficult to realize because of the related increasing costs (K17).

*“The cause of move is that there are not enough job opportunities in this country”. (K9)*

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<sup>2</sup> The Baseline study of the SINCE project in Amhara (2018) provides insights in the current situation in the Amhara region. The sample of the study are unemployed youth, including women and returnees, from three towns: Dessie, Kobo and Kemissie. Within these towns, four to seven kebeles were selected (depending on the number of kebeles in each town). In the end, a total of 435 unemployed youth has been interviewed (56% female, 44% male). Results from this Baseline study will be referred to as ‘Baseline SINCE Amhara, 2018’.

Because the investment costs are relatively low, they will rather buy new machines for expansion than employ young graduates. It is expected that in the future more industries will open up because the country is developing (K6). Factories will outsource some tasks to SMEs, so these SMEs might then employ new graduates (K8; K16). Therefore, nowadays the government promotes youth to start their own business, in order to create and enhance their own economic status (K2; K9). Contrary, during the launching of the SINCE project some partners argued they are not sure whether or not providing job opportunities locally will decrease the ambition to migrate. If youth think they will have a better life abroad, combined with an ambition to migrate, they might still leave the country (K13; O2).

On the other hand, employees of TVET colleges - like a dean, a vice-president and a job-linking specialist - argue that after graduation there are many job opportunities available in almost all occupations in Ethiopia. Therefore, they expect that these students do not have the ambition to migrate (K1; K3; K5). After graduation, youth might get a job for the government, they might be employed by a private company, or they can create a job themselves by starting their own business (K3). Most of the graduates are employed, sometimes even before graduating, also because companies contact the school directly, looking for trainees (K4; K6; K15). Graduated youth who do not find a job, often go to other places or continue their education (K1).

Students do not agree on whether or not there are enough local job opportunities available after graduating. Most of the students in the sector of Garment, Textile, General Mechanics and Fabrication Adjustment (GMFA), Industrial and Electrical Machine Drives (IEMD) and Electric think they will find a job after graduation, since there are many companies and factories (F1; F7; F15; F18; F21). Others would like to start their own business, either within an association or privately, after gaining some experience in order to be more productive and to create job opportunities for others. However, it will be hard to do so because of a lack of money and knowledge, and the problems of acquiring a location (F12; F15; F21). In addition to that, some argue that their opportunities are less because of their educational level. Since there are students with a higher level, they are more often preferred. Therefore, some have the ambition to continue their education so as to upgrade themselves (F7; F16).

IT, Telecom, Customer Service (CS) and Accounting students, state, however, that there are not enough job opportunities, and that this might influence their personal ambition to migrate. The opportunities at the local labour market are not equal to the number of graduates (F3; F6; F11; F13; F19; F20). Also, companies often ask for higher degrees (F20). Therefore, it is important to be competent, to have the right skills or to continue

*“The Ministry of Water and Energy had a vacancy for 67 IT graduates. They registered by alphabet. Only the A already had more than 500 applicants”. (F3)*

education while being employed (F11; F19). If necessary, they will continue their classes, even in another discipline, for example at night, in order to increase their knowledge and maximize their opportunities. Another possibility is to take a job in another profession or to start their own business (F4; F5; F13). However, starting one's own business is hard (F3; F6). If this is not possible, they feel forced to leave the country (F3; F5). Migration thus does not depend on their own interest, but on the labour market interest (F8).

Almost all key-informants agree that local job opportunities will decrease the ambition to migrate, but they do not agree on whether or not there are currently enough jobs in Ethiopia. While previous studies and local government officials argue that there are not enough local job opportunities, employees of TVET colleges state that this is not the case. Discussions with students show that in particular students from the 'traditional studies' expect that there are enough opportunities. Students from the 'modern studies', on the contrary, are less optimistic and argue that there are not enough opportunities for them.

#### *Accessibility of local job opportunities*

In addition to the number of jobs, another determinant that influences the likelihood to get a job in Ethiopia is the accessibility of jobs in the country. A difficulty for youth who want to enter the labour market is the requirement of work experience. Organizations and companies often ask experience (F2; F3; F5; F21). Students do not have this experience, or just some experience because of the cooperative training, but this is often not enough (F8). Therefore, they are sometimes forced to look for a job in another field (F2). Some students argue they want to get experience in a factory or company, so they can start their own business afterwards (F7; F18).

*“The challenges TVET graduates face to start their own business are the lack of capital, the lack of workplace, and the lack of work experience”. (K9)*

If graduates do not find a job, they might decide to start their own business, even without experience. They receive a short-term training, and the government provides a loan, an area, and a work place to start the enterprise (K1; K3). However, according to many key-informants and students, the reality is more poignant. In order to start your own business, you need a lot of money. In addition to that, you have to pay government taxes annually and have other expenses as well (K17). It

is hard to get an initial budget, because of the bureaucracy. Even if the government provides part of the investment, youth and their family often do not have the required amount of money. The same applies for the place to work. While the government states it will provide it, it is hard to find a proper accommodation because of the high demand (F5; F6; F8; F9; F12; F16; K14). In addition, there is a problem of trade: there is no equal supply and demand. Because youth get the same jobs and

participate in the same way, the supply is high. However, the number of customers (the demand) is low. Therefore, job opportunities should be changed; new creative ideas are needed (F19; K14).

These obstacles, like the lack of work experience and the difficulties of starting one's own business makes it more difficult for youth to find a job or to start their own business, and can lead to a stimulus to migrate (K5; K8; K9).

### *Conclusion*

There are several factors influencing local job opportunities in Ethiopia. Nowadays, there are not enough local jobs, especially for the modern studies. Besides lacking local job opportunities, youth often lack working experience to find a job. Also, it is hard to start their own business because there are many obstacles to overcome. This increases their ambition to migrate to other countries, in order to find a job. As a consequence, many respondents expect that if the number of local jobs increases, the ambition will decrease.

### **5.1.2 External job opportunities**

According to the IOM (2017a), youth often migrate to the Gulf countries. A major reason for migrating to these countries is the oil boom, which resulted in a rapid economic growth and a likewise demand for migrant workers. It is expected that the demands of these countries lead to an increase of the ambition of youth to migrate. In order to analyse these external job opportunities, the focus is on the number and accessibility of these opportunities. In this section these are discussed simultaneously.

#### *Number and accessibility of external job opportunities*

Many students - like Garment, Textile, Electric, Leather and Footwear, IEMD, Information Technology Service Management (ITSM), CS and Automotive students - argue they can migrate, for example based on personal/private agreements, because there are more job opportunities and better circumstances in their sector abroad. Also, their field is not doing well in Ethiopia. They have this information from social media and fellow students (F1; F4; F8; F12; F14; F15; F17; F19). Because the students assume they are more educated than the foreigners, and the college is ISO-certified (being an international certificate), they expect to have better opportunities abroad. So, if they get the chance, they are interested and volunteer to go (F8; F12; F15; F17). Also, Ethiopia does not offer a good environment for taking training. Therefore, migration is a good opportunity to develop (F14). Even if they were to get a job in another profession, they would still like to go, in order to get a better life and earn more money (F8; F9; F15).

*“If there is a chance to get a job outside Ethiopia, we are very, very interested. The payment and the life is special outside Ethiopia. We will get an interesting salary. Therefore we need to migrate. Everything is nice, interesting and easy outside this country. I can handle every challenge if I get the chance. Even if there is a challenge, we prefer being outside rather than staying in Ethiopia”. (F8)*

On the other hand, most of the Automotive, IT and Telecom students do not think they can get a job opportunity within their field or department outside Ethiopia because they do not have the necessary knowledge. Their diploma is different from other countries and there is a difference in quality because foreigners have better access. However, they are sure they will earn more money, even in another profession (F3; F13; F20). They only have an opportunity to compete with the foreigners if they improve their professional level. Therefore, they have to change their life in Ethiopia (F13; F20).

While many students expect that there are job opportunities in their profession outside Ethiopia, key-informants doubt whether this is true. According to them, there are some graduates who did get a job in their own profession through legal agencies, but for more than 95% this will not be the case. There is a demand, mostly from Arab countries, for labour, but this is often domestic work. The market is mostly directed at females because they are needed in the household and caregiving sectors. Some males might be needed as a driver or security guard. The level of education does not matter, they all have the same working opportunities in these sectors. Getting a job in their own profession is hard, because there is often a gap between the skills and the job requirements abroad (K1; K2; K12; K13).

*“Whether she is illiterate or has a degree, she is considered the same, and has the same working opportunities as the others. They give her just domestic work. They do not accept her as a professional. If she is a teacher here, they do not allow her to be a teacher there”. (K12)*

### *Conclusion*

This section once more shows that students from the more traditional studies expect there are many job opportunities abroad. Contrary, students from the more modern studies think that this is not the case, except for the ITSM and CS students. Key-informants also doubt whether it is possible to get a job in your own sector abroad, because most of the work is in household and caregiving. However, the number of opportunities increases the ambition of these students to migrate, even if it is work in another profession.

### **5.1.3 Wage differences**

Another determinant influencing the likelihood of getting a job in Ethiopia or the decision to migrate is the wage difference between Ethiopia and the country of destination. Both key-informants and

students mention that available jobs in Ethiopia are often low-paying jobs (K5; K10; K11; K18; O2). There is no good balance between the salary and the living expenses, even if you have a diploma or certificate (F2; F6; F7; F10; R8). Because the government has not set a minimum wage, the salary is based on company interests. Due to this, the salary is often lower compared to other countries (K6; K11). While some argue that because of this low salary some people prefer being jobless, others argue that this is not a reason not to work. They state that they do not really have an alternative. For the sake of experience, to advance and improve their skills, they will take the job (F1; F5; F7; F8; F12). Employees can get some work experience and transfer easily to another company to improve their salary (K6; K11; F11; F17; F19).

It is expected that youth consider migration as attractive because the salaries are higher in the countries of destination (IOM, 2017a). Key-informants argue that the main reason to leave Ethiopia is the low salary, because youth decide to look for better opportunities outside the country. They compare the situation of receiving a low income in Ethiopia with the challenges and possibilities of working outside of Ethiopia. Youth expect that they will earn a lot of money in a short period of time, so they are forced to go outside the country. If the salary would be higher in Ethiopia, the motivation to migrate would decrease (K3; K4; K11; K18; K14; R8). Students confirm that the difference in income might be a reason for them to migrate. They argue that if there is better payment outside Ethiopia they will go, regardless of whether or not they get a job in another profession. If this is not the case, they will stay (F8; F10; F21).

*“The salary is very, very, very low. It is not interesting. It is not sufficient”. (F7)*

Therefore, it is important to convince companies to increase the salaries because this will benefit them in the long run. However, for companies this is difficult because they have low profit margins, so the capacity to pay sufficient salaries is not that high (K16; O1). In the future the government might well decide on a minimum salary (K6; K8).

### *Conclusion*

It can be concluded that all respondents mention that the wage differences are an important reason to migrate. Both key-informants and students state that available jobs in Ethiopia are often low-paying jobs. Therefore, migration is considered as attractive because the salaries in the countries of destination are higher. If the wage differences were to decrease, the ambition to migrate would be less as well.



#### **5.1.4 Recruitment process**

In order to optimize the quality of a company, it is important that appropriate candidates are selected. If graduates have the perception that this will not be the case, they might lose their confidence in Ethiopian companies and decide to migrate. In order to analyse the recruitment process, the focus will be on the perception whether or not job offers are broadly advertised, whether or not the best-skilled candidates are selected, and the competition with university students.

##### *Range of advertisements of job offers*

According to some key-informants, vacancies are publicly published at notice boards and sometimes in newspapers, so everybody can see them and apply for the job. In some cases, companies contact TVET colleges to share their vacancies. Based on this information, trainees will go there (K6; K16). However, the Assessment Report for the SINCE Project in Amhara shows opposite results. For example, FGD participants see new job applicants coming from other zones a few days earlier than the vacancy is announced and advertised. They suspect the vacancy is secretly shared with these people, so they can come and compete (Edukans Ethiopia, 2018). Others complain that some vacancy announcements are not advertised at public places or ahead of time and, as a consequence, locally unemployed youth miss the opportunity to apply (ILO, 2017b).

##### *Best-skilled candidates are selected*

To recruit new employees, many companies, factories and government sectors developed selection or recruitment procedures and criteria, to make sure that the best-skilled candidates are selected (K16). Firstly, companies will look at the level of education; if they need TVET graduates they will select TVET graduates, if they need university graduates they will go for this category. Applicants have to perform interviews, practical exams and/or written exams to make sure that the best one is selected. Committees will select the appropriate candidate based on the scores (K6; K11; K15). The key-informants consider this process as fair (K8).

Students are not satisfied with the current procedures, however. They state that the procedure is corrupted, because you need a relative in the office or company in order to get a job (F3; F5; F9). Another possibility to get a job is by giving money (F13). Also, sometimes companies first assign a person, and display the vacancy only afterwards. However, students still think it is useful to upgrade yourself. Sometimes employers might see your certificates, qualities and experiences by chance (F12; F16; F20).

##### *Competition with university students*

According to employees of the TVET colleges and TVET offices, there is no competition between TVET and university graduates in Ethiopia. They do not compete with each other, because they have different interests: university graduates are high labour professionals, while TVET graduates will most likely work in SMEs (K1). Although many university trainees apply to lower levels, because they do not have job opportunities or they might change their profession, TVET graduates still have more opportunities because they have more practical skills (K6; K10; K15).

While the employees of the TVET colleges and TVET offices argue that there is no competition, the students disagree. Students mention they are competing with other TVET graduates as well as with university graduates (F9; F10; F11). Companies often ask for a bachelor or master degree and do not look for TVET graduates; there are rarely applications at the TVET level (F3). Therefore, students would like to continue education or change the department if they cannot find a job (F3; F5). If there

*“The level of TVET is not considered as high. They ask for university graduates in job vacancies. However, these university graduates do not have the technical skills, while we do have them. But companies do not look at this, they only want university graduates”. (F3)*

are jobs available for TVET graduates, also university graduates apply because they are looking for a job as well (K10). Some students expect to have more chances compared to university students, because industries need skilled people. However, university students have more theoretical knowledge (F5; F8; F18).

### Conclusion

This section shows that key-informants and students do not have similar perceptions on the recruitment process. While key-informants argue that there is a broad range of ads of job offers, that the best-skilled candidates are selected and that there is no competition between university and TVET graduates, the students disagree. This might decrease the incentive to apply for local jobs and consequently increase the ambition to migrate amongst youth.

### 5.1.5 Quality of education

Besides the determinants related to job opportunities, also the quality of education can have an influence on the ambition of youth to migrate. In order to analyse the quality of education, the focus is on the image as well as the link between the education as offered and the demand of the local labour market.

#### *TVET colleges have a good image*

The image of TVET in Ethiopia is not very good. Youth often consider TVET as a failure. They will only enrol in TVET if they cannot go to or fail university. Students prefer to go to university, because

they do not understand or do not see the possibilities TVET offers. Because TVET is not considered as an option, many students prefer to migrate to Arab countries (K6; K7).

#### *Link between offered education and demand on the local labour market*

With the implementation of the GTP 1 and GTP 2, the government aims to improve the quality of TVET in Ethiopia. As previously mentioned, youth should develop the appropriate skills and the training programs should match the skills demand of the labour market. However, the government acknowledged that the quality and relevance of TVET are still crucial issues (National Planning Commission, 2016).

In order to optimize the accessibility to the labour market, it is important that there is a proper link between the education as offered and the demand on the local labour market. In order to explore the needs of the labour market, TVET colleges as well as TVET offices conduct market assessments (K1; K3; K4; K6; K9). Based on these assessments, quotas are determined for each department and related trainings in the TVET colleges, and students are selected (K4; K8). If there are no job opportunities, the department will be closed (K10). Industries themselves also get the opportunity to participate in the setting of the curriculum. The more specific demands and interests of the industries are explored by monitoring and contacting them (K15). Training programs are thus based on the interest of these companies (K6). Also, tracer studies are conducted on a yearly basis, in order to find out the working status of the graduates. For example, it will be registered whether or not graduates have a job, in what occupation, the starting date, and the place of occupation (K5). Graduates without a job are contacted monthly to check on the situation. After they find a job, they will not be contacted anymore (K15). The tracing also indicates the job opportunities of the training (K6).

However, according to several key-informants, the market assessments are not sufficiently executed (K7; O2). As a consequence, there is no good link between the offered trainings and the skills of the graduates on the one hand, and the requirements of the labour market on the other (K2). Therefore, the curriculum should be revised and the quality of the education and the capacity of TVETs should be improved (K11; O2). Entrepreneurs mention that proper skills and attitudes are important aspects for recruiting new employees. People without education - sometimes even level 1 and 2 TVET graduates - will not be employed. In addition, if experience is lacking, it is hard to get employed (K17). In order to optimize the practical skills, students do get practical trainings in school and in enterprises (K1; K3; K16). These enterprise trainings are referred to as cooperative trainings. However, it is a challenge for the school to have all students receive a cooperative training; there are many students, but there is a shortage of businesses. TVET colleges try to address this issue by looking at businesses outside their own cities as well (K3).

Despite the (cooperative) trainings, graduated youth might not be competent because of lacking quality (K11). According to a checklist of a committee meant to collect information about the trainings, there are some specific gaps. One of these gaps refers to the machines and technologies sector. The machines used at school and the industrial ones are different, often because machines are outdated. Because of the new technologies and machineries, students need to update their skills. In some cases there is also a training gap amongst teachers; they lack the necessary skills and knowledge. Because the students do not have the proper skills and knowledge, adjustments are necessary and an additional training should be taken (K5; K15; K16; K18).

*“The students take training but that training does not fulfil their competencies. This is because of the shortage of materials, the shortage of updated machineries, and the skills of the trainers”. (K5)*

Not just hard skills, soft skills are also lacking. Currently, enterprises are not satisfied with the attitude of youth; they have different interest and lack motivation and awareness, so they cannot succeed (K6; K8). According to an ILO report and key-informants, there is often a gap between the interests of the youth and the local job opportunities. Youth are unwilling to engage in labour work, blue-collar jobs, since they want to be an office worker, a white-collar job. They should change their attitude and get trained in the blue-collar jobs because there are not enough white-collar ones (K3; K9; O2; ILO, 2017a). Also, they lack awareness and knowledge of entrepreneurship: they do not know how to behave when starting a business. They expect to get money immediately, and they often believe they cannot change their economic situation by working in Ethiopia. However, growth opportunities in the industries need more time, and benefits will only be gained in the future. If youth do not get the money immediately, they will migrate to other countries. Therefore, awareness creation - changing the perception of the youth - and entrepreneurship are considered to be fundamental responses (K9; K14; ILO, 2017a).

This shows the importance of providing education of high quality, to gather proper knowledge and (hard as well as soft) skills in order to prepare youth for the local labour market. Therefore, the education should be in line with the demands of the market. Since the skills of the graduates and the demand of the labour market do not match, many youth do not have job opportunities, which can result in internal and international migration (K8; F3; O2).

While key-informants state that the link between the offered education and the labour market could be improved, almost all students enrolled in the regular trainings consider their quality as good and think they are in line with the jobs on the local labour market (F1; F2; F11). They have the proper skills because they had theoretical as well as practical training, and are competent enough to apply for jobs (F10; F19; F20). In class they first learned about the theory and discussed the solving of problems.

Next, they moved on to the practical part (F6; F13; F14; F16). Some students are more reserved, however. They state that they should improve themselves or change their profession. They prefer to continue education by extension programs in order to get more knowledge and to get a better job and higher income (F3; F11; F13).

Students disagree about the material that is used in classes and in the cooperative trainings. Some students argue that there is no shortage of material, nor is there is a gap between the training and the labour market (F8; F19; F20). Others disagree and state that there are clear differences between the machines used at school and those used at the labour market (F5). However, if there are gaps, for example a lack of machineries, these are often compensated by the cooperative trainings, because companies have more machineries (F10; F18; F21).

### *Conclusion*

It can be concluded that TVET does not have a good image in Ethiopia. Because it is not considered as an option, students prefer to migrate to other countries. Besides that, while most of the students perceive the quality of the training as good and think that it is in line with the jobs on the local labour market, key-informants disagree. They argue that there is no good link between the offered trainings and the skills of the graduates on the one hand, and the requirements of the labour market on the other, since the market assessments are not sufficiently executed. As a consequence, youth are lacking both hard and soft skills. Therefore, both the quality and the link between the education and the demand of the labour market can be improved. A mismatch might increase the ambition to migrate, because youth will not have good local opportunities.

## **5.2 Social networks**

According to the literature several mezzo-level determinants, focusing on the household, can be identified. However, in this research also other determinants are identified. Rather than focusing on the household, these include other members of the social network. Therefore, the name has changed to 'social networks'. This section explores how and to what extent these determinants have an influence on the decision to migrate. The dimensions related to this variable, referred to as mezzo-level determinants, are *a household's capacity and aspirations*, and *other members of the social network*.

### **5.2.1 Household's capacity and aspirations**

The household of potential migrants can influence the decision to migrate in several ways. For example, the household has to be willing and have enough assets and social networks to support migration. Also, they can be motivated if the income position is lower relative to other households. If this is the case, the ambition to support or push migration amongst their children will increase.

*Household is willing, and has enough assets and social networks to support migration*

According to the IOM (2017a), Ethiopia has a “culture of migration” in which it is expected that youth should migrate to support their family by sending remittances. For that reason, over the past two decades, the number of migrants from Ethiopia to Middle Eastern and other African countries has increased significantly. This outflow consists mainly of low-skilled workers. Government officials and TVET employees confirm that amongst youth the family has a major role in the decision to migrate; sometimes it is even mentioned as the main reason to migrate (K8; K12; K14). Families propose or push their members to migrate, because they only think about the opportunities of sending their children abroad. Also, families often argue that youth are not capable of changing their country, and after an individual reaches the age of eighteen, they sometimes do not have an interest in their children and stop supporting them. They do not consider the problems and risks, nor do they think about whether this migration is legal or illegal. Their only goal is to get a lot of money, property and a better life (K12; K14). Therefore, it is important to enhance the awareness on the risks (K8).

In order to facilitate and finance the migration process, they sell all their properties, for instance their land or an ox (K8; K12). Also, family members that already live in Arab countries might put pressure on them and will facilitate the migration of other family members (K11). The results of the Baseline SINCE Amhara shows that in 53% of the cases family assets are sold in order to finance the migration of family members; 12% said it was a gift (receiving/kinship) from family, while 29% borrowed money from neighbours and/or relatives, and 4% from money lenders. The other respondents used other sources (2018, p. 4).

*“In our culture, they are nowadays more happy that a girl is born, rather than a boy. They expect to send their daughters after twenty years to Arab countries in order to get more money. Yes, they know the risks. But they say that if there is an accident by car, it is not the fault of the driver. No, it is their destiny. Also, it is possible that their daughters sink in the sea, but that is not going to happen to theirs. However, they expect that if their daughters move, that they might get raped and attacked sexual. Sexual harassment might happen. Because they expect this, they bring their daughters to the hospital to give an injection, to not give birth. They are afraid of being raped, but they still will send their daughters. They are desperate to get some money. They perceive that, after sending their daughters, they will get a better life”. (K11)*

The students confirm that there is often an influence of the family to migrate (K10; F20). They force their children to migrate because of poverty and their personal interests; the goal is to improve their life (F11; F20). They facilitate this by selling their properties in order to pay the brokers (F5). While they are aware of the risks, they think they will not face major problems (F11; F20).

Students do not agree on whether their own family will push or support them to migrate. However, most of the students think their family will support them if they want to migrate legally. If they want to migrate illegally, their families will not support them because they might face other problems. At the same time, they are aware that, whether migration is legal or illegal, they might suffer problems; the chances of those problems are the highest with illegal migration (F2; F5; F13; F18). Some

*“Yes, our family will support us when we want to migrate. Our family needs us to go abroad. They will sell their properties. I have an ambition to work in this country. But if it is not likely that I will get a job here, I will plan to go abroad. I prefer illegal, because there is no license to be legal”. (F9)*

Automotive students argue that their family will support them if they want to migrate, even if it is illegal (F9). Contrary, there are some students who state that their families will never support them. Their families told them about the challenges and risks of migration. However, if their family forces them, they will go (F4; F6; F12; F16; F20).

In addition to the students, also the stories of the returnees show that the role of the family is different in each and every case. While some say their family did not support them, others had contrasting stories. Some of the returnees explained that their families were supporting and facilitating the migration, because they expected they would earn a lot of money and be able to change their life. Although they were sometimes not happy with the decision, they accepted and supported them (R1; R5; R7). On the other hand, other returnees argue that their families were not supporting them when they left Ethiopia, because of the risks. Therefore, some were lying in order to get money and to plan the process. While families forced them to continue education, they preferred to migrate because there are many educated people without a job or they had to provide for the needs of their family (R3; R6; R8; R9).

#### *The income position is lower compared to other households*

As mentioned in the previous section, the social influence of families and peers contributes to the culture of migration within the country. According to the literature, there is an increasing pressure on young sons and daughters to go abroad in order to find better jobs and higher salaries, due to social and economic inequalities between families and the social pressure of society. There is a shared perception that irregular migration will make the difference, because it offers more opportunities (Stocchiero, 2017, p. 12).

While the literature argues that the relative position with other households is an important determinant of migration, the baseline SINCE Amhara (2018) shows another result. According to this research, most of the time the decision to migrate is made by the migrant themselves (92%); only in 1.7% of the cases the father/mother decided, or brother/sister (0.4%). According to these results, friends have more

influence on the decision to migrate than family, since in 6.1% of the cases friends decided on family members' migration (Baseline SINCE Amhara, 2018, p. 4). In addition to that, 60% and 28% (strongly) disagreed with the statement 'I feel that families who send their children to Middle East by selling their property are wiser than those who do not'; just 2.5% and 5.7% (strongly) agreed (Baseline SINCE Amhara, 2018, p. 7). While remittances are seen as an important source of income for households and families, 81% of the respondents disagreed with the statement that 'a family who has a son/daughter abroad is wealthier than a family whose son/daughter is here' (Baseline SINCE Amhara, 2018, p. 8). These statements imply that migration is not considered as a smart decision and that having a son or daughter abroad has nothing to do with the wealth of a family.

However, key-informants and students confirm what has been stated in the literature: an important reason to migrate refers to the social influence and inequalities between families. They explain that families compare themselves with other families, neighbours and relatives, who have had good opportunities in another country. They notice the improvements: they could build a new house, they received lots of money, and/or they received all kinds of goods. They want the same and are motivated to send their children as well. Therefore, they will sell their properties to cover the costs of migration. However, only 1% has a good opportunity after migrating, but families do not take this into consideration (K8; K11; K12).

### *Conclusion*

It can be concluded that the family plays an important role in the decision of youth to migrate. Many key-informants argue that the family is the main reason to migrate. They send their children abroad, by selling their properties, in order to earn money and to change their life. They are often motivated because of the social influence and inequalities between them and other families. While students do not completely agree on whether their family will push or support them to migrate, many confirm that their family will support them to migrate legally, although they are aware of the risks. Some students disagree and argue that their family does not let them migrate. The stories of the returnees show that the family sometimes volunteers to send the children to other countries. At the same time, some families disagreed, but this did not stop the migrants from leaving the country.

### **5.2.3 Other members of the social network**

In addition to the direct family, other relatives can promote and facilitate migration. This network can consist of several people. In this research, the category of relatives is divided into institutions, and friends and other relatives. If they support migration amongst youth, it is more likely that their ambition will increase.



### *Institutions recommending potential migrants*

While some government officials say they aim to create awareness amongst youth about the risks of migration (K11; K12; K13; K14), institutions can also recommend youth to migrate. For example, employees of the Polytechnic college in Addis Ababa mention that the school will support migration if it is legal and in their own profession, because it will change their lives; they will earn more money, while the government is currently not in a good position to pay proper salaries. Also, they will send remittances, which is good for the country and for the school. However, migrants might regret their decision if they face challenges (K1; K3).

### *Friends and other relatives influencing potential migrants*

As already mentioned, according to the Baseline SINCE Amhara, friends have more influence on the decision to migrate than family, respectively 6.1% and 2.1% (2018, p. 4). 62% of respondents (strongly) disagreed with the statement ‘I believe that the driving force for irregular migration is peer pressure’; whereas 34% (strongly) agreed (Baseline SINCE Amhara, 2018, p. 7). It is therefore important to take these peers into account as well, although this is as such not identified in the literature.

Government officials and employees of the TVET colleges also argue that there is an important role for friends, neighbours, brokers and other relatives in influencing youth to migrate. These peers will tell youth to migrate and sometimes even force them (K3; K11; K12). Returnees influence youth as well by giving them (wrong) information about their experiences; they will tell them it is not a big thing to migrate and they can buy properties for their family. They do not tell the truth because they are ashamed, they feel hopeless (K6). Some returnees confirm that they, like their friends, will advise other people to migrate, despite the challenges they had to face, because there are certainly chances (R5; R7; R9). On the other hand, some returnees would advise youth to stay and work in Ethiopia, rather than to leave the country. Returnees became drug addicted or faced other challenges. If they work hard, they can get a better life in Ethiopia (R8; R9). They also admit that they migrated because of peer pressure. Friends who left the country told them they got good opportunities. Although they did not notice any changes in wealth, they decided to leave as well in order to try to change their lives (R5; R7; R9).

Many students confirm that other people can influence them in their decision to migrate. They encourage them to migrate by telling them that they have good opportunities outside Ethiopia; that they will get a better life, that God will provide a good environment for them (F2; F7; F19; F20). They often add that they cannot change their life here. At the same time, they state that nobody will influence them to migrate, since they have their own freedom. It will be their own decision, depending on their willingness to improve their own and their family’s life (F13; F16).

## *Conclusion*

Various actors can influence youth to migrate. While some institutions try to create awareness amongst youth about the risks of migration, some other institutions, like schools, rather recommend youth to migrate. Not just institutions, also friends, neighbours, brokers, returnees and other relatives try to influence youth. Although students confirm that their networks try to influence them, some argue that it is still their own decision. Some returnees admit they were influenced by their friends and they will influence their networks as well. Others disagree, because they are aware of the challenges and consequences of migration.

## **5.3 Individual expectations, ambitions and opportunities**

Within the literature several micro-level determinants are identified which can influence the decision to migrate. This section will explore how and to what extent these determinants have an influence on the decision to migrate. If these decisions are optimal, it is expected that the ambition to migrate will decrease. The dimensions related to this variable, referred to as micro-level determinants, are *local opportunities due to a diploma, individual expectations of migration, general knowledge of and experiences with migration, and influence of diploma on migration*.

### **5.3.1 Local opportunities due to a diploma**

Respondents bring up several reasons that might influence their personal ambition to migrate, including the opportunities they will have (based on their diploma). The opportunities they have influence their personal life, and therefore their ambition.

#### *Expectations on chances due to a diploma in Ethiopia*

In the Baseline SINCE Amhara, the educational status is considered to be an important background characteristic for youth unemployment. The study concludes that the unemployed youth has no education (9.7%), less than grade 6 (10.8%), between grade 6 and 10 (32%), or completed grade 10 (25.7%); a total of 78.2%. The other 21.8% completed grade 10+1,2&3, grade 12, college or university (2018, p. 13). Of the returnees, 9.7% has no education at all, and 10.8% an education lower than grade 6. Most of the returnees completed grade 6-10 or completed grade 10, 32% and 25.7% respectively. 10.8% of the returnees finished college (Baseline SINCE Amhara, 2018, p. 12). These results illustrate that of those people that are jobless and decide to migrate, most are uneducated or low-educated. In addition, the study also assumes irregular migration will be reduced if youth get trained and employed: 72% of the respondents strongly agreed, 16% agreed (2018, p. 24).

Key-informants, like government officials, entrepreneurs and TVET employees, confirm the importance of having a diploma in order to find a job in Ethiopia. TVET graduates have more

opportunities because of their diploma. They argue that it is hard to find work in a company or factory without a TVET diploma. Even if uneducated people get a chance, their salary is not enough to provide in basic needs, like food and other costs (K6). Companies require diplomas and the government provides chances to start their own business (K11; K12; K14). Even entrepreneurs themselves would like to continue education in order to upgrade their skills and to get more knowledge about entrepreneurship. Nowadays, the government forces them to have a diploma, otherwise they will not get their license. They add that it is also important that their employees have an education and some working experience (K18).

Like the key-informants, most of the students and returnees expect that having a diploma increases their chances in Ethiopia. The job opportunities will be better if they finish a TVET or a training, because they have more competencies than others and both the public and private sector require employees with a diploma (F1; F9; F11; F17; R5; R7). For example, they know how to create job opportunities, they can

*“Since May I am getting training in this beauty salon, and also in another beauty salon. I think I will get better opportunities due to these trainings. It will be very good”. (R5)*

compete for different kind of vacancies and they have better ideas (F13; F14; F16; R9). The higher the level, the more job opportunities you have, and the more salary you will receive. Therefore, it is important to improve your education (F12; F18). Returnees mention that they left Ethiopia because they were not good enough to continue education in college or university, or they could not pay for classes anymore. Due to the lack of education, they did not find a job in Ethiopia and were dependent on their families (R5; R6; R7; R8; R9). Others argue that, even after receiving a diploma, they were unemployed. Because there are not enough jobs, it is difficult to earn some money for themselves and their families. Therefore, they had no other option than to migrate (R2; R3; R4). Some returnees are still not satisfied with their current situation. If they cannot get a job or if there are no changes in Ethiopia, they will go back. However, if they can get a job in their profession, they would like to stay in Ethiopia (R3; R4; R6; R7; R9).

### *Conclusion*

This section shows that dissatisfaction with the local opportunities due to a diploma is a reason for youth to migrate. In line with the Baseline SINCE Amhara, key-informants, most of the students and returnees argue that a diploma will improve the chances in Ethiopia. Students have more competencies than others and will be better able to start their own business.

### 5.3.2 Individual expectations of migration

The literature states that migrants choose to migrate irregularly, even if they have the perception that he/she will face other major challenges in the country of destination, as long as he/she believes that life in the home country is more challenging (Stocchiero, 2017). In that case, migrants do have higher expectations of migration, compared with the current situation. In this research, the focus is on the expected obstacles to migrate and the expectations of the (economic) situation due to migration.

#### *Expected obstacles to migrate*

Despite the high expectations, migrants might face several obstacles. Key-informants state, firstly, that potential migrants need a lot of money if they want to migrate, and that they often do not have this (K5). Furthermore, it is difficult for migrants to get a job outside of Ethiopia, especially one that suits their interests. They will also miss their family and might face other problems, such as abuses or a lack of freedom (K6). Besides, Christian migrants often face obstacles because of their name. While many Muslims migrate because they have a religious connection with the Arab countries, Christians also want to migrate to Arab countries. Those Christians will change their name into a Muslim one, in order to have more opportunities. If they do not do so, they might face problems because of their religion (K11). Many migrants think it is a matter of chance. They are aware that bad things might happen, but if they do have a strong belief, they can cope with the problems (K8).

*“My brother migrated to Dubai to work in the electricity. He died in an accident, so he had bad luck”. (F3)*

Students confirm they need money if they want to migrate, because it is expensive (F17; F18). They also need a visa, but it is difficult to get one; it is a time-consuming process and takes a lot of money (F12; F20). Some students argue that they will have good opportunities abroad. They will have a good chance themselves, but others do not and will die. You need luck and pray in order to get good opportunities (F2; F3).

#### *Expectations of future (economic) situation due to migration*

As previously mentioned, both key-informants and students argue that the expectations of receiving a higher salary abroad and the possibility of changing their own and their family's life, are a major reason to migrate (K13; K14; K15; F3; F13). If the salary in Ethiopia is not good they do not have a choice. In order to survive they will migrate, even illegally, since there is a chance to improve their economic status and to have a better life outside the country (K10; K11; F9; F19; F21). Although the work might be hard, the payment will be better, which will be earned in a short period of time (F8; F12; F16). They will be able to send remittances to their family and help the country (F3). If there is another place with a better salary, they will go there (K3; K5; K15).

*“Although I will graduate tomorrow, if I get the opportunity today to migrate, I will go, irregular as well as regular. After graduation I will not earn more than 3,000 birr (+/- €93). This will not add or change something in my life. When I go abroad, I will earn more and will be able to send remittances to my family and help the country. I will not get a job in IT because the standards, quality and language do not fit with the external labour market. But what I will earn here in three months, I will earn there in one month. Migration is an investment. It is an advantage because you will earn a lot of money. I do not know the disadvantages. Going abroad will change my life and the life of my family”. (F3)*

Returnees confirm that, upon leaving, they had high expectations of the situation abroad. They migrated in order to improve their economic situation. They were looking for a better life, a job and income (R3). This job would improve and change their life, and they would receive a lot of money in a short period of time (R2; R5; R9). They also expected a suitable environment and opportunities to work abroad (R1).

### *Conclusion*

It can be concluded that both key-informants and students think migration is expensive, so they need a lot of money. Also, both groups mention that youth have high expectations of migration. For example, they expect a higher salary and, given this, the possibility to change their life. Returnees confirm they had high expectations when they migrated.

### **5.3.3 General knowledge of and experience with migration**

Knowledge of and previous experiences with migration can influence returnees or ‘potential migrants’ in their ambition to migrate. Awareness of the risks and bad experiences might decrease the ambition of youth and returnees, while ‘success stories’ and positive experiences might increase their ambition. In the Baseline SINCE Amhara (2018) respondents were asked if they know somebody who migrated abroad. Overall, 87% percent of respondents knew somebody who had migrated abroad. 63% of the respondents had family members that migrated to another country; Saudi Arabia taking the lion’s share, followed by Dubai, Kuwait, Qatar, Lebanon and Djibouti. The number of people migrating per family ranges from one to six. A great majority of these migrants travelled in an irregular way, with no proper travel documents. However, 92% of the respondents argue that irregular migration is risky. Only less than 10% of the respondents did not agree on this statement. Out of all respondents of the Baseline SINCE Amhara (2018), 38% have tried to migrate. Most of them tried to migrate irregularly by crossing borders without legal documents. Out of those who tried to migrate, 25% did not reach its destination, while 75% did. On average, they stayed abroad for three years.

### *Respondent has knowledge of the external circumstances*

Many key-informants share their concerns regarding awareness amongst youth. The situation abroad is often presented in a better way than it actually is. Migrants will not get a job in their own profession: they will work in a household, for example. They might risk their life and have to work under bad circumstances. Family and friends who have left often do not tell the truth, because they do not want their families and friends to know about the bad situation they were facing. The risks do not compensate for the remittances, both with regular and irregular migration. Therefore, it is important to inform youth about the circumstances and the opportunities of legal migration (K2; K7; K8; O2).

Various governmental bureaus and institutions aim to inform youth about the circumstances and consequences of migration. The main purpose of the BoLSA is to create awareness in order to prevent migration. It uses peer education programs in schools and community conversation programs in villages to explain the negative sides of migration. In doing so, they work together with

*“I want to go to Saudi Arabia in a legal way, is a training mandatory?” – “I need information about trafficking, how can I get this?” – “I want to go Saudi Arabia in a legal way, what can I do?”. (IOM, 2017b)*

youth, women, religious leaders, representatives and other kind of social committees. Even after providing these programs, there are still not enough changes in awareness and behaviour; just around 25% changed their mind and did not want to migrate anymore. Most people still want to migrate because they do not have a good awareness about how complicated and painful it is. If the quality of education and the employment possibilities improve and the economy starts to develop, migration might be minimized (K11; K12). The BoYSA is also involved in awareness building and creates opportunities for youth in Ethiopia. By offering basic improvements to the economic status, like creating job opportunities and providing knowledge about entrepreneurship, it aims to decrease the ambition (K14). The BoWC mainly focuses on creating awareness about illegal migration. If youth were to migrate illegally, they might face different kinds of problems and risks because they are not recognized by the government, nor by the country of destination. Also, the office aims to increase the economic availability and development of women. If women are economically strong, they most likely might not want to migrate (K13). In addition to this, citizens also have the possibility to call or visit the IOM offices to ask about migration. They try to provide this information and to make people aware of the risks of (illegal) migration (IOM, 2017b).

Although key-informants say that youth are not always aware of the risks of migration, many students say they do know the risks. They received information about the advantages and disadvantages of migration from friends, family, teachers and returnees (F1; F15; F19). It is acknowledged that if they were to migrate, they will most likely work as a maid, a housekeeper or a driver (F5). While in particular illegal migration is considered as highly risky, also legal migration is often perceived as

difficult. Some migrants did have good opportunities, they did come back with a lot of money. On the other hand, some of them did not get these opportunities and returned with various problems. Challenges and difficulties are for example a lack of freedom, sexual abuse and the risks of arrest or deportation (F1; F12; F15; F16). Some students state returnees influenced them in a negative way, since the negative stories had the upper hand. Girls who went abroad became mentally ill and physically disabled because of sexual harassment, for example. As a consequence, society may no longer treat them the same way as before. This might be a consequence of legal as well as illegal migration (F16; F19; F20).

However, some students still see legal migration as a real option because it might offer good opportunities. The risks in legal migration are less compared to illegal migration, so they will support legal migration. Since the country of destination is different, it might be hard to adapt to the new environment and culture. Nevertheless, they expect that, after a certain period of time, the challenges will disappear and migrants will be able to deal with them (F6; F18). An Automotive student adds that

*“Even if you migrate legally, it is difficult. The family for who you are working, the males will force the female to have sexual things. After that they will fall and push you from a building, and you will be arrested”. (F15)*

the ultimate risk is death, but since life in Ethiopia is already difficult in so many ways, he is still willing to take the risk (F9). One of the returnees admits he did not expect illegal migration to be so difficult: the living conditions were terrible, he was seriously suffering. Rather than thinking about the bad things which could happen, he was only thinking about getting better opportunities and more money (R9).

At the same time, because students know the risks of illegal migration, some argue they do not think about that opportunity, and that illegal migration should be stopped. There are risks like drowning at sea, a lack of food and rape. Therefore, creating awareness is seen as useful and should be improved, in order to decrease the level of migration. Also, youth should learn how to be successful in Ethiopia itself. In addition to that, it is useful to provide work and job opportunities (F12; F17).

#### *Respondent has previous experiences with migration*

In order to explore how experiences influence the ambition to re-migrate, several returnees have been interviewed. Their experiences have various influences on their ambition. As the name *returnees* implies, they *returned* to Ethiopia. Several reasons can be distinguished for this return. Firstly, migrants often have not had much training. Due to a lack of training, they face a lot of problems. For example, they get less salary and as a consequence they cannot survive and have to return. Secondly, in line with the previous reason, migrants are sometimes not seen as humans, so they feel demoralized and undermined. They do not get respect and face physical and moral problems. Also due to a lack of

training, they do not have enough self-confidence. Thirdly, the government often forces migrants to leave the country. Saudi Arabia has a large number of illegal migrants. If they do not leave the country voluntarily, they are found guilty of a crime and are subsequently deported (K12).

Some returnees came back because of these reasons. Regardless of their experiences and reasons to return, they differ regarding the ambition to migrate once more. Some returnees do not want to migrate again. As already briefly addressed, they did not get what they initially expected. While they expected good things, like a lot of money and freedom and a suitable environment, they faced many problems (R1; R6; R7; R9). It was difficult to acquire good conditions and a suitable environment: there was no freedom, the housing was often poor, they were (sexually) abused and they had to do a lot of work (R2; R5; R8). However, there are also returnees who still have the ambition to migrate again. In their cases the reality was not in line with their expectations either. Despite these negative experiences, they want to go back for work, because they expect that there might be better opportunities outside the household and caregiving (R1; R6; R14). Due to the current economic situation, they are forced to migrate again and hope that this time they will have better chances (R3; R4; R7; R9). However, if they were to find a job in Ethiopia, they prefer to stay (R3; R4).

*“I went to Saudi Arabia with my brother in an illegal way: by crossing the sea and the desert area, which took us about two months. We paid the money for the brokers, which we borrowed from our family. Me and my family were dependent on the income of the harvest of the land, what felt not good for me. Therefore I wanted to migrate, although I knew I could lose my life. During the trip, I suffered bad things. My legs and feet were harmed on the road. I never saw the main road. After I got Somalia, I was on the sea for three days. After that I got aid from the Red Cross. They gave me something to eat. When I crossed Yemen, it was only a desert. I was walking by foot. When I finally arrived, I did not get what I expected. Because I was an illegal migrant, I could only work in rural areas. I did not get a good situation and received a lower salary. I sent the salary to my family, because they had hope to receive some money and otherwise I might got robbed by others. However, when I came back, because the government forced me, the money was already spent. Thereby, I expected that the Ethiopian government made a good situational condition for me, but this was not the case. If I do not get a job, and do not get a better life here in Ethiopia, I should go again. The problems will push me”. (R9)*

These stories illustrate that the negative experiences abroad do not always influence the decision to migrate again. If the situation in Ethiopia is still not good, or one can get a better opportunity abroad, returnees might feel forced to migrate again in order to improve their lives.



## *Conclusion*

Many key-informants are concerned about the knowledge and awareness amongst youth regarding the risks of migration. Therefore, governmental bureaus and institutions try to create awareness by developing and organizing educational programs in schools and community conversation programs. On the other hand, students say they do know the risks. They received information about the advantages and disadvantages of migration from friends, family, teachers and returnees. Despite that knowledge, some students still consider legal migration as an option. Other students argue that creating awareness is useful and should be improved in order to decrease migration. In addition, the stories of the returnees show that the negative experiences abroad do not always influence the decision to migrate again. If the situation in Ethiopia is not seen as satisfactory and they can get better opportunities abroad, returnees feel compelled to migrate again in order to improve their lives.

### **5.3.4 Influence of diploma on migration**

In the literature, scholars do not agree on the role of education as a cause of migration. On the one hand, it is argued that less positive results at school can lead to the decision to drop out and to migration (Stocchiero, 2017). According to Yohannes, Tekla, Abraham and Demisse (2017), migrants with only elementary school qualifications and those with just secondary school qualifications are respectively 9.75 times and 5 times more likely to migrate irregularly as compared to college or university graduates. Based on these findings, it might be concluded that as the educational qualification of migrants increases from primary to secondary school all the way up to a college degree, the likelihood of irregular migration decreases (Stocchiero, 2017, p. 7). On the other hand, according to the research of Schewel & Fransen (2018), students who completed primary school or higher levels are more likely to aspire to migrate than those who have not completed an education. In this section, the key-informants and returnees, as well as students discuss their views on this relationship.

#### *Opportunities and ambition according to key-informants and returnees*

Key-informants and returnees do not agree on whether or not students have better opportunities abroad and more ambitions because of their diploma. While some expect that students have better opportunities and more ambitions, others doubt whether this is really the case.

Deans of the TVET colleges argue that TVET graduates have better opportunities abroad because of their diploma. The occupational standards are dependent on the interest of the companies, rather than the government or the college, so graduates fill the interests of companies outside Ethiopia as well (K3; K5; K6).

While the deans argue that TVET graduates have better opportunities abroad because of their diploma, at the same time they think that mainly uneducated people have the ambition to migrate because they do not have opportunities in Ethiopia. Educated people have the possibility to improve their life in Ethiopia: they get better work opportunities and a better income (K3; K5; K6). They expect that their graduates do not have the ambition to migrate because they are interested to work in Ethiopia (K5). Also, they are at most 21 years of age, and they prefer to stay with their family. They heard from others that there are many challenges in the Arab countries, so they do not want to move there (K4). Therefore, it is important to train people, so they can work in Ethiopia. However, the vice-president and the head of the public relations of the Public TVET college in Dessie acknowledge that some graduates have the ambition to migrate after receiving their diploma. They think that this is the case because they chose the wrong department, not in line with their interests, so they will not be successful in Ethiopia. If they do not find employment, they might want to migrate. But, in general, education is not the reason to migrate, it is rather a matter of personal interests (K15).

Contrary, the government officials and returnees argue that a TVET diploma is not of added value outside Ethiopia. Countries abroad do not acknowledge the competences of the Ethiopian graduates, they are considered as uneducated (K13; R3; R5; R8; R9). Graduates are seen as not competent enough in other countries because they do not have a comparable curriculum and demand. Foreigners will most likely have more experience, so they do not accept Ethiopians (K10; K12). Women will work in household and caregiving, even if they are educated, rather than in their own profession (K11; K12; K13).

Therefore, the government officials state that in particular uneducated youth migrate, because they are not competent to get a job in Ethiopia and they have lost all hope of getting an employment (K8; K11). TVET graduates do not aspire to migrate, if they have the hope to get a job in Ethiopia. At the same time, they acknowledge that the number of educated migrants increases (K13).

Returnees do not agree on whether or not a diploma influences the ambition to migrate. R6 and R8 both mention they have the ambition to migrate if they have a certificate. Other returnees expect that the ambition to migrate will decrease if youth are educated. It is therefore important that youth have good academic results, so they can continue (R7; R9). R3 says the main issue is whether you have the ambition to go or not, rather than the level of education.

#### *Opportunities and ambition according to students*

Students do not agree on whether or not they have more opportunities abroad because of their diploma, and how this influences their ambition to migrate. Most of the IT, Wood, Telecom and Electric students think they do not have (more) opportunities abroad because of their diploma. The

opportunities abroad are similar or less, irrespective of having a certificate or not. They do not have enough knowledge, because the curriculum is different and based on the country's need (F2; F3; F5; F7; F8; F13). They expect that migrants will not get a job in their own profession, but get domestic work. Some students expect that if they upgrade themselves, they might have a chance (F3; F6; F8). ITSM students add that there is a big difference in technology. While other countries are making technological progress, within Ethiopia the focus is mainly on maintaining the existing level (F14).

Although these students agree on that they do not have more opportunities abroad, they disagree on whether a diploma influences their ambition to migrate. Most of them argue that, although they might not have more opportunities, they still have more ambition to migrate. They expect that they can change their life, because there is more freedom and a higher salary (F2; F5; F6; F14). On the other hand, some students argue that the ambition becomes less due to a diploma, because they can start their own business in Ethiopia (F13). In addition to that, while some explain that irrespective of their diploma they have the ambition to migrate because of the economic situation (F8; F13), others say that they do not have an ambition at all (F5; F6).

Contrary, most of the Leather and Footwear, Textile, Garment, Accounting, IEMD, Automotive, CS and GMFA students argue that they do have (more) opportunities abroad because of their diploma. When students receive a diploma, they are professionals and competent enough and thus more in demand by the foreign labour market. It is therefore easier to get chances and it might bring job guarantees, rather than without a TVET diploma. They think they will be recognized and get a job in their own profession (F4; F14; F15; F17; F19; F20). Especially if they improve their level and professionalism, they might be able to compete with foreign people (F1; F12).

While the students agree about the opportunities abroad, they disagree about their ambition as well. Most of the IEMD, Automotive, Accounting, Garment, GMFA and CS students have more ambition because they become more competent, which increases their opportunities. Especially if they cannot find a job, they will migrate (F7; F15; F17; F20). They have a chance abroad and there is a better payment outside the country. Even people with a job in Ethiopia will migrate if their goal is to earn more money (F9; F18; F19). Leather and Footwear and some Garment students argue that the diploma minimizes their ambition to migrate. The skills they are acquiring help them in increasing their knowledge and skills in order to work in Ethiopia. They can get a job or start their own business in Ethiopia (F4; F7; F16). Again, some students argue that a diploma does not have an influence at all in their ambition to stay or leave the country. While some students mention that they already had the ambition to migrate, even before they started school (F7; F14), others state that a diploma does not influence their ambition to migrate, because they are only interested to work in Ethiopia and they do know the risks of migration (F1; F12; F19; F20).

### *Conclusion*

It can be concluded that the relationship between receiving a diploma and the opportunities and ambition to migrate is not clear. Even key-informants do not agree on whether students have better opportunities abroad because of their diploma. While some employees of TVET colleges expect that students have better opportunities, government officials and returnees doubt whether this is the case. Almost all key-informants argue that in particular uneducated people migrate, but confirm that also some educated youth have an ambition.

Furthermore, it can be concluded that students do not agree on whether or not a diploma influences their opportunities and ambitions. The differences between the departments and students look randomly. Some students argue that they do not have (more) opportunities abroad because of their diploma. They do, however, disagree about the ambition to migrate; most of them argue that the ambition to migrate increases, while others say that the ambition decreases because of a diploma. Irrespective of a diploma, some students state that they do but also that they do not have an ambition to migrate.

Contrary, another part of the students argues that they do have (more) opportunities abroad because of their diploma. While these students say they do have more opportunities, they disagree about the ambition as well: most of them argue that the ambition to migrate increases, some state that their ambition decreases. Also, in this group some students mention that a diploma does not have an influence at all in their ambition to stay or leave.

## 6. Conclusion

This chapter presents the conclusions of this research in order to explore the relationship between education, especially TVET, and the perceptions on international migration of graduated youth in Ethiopia, in particular Addis Ababa and Amhara. The conclusion of this research contains several parts. In Section 6.1 the answers to the sub-questions are given. Subsequently, in Section 6.2 the research question is answered. Next, a theoretical reflection (Section 6.3) and a methodological reflection (Section 6.4) are included. The chapter ends by discussing some recommendations for further research as well as recommendations for Edukans regarding policies and programs in Section 6.5.

### 6.1 Answers to the sub-questions

This research explores how education, in particular TVET, influences the perceptions on international migration of graduated youth in Ethiopia, in Addis Ababa and Amhara. In order to reach this aim, the following research question will be answered: *how and to what extent does education, especially TVET, influence perceptions on international migration of youth in Ethiopia, in particular in Addis Ababa and Amhara?* To answer this question, various sub-questions have to be answered as well. The answers to these sub-questions are given first.

#### 1. *What is Technical and Vocational Education and Training?*

TVET is defined as “those aspects of the educational process involving, in addition to general education, the study of technologies and related sciences and the acquisition of practical skills, attitudes, understanding and knowledge relating to occupation in various sector of economic life” (UNESCO, 2017b). TVET aims to improve the knowledge and practical skills of individuals necessary for development. This will prepare youth for employment and will consequently cure youth unemployment in a country.

#### 2. *How is TVET integrated in the education system in Ethiopia?*

In Ethiopia, education is considered to be an effective tool to improve the knowledge and skills of children and youth. Children start with primary education, followed by secondary education. After completing grade 10, they can decide to go to the preparatory level (to prepare themselves for higher education) or to enrol in TVET. 70% of the students enrolls in TVET or leave the formal education system. TVET colleges offer trainings from level 1 through level 4. Polytechnic colleges also offer level 5. The regular trainings are provided in different skills department. The students receive 30% theoretical training and 70% practical training per unit of competency. These practical trainings take place at school as well as within companies. They work at companies in order to get experience, and to

improve the practical skills and the operational activities. After finishing TVET, youth should be prepared for the labour market. Besides these regular trainings, industry extension trainings, short-term trainings and trainings for returnees are provided as well.

### *3. To what extent is there international migration in Ethiopia?*

Migration is a rather recent phenomenon in Ethiopia. Next to internal migration, international migration is preferred by many migrants as well. For international migration, three main routes are distinguished; the eastern, northern and southern route. The MoLSA registered 460,000 legal migrants at the eastern route between 2008 and 2013. Migrants often face many challenges during the journey to as well as at the destination country itself. Because of the risks and the increasing number of illegal migrants, in 2013 the Ethiopian government decided to put a ban on all overseas employment services to all destination countries. Binding bilateral labour agreements were made with countries in the Middle East to protect the rights and interests of migrant workers. Since February 2018, the ban has been lifted. Nowadays, the government has three kinds of agreements with various countries: personal/private agreements, governmental agreements, and agencies agreements. If graduates want a job in their own profession in a foreign country, this is only possible through a personal/private agreement.

### *4. How and to what extent does education contribute to development?*

In the literature, scholars disagree about the role of education in development. The relationship between both can be explained by using two different paradigms: the equilibrium paradigm and the conflict paradigm. According to the equilibrium paradigm, education contributes to individual development and economic growth in a country. Education is considered to be an investment in human capital and contributes to the development of an individual. It increases the productivity of an individual and thus contributes to the transformation, enhancement and empowerment of him/her. He/she will acquire knowledge and skills, called human capital. This will consequently lead to a higher income. Also, education is an instrument of social mobility and necessary for the maintenance of the system. Due to the development of human resources, underdevelopment should be overcome, and stability will be reached in society. It is thus considered to be a source of social order and economic development as well.

However, the equilibrium paradigm met with critique, resulting in an increased interest in theories that fall under the conflict paradigm. Rather than diminishing inequality, it is argued that education reproduces and increases inequality in society. The educational system maintains the power structures in which the proletariat is educated to obedient workers who accept their position as lower-class members in society. As a consequence, it cannot equalize the opportunities for individuals. Nowadays, the equilibrium paradigm is used as a base for international policies.

##### 5. *How and to what extent does education contribute to migration?*

As previously mentioned, education can, according to the equilibrium paradigm, contribute to individual and economic development of a country. Based on this idea, it is expected that development, because of education, reduces the need to migrate. However, there are also scholars who argue that education has the opposite effect and leads to migration because of better opportunities somewhere else. In order to explore this relationship, again a distinction has been made between the equilibrium paradigm and the conflict paradigm. According to the equilibrium paradigm, migration is an instrument to reach an equilibrium within society. Education can lead to migration because individuals increase their skills and try to maximize their income and opportunities. If society fails to provide (decent) job opportunities, and due to their improved capacities opportunities in another region or country are available, people might make the decision to migrate. However, proponents of the conflict paradigm reject the idea that migration can only be explained by economic factors. They argue that migration should be considered within a broader context. Therefore, within the conflict paradigm, a shift is made to mutual interdependence. While some state that contextual factors influence the decision, others argue that it depends on the aspirations of the individual itself. In addition to that, some state that families and/or households as well as the relative position of the individuals and households should be taken into account.

##### 6. *How and to what extent do macro-level, mezzo-level and micro-level determinants, respectively, influence the perceptions on migration of youth in Ethiopia?*

In order to analyse which conditions influence the decision of Ethiopian youth to migrate, a distinction has been made between macro-, mezzo- and micro-level determinants. These determinants, which are referred to by other names, are discussed separately.

##### Contextual determinants

The contextual determinants (or macro-level determinants) are local and external job opportunities, wage differences, recruitment process and quality of education. Firstly, it can be concluded that there are not enough *local job opportunities* for youth. Especially students from the modern studies and local government officials argue that there are not enough jobs. Also, youth often lack the required working experience and it is hard for them to start their own business because there are many obstacles to overcome. This increases their ambition to migrate in order to find a job abroad and to improve their life. Secondly, most of the (traditional) students expect that there are many *external job opportunities*. Even if they were to get a job in another profession, they still would like to go. Key-informants doubt whether it is possible to get a job abroad in your own sector. The number of opportunities often increases the ambition of the students, even if it is work in another profession. Thirdly, all respondents state that the *wage differences* are an important reason to migrate. While the available jobs in Ethiopia are often low paying jobs, the salaries abroad are higher. If the wage

differences were to decrease, the ambition to migrate would be less as well. Fourthly, it can be concluded that key-informants and students do not have similar perceptions on the *recruitment process*. While key-informants argue that there is a broad range of ads of job offers, that the best-skilled candidates are selected and that there is no competition between university and TVET graduates, the students disagree and state that this is not the case. This might decrease their incentive to apply for local jobs and consequently increase the ambition to migrate. Fifthly, it is stated that TVET does not have a good image and *quality* in Ethiopia. Key-informants mention that there is no proper link between the trainings as offered and the skills of the graduates on the one hand, and the requirements of the labour market on the other. As a consequence, youth are lacking both hard and soft skills. However, students perceive the quality of the trainings as good. A mismatch might increase the ambition to migrate, because youth will not have good opportunities locally.

### Social networks

Because it turned out that not only the household, but also other members of the social network can influence youth in their decision to migrate, the name has changed to ‘social networks’ rather than ‘household’. The identified mezzo-level determinants are a household’s capacity and aspirations and other members of the social network. It can be concluded that the *household’s capacity and aspirations* play an important role in the decision of youth to migrate. Key-informants argue that families propose or push their members to migrate in order to improve their life. They are motivated because of the social influence and inequalities between them and other families. To facilitate and finance this process, they will sell their properties. Also, most of the students confirm that their family will support them, although they are aware of the risks. Besides families, also *other members of the social network* influence youth to migrate. Key-informants, students and returnees argue that institutions, friends, neighbours, returnees and other relatives recommend and support youth to migrate; they have good opportunities abroad and they can change their life. These influences and pressure of the network can influence the perceptions of youth to migrate.

### Individual expectations, ambitions and opportunities

Finally, micro-level determinants, which are related to the individual, can influence his/her own perception on migration. These determinants are the local opportunities because of a diploma, individual expectations of migration, general knowledge of and experiences with migration and possible influence of a diploma on migration. Firstly, key-informants, students and returnees all mention that the dissatisfaction with the *local opportunities due to a diploma* is a reason for youth to migrate. All respondents expect that a diploma will increase the chances of graduates in Ethiopia, because they will have more competencies than others and will be able to start their own business. Secondly, the *individual expectations of migration* might influence the ambition of youth. Both key-informants and students confirm that migrants will face several obstacles. For example, migrants need



a lot of money and a visa. While the obstacles might decrease the ambition, the expectation of getting a better economic situation due to migration might increase the ambition of youth. Thirdly, in addition to the expectations, also the *general knowledge of and experience with migration* might have an influence on the perceptions of youth. While key-informants share their concerns regarding the knowledge of and awareness amongst youth, students mention that they are aware of the risks. Despite these risks, some students still see (legal) migration as a real option. Even previous experiences might not influence the decision to migrate again. Returnees explain that if the situation in Ethiopia is still not good, or if they can get a better opportunity abroad, they might feel forced to migrate again. It can thus be concluded that while it is expected that proper knowledge, awareness of the risks and even bad experiences abroad will decrease the ambition to migrate, if the situation in Ethiopia is still not satisfying youth might still have the ambition or feel compelled to migrate. Finally, there might be an *influence of a diploma on migration*. However, key-informants, returnees and students do not agree whether or not there is an influence of a diploma on the opportunities and ambition to migrate. While employees of TVET colleges expect that TVET graduates have better opportunities abroad because of their diploma, at the same time they think that mainly uneducated people have the ambition to migrate. On the other hand, government officials and returnees argue that a diploma is not of added value outside Ethiopia. But, whereas the government officials also expect that mainly uneducated youth migrate, some returnees argue that a diploma can increase the ambition. Students also do not agree on whether or not a diploma influences their opportunities and ambitions. The differences between the departments and students looks random. A part of the students argues they do not have (more) opportunities abroad because of their diploma. However, they disagree about the ambition to migrate. While some argue that the ambition increases, others argue the opposite or that they do or do not have an ambition to migrate at all, irrespective of a diploma. Another part of the students, contrary, argues that they do have (more) opportunities abroad because of their diploma. However, they also disagree about the ambition. While most of them argue that the ambition to migrate increases, some state that their ambition decreases. In this group, some students also mention that having a diploma does not have an influence at all on their ambition to stay or leave.

## **6.2 Answer to the research question**

This research endeavoured to answer the research question: *how and to what extent does education, especially TVET, influence perceptions on international migration of youth in Ethiopia, in particular in Addis Ababa and Amhara?*

Based on the analysis, it can be concluded that there is an influence of TVET on the perceptions on international migration of Ethiopian youth. Many students say they think they have more opportunities abroad because of their diploma. When they receive a diploma, they are professionals and skilled

enough to compete with the foreigners. Also, most of them do have more ambitions because they think they have more opportunities. It should be noted, however, that another group of the students thinks they do not have more opportunities and ambitions to migrate because of a diploma. These students argue that they have more opportunities in Ethiopia and therefore would like to stay. Further, there are students who, irrespective of a diploma, do or do not have the ambition to migrate at all. As previously mentioned, the differences between the departments and students look random. This shows that there is an influence of education on the perceptions on international migration, but that this relationship is not significant.

Based on this research on understanding and explaining the relationship between education and migration, it is important to look at this relationship and the situation of these youth within a broader context. While many students say they want to migrate, at the same time some mention they would like to work in Ethiopia but that the current situation is not satisfying to realise this. There are not enough local jobs for youth; many students think there are many foreign job opportunities. In addition, the available jobs in Ethiopia are often low-paying jobs while the foreign jobs offer high salaries, even if it is a job in another profession. As a consequence, youth expect that they can change their life within a short period of time if they were to migrate. Also, youth consider the recruitment process as unfair and corrupt, and have the feeling that they have to compete with university students, which might decrease the incentive to apply for local jobs. Finally, the image and quality of TVET is low, and there is no proper link between the trainings as offered and the skills of the graduates on the one hand, and the requirements of the labour market on the other, so youth will not have good opportunities locally.

In addition, families and other members of the social network, like neighbours and friends, often propose or push youth to migrate. They are willing to support and facilitate them, although they are aware of the risks, in order to improve their life. Families are motivated given the social influence and inequalities between them and other families. Youth are aware of the obstacles they might face and do know of the risks involved, but the expectation of improving their own and their families' economic situation is nevertheless a major reason for them to migrate. Even previous experiences might not influence the decision to migrate, if it is expected that the situation abroad is still better than the current situation inside Ethiopia.

As previously mentioned, it can thus be concluded that migrants choose to migrate, even if they have the perception that he/she will face other major challenges in the country of destination, as long as he/she believes that life in the home country is more challenging. The situation forces them to migrate. In that case, it can be argued that, on the one hand, education can be considered as an opportunity because it can improve the life in the home country. On the other hand, if life in the home country is

more challenging, education can be a threat because many young people decide to migrate. They expect better opportunities abroad because of their education, while the reality is often not in line with these expectations.

### **6.3 Theoretical reflection**

In this research, several contradicting theories have been elaborated upon in order to explore the relationship between education, development and migration. It has been explored to what extent the identified determinants (might) have an influence on the perceptions of youth on international migration.

To explore the relationship between education and development, the equilibrium paradigm as well as the conflict paradigm have been discussed. Proponents of the equilibrium paradigm state that education has an influence on and is functional for the stability of society. It can be a source for individual as well as economic development. Based on this research it can be concluded that this is the case. As a consequence of education, individuals improve their knowledge and skills; this might consequently lead to economic development. At the same time, the critiques that have been brought up are confirmed. In order to understand the relationship, it is important to the context and the dynamics in which it takes place into account. The behaviour of an individual is a product of social and cultural factors. Contrary, the conflict paradigm does not hold because almost all children do have access to education and the level depends on the knowledge and skills of these children rather than the money and power. However, it is acknowledged that if children or students (or their families) do not have the money to finance the school costs, inequality within society will increase.

In exploring the relationship between education and migration, both the equilibrium and conflict paradigm were discussed. It can be concluded that both paradigms are applicable to explain this relationship. According to the equilibrium paradigm, due to the difference in supply and demand, migration is considered as an instrument to reach equilibrium in society, which is confirmed in the analysis. But at the same time, it has to be concluded that it is important to take the context of these individuals into account, as mentioned in the conflict paradigm. The preferences, constraints and relative position of the household or family can have an influence on the decision to migrate, as well as the capabilities and aspirations of individuals. This shows that both the equilibrium and conflict paradigm (partly) do hold in this research. However, these determinants separately do not necessarily have an influence, they rather take place within a broader context. For example, while it is expected that knowledge about the risks, and bad experiences abroad will decrease the ambition to migrate, if the local circumstances are worse, people might still make the decision to migrate.

Further, it should be mentioned that in the analysis it turned out that two determinants are not covered by the literature. It can therefore be stated that the current literature is not complete. The analysis has shown the benefits of using the theory-testing as well as the theory-building variant of process tracing. Firstly, the quality of education, a macro-level determinant, is not included in the theories. If the quality of education is not in line with the demands of the local labour market, youth are not properly skilled, which decreases their opportunities at the labour market and consequently increases the ambition to migrate. Secondly, while the household and/or family is acknowledged to be an important actor to influence the decision of youth to migrate, the role of other actors of the social network is missing, which is a mezzo-level determinant. Besides families, also friends, neighbours, returnees, teachers and other relatives can influence youth. Therefore, it is important to add these determinants to the theories.

#### **6.4 Methodological reflection**

To reach the aim of this research, various methodological choices were made. Some of these will be discussed here. Firstly, some comments related to the representativeness. The SINCE program is selected as a case to provide insights in the perceptions on migration. However, in the course of the research it was decided to include a polytechnic college in Addis Ababa and a public TVET college in Dessie as well. These schools are not part of the SINCE program. As a consequence, the scope of this research has been broadened. However, this research did not aim to provide results for this program; it only used this program in order to collect data. In addition, no major differences are explored between the colleges. Therefore, both colleges are considered as useful and representative for this research. Also, only one college in Addis Ababa was included in the research. Therefore, it can be questioned to what extent this school is representative for Addis Ababa. Again, because many students from different departments were interviewed in this college and no major differences were explored between the colleges, it is assumed that the college is representative. Finally, although it is expected that youth from other TVET colleges in other regions face similar problems, there is not enough knowledge and evidence that this is the case. Therefore, this research does not aim to generalize the results to Ethiopia.

Secondly, the validity and reliability of the answers of the respondents might be debated. Since an interpreter was needed for those respondents that did not speak English, not all relevant information might have been translated correctly. Interpreters might have shared their own opinion rather than translating the opinions of the respondents. Further, because Ethiopians are sometimes closed and afraid to share their opinions (because of political consequences), it can be questioned to what extent all relevant information was gathered. However, by interviewing many respondents and using different interpreters, it is expected that these risks do not have a major impact on the outcome of this research.

Finally, because a qualitative research has been executed, there is no quantifiable evidence to what extent a diploma influences youth to migrate, for example. On the other hand, in this research explanations are given for why youth expect to have more or less ambition to migrate after getting a diploma.

## **6.5 Recommendations**

Although this research had some limitations, it contributed to the theoretical debate as well as to the insights in the influence of education, especially TVET, on perceptions on international migration of Ethiopian youth, in particular in Addis Ababa and Amhara. However, there are still a number of gaps in the knowledge around perceptions on international migration that follows from the results of this research. These gaps refer to the literature and to the current policies and programs. Therefore, this section includes some recommendations for further research as well as recommendations for Edukans regarding policies and programs.

### **6.5.1 Recommendations for further research**

The recommendations for further research focus on the shortcomings of this research and the identified gaps in the literature. As previously mentioned in Section 6.3 several contradicting theories are elaborated and critically reflected upon. It turned out that part of these theories do hold. However, if further research were to be done, it would be interesting to explore in-depth in which situation a particular theory does hold and when it does not. In that way, more specific results can be presented. Another possibility is to do quantitative research, in order to provide specific numbers of youth who have the ambition to migrate and the role of the various determinants in this ambition. If the major influencing determinants are identified, specific recommendations can be provided to decrease the influence. Further, it turned out that some determinants are not captured in the literature and conceptual model. These determinants should be added, in order to guarantee its completeness. However, it is recommended to examine whether these determinants actually should be part of the literature and the model, and whether these determinants are complete, or still lack some crucial indicators. Finally, this research mainly focused on Addis Ababa and Amhara. Research like this can also be done in other regions in order to explore the perception of these youth, and whether or not they have similar perceptions. This research might be done in other countries as well; other countries facing comparable problems in which youth might decide to migrate. It will be clarified how and to what extent education and other determinants influence the perceptions on international migration of these youth. It can be interesting for these countries, NGOs or other stakeholders to initiate a similar research.

### **6.5.2 Recommendations for Edukans regarding (current) policies and programs**

This section provides some recommendations for amendments in current policies and programs of Edukans in order to increase the effectiveness of the trainings and to decrease the ambition to migrate amongst youth. However, some recommendations fall (partly) outside the scope of Edukans, but are important gaps to fill. Therefore, other organizations and the Ethiopian government can take into account these recommendations as well when developing new policies and programs. Guiding in these recommendations is that, as previously mentioned, *migrants choose to migrate, even if they have the perception that he/she will face other major challenges in the country of destination, as long as he/she believes that life in the home country is more challenging*. Migrants might feel forced to migrate (again) in order to improve their lives. Therefore, it is important to improve the living situation and opportunities in Ethiopia itself. This includes interventions at all levels.

#### Increase the number and accessibility of local job opportunities

While Edukans mainly aims to provide education for children and youth, it can broaden its scope by focusing on the number and accessibility of local job opportunities as well. The organization should aim to increase the number of local jobs, especially for graduates of modern studies. Currently, there are not enough job opportunities for youth. Also, youth often lack working experience and they face many challenges to start their own business. If education is followed by better local job opportunities, youth are stimulated to work in their own country and get the opportunity to develop. Improvements can be realized in several ways. Youth should get more working experiences by promoting internships, side-jobs and cooperative trainings. The link between colleges and the public and private sector can be improved. Edukans can emphasize the importance of working experiences at the colleges and the government. In addition, it should be made easier for existing enterprises to expand their businesses. Nowadays, it is hard for entrepreneurs to expand given the large costs involved. Finally, more opportunities should be created for youth to start their own business. While they learn how to start their own business, in the day-to-day practice they face many challenges. For example, it should be easier to get a loan and a working place, or subsidies should be provided. Like Edukans, also (local) governments, TVET colleges itself and companies should promote and aim to create opportunities for youth.

#### Decrease wage differences

While many Arab countries are characterized by high salaries, in Ethiopia the opposite is true. Therefore, the difference between wages should be decreased. This can be realized by setting a minimum wage, for example enforced by the government. Also, companies should be convinced to increase the salaries, because this will benefit them in the long run. Due to trainings, the skills of the graduates increase, so they will get a better production. In addition to that, the dropout rate will be

lower because graduates will stay, so they will not lose manpower and production. Edukans can, for example due to several programs, lobby at the government to realize this.

#### Improve the recruitment process

While this is probably not the main task of Edukans, the organization can encourage its stakeholders, like the TVET colleges and the (local) government(s), to improve the recruitment process. Public organizations and private companies should make sure that the recruitment process is fair and transparent, to ensure that the best-skilled candidates are selected. This will increase the productivity of the organization, and graduates are motivated to apply for local jobs.

#### Improve the image and quality of TVET colleges

Youth should be motivated to enrol in TVET in order to get a job. Therefore, the possibilities TVETs offer should be propagated. TVET should be considered as an opportunity rather than a failure. Success stories of TVET graduates can be shared and other opportunities should be highlighted. Edukans can also provide the colleges information how to promote TVET, for example. Secondly, the quality of the trainings should be improved. Market assessments should be sufficiently executed to increase the link between the offered trainings and the skills of the graduates on the one hand and the requirements of the labour market on the other. Based on these market assessments, trainings can be offered and the curriculum should be revised. The focus should be on both hard and soft skills. Therefore, it is important that it is ensured that these assessments are sufficiently executed. If needed, trainings should be provided. In addition, Edukans can increase the quality by improving the capacity of the teachers to make sure that they do have the necessary skills and knowledge, and by improving the capacity of the machines to make sure that machines are not outdated. Also, the organization should make sure that more attention is paid to the knowledge and attitude related to entrepreneurship and being employed. Youth should have awareness and knowledge of starting their own business as well as how to behave when being employed. Also, they should be challenged and capable to come up with new and creative concepts and ideas for businesses.

#### Improve the accessibility of education

Youth have more opportunities in Ethiopia if they have a diploma. It increases their chances because they are more skilled and they have better opportunities to start their own business. Therefore, it is important to ensure that education is accessible for all youth. For example, loans or subsidies should be provided, to make sure that youth can pay the fees. Cooperation with local governments is needed to make sure that all children and youth, even the poor ones, are included.

### Increase awareness of risks and opportunities

Although Ethiopian citizens do know the risks of legal and illegal migration alike, it is important to create more awareness about the risks, even if it is legal. Youth, and their families and networks should realize that they might face major problems abroad and that these experiences can have a negative influence on their life when they return; returnees often face mental and physical problems. Also, youth should be aware that they probably do not get the opportunity to work in their own profession abroad; they rather have to work as a maid or driver. In addition to that, they have to know the opportunities in Ethiopia itself; they should identify the local possibilities to change their life and to contribute to the development of Ethiopia. Awareness can be created at the colleges and during community conversation programs.



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## **Appendix overview**

- Appendix I: Interview guides
  - Interview guide macro-level respondents: key-informants
  - Interview guide micro-level respondents: students
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## **Appendix I: Interview guides**

### **Interview guide macro-level respondents: key-informants**

This interview guide is a general interview guide for macro-level respondents. The questions might be adapted depending on the organization and its tasks/role in education and migration. The aim is to provide a contextual framework. In the introduction it should be mentioned that ‘migration’ is considered as international/external migration; irrespectively regular or irregular, that all respondents will be anonymous (no names will be used), and all provided information will be treated confidentially. If possible, the interviews/discussions will be recorded in order to ensure the reliability.

#### **Introduction question**

- Can you explain your profession? (What are your daily tasks? How are you involved with TVET students/graduates?)

#### **(Perceptions on) local job opportunities / access to the local job market**

- What is your opinion about the current opportunities at the labour market and the jobs available for TVET graduates? Do you think that there are enough (decent) jobs available for TVET graduates?
- To what extent is the local job market accessible for TVET graduates? How can we improve this access?
- To what extent and how contributes a TVET diploma to the likelihood to find a job locally?
- Do you think that if better payments will be promoted, the incentive to migrate decreases? Why?
- Do you think that there is a relation between the dissatisfaction with the local job market and (ir)regular migration amongst TVET graduates? (Do you think that if youth graduate at a TVET, the tendency to (ir)regular migration will reduce or increase? Why? Do you think that if youth got employed after graduating, the tendency to (ir)regular migration will reduce or increase? Why?)

#### **Quality of education**

- Do you think that TVET schools provide the students enough and appropriate skills in order to prepare them for the local labour market? Do you think that the skills of the TVET graduates match with the requirements of the companies? And how can we improve/ensure this?
- Do you think there is a relation between the quality of TVET and the incentive to migrate? How and to what extent can graduating a TVET influence the aspiration/decision to migrate? Do you think youth are more willing to migrate when they finish a TVET?
- To what extent does the image of TVET has an influence on the incentive to migrate?

**Recruitment process**

- Do you think that most skilled candidates are selected for the jobs available? How can we make sure that the most skilled candidates are selected?
- Are you satisfied with the execution of the current market assessments? How can we improve these assessments?

**(Perceptions on) external job opportunities / access to the external job market**

- How do you compare the external job opportunities with the local opportunities?
- To what extent is the external job market accessible for TVET graduates?
- Do you think the quality of the TVET is good enough in order to prepare the students for the external labour market?
- Do you think that if youth migrate, they get better economic opportunities?

**Wage differences**

- Are there differences in wage between the local and external job market? Can this be an incentive for TVET graduates to migrate?

**Household**

- How and to what extent does the household might influence the decision to migrate? (capacity, preferences, relative position with other households, for example).
- Do you think that other actors can influence the decision to migrate? And why/how? (peer pressure)

**Final questions**

- What is in your opinion currently the biggest challenge for TVET graduates? How can this be solved?
- What is in your opinion currently the main reason for (ir)regular migration?

## **Interview guide micro-level respondents: students**

This interview guide provides possible questions for interviews and focus group discussions with students (who almost graduate). The aim is to provide specific information about their expectations when they will graduate a TVET. In the introduction it should be mentioned that ‘migration’ is considered as international/external migration; irrespectively regular or irregular, that all respondents will be anonymous (no names will be used), and all provided information will be treated confidentially. If possible, the interviews/discussions will be recorded in order to ensure the reliability.

### **Introduction question**

- Can you introduce yourself? Age, family situation, living situation, level of education, employment status, region of origin, previous moves etc.).

### **Quality of education**

- How do you perceive the quality of your TVET trainings? Do you think that your TVET school/training provides you enough and appropriate skills in order to prepare yourself for the local labour market?

### **(Perceptions on) local job opportunities / access to the local job market**

- How do you perceive the current opportunities at the labour market and the jobs available if you graduate? Do you think that there are enough (decent) jobs available?
- How do you perceive the added value of graduating in relation to the likelihood to find a job locally?
- Do you think you have enough skills to apply for a job locally?

### **(Perceptions on) external job opportunities / access to the external job market**

- How do you perceive the external job opportunities if you graduate? Do you think that you will have more job opportunities abroad when you graduate?

### **Experiences of and general knowledge about migration**

- Do you have previous experiences with migration? Or do you know somebody who migrated abroad? Can you tell me more about these experiences?
- What is your view on migration? What are your expectations of migration in general? Will it improve the situation? How are the circumstances?
- What will be the main reason for TVET graduates to migrate?

### **Current and future occupation / Individual aspirations and perception on economic conditions**

- Are you satisfied with your current situation? Or what do you think will be your biggest challenge if you graduate?

- How and to what extent does the finishing of a TVET influence your aspiration/ambition to migrate? Why? Are you more willing to migrate if you graduate compared with the time you did not have a diploma? Do you think you will improve your situation/livelihood/economic conditions when you migrate after graduation?
- Do you think that there is a relation between the dissatisfaction with the local job market and (ir)regular migration amongst TVET graduates?
- Do you think that if better payments locally will be promoted, the incentive to migrate will decrease?
- / Is the difference in wage an incentive for you to migrate after graduation?

### **Household**

- How and to what extent does your family influence/support your ambition to stay or migrate after graduation? What do they prefer? What is their opinion about migration?
- Are there other people who play an important role in your decisions after graduation?

### **Final question**

- Do you think that TVET graduates have more ambition to migrate when they finish a TVET compared with the time they did not have a diploma?



## **Interview guide micro-level respondents: returnees**

This interview guide provides possible questions for interviews and focus group discussions with returnees. The aim is to provide specific information about their experiences with migration. In the introduction it should be mentioned that all respondents will be anonymous (no names will be used), and all provided information will be treated confidentially. If possible, the interviews/discussions will be recorded in order to ensure the reliability.

### **Introduction question**

- Can you introduce yourself? Age, family situation, living situation, level of education, employment status, region of origin, previous moves etc.).

### **Quality of education (if he/she has an educational background)**

- what is your educational background?
- How did you perceive the quality of your TVET training? Did the TVET school/training provided you enough and appropriate skills in order to prepare yourself for the local labour market? And did you have enough skills to apply for a job?

### **(Perceptions on) local job opportunities / access to the local job market**

- How did you perceive the opportunities at the labour market when you graduated? Were there enough (decent) jobs available?
- Was it of added value that you had a TVET diploma in order to apply for jobs / find a job locally?

### **(Perceptions on) external job opportunities / access to the external job market**

- How did you perceive the external job opportunities when you graduated? Did you expect that you had more job opportunities abroad when you graduated? And how was this in practice? Were the real opportunities in line with your expectations?

### **Experiences of and general knowledge about migration**

- What made you decide to migrate? What were the main reasons to leave this country?
- What was your view on migration before you left? What were your expectations? Did your view change during the time there? Was the reality in line with your expectations?
- Did you expect that you would have more opportunities abroad because you finished a TVET? Or how and to what extent did the finishing of a TVET influenced your aspiration/ambition to migrate? Were you more willing to migrate when you graduated compared with the time you did not have a diploma?
- Do you think that there is a relation between the dissatisfaction with the local job market and (ir)regular migration amongst TVET graduates?
- Do you think that if better payments locally will be promoted, the incentive to migrate will decrease? / Was the difference in wage an incentive for you to migrate after graduation?
- What were your experiences abroad? Can you tell me something about your work and circumstances?
- Did your economic conditions improve during your time there?
- What made you decide to come back to Ethiopia?
- Would you recommend other people (TVET graduates) to migrate?
- What is in your opinion the hardest challenge for TVET graduates? And what will be the main reason for TVET graduates to migrate?

### **Household**

- To what extent did your family have an influence on the decision to migrate? Did they support you? How? What were their expectations of migration?
- Were there other people who played an important role in your decision to migrate? Who? Why?

### **Final question**

- Do you think that TVET graduates have more ambition to migrate when they finish a TVET compared with the time they did not have a diploma?

## Appendix II: Overview conducted interviews key-informants, focus group discussions, and observations

Interviews key-informants	Code	Place	Date
Employee job-linking service	K1	Polytechnic college Addis Ababa	18-05-2018
Researcher	K2	Polytechnic college Addis Ababa	18-05-2018
Dean	K3	Polytechnic college Addis Ababa	07-06-2018
Dean (Outcome based Training)	K4	Polytechnic college Addis Ababa	16-05-2018
Dean	K5	Polytechnic college Kombolcha	11-06-2018
Dean	K6	Private TVET college Dessie	14-06-2018
Employee local NGO	K7	Addis Ababa	16-05-2018
Employee Italian embassy	K8	Addis Ababa	13-07-2018
Government official TVET office	K9	Kombolcha	12-06-2018
Government official TVET office	K10	Dessie (City)	14-06-2018
Government official BoLSA	K11	Dessie (South Wollo)	18-06-2018
Government official BoLSA	K12	Dessie (City)	13-06-2018
Government official BoWC	K13	Dessie (South Wollo)	18-06-2018
Government official BoYSA	K14	Dessie (City)	14-06-2018
Vice president and Public relations	K15	Public TVET college Dessie	19-06-2018
Employee HRM Textile factory	K16	Kombolcha	19-06-2018
Entrepreneur Electronical mechanics	K17	Dessie	27-06-2018
Entrepreneur Engineering enterprise	K18	Dessie	27-06-2018
Returnee 1: F, 26, Saudi Arabia	R1	Dessie	13-06-2018
Returnee 2: F, 29, Saudi Arabia	R2	Dessie	13-06-2018
Returnee 3: F, 35, Dubai	R3	Dessie	21-06-2018
Returnee 4: F, 28, Qatar	R4	Dessie	21-06-2018
Returnee 5: F, 29, Qatar, Dubai, Saudi Arabia, Dubai	R5	Dessie	21-06-2018
Returnee 6: F, 24, Kuwait	R6	Dessie	26-06-2018
Returnee 7: F, 25, Saudi Arabia	R7	Dessie	26-06-2018
Returnee 8: F, 25, Saudi Arabia	R8	Dessie	26-06-2018
Returnee 9: M, 35, Saudi Arabia	R9	Dessie	20-07-2018

<b>Focus group discussions</b>	<b>Code</b>	<b>Place</b>	<b>Date</b>
Garment students	F1	Polytechnic college Addis Ababa	07-06-2018
Electric students	F2	Polytechnic college Addis Ababa	08-06-2018
Information technology students	F3	Polytechnic college Addis Ababa	06-06-2018
Leather and footwear students	F4	Polytechnic college Addis Ababa	08-06-2018
Wood students	F5	Polytechnic college Addis Ababa	07-06-2018
Information technology students	F6	Polytechnic college Kombolcha	11-06-2018
Garment students	F7	Polytechnic college Kombolcha	11-06-2018
Electric students	F8	Polytechnic college Kombolcha	11-06-2018
Automotive students	F9	Polytechnic college Kombolcha	11-06-2018
General metal fabrication and assembling students	F10	Private TVET college Dessie	19-06-2018
Accounting students	F11	Private TVET college Dessie	19-06-2018
Textile students	F12	Public TVET college Dessie	20-06-2018
Telecom students	F13	Public TVET college Dessie	20-06-2018
Information technology service management students	F14	Public TVET college Dessie	20-06-2018
Industrial and electrical machine drives students	F15	Public TVET college Dessie	19-06-2018
Garment students	F16	Public TVET college Dessie	20-06-2018
Industrial and electrical machine drives students	F17	Private TVET college Dessie	22-06-2018
General mechanics and fabrication adjustment students	F18	Private TVET college Dessie	22-06-2018
Customer service students	F19	Private TVET college Dessie	21-06-2018
Accounting students	F20	Private TVET college Dessie	21-06-2018
Electric students	F21	Private TVET college Dessie	19-06-2018

<b>Observations</b>	<b>Code</b>	<b>Place</b>	<b>Date</b>
Coordination SINCE meeting	O1	Addis Ababa	05-06-2018
Launching SINCE program	O2	Asela (Oromia)	28-05-2018