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Migration of Ethiopian youth to the Middle East and its impacts on the migrants' sending community: Raya- Mehoni Town
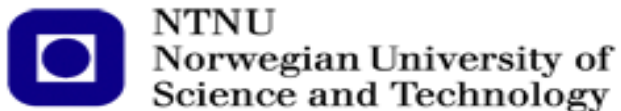
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Abstract

In this contemporary era of globalization, though political barriers still matter, there is an increasing movement of people crossing borders of nation states. Even though migration studies in Ethiopia remain focused on internal dimensions, migration to the Middle East is a burning issue among government officials and local communities with surmounted impacts on the migrants' sending community. This study aims at examining the Ethiopian youth migration to the Middle East and its impacts on migrants' sending community of Raya-Mehoni town.

In this study the micro individual approach, migration network theory and gender approach are employed to examine the causes of Ethiopian youth migration to the Middle East and the impacts posed on migrants' sending community. The study employed qualitative research approach. Twelve focus group participants, eight potential migrants and four key informants from the local authority were selected using purposive and snowball sampling methods of research. It is also supported by secondary source of data. These methods and research approaches are formulated to answer the following research questions: (1) Which are the key drivers of the youth migration to the Middle East from Raya Mehoni town? (2) What challenges are the migrants' sending community facing when the youths migrate? (3) Can the migrants' sending community be benefited from the young people's migration to the Middle East?

The findings reveal that the youths migrate to the Middle East to improve their living standard and to support their family back at home. Unemployment, poverty and recurrent drought, and absence of interest free loans are the key driving forces for youth migration to the Middle East. This has a significant socio-cultural and politico-economic impact on migrants' sending community of Raya-Mehoni town.

Among other things, the youth migration to the Middle East poses pressure over family, psychological disturbance, exclusion, deep stress to pay debt, dependency and high consumption, increasing crime and contradiction with the culture of migrants' sending community. Contrary to this, migration brings remittances, support for family and new insights for new projects in Raya-Mehoni town. Though there is a lack of prior research, this study may be used as a foundation for further research on international migration in Ethiopia.

Key Words. International Migration. Migrants. Local Community

Preface

This thesis is submitted for the partial fulfilment of Master's degree (MSc) in Globalization, Politics and Culture during the spring semester, 2016 at Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU). This study chiefly addresses the impacts of migration of Ethiopian youth on migrants' sending community taking the experience of Raya-Mehoni town.

Seid Ebrahim Muhamed, Trondheim

Dedication

This work is dedicated to all Ethiopian youths who lost their lives during their journey to the Middle East and to those who were detained, tortured and psychologically harassed by the networks of smugglers and human trafficking agents.

Acknowledgment

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Abbreviations

FDRE- Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia

MOFA- Ministry of Foreign Affairs

OECD- The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development

RMMS- Regional Mixed Migration Secretariat

UAE- United Arab Emeritus

UNDP- The United Nations Development Programme

Chapter One

1.1. Introduction

In this contemporary period, globalization[1] has led to an accelerated flow of capital, technology, money and ideas across borders, though extensive barriers remain in the movement of people. In spite of the existing political barriers, there is increasing movements of people moving across the globe (McKenzie, 2008). Beginning from the history of human civilization, migration is an indispensable part of human life across the world (Wakessa, 2014). As part of human experience, migration has largely shaped Africa's modern demographic setup. According to Donor Relations Division (2011), the nature of migration in Africa is characterized by political instability in a given country and within the region, trafficking of humans, persistent drought and ethnic fighting. On the other way around, migration is used as an instrument to tackle economic catastrophe and search for better livelihoods in a time when the home country is not capable to sustain migrants' everyday lives.

Explicitly speaking, migration from East Africa to the Middle East has become a great challenge for the international community and for those who work on humanitarian aid. The increased number of migrants to the Middle East mainly targets an improved life through better income and for fear of prosecution in the home country. While migrants cross the border of the transit countries, Djibouti and Yemen, they face dangers such as subjugation, looting and sexual abuse by human traffickers (Wakessa, 2014).

In a similar vein, Regional Mixed Migration Secretariat (2014) shows that, migrants from Ethiopia face the above mentioned dangers of life that affect also the migrants' sending country.[2] The most common causes for Ethiopian migrants are family and economic related such as divorce in marriage, conflict with family in ownership of property, extravagance in economy, poverty and unemployment of the youth. These factors are described as the causes for an increasing migration from Ethiopia to the Middle East. For some few others, it is for the sake of international protection from prosecution in the home country.

In its overall consequence, Kuschminder (2014) noted that migration of Ethiopians to the Middle East has also been encircled by the persistence of poverty and unemployment.

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[1] Globalization in this context is understood in light of migration. Unlike capital flows, borders still matter in migration flows.
[2] RMMS made extensive researches on Ethiopian migrants in Yemen. There are personal and structural factors driving young Ethiopians to migrate.

Research made on migrants from Ethiopia in Saudi Arabia shows that migrant, if they are not lucky enough, are detained and deported to their home country. This creates confusion and misunderstanding within the migrants' sending community and among the migrants. As a result, the returned migrants turn their faces back to the Middle East.

The study conducted by Atnafu (2006) further strengthens the above cases through her thorough discussion on the interlinking causes of migration, such as social, politico-economic and environmental related factors. According to her, the youth migrate to exploit the better opportunities that are available in the Middle East. These migrants also intend to support their family and relatives by sending remittances. However, unlike internal migration the data and research regarding international migration and its dimensions are limited in Ethiopia. Atnafu (2006) noted that scholars in their research mainly focus on the internal dimension of migration. In addition to this, studies made on Ethiopian migration mainly emphasize on the rural- urban migration instead of the international migration.

On top of that, the impacts of youth migration to the Middle East on the migrants' sending community is not studied, particularly in Raya-Mehoni town where youth migrate to Middle East specifically to Saudi Arabia. Most migrants are youths of the local community.

Currently, from my personal observation where I was born and studied initially, the international migration of the youth is a burning issue of both the local administration and the migrants' sending community. The nature and causes of migration are interrelated. Therefore, the research focuses on the migration of Ethiopian youth to the Middle East and its impact on the migrants' sending community of Raya- Mehoni town.[3]

1.2. Objective of the Study

The main objective of the study is to assess Ethiopian youth migration to the Middle East and its impacts on migrants' sending community of Raya-Mehoni Town.

1.3. Questions about the Study

Under this topic, the following research questions are addressed:

1. Which are the key drivers of the youth migration to the Middle East from the Raya Mehoni town?

2. What challenges are the migrants' sending community facing when the youths migrate?

3. Can the migrants' sending community be benefited from the young people's migration to the Middle East?

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[3] Raya Azebo is found in the North East of Ethiopia. It is one of the drought-affected areas.

1.4. Definition of Key Terms

In this section, I discuss the key terms of the study. Defining the key terms helps to enable the reader to become familiar with the study. It also creates a clear set of boundaries about the study context. These definitions of terms are presented in the context of the research. To begin with, the key terms such as community, local development and Middle East are addressed.

A. Community

Bartle (2007) defines the term community as a group of people who have common interests. It might not be always a geographic area, but people who leave the area for temporary period are also members of the community. According to Bartle, community is a sociological construct where it has a meaningful interaction of human behaviors among its members. Community is a little 'village', which allows its members for daily interaction.

In this study, community refers to groups of people who live in a specific area. During my field trip, I have demarcated my study area based on migration and migrant sending families. I have selected four local administrations of Raya-Mehoni town. In the town, contextualizing migration members are divided into two. These are families with migrants and families with non-migrants. Hence, community represents all members of the town. The town is taken as one community with four 'kebele'. The town is studied and researched from each kebele and migration impacts on the community (see figure 5).

B. Local Development

Local economic development emerged as a local oriented response to the tides of globalization process. Nel & Rogerson (2005) argued that local economic development includes pro poor economic activity, endogenous and community based development. It is mainly a locality based economic strategy. The community members are at the center of the development process. Recently, this development approach is at the core of many international organizations such as OECD, UNDP and World Bank. It is also a component part of development initiatives of regional and sub regional governments.

Similarly, Coffey & Polese (1985) described the concept of locality as an issue sustained by the population while they see development as a trend in growth of a given economy. Hence, according to them local development is an economic growth sustained and initiated by the population.

In this research context, similar to the above explanation, local development refers to

economic growth driven by internal factors to the population. It t is narrow down to fit this research context. This helps to see the migrant's role for development in their community. As part of the community, migrants of Raya-Mehoni town also contribute to local development. Regardless of the geographical difference, migrants have a strong bondage and contribution to the local economy.

C. Middle East

Özalp (2011) argues that defining the Middle East needs to articulate where the geographical setup is. After a time, the Middle East has become more complex in economy, politics and geography. The boundaries of the Middle East are dependent on disciplines and approaches. For example, for some scholars the Middle East includes a region of Ethiopia in the south, Turkey in the north to Morocco in the west. However, Özalp criticizes defining Middle East in broader approaches that includes wider geographic areas such as Ethiopia and Turkey. According to him, the term Middle East is a European perspective given during the colonial conquest.

However, in this study the term is used to explain the migration destination countries for Ethiopian migrants. These countries include Yemen, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Qatar, Lebanon and UAE. Hence, this study focuses on migrants who live in these countries and impacts of migrants on the sending community. Many Ethiopian migrants travel to the Middle East through Djibouti and Somalia but this excludes those who travel by legal means to the Middle East. Regional Mixed Migration secretariat (2014) describes that many Ethiopian migrants reach the Middle East via Djibouti. The Middle East is the most preferred destination for many Ethiopians.

In addition to this, one of my field participants said: "the Middle East is the preferred destination, because, it is near Ethiopia. There is also a good opportunity for daily labor. For me, it is a preferable place with similar religion and shared values." Other research participants share similar views. The Middle East is a preferable destination because of the following cases. Firstly, the Middle East, specially Yemen and Saudi Arabia, are geographically near to Ethiopian migrants. Thus, the people of the study town migrate illegally to the Middle East using its geographic proximity. Secondly, unlike other African countries, the Middle East absorbs a large proportion of labor migrants because of cultural (religion) and geographical proximity. The potential migrants prefer to migrate to the Middle East, Saudi Arabia in particular. Yemen is geographically closer, but less attractive in terms of wages paid to domestic workers. Consequently, the potential migrants are reluctant to go

to Yemen, and instead use Yemen as a transit route to Saudi Arabia.

1.5. Significance of the Research

The foremost purpose of the research is for completion of MSc degree in Globalization, Politics and Culture. It is a building stone for continuing my further education. It also affixes a significant element to the academic sphere. Moreover, it adds knowledge to individuals who are interested in doing further research in this area of interest. It is expected to open a discussion and research interests in migration, poverty, conflict and globalization.

It is also helpful for the government, indigenous community based organizations, local non governmental organization and the community at large in solving the recurrent problems related to migration and to recommend possible strategies for better local community development endeavors. It is also useful for the migrant's sending community and their local administration to locate possible strategies for tracking and creating consciousness about migration, specifically migration to the Middle East.

1.6. Structure of the Study

This study deals with topics such as the key drivers for the youth migration, the effects of youth migrations and the benefits obtained for migrants' sending community. I have divided the thesis into eight main chapters. The first chapter of the research deals with an introduction chapter. It introduces migration. As well, this introductory chapter shows the principal questions about the research, definition of key terms and the significance of the study.

The second chapter introduces the methodology employed and the methods used to reach at the findings of the research. This chapter also describes the ethical consideration during the research process.

The third chapter of the study is a presentation of a literature review of the research. This chapter constitutes the theoretical part of the research production. It is a very essential and supporting part of my study. It laid a framework for the analysis and interpretation of data collected during my fieldwork. It begins with an overview of the Meta- narratives of migration, such as segmented labor market theory, world system theory and dependency theory. Then, follows the explanation of relevant theories to the study, such as a micro individual approach, migration network theory and gender approach.

In the fourth chapter, I am presenting the study area, Raya-Mehoni town. It includes the area description, economic and social characteristics of the community, age and sex composition of research participants. This chapter explains the reason why migration to the Middle East

takes place.

The findings of the research are discussed under chapter five. This chapter introduces the key drivers of the youth migration to the Middle East. It is the primary part of the analysis.

In the six chapter, the major impacts of youth migration on migrants' sending community are discussed. It shows the interrelated effects of migration to the Middle East on the sending community of Raya-Mehoni town.

In chapter seven, the benefits of the migrants' sending community when the youth migrate to the Middle East are presented. The main contribution of migrants for their family, community development and the town are discussed.

The last chapter of the research project deals with the summary of the findings and the main concluding remarks of the study. It concludes with the results of the research I analyzed and interpreted in the data analysis part.

Chapter Two

2. Research Methodology and Methods

Under this section, I am going to discuss the research approach I have employed to undertake the whole process of the research. Furthermore, I am going to discuss the methods of the study I used to carry out the research process, starting from the fieldwork to data analysis and presentation. These research methods are the cornerstones of the research. They help me in mapping the right direction for both the fieldwork and the analytical part. During the fieldwork, research methods and ethical guidelines have been applied in an appropriate manner. The ethical principle followed to do no harm for the research participants is followed. Such ethical values of the research are followed based on shared benefit and mutual understandings.

The fieldwork was done in Mehoni town during the summer 2015, while I was on break semester and was a demanding and difficult task. It was an overwhelming task to collect data in an ethically appropriate and in a scientific way. It was not easy to get access to interviews with public officials in doing the fieldwork at the right time. As a matter of chance, in the beginning I met an administrative staff who worked in Raya-Mehoni town while I travelled from Maichew city. This coincidence gave me a good opportunity to informally engage in a discussion about youth migration. I also asked the official for his willingness to meet with me in a formal discussion and further support in my fieldwork upon which he agreed.

2.1. Methodology of the Research

To achieve the principal objective of the research, a qualitative approach was selected. Hesse-Biber and Leavy (2010) argued that a qualitative research approach helps to give critical insight into the meanings that people point to their circumstances, social phenomena as well as expectations and experiences of youth migration and the impacts it poses on the migrants' sending community, both when they depart and when they return to home.

Qualitative research approach, unlike the quantitative approach, deals with the existing social world. Its results cannot be measured in an objective manner, but depending on the researcher's ability to interpret the meaning of words and actions. It is a study of a dynamic social world, where economic, social and political events are interacting with each other (Limb and Dwyer, 2001). This research approach provided me with a good insight in reflecting on the intension, motivations and goals of research participants towards migration.

In light of this, using the qualitative approach I managed to collect data from the Raya-

Mehoni town. It was a great experience even to observe research participants while they gave me their impressions on the issues of youth migration. More importantly, it links the researcher with the research participant's motivation, aspirations and attitude toward the youth migration. During the interviews, I was engaged in bewildering and argumentative discussions that helped me to observe the pressing nature of migration in the migrants' sending community. These discussions have shown the different dimensions of migration and how they affect the community. Moreover, it was a hot discussion the where focus group participants discuss the ultimate causes of migration.

2.2. Methods of the Research

Both primary and secondary data sources are collected to make this study fruitful. The primary sources of data are common for qualitative research projects in most fields of social science. Data collection both from primary and secondary sources of data is more effective for full time master's student, if it is timed to summer data collection. As a result, I actively, with caution, engaged in the field during the summer break before I started the internship project I was entitled to do. (Flowerdew and Martin, 2005). It was a dual task for me (1) doing the fieldwork properly for accomplishing my Master's degree (2) It was a practice to scientific methods of data collection from this research setting.

2.2.1. Primary Data Sources

These sources of data are the backbone of the research findings. Initially, before I went to the field site, I had developed interview questions both for key informants and for primary informants. Prior to the field interview, I had made initial observations of the field area to see the daily activities and the perception of migration in Raya-Mehoni town. This was helpful to establish smooth interaction with the research participants in the Mehoni town. Consequently, I agreed with the research participants, during the discussion, to provide them back the result of the findings to the town administration. It could be an input from the town administration to provide insights about the causes and effects youth migration to the Middle East.

Interview

In-depth interviews were conducted both for potential migrants (Eight) and key informants (four). Unlike questionnaires, interviews helped me to understand the people's motives, experience and values in a deep social context (Valentine cited in Flowerdew and Martin, 2005). Interviews were held at a convenient place for the research participants.

Primarily, I met the primary informants in the towns' area through chains of migrants, using snowball sampling. Then, I gave them a chance to choose the place they needed for an interview (see at sampling design). Based on their mutual consent, we took an appointment for another day in a convenient place they chose. This was done based on their consent for conducting an interview. I took a facilitating role while they thoroughly discussed the respective question during the interview time. I have tried to make the interview, with the research participants, smooth functioning. This further helped me in organizing the replies of research participants in a coherent way. The interviews helped me to understand the research participants feeling, attitude and motives towards migration to the Middle East. It also enabled me to observe the ideas of all members to the respective interview questions.

Focus Group Discussion

A focus group discussion is also an important component of research for social scientists as it helps to see the views of a group on a particular issue. It was also a way of obtaining an insight over the group interaction in a given setting (Conradson, 2005). The grouping into two sets helped me to control the smooth pace of the discussion. I played a facilitating role by allowing the participants to debate issues of migration during the discussion.

The migrants' sending community members of Mehoni town were active participants of the focus group discussion, both in group one and group two. The focus group discussion participants were selected from the four kebele administrations of the Mehoni town. Furthermore, I employed questions from appendix two. I wrote their responses on my diary and notebook using systematic arrangement. Even though the interview session was a hard task, I have used different methods, such as coffee and tea invitation in the meantime, by making the interview smooth and positive both for me and for the interviewee.

The focus group participants were twelve. Among them, eight participants were females. The remaining four were males. The age of the migrants also indicated to be between eighteen and thirty-five. Thus, both men and female migrants were young. The majority of focus group participants have female migrants in the Middle East.

The potential migrants selected for an in-depth interview were eight. Among them, five were females while the rest were males. The potential migrants were young in their age, in between 18 to 30. In addition to this, the key informants were four. Among them, three of them were males while the remaining one was a female.

2.2.2. Secondary Sources

The secondary data sources were collected from government offices, library documents, journal and articles conducted on international migration. The particular focus is given on issues related to the study area and its socio-economic setting in line with the migration of youth to the Middle East. Particularly speaking, I got some evidence and documents in relation to migration from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ethiopia. These documents are used as a supporting material for the primary sources of data gathered from the field in Raya-Mehoni town.

2.2.3. Sampling Design

To attain the objective, which I mentioned above, I employed purposive and snowball sampling techniques from the population under study. These methods of sampling helped the researcher in exploring and understanding the research themes as well as the roles and behaviors of research participants (Ritchie, Lewis and Ormston, 2013). The snowball sampling design is essential for this research in obtaining the primary informants. When I commenced my fieldwork, I selected eight potential migrants for interview using snowball sampling by finding research participants through a chain of one member of the community. I met at first one woman through the local people and then she helped me to further reach other potential migrants who intended to migrate to the Middle East. The purposive sampling and snowball sampling helped me in reaching and covering the relevant participants during my fieldwork. The focus group participants were selected based on the number of migrant's family in the Middle East and their migration experiences.

Afterwards, using the purposive sampling method three key informants for an interview were chosen. The key informants were those who had an intense knowledge in migration to the Middle East. As a result, I purposefully selected those who work in the town administration and who had extensive experience with migration to the Middle East. At first, I went to the office the town administration based on the information I obtained informally. Then the town administration gave me an appointment and their willingness for an interview.

The second group of research participants are those who were selected for interview. I found this group of migrants several days, trying to get the right chain of the potential migrants. Hence, the total number of interviewees were eight. Out of the eight interviewees five were females while the remaining three were males. This sex disparity shows the high involvement of females in migration to the Middle East. There are certain facts that cause female

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migration.

Among four key informants, three were males while the remaining one was a woman working in the town administration. Accordingly, the employment of females at the government sector is very low, though it is growing rapidly. It also implies that females are concentrating more on private life, such as childcare, family and administering and controlling their house. However, the sex ratio difference cannot be for granted for generalization about other areas.

2.3. Data Analysis and Presentation

I arranged the data using coding by slicing the main topics into various consistent parts such as the driving forces of migration, the effects it poses on sending community and the benefits of the migrants' sending community. This helped me to organize data interpretation and analysis. The findings obtained from focus group discussions and interviews from primary and key informants were systematically constructed for qualitative data analysis. As I mentioned above, in its essence qualitative research is subjective and it needs adapting to changing circumstances. Furthermore, field notes, diaries and document data on the issues of Ethiopian youth migration to the Middle East are analyzed with a well-structured and consistent process. It was by contextualizing and arranging the secondary data with the filed data gathered. During the field trip, the diary notes were helpful, especially, the informal discussions in many encounters with members of the migrants' sending community. After collecting the field materials, I reread and rewrote the materials. During the fieldwork, I encountered difficulty in arranging the fieldwork materials in a coherent procedure. In addition to this, the fieldwork was a great area where new intensions, meanings come into view for the researcher.

2.4. Reliability and Validity of the Research

Throughout the data analysis time, it is valuable to take a look on the reliability and validity of the field data I gathered and the findings I got. The findings of my research are assessed through its real representation of the events on the ground during fieldwork, its level of clarity to the viewers, and the extent of its logical reasoning to reach at the key findings (Crang & Cook, 2007). Furthermore, evaluating the research process and sending a copy of the research document to the research participants after finishing the work is at the core of the research. Hence, I agreed with the key informants, from the Mehoni town, to give them a final print of the research result.

Beyond this, the thesis findings cannot be measured objectively, instead the process to reach at the result is crucial. In addition to this, the ethical considerations during the research process are vital.

These elements helped in testing whether the data collected during the fieldwork were appropriately analyzed. Validity and reliability has to do more with the consistency and credibility of data with the findings, hence, I analyzed the data gathered during the fieldwork.

2.5. Scope and Limitation of the Study

It would have been more desirable if the research was conducted in comparison with other migrant sending communities as well as among youth migrants from other socio-economic settings. Nevertheless, because of the time and financial constraints the research studied the experience of Raya-Mehoni town as a case and limited to the youth migration to the Middle East and only on the major impacts of youth migration to the migrants' sending community.

In addition to this, during the fieldwork, there was a shortage of statistical data on the total number of out migration and returnees. I tried to consult the town administration, Zonal administration and Ethiopian Ministry of Social affairs, but I found no significant statistical data on the number of out migrants. This resulted from the complex nature of migration to the Middle East. Most of the migrants are undocumented and illegal migrants. Hence, this study faces inadequacy in statistical data on the town's out migration. The study is also limited to the current migration experience impacts in Raya-Mehoni town.

2.6. Research Ethics

The ethics of the research could not be achieved by passively following one code of ethics. It depends on thinking through what the research means for the participants with relevant and ethically sound decisions (Webster et al. Cited in Ritchie, Lewis and Ormston, 2013). This implies that the focus is on the meaning, intentions and consequences of the research. It is also about being cautious during the whole research process. As a result, since the research per se and the knowledge production process in the field is sensitive, in turn the information provided by the research participants is kept at a secret place and is hence trustworthy. To keep the information, they provided secret, I placed all information in my hand. It remains closed for any other scrutiny while I use data only using their mutual agreements.

In light of this, Brun (2013) underlined that conducting ethically sound research during the fieldwork needs a careful understanding of the silence of the research participants and

research environment. During my fieldwork, in the Mehoni town, I have tried to consult my research participants with respect. I have also made a mutual consent in keeping their information anonymous. During fieldwork and in the whole process, the research is accompanied with the above mentioned ethical principles.

Chapter Three

3. Review of Literature

In this chapter, I am going to discuss the relevant theories of migration. Theories offer different explanations and assumptions why international migration happens. Massey, Arango & Hugo (1993) identified that, currently, it is difficult to find a coherent and consistent set of theories about international migration. Different theories deal differently to answer the questions and difficulties raised in migration. Therefore, they suggest that the existing migration process needs not isolated set of boundaries. International migration theories are multi-faceted and complex theories. To understand how they explain the causes of out-migration, these theories need a consistent and reasonable understanding of each other.

In a comparable way, Piché (2013) & Van Hear (2010) observe the highly fragmented nature of migration theories. The effects and causes of migration have dominated texts and research in the field. In this topic, primarily, I am addressing appropriate approaches to the causes of migration. Because, these approaches also reflect the mirror effects of migration for sending communities. Hence, theories are supportive insights to the question I have raised in this research. I have employed the main approaches of migration that are relevant to the analytical part. Thus, they reflect central causes of migration and its effects on the migrant's sending community. Such approaches are essential in providing certain assumptions in light of the topic at hand. Additionally, they are helpful in addressing the ultimate research question of this study. Now let us see, with a fresh mind, the meta-narratives that explain the causes of international migration.

3.1 Meta-narratives of Migration

According to Jurgenson (2008) migration by its nature is very diverse and complicated to study. Theories of migration are oversimplified in explaining migration issues. However, if we look at the meta-narratives of migration, they outline certain motives and causes of international migration. In this section, I provide an overview of the meta-narratives of migration, which include dual and segmented labor market theory, dependency theory, and world systems theory.

For several scholars understanding the reasons of migration is effective only in a worldwide context. In his study, Piché's (2013) noted that migration flows are hypothesized in a systematic and global context. Decisions for migration can be influenced by personal, communal, social environment, political and technological factors. He understood migration

in a systemic perspective. The meta-narratives identify migration in the context of globalization.

Dual and segmented labor market is one of the meta-narratives. It advocates that the main roots of migration are unemployment and meager economic conditions in the home country. McGovern (2007) noted that migration flows are mainly based on wage differences. Wage difference at home and the country of destination motivates people for migration. The difference in wages also depends on labor surplus and capital scarcity and vice versa.

Alongside the above factors, migration is also dependent on push and pull factors. King (2012) noted that labor force is divided into primary and secondary labor force. While the primary labor force includes those natives who have good opportunity for employment in areas that need specialized knowledge, the secondary the labor force are expected to enter into the labor market with low wages and poor working conditions. Those who engage in secondary labor force have little bargaining power to leave the deteriorating working conditions. The condition is severe if they are undocumented migrants. They have a fear of deportation to the home country, which they left because of poverty and unemployment.

Unlike the above perspectives, dependency theory views migration as a flow from the subordination of the developing world to the core industrialized countries. According to this theory, the world economy is distinguished by uneven distribution of resources. It also argues that migration is a result of the uneven geographical location of resources. More importantly, dependency theory views migration as interims of development. For these theorists, migration is the byproduct of the essence of the world economy. As a result, migrants are urged to move internationally towards the capitalist states.

Contrary to this, world systems theory views the world economy from a historical perspective. It also argues that the colonial legacy remains intractable in a newly independent country. This fosters the global flow of people. In addition to this, the conditions have been linked to the presence of linguistic and cultural hybridity, transport and communication systems. So, it views migration from the systematic linkages of the world economy (King, 2012).

Contextualizing these meta-narratives, I discuss migration network theory and gender approach, which are more explanatory for this study. These derives from a micro level perspective and help to analyze the study context. As I am going to discuss the effects of migration on the country of origin, the social-cultural, political and economic effects of

migration are discussed in the last part of this chapter. The analytical focus presented at the end questions the causes of migration in the study area and the effects the migrants pose in the local community.

3.2. Micro Individual Level Approach

This approach was presented by Piché (2013), and is one of the explanations of international migration. It mainly emphasizes individual decision making for migration. Migrants calculate the costs and benefits of their migration before departing from their place of residence. Some migration theorists connect this approach with human capital. They see an investment in human capital with costs and productivity with returns. This perspective has been used to understand the notion of individual decision making and calculation towards their migration. According to this approach, migrants analyze the costs they can incur per the benefit they can bring back to their home country while they migrate.

In a similar vein, micro individual theorists of migration explain that migration also depends on the negative factors in the country of origin and pull factors at the country of destination. Even though people make decisions based on these calculations they are also influenced by the social networks they established and by the information they have about the country of destination. Alongside these factors, Piché (2013), Massey & Arango (1993) argue that the growing disparities between countries in education, training, technological progress in communication and transport are also among the factors driven for an increasing migration. These theorists also consider international migration in the context of globalization. However, they are criticized for focusing on individual factors instead of studying migration as a factor interrelated factor with global processes.

In this research context, using the individual approach to migration is a bit complicated. It needs a cautious understanding of interrelated factors. Regional Mixed Migration Secretariat (2014) pointed out that young Ethiopians migration to the Middle East is influenced by cultural, economic, political and environmental factors. Culturally, young people are pressured to migrate to the Middle East by their peers, family and the community. In this society, migration becomes a normal condition and part of their daily life. For example, in Ethiopian families at least one member has a migration history.[4] And those who stay abroad are taken as models, which initiates more migration. The family see from the social and material success of migrants. This has further driven the Ethiopian youth for migration. It

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[4] This is clarified by Regional Mixed Migration Secretariat (2014), which described migration experience of Ethiopian families.

also establishes what the Regional Mixed Migration secretariat, calls the 'culture of migration' of Ethiopian families.

Economic factors are also causes of migration to the Middle East. Regional Mixed Migration Secretariat (2014), Fransen & Kuschminder (2009), Baker & Aina (1995), Atnafu (2006) presented economic factors as the main driving force for Ethiopian youth migration to the Middle East. For local communities of Ethiopia, migration is the only viable option for alleviating their poverty. Many youths of Ethiopia migrate to boost their material gains. However, there are also environmental and political factors. These factors are also determinants in driving young Ethiopians to the Middle East. For Ethiopians, from Amhara and Tigray regions, environmental factors have played a determinant role for an increasing trend in migration. These areas are affected by recurrent drought and famine.

The Regional Mixed Migration secretariat (2014) observed that the Raya Azebo is repeatedly affected by drought. As a result, the people fail to sustain their everyday life. They are unable to produce crops regularly due to lack of rain. Hence, the environment determines for Ethiopian youth migration to the Middle East. The drought affected part of Ethiopia, Raya Azebo, is my research area. Politically speaking, potential Ethiopian migrants face illegal detention by government authorities, widespread corruption and lack of fairness as well as discrimination.

3.3. Migration Network Theory

Through my understanding, this theory better explains the essence and nature of migration in light of the research context. This theory is also a newly developed model for international migration. It explains the chains and routes of migration as well as the traffickers in cross border migration.

Migration, in this context, is viewed in light of webs of networks. Atnafu (2006) presented migration networks as a composition of relational interactions of migrants with their family, friends, and the local community and with those people who live abroad. This interaction includes exchange of information, finance, and finding jobs. Networks help migrants to expand their opportunities in the host country. Migration networks are also sources of burden and violence with smugglers during the process of migration.

In line with the above paradigm of migration, migrants, both skilled and unskilled, come from a variety of backgrounds. They have also different capacities and skills to support each other while they migrate to the host country. The skilled migrants expect to engage

themselves in high income jobs. Their migration is to find better jobs and working conditions. However, even when countries pay equal wage migration does not stop from initiation.

De Regt (2007) argues the majority of the Ethiopian migrants comes to Yemen through the Red Sea by smugglers. Sometimes the smugglers have a wide range of interconnections from migrant's family up to smugglers in Yemen. Escaping famine or prosecution, many Ethiopian migrants are smuggled by small boats. Some are left dead in the sea and others live with the psychological impacts in their memory from their troubled migration experience.

By implication, people go to the Middle East through networks of smugglers. A large number of Ethiopian migrants go through Somalia and Djibouti to reach at the coast of the Red Sea. They are expected to pay more money while they are transported to another smuggler prior to the smuggler they know during initiations to migrate. This impacts on the family and migrant's choice and capacity to cope with home community's daily life. However, there are people who have a good connection with Ethiopian community members who settle in Yemen and Saudi Arabia.

3.4. Gender Approach

The meta-narratives of migration, explained above, mainly focus on men. Migration has been viewed in gender insensitive ways. It excludes the vulnerability, the contribution of women to the sending community, the role they can play in national development, supporting their community and the effects they pose to the home country while they migrate internationally. Piché (2013) points out that though the micro structural and macro structural theories have exclusively a masculinist perspective, migration also affects women. Different research made on migration and gender shows that women are affected by labor exploitation and gender inequality. However, the feminist approach to international migration has not been involved in the mainstream migration theories.

Migration research shows that women are highly restricted to family choice and geographically limited to enter the labor market. This mainly perpetuates global and national gender disparity. Coming in this research context, women's migration to the Middle East is widely common in Ethiopia. Studies made by Fransen & Kuschminder (2009) show that Ethiopian women's who are working in the Middle East are suffering from poor working conditions and sexual abuse. Women's are also isolated and prohibited to meet other fellow Ethiopians. This impedes the women's capacity to socially interact with other people. These studies also show that the women who left their country in the Middle East are high school

students and women living in poverty. Most of the women migrants are internationally trafficked through agents and human trafficking facilitators.

For some researchers, migration also severely affects women while they cross the borders of their country. Mainly the youth and women in particular migrated to the Middle East to support their family and change their life both economically and socially. They are subjected to different living and working conditions at the new place. Some of them are refugees in a camp while others work as undocumented illegal migrants (De Regt, 2007). Therefore, migration in Ethiopia has become a feminized issue.

The above studies show the gendered nature of Ethiopian migration to the Middle East. This trafficking in women is facilitated through agents working in the home country. It also implies that women are more segregated and sexually abused during their journey to the Middle East. As I have mentioned above, Ethiopian women are migrating to the Middle East as a result of poverty and impoverished living conditions in their country. However, their migration has become more dangerous for their life and their family. During my field work I found that many of the potential migrants were women, especially high school and college graduated students.

3.5. Analytical Focus

Migrants cross the borders of their country to utilize new opportunities for improving their income. This affects their families and community back in the home country. In the meantime, migrants also need to alleviate poverty and to establish better family life within their community (Locke, & Seeley, 2013). In this section n, I am going to analyze the major impacts posed by cross border migration of the youth in the home community. Most importantly, the focal point of my analysis, is the impacts of migration in view of different life aspects of migrants sending community. The sending community faces dual aspects of migration. Primarily, migration has a positive impact. In particular, it helps the home country to establishing new development frameworks and remittances for family support.

Conversely, migration also has a negative effect on culture. It creates dependency on remittances, high tendency for consumption, and insecurity for the migrants. For a coherent understanding, I have dissected the issue into socio- cultural, and politico- economic impacts of migration.

3.5.1. Socio-cultural Impacts

It is true that international migration has a massive cultural impact on individual, family and

country level. It generates a new momentum of cultural norms and ways of life, including dressing, eating and drinking habits. As a result of migration, culture is in a constant negotiation. Old forms of culture can be replaced by new forms of culture. Furthermore, the old cultural values can be also mixed with the new migrant's cultural values at home. Migration also alters the family bonds across time. Nevertheless, the advancement of technology helps in linking the migrants and their family. Transcontinental ways of communication, such as Skype and WhatsApp, help migrants to save their cultural and social bonds with their family and their home community.

Bhugra (2004) describes the notions of migration as a state of mind where migrants have a set of belonging and cultural assimilation to settle in the host country. During their migration, people are away for a long time, either for education, work, or political problems in the host country. Regardless of their reasons for migration, migrants do not lose their beliefs and other cultural values. However, the pace of assimilation can be speedy for migrants who share similar beliefs with the host country's community. During the assimilation and acculturation period, it is logical that two cultures interacts.

In a similar way, migrants in the Middle East have developed new norms and behaviors which is both positive and negative. They confronted difficult working environment. Beyond this, Ethiopian migrants' experience beating and sexual, psychological and physical abuses. However, for some Christian Ethiopians the Middle Eastern culture is different from their local culture, the Muslim Ethiopians have a common share of religion and religious practices. (Berhanu, 2007). The area under study in this thesis has a mixed ethnic groups such as Oromo, Tigray, Amhara, and Afar origins, and religious (Muslim and Christian) population.

3.5.2. Politico-economic Impacts

It is widely common that migration affects both host and migrants' sending country. Katseli, Lucas, & Xenogiani, (2006) contended that migration poses a variety of economic effects on migrants' sending country. Migration creates shocks when abundant labor force migrates to places where good working conditions are available. In a short term, it creates a shortage of labor supply and reduces productivity in the home country. Migration can be a source of threat and depopulation in sending countries. The home country can lose their labor force such as trained civil servants and teachers. In a similar way, emerging nations blame migration as a factor for attracting their citizens to the host country while they can reward it in making their nation great. In another vein, migration also matters with its geographical concentration. While geographical migration concentrates on a specific area, it has an

enormous impact for the migrants' sending community. For instance, it urges older family members to depend on remittance from the migrants.

Nonetheless, in a long term, migrants are sources of knowledge transfer and productivity while they return to home country. Migrants are sources of remittance and new development projects in their country of origin. Remittances are also a viable mechanism for survival of the local community in time of poverty and drought.

According to MOFA of Ethiopia (2012) declaration of diaspora policy, Ethiopian migrants play their own role and contribution to economic development through finance, trade, foreign currency, investment, charity program development, knowledge and technological transfer and reducing poverty. Those skilled and unskilled migrants who moved to the Middle East to exploit the labor market opportunities available are also supporting their family through remittance. They also participate in various developmental activities such as in hotel and schools. However, the expanding nature of illegal migration has complicated the possibility to create conducive environment for protection. The FDRE government also calls the Middle East diaspora group to participate in the development of their country. While the government is striving to control the illegal migration, though very difficult and complicated, the diaspora groups are taken as major players in the countries national development.

Even though, the government request from diaspora groups from the Middle East have limited contribution to national development. During my fieldwork, I found that many of the migrants to the Middle East are lower grade young students. Their contribution is limited to economic support, both for their family and the community members. However, this cannot be taken for granted for including other migrant status from other parts of the region.

Chapter Four

4. Study Area Description

The study area is located in North East Ethiopia, specifically in Raya Azebo woreda administration (see figure 4). Raya Azebo, Mehoni town, is located eighteen kilometers away from Maichew. According to a Central Statistical Authority census made in (2007), out of the total population 119,814 are located in the rural part of the woreda. During the field interview I got first-hand information regarding the total population of the town. Accordingly, it has been estimated that the total population of Mehoni town is 21,265. Out of this total population of Mehoni 9,260 are males and 12,005 are females.

Unfortunately, and as mentioned, there is no statistical evidence for the out-migration to the Middle East. It is the nature of the migration that makes it impossible to determine the exact number of migrants in this town. I have asked my key informants and the woreda administration to provide me a statistical data on migrants to the Middle East. Nevertheless, they had no statistical data as a result of two main reasons (1) the nature of migration varies over time (2) many of the migrants are illegally trafficked by smugglers. Consequently, the data availability and conducting research become tricky in the Raya-Mehoni town.

During my field trip, I observed that the number of females is proportionally higher than the number of males. The town administration had also gathered data that show a similar estimation on the size of the town's population.

Under this study, I selected four kebele administrations of the Mehoni town. Mehoni is one of the fastest growing towns in Raya. The Mehoni town's urbanization and its tremendous growth depend on agriculture, commerce and remittances from migrants. Migrant remittances and the money they bring while they return play a lion share for expanding nature of the town. Those who migrate to the Middle East for certain reasons actively participate in building a new house, opening supermarkets and sending remittance to their family and local community. In addition to this, the town is also a beneficiary from the diaspora associations in the Middle East (Author, fieldwork).

4.1. Map of the Study Area
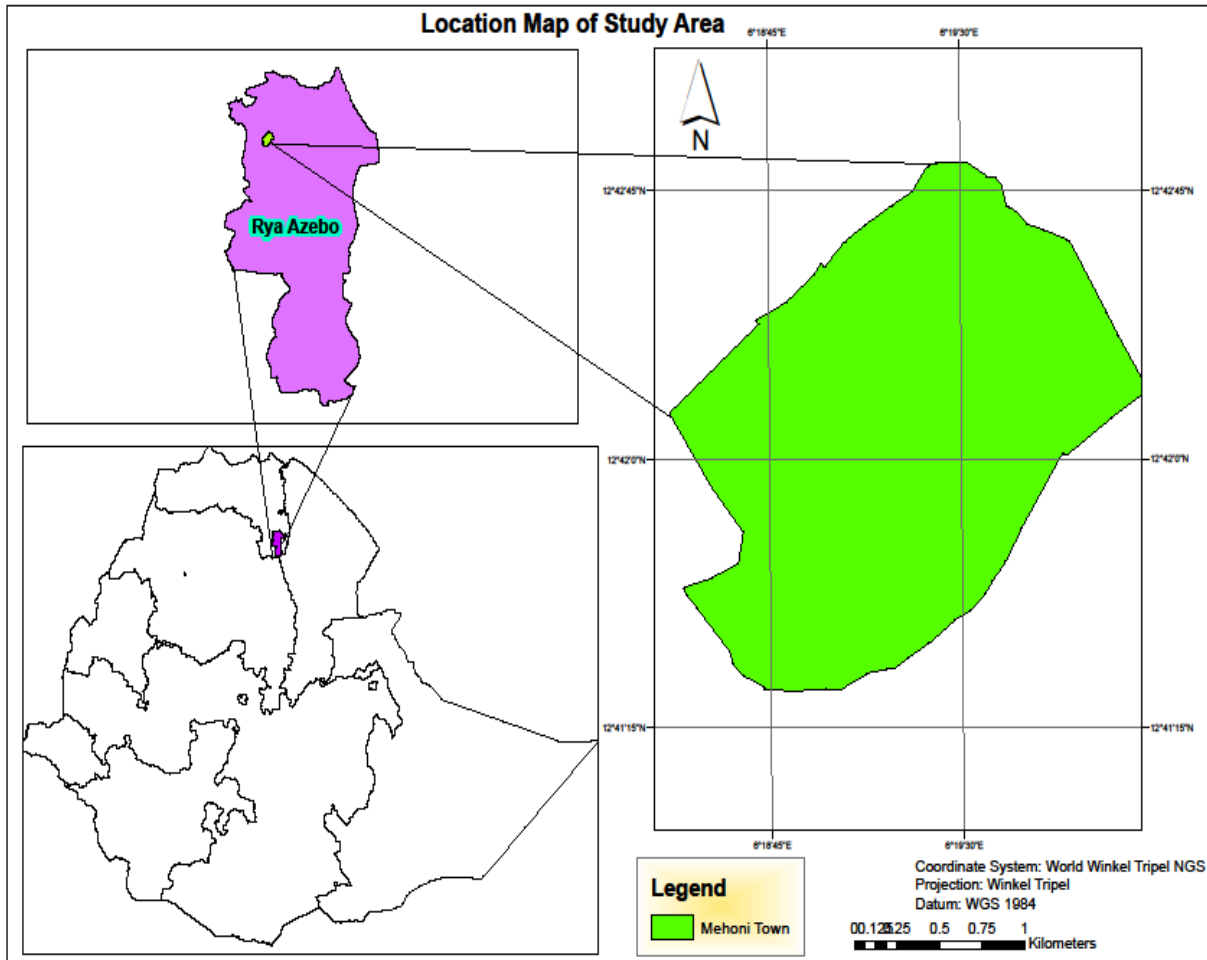
Source: (GIS Ethiopia data, by author).

4.2. Socio-economic Characteristics

The migrants' sending community and migrants' economic situation prevail with poverty and unemployment. As I have tried to mention above, most of the research participants in the focus group were mothers and fathers of migrants from the local community. Their economic base is trade and agriculture. However, the potential migrants come from different backgrounds. Some of the potential migrants were government employees in the education sector and civil service sectors while others are self-employed in different business activities. Among this, a young woman, one of the potential migrants, described the economic situation as follows:

> "My mother died when I was a child and I grew up without any economic support even from my father. I have tried to work in the street. However, I still have a

miserable life. The poverty I encountered urged me to enter into the illegal drug trade in the town. Today, I have tried to survive through this drug sale in my house with various customers. Nevertheless, the police have suspected this illegal drug trade. Consequently, the viable option I have is migration to the Middle East" (Woman 18, fieldwork,2015).

As a matter of fact, the potential migrants have various reasons to leave their country of origin. The above stated case of a woman presents the reasons for migration. There are also migrants who have been employed as high school teachers and civil servants at Municipalities. Nevertheless, they leave their job when it cannot afford them a guarantee of a good income to survive on. So, we cannot conclude that the causes of migration are derived from unemployment because government employees are also migrating to the Middle East. The causes of migration to the Middle East stem from various interrelated factors. These factors are presented in the analysis and data presentation chapter.

The community's economic and social activities are also influenced by environmental and demographic factors. Environmentally, the area is near to Afar's hot zone area. Though its land is productive, it is also affected by desertification. It becomes warmer and dry from time to time. According to field interviewees, the Mehoni town's economy is affected by the happenings in surrounding agricultural areas. The town is dependent on farming products of the surrounding farmers. However, the field participants noted that the environment affects every aspect of life. It impedes production. It also downgrades the local economy. It also depreciates the agro- economy of the local community. Hence, the spillover effects also exist in the Mehoni town. One of my key informants noted that the town community's economy is dependent on rural agriculture. The people sustain their life better when the farmers produce sufficient vegetables and cash crops such as maize, and sorghum.

Demographically, the population is increasing at an alarming rate. This has an immense impact in deteriorating people's capacity for food security. The population size determines the share of the cake in the local community. The town's people are engaged in various economic activities such as craftwork, a few people in farming, super market retailing, and animal trading, to secure their daily life.

During the fieldwork, the key informants described that food security is the main target of the woreda administration. There are many people affected by drought and food insecurity. The Mehoni town is near to Afar region. The people are mainly engaged in trade, crafting and agriculture to improve their living standard. These areas of economic activity are interrelated

with the surrounding village's agricultural economy. During the time of famine, the town's people employ remittance from migrants as mechanisms for sustaining their livelihoods (Fieldwork, Author).

Some of the community members choose to save for securing their life at times when famine and drought occur. Other members of the community also opt for migration to the Middle East to secure their livelihoods from local economic shocks and famine. Migration is the day's headline for the local community. It is a part of the community's life. Research participants agree that migration to the Middle East is a recurrent survival strategy.

In addition to this, the local community uses migration as strategy for prestige such as wedding ceremonies. Migrants in the Middle East send remittances to cover the wedding expenses of their family, which earns high pleasure and respect for the family members of the local community. Beyond this, migrants also get psychological gratification when they cover the overall expenditure of the ceremony. It enhances the bondage with their family members at home. However, it is a miserable memory when migrants do not share their family members' happiness in person. Migration to the Middle East also poses effects such as broken family bondage and economic inequality among members in the local community (see the analysis part).

4.3. Educational Level

Most of the research participants in the focus group discussion were illiterate except two women who had obtained High school certificate. However, the members of families who migrated to the Middle East have a degree, high school and a diploma certificate. Hence, the majority of the migrants are high school students. However, according to the research participants during the focus group discussion the six migrants are found married while the remaining six migrants are single. These married females gave up their education while single females migrate after completing grade ten and grade twelve. Many of the migrants are moving to the Middle East leaving their education. This has multifaceted implications for the migrants' sending community (see the discussion chapter).

Beyond this, the potential migrants were high school students apart from one man who obtained a Bachelor's degree. Hence, migration is a pressing issue for the local community. Villages and Kebele administrations as well as schools remain with a few youths while the majority are migrating to the Middle East. When I went to the field site, the issue of migration to the Middle East was a pressing issue in the local community (Author,

fieldwork).

In a similar vein, migrants share their educational experience in various ways. Some of the migrants share similar experiences in schooling. Abebe and his fellow potential migrant stopped their education when they were in grade ten. "I was very interested in education. I cannot continue my education because the life condition in my family does not allow me to finish my education. As a result, I need to migrate to help my family who deserve my assistance" (Abebe 29, fieldwork, 2015).

Many youths like Abebe left their school and migrated to the Middle East. Their migration has many implications for the local community. At first, as you can understand from the above case presented by Abebe, migration has economic and family related motives for youth migration to the Middle East.

Figure 4.2. Partial image of the town from distance

Source: Photo taken by Author, 2015

Figure 4.2. Shows the Raya-Mehoni town with new photo taken during my fieldwork on the summer time, 2015. This picture shows the disparity in economic status of the people in Mehoni town. The Author takes the photo during fieldwork.

Chapter Five

5. Research Analysis and Presentation

This chapter is the core portion of the data analysis and interpretation collected from the fieldwork. Data analysis on migration mainly needs a researcher's capability to understand its complexity and its multifaceted essence. As a result, I have explored all possible ways to make the discussion part more coherent and consistent.

While we discuss with field participants, migration is presented as a pressing issue in Raya-Mehoni town. Assefa, one of the research participants, explains the reason for his forthcoming migration to the Middle East. He is also aware of the effects of out-migration on his family and on his community is to improve his own life and to support his family who are in need of his help.[5] He is a potential migrant whom intended to move to the Middle East through the Red Sea. His migration route is one of the most dangerous for life. Research participants agree that illegal migration through the Red Sea may have an immense impact both for the family members and for the community due to the risks involved (Author, fieldwork).

5.1. Key Drivers of the Youth Migration to the Middle East

Fieldwork revealed that the youth migration to the Middle East has various interrelated causes. Research participants, both key informants and primary informants, mentioned the following factors as the main reasons of migration (see in the context of chapter two)[6]. The Raya-Mehoni youth migration to the Middle East depends on factors such as individual decision, peer pressure, misinformation with network of migrants, unemployment, low income and absence of free interest loans to work to start a business.

5.1.1. The Unemployment of the Youth

Unemployment is the primary cause for the youth migration to the Middle East. Azeb said "I graduated from college with a diploma last year. My parents helped me financially and morally during my education. It is my part to help them. However, I have not got a job till now. Consequently, I choose to migrate to the Middle East" (Azeb 19, fieldwork, 2015). Similarly, other potential migrant's also share the idea of Azeb. Many of the potential migrants were found unemployed. Though the government provides certain micro enterprises

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[5] Out- migration refers to the migrant's journey to the Middle East. During a migrant's journey, the community experiences ample effects both materially and psychologically.

[6] Under chapter, two the main causes and linkages for the migration are discussed. The roots of migration are clarified.

for the youth its scope and merit is very limited. The micro enterprises are also facing poor coordination when the youths start to work. Mainly, the administration focuses on their establishment while follow up remains a main problem. As a result, the youths are searching better opportunities to bring a change in their life. Migration to the Middle East has become the viable option for most of the migrants from Raya-Mehoni town.

Demelash, another potential migrant, explained the status quo of employment in the local community. For him, unemployment is the primary cause of the youth migration to the Middle East. In addition to this, Demelash said: "……. for the youth being unemployed is high risky. Most of the unemployed are drug addicted and always in conflict with their family. Some of my friends are also engaged in crimes in Ray-Mehoni town" (Demelash 20, fieldwork, 2015). The engagement of the youth in crime poses an immense impact on the family and the community. Taking the word of the above research participant, drug use leads the youth to crimes such as theft and robbery. This further enhances the chance for the absence of peace and order in the society. Consequently, the society prefers that the youths migrate to the Middle East.

In a similar way, the key informants agreed on Demelash's view while we discussed about the unemployment status of youth in Raya-Mehoni town. Unemployment was presented as a pressing issue by the town administration and by the public too. However, the key informants argued that the government is trying to create new opportunities for the youth in different areas of micro enterprises. According to the town administrators, the crime problem also ignited when the youth were not willing to set a plan for working together with groups of youths. It is also the problem of awareness among the youth of Raya-Mehoni town. Instead of utilizing the opportunities available in the town, the youths of Raya-Mehoni town choose to migrate to the Middle East.

In contrary to this, the youths and potential migrants, I communicated with during fieldwork, disagreed with the arguments raised by the town administrators. The potential migrants explained that people cannot put their life in danger if they are employed with good working conditions. For instance, Amina twenty years old and a university graduate said: "after my graduation, I have tried to search for a job in my town and other big cities. However, I am still unemployed. But I need to see changes in my life. Consequently, I choose to migrate to the Middle East to help my family" (Amina 20, fieldwork, 2015). She also described that the Raya-Mehoni town administration afforded her a cooperative job, such as wood work for household furniture and metal work with others. However, for Amina, it was a less

supportive environment to bring change in her and her family's life. The cooperative work and its grouping was not strong in bringing success for members of the cooperative society. As a result, Amina and other youths migrate to the Middle East, where some lose their life in the route to Red Sea and Yemen. For Amina and her fellow friends, migration is the last resort after searching all options for employment and good working conditions. Many graduated Raya-Mehoni town youths are migrating to the Middle East with similar stories.

This shows that Amina and others are choosing to work in the Middle East. Their migration is to bring about economic change. Unemployment is the foremost driving force, in Raya-Mehoni town, for the youth migration to the Middle East. Berhe explained that unemployment of the youth is the headache of society where instead they could have been a destructive force for Raya-Mehoni town if it is not managed positively. He added that the youths work in daily labor of building roads while they can benefit more with their special knowledge in areas of health, education and technical works. Unless it gets special attention it could be extravagant for the country where it has invested for sixteen years on education. Many of the youth graduated after sixteen years with first a degree university diploma.

All in all the youth of Raya-Mehoni town is expected to bring about material change to their family and to their community. While they are ready to shoulder their responsibility the issue of employment remains their main challenge. The local administration officers also shared the views of the potential migrants. Unemployment of the youth has been the chronic problem feared both by the administrators and the local community. It is the ultimate driver for the Raya-Mehoni towns' youth migration to the Middle East. This opens a door for the dangers they encounter during migration both in Yemen and the Red Sea. Yemen is the main route to the Middle East and the better way to Saudi Arabia. The Raya-Mehoni town youths went through Djibouti, then, the Red Sea to reach at Saudi Arabia. If they are lucky they enter Saudi Arabia through human smugglers.

5.1.2. Presence of Abject Poverty

During my fieldwork, I got a good occasion to discuss the living standard of the local community of Raya- Mehoni town. The research participants described that they are struggling with poverty. It curbs the need for family living expenses, education for siblings and for health care. Economic poverty is the recurrent problem which the Raya-Mehoni community face. It impedes peoples' engagement in development. It retards the Raya-Mehoni youths from exploiting their potential. Poverty also impedes the potential of families to have an initial capital for new business operations. The economic status also determines

peoples' lives and their capacity for investment in education and health (Central Statistical Authority, 2010).

More precisely, a focus group participant, Mrs. "Y" presented poverty as the main challenge of their community and the central factor for the youth migration to the Middle East. She also added: "Migration to the Middle East rests on the limited opportunities available in the community. The prevailing poverty affects not only individuals but also affects the Mehoni town in general" (woman 18, fieldwork, 2015). Poverty also retards the capacity of the local community in enabling the Raya-Mehoni youth. During the fieldwork, I found many of the youths chatting with each other in the town street during mid-day. Some of them also shared ideas about former migrants and some of them are also planning to migrate to the Middle East.

In a comparable way, other participants of the focus group discussion agree that poverty hinders them from achieving their desires and the desires of their family. Consequently, the community members pressured youths to bring a change and alleviate the prevailing poverty through migration to the Middle East. Their migration is supposed to bring changes in the local economic and social structure (for detail scroll down to chapter seven).

Focus group participants also explained the essence of poverty and the way it affects their life. It has a vicious circle effect in the life of the migrants' sending community. More specifically, Asseffu said: "poverty is the bottleneck for the local community. It impedes the capacity of the youth in education and in utilizing job opportunities. It also affects the government's capacity to expand infrastructures" (Asseffu 22, fieldwork, 2015).

However, the migrants' decision does not depend on themselves only. It depends on the information they get through communication, peer pressures as well as the capacity of the local economy that I have explained so far. For Azeb "poverty laid a new structure of inequality among the families with migrants and the non-migrant families. I saw my neighbors who bring a positive change by alleviating poverty. I am migrating while I understand the two edges of life during my journey. But nothing can be bad beyond living in a poverty" (Azeb 19, fieldwork, 2015).

Poverty has also environment and culture related factors. Environmentally, drought is the pressing issue in Raya-Mehoni town and its surrounding area. It is recurrent every two or four years in Raya Azebo. The area is near to Afar and has been prone to long term drought. Raya Azebo including the town, were affected by drought while I finished my field work. It is a

pressing issue for both national and regional government. It affects many of the town inhabitants and the surrounding area. Nevertheless, the exact number is unclear. This drought paves a way for famine. It is sure that famine also brings about abject poverty where people have little choice upon the consequence of their environment with less income and low education literacy.

For that reason, I conclude that poverty has immense individual and structural effects on Mehoni town. Poverty gives birth to poor living conditions and has urged the youths to migrate to alter the life conditions of their family.

5.1.3. Misconceptions and Attitude of the Local Community

Conventionally it is true that all people cannot be employed with similar position and equal level of income. Some people might work with low income jobs. Others can also be a government employee at different levels. Many of the graduate students of Raya-Mehoni town had started to work in part time jobs to acquire income after their graduation. Amina, a potential migrant to the Middle East, after her graduation, her family and the neighbors expected her to be employed in a government office. However, the situation did not allow her to meet the status they expected. Then she was asked to join some cooperative work like in wood work and metal work micro enterprises with other unemployed Youths of Raya-Mehoni town. Then, the community's perception towards her changed dramatically. This has influenced her strength to continue working out of her professional 'box'. Amina explains the perception and misconceptions of the community have a negative psychological impact on her work and employment. Currently, she chose to migrate to the Middle East through agents and work contracts to Saudi Arabia. She had paid about 20,000 Ethiopian Birr for the process and she planned to migrate on December 2015.

Under such circumstances, the attitude of the people towards work is not supportive for the Raya-Mehoni town youth. Similar results gained from focus group participants show that the youth are expected by the community and their family to work only in public office. Even though they earn a good income from cooperative works, families wish that their youth get employment in public offices. Such perceptions about jobs was an impediment for youths' job access for survival. Those who are employed in government office are positively perceived and respected by the society while the people who work in cooperative sectors and microenterprises are considered less respectful in their society.

5.1.4. Migration as an Opportunity for Marriage

Surprisingly, marriage is another driving force for the youth of the community. Among the inhabitants of Raya-Mehoni town, individuals who have been married and divorced mainly target for migration to the Middle East. Demelash explains it as a method of relief from psychological stress. Those who have been divorced, especially women are sometimes discriminated and humiliated in the public. In the community, women are expected to stay in their marriage for long. However, there are unfortunate times where divorce becomes necessary and the divorce has a psychological and material impacts for women. Though the family law of the country provides equal opportunity for both partners, culturally women are discriminated. As a result, they intend to migrate to the Middle East through illegal routes by smugglers.

In a similar way, women who have lost their opportunity for getting fiancé in the home country use migration as a way out. Women who have got disputes at home flee to the Middle East to get relief from their problems. Such factors have great social implications, such as degrading women moral status and, biases even from their family members. One of the research participants described that women are subjugated to discrimination when a divorce happened in comparison when they are engaged in marriage. Marriage is a prestige and pillar of the community while divorce is a problem for families. When divorce happens between partners, the family members assume that their dignity is degraded. Consequently, the family members, particularly on the women side, try to persuade her to remarry again. However, if she remains unwilling they put a pressure on her. Among the research participants, a potential migrant described that she intended to migrate to the Middle East as a result of her family's pressure over her decision on divorce. Consequently, she made things ready for the migration journey to the Middle East. She got a network of local human smugglers who can help her to reach Saudi Arabia. The human smugglers are members of the community and who hide their identity from the government. They have invisible networks with human smugglers in the transit countries. This makes the life of the potential migrant open for another exploitation.

This situation explicitly shows how the Raya-Mehoni people are using migration as a method to expand their opportunities. However, the above description does not hide the bad experience of women during their journey both by smugglers and by their fellow migrants. Many female migrants have been tortured, sexually abused and some others put into death while they cannot afford them money. This has a negative effect for the migrants and for their

family.

Moreover, for Kamil, migration to the Middle East was a viable solution to get relieve from his problems. He could not cope with the difficulty he encountered and he has two children. "I have been morally discouraged and divorced." During the divorce, he was left with few properties. He could not provide even to his children need. Consequently, he intended to migrate to the Middle East, where he could work to improve his life and provide basic things for his children. The mother of the children asked him to maintain his responsibility but his capacity was limited. Additionally, he needed to marry and begin a new life, which implied that migration opened new opportunity for Kamil to relive his social problems (Fieldwork, 2015).

5.1.5. Absence of Interest Free Loans

The chief motives of the Raya-Mehoni town youth migration to the Middle East is to bring about change in their life. Kamil again noted that the dispute with his family was not the only case, but there were also interrelated factors. Among the factor he mentioned was lack of interest free loans from the microfinance enterprises. Kamil and other fellow potential migrants agree that they need to work in new businesses in their town but they need initial capital to commence it. So, the absence of interest free loan combined with other factors motivated youths to migrate to the Middle East.[7] Amina and Azeb, one of the potential migrants said that it was not the fate of Raya-Mehoni town community to recurrently migrate to the Middle East: "we can bring a change in our community. However, absence of free interest loans hinders them from engaging in business." Though they needed to work in her hometown, the conditions in the town urged them to migrate to bring initial capital to start a private business. The reason behind is that taking a loan from micro enterprises has unfolded high interest rates to be paid monthly and annually.

5.1.6. (Mis)information about Migration

Many of the youths I discussed with, mainly raised the issue of information and networks with migrants as important determinants for decisions to migrate. Some of the migrants had prior information what they could do in the Middle East and what rules they should follow. They were also very familiar with the risks they can encounter during their journey to the Middle East.

Nevertheless, they determined to cope with the fate of life during their journey through

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[7] Other factors refer to the main causes of migration mentioned above such as poverty and unemployment.

neighboring Afar to Djibouti and then towards to Yemen. The majority of potential migrants, however, were misinformed about the risks and life conditions in the Middle East. The youths are more informed about the material gains brought by returnee migrants while they ignore the risks and failure they can encounter in the host country. The returnee migrants told about their luxury and material enrichments to the youths who do not know the Middle East, which allure youths to decide to migrate.

Explicitly speaking, human smugglers have ample resources and power of persuasion over the Raya-Mehoni community. Human smugglers are those who provide information and link people for illegal migration to the Middle East. They are also members of the community who work with networks across borders with other smugglers. For them illegal migration work is a source of profit. They have persuaded many youths to make safe their route to the Middle East. After collecting the money, the smugglers leave migrants in a place where it opens for exploitation and robbing, by other smugglers, in their journey to the Middle East. Kamil described that migration to Saudi Arabia was not for the first time for him. He had been there three times. In his first journey, he was misinformed when returned migrants become with lots of material gains. They also provided him only with the positive aspects of life in the Middle East while they did not let him know the risks of the journey in the transit countries Djibouti and Yemen. This lead Kamil and his friends to experience psychological turmoil, from the beginning of their journey to their arrival in the Middle East.

Beyond this, Kamil admitted that currently youths have ample information on issues affecting their life. Currently, the expansion of information technology affects the decision of families and individual's regarding migration. Smartphones and application like WhatsApp, Viber, Line and Imo are helpful in linking migrant's and with their family. In spite of the expanding nature of interconnections of people through these outputs, the information provided by the migrants from Middle East makes life attractive to potential migrants. For Kamil, these ways of communication not only inform people, but they are misinformed with wrong information about life in abroad.

Chapter Six

6. Impacts of Youth Migration on the Sending Community

The youth Migration to the Middle East has a considerable impact on the migrants' sending community. During initiation of migration, youths of the Raya-Mehoni community force their family to provide financial support and/or they steal from their family's property. Migrants sometimes come with a new venture of life from the Middle East, which has emerged from the aggregate illegal migrant's social life in the Middle East. Those migrants who worked as drug dealers are the most wanted illegal migrants in the Middle East. They have serious punishments. This affects directly the local community in the country of origin. Some migrants come to their home with no money in their hands. Most of the time they were in illegal trafficking of drugs in Saudi Arabia. Saying this, let us see in detail various impacts of migrants in their sending community.

6.1. Forced their Family to Support their Migration

One of the focus group participants noted that the youth forces their family many times to financially and morally support their illegal migration. This also provides a good opportunity for smugglers to obtain a profit. The smugglers who settled in the town try to persuade youths to initiate their migration. Consequently, the youth of the Raya-Mehoni town try repeatedly to force their family for financial request.

If the migrant's family does not support their migration, migrants employ different techniques such as taking poisons, stealing the properties of their family to enable them to cover the expenses of their migration. Unless, they also tend to intimidate their family members to bargain with the smugglers.[8] This puts their family into psychological disturbance and confusion in settling their daily life. This coincides with the keen interests of smugglers, because migrants are sources of wealth for smugglers. Demelash explained his experience and his bargaining in this way:

> "I am currently unemployed and I am in the initiation of migration to the Middle East. I am a new graduate from a college, but unemployed. I have no capacity to finance my journey to the Middle East. At first, I contacted my mom to contribute and persuade my dad. Later I met him, we were in fighting for a year. In the

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[8] Sometimes the local community members and smugglers enter into conflict when they betray the migrants during the journey.

meantime, I have been constantly creating a disagreement with some people. This helped me to increase my chance to get an offer from my father for migration" (Demelash 20, fieldwork, 2015).

This implies that, in the case of Demelash, the potential migrants pose challenges for their family. Even after they got the money they need, the family is highly affected and disturbed when they hear bad news elsewhere about illegal migration to the Middle East.

6.2. Expansion of Crime in the Local Community

Migrants represent different sets of assistance and burdens for their local community when they return home and while they stay away in the Middle East. Some migrants are providing economic supports in building houses and covering expenses of their family for health and education. There are also a handful of migrants who returned to the community with no significant material assets. Some of these migrants are sources of threat to the local community. The returnees may be drug addicted and deviant from the local culture. Their behavior enhances chances for theft, robbery and murder of people at night (field work, Author).

Mr. 'X' explains the situation as in a turmoil and one of the fragmenting aspects of society. [9] The returned migrants are sources of disorder and lawlessness in the town. During the night time, there are certain places where even the police cannot travel safely. This was surmounted at the time when Saudi Arabia evacuated illegal migrants from the land of the Kingdom. At that time, many of the returnees were accused of many crimes. Those who were suspected returned again to the Middle East through illegal migration. Some of them are working as smugglers of people. Others are only returning to the Middle East when they spend their prior accumulated money for alcohol.

However, this is not representative for all returnees. After extravagantly spending the money they bring from the Middle East, returnees try to persuade other youths of Raya-Mehoni to migrate. They also repeatedly re-migrate to the Middle East. This helps them to get additional money for re-migrating to the Middle East. In the meantime, they also ask their fellow migrants to offer money for their journey. If the new migrants are not willing, they leave them in the desert area with to make their journey on their own. This condition creates a conflict among migrant sending members of the community.

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[9] Mr. 'X' refers to a man, one of the focus group participants.

6.3. Psychological Disturbance and Exclusion

Both women and men with migration experience are psychologically disturbed and sometimes excluded from the local community when they return. The exclusion comes from the high expectations of the migrants' sending community and low material changes the migrants' brought from abroad. Those who return alive to Raya-Mehoni community have been psychologically disturbed. Their disturbance and stress originate from the bad experience of their journey to the Middle East. This has an immense impact on the life of the migrant's sending community.

However, the bad experiences the youth encountered during their journey are not recognized by their family. Reasonably, these migrants lose their capacity to negotiate with their family. The family members are also constantly disturbed when youth return with no significant change. The major point here is that the family become indebted after the migrants went to the Middle East. Consequently, returnees are excluded from the local community. This further results in a double sided psychological problem. On the one side, they have experienced physical and psychological harassment during their risky journey to the Middle East, on the other side, they are in a state of stress when they return with low capacity to pay the debt for the debtors in the town. This further enhances their engagement in crime and exclusion from communal life during their stay in Raya-Mehoni town.

One of the potential migrants said: "My brother has gone to the Middle East. However, he was detained by smugglers in Yemen. He was tortured many times until we paid them money from here. It was a misery both for his family and for him" (Woman 17, fieldwork, 2015). This has an immense impact on the life of the community. It retards the capacity of the family to cover costs of siblings' education and other daily social expenses. It has mismatched the family's life and the community at large. As a result, the returnees are in a state of turmoil and excluded from the local community members. As a last resort, they choose to migrate again to the Middle East. This is assumed to help them to hide themselves from the disturbance and exclusion in the hometown. However, this has also a spillover effect for their family's economic status and the Raya-Mehoni community at large.

In connection with this, migrants are also detached from their community while they migrate to the Middle East. In this case, the focus group participants explained two major factors. Primarily, it is lack of education and skill to use new social media such as Facebook, WhatsApp and Viber applications. Secondly, some migrants who migrate to the Middle East through agents are also prohibited from using smart phones. However, most of the

interviewed families got closer to their migrant's through Skype and other related means of communication. This helped them to reduce their states of psychological stress.

6.4. Contradicting the Migrants' Sending Community Culture

In all the interviews, I came to learn that the migrant's new cultural experience contradicted some cultural values in the home country. However, this is not a conclusion for all migrants and all sending families. Some migrants are not vulnerable to the illegal drug trafficking works during their stay. They work by respecting the laws of the respective countries. Nevertheless, the problem comes when the youths of the community are engaged in seriously prohibited works such as drugs and trafficking in the Middle East. This enables the youth to practice a new culture with similar immigrants.

During the focus group discussion participants described that returnees are in stress during their stay at home. Most of them try to move again to the Middle East. They are acculturated positively to the life situation in the Middle East. They are always in a state of movement and always away in their mind. This halts their degree of interaction with their local community at home. No migrant has a stable life in the local community. Consequently, they opt to initiate their migration to the Middle East for an unspecified time (fieldwork, Author).

One of the focus group participants explained that many of the youths have difficulties to assimilate again with their culture. This resulted when returnees did not re-adapt to their local culture. They spent their money for drinking and crime. "Thus, we try to persuade them. Nevertheless, they went to the Middle East. And they came with illegal activities" (woman 32, fieldwork,2015).

Most importantly, migrants are also aware of the situation and the contradiction with their family, local culture and languages. This contradiction leads to extravagance and exclusion from the majority. Consequently, the migrants also persuade their family to initiate their migration to the Middle East where they can hide with their addictions. This increases the chance for death, torture of migrants and even huge debts for their families. So, its consequences lead to a vicious circle.

Beyond this, the contradictions become more vivid among women returnees. Those who have been divorced and opt to migrate to relieve their problems face various problem when they return to their home country. Initially, they migrated to gain relief from the social problems they faced in their family and local community. One of the key informants says "the women are neglected. Their intimate friends merely need their money, but they are excluded from

getting a future spouse. People assume they are not suitable for marriage" (Woman 30, fieldwork, 2015). This urges the women to remigrate or it leads to a life in loneliness. This fact is an attitudinal problem of the community upon women's migration. The society discourages women's migration to the Middle East even though they may face torture, sexual abuse and harassments, which obstructs their chance for marriage in their community.

6.5 Depopulation of the Community

Raya-Mehoni town youth migration to the Middle East has a significant effect on the demographic size of the community. It is very common to have one or more migrant in the family. When the youth migration increase over time, families and the local community remain with shrinking size of members. Migrants' sending community of Raya-Mehoni town remain with a less reproductive generation. Both young men and women stay in the Middle East for long periods of time. Others who were deported are also active in remigration to the Middle East. This changes the youths' interests in establishing a family in their local community.

In addition to this, this youth migration impedes on the fertility of the population. Local women's migration disturbs the fertility equilibrium because they stay unmarried and do not give birth. Most of the female migrants lose their hope for marriage. As a result, they continue to stay in the Middle East. Hence, this further complicated the demographic setup of the local community of Raya-Mehoni town.

Youth migration is also a full of danger and insecurity. Many youths of Raya Mehoni town have been found dead in Djibouti and Yemen when they cross the desert. It is most common to hear bad news from the transit countries of Djibouti and Yemen. The desert takes a lot of lives. It deepens the sadness and sorrows of Raya-Mehoni town. Still the young are migrating to the Middle East. Except the lucky ones, many have also died in the hands of traffickers. Some migrants are also a means for commercial body organ sales by human traffickers. Hence, this affects the size of the population of Raya-Mehoni town.

6.6. Difficulty to Access Communication Technology

Migrants have a great opportunity to utilize the available communication systems in the Middle East. Even though they are unfamiliar with communication technologies, with low education, migrants adopt the system through daily practice. Their interaction with other fellow migrants helped them to adopt the communication systems in the Middle East. Their effort was to reach their families at low costs for a distance call to the country of origin.

Conversely, for family members of Raya Mehoni community getting an access to communication systems such as skype, viber and international telephone call remains a hard task. The focus group participants described that their ability to utilize communications via internet is limited as a result of (1) lack of education among family members (2) if there is education, many of them are unfamiliar with accessing these communication systems (3) limited internet access across the Raya Mehoni community. Hence, for those family member, who cannot get an access to communication with their migrants in the Middle East, it is disturbing and stressful experience. They are thinking about their youth's destination and life condition.

For some few individuals who had access to internet through smart phones relives their stress. They communicated easily with migrants in the Middle East. As it is the culture of Raya-Mehoni town to help each other and work together for new life experiences, the communication through internet helps the migrants' sending community in reaching their migrants in the Middle East. This helps to strengthen family bonds.

6.7. Deep Stress to Pay Debt

The Raya-Mehoni town migrants' sending community agrees that migration of the youth is good if it brings positive rewards both for migrants and their family. However, many of Raya-Mehoni migrants to the Middle East left their family with huge debt and disputes with smugglers. According to my focus group participants most of the migrants did not consider the psychological stress of their family about their debt for migration. The migrants gave a promise to pay their debt after they start working in the Middle East.

However, if they are not lucky, migrants are detained in Yemen and tortured during their journey by smugglers due to debt. The migrants are also forced to call for family support to send money to the smugglers. Finally, after they enter the country of destination many of them are also deported to their country of origin. This remains the headache of Raya-Mehoni migrants sending community. It places families of deported migrants in a deep stress. Migrants' families have debt from other family members or smugglers. When the migrants are deported before they have started to work it leads to great psychological stress and pressure on migrants' sending community families.

As a result, Raya-Mehoni migrants' sending families are constantly stressed about having to pay their debt per the time asked. Migrants' sending families have a dual problem (1) for debt payments (2) for the deportation of migrants from the Middle East. Consequently, the

family's strategy for livelihood is interrupted. This mismatches the plan and daily life of the families. Sometimes it results in a conflict with the debtors. [10]

Similarly, the problem in debt payment is more stressful when it is from micro finance enterprises. These small financial institutions levy high interest rate on loans per year. The loan is provided for individuals who need to engage in business. However, some migrants' sending community members bring a loan using the business loan as an alleged reason to send the youth to the Middle East. Considering that the migration journey is difficult and sometimes there are few access to job in the Middle East for migrant's limits, the capacity of the family for debt payment. This opens a door for legal accusation in the court to pay the loan. It also results in a vicious circle for family life as I elaborated in the beginning of this topic.

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[10] Debtors refers to those individual either sending community members or smugglers, who provide a loan for the migrant's family.

Chapter Seven

7. Benefits of the Migrants' Sending Community

Most of the interviewees agreed that migrant's contribution while they are abroad, are limited when we compare their contribution with being in the home community. However, there are certain areas where migrants contribute substantially to their community. They are vigilant in sending remittances to their relatives, in building houses and in covering social expenses for their family and in establishing new business centers in the town. Directly or indirectly such participation of migrants helps the community members in various ways. Migrants from the Middle East create jobs for youths and new ventures of business in Raya-Mehoni town. This also helps in motivating the development pace in the local community. To make the discussion consistent, migrants' contribution can be seen as described below.

7.1. Remittance Flows

Remittances play a pervasive role in shaping the Raya-Mehoni community life. They represent an enormous contribution during drought and famine. Beyond this, the collective contribution of migrants through remittances helps the local community more than the public utilities provided by the municipality. One of the key informants said "those who obtained high income receiving jobs in the Middle East have remitted much money to their family and local community" (woman 32. fieldwork, 2015).

Migrants support their family in covering educational expenses of their siblings. Remittance flows also alter the livelihood of the local community both positively and negatively. Positively, it helps the family for spending on wedding ceremonies, to buy new TV sets and household furniture. Negatively, instead of enhancing productivity remittances from migrants deepens the culture of dependency. It expands the consuming culture among the families of the migrants rather than saving. Sometimes, it also reduces the capacity and readiness of families to engage in profit generating businesses. It makes the migrants' sending community more dependent on the remittances than production. These communities also become excessive consumers of the remittances they receive instead of saving for making safe the future of the returnee. It further weakens their capacity for engaging in more productive work when the remittances stop (field work, Author).

The remittance flows from migrants also play a pivotal role in expanding trade among the communities. There are new ventures of business in the community established by migrants, such as new supermarkets, hotels and restaurants. These new establishments are formed with

the help of remittances. The remittance flow challenges the business establishment of non-migrant sending community members. This alters the business interaction in the community. Remittance also enables the community to access new market products. It expands the availability of choice for the local community. It supports the community in expanding health care centers, education and other related social facilities.

Contrary to this, remittances create new forms of inequality among the members of Raya-Mehoni community. The gap widens between migrants' sending community and non-migrants' sending community. It alters the choice and taste of migrant sending members. It also widens asymmetrical relationships between members of the community. Thus, in a short term perspective, it has an immense impact over the families and the local community.

7.2. Support for Family Members

Migration to the Middle East is an alternative livelihood strategy for many family members of Raya-Mehoni community. It is a necessary choice, for some members of the local community, to send the youth for securing their livelihood. During my fieldwork, I found that the community was affected by drought. Each family was urged to sort out possible ways for survival. In the meantime, migrants played a significant role in supporting their family members. Migrants support ranged from moral to material help. Migrants fulfilled their siblings' educational need and healthcare facilities through remittances and they brought pocket money. A focus group participant explains the generous support of her daughter as follows:

> "……… I was scared while she parted from here. Now, we got lots of benefits. For instance, she builds two houses in this town. She also fulfills all necessary house furniture. Hence, I provide a house for rent for the residents of Raya-Mehoni town. This helps me to get a good income for the business. Beyond this, she also provides support for her brothers and sisters in their education" (Woman 25, fieldwork, 2015).

Successful migrants, therefore, provide sufficient support for their family and their community. Migrants also contribute to the development of the community in building schools and provided school facilities such as books, and chairs for students. The migrants' support to their families thus had a variety of intensity and linkages to their community.

Figures: Migrant's support of family

Figure 3   Figure 4

Figure 5. New Corporate Establishment[11]

Source: Photos taken by author, 2015

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[11] Brother and sister own this building. Both of them live in the Middle East. They have stayed there for more than five years.

A mother of a migrant built a house of her daughter through remittances (figure3 and figure 4). Their daughter migrated to the Middle East three years earlier. She went to the Middle East through legal agents in Addis Ababa. She got a good employer in the Middle East. She works as a daily laborer. The mother said that she is lucky enough to obtain this income in three years. Now, the house is rented for income. It has an immense impact on their life. It shows their change from the small old house to the new build house by their daughter. It is good opportunity for the town where housing is a problem.

7.3. Power of Cooperation in Establishing New Projects

The Raya-Mehoni community is benefiting from the cooperative role played by migrants in the Middle East. The migrants' culture of working together helps them to advance their chances for establishing business centers such as hotels and restaurants. The share of migrants in the development of the Raya-Mehoni town is growing tremendously. There are groups of migrants, brothers and sisters, who build vast buildings for supermarkets in Raya-Mehoni town. In addition to this, migrants are also a source of initial capital for their family and their friends. It is the Raya-Mehoni peoples' intimate culture to live in a cooperative and compassionate life. The life of the town members is distinguished with intimate interaction with their members irrespective of the geographical difference between the host country and the country of origin. Hence, non-migrant youths ask for initial capital to commence new business ventures. They ask the migrants for a loan to be paid after they start a profit in their new business.

However, many migrants are also working separately. This limits their capacity to share big businesses in the town. In my interview with key informants, I came to understand that the degree of participation of migrants varies among family members. Some contribute a lot for the local development in their community, others not.

During field interviews participants show mixed feelings about the participation of migrants in the development of the town. Some migrants, as you can see in the above discussion are effectively working in local investments and trade. Those family members with migrants have initial capital for business operations. Such business helps non-migrants through providing employment. However, there is also a handful of migrants with little or no change though they have stayed for a long period in the Middle East.

The focus group participants elaborated on the role of migrants for their fellow friends in Raya-Mehoni town, not only through employment opportunities but also in managing their

new ventures of business through shares. Such business, however, is very sensitive to misinterpretation among the owner and the shareholders. Sometimes they enter into conflict. Regardless of the conflict, migrants are vibrant players in expanding job opportunities for non-migrants' members of the community. This further helps the local community in reducing unemployment and for expanding their capacity to absorb the youth into productive activities.

Contrary to this, the key informants informed me that the roles of migrants from the Middle East is limited for certain reasons. Except a few migrants, many of them stayed away for more than a year. This limits their degree of contribution for local development. The key informants also described that many migrants from the Middle East are low skilled migrants with no high school certificate and working in daily labor. This limits their engagement in community development. However, the key informants also acknowledged the migrants' supports for family and community.

Chapter Eight

8. Summary of Findings and Concluding Remarks

8.1 Summary of Findings

In this chapter, the summary of findings is discussed and the main concluding remarks are presented. The research questions are also addressed.

8.1.1. Key Drivers of the Youth Migration to the Middle East

Research Question 1: *Which are the key drivers of the youth migration to the Middle East from the Raya Mehoni town?*

The findings of this research show that Raya-Mehoni town youth migration to the Middle East is a burning issue among the community members. Migrants are targeted mainly to improve their living standards and to support their family. They are influenced by the individual, peer pressure, family and communal factors available in their local community. In a poverty prone society and in a drought affected environment the youths are expected to bring change both for their family and for themselves. The Raya-Mehoni town is affected by recurrent drought over time. Drought reduces productivity in agriculture. This causes recurrent poverty. This also shrinks opportunities of employment in Raya-Mehoni town. It also influences family living standards. Hence, unemployment is found to be the ultimate cause, though not the sole cause, for youth migration to the Middle East. Even though the number of graduate students increase but the opportunities for employment are limited. This leads some youth to engage in crime such as robbery and theft among the community. Such factors motivate the youth to migrate to the Middle East. The findings also reveal that employed youth of Raya-Mehoni town, some civil servants, migrate to the Middle East. They got an employment opportunity in public sector, but it did not provide them with enough income to their survival and to support their family. The main target of these migrants is to improve their living standard in a short period of time.

The youths' migration is also influenced by the information they obtain from returnees. Many potential migrants were misinformed about migration to the Middle East. They only learnt about the material gain from the Middle East. Other migrants are also urged to migrate when opportunities for change are limited. Youth graduates who work in low income receiving jobs are influenced by the attitude of the local community towards their jobs. The unsupportive working environment discourages the youth's daily work engagements. This prevalent

attitude and misconceptions of the jobs among the Raya-Mehoni community drives the youth for migration to the Middle East.

Additionally, among the youths there are also individuals who used migration as an open opportunity for meeting a life partner. Other migrants also needed to migrate to relieve their psychological problem related to divorce. When the divorce brought psychological stress and material impact over families, they chose migration as a way out for minimizing the risks. The pressure of their family lead many youths, especially the divorced, to connect with the local smugglers for initiating their migration. Beyond the marriage related problems there are also interrelated factors such as absence of interest free loans for those who have no/limited initial capital for business operation. Though the youths need to work, their limited capital and the absence of interest free loan remain unsettled problem in Raya-Mehoni town. Hence, taking a loan from microfinance institutions has a great impact, as migration has become a feasible way out to find initial capital for commencing new business in Raya-Mehoni town. The youths' ambitions to begin a new business and their capacity to operate it remained the main bottleneck for families in Raya-Mehoni town.

Similarly, misinformation about migration among the youth is also a driving force. Raya-Mehoni town youths are misinformed as a result of (1) the human smugglers' power of persuasion for their profit. Human smugglers are vigilant in motivating the youth to migrate. However, many migrants were affected when they migrate to the Middle East and when the human smugglers left them open for new exploitation and robbery by other smugglers. (2) the material gain they observe from returned migrants from the Middle East. The material enrichments of returned migrants urged the youth of the local community to decide for mi grating to the Middle East. This makes the migration to the Middle East complicated and leads to the impacts which are discussed in research question 2.

8.1.2. Impacts of migration on sending community

Research Question 2: *What challenges are the migrants' sending community facing when the youths migrate?*

These key driving forces of Raya-Mehoni town Youth migration to the Middle East have unfolded social, cultural, political and economic impacts on migrants' sending community. These impacts of migration are interrelated to each other. It was difficult to examine one factor in separation of the other factors. Hence, youth migration to the Middle East brings challenges to the migrants' sending community. Among these impacts, migrants pressured their family to support their illegal migration, and when the family did not recognize the

youth employ techniques such as stealing family property. In addition to this, families of migrants are disturbed and affected by the bad news that happen to migrants in the Middle East. Some family members who went to the Middle East were abused, robbed by smugglers and some remain dead in the desert area. While they returned to the home community, some migrants were sources of growing crimes in the local community. They broke the order and laws of the community daily life. After spending their money, they re-migrate to the Middle East. They also tried to persuade other youths of the community for migration. This helped them to support and cover their expenses during the journey to the Middle East. Some members of the community also face psychological disturbance, particularly women migrants, and exclusion upon return. In addition to this, the engagement of migrants as drug dealers and in drug addiction creates a momentum for cultural contradictions when they returned to their local community. Hence, they faced challenges in re-adapting to their local community culture.

Such challenges of migration drive the returnees to re-migrate to the Middle East. Hence, the migrants' support established a new culture of dependency on remittances and consuming culture among Raya-Mehoni community. It remains a vicious circle of a cause and effect relationships. When migration to the Middle East resulted in the above impacts, it also contributed to depopulation of the community. Moreover, migration of the youth also became a challenge when the migrants sending community face difficulty to access communication systems. This was a result of lack of education and unfamiliarity with smartphone applications. In addition to this, migrants' sending community also faced a difficulty and stress in paying debts when migrants returned with less/no material gains from the Middle East.

8.1.3. Benefits of migrants' sending community

 Research Question 3:*Can the migrants' sending community be benefited from the young people's migration to the Middle East?*

Despite the above mentioned challenges, Raya-Mehoni town youth migration to the Middle East also brought certain benefits to the migrants' sending community. Migrants contributed substantially in times of drought and poverty. They sent remittance to support their families in education of their siblings, health care and family expenses. The migrants' sending community also got support for wedding ceremonies. In addition to this, migrants established new businesses with their family members. This helped in enabling the non-migrants' members of the community to employment.

However, the findings of this research revealed that the migrant's involvement for development is limited. The main reasons are: (1) many of the migrants stay abroad for two or three years. This impeded their capacity to widen their horizon in business and in providing family support. Except for a few migrants this was true for the majority. (2) Most of the migrants from Raya-Mehoni town were youths with low skills and with the experience of working as daily laborers. Many migrants in the Middle East were also undocumented migrants and some have worked with illegal affairs. This curbs their degree of participation to local development.

One solution to such problem is for the migrants sending community and the local administration to develop a culture of entrepreneurship in utilizing the best opportunities of migrants' labor force. Families should also articulate new strategies for saving and investing in productive spheres of business instead of dependency and relying on a consuming culture. This can be done through awareness creation on utilization of resources, for example, the local administration should create awareness creation discussions for migrant sending community. On this account, the local administration might also be beneficial if they organize an administrative body for investigating the magnitude of out and return migration from Raya-Mehoni town to the Middle East. This will be very insightful in mitigating the recurrent problems related to migration to the Middle East.

8.2. Concluding Remarks

To sum up, in this contemporary globalization process, where flows of capital, people and ideas dominate, international migration affects the migrants' sending community. Migration in the world is as old as the human civilization, and has happened to African countries such as Ethiopia.

This research has a strong linkage with the theories of international migration such as micro individual approach, migration network theory and to the gender approach hence it represents an addendum to the meta narratives of international migration.

Taking into account the objective of this study, the final results of the findings revealed that youth migration to the Middle East has posed a significant impact on the migrants' sending community. It has become an important livelihood strategy.

Appendixes

Appendix 1. Interview Guide for Key Informants

1.   What are the key drivers for the youth migration to the Middle East?

        A. Can you please tell me how unemployment leads the youth to migration?

        B. Do you think all unemployed youths are the only migrant's?

        C. What other factors are responsible for the youth migration?

2.   Could you please tell me how the youth migration affects the migrants' sending community?

        A. As an administrator, what effects the community is facing?

        B. Could you let me know some experience of people in your town?

        C. Do you think the migration affects the migrants sending community only?

3.   Specifically, how the sending community is benefiting from the youth migration to the Middle East?

        A. Do you think the community is benefiting from the youth migration?

        B. Can you please tell me what benefits the community has obtained so far?

        C. Do you have some other points to say in this regard?

Appendix 2. Interview Guide for Focus Group Discussion

1. Can you please tell me why the youth migrates?

        A. Do you have any migrants in your family?

        B. Why s/he migrate to the Middle East?

        C. As a member of the community, what do you think pushes the youth for migration?

        D. Are there any other factors responsible for the youth migration?

2.   Do you get any benefit while the youth migrate?

        A. Does s/he help you after his/her migration?

        B. What benefits you got so far from the migrant?

        C. Do they help you continuously throughout his/her stay in the Middle East?

        D. Are there any other benefits?

3.   Are there any challenges you face while they migrate to the Middle East?

        A. Did you encounter any challenges while he/she migrate?

        B. Does the youths' migration alter family roles?

C. Are there any other challenges you want to explain?

4. As a member of the community, how do you face the challenges while the youths' migrate to the Middle East?

    A. What mechanisms you employ to curb the challenges you face during the youth migration?

    B. Do the community members help each other during the time of challenges?

    C. Do the mechanisms were successful so far?

Appendix 3. Interview Guide for Potential Migrants

1. What motivates you to migrate to the Middle East?

    A. Can you please tell the reason why you intend to migrate?

    B. Do you have any additional causes of migration to the Middle East?

    C. Does the environment have a factor for your migration?

    D. Finally, do you have something to say?

2. Is there any benefit you expect to bring to your community?

    A. Do you think your migration benefits for your family?

    B. Can you please tell me any benefits for your community?

    C. What other benefits you suppose to bring to your community?

3. What challenges may your family and community face while you migrate to the Middle East? (If any)

    A. Do you expect your community may face challenges?

    B. What are the challenges of your community during your migration?

    C. Do you think they will curb the challenges they face while you migrate?

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