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The Impact of Youth Training and Employment on Migration Dynamics in the Horn of Africa



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Executive Summary

This report explores the relationship between technical and vocational education and training (TVET) programming and changing patterns of migration in the Horn of Africa (HoA). Investments in TVET programmes in the HoA are designed to improve young people's skills, strengthen the local labour market and boost their chances of finding employment, thereby reducing their incentives to follow irregular migration paths across the region or beyond. In this context, this research considers the impact of participation in TVET schemes on geographical mobility both in terms of people's behaviour and attitudes.

The report provides the findings of original research undertaken by the REF in Ethiopia and Uganda on TVET programmes supported by the EU Trust Fund for Africa (EUTF). These countries were selected as they provide a valuable context for researching the complex ways in which TVET, youth employment and migration relate to each other.

The research has two broad objectives:

- To improve our understanding of the linkages between enrolment in TVET for employment and the potential for young people to engage in irregular migration.
- To provide evidence to improve the design and implementation of programmes that aim to address youth unemployment in the HoA, in particular through critical evaluation of the theories of change used for programming in this field.

Fieldwork took place between November 2018 and February 2019. Local research teams were established in both countries and led by senior researchers from Addis Ababa University and the Organisation for Social Science Research in Eastern and Southern Africa (OSSREA) in Ethiopia, as well as Makerere University in Uganda. Fieldwork involved a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods including a survey with over 600 respondents and over 70 semi-structured interviews with a range of informants including TVET students and providers.

The findings of the research are presented within three broad areas of enquiry: the effectiveness of TVET in getting people into work; the relationship between employment and migration; and the relationship between TVET and migration. The key findings are:

1. A **mixed picture** of TVET effectiveness emerges from both Uganda and Ethiopia. While most TVET students were quite positive about their TVET experience, some expressed dissatisfaction about the quality of teaching and the allowances provided for trainees.
2. Over two-thirds of graduates felt that their **living conditions had improved** since completing TVET courses, with the most positive responses being in Uganda (over 80 per cent).

3. Students were concerned **not just with acquiring technical skills but also with other 'soft' skills** that could be gained through the TVET programmes such as business or entrepreneurial skills.
4. In spite of concerted efforts to assess job markets and meet employer demands, the **gap between the skills provided and the requirements of employers persists**. In general, there seemed to be less evidence of systematic engagement with employers in Uganda than in Ethiopia.
5. Although there is a clear gender difference in the types of courses in which men and women enrol, there is **no consistent gender disparity in TVET outcomes**. Female TVET graduates are at least as, and in some cases more, likely to set up their own business than men. It is only in Amhara Region of Ethiopia where there is a marked gender difference in the overall rates of employment for graduates, with only a quarter of men unemployed compared to a third of women.
6. **Participation in TVET appears to have increased the likelihood that people will develop plans to migrate**. However, respondents were much more likely to express a desire to move internally or to a neighbouring country than to travel further afield. In Ethiopia, many respondents were anticipating moving internally to other parts of the country in search of work. In Uganda, any relationship between employment and migration is tempered by the broader refugee context from South Sudan. Since many of the respondents were refugees from South Sudan, many of those planning to move were looking to return there. As in Ethiopia, only small numbers were thinking of moving further afield (less than six per cent), referring to Europe, the United States and South Africa.
7. When it came to reasons for migration, **nearly all Ethiopian respondents were planning to move in search of better job opportunities**. In Uganda, a third gave other reasons including joining family members and returning home, or simply looking for adventure or the good life. This highlights the fact that in this refugee context, there are different factors at play that will shape people's movements compared to a more stable environment such as that found in the Ethiopian research sites.
8. **Ideas about migration are not major factors in explaining young people's interest in TVET**. In Uganda, less than two per cent of respondents referred to their interest in moving as a reason to start training. In Ethiopia, 13 per cent of respondents acknowledged 'making it easier to move' as one of their reasons for enrolling and less than half of these (just over five per cent) listed this as the most important reason.

Recommendations

The report makes the following recommendations:

1. TVET providers should consider offering follow-up courses or two-stage courses that enable graduates of one course (of the first stage) to enhance their skills or develop complementary skills (such as business training).
2. TVET interventions in Ethiopia should explore ways of building in more training on business skills as a standard component of courses; and/or include more follow up with graduates – either to help them directly with additional training, provide access to loans and other support, or link them to other service providers that can provide the necessary business training to prepare them for self-employment.
3. TVET interventions should explore ways to link TVET courses with employers more systematically, especially in Uganda. Given that the labour market for many of the trainees in Uganda extends into South Sudan, such links might be extended across the border so that a TVET course in Arua can offer placements with employers in South Sudan. Of course, this will raise many questions about the return of refugees and the absolute imperative to avoid *refoulement* (forced return), which any such plans must consider.
4. TVET providers should seek to develop a flexible response to enable them to adapt rapidly as new sectors emerge (or withdraw as sectors decline). In this respect, it is likely that informal, short courses are likely to have an advantage over longer, formal courses.
5. TVET programmes need to look carefully at the profiles of the job market their graduates will enter and examine their wage levels on offer in each area of work. Ideally, they should only offer training for jobs that provide a ‘living wage’, sufficient to cover their living costs.
6. The targets and objectives for TVET programming need to focus as much on the quality as the quantity of jobs. This may entail some work to devise new measures and embed them in monitoring and evaluation systems.
7. The EUTF Monitoring and Learning System should consider the feasibility of establishing a mechanism for monitoring students’ mobility intentions. One option would be a simple survey that includes questions about migration intentions and attitudes, and which is administered with a sample of students at enrolment, during the course and six months after graduation.

1. Introduction

This report explores the relationship between technical and vocational education and training (TVET) programming and changing patterns of migration in the Horn of Africa (HoA). It considers the impact of participation in TVET schemes on geographical mobility both in terms of people's behaviour and attitudes. The report presents the findings of original research undertaken by the Research and Evidence Facility (REF) in Ethiopia and Uganda on TVET programmes supported by the EU Emergency Trust Fund for Africa (EUTF).

Investments in TVET programmes in the HoA are designed to improve young people's skills, strengthen the local labour market and boost their chances of finding employment, thereby reducing their incentives to follow irregular migration paths across the region or beyond. With this in mind, EUTF programming in TVET has particularly focused on areas which are seen as prone to high levels of outmigration or irregular secondary migration.

Although TVET and migration may be often interlinked in project goals and objectives, there has been very little empirical analysis of how the relationship works in practice. How does engagement in TVET reduce the likelihood that a young woman or man might decide to migrate using irregular routes? There is even little understanding of how TVET influences any migration patterns: internal, international, regular or irregular. While success in TVET may result in a young person securing a job, this does not necessarily mean they no longer want to migrate; indeed, it may mean they can now save up the resources to pay for their journey. Likewise, failure in TVET may persuade young people that they have no option but to leave, or it may deny them the means to do so. This REF research project set out to understand the array of possible outcomes from success or failure of TVET. It had the following objectives:

- To improve our understanding of the linkages between enrolment in TVET for employment and the potential for young people to engage in irregular migration.
- To provide evidence to improve the design and implementation of programmes that aim to address youth unemployment in the HoA, in particular through critical evaluation of the theories of change used for programming in this field.

The report starts by outlining the broad contours of TVET programming in the EUTF and intervention logic that underpins it. This gave rise to the specific research questions that are presented at the end of Section 2. Section 3 goes on to describe the research context, including more background on TVET and patterns of migration in Ethiopia and Uganda. The report then turns to the research approach, including the composition of the research team, the methods used and the details about the respondents. This fourth section ends with a summary of the major challenges faced in the research.

Section 5 presents the detailed findings from the case studies. These are covered in four sub-sections, each of which is prefaced with a brief review of previous research that has covered

related questions. The first outlines the various approaches to TVET, noting some of the key areas of difference between types of programmes. The second sub-section looks at the evidence for the effectiveness of TVET in the research sites. This is followed by an examination of the relationship between employment and migration before focusing on evidence for a link between education, training and migration in the final sub-section. These findings are brought together in the concluding section of the report and feed into Section 7, which highlights some suggested recommendations for policy and programmes.

It is important to note that this report focuses on the overall questions about the links between skills training and mobility rather than attempting to give a complete overview of TVET programming in the EUTF. Moreover, it is not an evaluation of the particular programmes included in the study; instead, it seeks to fill a gap which is not covered by routine monitoring and evaluation. In other settings in the HoA, the overall goal of TVET programming is concerned with reducing conflict through improving economic opportunities for young people. This raises similar questions about the intervention logic raised in this REF study. The EUTF HoA Monitoring and Learning System (MLS) Team has recently completed a study of the EUTF programme 'Conflict Prevention, Peace, and Economic Opportunities for the Youth'. This study focused on improving the operational effectiveness and sustainability of projects, but it also started to explore the relationship between skills development and conflict prevention. As they note, understanding the nature of this relationship is beyond the scope of standard monitoring and evaluation tools and requires further research (Altai Consulting 2019). There is a similar need for research into the workings of the link between skills training and migration. It is this research gap that this REF study aims to fill.

2. TVET programming in the EUTF

The improvement of economic and employment opportunities is one of the EUTF's strategic lines of action, with a focus on vocational training and support for the development of micro-enterprises. Investments in TVET programmes across the HoA are designed to improve young people's skills, strengthen the local labour market, boost their chances of finding employment, and reduce their incentives to follow irregular migration paths across the region and beyond.

The EUTF intervention logic for supporting TVET programmes is that improving young people's prospects of employment and securing a livelihood in the local area will reduce their incentives to migrate, in particular making it less likely that they will take the high risks involved in irregular migration. Moreover, by making the area more attractive, those who may be returning to it, such as demobilised soldiers, returning refugees and internally displaced persons (IDPs), or those deported from other countries, are more likely to resettle successfully.

As we shall discuss in more detail below, some of the core elements of this intervention logic are reasonably well-established. There is abundant evidence to show that (un)employment is one of the major drivers of migration across the world. People move in the hope or expectation of improving their chances to earn a living, whether through salaried employment or self-employment. High levels of unemployment and the lack of decent work in their place of origin are routinely cited among the top reasons why people decide to migrate. Moreover, in most settings young people of working age have the greatest propensity to migrate. Therefore, it is perfectly reasonable to expect that improving young people's access to better employment is likely to help reduce the flow of outmigration from an area. However, there are a number of intervening factors that can disrupt this logic.

First, there is the basic question of the effectiveness of TVET in helping young people into work and securing a regular income. Second, while we know that people move to find work, it is much less clear how employment influences people's migratory decisions and behaviour. If the local employment market does not provide opportunities that match young people's aspirations, their primary interest may be in using employment as a springboard to move away to more promising places – either through saving money to fund their migration, or gaining skills and experience to improve their employability abroad. Third, it is important to consider the impact of the TVET process itself on shaping young people's mobility. It has been widely observed that education has the potential to expand people's horizons beyond their current context. This raises the questions of how far participation in TVET may change a trainee's perspective. Are those who have been through training more likely to aspire to migrate? Does training equip people to move, especially if the local market cannot absorb the number of trainees graduating with particular skills? While there is a significant body of research that addresses such questions in relation to education in general – especially with respect to the migration of graduates – there is much less known about the impact of TVET programmes on young people's mobility.

This research project sets out to explore these issues in the HoA context by examining three different settings in Ethiopia and Uganda where TVET programmes supported by the EUTF are being implemented with a view to reducing the likelihood of young people engaging in irregular migration. The basic research questions were:

1. What are the range of TVET opportunities available and who is providing them (state, private sector, donors, NGOs)?
2. Which TVET programmes are perceived by different actors as being the most valuable or successful, and why?
3. How successful are different groups of young people who are targeted by TVET schemes in finding secure employment, and where is that employment located?
4. Which youth (differentiated by gender, age, education levels, employment history) are more likely to remain within their area of origin, to migrate towards urban centres, or

to attempt to (or aspire to) migrate across longer distances, either within the region or even further afield (e.g. towards Southern Africa, the Gulf or Europe)?

5. How far do employment and other associated programmes contribute to addressing the aspirations of youth at highest risk of irregular migration?
6. How does their participation in TVET programmes change young people's thinking about whether, where and how to migrate?
7. How do their employment outcomes influence young people's thinking about whether, where or how to migrate?
8. In cases where an improvement in employment prospects is evident, but does not appear to influence mobility decisions, what are the reasons that youth give for their intentions to migrate?

3. Research context

Uganda and Ethiopia provide a valuable context for researching the complex ways in which TVET, youth employment and migration relate to each other. This section provides an overview of the migration context of each country, including the diverse ways in which people move to, within and from these settings. Particular attention is paid to internal movements, but also to the refugee populations, which often represent an important part of the unemployment and migration story of young people. Detailed information about youth unemployment and TVET initiatives are also outlined in this section.

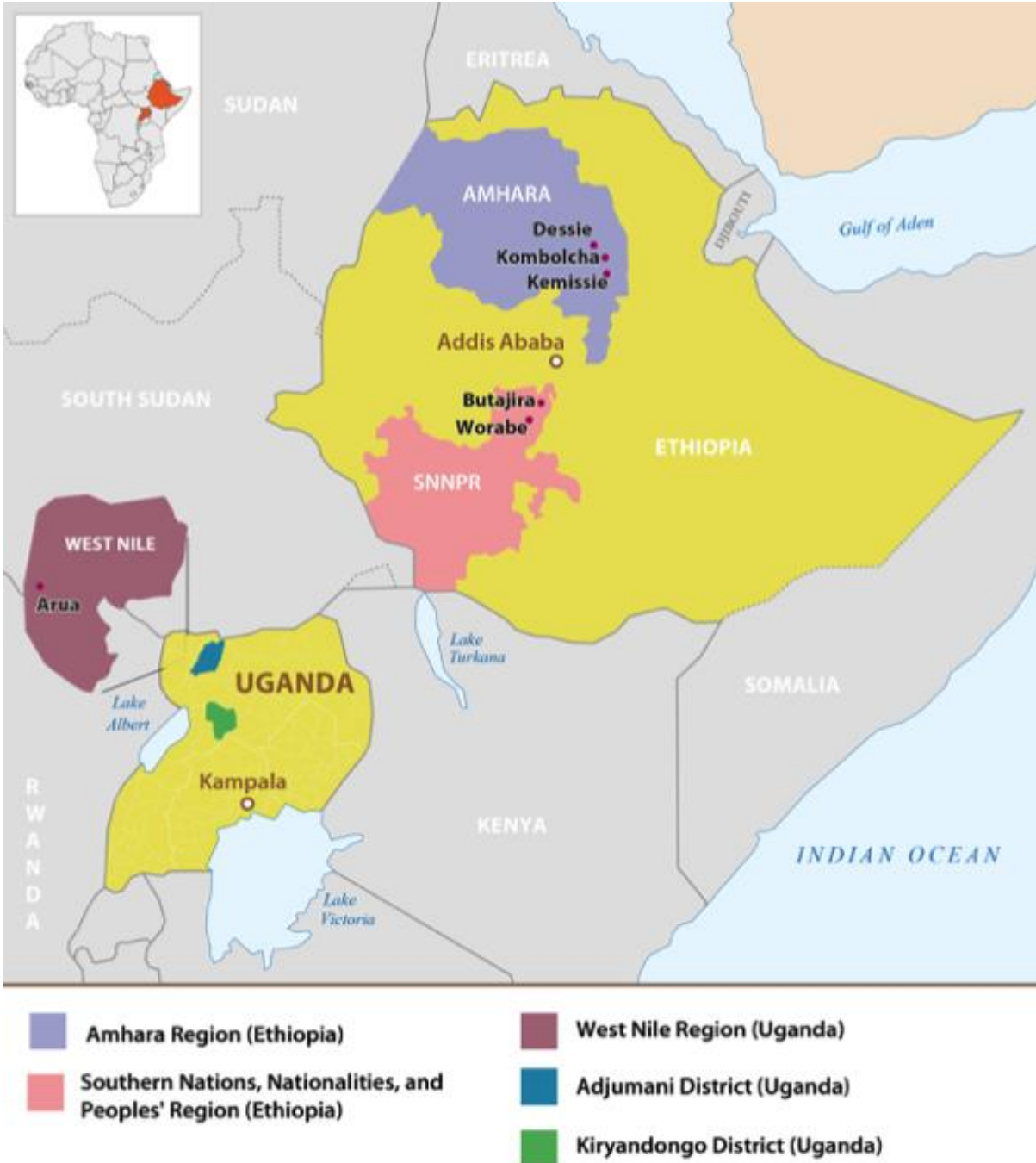
3.1. TVET and migration in Ethiopia

Over the past three decades, the Ethiopian Government has made significant investments in TVET programmes. In 1994, it introduced a new Education and Training Policy (ETP), which introduced a parallel system of TVET training within the education sector. In 2006, a new TVET strategy was developed, designed to “create a competent, motivated, adaptable and innovative workforce in Ethiopia contributing to poverty reduction and social and economic development through facilitating demand-driven, high quality TVET relevant to all sectors of the economy, at all levels and to all people” (Government of Ethiopia, 2008, p. 12). More recently, in 2018, Ethiopia and Germany signed an MoU to realise the TVET national flagship programme: Eshi-TVET for Sustainable Development Program (AllAfrica, 2018).¹

Within Ethiopia, TVET is governed at both Federal and Regional levels (Edukans, 2012, p. 48). The Federal TVET Agency is responsible for setting standards, accrediting providers, certifying learners and preparing curricula. The Regional TVET agencies or Education Bureaus are

¹ <https://allafrica.com/stories/201812030444.html>

Figure 1: Map - location of research sites



responsible for implementing these directives, and also for running public TVET institutions. State-led efforts have resulted in a steady increase in TVET enrolment. By 2010/2011, over 370,000 students had enrolled in government-led TVET programmes, up from an estimated 190,000 in 2005/2006 (Edukans, 2012, p. 45). While these numbers may seem modest, they reflect the high school dropout levels in Ethiopia, and are not far behind the number of students enrolled in parallel higher education.² At the same time, the number of state-run TVET institutions has risen from 17 in 1996/1997 to 505 by 2010/2011 (Edukans, 2012, p. 45).

Non-formal TVET programmes run alongside government-run initiatives. These programmes typically last between a number of days and a year, and provide training in a range of different skills, such as woodwork, metalwork, tailoring, embroidery, weaving, typing, computer training, driving, promotion of skills training, promotion of business skills (entrepreneurship), market information, functional adult literacy and life skills. While detailed data on non-formal institutions is not available, it is estimated that there are around 400 such institutions (Edukans, 2012, p. 62).

Ethiopia has one of the youngest populations in the world, and youth unemployment is a major challenge in Ethiopia. Young people (under 30 years) make up 73 per cent of the total population, and three million young enter the labour force every year (ILO, 2018b). Population growth coupled with limited economic opportunities and livelihood options have led to an increase in youth migration (ibid). At the same time, recurrent droughts and an active smuggling network have also encouraged people to move elsewhere.

In this context, in spite of significant state investments (especially in Amhara region) to improve the rural livelihood portfolio, many young Ethiopians move from rural areas to cities in search of better opportunities (Rift Valley Institute, 2018). At the same time, large numbers, especially young women, are also leaving Ethiopia altogether to take up work as domestic and construction workers in the Middle East and Saudi Arabia and Gulf Co-Operation Council (GCC) countries. Many of these individuals are employed through the *Khafala* system, which enables them to legally enter GCC countries for short-term contract labour. However, large numbers of young Ethiopians have also migrated through irregular means. In recent years, reports show that large numbers of Ethiopians travel through Somaliland and Somalia to the port of Bosasso to be transported to Yemen and other Gulf countries by smuggling networks (REF, 2017). Other research conducted by the REF on migration management (forthcoming) highlights the significant flows of Ethiopian migrants crossing into Sudan through the border town of Metema. The majority of these migrants originate from Amhara and Oromia, and many of these movements are facilitated by smuggling networks. According to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MoFA), more than two million Ethiopian diaspora live abroad (ILO, 2017b).

² In 2005/2005, there were 210,000 students enrolled in higher education in Ethiopia. In 2010/2011, 467,000 students were enrolled in higher education (Edukans, 2012, p. 45).

Fieldwork for this project took place in the regions of Amhara (in the north west) and Southern Nations, Nationalities, and Peoples' Region (SNNPR) (in the south west). In Amhara, fieldwork was conducted in three towns: Kombolcha, Dessie and Kemissie. In SNNPR, fieldwork took place in Worabe town in Silte zone, and in Butajira in Gurage zone. Additional interviews were conducted in Addis Ababa.

One of the reasons for selecting these research areas was that they experience some of the highest levels of out-migration in Ethiopia. Research conducted by the International Labour Organization (ILO, 2017c) found that out-migration from Amhara and SNNPR is increasing. Poverty and unemployment are major drivers of this out-migration and the ILO study identified a mismatch between available education/training opportunities and labour market demands. Research by Woldemichael (2013) found that female domestic out-migration from Amhara is the second highest in the country after Oromia region. This is supported by ODI research conducted by Jones et al. (2014), which found that adolescent migration (particularly of girls) is increasingly being seen as a way of contributing to the household economy in Amhara.

While Amhara and SNNPR are both sites of significant out-migration for labour purposes, SNNPR is also a context of high internal displacement. Between April and July 2018, inter-communal conflict along the SNNPR-Oromia border displaced nearly one million people. At the time of writing, over 600,000 individuals are estimated to still be displaced (IOM DTM, 2019). As well as conflict, environmental degradation has been identified as another reason behind growing rural to urban migration within and from SNNPR (Regassa and Yusufe, 2009).

A second reason for selecting Amhara and SNNPR for this research is that they are also the sites of significant TVET- and employment- related investments by government and international donors. These include, among others: Resilience Building and Creation of Economic Opportunities in Ethiopia (RESET II);³ Stimulating economic opportunities and job creation for refugees and host communities in Ethiopia in support of the Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework (CRRF) in Ethiopia;⁴ ILO initiative to reintegrate migrant returnees through micro-finance, entrepreneurship and TVET;⁵ and Stemming Irregular Migration in Northern and Central Ethiopia (SINCE).⁶

The research teams worked closely with the SINCE programme, which aims to create greater economic and employment opportunities by establishing inclusive economic programmes that create employment opportunities. These focus on young people and women in rural

³ https://ec.europa.eu/trustfundforafrica/region/horn-africa/ethiopia/resilience-building-and-creation-economic-opportunities-ethiopia-reset_en

⁴ https://ec.europa.eu/trustfundforafrica/region/horn-africa/ethiopia/stimulating-economic-opportunities-and-job-creation-refugees-and-host_en

⁵ https://www.ilo.org/addisababa/media-centre/pr/WCMS_575907/lang--en/index.htm

⁶ https://ec.europa.eu/trustfundforafrica/region/horn-africa/ethiopia/stemming-irregular-migration-northern-central-ethiopia_en

towns and urban areas in the most migration-prone regions (Amhara, Tigray, Oromia, SNNPR) of Ethiopia. Activities include including vocational training, creation of micro and small enterprises and start-up of small livelihood activities (European Commission, 2017).

3.2. TVET and migration in Uganda

In Uganda, the Ministry of Education and Sports (MoES) is responsible for TVET planning, implementation and monitoring. With the aim to improve the quality, relevance and efficiency of the skills provision system in Uganda, the MoES adopted a Strategic Plan for BTNET 'Skilling Uganda' (2012-2021). This strategy highlighted the importance of skills development for both economic and social progress. This resulted in a significant shift in TVET from an educational sub-sector into a comprehensive system of skills development for employment, enhanced productivity and growth (UNESCO-UNEVOC, 2014). The Uganda Vocational Qualification Framework (UVQF) was also created to better align TVET training and qualifications with labour market needs.

There are around 110 government training centres, schools, institutes and polytechnics, which are managed by the BTNET Directorate (UNESCO-UNEVOC, 2014). In the state-run system, TVET is an overlapping three-tier system comprising: craftsman level training offered by technical schools and institute; technician level training offered by technical colleges; and, graduate engineer level training offered by universities. Private TVET providers are also important and there are an estimated 1,000 private institutions, representing approximately 81% of all TVET providers (UNESCO-UNEVOC, 2014, p. 9).

Donors have been worked closely with MoES to support Skilling Uganda, most notably in the Support for Skilling Uganda project (SSU) implemented by the Belgium Development Agency (ENABEL) and (MoES) with support from the Belgian Government, the EUTF and Irish Aid. As part of this, it established a multi-donor Skills Development Fund in three regions in Uganda: Western Uganda, Karamoja and West Nile, with the aims of stimulating partnerships between TVET institutions and the private sector, improving the quality of skills development systems. In West Nile, the SDF is funded the EUTF and it particularly targets refugees and host communities. Here it works with a range of NGO partners delivering TVET to improve access to skills training, widen access for the marginalised youth, in particular young women and girls, and to innovate to deliver new flexible skills that respond to skills gaps in the labour market. Given the EUTF's investments in the West Nile SDF and the refugee context made it an interesting area to include in this REF study.

The major migration narratives in Uganda have been concerned with forced migration of refugees and internally displaced persons (IDPs). The conflict between the Lord's Resistance Army and the Ugandan Government has resulted in significant displacement in the north of the country. The north has also experienced very large influxes of refugees from South Sudan

over decades, but especially since civil war broke out in 2013. As a result, refugee numbers in Uganda have surged to 1.2 million (as of February 2019 - UNHCR, 2019a).⁷ Sixty-six per cent are from South Sudan, 27 per cent from the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), and the remainder from Burundi, Somalia, Rwanda, Eritrea, Sudan and Ethiopia.

Migration research in Uganda has typically been dominated by an analysis of forced migration, with much less known about other forms of migration. When it comes to internal migration, the search for employment is a major factor behind why people move to urban centres or regions of high economic activity, such as tea and sugar plantation areas (IOM, 2015). Young people (aged 18-30 years) constitute 64 per cent of the total unemployed population (Ahaibwe and Mbowe, 2014). While many young people move to urban areas in search of employment, they are entering a very crowded labour market. Urban youth are more likely to be unemployed (12 percent) than rural youth (3 percent), and female youth are twice as likely to be unemployed as males (ibid). An estimated 8.8 million young Ugandans (aged between 15 and 24 years) are not engaged in education, employment or under any training (UNFPA, 2018).

Fieldwork was conducted in Arua District of West Nile sub-region, which is located in the north west of the country, and is bordered by the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and South Sudan. With its close proximity to these conflict-affected countries, it is not surprising that Arua District hosts a large number (157,661) of registered refugees, representing 13 per cent of Uganda's total refugee population (UNHCR, 2019a). Arua is the third largest refugee hosting district in Uganda after neighbouring Yumbe and Adjumani districts (ibid).⁸ With this in mind, the livelihood and employment opportunities of refugees (as well as Ugandan hosts) are therefore an important part of the unemployment and migration story of young people in West Nile.

As a result, most interviews were conducted in Arua Town and Rhino Camp, which is located in Arua district, about two hours' drive from Arua town. Originally opened in 1980, this large camp hosts an estimated 150,000 people (around 13 per cent of the district population) and is divided into six zones: Ocea, Siripi, Eden, Tika, Odoibu and Ofua (UNHCR, 2018). According to UNHCR, there is a high demand for livelihoods opportunities in Rhino Camp, with both refugees and nationals struggling to access livelihoods opportunities inside and around the settlement (UNHCR, 2018).

Research has been conducted by World Vision (2017) on the livelihood strategies of refugees and hosts in and around Imvepi and Rhino Camp settlements. It found that 58 per cent of refugees are not engaged in any form of economic activity, and rely instead on food assistance. Among hosts, agricultural production is the main economic activity for 75% per

⁷ These figures are taken from UNHCR's refugee response portal which, at the time of writing, were last updated in February 2019.

⁸ Yumbe district hosts 18 per cent of registered refugees and Adjumani hosts 17 per cent (UNHCR, 2019a).

cent of respondents, with 10 per cent involved in petty trade, and 9 per cent in casual labour. Under-employment is also widespread amongst respondents, and the vast majority of refugees and hosts (95 per cent and 82 per cent respectively) are only working one or two days per week, and earning less than US\$ 2.70 per day.

Similar research has also been conducted by the Overseas Development Institute (ODI) (Poole, 2019) into the resources available to refugees in Rhino Camp and Bidibidi Camp in Yumbe district. The research found that opportunities for refugees to engage in income-generating activities are limited, with just 2% of those surveyed saying they are able to meet household needs and invest in the future. Refugee interviewees described a mismatch between skills and available work opportunities, and many complained of a lack of education, skills development and employment opportunities in settlement areas.

Another research initiative that is likely to provide valuable insights is the two-year project called *Youth employment and migration in eastern and southern Africa* supported by the Canadian Government. The US\$ 520,000 project is funded by the International Development Research Centre (IDRC) and implemented by the African Migration and Development Policy Centre (AMADPOC). It aims to deliver evidence-based strategies for creating decent employment opportunities and supporting entrepreneurship (IDRC, 2019). It examines how migration impacts youth employment, self-employment, and entrepreneurship, as well as gender differences in migration trends and the causes of youth migration pressures. Its findings will complement those of this REF study, which is more focused on the reverse effect: how TVET impacts migration.

4. Research methods

Research for this study took place in various sites in Ethiopia and Uganda between November 2018 and February 2019 under the coordination of the REF team, and the lead of the Migration and Development Key Expert. Local research teams were established in Uganda and Ethiopia and led by senior researchers from Addis Ababa University and the Organisation for Social Science Research in Eastern and Southern Africa (OSSREA) in Ethiopia, as well as Makerere University in Uganda. Fieldwork involved a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods including a survey of 600 young people and over 70 semi-structured interviews with a range of informants including TVET students and providers. The rest of this section provides more detail about the research teams and methods, as well as any challenges faced in the field.

4.1. Research Teams

In recognition of the existing interest (from both donors and researchers) in TVET and migration, the project sought to collaborate from the outset with universities, TVET providers, donors and implementing partners.

Senior researchers from Addis Ababa University and OSSREA in Ethiopia and Makerere University in Uganda were appointed to lead the study in each country. In Uganda, the field teams were led by Dr Kalyango Ronald Sseba and Dr Eria Olowo Onyango from Makerere University. In Ethiopia, the field teams were led by Dr Abebaw Minaye and Dr Desalegn Amsalu from Addis Ababa University, and Dr Truphena Mukuna from OSSREA. These team leaders recruited teams of researchers comprised of local academics and students to conduct the survey and interviews.

In Ethiopia, the research team worked closely with the SINCE programme team to identify the TVET implementing partners and courses in Kombolcha, Dessie and Kemissie in Amhara Region and Silte and Gurage in SNNPR. The SINCE team put the researchers in contact with their implementing partners on the ground: EDUKANCE (Dutch based organization), Cifa Onlus (Italian based organization), DEC (Development Expert Centre), CETU (Confederation of Ethiopian Trade Union) and Hope enterprise.

In Uganda, the entry point for research was the extensive programme of training supported by Enabel with EUTF Funding under the RDPP Support Programme to the Refugee Settlements and Host Communities (SPRS-NU). The Enabel team put the researchers in contact with their implementing partners on the ground, including Welthungerhilfe, AAH/Flamino and Oxfam, all of whom are operating in Arua town and/or the nearby Imvepi and Rhino refugee settlement in West Nile sub-region.

4.2. Quantitative and qualitative methods

The research adopted a combination of quantitative and qualitative research methods, in the form of a survey, semi-structured interviews and key informant interviews. The quantitative survey provided a sense of whether any relationship exists between people's participation in TVET and migration ideas, aspirations and behaviours. This was followed up by qualitative semi-structured interviews with a sub-sample of the survey respondents to explore some of the points in more depth. Further insights on the linkages between TVET and migration, as well as information about the broader context were gained through semi-structured interviews with key informants including TVET providers and government officials.

The REF team drafted a survey questionnaire and guidelines for semi-structured interviews. Prior to the fieldwork, a training workshop was held in Addis Ababa with the senior researchers to review these research protocols and plan the data collection. Once in the field, the research teams were responsible for recruiting enumerators, identifying respondents, carrying out interviews and preparing final field reports, which detailed the research process (including any challenges and lessons) and preliminary analysis or reflections on the data collected.

In each site, the survey was conducted with young people, drawn from three equal groups: those who had applied to join a TVET course (potential), those who were currently enrolled in a course (current) and those who had graduated from a TVET course (graduate). The aim was to cover a minimum of 150 young people in each field site, comprising 50 from each group (potential, current and graduate). However, while in the field the Uganda team was able to expand the sample and interview more current and potential students. The Uganda dataset was further supplemented by survey data provided by Enabel, which provided additional information on 65 TVET graduates living in Kiryandongo (Northern Region) and Adjumani (Western Region).

The survey covered five broad areas of questions:

1. Personal background including place of birth and residence;
2. Livelihoods and economic activity;
3. Education and training, including reasons for enrolment, expectations and outcomes;
4. Mobility, including past experiences, future plans and impact of training;
5. Attitudes to mobility through some opinion questions.

In total, the project generated a quantitative data set with over 200 variables and over 300 observations from each country. Data was captured using Survey CTO, which is a data collection software that allows the enumerators to record survey data directly onto their tablets or phones, thereby reducing the scope for errors in administering and entering data.⁹ The data collected was then analysed with Stata software.

When it came to the qualitative research, a small sub-sample (ten per cent) of survey respondents from the research sites was selected for in-depth interviews by the research teams. In-depth interviewees were asked why young people enrol in TVET, how far their expectations were met and any plans to migrate. The information gathered from this sub-set of young people was complemented by interviews with key informants drawn from TVET providers, local government and other stakeholders. Key informant interviewees were asked more general questions about the local job market, the role of TVET and the links between employment, skills and mobility. Standard interview protocols were used across the study so responses from different stakeholders in different sites could be compared. This qualitative data set was coded and analysed using NVivo software. The data collected was supplemented by focus group discussions and other field observations.

Details of the locations and numbers of interviews are outlined in the tables below:

⁹ For more information about Survey CTO, see: www.surveycto.com

Table 1: Survey respondents in Amhara

Course	Potential trainees		Current trainees		Graduates		All		Tot
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
Agriculture, poultry, apiculture		1			3	2	3	3	6
Carpentry	1		1				2	0	2
Catering/cookery							0	0	0
Construction, brick laying, concrete	1	2			1		2	2	4
Electrical, electronics, computers, phone repair	2				7	2	9	2	11
Hairdressing							0	0	0
Mechanics	3				1		4	0	4
Plumbing/boreholes			6	1			6	1	7
Tailoring, knitting, weaving	4	22	1	19	2	10	7	51	58
Welding	13		9	1	7		29	1	30
Other		1	9	3	10	5	19	9	28
Totals	24	26	26	24	31	19	81	69	150

Table 2: Survey respondents in SNNPR

Course	Potential trainees		Current trainees		Graduates		All		Tot
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
Agriculture, poultry, apiculture		1					0	1	1
Carpentry							0	0	0
Catering/cookery		1					0	1	1
Construction, brick laying, concrete	3		6	4	14	2	23	6	29
Electrical, electronics, computers, phone repair	3		9			1	12	1	13
Hairdressing		3					0	3	3
Mechanics	10		8		16		34	0	34
Plumbing/boreholes			1		1		2	0	2
Tailoring, knitting, weaving	12	18	6	11	4	6	22	35	57
Welding	1		3	1	3		7	1	8
Other				1	1	3	1	4	5
Totals	29	23	33	17	39	12	101	52	153

Table 3: Survey respondents in Arua

Course	Potential trainees		Current trainees		Graduates		All		Tot
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
Agriculture, poultry, apiculture			14	6	5		19	6	25
Carpentry			7	1	13		20	1	21
Catering/cookery	10	17	3	15	2	4	15	36	51
Construction, brick laying, concrete			15	1	8		23	1	24
Electrical, electronics, computers, phone repair					1		1	0	1
Hairdressing							0	0	0
Mechanics			7	2			7	2	9
Plumbing/boreholes			1		1		2	0	2
Tailoring, knitting, weaving	6	37	9	14	2	8	17	59	76
Welding			16	2	7	1	23	3	26
Other			5				5	0	5
Totals	16	54	77	41	39	13	132	108	240

Table 4: Additional survey respondents in Uganda – TVET graduates in Adjumani and Kiryandongo

Course	Adjumani Graduates		Kiryandongo Graduates		All		Tot
	M	F	M	F	M	F	
Agriculture, poultry, apiculture					0	0	0
Carpentry					0	0	0
Catering/cookery			5	5	5	5	10
Construction, brick laying, concrete					0	0	0
Electrical, electronics, computers, phone repair	10	3			10	3	13
Hairdressing	2	2	1	8	3	10	13
Mechanics	7		2		9	0	9
Plumbing/boreholes					0	0	0
Tailoring, knitting, weaving	1	7	1	8	2	15	17
Welding	1		1		2	0	2
Other				2	0	2	2
Totals	21	12	10	23	31	35	66

Table 5: Qualitative data collection

Location	Semi-structured interviews												Key Informant Interviews					
	Potential trainees			Current trainees			Graduates			All			M	F	t			
	M	F	To t	M	F	To t	M	F	To t	M	F	To t						
Ethiopia																		
Amhara	2	3	5	2	3	5	5		5	9	6	15	1			6	2	18
SNNPR	4	1	5	3	2	5	3	2	5	10	5	15	1			7	3	20
Addis Ababa																4		4
Sub-total	6	4	10	5	5	10	8	2	10	19	11	30	3			7	5	42
Uganda																		
Arua				9	2	11	3	6	9	12	8	20	1	1		7	1	28
Adjumani Kiryandongo						0												
				3	4	7				3	4	7	1	2	3			
Sub-total						18	3	6	9	15	12	27	1	1		8	3	31
Totals	6	4	10	5	5	28	11	8	19	34	23	57	5	1		5	8	73

4.3. Challenges

The teams faced a number of challenges in the field, with the most significant being language, finding respondents and security. The research protocols were prepared in English. However, many respondents did not speak English or preferred to use another language in the interview. As the research teams had the appropriate language skills for the areas in which they were working, this did not create barriers to communication. During the research training, the teams discussed how best to translate the terms used in the survey. It was agreed not to formally translate the survey into other languages. Instead, the interviewer would translate the questions as they read them from the tablet screen. For the qualitative interviews, the challenge was more in the way the responses were recorded as interviewers had to take notes either in the language being spoken or in English. All the interview transcripts were prepared in English. While not ideal, this was the only feasible way to deal with the multiplicity of languages given the resources constraints (time and money).

A second practical challenge was locating former trainees who had already graduated from the TVET courses, as many young people had moved elsewhere once they had completed their training. To address this problem and reach sufficient respondents, the research teams

travelled to neighbouring villages, towns or areas in order to locate and interview TVET graduates and some interviews were conducted by phone. Nonetheless, despite these efforts, this potentially introduced some bias. For example, it was not possible to speak with any graduates who had left the country, an outcome which may have weakened the evidence of TVET increasing people's likelihood of migrating further afield.

Finally, the research did face some security problems, especially in Ethiopia. The original intention had been to try to conduct fieldwork in the Somali region but the research team was not confident that this would be feasible given the security situation there. As a result, the focus was shifted to Amhara.

5. TVET, youth employment and migration

In this section, we outline the findings of the research through a focus on three broad areas of enquiry: i) the effectiveness of TVET in getting people into work; ii) the relationship between employment and migration; and, iii) the relationship between education, training and migration. We introduce each of these with a brief overview of the existing literature to highlight the gaps in knowledge and show how far the findings of this REF research resonate with, or deviate from, the conclusions of previous research. Before starting on these findings, we set the scene by describing the various forms of TVET identified in the case study sites.

5.1. Approaches to TVET

There are many varieties of TVET, and so it is important to be clear about what is meant by TVET in the context of this research project. TVET is defined by UNESCO 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 occupations in various sectors of economic life" (ILO, 2018). In addition to vocational skills, TVET equips people with a "broad range of knowledge, skills and attitudes that are indispensable for meaningful participation in work and life", such as greater self-awareness and self-esteem, and strengthened interpersonal, communication and entrepreneurial skills (UNESCO, 2013, p. 2).

As already noted, there are a wide range of TVET providers in both Ethiopia and Uganda, operating within the public, private and non-governmental sector, and this research included a mix of these. That said, the primary focus of the study has been on short-term programmes (up to six months) which were supported by external funding. This is especially the case with the SINCE programme in Ethiopia and the RDPP SPRS-NU in Uganda implemented by the Belgian Technical Cooperation through Enabel. While these are formal courses in the sense that they are offered by well-established institutions, they are on the informal end of TVET as far as quality control and certification are concerned. As the tables of respondents show (see

Tables 1-4 above), ten main skill areas were covered by the research across the three sites. All the courses involved an element of classroom-based and on-the-job training. For example, in Arua, students were sent on placements to local employers as part of the course to gain practical experience. However, many respondents in all field sites pointed out the structural differences in the various approaches to TVET and it is important to outline them here:

- *Entry requirements:* The less formal and shorter courses supported by SINCE and Enabel allowed more flexibility in terms of entry requirements. For example, while government institutions in West Nile were primarily aimed at Ugandan nationals, the courses offered through Enabel admitted both Ugandans and refugees. While applicants need to have completed basic education, there was more scope for discretion to accept students from other backgrounds.
- *Theory versus practice:* In both Ethiopia and Uganda, the longer and more formal government-sponsored courses were widely associated with more classroom-based teaching of theory rather than hands-on practical lessons. While the focus on practical skills was widely cited as an advantage of the informal courses, it was widely acknowledged that the government institutions tended to have more resources and better equipment – and often better qualified teachers.
- *Length of courses:* The pros and cons of different length courses were observed by many respondents. For some, short courses (like those covered in the study) were very valuable as they enabled people to move into the labour market and start earning more quickly. However, others argued that such short courses made it difficult to acquire sufficient skills to meet the needs of employers or set up one's own business.

While there were many similarities in the broad approach to TVET and the forms of delivery in the programmes covered by the research in both Ethiopia and Uganda, there was one striking fundamental difference. In Ethiopia, the emphasis of the SINCE programme (alongside many other TVET initiatives in the country) is on providing skills to enable young people to enter the labour market as employees. It is primarily training for employment and in many cases the primary employers are already identified. In Uganda, the Enabel programmes in West Nile place more emphasis on preparing trainees for self-employment as much as employment. Hence, many of the courses included some training in basic business skills such as book-keeping.

5.2. The effectiveness of TVET

Interest in TVET has gained momentum since 2000, and a growing body of research suggests a positive, albeit modest, relationship between TVET initiatives and subsequent employment rates. Tripney and Hombrados (2013) reviewed TVET interventions being used to improve employment prospects for youth in low and middle-income countries. They found that TVET

interventions have a “significant, though small, positive effect” on overall paid employment, formal employment and monthly earnings (Tripney and Hombrados, 2013, p. 9). With this in mind, the authors suggest that participation in TVET improves the labour market situation of youth people in low- and middle-income countries. Research in Turkey by Hirshleifer et al (2016) also found a very modest positive overall impact on rates and quality of employment, but only when the courses are able to respond to market demands. In their study of youth job training in Costa Rica, Card et al (2011) found “little indication of a positive effect on employment outcomes but some evidence of a modest effect on earnings, conditional on working”.

Interestingly, research on vocational training in Colombia by Attanasio et al. (2011) revealed significant differential impacts for women and men. Women had a high probability of finding paid employment, while the impact on men was minimal. In contrast, research in Malawi revealed that vocational and entrepreneurial training resulted in more positive effects for men, with women’s participation being undermined by family obligations, costs and a worse training experience (Cho et al., 2013). With this in mind, it is not surprising that, in their review of the cases, Tripney and Hombrados identified considerable gaps in our understanding of TVET and advocated a significant strengthening of the evidence base.

The findings from Ethiopia and Uganda show a similarly mixed picture with the results of the TVET programmes varying greatly. Overall, the survey results show that trainees in all sites were quite positive about the experience of the vocational training. Among those who expressed dissatisfaction, the common complaints were around the quality of teaching and the allowances provided for trainees.

When we look at what graduates have done since completing training, in all three sites the majority of graduates reported that they either had a job in an area related to the training or they had started up a new business. In Amhara, nearly half of graduates had found jobs and another fifth had started their own business. In SNNPR, a significant proportion (one third) had set up their own businesses, but fewer had managed to find employment. In Uganda, nearly 40 per cent of graduates were in jobs and a quarter had started businesses. While this suggests some success for TVET, in each area about 30 per cent were either unemployed or had returned to work they had before starting the course. In SNNPR, while few claimed to be unemployed, a third of them were back in their previous work.

Table 6: What have you done since you graduated?

	Amhara	SNNPR	Uganda
New job in area related to training	48%	27%	38%
Started new business	20%	33%	25%
Gone back to previous income generating activity	4%	35%	9%
Nothing/ looking for work	28%	6%	20%

Moreover, in all sites over two thirds of graduates said that their living conditions have improved since they completed the course, with the most positive responses in Uganda (over 80 per cent). Overall, only two graduates said that their living conditions had deteriorated since completing the course. The Ugandan respondents were readier to attribute the changes to TVET, with over 30 per cent saying it had made a large contribution, and nearly 60 per cent saying it made some contribution. In both Amhara and SNNPR, the corresponding figures were lower. However, a clear majority felt TVET had made some contribution.

Table 7: How have your living conditions changed since completing the course?

	Amhara	SNNPR	Uganda
Improved a lot	14%	37%	27%
Improved a little	54%	33%	58%
Stayed the same	30%	27%	15%
Worsened a little	2%		
Worsened a lot		2%	

Table 8: To what extent do you think the course contributed to this change?

	Amhara	SNNPR	Uganda
A lot	20%	25%	31%
Somewhat	50%	47%	58%
Not at all	30%	27%	11%

As might be expected, the semi-structured interviews reveal a wider range of views of the effectiveness of TVET in helping young people improve their livelihoods. Some graduates reported that it changed their lives:

This course has enabled me to build a house for myself, I make and control my own money, I am also supporting my parents at home. Currently, I am doing a diploma in catering - I will increase my standard of schooling since I am getting more experience and the school is widening my mind. (Female graduate, Arua).

The course helped me to open my small shop. Now I have three other employees and I am in a very good position. My aim is to expand this business and to open a big garment [company] and create job opportunities for others. (Female graduate, SNNPRE).

Others reported that training had made no difference.

My expectation was to be employed immediately after graduation. But I couldn't get a job. Then I opened this stationery shop by taking money from my parents. So I am not working in my field of training. I am not using it. It did not do anything for my livelihood. (Male graduate, SNNPR).

There was a range of explanations given for their success or failure. Here we focus on those associated with the courses and the wider context. Some referred to the quality of the teaching and level of skills being transferred. Both trainees and employers felt they were

coming out of some short courses with too few skills to be effective employees or start up their own businesses.

I don't think that I am competent enough to work with this skill. I have not received adequate knowledge. Firstly, four months is not enough to get adequate knowledge; second the four months are not efficiently used due to different reasons including interruption of power, and the problem of shortage of instruments. So, for me it was a waste of time. (Female trainee, SNNPR).

In contrast, many other young people commented that the short duration of the courses made them more attractive as it made it possible to start earning more quickly. From the survey data it is not possible to assess which length of course yields the best outcome. However, even if the long courses do give the best results in terms of employment and livelihoods, extending the length of courses may deter some potential trainees from enrolling on them. Rather than simply making courses longer, it may be better to consider developing follow-up courses for graduates that can enhance their skills. This could be presented as a two-phase course, where people commit to one basic course, and they know of a second course they could move onto if they feel they need the additional training.

It was striking that the young people were concerned not just with acquiring technical skills but they also made clear the importance of the other 'soft' skills that could be gained through the TVET programmes. These included learning more about general attitudes to work and business skills that might prepare them for self-employment. One of the key informants noted that the TVET courses in Ethiopia did not focus on self-employment as that tended to be seen as the remit of the Micro and Small Enterprises Agency.

A critical factor in the success or failure of securing jobs for trainees is the local job market. All the courses were designed around assessments of the local job market and the demands of employers. In spite of this, there was often an enduring gap between the skills provided and the requirements of employers.

In Ethiopia, there seemed to be much more direct engagement with employers, even to the extent of agreements for them to recruit trainees. For example, in SNNPR, informants consistently referred to the Desta Garment Company, the only significant private company in Butajira. The company routinely employs TVET graduates, thereby creating a favourable attitude of trainees towards the garment industry. The company has a memorandum of understanding with IRC (which runs the SINCE project in SNNPR) with a commitment to hire 68 graduates each year and a goal of employing up to 600 graduates in total. This has helped stimulate interest in training in the sector, which is further bolstered by the possibility of employment in the industrial parks in Hawassa. Moreover, sewing and tailoring is a skill that can also be used to set up one's own small business with relatively low capital requirements (for example, a sewing machine).

There was less evidence of such systematic engagement with employers in Uganda. In West Nile, there are few major employers, which makes it harder to find direct avenues into particular companies. However, respondents did highlight the infrastructural development projects (including power distribution, solar energy supply in Arua and urban construction including water and sewage networks in Adjumani) which were providing employment opportunities to some TVET graduates. Two main employers that were mentioned were Wanareko (a private power/electricity distribution company) in Arua and the National Water and Sewerage Corporation in Adjumani. In addition, graduates were also finding work in the aid sector, working for NGOs and businesses servicing the refugee settlements. Recognising the lack of employers in the area for some trades, such as fashion, design, tailoring and tapestry, TVET institutes in Arua encourage them to start their own small businesses.

While the Ethiopian programmes appeared to be more closely connected to employers, some key informants suggested that there were still important gaps in training. For example, a government official in Butajira (SNNPR) suggested there is a demand for agricultural workers with skills in poultry, dairy farming and irrigation, but that these were not fields covered by either government or non-governmental TVET. Likewise, the hotel and tourism sector is growing but there is no local training for workers. As a result, one hotel owner in Butajira said that he was forced to bring in staff from other areas and those who want training in this field had to go to Hawassa.

There is no consistent gender disparity in these outcomes. In Uganda and in Amhara (Ethiopia), women are more likely to set up their own business than men; there is no difference in SNNPR. Female graduates in SNNPR are more likely to get jobs related to the training than men; men have more success than women in Amhara. In Uganda, they are equally balanced. It is only in Amhara where there is a marked gender difference in the overall rates of employment for graduates, with only a quarter of men unemployed compared to a third of women. A number of factors may lie behind this result. Courses which attract more men may be more closely attuned to the local market. The quality of training on the different courses may also vary.

Where there is a clear gender difference is in the courses in which men and women enrol. As Tables 1-4 clearly show, across all the sites, the majority of women respondents were involved in making clothes and food preparation, while men comprised the vast majority of those taking up mechanics, welding or construction. There is no doubt that some subjects are seen as more feminine and others more masculine. This is hardly surprising given the wider context of gender relations in both Ethiopia and Uganda. However, some key informants in Uganda suggested that attitudes were shifting and there has been an increased up-take among young women in courses in motor mechanics, metal fabrication, welding and carpentry.

This was perhaps part of a broader shift towards more positive views of TVET which was observed by key informants. TVET is widely perceived as being a second-rate form of training

for those who had not done well enough in school to go on to university. However, success stories of when graduates move easily into jobs are encouraging a more positive view of TVET.

Previously the community, parents and youth used to have a low opinion of TVET. But recently there are remarkable positive changes in attitude towards TVET training. Some even prefer it to joining universities. They are choosing TVET because TVET level graduates are more in demand and easily employed than University graduates. (Government vocational education officer, Kombolcha).

A private employer in a garment industry in Kemissie stated, “I believe that graduates of TVET are even better than university graduates”, arguing that TVET graduates had more appropriate skills for employment than those graduating from university.

Young people also spoke of their attitudes changing through their experience of the training:

Yes, by now, I am so happy. But, at the moment I joined the training program, I was not happy for I had no good result in the matric exam. I hope you know that is how we see TVET. We see it as a place for those who failed to join preparatory and university education. But now, I am happy for I realised that TVET is a place for those students who are interested to join the world of work with practical skill within a short period of time. Twelve students have graduated with me. I know that eleven of us have got jobs in our locality. I have also heard that the twelfth student has moved to Addis Ababa. He has got job there. Those who didn't get job in a governmental organization have started their own business. (Male, TVET graduate, Kombolcha, Ethiopia).

In Uganda, many respondents also spoke about how the reputation of TVET is improving. One trainer in Arua claimed:

The trend has completely changed. Originally TVET was regarded as the last option for academic failures, but now, parents, young people and generally the whole community looks at it as the way to go. It saves time, trainees start earning some little money even before completing their courses. Moreover, the hands-on training helps them start work immediately as compared to those who go through the secondary education process. (TVET trainer, Arua, Uganda).

Other respondents made similar points, suggesting that these more positive attitudes brought about as a result of graduates' success in securing work is reinforced by the short duration of TVET training (all the courses covered by the research in Uganda were six months or less) and the process which allowed students to earn some money during the training. In a focus group, one respondent noted that people looked at TVET more favourably when they saw university graduates struggling to find work in offices and lacking the skills to take up other work. This positive view of TVET was most strongly felt by refugees, who have more limited opportunities to get into higher education, especially when their formal education has been disrupted by conflict and flight into Uganda.

These findings do not give a comprehensive assessment of the effectiveness of the TVET programmes in Ethiopia and Uganda (and this was never the aim of this study), but they do paint quite a positive picture. Overall, the TVET programming is helping young people to improve their prospects and build up their livelihoods, whether through employment or self-employment. As many respondents noted, there are many weaknesses in the programmes – some of which have been identified above – and they are set within a wider context that limits what can be achieved. They cannot bring about fundamental change but they can push things in a positive direction. As one programme manager noted, “TVET is a tool. It is not a solution in itself. It is important but not the only thing” (Government official, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia). It is important to bear in mind such realistic expectations in both the design and evaluation of TVET’s effectiveness.

5.3. The relationship between employment and migration

The focus of this study is on the relationship between TVET and migration, rather than a general review of TVET’s effectiveness. This link between TVET and migration has only come to the fore because of the assumed causal relationship between employment and migration, which runs as follows: people are eager to migrate to secure employment; therefore, improving their employment prospects will reduce their interest in migration. This raises the prior question of how far securing, or failing to secure, employment affects people’s aspirations and the links between migration and employment. In this section, we first review the evidence from wider literature and then compare this with the findings from this study, before moving onto explore the links between TVET and migration in the next sub-section.

There is abundant evidence from across the world to demonstrate that the prospect of employment is one of the most important drivers of migration. People move in search of work. This is very well established and extensively documented in the literature and we do not attempt to rehearse the material here. The focus of our research is on another aspect of the relationship which is much less explored: we ask how does employment in the area of origin influence people’s migratory decisions and behaviour?

There is no doubt that unemployment and the very limited economic opportunities for young people is a significant problem across the HoA, as countries struggle to generate sufficient decent work for their growing youth populations. Young people aged 15–24 in Africa and Asia and the Pacific will comprise 77 per cent of the world’s youth labour force by 2030 (ILO, 2017a). With this in mind, a key question is whether job creation and ‘being employed’ reduces young people’s aspirations to move or, conversely, increases incentives to migrate elsewhere.

Research conducted in SNNPR region in Ethiopia suggests a positive relationship between employment and migration to South Africa (Kanko et al., 2013). Employed respondents were nearly six times more likely to migrate than those who were unemployed. However, these

findings contrast with research on school to work transitions in 25 countries by Elder et al. (2015), which found that employed young people were consistently and significantly less likely to migrate than those who were unemployed.¹⁰ However, job satisfaction was also a contributor, and a strongly dissatisfied working youth in a rural area was more than twice as likely to express their willingness to migrate as a satisfied working youth (ibid).

This suggests that employment only really reduces aspirations to move when people are satisfied with their jobs; and in many countries across sub-Saharan Africa, including Ethiopia and Uganda, it seems likely that levels of employment dissatisfaction will remain high and widespread for the foreseeable future. Sub-Saharan Africa has the highest rate of vulnerable employment globally, remaining at around 66 per cent. In 2017, 290 million African workers were estimated to be in vulnerable forms of employment, rising to 298 million in 2018, with the largest increase in sub-Saharan Africa (ILO, 2018a). Where there is a shortage of employment opportunities in both rural and urban settings, many people have to engage in irregular, unreliable, and typically poorly remunerated work either in the informal sector or through self-employment. Where people do have work and maintain their aspirations to emigrate, their earnings can serve to build up savings to fund future movement, whether for themselves or other family members. Viewed from this perspective, there is no obvious link between increasing young people's access to jobs and any reduction in outward migration.

Whatever the case, in areas where levels of youth unemployment are high and the formal job market is relatively small, even large proportionate increases of employment opportunities will only bring a relatively small reduction in unemployment. Clearly, there is a lot more to be done than TVET alone to significantly increase people's likelihood of securing a job. This is supported by research conducted by Save the Children (2016) with young Ethiopians who were potential candidates for migration for employment or who had already engaged in such migration. They found that a "pyramid of interventions" is required to address youth migration for employment. These go beyond education and the attainment of technical skills, to include also soft skills and social behaviour change (Save the Children, 2016, p. 11). In Ethiopia, questions around migration and employment have also been linked to land. Recent research by Kosec et al (2018) found that young people inheriting larger land parcels were more likely to work in agriculture and much less likely to migrate elsewhere.

To sum up, a review of the literature underlines the lack of clarity and consensus on how providing education, training or jobs changes young people's migration aspirations and behaviours. It seems likely, however, that education, training and job creation can enhance the quality of migration; if young people have better skills and more resources (from employment) they are likely to be in a stronger position to exercise better choices. Even if this

¹⁰ In Sub-Saharan Africa, 50 per cent of employed young men in rural areas expressed a desire to migrate, which contrasts to 66 per cent of unemployed young men. The gap was even wider amongst young women in rural areas, with 43 per cent of working women aspiring to migrate versus 63 per cent of unemployed young women (Elder et al., 2015, p. 26).

still involves embarking on irregular migration, they may now have the funds to pay for safer routes or at least reduce the costs for their wider family.

The REF research highlights some interesting contrasts between the situation in the research sites in Ethiopia and Uganda. In both the Amhara and SNNPR field sites, the most significant direction for international migration is towards the Gulf, which is dominated by young women, often with very low levels of education, moving in the hope of securing domestic work in Saudi Arabia. Many of them move as irregular migrants. A government official in Kombolcha (Amhara) reported that there were only 70 men among the nearly 2,000 returnees from the Gulf they have recorded. He explained that the vast majority of migrants had left between the ages of 18 and 25, and that few had completed grade ten at school, which is the threshold for access to legal channels for migration to the Gulf. In Kemissie (Amhara), one key informant described how most migrants returning from the Gulf had low levels of education, but that men outnumbered women (Government official, Kemisse, Ethiopia). Another key informant suggested that more men consider this route out of desperation in the face of the lack of employment opportunities in Ethiopia (Hotel owner, Butajira, Ethiopia).

Finding secure employment of an adequate quality is seen as essential to discourage young people from going down the path of irregular migration. Returnees from Saudi Arabia were among the respondents from the SINCE-supported TVET programmes in Ethiopia, and some expressed a strong desire to find a livelihood within the country:

My plan is to stay here with my family. I was in Saudi Arabia. My or my family's life could not be improved as the result of my migration and the money I brought from Saudi; still life continues as it was. Therefore, my future plan is to work in my country. And I want to work in any available job. But my worry is if our trainers couldn't employ us, still our fate becomes hard. If I get some money, I want to be engaged in small business. (Female trainee, SNNPR).

However, this depends on finding a job, as one returned migrant who was a potential trainee stated:

I don't want to move away. Because I already know how migration is horrible. I advise others to stay in their country. Especially, Arab countries are not good for our citizens. They do not respect our rights; they treat us like slaves. I couldn't explain the challenges that Ethiopian women are experiencing in Arab countries. Generally, I do not have any plan to go abroad again. My plan is to live a better life in my country. But my worry is if there is no work opportunity after the training, I will be in trouble and may consider re-migrating. (Female trainee, SNNPR).

These patterns of migration were also reflected in the survey results. The Gulf was the only place outside Ethiopia where people reported having previously moved for work, with a marked gender divide. In both Amhara and SNNPR over a third of female respondents had

worked in the Gulf compared to just five per cent of males in Amhara and 13 per cent in SNNPR. It was striking that, when asked if they want to move away in the future, none of those who had spent time in the Gulf wanted to go abroad again. Overall, across all groups, few respondents said they have any plans to leave Ethiopia, with less than 12 per cent of all respondents in Amhara and 16 per cent in SNNPR.

While plans for international migration may be quite limited for the young people interviewed in Ethiopia, many respondents anticipated moving to other parts of the country in search of work. In Amhara, nearly half of all respondents planned to move internally, with a gender divide on distance: men more likely to go to other districts or Addis Ababa while women were more likely to move to nearby towns. In SNNPR, about 40 per cent of men plan to move and only 30 per cent of women.

In the Uganda study, since many of the respondents were refugees from South Sudan, any relationship between employment and migration is tempered by the broader context of refugee policy and the prospects for peace in their country of origin. While over one third had personal experience of moving to a new country as refugees, very few (less than seven per cent) reported having previously moved in search of employment.

When we look at their migration plans, we find nearly 80 per cent of respondents hoping to move away from the area. Not surprisingly, given the strong links with South Sudan, many of those planning to move (over 20 per cent of all respondents) were looking to go there. As in Ethiopia, only small numbers were thinking of moving further afield (less than six per cent), referring to Europe, the United States and South Africa.

Unlike Ethiopia, where almost all those planning to move gave the search of better job opportunities as the main reason, in Uganda, a third gave other reasons including joining family members and returning home, or simply looking for adventure or the good life. This highlights the fact that in this refugee context, there are different factors at play that will shape people's movements compared to a more stable environment such as that found in the Ethiopian research sites. That said, in Ethiopia, respondents noted that some ethnic groups, such as the Gurage, had well-established practices of labour migration to other parts of Ethiopia, facilitated by extensive social networks that help support people moving to new areas. This brings a different set of cultural norms and expectations about how people should move that will vary according to the particular socio-economic context. This is important as we analyse the links between employment and migration as while people may appear to be moving for work, their migration is also imbued with social and cultural significance that may unsettle this simple narrative.

In the key informant interviews, most respondents repeatedly stressed the association between mobility and employment, with little mention of these other socio-cultural factors.

While most suggested that those without a job were more likely to move away, others did acknowledge the picture was more complicated:

Largely people who do not have employment tend to migrate. But our office has evidence that those with jobs like policemen, teachers, and health extension workers also migrate. (Government officer, Amhara).

In interviews across all three sites, many key informants emphasised that the critical challenge is not just to get people into work but also to ensure that work is of adequate quality. An official from the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs in Ethiopia argued that they had to increase the supply of *good jobs*:

Moreover, it is not just about any job. The job should be something meaningful for the youth to be able to sustain their lives. Many young girls work in cafes, hairdressers and so forth on a salary of around 400 Birr. They work for four or five years, but they see there is no change. They decide to migrate because even if they have a job at home, the income from that job is not enough for living. (Government official, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia).

A hotel owner and employer in SNNPR suggested that part of the problem was the rate set for the minimum wage:

Those who work are also under paid. The government should revise the minimum wage. For a housekeeper, the minimum wage is 800 Birr. The minimum wage in government offices is 1,200 Birr. But the private sector employs people on a smaller salary. The problem is serious. Look, from this, they should pay rent of 400 Birr. They have family, they have to eat. What can they do with their small wage? Then at the end of the month they have no saving. Then they migrate. They do not have another option. (Hotel owner, SNNPR, Ethiopia).

These points about wages are echoed in the survey data when it comes to international migration. In both Ethiopia and Uganda, only a small proportion of respondents said that their income covers their monthly expenditure (less than ten per cent in Amhara and SNNPR, just over ten per cent in Uganda). Across all the sites, nobody in this small group said they wanted to move outside their region – in Ethiopia they all want to stay within the country, in Uganda, not surprisingly, some wanted to move to South Sudan.

In conclusion, the REF research does provide some more evidence of the link between employment and migration, which complements previous studies. Given that the EUTF programming and the REF research have been focused on sites which are seen as areas where young people are potentially prone to irregular migration, perhaps one of the most striking findings is how limited the interest in international migration is. With the exception of those in Ethiopia who have returned from Gulf (who have been a particular target for programme intervention) very few respondents have past experience of international labour migration and few have any plans to move abroad in the future, other than those hoping to go from

Uganda to South Sudan. When it comes to internal or regional mobility, the study shows that many young people plan to move in search of better opportunities. Their concern is not just about having a job, but having a good job. To some extent, we have discussed how far TVET is effective in delivering those good jobs in the previous section. In the next section, we turn to look at how TVET may play a role in moderating this relationship between employment and migration.

5.4. The relationship between education, training and migration

While there is considerable literature that examines how young people migrate in order to access better quality schooling (Boyden, 2013; Crivello, 2009; Tran and Nyland, 2011), this study is more interested in the reverse relationship; the impact that education and training, and in this case TVET, have on migration aspirations and behaviour of young people.

On the whole, there is general consensus from research across the world that increasing levels of education and training are related to an increased propensity to move.¹¹ For example, research in Norway by Machin et al. (2012) found a positive correlation between the length of higher education and migration, with one additional year of education increasing annual migration rates by 15 per cent. A similar trend has also been identified in Finland (Haapanen and Böckerman, 2013), elsewhere in Europe (Weiss, 2015), and in the United States (Malamud and Wozniak, 2012). Furthermore, according to the *Global Employment Trends for Youth 2017*, “Employed youth with tertiary education are often more willing to migrate abroad than persons with a secondary or lower education in both higher- and lower-income countries” (ILO, 2017a, p. 26). The ILO report found that 53 per cent of employed tertiary educated youth aspire to migrate abroad, compared with 37 per cent of young people with a secondary education or less (ibid).

In contrast, however, other studies have revealed more ambiguous or nuanced findings. Ginsburg et al (2016) found significant geographical differences in the link between education and migration in Kenya, Burkina Faso, Mozambique and South Africa. Additional schooling did result in higher rural-urban migration in Kenya, where urban labour markets were able to use the education endowments of the in-migrants. However, in contexts where the formal labour market could not support a large influx of workers and where the rural education infrastructure is not-developed (such as Burkina Faso and Mozambique), the relationship between education and migration was minimal and even negative. As well as context, time also needs to be taken into consideration when it comes to understanding the relationship between education/training and migration. Amuakwa-Mensah et al (2016) found that while

¹¹ Although a minority of researchers have found conflicting evidence that suggests a negative relationship between schooling and migration between years of education and migration. For example, McHenry (2013, p. 25) found that increasing education levels in the United States “probably causes less migration, not more.”

education had a positive effect on migration decisions in the period 2005/2006, it had a negative effect during the 2012/2013 period.

When a positive relationship between education and migration does occur, what factors explain it? Haapanen and Böckerman (2013) suggest a range of factors. First, in terms of economics, the better educated are generally more responsive to wage differentials elsewhere, and are therefore more likely to move in search of better paid jobs. Second, those with higher education are more capable of obtaining and analysing employment information, including information about job prospects and living conditions in other regions. Third, as argued by Schwartz (1973, p. 1160), as education improves, skills become more portable and the market for individual occupations at each level of education tends to become geographically wider. Similarly, in her summary of the literature, Browne (2017, p. 2) concludes that higher educated people are more likely to migrate as a combined result of higher financial resources, greater aspirations, and lack of appropriate employment at home.

These studies provide useful evidence of the relationship between education, training and migration in general but they are focused primarily on more formal or higher-level education rather than TVET. They leave unanswered a number of inter-related and important questions which are particularly pertinent for vocational training. First, they say little about how building people's skills affects their access to decent work, which has important implications for mobility. Whatever training is offered, it may have limited impact on people's livelihoods if the structural constraints that inhibit employment remain. Providing education in preparation for jobs that do not exist may result in young people redoubling their efforts to find alternatives elsewhere. A recent report on the links between skills training, economic opportunities and conflict prevention in Kenya yielded complementary findings (Altai Consulting, 2019, 15). A number of their informants suggested that the employment opportunities available to young people who complete their skills training were not sufficiently widespread or lucrative enough to deter them from engaging in more profitable and illicit alternatives.

Second, how does TVET change people's aspirations, and their views of a desirable future? It has long been recognised that education plays an important role in socialising young people, exposing them to new norms and attitudes that will shape their ambition and ideas about work. Education broadens the mind and also its horizons. Education and training may improve people's skills but may also make them more aware of how they can be better used in other places. At the same time, training that does not deliver employment for graduates may serve to convince them that they have no future staying where they are and reinforce their desire to migrate by any means. Hence the process of training itself, regardless of the employment outcome, may change participants' attitudes and propensity to migrate.

Finally, looking beyond the response of individuals, if there is an intensive TVET investment in one location, it is not clear what impact this may have on the local employment market. If

there is a clear niche that people can fill, it may help get them into local jobs. In the absence of such a space (which we must assume is likely to be the case in many parts of the HoA where unemployment rates are very high), the formation of a cadre of more highly skilled graduates of a training scheme, perhaps focused on a particular sector, seems likely to yield two alternative outcomes. It may create a centre of skills and, in the presence of sufficient capital, give rise to a stronger sector, with new businesses that takes up these graduates. Alternatively, it may result in a surfeit of people competing in the same sectors, forcing some to move away to find work or establish a business in a less crowded space. Both alternatives will have migration impacts. The former may in due course stimulate more inward migration as new sectors take off. The latter will result in more out-migration.

The REF study provides a more detailed picture of how the education and training associated with TVET initiatives influences migration aspirations and behaviour. As reported in the previous section, only a small proportion of the respondents in this study were looking to migrate beyond the region where they were living. Most reported that they wanted either to stay within their country or (in Uganda) move to a neighbouring one (mainly South Sudan). This is important to bear in mind in the discussion that follows, as most people are referring to internal or cross-border migration.

It is clear from the survey results that ideas about migration have played little part in young people’s interest in TVET. In Uganda, less than two per cent of respondents referred to their interest in moving as a reason to start training. In both Amhara and SNNPR, 13 per cent of respondents acknowledged ‘making it easier to move’ as one of their reasons for enrolling and less than half of these (just over five per cent) listed this as the most important reason. While this appears to show there is more interest in migration among the Ethiopian respondents, this is focused on internal migration rather than movement abroad (as discussed above).

Table 9: What is the most important reason for enrolling the course?

	Amhara	SNNPR	Uganda
To improve my skills for current work	2%	13%	27%
To improve my skills so I can get different work	88%	73%	23%
To strengthen my social network			1%
To see if I like this sector	1%	7%	16%
To make it easier to move elsewhere	5%	5%	1%
Peer influence			
Family influence		1%	1%
Per diems – financial incentive	2%	1%	14%
Other	3%	1%	17%
	100%	100%	100%

In Uganda, there was a widespread expectation that many of those who completed TVET courses would need to move elsewhere to find jobs. Trainers on TVET courses explained that

the many limitations in the local markets, especially in the rural areas and refugee settlements, including the lack of basic infrastructure (such as electricity for welding), the limited market and the oversupply of trainees. According to one TVET trainer in Arua, Uganda, upon graduating, many trainees moved to towns, either Arua or further afield. In this sense, training was seen as equipping people to move to new places and this was an important step for them to make the best of their new skills.

Some skills, such as electrical, bricklaying and concrete practice and plumbing, draw people into mobile employment as they follow from one contract to another.

I was also recommended for some electrical installation work in Kampala which I went and did, and then came back. But I will not confine myself to Adjumani only. As long as I am able to get work in other places, be it in other districts, I will go, as our work is mostly through recommendation from one client to another. (Participant in a focus group discussion in Adjumani, Uganda).

Many youths move to urban areas because the skills are only marketable in urban areas. For instance, for electrical installation and wiring there is more construction of permanent buildings in the urban areas, motor vehicles are also mostly in the urban areas. It is the same with plumbing – there are no national water and sewerage lines in the villages, it's only in the urban centres. (Participant in a focus group discussion in Adjumani, Uganda).

Apart from the direct increase in income, moving was also associated with building up experience and training for future improvement.

Most of the time we advise them to move and find better working places because here they study for only three or six months and that is very little time to learn everything well. So, when they go elsewhere they get to see new things that they weren't able to see and learn here. They get to learn new ideas and things. (TVET trainer, Arua, Uganda).

One of the heads of a training institute in Arua suggested that the training courses act as an 'eye-opener' for trainees, which stimulates them to look for further opportunities for training in Kampala or other cities. For example, one young woman training in tailoring said:

I want to move, because there is market outside. Now even if there was decent work here, I will move because I want to expand my business. Before joining the course I had never known that I could want to move out of Arua, but now with the skills I have, I want to expand my business. (Female, TVET trainee, Arua, Uganda).

While some looked to Kampala and other urban areas in Uganda, in a focus group discussion with trainees, a number of respondents talked of going to South Sudan as a place where there were new opportunities and better pay:

We would like to move to Sudan where there is business and more demand for our skills. There is more money in Sudan (Participant in focus group discussion, Adjumani, Uganda).

These ideas about moving were stimulated not only by the skills gained through TVET, but also through the social networks created by it:

There are more friends with skills in urban areas. Therefore if you have just completed your training it's easy for the friends to help you and give you work or advice or some money to also set up your business or to direct some customers to you to enable you establish your business. (Participant in focus group discussion, Adjumani, Uganda).

There are four of us in this class that have formed a group and we have collected money and bought a piece of land in South Sudan where we intend to set up a small garage like the one here to enable us earn some money and also with time, we hope to train other youth interested in learning motor vehicle mechanics and maintenance. (Participant in focus group discussion, Adjumani, Uganda).

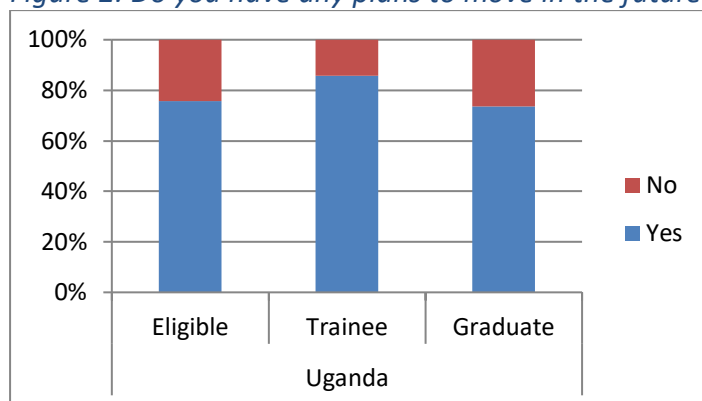
As this last quotation shows, for the South Sudanese in particular, another aspect was the prospect of passing on their skills to others and helping to rebuild their country. A current TVET trainee in Arua, Uganda, talked of wanting to share his new skills in housebuilding with people in South Sudan, claiming, "If there was better work here, I would still want to go there to teach others."

It appears that TVET has made more likely the movement of many people, but it is not clear that it did much to increase people's aspirations to migrate. The survey data showed that for all categories of respondents (whether those eligible to join TVET, current trainees or graduates) over three quarters of people nursed some plans to move elsewhere in the future. However, when graduates and trainees were asked about the effect of training on their thoughts about migration, the majority said that it made them want to move more.

Table 10: How has participation in the training influenced your thoughts about migration?

Uganda	Trainee	Graduate	Total
I want move more than I did before the training	78%	62%	70%
The training has not influenced my thoughts about migration	17%	23%	20%
I want to move less now than I did before	5%	15%	10%

Figure 2: Do you have any plans to move in the future?



These positive associations between improved skills, migrating and stronger livelihoods were also reflected in the responses to the questions about attitudes to migration, which are summarised in the table in the Annex. Whether they were potential, current or past trainees, the vast majority of young people surveyed in Uganda tended to agree with these statements about migration:

- It is important to have opportunities to move freely between neighbouring countries.
- People gain opportunities if they experience life in another city, or in another country.
- People who have greater skills are more likely to move abroad.
- Any young person who has the opportunity should go abroad.

It was only when it came to the final statement – any young person who has the opportunity should go abroad, *whether or not they have the required papers* – that there was a marked difference between potential, current trainees and graduates. As expected, the majority of people disagreed with this statement but the disapproval of irregular migration was significantly reduced among current trainees and was even lower among graduates. Less than one quarter of potential trainees accepted that people should move even without the right papers, but nearly half of graduates agreed that people should seize any opportunity to move.

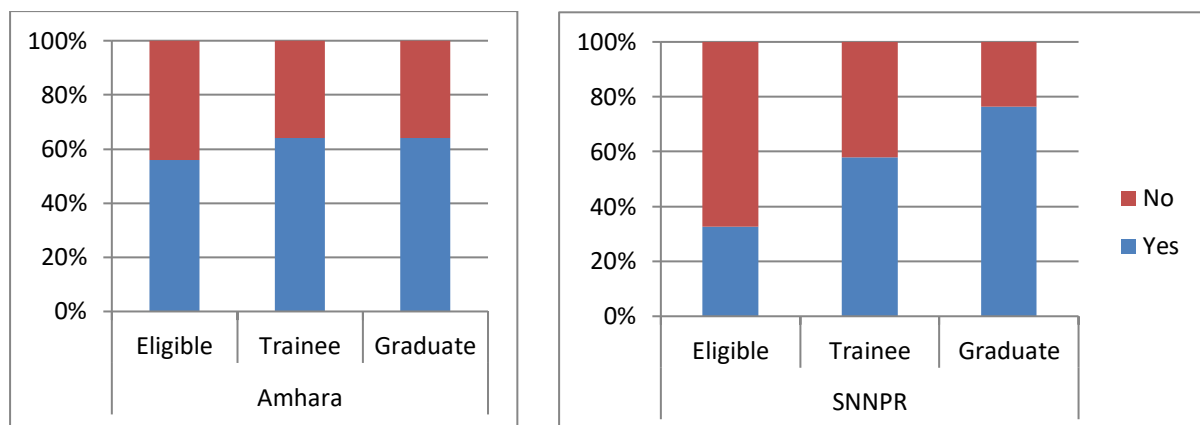
Overall this suggests that engagement in TVET programmes in the context of West Nile, Uganda may serve to reinforce the expectation that young people will have to migrate to get on in life, even to the extent that they may reject barriers to movement such as visas. However, in practice, as shown in the previous section, very few people of these respondents are looking to move anywhere beyond Uganda and South Sudan, so this does not imply that TVET leads to any greater likelihood of irregular movement further afield. At the same time, this gives little support for the idea that TVET programming will contribute to any reduction in irregular migration.

The findings from Ethiopia suggest a rather different relationship between TVET and migration. Starting with the attitudes to migration in both Amhara and SNNPR, these were more negative than those seen in Sudan (see the tables in the Annex). In Amhara in particular, respondents were very ambivalent about the benefits of migration, with a third disagreeing

with the statement that ‘people gain opportunities if they experience life in another city or in another country’. In SNNPR, the attitude is much more positive, but starts falling away when it is suggested that any young person who has the opportunity should go abroad, where opinion is almost evenly split. However, in both Amhara and SNNPR, the vast majority of respondents disagree with the idea that young people should go abroad even if they do not have the right papers. This contrast with Sudan is probably partly explained by the direct experience of irregular migration for the communities in Ethiopia and the suffering of many migrants in the Gulf.

Given these rather negative attitudes to migration, it is hardly surprising to find that a far smaller proportion of respondents in Ethiopia reported having any plans to move in the future compared to Uganda. However, when this is broken down by respondent category, there is a striking difference between Amhara and SNNPR. In both sites, those who have been through TVET are more likely to plan to move than those who have yet to start their training. There is only a moderate increase in Amhara, but in SNNPR, it more than doubles from 32 to 76 per cent.

Figure 3: Do you have any plans to move in the future?



Participation in TVET appears to have significantly increased the likelihood that people will develop plans to migrate. Again, bearing in mind the findings of the previous section, this increased interest in migration is predominantly concerned with migration within Ethiopia. This was consistent with the expectations of a number of key informants, who argued that TVET had the impact of increasing internal mobility and reducing interest in international migration. The mechanism by which this worked was equipping people to take on jobs in a much wider job market – notably in urban centres or industrial zones. This perhaps explains why most of the graduates and current trainees interviewed denied that their participation in the programme had affected their thoughts about migration.

Table 11: How has participation in the training influenced your thoughts about migration?

	Amhara			SNNPR		
	Trainee	Graduate	Total	Trainee	Graduate	Total
I want to move more than I did before the training	0%	30%	15%	19%	26%	21%
The training has not influenced my thoughts about migration	54%	32%	43%	54%	41%	48%
I want to move less now than I did before	46%	38%	42%	27%	35%	31%

This is made clear in the responses of two graduates of TVET, neither of whom were in jobs using their skills:

I am here because of this shop [where he was working for lack of a better job] not because of the training I took. I would migrate if I lost this shop, not because I received training. (Male, TVET graduate, Worabe, Ethiopia).

It is impossible to conclude that my interest in migration has come because I got the training. If I have the possibility of migrating, it is because I have found no job, as if I find a job I don't intend to go anywhere. Moreover, I was also intending to travel to different areas mainly to Addis Ababa before I got the training. (Male, TVET graduate, Gurage, Ethiopia).

While these Ethiopian case studies provide clear evidence of an increased interest in internal migration among TVET trainees and graduates, whether directly attributable to TVET or not, it is hard to discern any relationship between engagement in TVET and international migration, especially unsafe and irregular migration. The Ethiopian respondents expressed very limited interest in international migration and demonstrated much more negative views of it, compared to those interviewed in Uganda. An official from the Federal TVET Agency made clear his doubts about any direct causal links:

Yet I do not think all this training will directly reduce the tendency of youth to unsafe migration, but I do not also believe that those trained are more likely to migrate than those not trained. The agency gives them a certificate of completion or competence. When they take the certificate, it is not to migrate or to remain in their birth place/country. Rather, it is to show competence and completion of training. No one has come to our office asking certificate of completion so as to migrate. (Government official, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia).

As this section has shown, the links between TVET and migration work rather differently depending on the context. In Uganda, where many of the young people targeted by TVET are already interested in moving away from the area and they have positive views of migration, engagement in TVET does not have much of an influence on people's aspirations to migrate. Although it may make it easier for them to realise these aspirations, especially for migration elsewhere in the region – primarily South Sudan. In the Ethiopian sites, far fewer people have plans to move and seem to hold more negative views of international migration. While

engagement in TVET does little to change their views, it does seem to be associated with a rise in internal migration, as people move with their new skills in search of jobs elsewhere. In neither case is there evidence of a clear relationship between TVET and increases or decreases in migration further afield or the use of irregular routes.

6. Conclusion

These findings suggest that the TVET programming supported by the EUTF in West Nile (Uganda) and Amhara and SNNPR (Ethiopia) is delivering some valuable results in helping young people improve their chances of employment and strengthen their livelihoods. Of course, they can be improved but they are making a positive contribution to the lives of young people.

Engagement in TVET is associated with increased mobility, especially in Ethiopia, but this is primarily concerned with migration to urban centres or within the region in search of jobs. Few people aspire to move beyond the region, and enrolment in TVET seems to make little difference to those aspirations. In Ethiopia, where many people (especially women) have much greater experience of irregular migration to the Gulf, there are much more negative attitudes towards international migration, especially that which is undertaken without the right papers. In Uganda, engagement in TVET seems to reinforce positive views of international migration possibly even to the extent of endorsing migration via irregular channels.

The findings of this study suggest that those designing TVET interventions should exercise caution in the way they relate programmes' goals or objectives to reducing irregular migration. TVET interventions may play an important role in changing young people's access to incomes and change the wider environment in which young people may embark on irregular or dangerous migration, but the causal links are very extended. In most cases, robustly attributing any change in the levels of irregular migration to the delivery of a TVET programme is not possible. Given the very limited interest in international migration expressed by respondents and the even lower interest in irregular migration, it is hard to see how it could be possible to establish these causal links as we are talking about a very small sample of TVET participants. As the Uganda case study shows, it is even possible to see that engagement in TVET may be related to greater acceptance of irregular migration. However, this does not show that TVET programmes are failing, nor does it mean that irregular migration will necessarily increase.

The findings of this research draw on a limited study of just three case studies. The wide range of TVET programming supported by the EUTF could provide a valuable opportunity to learn much more about the relationship between TVET and youth mobility across the Horn of Africa. This could be achieved through the strategic engagement of the EUTF HoA Monitoring and Learning System (MLS). Its recent study (Altai Consulting 2019) called for additional

monitoring and evaluation tools to build on its initial findings about the links between skills training and conflict reduction. If changes to the MLS are planned, it could be helpful to consider putting in place a mechanism for monitoring students' mobility intentions. The REF study was only able to ask different groups of students at different stages (potential, current trainees and graduates) to analyse the changes brought about by TVET. A simple survey including some questions about migration intentions and attitudes administered with a sample of students would provide an invaluable source for analysis. This survey could be administered in three stages: i) at enrolment; ii) at a set stage during the course (perhaps just before any internship), and; iii) at six months after graduation.

However, while such steps might greatly improve our understanding of the relationship between TVET and mobility, the strong finding of this study is that success in TVET is strongly positively associated with increased mobility as graduates move around in search of jobs. Perhaps because the TVET skills being offered do not provide a competitive edge in an international labour market (unlike a university degree), there is no evidence to suggest that the mobility arising from TVET will take graduates into irregular migration routes, whether across borders to neighbouring countries or further afield. Therefore, it is very important that skills development is not framed as an approach to discourage migration or keep people living in their home area, as this may set up the programmes to fail as TVET graduates keep moving away.

7. Recommendations

1. TVET providers should consider offering follow-up courses or two-stage courses that enable graduates of one course (of the first stage) to enhance their skills or develop complementary skills (such as business training).
2. TVET interventions in Ethiopia should explore ways of building in more training on business skills as a standard component of courses; and/or include more follow up with graduates – either to help them directly with additional training, provide access to loans and other support, or link them to other service providers that can provide the necessary business training to prepare them for self-employment.
3. TVET interventions should explore ways to link TVET courses with employers more systematically, especially in Uganda. Given that the labour market for many of the trainees in Uganda extends into South Sudan, such links might be extended across the border so that a TVET course in Arua can offer placements with employers in South Sudan. Of course, this will raise many questions about the return of refugees and the absolute imperative to avoid *refoulement* (forced return), which any such plans must consider.

4. TVET providers should seek to develop a flexible response to enable them to adapt rapidly as new sectors emerge (or withdraw as sectors decline). In this respect, it is likely that informal, short courses are likely to have an advantage over longer, formal courses.
5. TVET programmes need to look carefully at the profiles of the job market their graduates will enter and examine their wage levels on offer in each area of work. Ideally, they should only offer training for jobs that provide a 'living wage', sufficient to cover their living costs.
6. The targets and objectives for TVET programming need to focus as much on the quality as the quantity of jobs. This may entail some work to devise new measures and embed them in monitoring and evaluation systems.
7. The EUTF Monitoring and Learning System should consider the feasibility of establishing a mechanism for monitoring students' mobility intentions. One option would be a simple survey that includes questions about migration intentions and attitudes, and which is administered with a sample of students at enrolment, during the course and six months after graduation.

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Annex: Responses to attitude questions

Amhara

	Eligible	Trainee	Graduate	All
It is important to have opportunities to move freely between neighbouring countries				
Strongly agree	6%	10%	6%	7%
Agree	54%	46%	50%	50%
Neither agree/nor disagree	8%	8%	8%	8%
Disagree	24%	26%	30%	27%
Strongly disagree	8%	10%	4%	7%
Don't know	0%	0%	2%	1%
People gain opportunities if they experience life in another city, or in another country				
Strongly agree	0%	4%	4%	3%
Agree	38%	42%	42%	41%
Neither agree/nor disagree	18%	20%	18%	19%
Disagree	38%	34%	28%	33%
Strongly disagree	4%	0%	0%	1%
Don't know	2%	0%	8%	2%
People who have greater skills are more likely to move abroad				
Strongly agree	6%	2%	4%	4%
Agree	20%	40%	26%	29%
Neither agree/nor disagree	20%	14%	12%	15%
Disagree	50%	42%	48%	47%
Strongly disagree	2%	2%	8%	4%
Don't know	2%	0%	2%	1%
Any young person who has the opportunity should go abroad				
Strongly agree	0%	0%	0%	0%
Agree	10%	8%	6%	8%
Neither agree/nor disagree	8%	6%	8%	7%
Disagree	34%	46%	46%	42%
Strongly disagree	48%	40%	40%	43%
Don't know	0%	0%	0%	0%
Any young person who has the opportunity should go abroad, whether or not they have the required papers				
Strongly agree	0%	2%	0%	1%
Agree	0%	0%	4%	1%
Neither agree/nor disagree	12%	0%	8%	7%
Disagree	48%	54%	50%	51%
Strongly disagree	40%	44%	38%	41%
Don't know	0%	0%	0%	0%

SNNPR

	Eligible	Trainee	Graduate	All
It is important to have opportunities to move freely between neighbouring countries				
Strongly agree	50%	40%	65%	52%
Agree	29%	40%	25%	31%
Neither agree/nor disagree	0%	0%	0%	0%
Disagree	10%	8%	6%	8%
Strongly disagree	12%	12%	4%	9%
Don't know	0%	0%	0%	0%

People gain opportunities if they experience life in another city, or in another country				
Strongly agree	33%	28%	37%	33%
Agree	37%	50%	43%	43%
Neither agree/nor disagree	0%	2%	2%	1%
Disagree	15%	16%	8%	13%
Strongly disagree	13%	4%	10%	9%
Don't know	2%	0%	0%	1%

People who have greater skills are more likely to move abroad				
Strongly agree	37%	38%	45%	40%
Agree	29%	30%	31%	30%
Neither agree/nor disagree	0%	2%	0%	1%
Disagree	23%	24%	16%	21%
Strongly disagree	12%	6%	8%	9%
Don't know	0%	0%	0%	0%

Any young person who has the opportunity should go abroad				
Strongly agree	19%	20%	25%	22%
Agree	38%	32%	24%	31%
Neither agree/nor disagree	2%	0%	4%	2%
Disagree	29%	36%	22%	29%
Strongly disagree	12%	12%	24%	16%
Don't know	0%	0%	2%	1%

Any young person who has the opportunity should go abroad, whether or not they have the required papers				
Strongly agree	4%	2%	6%	4%
Agree	6%	8%	8%	7%
Neither agree/nor disagree	0%	6%	0%	2%
Disagree	63%	66%	53%	61%
Strongly disagree	27%	18%	33%	26%
Don't know	0%	0%	0%	0%

Uganda

	Eligible	Trainee	Graduate	All
It is important to have opportunities to move freely between neighbouring countries				
Strongly agree	29%	39%	53%	42%
Agree	56%	41%	39%	44%
Neither agree/nor disagree	3%	2%	2%	2%
Disagree	10%	18%	7%	12%
Strongly disagree	1%	0%	0%	0%
Don't know	1%	0%	0%	0%

People gain opportunities if they experience life in another city, or in another country				
Strongly agree	31%	35%	48%	39%
Agree	51%	48%	47%	48%
Neither agree/nor disagree	7%	3%	2%	3%
Disagree	7%	13%	3%	8%
Strongly disagree	1%	0%	0%	0%
Don't know	1%	1%	1%	1%

People who have greater skills are more likely to move abroad				
Strongly agree	31%	43%	27%	34%
Agree	53%	43%	67%	54%
Neither agree/nor disagree	3%	1%	4%	3%
Disagree	10%	10%	2%	7%
Strongly disagree	0%	0%	0%	0%
Don't know	3%	3%	0%	2%

Any young person who has the opportunity should go abroad				
Strongly agree	19%	24%	23%	22%
Agree	53%	50%	64%	56%
Neither agree/nor disagree	6%	1%	8%	5%
Disagree	14%	18%	5%	12%
Strongly disagree	6%	3%	0%	2%
Don't know	3%	4%	0%	2%

Any young person who has the opportunity should go abroad, whether or not they have the required papers				
Strongly agree	6%	9%	14%	10%
Agree	17%	33%	33%	29%
Neither agree/nor disagree	7%	4%	11%	7%
Disagree	54%	38%	40%	42%
Strongly disagree	13%	11%	3%	8%
Don't know	3%	5%	0%	3%