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**COLLEGE OF DEVELOPMENT STUDIES  
CENTER FOR REGIONAL AND LOCAL DEVELOPMENT STUDIES**

**DRIVERS OF IRREGULAR OUT-MIGRATION FROM ETHIOPIA TO SAUDI ARABIA, AND  
ITS IMPLICATION FOR LOCAL DEVELOPMENT: THE CASE OF RAYA, WAJA TOWN**

**BY  
KHEDIR DERRES**

**July 2020**

**ADDIS ABABA, ETHIOPIA**

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A THESIS SUBMITTED TO  
CENTER FOR REGIONAL AND LOCAL DEVELOPMENT STUDIES,  
COLLEGE OF DEVELOPMENT STUDIES ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY  
FOR PARTIAL FULFILLMENTS OF THE REQUIREMENT FOR THE  
DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN REGIONAL AND LOCAL  
DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

**July 2020**

**ADDIS ABABA, ETHIOPIA**

## DECLARATION

I, Khedir Derres, hereby declare that this thesis is the fruit of my original research work. The thesis has not been submitted previously for academic examination towards any qualification at any tertiary institutions. Besides, all sorts of materials used for this thesis have been dully acknowledged.

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This is to certify that this thesis entitled “**Drivers of Irregular Out-migration from Ethiopia to Saudi Arabia, and Its Implication for Local Development: The Case of Raya, Waja Town**” submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the degree of Master of Art in Regional and Local Development Studies to graduate program of Collage of Development Studies, Addis Ababa university by Khedir Derres is an original work conducted by the candidate under my supervision and this project work has not been submitted earlier for award of any degree or diploma to the best of our knowledge and belief.

**Muluadam Alemu (Ph.D)**

July, 2020

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This is to certify that this thesis prepared by Khedir Derres entitled “**Drivers of Irregular Out-migration from Ethiopia to Saudi Arabia, and Its Implication for Local Development: The Case of Raya, Waja Town.**” The thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Art in Regional and Local Development Studies complies with the regulations of Addis Ababa University and meets the accepted standards with respect to originality and quality.

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Chair of the Centre or Graduate Program Coordinator

## **Acknowledgements**

First of all I would like to thank God (Alhamdulillah!).

Besides, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my supervisor Dr. MuluAdam Alemu for his advice and support towards the progress of the study. His ideas, guidance and encouragement were constructive in the process of this research. I am thankful for his benevolence.

In addition, I must in all sincerity express my deep thankfulness to my friends Ashenafi Kinfe and Girma Senbete for their optimistic ideas and encouragements.

Furthermore, my appreciation and gratitude go to the College of Development Studies for their effortful support in maintaining a comfortable study room and allowing better access to internet service.

Finally, I would like to extend my gratitude to Waja-Timuga officials for providing me the necessary information and data for my research. I am also indebted to all my informants and survey participants in the fieldwork and at KSA.

Khedir Derres

July 2020

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## Acronyms

<b>COVID 19</b>	Corona Virus Disease 2019
<b>EPRDF</b>	Ethiopian People’s Revolutionary Democratic Front
<b>FGD</b>	Focus Group Discussion
<b>ILO</b>	International Labor Organization
<b>IOM</b>	International Organization for Migration
<b>KSA</b>	Kingdom of Saudi Arabia
<b>MMC</b>	Mixed Migration Center
<b>MoLSA</b>	Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs
<b>OECD</b>	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
<b>PICUM</b>	Platform for International Cooperation on Undocumented Migrants
<b>RMMS</b>	Regional Mixed Migration Secretariat
<b>UN</b>	United Nations
<b>UNDESA</b>	United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs
<b>UNHCR</b>	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

## **Abstract**

Today, irregular migration has become a global concern affecting several countries and lives of many households. Accordingly, irregular migration has attracted much attention of researchers, policy makers, politicians and academicians. The aim of this study is to investigate drivers of irregular out-migration from Waja-Raya to Saudi Arabia, and its implications for local development. To achieve this, mixed methods research approach were employed. From 1000 households, 277 households were selected to collect primary data. Qualitative data was gathered through key informant interviews and focus group discussions. Quantitative data were collected and analyzed to triangulate the qualitative data in descriptive forms. The findings of the study revealed that the drivers of irregular migration are diverse. Unemployment, culture of migration, political oppression and restrictive migration laws are some of the drivers. Moreover, the study found out that irregular migration has positive and negative implications for local development. The impacts of irregular migration are more detrimental. Therefore, the local government has to relentlessly endeavor to curb irregular migration. The study recommends that the local government has to create opportunities to make migrants stay. Besides, to maximize the development role of migration special attention need to be given to regular migrants by establishing local institutions such as Institution for Saudi Diaspora.

**Key Words:** Irregular, Migration, Drivers, Implications, Local, Development

# CHAPTER ONE

## 1. INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Background of the Study

Today, due to globalization the world is becoming one planet. In spite of the existing political barriers, there is an increasing movement of people moving across the globe (McKenzie, 2008). According to UNDESA (2019), the total number of international migrants has increased to 271.6 million in 2019 from 195 million in 2005. It is expected to reach 450 million by 2050 (United Nations, 2013). Globally it is estimated that between 10% and 20% of the World's migrant population are individuals without the appropriate documentation (IOM, 2010).

Irregular migration has been a topic of policy interest in much of the world (IOM, 2011). Although there is no precise definition of the term irregular migration, the International Organization for Migration defines it as the out-migration of people that takes place outside the regulatory norms of the sending, transit and receiving countries (IOM, 2011).

In recent years, there has been a significant rise in outward irregular migration from Ethiopia to the Gulf Countries. In spite of massive government public education campaign about the adverse impacts of irregular migration, a large number of young Ethiopians still migrate out of the country through irregular channels predominantly to the Middle East (Abebaw, 2013; Meskerem, 2011; Selamawit, 2013).

A report by UNDESA (2017), shows that migration out of Ethiopia has shown an increasing trend between 2000 and 2015. During 2000, the international Ethiopian migration stock was 442,161. This figure has reached 753,492 in 2015 (UNDESA, 2015). Estimation made by MoLSA shows that the 200,000 regular labor migrants in 2012 represent just 30 to 40% of all Ethiopians migrating to the Middle East, implicating that the remaining 60% to 70% (between 300,000-350,000) are either trafficked or smuggled with the facilitation of illegal brokers. Another study conducted by RMMS (2014) on knowledge, attitude and practice of Ethiopian migrants found that only 40% of Ethiopian migrants to the Middle East migrate with legal documents, illustrating a relatively high level of irregular migration (RMMS, 2014). Since the

banning of regular migration to the Middle East in 2013, the number of migrants using irregular means to cross borders seems to have increased. For instance, Davy (2017) shows that in January 2017 only, the number of migrants reaching Yemen was around 5,125, of which 77% were Ethiopians.

The causes of irregular migration in Ethiopia are diverse. For Atnafu (2006), the reason behind youth migration lies in the search for better opportunities available in the Middle East. Kuschminder (2014) confirms that migration of Ethiopians to the Middle East has also been encircled by the persistence of poverty and unemployment in the country. Overpopulation, environmental problems and political insecurity has been also added by several studies (Seid, 2016; RMMS, 2016). Since this study focus on socio-economic and political drivers of irregular migration, it does not discuss environmental driven migration.

There is scholarly skepticism whether or not migration and remittance advance development in the sending societies. However, empirical studies around the globe indicate that migration affects migrants and their families thereby influencing local development. The World Bank (2016) admits that remittance has an impact on economic development in many developing countries. The implication of migration for local development especially in terms of remittance is diversified in Ethiopia. Some empirical pieces of evidence found that remittance could advance local development by reducing poverty, promoting education, fostering local market, creating jobs, expanding infrastructure, supporting the agriculture and encouraging small scale enterprises (Bizuayehu, 2008; Henok *et al.*, 2017; Bisrat, 2014; Solomon, 2012). On the contrary, other studies indicate that migration affects education, creates inequality, reduces agricultural outcomes and depletes labor force (Atnafu, 2006; Bisrat, 2014) leading to the deterioration of local development. Besides, death and violation of rights accompany irregular migration affecting migrants and households in Ethiopia (Asefa, *et al.*, 2017; Yitna 2006; Seid, 2016).

Irregular migration to Saudi has become usual phenomenon for most communities in Ethiopia affecting a great number of Ethiopian young adults. Several studies (Assfa & Zeleke, 2017; Bisrat, 2014; Cummings *et al.*, 2015; Damtew & Mohamed , 2018; IOM, 2015; Kuschminder, 2014; Mbaye, 2013; RMMS, 2014; Seid Ebrahim, 2016) have been conducted to investigate the causes and consequences of irregular migration. These studies have neglected the political causes of migration, and the implication of irregular migration for local development. Even particular

studies on the role of remittance in Ethiopia emphasized on the overall effects and households (Bizuayehu, 2008; Henok *et al.*, 2017; Bisrat 2014; Kuschminder and Siegal, 2014; Meskerem, 2011; Solomon, 2012). They did not give particular emphasis on the implications for local development. Thus, this study contributes in finding out the major drivers of irregular migration and its implication for local development.

This study, therefore, focuses on investigating the socio, economic as well as political causes of irregular out-migration to Saudi Arabia from Waja-Raya. Besides, the study assesses the implication of irregular migration for local development.

## **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

Irregular migration is one of the most complex, sensitive, and intractable issues affecting global and national governance of labor migration (IOM 2010). Recently, there has been a significant rise in outward irregular migration from Ethiopia to the Gulf Countries (Abebaw, 2013). The ILO (2017) report indicates that the majority of Ethiopian youth prefer to migrate via irregular routes or they become irregular in the destination country violating work and migration laws of the country. Another study by RMMS (2014) shows that between 60% and 70 % of Ethiopians in the Middle East and Gulf countries had migrated through irregular channels, including incidences of smuggling and trafficking. Irregular channels are often more attractive to those Ethiopians being less bureaucratic, faster and cheaper.

In spite of massive government public education campaign about the adverse impacts of irregular migration, a large number of young Ethiopians still migrate out of the country through irregular channels predominantly to the Middle East (Abebaw, 2013; Meskerem, 2011; Selamawit, 2013). The preference of irregular channels due to several reasons brings them unspeakable problems. Irregular migration by the sea has resulted in many rights violations, abuses, exploitation and deaths among Ethiopians. Female migrants are at risk of rape, unwanted pregnancy, sexual abuse and sexually transmitted diseases. The sea crossing is very risky, where dozens die when crossing to Yemen due to overcrowding of boats and bad weather. Regional Mixed Migration Secretariat (2014) shows that migrants from Ethiopia face the above mentioned dangers of life that affect also the migrants' sending country.

Wollo-Raya which particularly borders Tigray and Amhara is one of the regions highly vulnerable to irregular migration. As different local studies show there is high number of youth migrants flowing to the Middle East mainly for economic reasons. In Wollo-Raya particularly, Waja town there is dire problem of local development. The town is known for youth unemployment, gender discrimination, weak education, maladministration and political oppressions. A study conducted by RMMS (2014) indicates that Wollo (including Raya) is prone to dry weather and people regularly fail to produce crops due to the scarcity of rain. The expulsion of a large number of Ethiopian irregular workers from Saudi Arabia in 2013 and the ban followed after have added fuel to irregular out-migration of young people from this specific area.

Several studies have been conducted on the drivers of irregular out-migration from Ethiopia. The findings of these studies indicate that irregular migration is inspired by the prevalence of network of migration, poverty, unemployment, illiteracy and others. The consequences found by these researchers among other things include migrants death, rape and economic support for the family, (Teshome, 2010; Seid, 2016; Kuschminder & Siegel, 2014).

However, studies on irregular migration did not investigate the political causes of irregular migration from Ethiopia in general and at Raya-Waja in particular. Besides, previous researches on migration did not consider the implication of irregular out-migration for local development. Therefore, this study focuses on the research gap in identifying the drivers of irregular migration, to Saudi Arabia, and its implication for local development taking Raya, Waja, which is highly vulnerable to irregular migration to Saudi Arabia, as a study area.

### **1.3 Objectives of the Study**

#### **1.3.1 General Objective**

The main objective of the study is to investigate the drivers of irregular out-migration from Waja-Raya to Saudi Arabia, and its implication for local development.

### **1.3.2 Specific Objectives**

The research specifically tries to:

- Investigate the drivers of irregular out migration from Ethiopia to Saudi Arabia
- Find out the socio-economic attributes of migrants
- Identify implications of irregular migration for local development

### **1.4 Research Questions**

Based on the research problem mentioned above, the researcher tries to answer the following research questions to investigate the phenomena under study.

- What major drivers cause irregular migration from Ethiopia to Saudi Arabia?
- How much the socio-economic attributes of the youth drive irregular migration?
- To what extent irregular migration affect local development?

### **1.5 Significance of the Study**

Irregular out-migration to Saudi Arabia has been central for the youth of Wollo in general and Raya in particular. It has been the only alternative for those desperate youth who aspire to get better jobs and get comparative freedom at the destination country. The route to arrive at the destination is terrible and dangerous. According to Human Rights Watch (2019), many Ethiopians who hoped for a better life in Saudi Arabia face unspeakable dangers along the journey, including death at sea, torture, rape, dehydration, imprisonment, and all manners of abuses.

It is expected that this research contributes by providing information to policy makers, planners, administrators, and development institutions, who are kin to take effective actions so as to curb irregular out-migration. Besides, the research provides information about the horrors and difficulty of irregular migration for potential irregular migrants. In addition, oversea recruitment proclamations of the country are segregating a big portion of migrants especially uneducated labor migrants. Thus, this research helps migration lawmakers to refine migration laws and proclamations to reduce the number of potential irregular migrants. Furthermore, it gives significant know-how about the causes and extent of irregular migration to migration concerned international institutions to partake in solving it. Moreover, the research delivers information that

help to maximize the role of migrants for local development. Finally, it might serve as a guide to conduct further research on irregular migration, not only into Saudi Arabia but also to other routes of illegal migration from Ethiopia. Generally, the finding of this study might help to propose feasible solutions and tackle the root causes of irregular migration.

## **1.6 Scope of the Study**

The main purpose of this research is to investigate the major causes of irregular migration and its implications for local development. The youth, from Waja, who emigrate to KSA through illegal channels, are the targets of this study. The study tries to discover the drivers of irregular migration and implications particularly in the migration prone area of Waja. In addition, the study has focused on the key factors that motivated the young to migrate irregularly. Besides, it has investigated the impact of migration such as remittance and depletion of the labor force on local development. Since the population of the study area has some demographic and ethnic difference from Tigray, the study has been conducted only on the selected Kebeles that have their own characteristics which affect the nature of migration in the region.

## **1.7 Operational Definition of Terms**

**Hawala** is an informal money transfer system, which is widely used in the Middle East, North Africa, the Horn of Africa, and the Indian sub-continent. The system operates outside of, and/or parallel to, traditional banking and remittance systems.

**Irregular migrant/ irregular migration:** According to IOM (2011), a migrant in an irregular situation may enter the country irregularly using false documents or by crossing at unofficial border crossing point; may reside in the country irregularly violating the terms of an entry visa/residence permit; or may be employed in the country irregularly. Irregular migration, therefore, is a movement that takes place outside the regulatory norms of the sending, transit and receiving country.

**Kebele:** Kebele is the lowest administrative hierarchy used in Ethiopia.

**Khafala system** is a system used mainly in the Gulf countries allowing a national to request a foreign national to live in his country as his employee or under his sponsorship.

**Migration Decision** refers to the determination of the youth or their households either to stay or leave or get permission to stay or leave from households to their place of origin.

**Migration Laws and policies** are rules prepared by countries with the aim of affecting the volume, origin, direction and internal composition of migration flows (Czaika & De Hass', 2013)

**Out migration (International Migration)** refers to “movement of people who leave their country of origin to live either permanently or temporarily in another country and usually cross international frontiers” (IOM, 2004).

**Push factors and pull factors:** Push factors are factors that force or motivate people to migrate from their place of origin to another area. Whereas, pull factors are advantages or opportunities that attract people to move from their place of origin into the destination.

**Remittance** is transaction that is initiated by individuals living or working outside their country of origin. (Migration Policy Institute, 2003). It is the amount of asset whether money in cash or in kind sent from the migrants to people at homeland.

**Returnee Migrant:** IOM (2004) defines returnee as “a person returning to his/her country of origin or habitual residence either voluntarily or forced usually after spending at least one year in another country”. In this study the researcher used returnee migrant to refer to youth who were deported to their place of origin after spending some time in an irregular status in Saudi Arabia.

**The Kingdom** refers to the destination Saudi Arabia (Kingdom of Saudi Arabia).

**The town** refers to town of the study area that composed of two Kebeles

**Wollo – Raya (Raya)** refers to the place which was formerly part of Wollo administrative zone and currently is found in Amhara and Tigray regional governments. The study area is part of Raya that is incorporated into Tigray regional government.

**Woreda** is a collection of several Kebeles. A collection of Woredas and urban centers usually make a zone.

**Youth:** the age category of youth differs from one country to the other which renders it very challenging for a single definition. For the sake of this study, the term youth adults refer individuals who are in the age range of 15-39.

## **1.8 Limitation of the Study**

It was better to investigate irregular migration in various Weredas of Wollo-Raya because the region is highly affected by irregular migration. However, due to financial and time limitations, the study was limited to a specific area. Besides, inability to get brokers is the other limitation of the study. In addition, migrants and their families sometimes failed to give accurate information particularly on the amount of remittance and problems faced during the journey. Hence, misreporting might be observed in some of the households and migrants. To minimize these problems, the researcher has crosschecked income of respondents and challenges faced en route with the information gathered from participants in the destination, KSA.

Currently, in the study area, there is political tension on the question of identity and political oppression by the regional administration. Accordingly, some bureaus might be reluctant to give genuine information. Similarly, some participants might feel unsafe to give information on the political causes of migration. Furthermore, the information gained from migrants who currently live in the destination country KSA is significant. However, due to spatial and financial constraints, the researcher cannot gather information from several migrants currently living in KSA.

## **1.9 Ethical Consideration**

Research that properly reckons ethical issues aimed at protecting participants from harm, and keeping privacy is highly essential in its process (Orb *et al.*, 2001). Therefore, the researcher counts individual, group, religious, linguistic, traditional, ethnic and other sensitive issues in the process of the research. Their freedom is protected in the process of participation. Furthermore, to protect the respondents' privacy, the secrets of respondents are kept confidential and used only for research purposes.

## CHAPTER TWO

### 2. REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

#### 2.1 Defining Irregular Migration

There is no consensus concerning the terms to describe the phenomenon of illegal border crossing and illegal stay and employment. Terms like irregular migration, illegal migration, clandestine migration and undocumented are used in relation to migration. According to Platform for International Cooperation on Undocumented Migrants (PICUM), the words “irregular” and “undocumented” are synonymous. PICUM explains that undocumented migrants are migrants without a residence permit after being unsuccessful in the asylum procedure, have overstayed their visa or have entered irregularly (PICUM, 2015).

Although the most proper adjective from the point of view of legal language with reference to the status of an immigrant is the word “illegal,” it does not necessarily reflect the actual experiences of migrants. Illegal migration describes an act of movement that is carried out in opposition to national or international lawful migration standards. It has to be noted that illegality is not to migrants themselves but to their activities (Perkowska, 2016). Because “illegal” migration connotes criminality, it is better to use the term “irregular migration.”

Another term used in relation to migration is clandestine migration, that according to IOM is “Secret or concealed migration in breach of immigration requirements. It can occur when a non-national breaches the entry regulations of a country; or having entered a country legally overstays in breach of immigration regulations. The generic term irregular migration should preferably be used.” (Perruchoud and Redpath, 2011). Therefore, many scholars like Van Liempt, (2007), Perkowska (2016), Perruchoud and Redpath-Cross, (2011) suggest the more generic term i.e irregular migration. Accordingly, this study uses the term irregular migration.

There is no clear or universally accepted definition of irregular migration. IOM defines it as “movement that takes place outside the regulatory norms of the sending, transit and receiving country” (IOM, 2011). According to IOM, a migrant in an irregular situation may enter the country irregularly using false documents or by crossing at unofficial border crossing point; may

reside in the country irregularly violating the terms of an entry visa/residence permit; or may be employed in the country irregularly.

## **2.1 Major Theories on Migration**

In social science, providing analytical frameworks aimed at examining social phenomena is the main purpose of theory (O'reilly, 2015). Hence, theories of migration strive to clarify factors that contribute to both regular and irregular migration, and their effects at individual, community and national level. Irregular migration has no its own particular theory on its determinants, perpetuation and effects. In this section, the main theories about migration in general are discussed. The following selected theories of international migration explain the causes and perpetuation of migration in general.

### **2.1.1 Theories Based on the Causes of Migration**

Since international migration theories provide theoretical guidance to understand the movement of people in a wider perspective, they are useful to hypothesize the drivers of migration from this study area. The drivers may be related to economic, social, legal, political, cultural, ethnic or other phenomena. Theories on international migration provide scientific knowledge on international migration, and bring to light systematic and specific regularities related to migration and the relationships between them. Therefore, it is deemed useful to briefly analyze popular theories on international migration that might have motivated irregular migration from this study area.

#### **2.1.1.1 Neoclassical Theory of Migration**

The works of Hicks (1932), Lewis (1954) and Harris and Todaro (1970) have highly contributed to the Neo-classical theory of migration. For this theory, migration is caused by geographic differences in labor supply and demand and the resulting differentials in wages between labor-rich versus capital-rich countries. Wages are the main argument point for the neoclassical approach. It predicts a direct relationship between wage differentials and migration flows (Massey *et al.*, 1993). For this theory potential migrants make cost-benefit analysis before migrating. Hence, migration occurs if their expected return is positive (Arango, 2000). This

theory holds that migrants always send remittance or come back to their place of origin and contribute to the local development.

Human capital theory which is part of the micro-level of neo-classical theory (Todaro, 1969) introduced by Sjaadstad (1962) enriches the neoclassical framework by incorporating the socio-demographic characteristics of the individual as an important determinant of migration at the micro-level (Bauer & Zimmermann, 1999). Human capital endowments, skills, age, marital status, gender, occupation, and labor market status, as well as preferences and expectations, strongly affect who migrates and who does not. For human capital theory, therefore, migrants tend to be relatively more skilled because their skill increases the chances of their success.

However, this sub-theory does not justify the motivation of unskilled migrants from around the world. As different studies indicate Ethiopian regular and irregular migrants to the Middle East are unskilled migrants (RMMs, 2016; IOM, 2015; ILO, 2017). Besides, the theory is too economic in nature and it leaves out other important aspects such as social, cultural and political dimensions of migration that can potentially affect the movement of people. Furthermore, the Neo-classical explanation has been developed by considering facts in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in Europe. Therefore, it is more historical and Eurocentric analysis which might not contradict the drivers in Africa in the 21 century.

### **2.1.1.2 Lee's Push-Pull Theory**

Push and Pull Theory was developed in order to explain the causes for migration. Essentially, for this theory migration is based on individual choice. According to Lee, migrant destination and the sending country possess a set of positive and negative factors. While positive factors are the circumstances that attract people from other areas, negative factors tend to repel them (Lee, 1975:191). Negative factors encourage people to move out whereas positive factors tend to keep people tied with the place of origin. Besides, intervening obstacles en route such as language, distance, physical barrier, and cultural differences matter. For economic migration, push factors include economic conditions such as underemployment and unemployment, or low per capita income in the sending country. Pull factors include migration legislation and the labor market situation in receiving countries. Political insecurity, oppression and segregation are also political push factors.

Lee's Model has been very successful in explaining why individuals decide to migrate and how migration takes place. Lee has conceived a set of hypotheses concerning the volume of migration, streams of migration and characteristics of the migrants.

Concerning the volume of migration, it increases with economic expansion and decreases with economic depression. Besides, the volume of migration increases with time unless severe checks are imposed. Thus, the greater obstacles will lead to less migration. Regarding the development of streams, migration occurs and proceeds along well-defined routes to the destinations.

Pertaining to the characteristics of migrants, there is difference in selectivity; migrants with pull factors migrate for the search of better opportunities at the destination, whereas migrants with push factors at the place of origin are compelled to migrate. Besides, young working age groups are more likely to migrate than the elderly people and young children. Migration is, thus, age specific.

Although the neoclassical theory of push and pull theory of migration has contributed in theorizing economic drivers of migration, it is criticized for ignoring the role of non-economic factors which to a large extent play a deterministic role in an individual migrant's decision to leave his home country (Arango, 2002). Furthermore, the theory does not pay attention to the impacts of migration. It is not also able to explain return migration.

### **2.1.1.3 New Economics of Labor Migration Theory**

In the 1980s and 1990s, the new economics of labor migration emerged as a critical response to neo-classical migration theory (Massey *et al.*, 1993). The key argument is that migration decisions are not made by isolated individual actors but typically by families or households. Further, the decisions of migrants are influenced by a comprehensive set of factors that are shaped by conditions in the home country. As such, migrant decisions are not based purely on individual utility-maximizing calculations but are rather a household response to both income risk and the failures of the labor market, credit market, or insurance market (Massey *et al.* 1993). Thus, families send some of their members out to work in wage labor while others tend to the fields, generating surplus capital from the savings of migrant workers. In this sense, remittances can play a crucial role in reducing the level of poverty, offering strong potential for regional economic development.

Remittances play an important part in the new economics of migration research as they directly support the concept of household interconnectedness and the diversification of risk while analytically connecting the empirical study of the causes and consequences of migration (Taylor, 1999). While remittances are ignored in neo-classical migration theory, within New Economics of Labor Migration it is perceived as one of the most essential motives for migrating. International migration can then be perceived as a household response to income risk, as migrant remittances provide income insurance for households of origin.

Several findings in Ethiopia indicated that migration to the Middle East including Saudi Arabia is influenced not only by individual migrants but also by family decisions. Mutual decisions aim mainly at the role of remittance to the whole family.

The New Economics of Labor Migration Theory was subjected to critics. The theory is said to have limited applicability since its focus is more on the reasons for migration from the sending country with no cognizance to the fact that the receiving country also has some role to play in providing incentives that may have been the source of attraction to the migrant in deciding to migrate (Arango, 2002). It has also been critiqued for overlooking dynamics within households (i.e. gender roles) and being too heavily future-oriented (Faist, 2000).

#### **2.1.1.4 Network Theory of Migration**

This theory clearly explains one of the causes of migration from Ethiopia to Saudi Arabia. Most cross border irregular migration from Ethiopia to Saudi Arabia are highly dependent on the social network between the diaspora and their relatives and friends back at home country (Seid, 2019). This theory of migration does not look at the determinants which initiate migration but rather at what perpetuates migration in time and space (Massey et al. 1993). It suggests that migratory movements arise in response to the prior existence of links between sending and receiving states (Castles & Miller 2009). Migration networks serve as a social capital helping members in the network to enjoy the right to get information and other supports making migration more advantageous. Furthermore, the prevalence of friends or relatives at destination palliates the challenges of migration, particularly irregular migration. Hence, migration is more attractive for an individual with networks at the destination. Vertovec (2000) elaborates that the

existence of a diaspora or networks is likely to influence the decisions of migrants when they choose their destinations (Vertovec 2002).

However, similar to other international migration theories, network theory of migration is subject to criticism. According to Portes and Landolt (1996), strong networks among certain group of individuals exclude the entry of outside members to that particular network. In addition, the importance of Network Theory has declined over the years since people have better access to perfect information on labour market requirements and recruitment procedures with the development of technology (Ullah, 2016).

As the above different theories indicate the causes of migration are complex, and are area specific. All of these theories explain that people are pulled or pushed for the sake of better life. For neoclassical theory, the role of economic factors is a major cause of migration. The new economics of migration theory, on the other hand, accentuates the push factors from the sending countries as a major motivation for international migration decisions. It stresses on family and household sustenance and risk calculation as the main motivator of migrants' decisions. This theory is seen to be more applicable to developing and less developed nations of Africa. Lastly, the network theory focuses more on network effects and inter-relationships that exist amongst migrants and intending migrants and how such networks encourage more migration.

## **2.1.2 Theories Based on Impact of Migration on Development**

For decades, there has been a heated argument on migration-development nexus in migrant sending communities and countries, by “migration optimists” and “migration pessimists” (Taylor, 1999). Empirical studies throughout the world have found out the existence of linkage between migration and development.

### **2.1.2.1 Migration Optimist Theory**

Neoclassical migration economy and developmentalist modernization theories are the base of argument for migration optimists. In the perception of Neo-classical migration theory, migration is seen as an opportunity for both sending and receiving countries through optimal allocation of production factors. The scarcity of labor appears following the free movement of labor, this, in turn, begets higher marginal productivity of labor and increasing wage levels in migrant sending

countries. Capital flows are expected to go from the labor scarce to the capital-scarce migrant sending countries (Massey *et al.*, 1998). Migration optimists argue that low labor productivity causes unemployment and underemployment in sending countries. Migration to labor scarce area enables to make labor more productive and increase earnings. For, optimists, consumption can have positive multiplier effects as long as goods and services are mainly bought locally or domestically. Accordingly, migration will have positive implication for local development.

### **2.1.2.2 Migration Pessimist Theory**

Beginning from the late 1960s, optimistic views were increasingly challenged by migration pessimists (Frank, 1966). The majority of migration pessimists were inspired by structuralist social theory, which includes neo-Marxist, dependency and world systems theory. According to Structuralist approaches, the nexus between migration and development perceived as a negative phenomenon. It holds that migration deteriorates development of the sending countries and weakens sociocultural cohesion (Hayes, 1991). As Papademetriou (1985) argued, in sending countries migration exhaust supplies of skilled manpower and the most productive members of the sending country population. Remittances have fueled consumption and inflation in origin regions and that migrants rarely invested their money in productive enterprises. According to Entzinger (1985), “migrant’s remittance is spent on unproductive activities such as housing and on non-local consumption like imported consumer goods” (Entzinger, 1985). Thus, for pessimists, such unproductive expenses weaken local and regional economies and increase dependency (Russell, 1992). For Heering & Wissen, (2004) “better life experiences due to migration makes the rural way of life less appealing. This deters local people from working in traditional sectors and promotes more out-migration leading to a culture of migration” (Heering & Wissen, 2004).

Migration pessimists maintain that there is an unequal distribution of economic and political power among wealthy and poor countries. De Haas explains that underdeveloped countries are not beneficent from the global geopolitical structure where advantages are monopolized by the developed world. Within this view, international migration is manipulated for the benefit of the developed world undermining local and regional economies by depleting productive human resources (de Haas, 2012). In a nutshell, the pessimist view of migration is that migration is not only prejudicial to the economies of underdeveloped countries, but also the causes of

underdevelopment. Therefore, the effect of migration is not always positive. Negative impacts might be observed on the sending and receiving community that affect local development.

To sum up, there are different theories that elucidate the motivations, effects, perpetuation and decisions of migration. These various theories independently cannot describe irregular migration because the causes, effects and decisions of irregular migration vary across societies and geographical areas. As a result, this study used integrated push and pull theory, neo-classical theory and new economics theory of migration to clearly understand motivations and effects of irregular out-migration.

## **2.2 Migration Laws and Policies**

According to Czaika & Hobolth (2016), restrictive laws on migrants and visa policies compel people to choose irregular channels of migration. This elucidates that migration laws adopted by the sending and receiving countries could have an impact on the preference of irregular migration over regular one. This section clarifies the role of the two dominant laws or proclamation (i.e Kafala system and NEOEP, 2016) on the rights, opportunities for and challenges of both regular and irregular migrant workers.

Ethiopian migrants are affected by the Kafala system of Saudi Arabia and by the New Ethiopian Overseas Employment Proclamation (NEOEP), 2016. The Kafala system grants GCC nationals the legal burden to handle labor issues. To control the worker, the kafil (sponsor) becomes liable for the worker as a guarantee for the government. This helps authorities to properly monitor migrant workers. This fosters conditions for exploitation and abuse of migrant workers in the workplace. Migrant workers are also often denied the right to justice for violation of their rights. This forces migrants to escape from their employer and end up irregular. On the side of the sending country, the Overseas Employment Proclamation, 2016 sets grade limitation for overseas employment, and fail to address returnee migrants who have been fingerprinted. Since returnees with fingerprint are no legitimate to migrate legally they tend to use irregular migration.

### **2.3 Historic Overview of International Migration from Ethiopia**

The migration problem in the Horn of Africa has been substantial. During the period between 1978 and 1995, flows of refugees in the region have raised (Bariagaber, 2006). Although Ethiopia has experienced migratory flows throughout its history, the movement of Ethiopian civilians became substantially greater in the late 1960s and 1970s (Berhanu, Kassahun, Seid & Zekarias, 2004). After 1974, most of the migrants from Ethiopia were refugees, escaping political conflict, famine, and persecution. However, the drivers of out-migration have changed over time. In the former years, migrants initially fled for political reasons. Later the motives of Ethiopian migrants to flee their country shifted to more economic motives (Bariagaber, 1997)

Nowadays, irregular migration has been a challenge for several countries in the world. The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) reported that in 2009, globally there are about 191 million migrants and displaced persons and some 30-40 million *unauthorized* migrants (OECD, 2009). OECD claimed that approximately half a million undocumented migrants enter the European Union every year (Avramopoulos, 2015). De Bruycker *et al.*, (2013) show that from 2008-2012, irregular migrants from North Africa and Syria are among the predominant migrants to Europe. America also finds it difficult to prevent irregular migration. There are an estimated 11.4 million people in irregular status (Zong & Batalova, 2015).

The 1980s was the period when labor migration from Ethiopia to the Middle East for employment purposes started. From that time on, migration has increased in volume significantly (RMMS, 2013). According to RMMS (2013), private employment agencies facilitated the migration of more than 160,000 Ethiopian domestic workers in the first half of 2012 alone. From the 1980s onward, the Horn of Africa became the largest refugee-producing area in the world with Ethiopia being the leading migrant sending country (Bariagaber, 1999).

Another massive wave of mainly economic out-migrants appeared beginning from the 1990s (Fernandez, 2017). By 2011, a great number of predominantly women labor migrants had legally migrated to the Middle East. Due to unfavorable conditions in the Middle East, many Ethiopian migrants ended up irregular migrants. This irregular status was accompanied by other groups of irregular migrants who arrived through irregular channels. In 2015 alone, an estimated 92,446

persons, the great majority of whom are Ethiopians, arrived in Yemen (RMMS, 2015) making Saudi Arabia the last place of destination. A study finding in 2014 shows that between 60% and 70 % of Ethiopians in the Gulf countries had migrated through irregular channels. Ethiopians prefer irregular channels because of the reason that it is less bureaucratic, faster and cheaper (RMMS, 2014). Besides, in October 2013, the Ethiopian government banned labor migration following violation of rights against Ethiopian workers in the region. This incidence further increased the number of those migrating through irregular channels (RMMS, 2016). According to RMMS (2016), for the years 2006 to 2016 more than 512,000 Ethiopians were registered as moving along the shores of the Red Sea, the Gulf of Aden and the Arabian Sea (RMMS, 2016). The latest study by Mixed Migrant Center, (2019) shows that the total number of Ethiopian migrants arriving in Yemen by May 2019 was 74,333 making up the largest population of arrivals at around 92% (MMC, 2019).

Therefore, the above information suggest that out-migration from Ethiopia started in 1960s, and from 2000 on, there is an increasing rate of irregular out-migration from Ethiopia to the Middle East particularly Saudi Arabia. This increased flow of irregular migration has been facilitated via irregular channels such as Hajj and Umra, sea routes and illegal recruitment agencies (Fernandez, 2017).

## **2.4 Irregular Routes to Saudi Arabia**

Ethiopian domestic work migrants use legal channels through MoLSA and illegal brokers who work in different private employment agencies to arrive at the destination, Saudi Arabia. Unofficial estimates by MOLSA officials during interviews indicate that an equivalent of 30,000 migrants pass through illegal brokers (Fernandez, 2010).

Tourist visas and Hajj/Umra visas are safe opportunity to arrive at Saudi Arabia legally. Migrants through these channels overstay their visa period and meanwhile search for jobs. The majority of other undocumented migrants arrive at the destination via Bossasso (Endeshaw *et al.*, 2006). Djibouti and Somalia are the two transit countries to arrive at Yemen then Saudi Arabia. The journey is conducted on car, land and sea. Ethiopian migrants arrive at Djibouti port or Bossaso on foot and by car. Then they headed toward the sea route.

Strict border controls by Djiboutian authorities shifted the direction of migration from the port of Obock to port of Bossasso to get to Yemen. After the change of direction of migration, in 2015 85% of the crossing took off in Bossaso of Somalia (RMMS, 2016).

Irregular migration out of Ethiopia is facilitated by agents and smugglers. Using the network, most of the time migrants walk on foot or use vehicles (RMMS, 2016). Migrants from different parts of the country are taken into the departure ports of Obock or Bossasso from where other smugglers take the lead into Yemen. These operations are well established and run smoothly and fast. Smugglers facilitate the desert journey by giving pay off for officials or hiding migrants. Smugglers know how to pass hurdles on the journey. Because of this those who migrate with the help of smugglers are less vulnerable to various dangers than those without smugglers (Marchand *et al.*, 2016; RMMS, 2016). Reports show that Ethiopian migrants pay around USD 150 to 250 for the sea crossing from Djibouti to Yemen and between USD 450 and 600 for the whole journey from Ethiopia to Yemen (RMMS, 2016).

## **2.5 Migration and Gender**

Over recent decades gender issues have drawn the attention of scholars on migration. Descriptive studies suggest that women are less motivated for out-migration than their men counterparts (Beine & Salomone, 2010; Kirwin & Anderson, 2018). Women are antipathetic to irregular migration due to vulnerability en route (Donato & Patterson, 2004). For instance, in Ethiopia men have limited chance for regular migration. Consequently, the majority of irregular Ethiopian migrants to Saudi Arabia are men.

Although women are more vulnerable and sensitive to migration costs, they account for half or almost half proportion of international migrants. The UNDESA (2013) factsheet indicates that in Africa, there are 101 female migrants under the age of 20 for every 100 male migrants (UNDESA, 2013). World Bank (2019), in addition, confirms that Women comprised slightly less than half of all international migrants. This figure is confirmed by in-country studies, such as those conducted in Ethiopia by Bezu & Holden, (2014).

Regular migration from Ethiopia to the Middle East is dominated by women. According to MoLSA (2010), women account for 96% of all legal migration to the Middle East. The majority of Ethiopian girls in the Middle East serve as a domestic worker. This indicates the gender

segregation of labor and the feminization of domestic and care work (O'Neil & *et al.*, 2016). Many women flee their sponsors and end up irregular migrants. They also accompany their male counterparts in the irregular route through Yemen. Following the ban for Ethiopian workers in the Middle East in 2013, a great number of female migrants have also opted for irregular migration. Women's migration is instigated by sophisticated problems. While men are more frequently driven by individual, political and economic factors, women are motivated by family pressure, family reunification and gender discrimination (Afsar, 2009). Male migrant workers, on the other hand, are mostly engaged in labor activities such as waste disposal, camel and goat herding, slaughtering and manual laborers in construction fields (World Bank, 2002).

Faced with poverty and other hardships, many women choose to migrate to other countries to support their families. Previous research reports showed that women using regular channels migrated to the Middle East at a higher rate (95%) than men using regular channels, and the vast majority of them were in domestic work (Kerbage-Hariri, 2017). The rights of domestic workers are highly affected by the Kafala system. Consequently, wishing to get better respect for rights, women workers run away from their employers and end up irregular migrants. Besides, due to land problems and unemployment, families pressurize their women to migrate. Ethiopian women migrants are highly responsible for the economic safety of their family (Fernandez, 2017)

## **2.6 Empirical Evidence on Drivers and Implications of Irregular Migration**

### **2.6.1 Empirical Evidence on Drivers of Irregular Migration**

Migration is caused by complex factors such as social, demographic, economic, climatic and biological factors (Hansen & Randall, 2003). Therefore, this section examines some of the main drivers of migration in different countries.

#### **2.6.1.1. Economic Drivers**

Economic factors are key causes of migration. The neo-classical migration theory and several empirical studies show that employment and wage differentials are the major driving factors for migration. Evidence from Mexican migrants to the United States suggests wage differential increased the probability of migrating by 2.5 percentage points (Kaestner & Malamud, 2014). Qualitative studies in Asia show that pay differential more often than not instigate people to migrate from Indonesia to Malaysia and Singapore (Ford, 2001; IOM, 2010; Anggraeni, 2006).

In Ethiopia, the availability of relatively higher wages and employment opportunities particularly for uneducated people in KSA has motivated the youth to migrate into the destination country (Elias, 2013; Selemawit, 2013). One household survey conducted in 2011 found out that 75 % of Ethiopian out-migrants wish to find better employment opportunities and wages (Kuschminder & Siegel, 2014). Another research finding in Ethiopia by Seid Ebrahim (2016) indicates that unemployment is the primary cause of youth migration from Mekhoni to the Middle East. Similar to this finding, documental investigation shows that most international migrations out of Ethiopia are driven by unemployment (Kuschminder & Siegel, 2014; FDRE, 2015; de Regt & Tafesse, 2016).

The absence of strong credit institutions has also been found as a driver of migration in Ethiopia. Studies in Tigray found that the absence of adequate credit for the youth provided by the government (Kelemework *et al.*, 2017) and lack of interest-free loans from the microfinance enterprises (Seid, 2016) have triggered migration out of Ethiopia.

Since the backbone of the country's economy is agriculture, land shortage and land infertility coerce people to opt for out-migration. Studies conducted in Ethiopia also indicate land shortage and infertility as determinant of migration. For instance, research done by Kassegne & Gashaw

(2018) shows that in South Wollo insufficiency of arable land for the growing population and decline of arable land productivity contributed to migration (Kassegne & Gashaw, 2018). Similarly, in Tigray, due to shortage of land youth's access to arable land is too narrow. The land policy of the government does not address the land thirst of the new generation (Kelemework *et al.*, 2017).

### **2.6.1.2 Social Drivers**

In several areas migrant networks are the key determinants of out-migration. Mbaye (2013) argued that “migrant networks, particularly family and friends play crucial roles in irregular migration”. The networks lower the costs and address the uncertainties of employment at the destination by helping migrants to connect with local people, providing information about possible places where to live or to work, and sharing their knowledge on culture, traditions and customs at destination. Evidence from rural Mexico suggests that households with families abroad showed high rates of migration (Angelucci, 2009). In Bangladesh, Siddiqui (2001) points out that the majority of recruitment to the Middle East is facilitated by social networks of family members and friends in the destination.

Irregular migration out of Ethiopia is facilitated by agents and smugglers (Marchand *et al.*, 2016; RMMS, 2016). De Regt (2007) confirms that the majority of the Ethiopian migrants come to Yemen through the Red Sea by smugglers. Research conducted by Seid (2016), indicates that irregular migrants are highly dependent on the network of brokers.

### **2.6.1.3 Political Drivers**

Political persecution is one of the reasons for irregular out-migration in developing countries. In Ethiopia, there are few reports on irregular out-migration due to political oppression. After the coming of the military regime in 1974 in Ethiopia, there was political oppression against educated people whom the government feared as anti-revolutionary. Accordingly, hundreds of thousands of Ethiopians flocked out of the country escaping mass killing (Fransen & Kuschminder, 2009). A study by Papadopoulos *et al.*, (2004) on Ethiopians in the UK found that “over half of Ethiopians in the sample had fled their home country as a result of political oppression, including: oppression due to ethnic background, political activity, lack of freedom to express opinion, harassment and coercion”. The 2013 survey indicates that “in Yemen, 50% of

current migrants and 57% of returnees were Oromo partially migrated because of political oppression by the FDRE regime” (Carter *et al*, 2016; IRIN, 2020).

Therefore, empirical evidences around the globe point that the drivers of migration are diverse. In a country where there are political problems people migrate in order to escape political oppression and conflicts. Most people are also forced to migrate to gain better economic advantages. Besides, social problems such as the culture of migration and cultural oppression are the triggering factors for migration. These evidences clearly indicate that people are migrating for a better life.

## **2.6.2 Empirical Evidence on the Implication of Irregular Migration for Local Development**

Migration, regular and irregular, gives rise to opportunities and challenges in both the community of origin and the destination. The origin country may benefit substantially through remittances, but may also experience a reduction in labor and human capital. At the destination country, migrants may intensify competition for jobs and scarce fiscal resources and may constitute a potential threat to social cohesion. Migrants, particularly irregular, are the first to face complex challenges of migration. They encounter an unspeakable violation of rights which harm local development. Therefore, this section examines some of the main effects of irregular migration on local development.

### **2.6.2.1 Positive Impacts of Irregular Migration on Local Development**

There is a critical controversy on the link between migration and development. Remittance has the least controversial link between migration and development (Ratha 2007). Migrants whether regular or irregular send remittance back home to support themselves, their families and communities; thereby contributing to regional and local development. According to World Bank (2011), international remittances constitute the second largest source of net foreign capital inflows after foreign direct investments and exceed foreign aid to Africa. Geda and Irving (2011) estimate that the actual volume of remittances (for Ethiopia) when taking flows through both formal and informal channels into account, could be in the range of \$1 billion to \$2 billion annually.

There are hot debates on whether remittance has a positive impact on the socio-economic lives of people or not. However, several empirical studies from around the globe indicate that migration contributes to local development mainly through remittance. For Laczko *et al.* (2013), migrant remittances have contributed to the economic development of the sending countries. Maimbo and Ratha (2005), note that in Sub-Saharan Africa remittances have played a critical part on local economic development. Remittance affects development in terms of poverty reduction, investment in education, income generation, job creation, consumption and labor depletion (Andersson, 2014, Lokshin *et al.*, 2010; Ratha, *et al.*, 2011; Mansuri, 2007; Yang, 2004; Duryea *et al.*, 2005; Bisrat, 2014; Henok *et al.*, 2017).

#### **2.6.2.1.1 Impact of Remittance on Poverty**

Although there is high debate on the impact of remittance on poverty, empirical findings show that remittance lifts a great number of people out of poverty across the world. For example, according to World Bank (2016), “ In about 25 developing countries, remittances constitute more than 10% of GDP, contributing to the improvement of food security, nutrition, education, health, well-being and housing for millions of families” (World Bank, 2016). Data from a household survey in Burkina Faso suggests that 50% of households without remittance sending migrant members experienced extreme poverty. On the other hand, there was less extreme poverty in families with migrants (Wouterse 2008). Lokshin *et al.*, (2010) confirms that remittance had a role in reducing poverty in the years between 1995 and 2004 in Nepal (Lokshin, 2010). Similar results were found in Ethiopia showing that remittances directly alleviate the poverty of households with migrants abroad. Furthermore, it is a relatively stable source of income independent of the often dire local economy of recipient families (Solomon, 2012). Thus, remittance has significant contribution in fostering local development by reducing extreme poverty in developing countries.

#### **2.6.2.1.2 Impact of Remittance on Education**

Several empirical studies have shown that remittances positively impact human capital development through education and better health. Mansuri (2007) found that remittance in Pakistan has a positive and significant effect on child education and health. His finding also indicates better access to schooling reduces child labor in recipient households. Similar results

were found by Yang (2004) showing that remittances lead to higher investment in education, increment in school attendance, and reduced child labor in the Philippines. In Mexico, children from migrant sending families completed between 0.7 and 1.6 more years of schooling than children from families without any migrants abroad. It was also found that an increase in the share of households receiving remittances in a municipality led to both better health and schooling (Duryea *et al.*, 2005). In Ethiopia, research conducted by Bisrat, (2014) shows that remittance has contribution in helping students keeps their schooling in Adigrat (Bisrat, 2014).

It is unambiguous that education plays a great role in promoting development efforts by creating knowledgeable and skilled manpower. Hence, remittance flows could facilitate a favorable environment for better education of local communities; thereby contributing to the local development of the sending area.

### **2.6.2.1.3 Collective Remittance for Local Development**

Remittances through diaspora associations have significant contribution to local development by supporting development of local infrastructure and public services such as roads, hospitals and schools. In Bangladesh remittance through these associations have significant contribution to the sending communities and the country. They arrange educational opportunities, build health centers and create local infrastructure (Siddiqui, 2004). Similar research conducted by Newland & Patrick (2004) indicates that the Filipino diaspora community provides donations projects supporting education, health care and small-scale infrastructure (Newland & Patrick, 2004).

### **2.6.2.1.4 Remittance for Investments**

Empirical studies around the globe indicate that remittance positively affects local development through job creation, land purchase, construction and agricultural advancements. In 2009, surveys undertaken in the context of the World Bank's Africa Migration Project in selected African countries suggested that many international remittances were being spent on land purchases, agricultural equipment improvements, house building, setting up businesses and other investments (Ratha *et al.*, 2011). Another evidence from Bangladesh shows remitted households invest more in new farming technologies to improve agricultural productivity than non-remitted households. Empirical work from Latin America also suggests that money from remittance is used for agricultural investment and other private enterprises (de Haas, 2005), thereby

contributing to local development. Research conducted in several Asian countries, including Pakistan and Thailand, indicates that remittances used for employing labor and buying modern farm equipment, leading to output growth (Stahl, 1986; Kerr, 1996). The findings of McCormick & Wahba (2003) from Egypt and Cornelius (1990) from Mexico indicate Remittance has also a share in local development by encouraging new non-farm small-scale enterprises. In Ethiopia, according to the data collected by Henok *et al.*, (2017), returnees and migrant families in Bale zone buy in order of importance cattle, houses, furniture and appliances and arable land.

## **2.6.2.2 Negative Impacts of Irregular Migration on Local Development**

### **2.6.2.2.1 Impacts of Remittance on Local Development**

In spite of benefits, migration through remittance could create critical problems on local, regional and national development. Many empirical studies indicate that migration harms education, agriculture, equality and others. For instance, one evidence from Mexico shows that children living in households from which family members had migrated were less likely to complete high school (McKenzie & Rapoport, 2011). This was because of the reason that children with migrant families wish to migrate, and they have high dependence on remittance sent by their household members. Similarly, in Ethiopia “irregular migration is significantly undermining youth stay in schooling and increasing students’ dropout rates even terminating university level with increased migrating mentality” (Bisrat *et al.*, 2107). Empirical studies also indicate that migration has severe impact on agriculture. Glytsos (1998), notes that migration hurts agricultural output because some farmers extremely depend on remittances which force them to give less attention for agricultural activities.

In some cases, remittance does not benefit the sending rural communities rather deplete the working force because migrants choose urban areas for investment and other opportunities. For instance, in the case of Nepal, migrants and their families prefer to invest in urban areas where there are relatively better opportunities in the market, infrastructure and consumers. Thus, migrant sending households benefit little from remittance (Adhikari, 2011: 10).

Research conducted in Ethiopia by Bisrat *et al.*, (2017) confirms that the majority of investments achieved by remittance remain in urban areas than areas of the sending community. This preference affects local development negatively, although localities contribute to migration by sending their labor force. Choosing urban areas affects local development by taking the chance

of investment from remittance. Therefore, either through remittance or other factors, migration negatively affects local development by creating inequality among people, reducing the interest in schooling and agriculture.

#### **2.6.2.2.2 Impacts of Irregular Migration on Human Rights**

In spite of debates on the causes of irregular migration, researchers unanimously agree on the impact of irregular migration on human rights. Irregular migration poses many challenges for migrants. It can result in migrants being put to danger and exposed to different forms of exploitation, forced labor and trafficking in persons. The ILO (2017) study shows that most Ethiopian migrant workers in GCC countries are engaged in forced labor. Among others, labor rights violations, working for long hours without rest and overtime pay, confiscation of passport, maltreatment and irregular payment of salary or no payment at all( Asefa, *et al.*, 2017).

Migrant supporting agencies have also documented the many dangers faced by Ethiopian migrants who travel to Saudi Arabia via Yemen: physical exhaustion, dehydration, sleep deprivation, starvation, death by drowning, degrading treatment and verbal abuse, sexual and gender-based violence, moderate or extreme physical violence including torture, organ removal, and criminal kidnapping for ransom (Yitna, 2006).

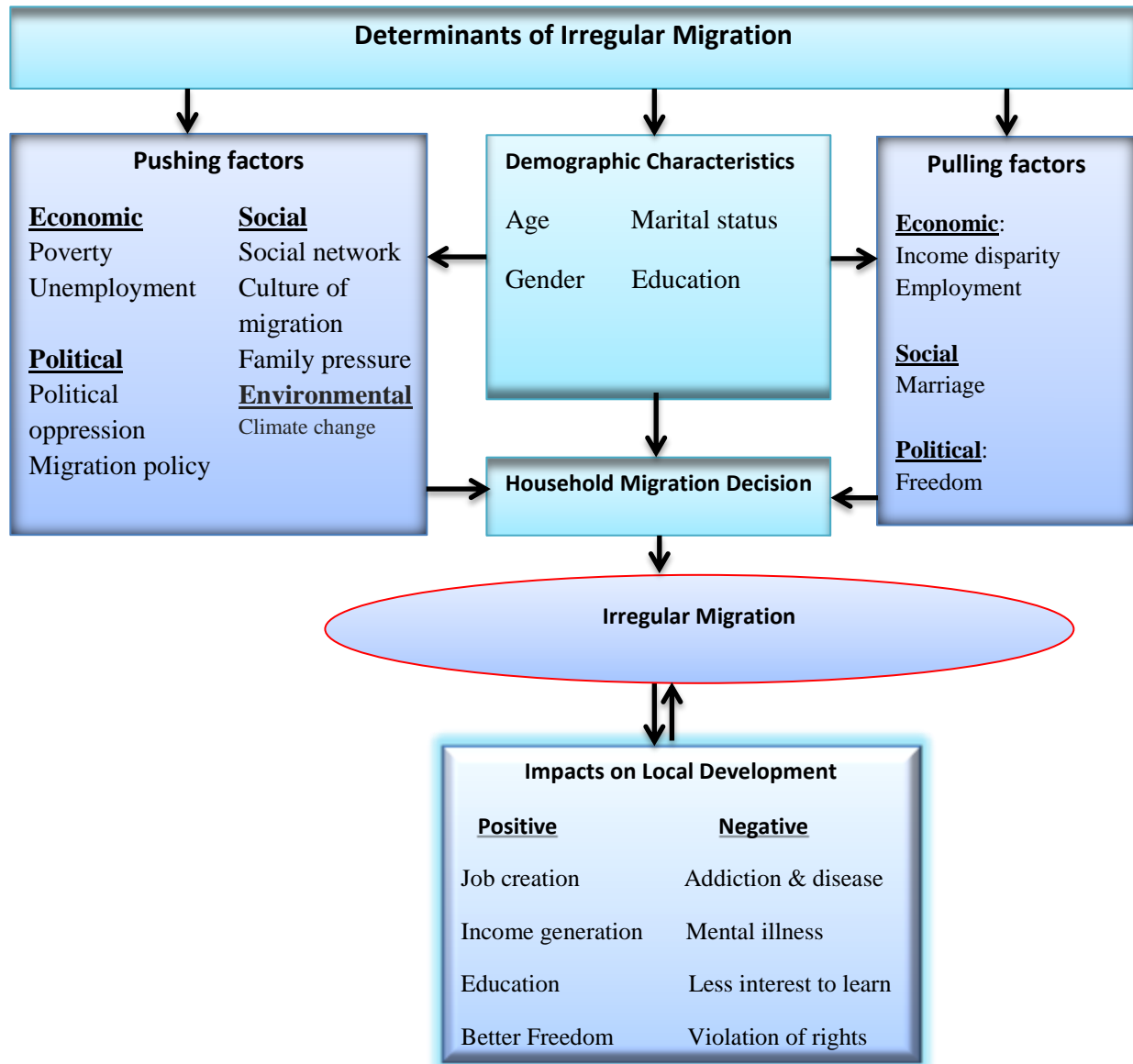
Therefore, various empirical evidences clearly show that irregular migration has deep impact on the sending and receiving society. Remittance is one of the major factors affecting migrants and their community and locality. The impacts are quite complex so that some society benefit or negatively affected than others. These effects have implications on local development of the sending countries varying from minimizing the productive workforce to contributing to local job creation.

### **2.7. Conceptual Framework of the Study**

Different theories have put their assumptions concerning determinants of migration, their impacts and, the decisions of migrants for migration. For Neo-classical theory, migrants at the micro-level are individual rational actors who decide to move based on a cost-benefit calculation. Potential migrants make cost-benefit analysis before migrating; hence migration occurs if their expected return is positive (Arango, 2000). For New Economics of Labor Migration theorists, migrant decisions are not based purely on individual decisions but are rather a household

response to both income risk and the failures (Massey *et al.*, 1993). Therefore, some theories suggest that migration decisions are made by individuals, whereas some others claim migration is a result of household decisions. Accordingly, this study employed Push-Pull, Neo-classical and New Economics of Labor Migration theory of migration as an analytical framework of the study to examine the drivers of irregular migration and its implications for local development.

**Figure 1: Conceptual Framework of the Study**



*Source: Researcher's Own Construction, 2020*

Therefore, in this study irregular migration is supposed as a household response to factors such as unemployment and political oppression. Accordingly, migration could change the life of individuals and households through employment and remittance. Irregular migration, could also negatively affect individuals and households because many household members lose their life during the journey. The impact of irregular migration is not limited to migrants and their households; it rather extends to local development. Hence, factors such as remittance and loss of labor force will influence local development. While the impact of irregular migration on local development decreases the extent of future migration, it also increases the need to migrate for the sake of remittance.

## CHAPTER THREE

### 3. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

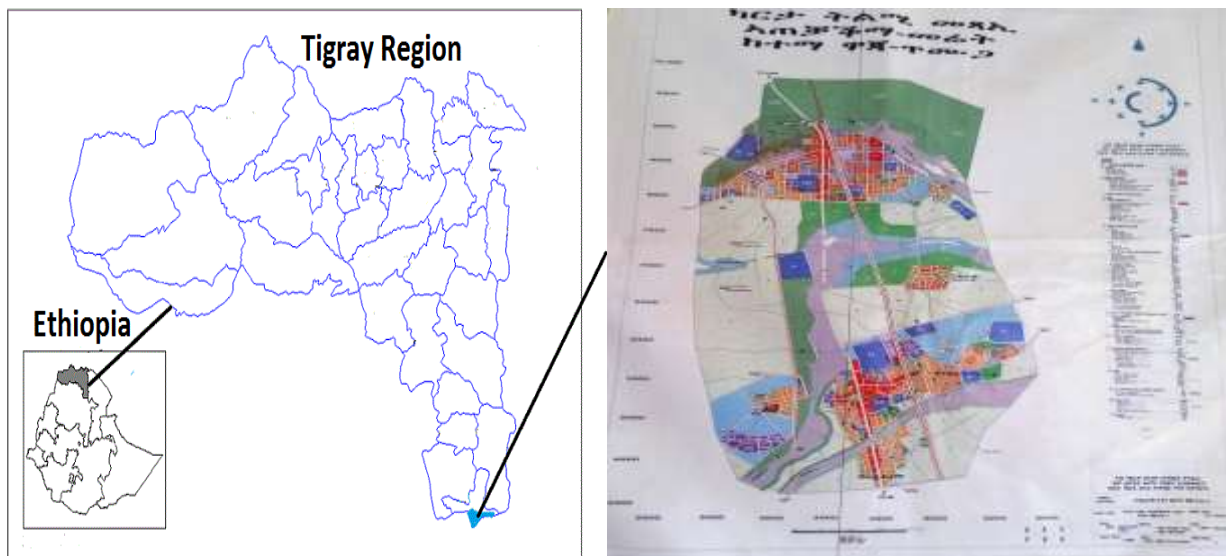
This section addresses the procedures that were employed to explore the determinants of irregular migration and its implication for local development at Raya, Waja town. The section comprises an explanation of various aspects of the research including the research area, participants, research design, data sources, data collection tools, data analysis technique and validity and reliability.

#### 3.1 Description of the Study Area

##### 3.1.1 Geographic Location of the Study Area

The study was conducted at Raya-Waja which is located in South Tigray administrative zone. The town is found to the south of Alamata Woreda. It is located 585 kilometers far from Addis Ababa. Being under Alamata Woreda administration, in the South and East it is bordered by Raya Kobo and Afar respectively. Waja is located in the southern tip of Tigray demarcating South Tigray from North Wollo of Amhara regional state. In spite of the fact that Waja is incorporated into Tigray administrative division, communally it is perceived as part of Wollo.

**Figure 2: Location Map of the Study Area**



Source: Waja-Timuga Municipality, 2020

### **3.1.2 Population**

Based on the data gathered from the town municipality, the town has a total population of 8,717 from which 3,928 are males, and 4,789 are females. From this total population the number of unemployed youth in the town has reached 3,000 in 2020. Many households in the town have at least one migrant member working in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Accordingly, the existence of a substantial amount of population with unfavorable living conditions in a small town forces the youth to see better opportunities abroad. The share of the two dominant religions is 41% Islam and 59% Christianity respectively.

### **3.1.3 Climate**

The study area has the weather condition of 59% kola, 3% dega and 38% weina dega (Woreda Agriculture Bureau). According to the Woreda Bureau of agriculture, weather condition of the study area and its surroundings is characterized by low and irregular rainfall. The proximity of the area to Afar region has forced it to face dry weather conditions which affect productivity of the agriculture. Besides, rainfall unpredictability during the rainy seasons has made farmers to be vulnerable to income shortages and food insecurity (Woreda Agriculture Bureau, 2020). Thus, climatic challenges push youth of the town to see irregular migration as a livelihood coping strategy.

### **3.1.4 Economic Characteristics of Residents**

According to the town administration, the majority (90%) of residents are farmers and merchants. A great number of young adults have engaged in small trade activities. Weaving is also one type of work dominant in the town due to high demand from Wollo-Raya society who are highly attached to the unique and adorning traditional dressing style. It is strange to see privately and governmentally employed individuals due to the absence of private and governmental institutions in the town. Accordingly, most of the residents are engaged in self-employed petty trade activities. Thus, better economic opportunities abroad persuade residents to consider irregular migration as an option.

### **3.1.5 The Study Site Selection**

Waja town is located in South Tigray administrative zone of Tigray regional state. The town is selected as a study area for some reasons. First, the town is found in the migration-prone community of Wollo. Accordingly, there exists a strong culture of irregular migration particularly to Saudi Arabia via irregular routes. This has an impact on the lives of irregular migrant youths. Besides, outmigration of the youth is followed by remittance which might affect local development of the town.

Second, the study area is extremely unique area to Tigray regional state. Like the rest of Wollo-Raya community the town and its surroundings are incorporated into the region without respecting provision 46 (2) of the FDRE constitution that states regions shall be delimited on the basis of the settlement patterns, language, identity and consent of the peoples concerned. Particularly, the language of almost all residents of the town and its rural areas are Amharic speakers. This was because before the coming of the EPRDF government several areas including this specific town were under predominantly Amharic speaking area of Wollo administrative division. Currently, although the inhabitants do not properly understand Tigrigna language, it serves as a means of communication in administrative activities and schools. Accordingly, administrative problems and identity related segregations are experienced by inhabitants of the study area. Such political sensitivity might have caused out- migration of the youth from this study area.

### **3.2. Research Design**

Research design is an extensive blueprint prepared for answering specific research questions or testing specific hypotheses (Nayak & Priyanka, 2015). In a mixed-methods approach, a researcher incorporates methods of collecting or analyzing data from the quantitative and qualitative research approaches in a single research study (Creswell, 2003). Because of the absence of a single perfect method of assessing socio-economic and political conditions, the researcher used an amalgam of qualitative and quantitative approaches to investigate the problem in deep and ensure the validity and reliability of the data. The intention of employing mixed method is that they are productive and practical means to generate breadth and depth in our understanding of complex social processes (Aitken & Herman, 2009). Besides, it helps to

minimize the shortcomings of each approach by mixing the two forms of data and analysis. Therefore, to optimize the breadth and depth of the study convergent parallel mixed methods design is employed.

In line with this, this study employed cross-sectional research design in which relevant data is gathered at one-time point (Creswell, 2003). This design is selected to find out the prevalence of a phenomenon, situation, problem, attitude or issue, by taking a cross-section of the population.

For this study, descriptive research design type was used. Descriptive design describes the problem as well as people and place affected by irregular migration. Besides, it was used to explicate the factors that cause and perpetuate irregular migration. Furthermore, regarding migration and local development, what and why questions were investigated using descriptive research design.

### **3.3. Description of Study Participants**

Population of a study refers to the total group of individuals chosen for the study (Kumar, 2011). The population for this study involved migrant sending households who are residents of Waja town. Using various data collection instruments such as questionnaires, interviews and FGD, the researcher collected data from selected migrant and non-migrant households who permanently live in the study area. Data was also gathered from people who currently live outside the study area (15 kilo meters away from the study area) escaping political persecution. Besides, data was collected from migrants who live in the destination area via telephone and social media such as Imo and What's up. Furthermore, the researcher gathered information from the municipal and administrative authorities of the study area.

### **3.4 Sampling Technique and Sample Size**

Sampling is concerned with the selection of a subset of individuals from within a statistical population to estimate characteristics of the whole population. To select the necessary sample which can properly address research questions, probability and non-probability sampling techniques were employed. In probability sampling, every member of a population will have an equal chance of being selected to represent the population. The rationale for using probability sampling is to avoid bias in selecting representatives of the population. It is more suitable for homogenous population. For FGD and interviews, the researcher used purposive sampling giving

special attention to particular characteristics of a population that will best enable the researcher to answer the research questions. This helps the researcher to gather data from individuals who are experienced in and are close to irregular migration.

Due to the prevalence of high rate of irregular migration and political oppression, Waja town which has two Kebeles is purposively selected. Similar to other parts of Wollo-Raya, residents of the town with its rural surroundings suffer from political oppression and inequality due to identity difference in the region. Thus, unemployment, lack of opportunities, segregation and suppression are common in the study area. This has made the researcher to choose this study area for research.

From these two Kebeles, the researcher selected 1,000 households from the total of 1,445 households. Using simple stratified random sampling technique, 277 households (110 returnees and potential migrants each, and 57 non-migrants) were selected from 1000 households. The researcher applied the formula of Krejcie & Morgan, (1970) to find the sample size that can represent the population in the two Kebeles.

$$S = x^2 NP(1 - P) \div d^2(N - 1) + x^2 P(1 - P)$$

$$s = \frac{3.841 \times 1000 \times 0.5(1 - 0.5)}{0.0025(1000 - 1) + 3.841 \times 0.5(1 - 0.5)} = 277$$

S = required sample size.

X<sup>2</sup> = the table value of chi-square for 1 degree of freedom at the desired confidence level (3.841).

N = the population size.

P = population proportion (assumed to be .50 since this would provide a maximum sample size).

d = the degree of accuracy expressed as a proportion (.05).

### 3.5 Sources of Data

In order to layout answers to the main research questions, collecting data both from primary and secondary sources is essential. Therefore, this research used both primary and secondary data sources. Primary sources of the data were collected from different categories of informants through in-depth interviews, key informant interviews, FGD and direct observation. Secondary

data was gathered from various relevant works of literature, such as publications, books, government and non-governmental official documents, reports on irregular migration and internet websites sources.

### **3.6 Data Collection Tools**

To properly achieve the goal of the study, the researcher used various data gathering tools such as questionnaires, interviews, FGD and document review.

#### **3.6.1 Questionnaire**

Questionnaire is a set of cautiously prepared questions aimed at addressing specific objectives or research questions (Babbie, 1990). Therefore, it is a research instrument comprising a series of questions to gather information from respondents. For this study, open-ended and close-ended questionnaires were distributed to participants of the study. The purpose of employing a questionnaire is to minimize bias of the interviewer by collecting information from a great number of respondents with a limited period of time. Besides, it can allow the use of large sample size that could result in dependable and reliable results (Kothari, 2004). Accordingly, to gather sufficient information and increase the dependability and reliability of results, this study use structured questionnaire with close-ended and open-ended questions as an instrument of data collection. The questionnaire was converted in to Amharic, and distributed among participants. The researcher was assisted by local resident who distributed and collected questionnaires to participants. The assistant has helped mainly illiterate participants by reading and explaining the questionnaire.

#### **3.6.2 Interview**

Interviews can be an in-depth or key informant, structured, unstructured or semi-structured depending on the needs of a particular study. Since they allow the interviewer to gather in-depth, detailed and specific information using few informants, they are perceived as popular methods of data collection (Mason, 2002). Key informant interview is a copious source of data that effectively dig into people's thoughts, views, experiences and aspirations (Delpont, 2005). “In-depth interview is crucial data collection instrument to obtain information on highly complex and sensitive subject matters from particularly well-informed respondents in the study area” (Greeff, 2005).

Therefore, the study employed in-depth and key informant interviews using structured, semi-structured and unstructured mechanisms. The major intention of using in-depth and key informant interviews is to gather significant amount of information by using a few selected informants. Key-informant and in-depth interviews with selected residents, administrator, returnees, potential migrants, politically wanted fugitives and current migrants at KSA were conducted. Scheduled interview with MoLSA authorities has failed due to COVID 19 pandemic.

### **3.6.3 Focus Group Discussion(FGD)**

FGD is a methodology that enables a researcher to collect plenty of information from a group of individuals allowing participants to expand on each other's responses (Beyea & Nicoll, 2000). Krueger & Casey (2000) add that FGD is a "carefully planned series of discussions designed to obtain perceptions on a defined area of interest in a permissive, non-threatening environment". Focus-groups mostly have a moderator and 6 to 12 members. Collecting information from a group of people helps to draw a mutual understanding of a social phenomenon. It minimizes the shortcomings of individual interviews. In this study, FGD was conducted to capture the major driving factors and consequences for irregular out-migration. In order to achieve this, FGD made up of 10 participants from both sex with one moderator was conducted. The researcher has used electronic devices and notes to record the data.

### **3.6.4 Observation**

Observation is systematically planned and recorded data collection method and is subject to checks and controls on validity and reliability (Kothari, 2004). Direct observation is essential to detect contextual information in a natural setting. As Creswel (2007) mentioned contextual information is highly required to understand what the participants explain. It serves as an additional technique that could complement the information obtained through interviews and FGD. Therefore, this study employed non-participant observation to collect relevant information. The intention of using observation for this study is to reduce bias from informants by discovering what is happening in the natural setting.

### **3.6.5 Document Review**

Document reviews are also important instruments of data collection. The researcher has reviewed documents from the town administration and IOM.

### **3.7. Method of Data Analysis**

Data analysis is one of the techniques used to summarize data collected from a sample representing a given population. Mixed analyses involve the analysis of one or both data types, which occur either concurrently, sequentially or vice versa. According to Creswell and Plano Clark (2007), data is analyzed using quantitative and qualitative methods for quantitative and qualitative data respectively in mixed data analysis. Thus, the study used mixed data analysis tools by integrating both qualitative and quantitative techniques. Particularly, the researcher has employed convergent parallel mixed methods analysis to collect, analyze and interpret quantitative and qualitative data independently. The data was presented using tables, charts, graphs and pictures.

### **3.8 Reliability and Validity**

Validity and reliability are pivotal to enhance trustworthiness of the study. Validity and reliability measures the accuracy of measurement tool and its consistency (Muller, 2011). Both types of measures are important tools to reach at a valid research results.

To increase credibility of the data collected, the researcher has used multiple data sources from quantitative and qualitative tools such as questionnaire, direct observation, interviews, FGDs and with migrants, potential migrants and non-migrants in and around the study area, and in the Kingdom. Besides, the researcher has transcribed and validated findings through member checking with respondents to ensure trustworthiness of the feedback obtained. The findings were shared to participants, and participants have approved the entire findings. Member checking (internal validity) has allowed the researcher to correct errors that are incorrectly worded. This has also allowed participants to check for consistency and discrepancy of qualitative data findings.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### 4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

This chapter deals with the presentation and analysis of quantitative and qualitative data obtained through survey questionnaire, FGD and interviews. The chapter is organized into three sections. The first section of this chapter describes demographic and socio-economic characteristics of respondents. In the second section, the relationship between migrants and the destination is assessed. The third section addresses gender and migration. The fourth section investigates the drivers of irregular migration from the study area. Finally, the last section assesses the consequences of irregular migration. Tables, graphs, charts, figures and pictures are used to ease understanding.

#### 4.1 Characteristics of Respondents

##### 4.1.1 Demographic Characteristics

###### 4.1.1.1 Age and Family Size

It is well-documented that the majority of migrants are of working age. This is because as Dasgupta *et al.*, (2014) elaborate, working-age migrants are successful in overcoming the challenges they face both during and after the journey and of making a living at the destination, which is often part of a risk-diversification strategy of households (Dasgupta et al. 2014). Besides, working age are the ones subject to disappointment and despair if the local opportunities are too limited to enable them earn a living both for themselves and their households. Table 4.1 presents data related to age and family size of participants of this study.

As shown in table 4.1, the average age of all groups of respondents is 24 with a maximum of 39 and a minimum of 16 and a standard deviation of 5 which shows there is age difference among respondents. This difference in standard deviation is due to the age of non-migrant respondents most of whom are above the age of 30. Therefore, absence of opportunities at home has pushed the working age group in the town to migrate for search of job opportunities abroad.

In terms of family size, the average household size is 4.7 with a maximum of 11 and a minimum of 0. The average family size of participants is below the average family size of rural households

(5.1 persons) in Ethiopia (CSA, 2012). High family size is, therefore, a motivating factor for migration. Besides, the data in table 4.1 indicate that the average participants' migrant household member at their destination is 1.5 with a minimum of 0 and maximum of 5. The prevalence of family at destination has motivated migrants to decide on irregular migration.

**Table 4.1: Age and Family Size**

Stats	N	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Age*	277	24.76	5.58	16	39
Family Size	277	4.73	1.83	0	11
Family Size at destination	277	1.52	1.13	0	5

\*The age of returnees is before migration

Source: Field Survey Result, 2020

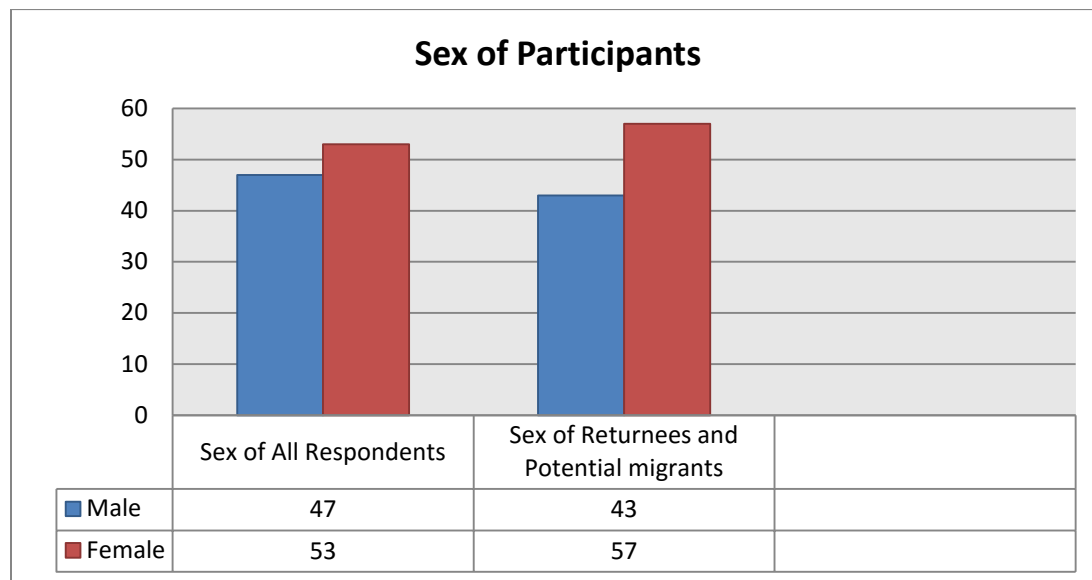
#### 4.1.1.2 Sex

Several descriptive studies suggest that women are less likely to migrate across country borders than men. They also seem to be more sensitive to migration costs and are more vulnerable to violence than men on the route (Kirwin & Anderson, 2018; Donato & Patterson, 2004). The finding of this study, however, shows that the number of women in irregular migration is higher than their male counter parts.

Figure 3 illustrates that from the total of 277 (all sampled) respondents 53% were females and 47% were males. Excluding non-migrants, from the total of 220 returnee and potential migrant respondents, 57% of them are females, while 43% are males. This proportion indicates female dominance of irregular migration. This finding is contradictory to the finding by Kuschminder & Siegel, (2014) who found out that irregular migration flows to Saudi Arabia is dominated by males. The result of FGD shows that after the ban of overseas employment to the Gulf States, the number of female migrants through irregular migration has increased dramatically. Similar to the research finding by RMMS (2014), interview with migrants currently working in KSA indicate that due to violation of rights by Saudi employers, many females who work as housemaids

escape from their employers and end up irregular migrants. This increases the share of female migrants in irregular migration. The role of female migrants for local development has increased with increase in the number of female irregular migrants.

**Figure 3: Sex of Participants**



**Source: Field survey result, 2020**

#### 4.1.1.3 Marital Status of Participants

As can be seen from table 4.2, from the total of 277 returnees, potential migrants and non-migrant respondents 51% (141 of them) are unmarried, and from the total of 57 non-migrants 72% of them are married. Thus, unmarried youth adults are more active in irregular migration. In the contrary married people are less motivated to irregular migration. This is partially because of the freedom of decision making that unmarried people enjoy.

**Table 4.2: Marital Status of Participants**

<b>Migrants</b>	<b>Marital Status</b>			
	<b>Unmarried</b>	<b>Married</b>	<b>Divorced</b>	<b>Total</b>
Returnees*	53	27	30	110
Potential Migrants	77	10	23	110
Non-migrants	11	41	5	57
<b>Total</b>	141	78	58	277

\*Marital status before migration

Source: Field Survey Result, 2020

## 4.1.2 Socio-economic Characteristics of Participants

### 4.1.2.1 Employment Status of Respondents

**Table 4.3: Employment Status of Respondents**

Employment	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
<b>Unemployed*</b>	194	70.04	70.04
<b>Employed*</b>	83	29.96	100.00
<b>Total</b>	277	100.00	

\*Employment status of returnees is before migration

Source: Field survey result, 2020

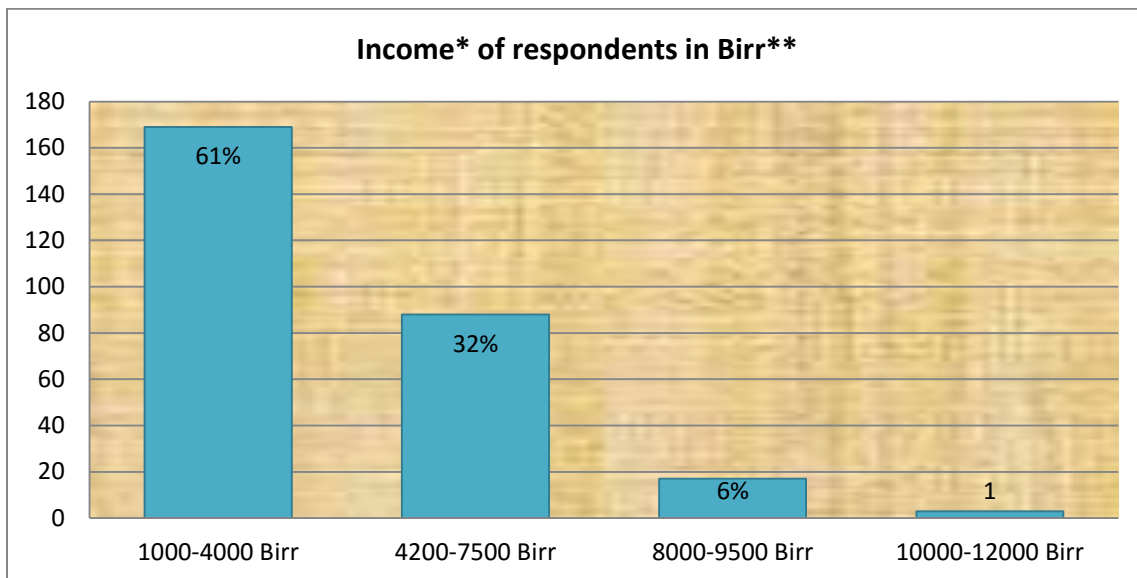
Unemployment and underemployment continue to be serious social problems in Ethiopia despite some improvements in recent years. It is one of the major factors that have significant contribution in international migration. Giving special attention the government of Ethiopia has introduced different policies and strategies to create employment opportunities for the youth. Despite such efforts, unemployment is high and is one of the socio economic problems in the country. The youth/adult unemployment rate in Ethiopia for the year 2019 is 2.76, which is the highest in the horn of Africa (Statista, 2020). As shown in table 4.3, 70% of all sampled participants living in the town are unemployed, whereas the rest 30% are employed. This finding

is similar with a research done by Kuschminder & Siegel (2014) who found out that in Ethiopia 75% of those leaving the country is due to lack of employment.

#### 4.1.2.2 Income of Respondents

To study the determinant factors of migration it is essential to investigate the income of people in the study area. The survey result for the income of respondents indicate that of 277 returnee, potential migrant and non-migrant participants, 61% of them have low income ranging from 1,000.00-4,000.00 Birr, and 32% of them have incomes that range from 4,200.00-7,500.00, whereas the rest 6% and 1% of the participants have income ranging from 8,000.00-9,500.00 and 10,000.00-12,000.00 Birr per month. This data indicates that compared to income generated at KSA, the majority of the respondents for this study have lower household incomes. Besides, as can be seen in table 4.7, compared to incomes generated in the Kingdom, there is high monthly income difference between residents at the town and migrants in the Kingdom. Household income gained in the Kingdom is above three fold (18,000.00 Birr) than household income earned at the study area (5,000.00 Birr). Accordingly, high income difference has forced the youth to migrate irregularly.

**Figure 4: Income of Respondents**



\*Income of returnee respondents is before migration

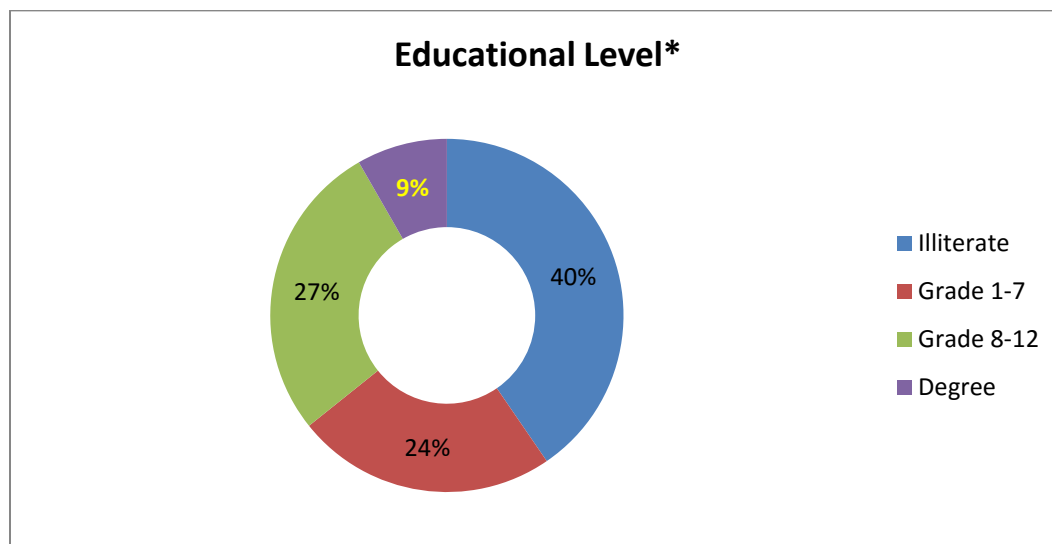
\*\*1 USD=32 ETB (Birr)

**Source: Field Survey Result, 2020**

### 4.1.2.3 Educational Attainment

Irregular migrants are likely to have low levels of education. Lower education means fewer options for legal migration (Cummings, *et al.*, 2015). Similarly, the results of this study provide that the great majority of participants are illiterate and have lower level of education. As shown in figure 5, educational attainment of the majority of all groups of participants (52%) is literate ranging from grade 1 up to grade 12. Besides, a substantial number (40%) of participants are illiterate. Only 8% participants have attained degree. Therefore, since receiving countries prefer literate and skilled man power, illiteracy and attaining lower level of education pushes participants to migrate via irregular routes. However, as expressed by key informants and FGD participants employment through irregular migration generates more income than regular employment. Thus, the role of irregular migrants in sending remittance for their household is higher than regular migrants. Accordingly, irregular migrants contribute more to local development.

**Figure 5: Educational Level**



\*Educational level of returnees is before migration

**Source: Field Survey Result, 2020**

#### 4.1.2.4 Religion of Respondents

From the total of 277 all sampled participants, 57% of them are Muslims, while 43% of them are Christians. From 220 returnees and potential migrant participants, 60% of them are Muslims. This indicates that Muslims are more interested to migrate to Muslim countries including KSA which is the center for Islam. This finding confirms the study result by Fernandez, (2010) who found out that most Ethiopians who migrated to Saudi Arabia and the Middle East were Muslims who completed some years of secondary education. This might be imputed to the fact that the destination is the center of Islam. Besides, migrants prefer to join communities or societies with similar religion or culture to reduce challenges at destination (Safa, 1975). Though the number of Muslims is higher, the number of Christian migrants to the Kingdom is also significant.

**Table 4.4: Religion**

<b>Religion*</b>	<b>Freq.</b>	<b>Percent</b>
Islam	161	58
Christianity	116	42
Total	277	100

\*Religion of returnees is before migration

**Source: Field Survey Result, 2020**

## 4.2 The Destination

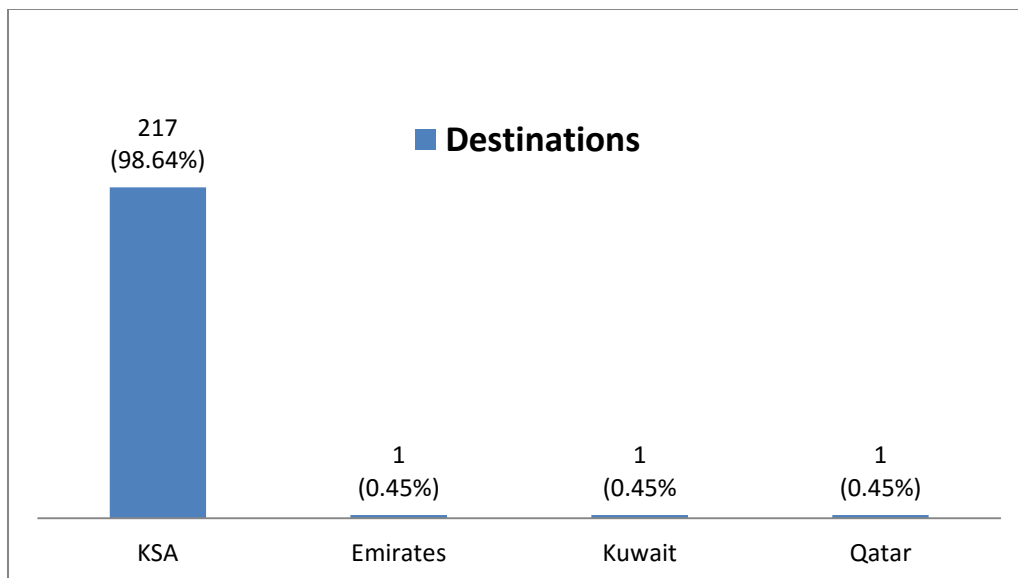
Saudi Arabia is the fourth among the six major migrant receiving states after USA, Germany, the Russian Federation, Canada and France. The kingdom hosts 90% of the total 10 million workers in the Gulf countries (RMMS, 2014). Although the majority of migrant workers to KSA come from countries of South and South East Asia, a great number of irregular migrants from Ethiopia also travel to the kingdom mainly for economic purposes (Manseau, 2006).

As can be seen from figure 6, the majority (99%) of returnee and potential migrant respondents preferred/prefer KSA as their best destination. The rest 1% of the respondents chose/choose Emirates, Kuwait and Qatar.

Zalika Abdurrahman is a returnee who is currently planning to migrate to KSA irregularly. She explains that:

*“In spite of challenges during the journey and after arrival, I feel KSA as my home country. The country could afford me the opportunity to practice Islam. It was in KSA that I become committed to Islam. I love my employers as my own family. They are caring; generous and God fearing people. Believe or not they are my sponsors for my next migration. They beg me to join them as soon as possible. Besides, KSA is the only Gulf Country that has loose border control. The rich Gulf countries like Emirates, Kuwait and Qatar are geographically small, and could control their borders tightly. Desperate migrants like me from Ethiopia exploit this opportunity to arrive at the Kingdom. I was finger printed when I come to Ethiopia due to family matters. According to the Saudi law, it takes five years to erase finger print. Because of these reasons, I choose future irregular migration through the open border of KSA”*

**Figure 6: Choice of Destination**



Source: Field Survey Result, 2020

### **4.3 Gender and Migration**

Feminization of labor migration has helped women to enter the international migrant labor force in large numbers (UNDP, 2009). This has facilitated the need for employers to increase the demand for women who are easier to control and willing to work for low wage in traditionally male labor fields (Scully, 2010).

Figure 3 shows that from the total of 220 returnee and potential migrants, 57% of them are females and the rest 43% are males. This clearly indicates that there is feminization of migrants to the Gulf Countries.

According to information gained from interview with Ethiopian migrants who are currently living in KSA, a great number of irregular women migrants work as housemaids. Remla Abdella is currently working in KSA as housemaid. She explains that “there is an open legal opportunity for women to work in the Kingdom mainly as housemaid workers. However, due to irresistible oppression by their employers and partially to get better salary, Ethiopian housemaids escape from their employers and end up irregular migrants”. It is well known that women are vulnerable in irregular migration. In spite of this, women in the study area migrate in great numbers facing various challenges. More than half (57 %) of participants of this research are women and girls who have the plan to work or had been working as housemaid in their destination. Jemila Mekonen, a returnee migrant, states the number of women migrants in the sea route. Jemila recalls that “when I migrate last year there were other five women migrants with me headed by an experienced male migrant”. She adds that “on average a male migrant takes four female migrants with him”.

### **4.4. Major Drivers of Irregular Out-migration**

As can be seen from the table 4.5, 55% of returnees and potential migrants are motivated by economic factors like unemployment, poverty, unfavorable microfinance and agricultural output failures. Accordingly, similar to findings by prior studies (Oluwatobi *et al.*, 2015; ILO, 2011; Michael, 2014), the youth in the town are forced to migrate mainly due to economic factors. Next to economic factors, social factors take the lion’s share (31%) of irregular migration. The existence of widespread culture of migration in Wollo has affected the youth in the town to see migration as an alternative or best source of livelihood. This culture of migration is highly

supported by a strong network of migration. After making a serious cost-benefit analysis household members decide and convince their young members to migrate irregularly. Besides, the community intentionally or unintentionally pushes the youth to migrate. Political factors are sometimes the causes of migration in places where there is political sensitivity. The intentional or negligent administrative measures against people or town incapacitate interest of the youth to work in their areas. As depicted in table 4.5, 5% of respondents are forced to migrate due to political oppression in the two Kebeles.

**Table 4.5: Drivers of Irregular Migration**

No.	Drivers of Irregular Migration				
	Economic Drivers		Factors	Freq.	%
1.	Unemployment	Root cause	Pushing/Pulling	57	26
2.	Poverty	Root cause	Pushing/Pulling	27	11
3.	Unfavorable microfinance	Auxiliary cause	Pushing	21	10
4.	Agricultural output failures	Root cause	Pushing	17	8
	Sub Total			<b>122</b>	<b>55</b>
	<b>Social Drivers</b>				
5.	Culture of migration	Auxiliary cause	Pulling	22	10
6.	Migrant networks	Auxiliary cause	Pulling	20	9
7.	Family pressure	Auxiliary cause	Pushing	19	9
8.	Community pressure	Auxiliary cause	Pushing	6	3
	Sub Total			<b>67</b>	<b>31</b>
	<b>Political Drivers</b>				
9.	Lack of good governance	Auxiliary cause	Pushing	20	9
10.	Political oppression	Root Cause	Pushing	11	5
	Sub Total			<b>31</b>	<b>14</b>
	Grand Total			<b>220</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Field Survey Result, 2020

## **4.4.1 Economic Drivers**

As depicted in table 4.5, 55% of respondents are motivated to migrate due to economic reasons. Thus, economic factors are the principal driving forces for Ethiopian youth migration to the Middle East (Atnafu, 2006; RMMS, 2014; Fransen & Kuschminder, 2009).

### **4.4.1.1 Unemployment**

At country level, there are many unemployed youth who completed high schools and graduated from higher educational institutions. Youth who are illiterate or drop out are the most who faced unemployment. As a result of this, many youth attempt to leave the country in search of job opportunity either legally or illegally sacrificing their lives.

Several researchers have identified differences in economic opportunities, mainly employment and wage differentials, as the primary drivers of migratory movements. Table 4.6 illustrates unemployment condition of participants of this study.

From the total of 277 all sampled respondents, 194 of them are unemployed. The rest 10 respondents are employed in public and private institutions, and 73 respondents are self-employed. The same table also shows that from all unemployed respondents, the majority (100 respondents) are potential migrants, whereas 80 and 14 respondents are returnees and non-migrants respectively. This data suggest that unemployment condition of those who do not want out-migration is low, whereas those who have the desire to migrate (returnees and potential migrants) have higher unemployment problems. Thus, unemployment is one of the major reasons for youth out-migration.

Concerning employment of respondents the data in table 4.6 shows that the role of public and private institutions in generating employment opportunity is minimal. Only 10 from all sampled respondents have got employment opportunity in public and private institutions. The majority employed respondents (73 of them) have created employment for themselves. This indicates that the local government has weak capacity or will to generate employment. The absence of willingness or strong capacity to create employment results in sluggish local development that cannot satisfy the interest of the youth for employment. Thus, the youth migrate in search of an opportunity to the Kingdom to quench their thirst for employment.

**Table 4.6: Employment Types**

Migrants	Employment Type			
	Unemployed	Employed	Self-employed	Total
Returnees*	80	2	28	110
Potential Migrants	100	2	8	110
Non-migrants	14	6	37	57
Total	194	10	73	277

\*Employment of returnees is before migration

**Source: Field Survey Result, 2020**

Hailu Berihun, a potential migrant, has been jobless for about three years after graduating from Mekele University in electrical engineering. He had no hope than being hired after graduation. Currently, he is planning to migrate irregularly to improve his living standard. He explains the reason why he has determined to migrate in an irregular route.

*“I was committed to learning, and had a hope in getting employment in my field of study. As it is known, in recent years the government of Ethiopia has implemented 70/30 educational policy in which 70% of students must join natural science while the rest 30% have to join social science fields. Accordingly, there are high numbers of unemployed graduates from natural science fields. As a natural science student in engineering, I am from among those who are unemployed. Locally the Kebeles have minimal opportunity to create employment for us. Therefore, the only choice I left to find job is out-migration into Saudi Arabia, my dream land for employment”.*

Semira Abdella, a returnee from KSA, explicates unemployment situation of the youth in the Kebeles.

*“We are tied up not to enjoy local development. It is known that the government has to create employment for the youth, if not it has to facilitate opportunities for the youth to create self-employment. Having this row truth the local/regional administration has prevented employment deliberately. One of the major proofs for this is the prevention of town master plan that is crucial in generating new employment opportunity. The*

*residents of Waja have been requesting the implementation of master plan since long period of years. But the administration has still prohibited our right for urban development consciously. We have been prevented not only the right for master plan but also equal right with the Woreda/regional youth for local employment. Here, in Waja, it is strange to get governmentally employed youth. There is no such issue as employment opportunities for the youth or women. Waja is either the forgotten town or deliberately tied up. Living in a politically complicated town, how could I get employment opportunity and avoid out-migration? Why not I dream Saudi Arabia?”*

Similarly, another key informant, Sisay Mengstu, a potential migrant aged 28 described unemployment situation and desire of the youth for migration in Waja town as follows:

*“Waja as a town is the oldest compared to its neighboring towns. But it is the only town without master plan. A town without master plan can’t expand and open opportunity at least for self-employment. On the contrary, a town with proper master plan could promote housing; attract public and private institutions which have the potential to create employment for the youth. The issue of lack of master plan is one of the major hurdles for the youth employment like me. The long lived market day of the town (i.e Tuesday) was prohibited and transferred to the nearby town. The market was the major source of self-employment for the youth like me. Although residents of the town have unofficially determined another market day, there is still discouragement of exchange of goods on this day. It was difficult for me to confidentially engage in such economic circumstance. The other major problem of the town in terms of employment is the absence of private and public institutions. Public and private institutions have great potential to create employment opportunity for the youth. Discouraged by the absence of master plan there is no suitable housing that meets the requirement for private and public institutions. If there were sufficient institutions in the town, I could have gotten employment opportunity here. Therefore, migration is the only desperate choice to satisfy my employment thirst”.*

The above data indicate the prevalence of unemployment problem in the town caused by absence of good will and lack of good governance in the town. People are suffering from unemployment, they are desperate. On the contrary, across the sea there is an open employment opportunity. As

the FGDs and key informant results show the destination is full of employment opportunities for the youth. This opportunity is more ensured through irregular migration than regular one.

#### **4.4.1.2 Poverty**

In about 25 developing countries, remittances constitute more than 10% of GDP, contributing to the improvement of food security, nutrition, education, health, well-being and housing for millions of families” (World Bank,2016). As depicted in table 4.5 from the total of 220 returnee and potential migrant participants 11% of them are forced by the existence of poverty. There is relative poverty in the town. The researcher has widely observed the living condition of people in the town. According to this observation most people seem to live in a difficult situation. The town has extremely dense slum area with poor living conditions. People have few employment opportunities due to old housing and poor market. There is no any institution that generates income for inhabitants. This has made people to be poorer than neighboring communities.

**Picture 1: Poverty**



**Source: The Researcher, 2020**

Molash Abebe is a returnee who is currently living in the town and determined not to migrate again. She expressed the condition of her family before and after migration as follows:

*“I have worked in the Kingdom for six years. I have elevated the status of my household from poverty struck to better off families. Before my migration the economic condition of the household was miserable. There were times when children used to change their dresses rarely. We used to fail to eat three times a day. The need of the family members was majorly restrained. We had poor housing. However, migration has changed this circumstance. Today, the household has better income with good housing; has proper expenditure for daily consumptions, education and health services, and is happier than before.”*

**Picture 2: Returnee’s House Before and After Migration**



**Before Migration**



**After Migration**

**Source: The Researcher, 2020**

The existence of relative poverty has pushed the youth to prefer irregular migration which serve as a livelihood adaptation strategy. Coupled with high number of dependents and weak local development people are struck by poverty. Household members in this town migrate to the destination in order to guarantee economic opportunities for the household. Therefore, household

members decide to send someone from among themselves to survive from poverty and poverty related challenges.

#### 4.4.1.3 Income Differential

Wage differential is one among the major motivating factor for international migration. As can be seen in table 4.7, there is high household income (wage) difference between income at the origin area and at the destination. The average income of returnee households at the origin and at the destination is 4,923.00 Birr and 18,386.00 Birr respectively. This indicates high wage deference of migrants before and after their migration. The minimum wage of returnee households before migration was 2,500.00 Birr with maximum of 11,000.00 Birr. On the other hand, their minimum household income at the destination was 50000 Birr. This indicates that, there is big difference among respondents in their income (wage).

**Table 4.7: Monthly income of returnees at home and at the Kingdom**

<b>Household Income of Respondents</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Sd</b>	<b>Min</b>	<b>Max</b>
Income of household at home ( in Birr)	110	4923.00	2,011.00	2,500.00	11,000.00
Income of Household at the Destination ( in Birr)	110	18,386.00	9,734.00	3000.00	50,000.00

**Source: Field Survey Result, 2020**

Temr Hasen, a potential migrant, explains the impact of wage difference in choosing irregular migration. Temr has terminated her high school education. She explains the reason for her migration as follows:

*“There is significant difference in wage between the domestic wage and wage in KSA. Many educated and employed people in the country complain about low wages. I have a brother who teaches in high school, and a brother and a sister who are employed in governmental institutions. I am also self-employed owning a small café. All of us complain of low wages. Our income does not allow us to lead a proper life financially. We are always covetous about the wealth and success of returnees from KSA. We are*

*jealous of returnees because they get higher wages without any kind of educational experiences. I have taken lessons from this that wages gained from migration are better than wages in our country. Accordingly, the reason for my future migration is wage differences. Likewise, my two siblings have made up their mind to migrate to the Kingdom”.*

Payment disparity between regular and irregular migrants convinces regular migrants to end up irregulars. According to interview with participant in the Kingdom, most regular migrants earn about 8,000.00 Birr monthly while irregular migrants gain about 15,000.00 Birr monthly with better freedom. Irregular migrants are out of Kafala system so that they can change their employer any time they want and get relatively better payment compared to legally hired migrants. Besides, the information collected from FGD, telephone interview and key informant show the low wage rate for Ethiopian workers in Ethiopia has led to irregular migration. Teachers have been mentioned most to see wage differences as a reason of migration. Due to the low wage there are some teachers who have migrated irregularly to the Kingdom.

Zebna Belay, currently in an irregular status, had entered the Kingdom through legal employment agencies. Similar to Zebna there are a great number of Ethiopian migrants who escaped from their legal employers, and changed their status from regularity into irregularity. Ethiopian and Saudi governments had jointly strived to fix this problem but still escaping from employers has been common problem in the Kingdom. Zebna explains the reason why she became irregular as follows:-

*“Ethiopian migrants, mainly women, in a legal status end up irregular due to violation of their rights and high wage difference between regularly employed and irregularly hired. I had been working as a housemaid at lower than 8,000 Birr per month for two years. My friends, on the contrary, escaped from their legal employer after spending about two and three months. They get approximately 12000-15000 Birr monthly with a better freedom. There was a huge wage difference between me and my fugitive friends. They were able to remit better than me. Because of this, I determined; arranged situations and escaped from my legal employer. Currently, being in an irregular status, I get 13,000 Birr per month sending better amount of remittance to my household members”.*

Therefore, the above data obviously show income differential is a major factor pulling the youth to go across the sea. There is high income differential between working at home and at the destination. This has pulled people to migrate to the destination. Moreover, the existence of income differential between regular and irregular migrants motivated regular migrants to be irregulars. Furthermore, working in low paid jobs in some professions in Ethiopia have forced employees to search better salaries in KSA.

#### 4.4.1.4 Absence of Favorable Micro Finance

**Table 4.8: Micro Finance Loan**

<b>Microfinance Loan</b>	<b>Freq.</b>	<b>Percent</b>	<b>Cum.</b>
Don't take	193	69.58	69.58
Take	84	30.32	100.00
Total	277*	100.00	

\*All groups of respondents

**Source: Field Survey Result, 2020**

Microfinance loan is one source of money for local people to create employment locally. However, most of the respondents in this study do not take loan from the nearby microfinance. As shown in table 4.8, out of 277 (all sampled) participants, only 30% of them take loan from the local microfinance. The majority of the participants (70%) do not take loan from the institution.

Participants were asked why they do not take loan from the nearby microfinance institution. As can be seen in table 4.9 from the total of 193 respondents who do not want to take loan from the microfinance, 41% (84 respondents) confirmed that the microfinance available is not interest free. In Islam it is forbidden to take money or asset with interest. Therefore, those pious respondents do not take money from the microfinance because interest is prohibited in their religion. The 20/80 loan is the other challenge that prevent respondents to take loan from the nearby micro finance institution. From the total of 193 respondents, 31% of them mentioned 20/80 as the second most influencing challenge for not taking loan. In 20/80 loan, a person is expected to save and deposit 20 thousand Birr to get 100 thousands Birr.

**Table 4.9: Reasons for not Taking Loan from the Microfinance**

<b>Reasons for not Taking Loan</b>	<b>Freq.</b>	<b>Percent</b>	<b>Cum.</b>
Prohibited Interest	79	40.93	40.93
High Interest Rate	4	2.07	43.01
Insufficient Loan	50	25.91	68.91
20/80 Loan	60	31.09	100.00
<b>Total</b>	193	100.00	

**Source: Field Survey Result, 2020**

As the FGD result clarify, most people in the Kebeles do not have saved money that can be deposited in the microfinance. One of the participants of the FGD said that:

*“Poor people who can’t own about 20 thousands Birr are not legitimate to take sufficient loan from the microfinance. Only people with better income can borrow. For a low deposit you get insufficient loan that can’t help fulfill your goal. People like me wish to get relatively enough loan from the microfinance to start a small business. In these Kebeles, the most successful source of income for start-up is remittance from KSA. Therefore, people use their full effort to arrive at destination.”*

The other reason behind not taking loan from the microfinance is that the institution lends insufficient money. Table 4.9 shows that 26% of respondents do not take loan from the institution due to insufficient loan. In addition to the above reasons, few respondents (2%) do not want to take loan because of high interest rate.

Coupled with success stories and experiences from households who have migrant members, people in these Kebeles prefer to migrate to KSA to get enough money.

*“Every day I hear success stories and experiences from households who have migrant members at KSA. Those households get startup money from remittance sent from their household member. The nearby microfinance is far from enough and not life changing. The risky but good chance I have is to irregularly migrate and save money or send remittance for my household member”. (Znabu Molla, a returnee and potential migrant).*

#### **4.4.1.5 Agricultural Output Failure**

Raya, which is part of North Wollo, is one of the areas vulnerable to drought. People in this region are extremely dependent on agricultural economy. There is unpredictable climatic condition in the area. In addition, agricultural productivity has decreased due to climate change, soil erosion and over dependence on chemicals. Because of this agriculture faces frequent output failures. One of the FGD participants said the following:

*“Most of us come from agrarian family. Born in agrarian parents, I have enough hectare of land serving as household income. When our family land get sufficient rain and kept from harsh flooding, we harvest satisfactory outputs from the land. But the climate, here, is unpredictable. Over flooding and frequent lack of rainfall make our agricultural outputs fail. We can't afford the use of modern agriculture to excavate water for the land because of this the land is totally dependent on rainfall. Having a household that is exceedingly dependent on agriculture, it is hard to guarantee well-being of my household. The only possible option to ensure well-being of my household is sending remittance from out-migration”.*

According to the information gained from the town agricultural bureau, in harsh time drought and flooding cause loss of substantial hectares of agricultural outputs. Coupled with high rural unemployment, failure in agricultural productivity forces the youth to out-migrate in order to send remittance for their household members.

#### **4.4.2 Social Drivers of Irregular Migration**

##### **4.4.2.1 Culture of Migration**

Culture of migration has been discussed by researchers as an important determinant of international migration (de Haas, 2012). It is clearly depicted in table 4.8 that 20% of returnee and potential migrant respondents are motivated to irregular migration due to the existence of widespread culture of migration. Wollo, in general, is highly involved in the culture of migration toward the KSA mainly through irregular routes. The study area, as part of Wollo population, is also affected by irregular migration to the same destination. The youth are both pushed and

pulled by different factors in the study area and the destination. They have extreme hope on the destination partially due to being neglected at home.

The above result is supported by FGD and key informant interview. According to participants of FGD and key informants there is high level of culture of migration in the Kebeles. One of the FGD participants explains this as follows:-

*“Culture of migration has been the day to day activity of the youth. Here, we don’t have opportunities that absorb interest of the youth. We have been neglected by the Woreda or regional administration. There is almost nothing that holds the youth except migration. On the other side, there is relatively better opportunity across the sea (i.e. KSA). Family members push the youth to migrate and remit. There is strong and partially reliable network of migration. For those who can afford money for the travel cost, it is easy to arrive at the destination mostly without any danger. Thus, it has been common and recurrent to see or hear migration of the youth in groups. Particularly, returnee migrants are more eager to re-migrate”.*

Another participant states the condition of culture of migration as follows:-

*“My family doesn’t have enough income that can feed the entire household member. I don’t have a good job and fine social status here. All of my friends are in Saudi Arabia living comparatively better life. The community has strong influence on me for staying at home being dependent on my family. Even the destination is more suitable to get life partner or spouse. Besides, I will be free at the destination than here. More importantly, the prevalence of migration network facilitates my travel toward the dream land. Those all reasons open the opportunity for the youth like me to make migration a culture”.*

The above data show the existence of intense culture of migration to the Kingdom. As interviews and FGDs imply, different factors have contributed in building this culture in around the study area. These factors have forced people to search for a better opportunity abroad. Since thirty years ago, migration to the Gulf countries have been opted as the best livelihood adaptation strategy in the area. Pushed by lack of local development, and supported by many entry opportunities to the Kingdom, households prefer to search for jobs in KSA. This culture has been dominant in the life of the community. Discussions have showed that the cycle of irregular migration in the town is a common activity. Therefore, most people in the town are migrants.

#### 4.4.2.2 Network of Migration

Migration networks are social capital that connect migrants and non-migrants in origin and destination areas through ties of kinship, friendship, and shared community origin. The major advantage of networks is that they lower risks and costs of movement for potential migrants by making information and resources accessible (Cummings *et al.*, 2015). They can help in finding shelter and jobs in the country of destination and provide necessary resources for the route.

In Ethiopia, there are extensive networks of agents and smugglers that facilitate border crossing by irregular migrants and asylum seekers out of the country. In addition, smugglers are also active within the country. Usually smuggled migrants partially walk and are taken in vehicles for other parts of the journey (RMMS, 2016). Migrants with strong network have a chance of arriving at the destination with minimal challenges during the journey but the contrary is true for those who has weak migration network (RMMS, 2016).

As can be seen in table 4.8, 9% returnee and potential migrant respondents are motivated to migrate due to the prevalence of network of migration beginning from the origin to the destination. Similarly, the FGD results shows network of migration has contributed in facilitating irregular migration. This finding is similar with several researchers finding (Marchand *et al.*, 2016; RMMS, 2016; De Regt, 2007; Seid, 2016) who found out that irregular migration from Ethiopia to the gulf countries is supported by strong network of migration. Meskerem Abrha says the following regarding network of migration.

*“One important factor that helped me to arrive at KSA is the prevalence of network of migration. I have three family members working in KSA. They were my sponsors for my journey via the sea route. They know people and smugglers who facilitate and alleviate challenges during my travel. There was network of smuggling starting from my very origin to my destination. Although the journey was dangerous, the network has relieved the challenges that I had to face”.*

Strong culture of migration has enabled people to establish network of migration. Most smugglers and traffickers come from areas affected by strong culture of migration. These facilitators have taken experiences from recurrent migration. They have made smuggling and

trafficking business as a major source of income. Availability of strong network of migration to the destination has motivated households to see irregular migration as an option.

#### **4.4.2.3 Family and Community Pressure**

Migration as a crucial livelihood strategy plays a great role for the sending households (Gebrehiwot *et al.*, 2012). As a result of this role households pressurize their youth members to migrate at any cost. Besides, the study by RMMS (2014) on knowledge, attitudes and practices of migrants confirms that in migration prone areas community influences are the most common drivers of migration.

Pressures from family and the community have, therefore, roles in aggravating irregular migration. As can be seen in table 4.5, from the total of 220 returnee and potential migrant respondents, 12% of them are motivated to migrate due to pressures from family and the community. This result is similar with a research done by Teshome Desta (2010), who found that Ethiopian migrants to the Republic of South Africa are highly pressurized by family and the community to migrate.

According to the qualitative result from key informants and FGD, family and community are among the reasons for irregular migration. Since there are rare opportunities for family livelihood, household members use irregular migration as copying strategy for livelihood. Tikunesh Aseffa, aged 23, is a migrant currently working in KSA. She explains the triggering factors for her irregular migration. She mentioned family and community pressure as a reason for her irregular migration. She keeps explanation saying that:

*“After failing the national grade 10 exam, I remained totally dependent on my family. Similar to most of other families in the Kebeles, my family has small source of income. The community has negative perception on the youth who are unemployed, unmarried and dependent. The community believes that I have to contribute to my family migrating to the Middle East, unless they will mock on me as ‘worthless’”.*

Furthermore, the researcher has deeply observed the family and community perception of people living in the study area. According to this observation, the family and the community have high expectation for migration. Due to success stories of irregular migration, families and the

community believe that the youth have to migrate in order to benefit at least the family, and get better social status.

### **4.4.3 Political Drivers**

#### **4.4.3.1 Political Oppression**

There is a broad agreement that lack of political freedom and violations against human rights increase the number of people leaving their homes (Adhikari, 2012). However, political repression does not necessarily lead to mass exodus if economic opportunities still exist (de Haas, 2012).

In addition to economic reasons Ethiopian migrants mention oppressive political context and insecurity as the other major international migration driver (Frouws 2014). Ethnic federalism is considered to have deepened inter-regional boundary conflicts. Political and ethnic issues such as language rights and border disputes between regions and ethnicities have been intensified (Zerihun *et al.*, 2015).

As can be seen in table 4.5, 5 % returnee and potential migrant respondents are compelled to migrate due to dire political oppression against the youth. Moreover, table 4.10 depicts that all groups of participants were asked whether there is political oppression in the Kebeles or not. 97% of them believed that there is political persecution, whereas only 3% believe there is no special political oppression in the Kebeles.

According to FGD participants, this direct political oppression is manifested by murder, arbitrary arrest and physical assault on the youth. The participant continues to explain that there are several young people in the Kebeles who had been sentenced for imprisonment starting from one year up to twelve years without any clear crime. Some youths were also murdered during a clash between the residents and regional special police force in identity and administration related questions.

The researcher has made telephone interview with one of the runaway young man who is living currently at the destination.

*“I was desperate to the struggle for identity and administrative questions because we have noticed that they are strong enough to oppress us. But when the oppression surpasses its limit, I was directly involved in the struggle. When the nationwide*

*revolution against the EPRDF erupted, the long lived disappointments of youth of the Kebeles were simultaneously burst. The response of the regional administration was strict and harsh. Because of this I was forced to struggle against the brutal special regional police force. After some days, the administration started hunting those who participated against the assault. I tried to struggle with my friends outside the region but it was accompanied by another division and challenges. Thus, I left the country”.*

Another participant who is currently struggling against oppressive measures against local people adds his situation as follows.

*“Currently, I and a group of adults from Waja and its surrounding are evacuated from the town due to political reasons. We have raised basic questions-the question of maladministration, rights and identity. The perception and reaction of the administration towards Rayan society particularly residents of Waja is always skeptic. They don’t want to hear any question in favor of development and quality of life for the people. That is why we are forced to live our home town”.*

**Table 4.10: Oppression, Inequality, Absence of Opportunities and Learning in Second Language**

<b>Response</b>	<b>Political oppression</b>	<b>Administrative Inequality</b>	<b>Absence of opportunity</b>	<b>Learning in 2<sup>nd</sup> Language</b>
<b>Obs.</b>	277	277	277	166
<b>Yes</b>	97%	96 %	90%	98.3%
<b>No</b>	3%	4%	10%	1.7%

**Source: Field Survey Result, 2020**

Leaning in second language is the other form of direct political oppression in the Kebeles. As can be seen from the above table, all of the literate participants learn in their second language which affects the academic score of students leading to out-migration. The researcher has

reviewed documents in the town municipality that confirms the linguistic identity of the residents almost of whom are Amharic speakers with varied identities.

FGD supports the document review and questionnaire results concerning linguistic identity of participants. Bereka Nigus, a drop out student aged 22, explains the means of communication at school and the impact of learning in second language. She confirms that although almost all of students in the Kebeles are Amharic speakers they are obliged to learn in the regional language (i.e Tigrigna). She proceeds explaining:-

“I was born from Amharic speaking family in the Kebeles. Almost all of the households in these Kebeles are Amharic speaking. As the Kebeles are found in the region where Tigrigna is spoken, the means of communication is Tigrigna which is the second language for us. In fact the Kebeles are improperly demarcated in the region where there is linguistic and cultural difference with it. There is no problem to know any additional language for students like me if it would not affect academic score of students. It affects not only my academic success but also is against the right to learn in one’s mother tongue. It is expected from me to understand Tigrigna, my second language, and study my subjects. It is a dual task. I am also competing with students who master Tigrigna language. It was difficult for me to compete with such students in the regional examinations. Accordingly, I was not able to pass the regional examination that is given totally in my second language. Coupled with some pushing and pulling factors, I have determined to migrate into the Kingdom to help my households.”

One key informant elaborates that the town is demarcated infringing the provision of the constitution. According to the FDRE constitution article 46, states shall be delimited on the basis of the settlement patterns, language, identity and consent of the peoples concerned. The key informant explicates that neither of those criterion were met while demarcating this town as part of Tigray regional state. The problems of the town including out-migration arise from this fatal mistake.

#### **4.4.3.2 Bad Governance**

Lack of good governance has been mentioned as one of the factors that push people to out-migrate. While well-functioning institutions at the place of destination pulls migrants, bad governance at the origin pushes people to move out of their homes ( Bergh, Mirkina, & Nilsson, 2015).

Together with political oppression, lack of good governance pushes people to migrate out of their original land. Lack of good governance sometimes is mingled with political oppression. In another word, bad governance may be used as oppressive element against one's threat. According to key informant interviews, bad governance is reflected in terms of administrative inequality, forbidding master plan, prevention of opportunities, imposition of high tax and preclusion of transaction and the establishment of institutions.

One key informant notes that master plan is the major component of local development which has high potential to generate local employment. Similarly, in the FGD master plan has been described as significant factor to boost local development. However, they mentioned that the town master plan has been deliberately precluded. Ehsan Kedir, self-employed and returnee, states his feeling regarding the town master plan as follows:-

*“Together with other residents I have been putting a strain on the administration to influence the implementation of town master plan. They say ok but intentionally they extend the implementation and become forgotten. The master plan has been requested many years ago but still it has not been applied. I believe that this is not only bad governance but also a kind of political oppression. Properly implemented master plan could increase housing, bring the establishment of institution and expand economic opportunities. The youth like me could be able to get rental houses for business, be employed in various institutions and create self-employment. On the contrary, due to the preclusion of town master plan we the youth have lost those opportunities. It is possible for me to say that if the town master plan had been put into effect, I would have not been migrated for the first and second time to KSA”.*

Regarding administrative inequality, questionnaire results and key informant interviews with residents, returnees, potential migrants, runaways and migrants at KSA depicted that there is high level of administrative inequality against the population of the town. As can be seen in table 4.10, from the total of 277 (all sampled) participants, 96% of them believed that there is serious discrimination in terms of tax, opportunities and development. Absence of opportunities for the entire population, the youth and especially for women has been mentioned by interviews and FGD as the manifestations of segregation of the residents. The table above obviously shows that from the total of 277 (all sampled) participants, 90% of them do not get opportunities from the

administration. This indicates that the youth do not have a hope on the administration. Such administrative bias or failure pushes the youth to search for another source of hope for personal or household guarantee.

One of the key informant interview participant states that segregating the town from opportunities is not a recent phenomenon. He proceeds clarifying that:

*“It is after the coming of the EPRDF regime that the segregation begun to be felt. The town had a strong market which attracts several rich agrarian rural areas. The town is said to be the richest economically strong in the area around it. But later, mainly due to oppressive policy or strong segregation measures, the town started to decline dramatically. Measures like depriving transaction on Tuesday, imposing high tax, locomoting the town health station, pressurizing people to relocate in a nearby town, shifting the municipality and precluding master plan have led to the decline of local development in the Kebeles. This creates ripple effect on unemployment and poverty leading to the need for out-migration irregularly”.*

The above results, therefore, clearly show that households face political oppressions. The prevalence of oppressive administration which include beating, arrest, imprisonment and killing of household members have pushed some household members to see irregular migration as an option to get temporary relief. Besides, intentional and negligent weak administration has harmed the lives of residents in the study area. To make up this deterioration households convince their members to migrate and send remittance. Additionally, learning in second language has forced students to be ineffective in academic life leading to the culture of irregular migration.

#### **4.4.3.3 Migration Policies and Laws (The Kafala System, Overseas Employment Ban, 2013 and Overseas Employment Proclamation, 2016)**

The increased migration of low-skilled and culturally distinct people from poorer to wealthy countries have forced policy-makers to implement restrictive immigration policies and increasing border controls (Castles & Miller 2009). The ripple effects of strict external controls have been the creation of irregular entry flows and the transformation of regular flows into irregular ones.

Restrictive entry policies also produce overstaying by increasing the risks and costs of entry, making migrants less likely to depart after arrival (Vickstrom, 2014).

Policies and proclamations about migration are adopted by government to settle migration related issues. The government of KSA and Ethiopia has adopted their own specific policies and proclamations that meet their available interests. The Kafala system and the 2016 Ethiopian Overseas Employment Proclamation are prominent migration laws in Saudi Arabia and Ethiopia respectively. The Kafala system is a sponsorship system used in the GCC countries including KSA to regulate migrant labor. Similarly, the 2016 Ethiopian Overseas Employment Proclamation is one among the proclamations adopted by Ethiopian government to regulate overseas employment. Ethiopian migrants are affected by the Kafala system and by the New Ethiopian Overseas Employment Proclamation.

As the GCC countries state policy, the Kafala system establishes a serious power unbalance leading to violation of rights of Ethiopian workers in Saudi Arabia. The Kafala system causes, facilitates and perpetuates human rights abuses of male and female Ethiopian workers. According to Fernandez (2017), the rights of domestic workers are highly affected by the Kafala system. Consequently, wishing to get better respect for rights, women workers run away from their employers and end up irregular migrants (Fernandez, 2017). Thus the system has created a ripple effect in instigating irregular out migration. The researcher has interviewed Sekinetu Nur who is a migrant living currently in Saudi Arabia regarding the influence of Kafala system on migrants like her. She explains it as follows:

*“I was a legal employee hired through legal employment agencies. I have changed my regular status into irregular one due to the impact of the Kafala system. In this system, I was treated like a slave and I have felt it. My employer used to harass me sexually. For my obstinate stance against his lust, I used to lose my monthly salary. I strived to report my case to my Kafil and Ethiopian Embassy in Riyadh. They gave me their deaf ears. There are many cases where employers sexually assault Ethiopian workers. I have some friends who had been abused sexually, physically and emotionally. Alhamdulillah (Praise to God), I have succeeded in dealing with my greedy employer. With deep patience I arranged everything to escape; be irregular migrant and enjoy a better life”.*

To protect rights of Ethiopian migrant workers abroad, in 2013 the government of Ethiopia banned employment in the Middle East. Later, to prevent an increase in irregular migration the ban was lifted in 2016 (IOM, 2015). But in real terms, the ban is so far in practice.

The total of 220 returnees and potential migrants were asked if the overseas employment ban compelled them to see irregular migration as an alternative. As can be depicted from table 4.11, 129 of them were forced to see irregular migration as an alternative. The rest 91 respondents have some other reasons for their irregular migration. Especially potential migrants were more compelled to do so because they lost their chance of going via legal routes. Unlike potential migrants, returnees have less opportunity to migrate through legal routes due to finger print. Thus, the ban has affected potential migrants more. Therefore, the data indicate that there is a relationship between the ban and irregular migration in which the former causes the latter.

**Table 4.11: The Impact of Overseas Employment Ban, 2016**

Migrants	Overseas Employment Ban, 2016		
	Don't Pushed	Pushed	Total
Returnees*	70	40	110
Potential Migrants	21	89	110
<b>Total</b>	91	129	220

\*Before and after migration

**Source: Field Survey Result, 2020**

Qualitative results from FGD and interview support the above data. FGD and interview with migrants in Saudi Arabia confirm that the 2016 Ethiopian overseas employment ban has instigated irregular migration. Emebet Molla had passed the grade limit to meet the criterion for overseas employment but her education has not helped her to go legally. She strictly believes that several potential migrants have been forced to choose irregular migration due to losing hope to arrive Saudi Arabia legally. Brtukan Habib, another participant currently living in Saudi Arabia, similarly explains the consequence of the employment ban as follows:

*"I meet the requirements for overseas employment. However, due to sluggish administrative functioning the ban stayed for more than seven years. I don't have another*

*option in the Kebeles than being dependent on my family and spend my days doing home responsibilities. After losing hope on Ethiopian government, I decided to migrate through the sea route after long patience last year”.*

In 2016, the ban was followed by the 2016 Overseas Employment Proclamation which aimed at protecting the rights of workers. The proclamation, however, had ripple effect on future migrants. According to the 2016 Overseas Employment Proclamation, migrants are expected to terminate grade eight and fails to address returnee migrants who have been fingerprinted.

Netsanet Rebso, FGD participant, explains the impact of the new overseas employment proclamation as follows:

*“The proclamation has several positive sides for migrants who wish to work abroad legally. However, it has some limitations which create ripple effect on irregular migration. It is well known that the majority of migrants who intend to migrate to the Gulf Countries come from rural areas where there is less access or interest for education. Accordingly, they have no or have low level of education. But the proclamation does not consider this”.*

Therefore, restrictive migration policies have deflective effects, pushing migrants into irregular channels. The Kafala system, the 2016 Ethiopian overseas employment ban and the 2016 Overseas Employment Proclamation have ripple effects on irregular migration. The Kafala system has pushed regular migrants to be irregulars. Potential migrants also consider the challenges of the system before migration, and prefer irregular migration.

The 2013 employment ban has exacerbated the volume of irregular migration leading to an increasing number of women housemaid migrants to the Kingdom. Many women have entered in to irregular migration via the sea route due to stoppage of regular labor employment. Moreover, the 2016 Overseas Employment Proclamation, which neglects illiterate and finger printed potential migrants, has made potential migrants to see irregular migration as the only choice.

## **4.4.4 Other Drivers of Irregular Migration**

### **4.4.4.1 Migration for Marriage**

In rural parts of Ethiopia, marriages are traditionally arranged to create further community ties and to increase or maintain the family's social status (Alemu, 2007). Accordingly, many women marry a husband who is selected by their family member. To avoid this family influence, many women migrate to KSA to get suitable marriage partner.

Qualitative results from FGD and interview depicts that women get marriage partner at KSA. Women with irregular status gain opportunities and freedom to find male life partners. At home, girls are forced to marry a husband chosen by their housed members. Interview with a migrant at Saudi Arabia shows the existence of extensive marriage opportunities for women. Habiba Nurye is a migrant currently working in KSA. She elucidates the open opportunity of marriage for irregular migrants as follows:

*“At the age of 17 I was forced to marry a person whom I don't know very well. My family thought to ensure my well-being with a rich husband who is much older than me. I lived with him not more than a year. Later, I irregularly migrated to KSA and got suitable life partner. My new marriage has persisted so far. Accordingly, many girls like me get suitable marriage partners here in the KSA than at home because males with similar age live in KSA. As a result of this some girls migrate dreaming to get good life partner.”*

### **4.4.4.2 Medical Failure**

Labor host countries set requirement to protect the safety of their nationals. Particularly, housemaids are very much close to receiving households. Accordingly, government of host countries demands good health condition of housemaids. Saudi Arabia is one of the countries that strictly require medical test of housemaids coming from developing countries like Ethiopia. Many potential migrant housemaids from Ethiopia have failed from this medical test. Such desperate potential migrants prefer irregular migration to arrive the destination.

Participants of FGD and interviews confirm that before the November 2013 overseas employment ban the majority of migrants through the sea route were those who fail medical tests. Even after the ban many returnees joined the irregular route not only due to the ban but

also failure in medical test. Mekdes Wodajo is a migrant currently working in the Kingdom. The major reason for choosing irregular migration than the regular one was due to her failure in medical test.

#### **4.4.4.3 Lack of Reintegration Support for Returnees**

In November 2013, Saudi Arabia expelled undocumented Ethiopian migrants. Within one year after the ban, more than 163,018 Ethiopian migrants were forcibly repatriated (IOM report, 2014). Even though the government of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia and the relevant stakeholders coordinated emergency efforts in order to manage the repatriation process, the reintegration process still remains a challenge in the country (IOM, 2018). This was partially due to sudden and forced repatriation by Saudi government.

Znabu Molla, a returnee and potential migrant, recalls the hope he had reposed in the Ethiopian government before his return. He was highly propagated by the media though he knows conditions will be difficult in Ethiopia.

*“I had no interest and hope to come back to Ethiopia during the expulsion from the Kingdom. I had not supported my family, and I had not saved sufficient money by the time. But due to strong crackdown by the Saudi police and Saudi youngsters, I inclined to decide to leave the Kingdom. More importantly, recurrent broadcast by the government of Ethiopia in favor of returnees pushed me to repatriate to Ethiopia. The government had promised to give the necessary reintegration support for returnees. Many migrants like me reposed a strong hope in the government. However, the majority of migrants who had no hope on the government remained there.*

*When I arrive at Bole Airport, I recognize the government of Ethiopia doesn't give a shit for returnees from the Middle East especially Saudi Arabia. Their concern was just only for political purpose. The local government response was worse than the response of the national government. I felt as worthless and desperate. Within a month or two the majority of us entered the Kingdom irregularly through the sea route risking our lives. After four years of stay at KSA, I was expatriated from the Kingdom. Currently, I am planning to migrate irregularly because I was finger printed”.*

## **4.5 Consequences and Implications of Irregular Migration for Local Development**

For decades, there has been a heated argument on migration-development nexus in migrant sending communities and countries, by “migration optimists” and “migration pessimists” (Taylor, 1999). Development and remittances have been attracting much attention of researchers, policy makers, politicians, academicians and international development agencies. In the past migration was linked to development in the sense that it slows down development of the sending countries. Today, migration mainly through remittance is perceived to be contributing to development.

Out migration has contributed for Ethiopia in terms of remittance inflow. Remittances are important in Ethiopia in the sense that they constitute a large share of foreign capital inflows. Whatever its exact value, the impact of inflow of financial remittances is substantial in Ethiopia (Reinert, 2006). Accordingly, the Ethiopian government increasingly recognized the importance of remittances from its migrants for the development of the country. So as to optimize the effects of remittance, it has taken a number of initiatives aimed at stimulating its Diaspora members to send money through formal channels.

Local development is affected by migration, particularly irregular migration, in various ways. The implication of irregular migration on local development is complicated so that it positively and negatively affects the sending communities at local level. Remittance has the least controversial link between migration and development (Ratha, 2007). Therefore, the effect of migration on the sending communities is more contributed by remittance. According to World Bank (2019) the total sum of remittance of Ethiopia for the year 2018 is \$ 436.27 million.

### **4.5.1 Frequency, Amounts, Channels and Purposes of Remittance**

Table 4.12 depicts that 97% of returnee participants from the Kingdom have sent money home. The result of interview with migrants in the Kingdom shows that among 97% of returnees who have sent money home, the majority were women.

Regarding the frequency of remittance, returnees used to remit money when needed. From the total of 110 returnees, 60% of them have sent money home between 7 to 11 times per year. Those who have sent money between 4-11 times annually cover 90% of remittance. The average

annual amount of remittance sent by returnees was 58,207 Birr. Some migrants have sent a very significant amount of money, totaling 132,000 Birr per year, while others struggle to send only 9,600 Birr per year and some nothing at all.

Concerning channels of remittance 90% of returnees sent their remittance through informal money transfer system mainly through Hawala. The rest 7% returnees transfer via formal channels such as banks.

In addition to the cash remittances, FGDs and interview results indicate that the majority of sampled returnee respondents indicated that they have sent goods to their households. Goods such as cloths, laptops, TVs, cosmetics, furniture and mobiles are frequently sent materials.

**Table 4.12: Frequency, Amounts, Channels and Purposes of Remittance**

Remit?		Frequency			Amount(Yearly)			Channels	
Yes	No	1-3times	4-6times	7-11times	Average	min	max	Formal	Informal
97%	3%	7%	30%	60%	58,207	9600	132,000	7%	90%

**Source: Field Survey Result, 2020**

Concerning the purposes of remittance returnees used to send money for various purposes. As can be seen in table 4.15 from the total of 110 returnees 97% of them have funded education and health for their household members. Besides, from the total of 28 returnee farmer household participants, 24 of them have employed their money for water excavation, fertilizer and to buy modern tools. In addition, 70% returnees sent their money for the sake of house construction. Furthermore, table 4.15 illustrates that 36% of returnees remitted money to create jobs in shopping, café and driving

## 4.5.2 Positive Consequences of Irregular Migration and Its Implications for Local Development

### 4.5.2.1 Income Generation

Remittance is responsive to income shortfalls, and has the potential to smooth household income. One of the prior needs of migrants is to get income at the destination. This income holding enable migrants to improve the quality life of their households.

**Table 4.13: Income Generation**

<b>Participants' Income</b>	<b>Obs.</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Min</b>	<b>Max</b>
Household Income	277	4,386.00	1,000.00	11,000.00
Household Income at Destination	110	18,418.00	6000	50,000.00

**Source: Field Survey Result, 2020**

Table 4.13 clearly shows household monthly income of participants at origin and destination country. The table compares the income of non-migrants and potential migrants on the one hand and returnees on the other hand. The average household income of non-migrants and potential migrants at the Kebeles is 4,386.00 Birr, with minimum of 1,000.00 and maximum of 11,000.00 Birr, whereas at the Kingdom returnee migrants used to earn average income of 18,418.00 at household level with minimum of 6,000.00 and maximum of 50,000.00 Birr. There is great average difference in the income of participants at the town and at the destination. This clearly indicates that migration extremely increases the income of migrants. As the information gained from key informant, the income of irregular migrants at the Kingdom is higher than non-migrants and potential migrants at home and the income of regular migrants at the same destination. Irregular migration, therefore, is generating sufficient amount of money for migrants and their household members.

Good income is fundamental for local development. It has been mentioned above that people migrate to alleviate income shortages. Income is vital to start up new small businesses and self-employment. Migrants' income is also sent to household members to fund education and health services as well as consumption. Accordingly, when income from remittance is invested it creates multiplier effect on various local economic activities. This fosters local business, thereby enhancing local development. The results of this study clearly indicate that migrants and their household members have been benefited from migration through income generation. This income has helped them to invest on household consumption, education and health. It has also enabled them to create new jobs. Generally speaking remittance has increased the influx of money in to the town which helped the local economy and the well-being of residents.

#### **4.5.2.2 Employment and Job Creation**

Interview and FGD results indicate that irregular migration provides an ample amount of jobs for migrants. Migrants do not suffer from unemployment at KSA. Especially women get employment as soon as they are arrived. Women are mostly hired as household maids while men engage in daily labor, construction, shopping and herding. Thus, irregular migration fills the gap of employment that the locality fails to provide. Employment opportunities enable migrants to accumulate good amount of money that help them create further jobs at home. Migrants mostly remit their money to their household members who employ the money to create jobs or save the money to create jobs after migration. As can be seen in table 4.15, out of 110 returnee participants, 36% of them have created jobs such as shopping, cafeteria and driving. The money earned from employment enable migrants to start up a new business. It is mentioned by one of the key informant that a great number of jobs are created by migrants with the help of remittance.

The above quantitative results are supported by qualitative results. The FGD participants have expressed the role of remittance in income generation as very contributive. They stated that good income generation has enabled migrants or their households to venture a new business on cash crop production. One of the participants has expressed his idea as follows:

*“Cash crop production needs an ownership of a good deal of money. The nearby microfinance is not able to provide sufficient amount of money. Migrants or their households embark on such activities. My neighbor for instance has become a model for*

*his success in cash crop production. He is currently supplying cash crops such as Papaya and Mango in the market. Thus, money from remittance has been very supportive to create new jobs”.*

Local economic development aims at ensuring economic growth and employment generation with the aim of improving quality life of the people. Employment and job creation is vital for local development. People can be able to get income from employment, and they may employ their income to create jobs. People invest their income on consumption, education, health and agriculture. Jobs are also both source of income for people and also can be source of tax for the local government. The above results clearly show that the local development is supported by remittance through job creation in the town. Several migrants create jobs for themselves, their household or non-migrants by investing their money on new jobs like shopping, driving, land purchase and selling, diesel retail and cafeteria expansion. Compared to non-migrants, migrant sending households have shown high consumption for goods and services. They have also invested on education, health services and agriculture. Today, new clinics have been expanded better than before. These economic activities have contributed in fostering local development.

#### **4.5.2.3 Investment in Education, Health and Agriculture**

Several findings confirm that money sent from migrants advances investment in education, health and agriculture (Ratha *et al.*, 2011; de Haas, 2005; Mansuri, 2007; Yang, 2004; Duryea *et al.*, 2005; McCormick & Wahba, 2003; Bisrat, 2014; Henok *et al.*, 2017). Similarly this research has found that irregular migrants have enormously contributed to educational, health and agricultural funding. As can be seen in table 4.15 from the total of 110 returnees 97% of them have funded education and health for their household members. Besides, from the total of 28 returnee farmer household participants, 24 of them have employed their money for water excavation, fertilizer and buy modern tools. Funding education and health service is vital to reduce drop-out of students and to promote health condition of inhabitants respectively. Funding the education means creating business on learning materials. This adds self-employment opportunities for the youth. Remittance allows farmer migrant households to be effective in production, thereby enabling them to generate good amount of income. Thus,

funding on education, health services and agriculture have good ripple effect on local development.

It is unambiguous that education plays a great role in promoting development for local development efforts by creating knowledgeable and skilled manpower. It is a main resource in the process of economic growth through knowledge acquisition. Knowledge is an important tool to the local development. In a knowledge-based economy, knowledge acquisition is an important factor that determines the future of individuals and the economy. The presence of graduates of university and researchers would also facilitate innovation process at the local level. Research in human and social sciences is also important for local development. Research in human and social sciences can contribute directly to local development. As depicted above, migrant sending households invest money in education. In spite of weak local educational management, many migrants who face the challenges of irregular migration do not want to see their younger household members to migrate irregularly. They exert their remittance to make children successful in academic life. In doing so, they advance the right of children for education. Local development encompasses the promotion of educational expansion. Besides, investment of money on education has ripple effect on job creation for other households. To sum up, remittance flows could facilitate a favorable environment for better education of local communities; thereby contributing to local development of the sending area.

Besides, income generation from remittance helped migrants to invest money on health services and agriculture. This affects supply of health services and agricultural materials. Non-migrants have gotten employment opportunities from newly established health services. Residents have also benefited from selling agricultural materials. The most prominent achievement of remittance on agriculture in this local area is that some migrants have invested a great deal of money in the production of special cash crops such as Papaya, mango, avocado, onion and others by digging out water for irrigation. These migrants have introduced most of these new cash crops in the market. Thus migration and remittance have contributed to the betterment of local development.

#### **4.5.2.4 Consumption**

Table 4.14 illustrates consumption capability of the three groups of participants. As can be seen from the table, from the total of 77 returnee participants, 50 of them have high spending on

consumption, whereas from the total of 99 potential migrants 97 of them have low spending on consumption. Non-migrants have medium and high consumptions. Therefore, returnees have high consumption capacity and willingness to consume goods and services. On the other hand, potential migrants and non-migrants have lower spending capacity on consumption.

**Table 4.14 Consumption**

Consumption	Respondents			Total
	Returnees*	Potential Migrants	Non-migrants	
Low consumption	21	97	6	124
Medium Consumption	6	2	21	29
High Consumption	50	0	17	67
Total	77	99	44	220

\*After migration

**Source: Field Survey Result, 2020**

Qualitative results from key informant interview clearly show similar results with the above data. The participant has expressed the role of migration on consumption as positive. Alemu is a returnee who has worked in KSA for about four years.

*“Before my first migration my household had low consumption capability. The household was unable to finance our daily expenditure. We used to suffer from money to buy dresses for holidays. The needs and wants of the household were very limited. We had inferior position with respect to satisfying our needs in the community. Thanks to migration, today the entire household is capable of getting dresses for holidays; slaughter animals and equally enjoy holidays similar to neighbors and the community. Goods are more purchased than ever before, today. The family budget has increased with increase in demands for goods and services. There is better expenditure for health, education and*

*other basic consumptions. Sometimes, the family spends extravagantly to be equal with others” (Alemu, 29).*

Increase in household expenditure for consumption has implication for local development because high spending on goods and services enable the local business environment to grow properly. This boosts the local economy which is vital for local development

However, inflow of money in the form of remittance has deep impact on the local economic development. The influx of money may cause or exacerbate high inflation on purchase of goods and services. Abera is a non-migrant who is affected by inflation in the town. He expresses that he has lost purchasing capacity for goods due to high inflation caused by remittance.

*“I am from among non-migrant households who do not have access to remittance. I am competing with households that remit money to purchase commodities. Unlike migrant sending households my family has restricted expenditures. Remittance sending households have a culture of high spending on goods and services. Land purchasing, for instance, is dominated by migrant sending households. Due to high income, migrants spend high amount of money on purchasing land. This has helped sellers to increase money for items. On the contrary, non-migrant households suffer from inability to cope with inflation. Thus, remittance makes us vulnerable to inflation”.*

As FGD results indicate, migrant sending households are prone to high consumption. This is mainly due to unmanaged willingness of migrants to allow money to their families. Most migrants are extremely generous to their households. Besides, they put their money not in banks but in their households. This permits households to use migrant’s saved money unwisely. Khewlet Muhammed, who is currently working in the Kingdom, expresses her grievance against her families for using her money unwisely.

*“I have worked for about six years in Saudi Arabia. Although there are two sisters working here, I fund most of the family expenditure with little support from my sisters because I have limited my expenditure and enjoyment here. My household has developed the habit of extravagance after migration. Due to unlimited and unmanaged support from me, the household has high financial expectation and spending. This reduced my financial saving ability. Unfortunately, many households consume migrants saved money*

*intentionally or unintentionally. I had about two hundred thousand Birr kept under my family. Without my willingness, they consumed all of it. This forced me to stay for more years here, and save money again”.*

As the above data show, remittance contributed to increase the consumption behavior of migrant sending households. High consumption resulted in high expenditure for goods and services available in the local market. This enables the local market to boost. Besides, increased expenditure in education, health services, transportation, food and products have improved the local development.

#### **4.5.2.5 Labor Depletion**

According to Youth Bulge theory the concentration of high number of unemployed youth is a threat for the ruling parties. Dissatisfied and desperate youth could raise protest against the government that fails to fulfill the employability desire of the youth. The youth can also be subject to exploitations by foreign actors and wicked politicians against the state or the government. According to Anderson (2014), despite pressures from Europe, the US, and international organizations, the government of Ethiopia usually turned a deaf ear to the flows of irregular migration to the Gulf and other destinations for two reasons. First, it offers an alternative to the high levels of unemployment. Second, migrant remittances can promote local development through income generation, investment and job creation (Andersson, 2014). Thus, irregular migration could relieve the potential of political discontent within the country.

According to an interview with the town mayor, although they don't encourage irregular migration, it is seen as an opportunity for the local administration partially due to its ability to decrease the labor force.

Besides, results from Key informants indicates that irregular migration has supported the local community by generating employment abroad, thereby reducing the unemployed man power in the town. Belay Tadese, a non-migrant, explicates the indirect benefit of irregular migration on local communities as follows:

*“The town suffers from high unemployment. The local government has quite little desire to create jobs for the youth. Several issues like absence of town master plan and bad governance have hampered employability of the youth. Besides, the weak capability of*

*residents has also hindered job creativity in the town. Thanks to migration, it has facilitated employment opportunities abroad, thereby depleting man power at the town. This has helped the youth like me to enjoy self- employment opportunities”.*

The above results clearly show that irregular migration have substantial role in minimizing local unemployment problems and in reducing political disturbance in the town. As stated above the majority of migrants to the Kingdom get employment. Particularly women in irregular status have open access to jobs. This opportunity minimizes unemployment rate in the town. These employed migrants have sent a good deal of money to their household members in the form of daily investment for consumption, education, agriculture & health or in the form of cash. This money directly or indirectly contributes to local development. In addition to employment, migration has a great role in minimizing the risk of political chaos due to lack of unemployment. The collection of high number of youth in the town may exacerbate political discontents. Therefore, migration has facilitated employment for the youth, thereby reducing the risk of political disturbance in the locality.

#### **4.5.2.6 The Role of Remittance in Urbanization**

Urbanization and growth go hand in hand. Urbanization is essential for socioeconomic transformation, wealth generation, prosperity and development. It is vital for the improvement of local development. Urbanization promotes rural to urban linkage. “Rural-urban linkages have the potential to promote strong local development by contributing to the well-being and livelihoods of the residents of both urban and rural areas. Urban and rural areas are interlinked through the flows of people, capital, goods and services, employment, information and technology between the two areas (UN-HABITAT, 2015)”. Urban areas provide markets for agricultural and rural commodities and rural areas provide agricultural surpluses to the urban area.

**Table 4.15: The Role of Remittance in Urbanization**

Achievements		Obs.	No. of Households	Percentage
Houses Constructed		110	77	70
Migrated from Rural to urban		28	24	86
Jobs Created	Shopping	110	9	36
	Café		8	
	Car		5	
	Bajaj		18	
Funded Education & Health		110	107	97
Funded Agriculture		28	24	86

**Source: Field Survey Result, 2020**

The existence of services in housing, transportation, cafeteria, shopping and concentration of people in towns are crucial to urban development. Remittance has great contribution for the expansion of urban development. It can generate money to create jobs for shopping, transportation and construction of new houses. Migrant sending households have also the opportunity to invest money on education and health. This investment promotes the expansion of education and attracts health services. In addition, remittance allows rural people to migrate into urban areas to live a better life. As Tegenu (2010) explain rural-urban migration fosters urbanization through the expansion of small towns. Table 4.15 illustrates that from the total of 28 rural migrant sending households, 24 of them have migrated into the town. Therefore, migration contributes to urbanization mainly through remittance.

Regarding house construction, competition of migrants in new houses construction is all important to urban development. The housing sector is a key component of the urban economy. Housing is a major motivation for household saving and significantly influences household consumption. As can be depicted in the above table, from the total of 110 returnees, 70% of

them have used their remittance to construct new houses for the purpose of dwelling, rent and business. Interview and FGD results indicate that migrant households from this town have no sufficient income to invest on house construction. One of the reasons for youth out-migration to KSA is dependence on their family income. Among others, the youth migrate wishing to have private house.

The construction of new houses in the town has provided access to rental houses for shopping, cafeteria and other business activities that advance urbanization. Residents are able to get income from rental houses, and people accessed houses for business services. Besides, the youth can be employed in construction jobs. These all activities advance local economic development.

**Picture 3: House Constructed by Saudi Migrant**



**Source: The Researcher, 2020**

One of the prominent contributions of remittance for local development is in terms of job creation and advancement of transportation which contributes for urbanization. New jobs provide income, while transport services ease the day to day activities of people in urban and rural areas. As can be seen from the above table together with investment on shopping and cafeteria, 36% of

returnees have invested on job creation and transport services. The FGD and interview results evidently show that the majority of cars and Bajajs in the town are owned by returnees or their household members. The researcher has observed the role played by Bajajs in alleviating transportation problems. Bajajs contribute in communicating people and commodities from rural to urban areas and vice versa. Prior to the introduction of Bajajs, people from rural areas were less interested in undertaking business in the town due to long distance from the town. Today, the community in the town gets great number of purchasers from distant areas. This has enabled local business to grow well; and promote the well-being of local communities who were suffering from long distances to communicate with rural people. These different opportunities created by transportation foster urbanization in the town.

Qualitative result from key informant summarizes the role of transportation for local development as follows.

*“Transport provides local people access to different locations for businesses and social life. For the market, it connects businesses and their markets. For the household, it provides people with access to workplaces, schools and shops. It also connects them to social, recreational, community and medical facilities for personal and leisure activities. Rural areas lack roads and transport. This affects the proper supply of agricultural products in the market. Furthermore, the expansion of transport in the town has helped rural and urban people to communicate each other. Better than before, today rural people supply their products to the market using transport services. They are also participating in business activities due to betterment in transport. Besides, rural and urban people have strengthened their ties with the help of expansion of transport services in the town. This has increased their social capital which is crucial for local development”.*

Several studies clearly show that migrants remit their money for the purpose of education, better health access and agriculture (Ratha *et al.*, 2011; de Haas, 2005; Mansuri, 2007; Yang, 2004; Duryea *et al.*, 2005; McCormick & Wahba, 2003; Bisrat, 2014; Henok *et al.*, 2017). Similarly, from the total of 110 returnees 97% of them have funded education and health for their household members. This helps to reduce drop-out of students due to lack of money to fund

learning materials and fee. Besides, high funding on education facilitates business on learning materials. From the total of 28 returnee farmer household participants, 24 of them have employed their money for water excavation, fertilizer and buy modern tools. Remittance allows migrant sending farmer households to be effective in production, thereby enabling them to generate good amount of income. According to Key informant interview, compared to potential migrant households, migrant sending households have better capacity to spend money on education, better health services and agriculture for their households. High funding on health services means high attraction of private health care in the town. Thus, funding on education, health services and agriculture have ripple effect on the expansion of urbanization.

Education is crucial in the process of economic growth through knowledge acquisition. In a knowledge-based economy, knowledge acquisition is an important factor that determines the future of individuals and the economy. Local development encompasses the promotion of educational expansion. Besides, investment of money on education has ripple effect on job creation for other households. To sum up, remittance flows could facilitate a favorable environment for better education of local communities; thereby contributing to the local development of the sending area. As depicted above, migrant sending households invest money in education. They exert their remittance to make children successful in academic life. In doing so, they advance the right of children for education. Hence, migrant sending households are contributing to the improvement of local development in the town.

Besides, remittance has helped migrant sending households to invest money on health services and agriculture. This has affected the supply of health services and agricultural materials. The multiplier effect of remittance on non-migrants has been experienced through employment opportunity in a newly established health services. Residents have also benefited from selling agricultural materials.

#### **4.5.2.7 Relative Freedom**

Migration into Saudi Arabia gives the youth particularly women better freedom in their life. Migrants are free to do whatever they want in the destination since there is no family control. They have jobs that could generate them good amount of income which enable them to enjoy better life.

Table 4.16 makes it clear that from the total of 110 returnee participants, 74 of them have gained better freedom in life. 36% of the participants (with the great majority of males) did not get freedom. 63% of female returnee participants have gotten better freedom at KSA. Thus, irregular migration furnishes freedom for migrants peculiarly to females. On the contrary, female potential migrants suffer from lack of enjoyment of freedom. Table 4.16 shows that 85 of potential migrants do not enjoy freedom in their life as a result of being household dependents. From this number the majority are females with a total number of 60 potential migrants.

Qualitative results from in-depth interview with returnees and migrants in KSA show that migrant youth get relative freedom in the destination compared to freedom in their origin. At home they were totally controlled by their family and the community. Their wants were highly restricted because they were entirely dependent on the family. Besides, they were short of money to enjoy their life. However, migration has helped them to own sufficient money; choose a spouse or husband, and enjoy better life.

**Table 4.16: Freedom**

Freedom	Returnees while in KSA			Potential Migrants At home		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
<b>Got no Freedom</b>	30	6	36	25	60	85
<b>Enjoyed freedom</b>	11	63	74	15	10	25
<b>Total</b>	41	69	110	40	70	110

**Source: Source: Field Survey Result, 2020**

Zebna Molla describes her life at home as disgusting and boring. It is all controlled by others. She expresses her idea in the following paragraph.

*“Here conditions are complicated. People are socially fanatic so that they do not want to see the youth particularly women acting somewhat unique. My family and the community try to control my life. They don’t want to see me being with others especially with boys.*

*They only accept traditional way of life. It is unethical when I enjoy with friends in and outside the town. My family had forced me to marry my ex-husband unwillingly. Life here is somehow restrained that is why returnees fail to reunite with the community and migrate again. Thanks to KSA, we enjoy life there. Although the Kingdom is religious and traditional, migrants like me have the chance to enjoy life there. I am free to do and be what I need. I have also married my current husband there with my whole consent. My salary had also enabled me to enjoy life with my country-folk”.*

#### **4.5.2.8 Relief from Political Oppression and Funding Prisoners**

Politically, irregular migration gives a breath for the youth who are affected by political oppression and harassment. Politically wanted youth choose irregular migration as a means of escape from oppressive regional government. As can be mentioned above, 5% of returnee and potential migrant participants are pressurized to migrate due to oppressive measures against them. They flee attack and imprisonment.

Abdu and Desalegn are migrants currently living in the Kingdom. They had vividly stood against the oppressive regional government, which oppresses every question including administrative and identity matters. They explain the contribution of irregular migration for them as follows:

*“Both of us had strived to question and challenge the regional government relating to administration and identity issues. For this together with the Woreda and local government, the regional government had chased us to take as prisoners. After some struggle losing strong support from the national government we left the country to get better freedom here. Today, we are safe; we are living a normal life. We will go back when conditions for struggle are ameliorated”.*

Migrants have been supporting political prisoners and runaways. Many migrants have sent collective money for such adults. A key informant was asked if migrants or returnees had financially supported prisoners and runaways. He has described his achievement as follows.

*“The issues of political prisoners and runaways were announced in the social media for the sake of supporting them. I was the one who facilitated for the collection of money for*

*prisoners. A good deal of money was collected to help these prisoners released. I have also contributed money to support their struggle”.*

Migration has, therefore, enabled politically active adults to flee from a strong regional/local administrative injustice. These adults are politically active so that they can push the local government to bring some sort of changes. Unless they are migrated or fled, these adults might be caught and suffer from injustice and imprisonment. Thus, migration has saved these adults from grave danger of the regional/local governments.

Remittance, besides, have contributed in terms of supporting political prisoners and fugitives. Many youth have been taken as a result of their steady stance against injustice in the town. These youth have a great role in forcing the local government to bring some changes in the town. They are assets in pushing the local government to consider some improvements, though the local administration does not want to see development in the town. Many adults are fighting against mal-administration in the town being outside the regional government. They have also become an establishing member of a political party by the name Raya Democratic Party (RDP) aimed at improving the quality life of the community. Migrants have been supporting political prisoners and runaways who have a strong desire to change the deteriorated life of the community. Therefore, migrants have been contributing for local development by supporting adults who are eager to ensure betterment of life in the locality.

#### **4.5.2.9 The Impact of Irregular Migration on Women**

Remittance has achievements in improving the autonomy of women in decision making (Fleury, 2016). Development must reinforce human freedom (Sen, 1999). It helps them to be independent from household interference in their decisions. Financial capability allows migrants to be respected and heard by their household members and the community. The following table (table 4.1) illustrates the returnee migrants’ decision making power and freedom after their migration.

Concerning decision making power of participants, the table compares male and female returnee migrants’ decision making power. From the total of 110 returnee participants, 63 of them get better decision making power after migration. From this number the majority (52 respondents) are females. The rest 11 participants are males. This obviously implies that female returnees get

better freedom after migration than their male counterparts. Generally speaking, irregular migration gives better decision making power for migrants.

Migration enables the youth to be free due to absence of parental control and improvement in decision making. They tend to think and act what they believe is good without any external influence. Out of the total of 110 returnee participants, 74 migrants have gained better freedom at their destination, KSA. From this number 63 of them are females while 11 of them are male migrants. This shows betterment in the enjoyment of freedom for female migrants at the destination. The rest 36 participants, the majority whom are males, do not get improvement in enjoying their freedom. This implies females are freer to act at the destination than their male counterparts.

**Table 4.17: Freedom and Decision Making Power of Women**

Participants	Freedom			Decision making power		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Got Better Freedom or Decision Making Power	11	63	<b>74</b>	11	52	<b>63</b>
Got no Better Freedom or Decision Making Power	30	6	<b>36</b>	30	17	<b>47</b>
Total	41	69	<b>110</b>	41	69	<b>110</b>

**Source: Field Survey Result, 2020**

The purpose of local development is to ensure quality of life for all. As the above data indicate irregular migration has advanced the quality of women’s life in terms of freedom and decision making power. This better life is experienced as a result of financial capacity gained from remittance related opportunities. Remittance has helped local girls to enjoy various forms of freedoms as a result of success in migration. Girls have attained power to choose their life partners without family influence; they have avoided parental control in day to day activities at the destination and at home; they increased their enjoyment as a result of financial capacity. Remittance has also bettered the life of migrant girls to enjoy good social status in the

community. Although the community has negative perception towards returnees from the Kingdom, many successful girls enjoy strong acceptance from the community due to betterment of their life after migration. One of the purposes of local development is to improve economic opportunity and the quality of life for the local people. Thus, Migration improves and supplements local development.

### **4.5.3 Negative Consequences of Irregular Migration**

#### **4.5.3.1 Addiction, Psychological & Reintegration Problems and Infection by HIV & HB (Hepatitis B)**

Irregular migration has several terrible consequences on migrants and migrant sending households. Table 4.20 illustrates vulnerability of migrants to addiction, failure of reintegration and infection with some diseases such as AIDS and HB (Hepatitis B). Out of 110 participants 40 of them are addicted during and after the journey to the destination. This is due to the reason that migrants use stimulants such as Chat and cigarette to cope with the hot climate and tiring and monotonous long distance. In addition, out of 110 participants, 22% of them fail to reintegrate as a result of segregation, mismatch of life style and lack of support from the government.

Interview results clearly show there is negative perception of the community towards returnees from the Kingdom. The community believes that returnees have psychological problems. Even the regional Medias broadcast dramas justifying returnees to have psychological problems. As a result of this, returnees in particular women fail to get marital partner. Women returnees face social discrimination in terms of getting marriage partner due to a belief that they have been psychologically and sexually abused (de Regt & Tafesse, 2015).

The life style of migrants in Saudi Arabia is quite different from the life style at home. Here, migrants fail to integrate with the community. As can be seen in the table below from the total of 110 participants, 22% of them fail to integrate with the community due to mismatch of life style, segregation against returnees and lack of support from the government.

Concerning infection, several irregular migrants are vulnerable to some diseases like AIDS and HB. According to Brummer (2002,) mobility of workers particularly in irregular routes increases the spread of communicable diseases such as HIV. Returnees from KSA were asked if the reason

for choosing irregular migration is due to AIDS/HB or not. As can be seen in the table below 15% out of 110 participants were infected with either AIDS or HB. Qualitative results below supports this result. Thus, irregular migration is contributing to the spread of HIV/AIDS and HB.

Qualitative results from returnees indicate that many returnees suffer from segregation, problem of reintegration and infection. The community and the government pressurize returnees to re-migrate.

Zahra Megos (this name is intentionally changed to protect the privacy of this participant) is a returnee who is currently planning to migrate regularly. She believes that she is a victim of social segregation. She also had discovered difficulty to cope with living together with the community again. She elucidates her idea in the following statement.

“Life in Saudi Arabia had many good sides, though we were not treated well. Compared to living here, I had so many advantages living there. Most importantly, I am free. But here things are complicated. I suffer from creating job in this politically tied town. The government had propagated in favor of supporting returnees in order to reintegrate well. However, they simply mocked upon us. They do not want us to stay here. Therefore, I am planning to re-migrate soon. Regarding infection by disease such as AIDS and HB, I believe that many migrants who travel by the sea are infected by some dangerous disease due to absence of caution during the journey. Personally, the only caution I took in my first migration is taking contraceptive pills. To speak honestly, many female migrants like me do not take and use condoms during voluntary or coercive sexual intercourse in the journey. I know that many people choose irregular migration partially due to the failure to pass medical examination. For instance, I failed to migrate through legal route due to infection by HB. I have also faced sexual assault by foreigners en route. These factors made migrants like me affected by dangerous diseases during the journey”.

**Table 4.18: Addiction, Psychological & Reintegration Problems and Infection by HIV & HB**

Problems	Addiction	Reintegration	Infection (HIV or HB)
Addicted/failed to reunify/ infected	40 (36%)	24 (22%)	6 (5%)
Free from addiction/reunification problem or infection	70 (64%)	86 (78%)	104 (95%)
Total	110	110	110

**Source: Field Survey Result, 2020**

Quality of life is the key component of local development. Local development must maintain the wellbeing of local people through economic success. The above results clearly show the deterioration of life of migrants and migrant sending households. Irregular migration has made many migrants to be addicted to cigarette and Chat as well as things that come after it (like alcohol and Shisha). This addiction has serious effect on the youth in terms of working habit and health. Chat chewers are less interested to work. The health effect of chat chewers includes severe psychological damage. This has obvious impact on local development. Addicted and unhealthy people have little contribution for local development.

In addition, irregular migrants fail to reintegrate with the community. This is mainly due to the belief that irregular migrants are exploited en route. As a result of this, they suffer from enjoying similar social status and respect with others. Such migrants fail to contribute to local development equally with others. Besides, several youth have faced psychological problems. This psychological damage encompasses severe mental disorder. Migrants with psychological disorder are mostly dependent on their households. This condition makes local development deteriorated. As it is expressed above irregular migrants are vulnerable to AIDS and HB. The qualitative result above indicates that there are many migrants who are infected with some serious diseases. This clearly implies that migration is producing highly infected returnees to the local community. This negatively affects the potential of local development in the town.

### 4.5.3.2 Cost of Migration

Irregular migration is open to high financial costs due to vulnerability to several challenges. As mentioned earlier, irregular migrants to the Kingdom are desperate migrants. Most of the time, they are unable to access the legal route for many reasons. Banning of regular route, academic incompetency and infection with serious diseases are some of the reasons. These migrants are determined to spend money as much as possible to arrive at the specific destination.

Monetary cost during irregular migration varies from time to time and between the two sexes. FGD results show differences in terms of payments for migration costs. One of the participant recalls the average cost spent during his migration. The cost includes expenditure for transport on car and ship; hotel, food, private smuggler (for females), several smugglers, corruption and others. Five years ago he had paid about 30,000 Birr for the entire journey. This cost was smaller than the cost needed to migrate via regular migration. Last month the participant has sent his sister through the sea route. Though the journey is safer than before, she has spent 95,000 for the whole journey. This money is distributed among several members of the smuggling network. Many migrants arrive safely but there were some cases when migrants fail to arrive at the destination after spending a good amount of money. This happens when a migrant is hijacked by a group of gangs at the shores of Yemen. Such individuals are subject to a great amount of ransom.

Result of telephone (What's up) interview with Habiba Yimer, who is currently working in the Kingdom, indicates that irregular migrants via Djibouti and Yemen face challenges of hijacking and violation of many rights of migrants. She recalls how she gone through this trouble as follows:

*“After one and half day tiresome navigation on the sea, I arrived at the shore of Yemen cost via Bosaso. Immediately after we landed at the shore, migrants start to escape from a group of gangsters who were rushing towards us. I was extremely tired so that I was caught by the gangs. They are armed gangsters the majority of whom speak Ethiopian languages. They forced me to satisfy their lust. But their major aim was money. They warned me to tell my households to send money as a ransom. At first I insisted not to tell my family but after irresistible torture, I persuade my sister in the Kingdom to pay forty*

*thousand Birr. She arranged smugglers who helped me arrived at my last destination. Together with the ransom, I spend 140,000.00 Birr”.*

Many migrants suffer from detention after spending a lot of money on the journey. According to FGD some people are arrested immediately after landing in the Kingdom, while some others are caught while they are working for less than a month. Unfortunate migrants are arrested by Ethiopian security forces in Ethiopia. Migrants like Khedir gain nothing except loss of money in irregular migration. Khedir Fenta expresses that “Although, I have spent about 100,000 Birr en route, I was caught before I got employed. I am currently trying to pay back the debt for my journey.”

The above qualitative results clearly indicate that irregular migration is forcing migrants to spend a good deal of money on irregular migration. Irregular migrants do not always succeed. After spending high amount of money in the journey they are caught before they start working. Such migrant sending households do not enjoy the benefits gained from remittance rather they bankrupt or get indebted. They take the potential money away from the locality. Unfortunately, many people in the locality migrate taking high debt from usurer. This forces them to be highly indebted, and this increases the deterioration of life in the locality.

Irregular migrants particularly are vulnerable to various problems in the way to destination. Migrants have faced confiscation of money directly or through ransom for hijacking. In addition, irregular migration has been a culture in the town. People migrates even owning good amount of cash. This makes people to have less interest to work in the locality. As expressed above, migrants may spend about 150 thousand Birr or more en route. This amount of money may be sufficient to start business at home. But people wish to get richer at the destination than working hard in the town. The culture pushes people to see outside opportunities than work at home. Spending of money on the journey affects the capacity of local people to work and invest at the town. Therefore, irregular migration affects local development by taking local money away and making migrants indebted.

### 4.5.3.3 Violation of Rights

Violation of rights during and after the journey is the most common story told in an irregular migration. In every irregular migration events there are violation of rights ranging from minor bodily harms to dreadful deaths. Several studies have identified violation of rights particularly faced by irregular migrants. According to the study by ILO (2017), “after arrival most Ethiopian workers in the Gulf countries face violation of various rights. Among others, stripping or irregular payment of salary, labor rights violations, working for long hours without agreement, confiscation of passport, and maltreatment are faced by irregular migrants”. Before their arrival through the sea they confront bodily harm, dehydration, starvation, verbal abuse, recurrent sexual harassment, torture, kidnapping for ransom and death (Yitna, 2006). Similar to the above studies, the results of FGD and interview for this study depicts that a great number of irregular migrants from Ethiopia to KSA especially through the sea confront the above challenges.

Returnee participants were asked if they have encountered some challenges during and after their journey to their destination. Almost all of the respondents who arrived at KSA through the sea have confronted challenge en route. The sea route has been mentioned as the most risky route to the Kingdom. Migrants are vulnerable to various challenges due to the fact that they are open to smugglers, sea accidents, gangsters and the desert.

The results from FGD indicate that it has been common to hear death of local migrants towards the Kingdom in containers, at the sea, on the desert and at the destination. Sometimes these deaths are heard in more than two dozen at a time. The following key informant also describes the situation as follows.

*“Violation of rights particularly for girls starts from the day they left their home. Most women spend the first night with a private smuggler whom they trust to help them arrive at their destination. They are forced to give what they own for he is the one trusted to support her in the entire journey. Willy-nilly, she spends nights and days with him and others until she arrives at her destination. Sexual harassment is not limited by her smuggler. During her journey the smuggler fails to protect her from the Somalis. At their land the Somalis and group of smugglers are capable of confiscating female migrants from the private smuggler for sexual purpose. This anguish is accompanied by verbal*

*abuse, physical violence and exhaustion. If she is lucky she escapes the most horrific part of the journey via the sea. But she feels death of the weak who is thrown into the sea. Immediately after the end of the sea route, she might be caught by a group of armed gangster who kidnap migrants for ransom. Although most of the gangsters are made up of Ethiopians, they don't have any pity for their poor country-women. She faces torture, beating and sexual assault until the ransom arrives. After the ransom, her household members at KSA help her to arrive at the last destination safely. Unfortunately, the challenges does not cease after arrival. She keeps hidden life fearing sudden detention. Although being irregular laborer help her to enjoy relative freedom, she still faces deprivation of rights for she is irregular. I have gone through the majority of the aforementioned problems”.*

It is not only the sea route that is accompanied by various challenges en route. Irregular migrants who arrive at the destination regularly or through illegal agencies are also vulnerable to these problems. A migrant, often a girl, suffer from several troubles by her employer. She also faces problems after escaping from the employer. Sofia Muhammed (this name is intentionally changed), currently living in the Kingdom, recalls all the problems confronted after arrival.

*“I arrived at this country legally as housemaid. I worked with my employer for a year and half. It was hard for me to serve a big size family. The family was also unfriendly to me. They do not give my due rights. The wife of my employer was always nagging me for no reason. The younger son was the other challenge for me for he harasses me sexually. I did not report my case to the Ethiopian embassy knowing that they were too negligent. One day I was ordered to buy goods in the nearby supermarket. On my way I came across an Ethiopian adult. I persuaded him to help me escape from my employer. Things were not fine after he took me to his house. As country folk, I beg him to help me get employment but he intentionally made me stay with him for a month. He sexually abused me for the whole of the month. One day He forgot his mobile with me, and I got the chance to escape from him. I called to a girl from his mobile that I believed is his relative or friend. Fortunately, she was his girlfriend. Instantly, she came and took me to her home. After a week I got employment”.*

It is possible to conclude from the above data that irregular migration is exacerbating local development of the community in the study area. It is clearly known that local development encompasses quality of life and well-being of local people. Protection of rights of individuals is the prior target of every local development. Local development should ensure better life of local community by promoting development and maintaining their safety. Irregular migrations in the Kebeles have caused suffering of local migrants during and after the journey to the Kingdom. The migrant youth have been victims to physical violence, psychological problems, sexual assault and death which are against the principle of local development. Irregular migration has also struck migrant sending households due to injury and loss of their migrant family members. Therefore, irregular migration has highly affected the well-being of migrants and their households, thereby affecting local development.

#### 4.5.3.4 Less Interest for Education

The youth compares the success of migrants with success attained from education. This comparison helps them to decide which success stories are better and deserve commitment. In this study area due to a strong culture of migration there are plenty of success stories of migrants to the Kingdom. On the contrary, there are almost no success stories of the youth who are committed to education. The youth in the Kebeles compares the short success of migrants with a long time and limited success of educated people. Due to this the youth make migrants as their role model. The consequence of making migrants as role model is that the youth ignores the importance of keeping learning. This reduces the interest of the youth for education.

**Table 4.19: Interest to Learn**

Do you Plan to Keep Education?	Educational Level				Freq.	%
	Illiterate	Grade 1-7	Grade 8-12	Degree		
Yes	1	3	5	1	10	<b>4.5</b>
No	91	45	56	18	210	<b>95.5</b>
<b>Total</b>	92	48	61	19	220	<b>220</b>

Source: Field Survey Result, 2020

As can be depicted from table 4.19, from the total of 220 returnees and potential migrants, 95.5% of them do not have the plan to start or resume their education. As can be explained in FGD and interview results, lack of interest of participants for education is due to better success attained from migration. Besides, illiterate participants have least interest to keep their education partially due to long time stay at the destination. The rest 4.5% of them do have the plan to keep education after migration. Therefore, this indicates that the majority of the respondents have lack of interest to keep their education. This finding is similar with research done by McKenzie & Rapoport, (2011); and Bisrat *et al.*, (2107) who found that irregular migration has significantly undermined youth stay in schooling and increased students' dropout rates in Mexico and Ethiopia respectively.

The FGD, interview with returnees and document review of enrolment of students confirms that potential migrants and returnees have extremely limited interest for education. Megos Amare is a returnee and potential migrant who participated in FGD. According to him, returnees and potential migrants like him have limited interest to keep or resume learning. He explains as follows:

*“I have clearly distinguished the success gained from migration with the success attained from getting employment after graduation. Although the success after migration is extremely risky, I have noticed that it is better to face the risks than wishing income after graduation in my country. Migration has helped me to own money which education can't afford. I have better financial accumulation and social acceptance than graduated and employed youth in the Kebeles. I have clearly experienced that keeping learning has limited success in life. Because of this I don't have an interest to keep my education. Besides, migration is accompanied by taking household responsibility. Thus, it is hard for me to keep my education until I get some achievements for the household”.*

Similarly, document review from the two schools in the study area show that there are almost no returnees who have been registered to continue their education after migration.

There are different approaches that attempted to show the direct or indirect relationship between education and development. For human capital approach, education is an important instrument for reduction of poverty. Investment in education contributes to the formation of human capital,

which is crucial for economic growth (Rosen, 1989). According to Basic Needs Approach, education exceeds other basic needs as it is central to the satisfaction of all basic needs (Noor, 1980). A human capability approach clarifies that education has direct relevance for the well-being and freedom of the people. It has also indirect function through its influence on social change, and economic production (Sen, 1999, p. 296). For the human development approach education is development by itself. Lack of education means poverty. Educational deprivation becomes an integral part of human poverty. Accordingly, standard of living, quality of life, human development, and human poverty are measured in terms of educational status of the population.

Therefore, these different theories clearly show that education has crucial role in development.

It has significant role in fostering national and local development. Because of this it is justly considered as crucial component of anti-poverty programs in Ethiopia. As an instrument of reduction of poverty various types and strategies have been adopted for the development of education. However, the above results from quantitative and qualitative data indicate that widespread culture of irregular migration in the study area reduces the interest of people for education. This lack of interest for education causes deterioration of local development in the study area. Thus, irregular migration negatively affects economic growth, well-being, freedom, quality of life, living standard and productivity of the local people.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### 5. SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### 5.1 Summary and Conclusion

Irregular migration has been critical issue throughout the world. Although the intensity of the problem vary from country to country and over time, most states in the world are affected by irregular migration. Ethiopia is one of the leading countries in terms of irregular migration in the Horn of Africa. For some reasons, bulks of irregular migrants move to the Gulf Countries particularly Saudi Arabia.

The main objective of this study was to investigate the drivers of irregular out-migration from Raya-Waja to Saudi Arabia, and its implication for local development. The study first investigated the major socio-economic and political drivers of irregular migration. Then it assessed the implications of irregular migration for local development.

The finding of this study indicated that irregular migration is triggered not only by socio-economic factors but also by political factors. However, the role of economic factors in instigating irregular migration is predominant. Unemployment and poverty have been found to be the leading factors that determine irregular migration. The study has found that compared to non-migrants, returnees and potential migrants suffer from unemployment problems. Accordingly, they were inspired by lack of unemployment. Besides, migrants have chosen irregular migration due to the prevalence of relative poverty in the study area. Other economic causes of irregular migration include absence of favorable microfinance and agricultural output failure. Microfinance could avoid irregular migration by providing capital for the youth to start new businesses. However, it was found out that the existing microfinance in the study area is not favorable. The microfinance does not reach the poor, is not interest free, and lend insufficient amount of money for people. As a result of this, migrants preferred irregular migration to get employment and accumulate money for start-ups.

The study has found out that culture of migration is the other major factor that has provoked irregular migration. As part of Wollo-Raya which is highly vulnerable to irregular migration, the study area is extremely influenced by the culture of migration. The prevalence of strong migrant networks, family pressure and community pressures have contributed to the exacerbation of irregular migration.

Political causes of irregular migration that include political oppression, lack of good governance and migration laws and policies have also been found to push the youth to migrate irregularly. Extreme political oppression against the youth and the town has forced people to see irregular migration as a desperate option. Coupled with political abuses, mal-administration in the town has deteriorated opportunities of the youth to strive in their town. Migration laws and policies of KSA and Ethiopia, particularly the Kafala system, the 2016 overseas employment ban and proclamation, have been discovered to provoke irregular migration.

The study has further detected that irregular migration has complex implications for local development. Local development covers economic advancement, freedom, protection of rights, social development as well as quality life of local people. Migration has brought positive and negative consequences on local development of the study area mainly through remittance. Remittance has contributed to the betterment of local development, at the same time has aggravated the diminishing local development.

Regarding the role of remittance, the study has found a strong role of remittance for local development in income generation, job creation, increase in consumption, labor depletion, house construction, urbanization and transportation. Moreover, remittance has ameliorated local development through migrant investment in education, health and agriculture.

Furthermore, irregular migration has ensured freedom and political relief. Female migrants have been found to enjoy freedom more than males in the destination. Migration has also lent females the power to make independent decision.

Even though some households succeeded in teaching their children properly, some other household members have given up education due to high economic expectation from irregular migration. The most predominant impact of migration is experienced in the form of violation of the rights of irregular migrants. Local development must ensure the quality of life and well-being of residents. However, irregular migration affected local development by taking the well-being of migrants. It was found that irregular migrants both by the sea and via the government or recruitment agencies have been affected by sexual assault, beating, withholding passports and murder. Moreover, irregular migrants are vulnerable to psychological problems, addiction and infection by some serious diseases. Economically, the outflow of a good deal of money during the journey for the purpose of smuggling, hotel services and consumption has deprived migrants to invest in local development.

To sum up, irregular migrants from this study area are driven mainly by socio-economic factors. Political oppression, bad governance and national migration policies and proclamations are also determining factors. Based on the findings of this study, it is possible to conclude that irregular migration has substantial positive effects on local development. However, the findings show that the overall impact of irregular migration on local development is more detrimental. Thus, due attention must be given to minimize or curb irregular migration to head off its impact on local development.

## **5.2 Recommendations**

- Together with national and regional governments, the local governments of Waja and Alamata Woreda need to give huge emphasis on the push factors that lead people to resort to migration and they should also influence policies to advance the interest of regular migrants as well as return migration. Since unemployment and poverty are the chief causes of migration, the local governments have to enhance employment opportunities for the youth adults who are more eager and vulnerable to irregular migration. For political drivers, the local governments should properly address identity and administrative questions. Together with other sectors, the local agriculture bureau has to provide special funding and mechanism to enhance productivity of the agriculture so as to generate income and employment.
- Extreme negligent handling of returnees from Gulf Countries has been observed at national level. This is also experienced in the study area. Special support and handling of returnees by local government ensures successful reintegration, which enable them to give up irregular migration. Unplanned reintegration strategies have failed to address the interest of returnees. Accordingly, the local government of Waja has to make returnees participate in housing and other opportunities long before their arrival to Ethiopia.
- Expanding regular migration pathways is crucial to reduce the volume of irregular migration. Expanded lawful channels can be critical ingredients of an overall strategy to suppress irregular migration. Employment opportunities for Ethiopian regular migrants in Saudi Arabia are dominated by female migrants. Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs is responsible to address overseas employment for Ethiopian migrants. This institution has to influence destination country to allow several opportunities in addition to household

maid jobs for female migrants. There is scarce opportunity for male migrants in the Gulf Countries. Cooperation with destination countries to expand employment opportunities for male migrants has a potential to diminish irregular migration. Besides, the Ethiopian Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs has to consider the case of low skilled migrants in regular migration pathways to lessen the problem. Furthermore, regular pathways in to the Gulf Countries have to improve payment scales of migrants. In Saudi Arabia, there is higher payment of wages for irregular migrants that establishes strong propensity for regular migrants to end up irregulars. Thus, the local government has to push the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs in order to pressurize the Kingdom to reconsider payments for regular migrants.

- The town administration has to relentlessly give training and awareness regarding the troubles of irregular routes. Persistent training and awareness creation about the dangers of irregular migration, and disseminating information about the importance of working hard at home are all important to curb irregular migration.
- Improving microfinance services is also another important mechanism to diminish the volume and intensity of irregular migration. Microfinances can provide initial money for the youth to start new businesses. This can reduce the number of migrants who are pushed by lack of money to start-up small businesses, and support their household members. These microfinance, therefore, have to give favorable lending for the youth. Besides, they have to find a way out for people who are incapable of borrowing money due to the existence of interest which is prohibited in religion.
- In rural areas women do not benefit from affirmative measures. There are weak measures aimed at empowering women. Unfortunately, rural communities strive to shape the lives of rural women. Girls are forced to lose their freedom and decision making power under traditional patriarchal system. To flee from such oppressions, girls prefer to migrate risking their lives. Empowering women through employment and other opportunities enable them to survive oppressive systems. The local government of Waja together with Woreda administration, therefore, has to cooperate to advance the privileges of girls.
- Cooperation between regular migrants and local government is necessary to curb the number of irregular migrants and maximize the development impact of migration. The local government has to take responsibility to build this cooperation. Collaboration

between them in terms of facilitating job opportunities, investment chances, and housing for potential returnees help to engage returnees at domestic activities. Besides, engaging such migrants in development activities assist migrants to be better off, and mobilizing regular migrants on local issues render chances for a better local development. Furthermore, establishing special institution such as Institution for Saudi Diaspora is of the essence.

- As the finding for this study indicates, the Kafala system has strong potential to make the rights of regular migrants vulnerable to their employers. Under the system many regular migrants have suffered from sexual assault, passport confiscation, beating, emotional abuse, work overload and homicide. Protection of rights regular migrants with full freedom have to be realized to avoid the tendency of regular migrants to be irregulars. Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs of Ethiopia has to ensure the observance of bilateral agreement and rules with the destination. To achieve this, special practical diplomatic attachés have to be organized to respond migrants' complaints with no delay.

### **5.2.1 Areas of Future Research**

The researcher suggests examining the following future research areas for future researchers.

To fully understand the effects of migration on the sending community comparative research has to be done on migration prone areas like Wollo and non-migrant communities. It is better to compare the causes of migration on migrant sending community with totally non-migrant communities than non-migrants in migrant prone areas. This helps to clearly see the institutional, economic, political, psychological aspects of factors triggering out migration.

Besides, the new pandemic (COVID 19) has been affecting the international community in almost all aspects. The global economy, particularly, is extremely being affected by the epidemic. Thus, it is suggested to do a research on the impact of COVID 19 on migrants and the national and local economy.

In addition, the role of weak national education system together with lack of employability after graduation has to be clearly studied to investigate the drivers behind irregular migration. Compared to other parts of Amhara and Tigray regional state, a great number of adults in Wollo prefer to migrate to the Arab World quitting their education. Doing researches on the inability of

education in helping adults refrain from out-migration is vital. It helps policy makers and politicians to give due emphasis for education.

Moreover, administrative problems are common in Wollo. The region is highly affected by maladministration and political influence from both Amhara and Tigray regional governments. The issue of migration from this region has been neglected by the local, regional and national governments. This issue has to be thoroughly investigated whether administrative maladministration and political influence instigates both regular and irregular migration or not.

Furthermore, the role of national and local institutions in maximizing the development effort of migrants from the Gulf Countries has to be further studied. The national government gives little attention to the issue of migration and migrants into the Gulf Countries. Such research helps to draw the attention of the government and policy makers to emphasize on migrants to the Gulf Countries.

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1. Type of Participant

Returnee  Potential migrant  Non-migrant

2. Gender: Male  Female

3. Age: \_\_\_\_\_

4. Marital status Married  Single  Widowed

5. Number of household \_\_\_\_\_

6. Number of household in Saudi Arabia \_\_\_\_\_

7. Educational level? Illiterate  Up to grade 7   
From 8 - 10  From 10 - 12  Degree & above

8. Religion

Islam 1 Christianity 2

9. Employment status Employed  Unemployed  Self-employed

10. If you are employed, the type of employment is?

Governmental  Private institution  Self-employment

11. Current monthly income \_\_\_\_\_

12. If you are employed, your income level is-

Low  moderate  high

**Irregular migration**

**Note: Question no. 13-22 must be responded by returnees and/or potential migrants**

13. Where is/was your destination country?

Saudi Arabia  Emirates  Kuwait  Qatar

14. Why do /did you prefer the above destination country? Because:- (thick all that apply)

It is closer  There is strong migration network

Absence of border control  There is better employment opportunities

There is Hajj/Umra  There is better freedom

15. To arrive at the destination country, which route do/did you use/used?

Legal route  Haji and Umra

Illegal agencies  Sea route

Legally then escaping from the employer

16. Why do/did you choose/chose the above channel of migration? Because:-

I was infected with prohibited disease  I have/had fingerprint  It is safer

The legal channel is still closed  There is good migration network

17. Who persuade you to migrate irregularly?

Myself  household members  friend

18. How many times have you gone to Saudi Arabia irregularly?

Once  Twice  Thrice  More than four

19. Period of stay working in Saudi Arabia in years? \_\_\_\_\_

20. Do you have/has a plan to go again irregularly?

Yes  No

21. How do you come to Ethiopia? Due to:-

Sudden Arrest  Family case  During crackdown in 2013  Illness

Determined not to migrate back to Saudi Arabia

### Socio-economic Causes of Irregular Migration

**Note: Question no. 22-32 must be responded by returnees and/or potential migrants**

22. Do you agree that the following are motivating factors?

Yes  1 No  0

No	Reasons of Migration
1.	Poverty
2.	Unemployment
3.	To get (better) job
4.	Culture of migration
5.	Migrant networks
6.	To flee from political oppression/persecution
7.	Lack of good governance
8.	Agricultural output failures
9.	Family pressure(to help family members)
10.	Community pressure
11.	Lack of interest free microfinance

**23. Which cause of migration mentioned in question number 22 most importantly motivates you/your household member to migrate? \_\_\_\_\_**

24. Have you/your household member ever got opportunities provided by the Kebele, Woreda or regional administration?

Yes  No

25. Is there youth and women affairs in your area?

Yes  No

26. Do women get employment and other affirmative measures?

Yes  No

27. Does the community force women to migrate into Saudi Arabia for work than keeping learning?

Yes  No

28. In the absence of legal overseas employment, what is the choice of women who dropped out of the school, uneducated and unemployed?

Arranged marriage  Irregular migration  Being dependent on their family

29. Is there micro finance in your area?

Yes  No

30. Do/did you/your household member borrow money from your area's financial institution?

Yes  No

31. If your answer is No, why? Because- (thick the one that applies)

Religiously prohibited interest  High interest rate

Low money borrowing  Unwanted in kind borrowing

### **Consequences of Irregular Migration**

**Note: Question no. 35-60 must be answered by returnees and sending households.**

32. Your household monthly income before migration? \_\_\_\_\_

33. Your household yearly income before migration? \_\_\_\_\_

34. What assets have you or your household member has owned after migration? \_\_\_\_\_

35. Have you created a job for you or your household member?

Yes  No

36. Have you/your household member funded your family to keep their education?

Yes  No

37. Have you/your household member financially supported your household to have access to a better healthcare?

Yes  No

38. If your households are farmers, did you/your household member help them to modernize their agriculture?

Yes  No

39. Your expenditure after the first remittance?

low  1 high  higher

40. Dose irregular migration has positively affected all of the following?

Better educational access	Better health	freedom for women	Better income
Raised consumption	Better self-employment	Better agricultural output	

Yes  No

41. Dose irregular migration has negatively affected all of the following?

The interest for learning      increased debt      Affected migrants' health  
depleted labor      violated rights of migrants

Yes  No

42. Have you/your household member been addicted to chat and other addictions during and after migration?

No  Yes

43. Do/does you/your household member have/has a plan to resume/start education?

Yes  No

44. Is there a returnee who has faced psychological problems in your household?

Yes  1 No  0

45. Did you/your household member send collective money for school construction?

Yes  No

46. Has migration enabled women to make personal decision?

Yes  No

47. Does returnee women suffer from social stigma?

Yes  No

48. Does remittance allowed you or your household member to migrate from rural to urban areas?

Yes  No

## Political Causes of Irregular Migration

**Note: question number 61- 80 must be responded by returnees and potential migrants.**

49. Do you believe that the community of this particular kebele suffer from political oppression and persecution?  
Yes  No
50. Do you think that this community faces administrative inequality compared to other kebeles in the woreda and the region?  
Yes  No
51. Are you satisfied with the kebele/woreda administration at waja?  
Yes  1 No  0
52. How do you rate the number of infrastructures?  
Fewest  Fewer  Few  Many
53. Does the local government encourage education?  
Yes  No
54. If your answer for no. 56 is no, how the local government discourage education? Education by second language  Depriving women to learn in Hijab
55. Is there any kind of government's investment on the kebele?  
Yes  No
56. How do you rate the existence of government institution in the kebele?  
Fewest  Fewer  Few  Many
57. Does the political oppression and persecution force residents to see irregular migration as an opportunity?  
Yes  No  I don't know
58. Do/did you learn in your second language, Tigrigna?  
Yes  No
59. Does learning in second language affect academic success?  
No  Yes  I do not know

## The Ban and the Proclamation

60. What do you feel about the overseas employment ban which stayed for longer period of time?  
Good  Bad
61. Does the overseas employment ban which still exist compel/ed you to choose irregular migration  
Yes  No

62. Which sex more tended to see irregular migration as an option after the ban?

Men  women

63. Following the ban the new overseas employment proclamation of 2016 was formulated. It involves age and grade limitation, and ignores returnees with fingerprint. Do you believe that this proclamation is good?

Yes  No

64. Does the proclamation oblige you to see irregular channels of migration?

Yes  No

**መሄድ ላላሰቡ የተዘጋጀ መጠየቅ**

1. ጾታ: ወንድ  1 ሴት  2

2. እድሜ: \_\_\_\_\_

3. የጋብቻ ሁኔታ ላጤ  ያገባ  ያላገባ  የፈታ

4. የት/ት ደረጃ?

ያልተማረ  እስከ 7 የተማረ  ከ8-12 የተማረ  ዲግሪና ከዚያ በላይ

5. ሃይማኖት

ኢስላም  ክርስትና

6. አፍ መፍቻ ቋንቋ

አማርኛ  ትግርኛ  ሌላ ካለ ይግለጹ \_\_\_\_\_

**ጠቅላላ**

7. ስራ አለዎት? አዎ  አይ  0

8. ባለስራ ከሆኑ፤ የቅጥር ሁኔታ-

የመንግስት  በግል ተቋም  የግል ስራ  ሌላ ካለ ይግለጹ \_\_\_\_\_

9. ባለስራ ከሆኑ፤ የስራው የገቢ ሁኔታ-

አነስተኛ  መካከለኛ  ከፍተኛ

10. የወር ገቢዎ ምን ያህል ነው?

1,000-3,000 ብር  3,000-5,000 ብር  5,000-8,000 ብር  8,000 ብር በላይ

11. ህገወጥ ስደትን እንዴት ይመለከቱታል?

የከፋ አማራጭ  ጥሩ አማራጭ  አላስፈላጊ ሌላ ካለ ይግለጹ \_\_\_\_\_

12. በህገወጥ መንገድ መሄድ ብዙ ችግሮች እንደሚያስከትል ያውቃሉ?

አዎ  አይ

13. ሳውዲ የሚኖሩ ጓደኞች ወይም ቤተሰብ አሉህ?

አዎ  አይ

14. ሳውዲ ወይ ቤት የሚኖሩ ጓደኞች ወይም ቤተሰብ በህገወጥ መንገድ እነድትሄድ ተጽእኖ ያሳድሩብሃል?

አዎ  አይ

15. ከቀበሌው፣ ወረዳ ወይ ከክልሉ አስተዳደር መልካም እድሎችን አግኝተሃል?

አዎ  አይ

16. መልስዎ አዎ ከሆነ ምን ዓይነት እድሎችን አግኝተሃል? \_\_\_\_\_

17. ወጣቱ ት/ቱን እንዲቀጥልና ስደትን እንዳያስብ ልዩ ድጋፍ ይደረግለታል? ድጋፍ የሚደረግለት ከሆነ ተማሪዎች ለምን ት/ትን በማቋረጥ ስደትን ያስባሉ? \_\_\_\_\_

18. በህገወጥ መንገድ ለመሄድ እቀዱ አለህ ?

አዎ  አይ

19. መልስዎ አዎ ከሆነ፣ እንደሌሎቹ ወጣቶች በህገወጥ መንገድ መሄዱን ያልፈለጉበት ምክንያት ምንድን ነው?

1. ህጋዊ መንገድ እየጠበቅኩ ስለሆነ
2. ሂደቱን ስለማይለውጠው
3. አደጋ(ችግር) ስለሚበዛበት
4. በቂ ስራና ገቢ ስላለኝ
5. ለጉዞ የሚሆን በቂ ገንዘብ ስለሌለኝ
6. ሌላ ካለ \_\_\_\_\_

20. ቤተሰባቸውን ሳውዲ በላኩና ቤተሰባቸውን ባላኩ ቤተሰቦች መካከል ልዩነቶችን አስተውለዋል?

አዎ  1 አይ  2

21. መልስዎ አዎ ከሆነ፣ ቤተሰባቸውን ሳውዲ የላኩ ቤተሰቦች ላይ ምን አስተውለዋል?

- የተሻለ ገቢ
- የተሻለ የት/ት እድል
- የተሻለ የቤት ባለቤትነት
- የተሻለ ማህበራዊ ደረጃ
- የተሻለ ህክምና ማግኘት
- የስራ እድል ፈጠራ
- ምንም ዓይነት ነገር አላስተዋለኩም

22. ለረጅም ጊዜ ስለተቋረጠው የውጭ አገር የስራ ስምሪት ምን ይሰማዎታል

- ጥሩ ነው
- መጥፎ ነው

23. የውጭ አገር የስራ ስምሪት ለረጅም ጊዜ መቃረጡ የህገወጥ ጉዞን እንዲያስቡ አስገድዶታልን?

አዎ  አይ

24. የውጭ አገር የስራ ስምሪት ከተቋረጠ ጀምሮ ይበልጥ ህገወጥ መንገድን እየጠቀመ ያለው ማንኛው ጾታ ነው?

ሴት  ወንድ

25. የባህር ጉዞ ላይ ሴቶች ለተለያዩ ችግሮች ይጋለጣሉ?

አዎ  አይ

26. መልስዎ አዎ ከሆነ እንዴት?

- ጾታዊ ጥቃት ይደርስባቸዋል
- ሞት
- የስነ-ልቦና ችግሮች ያጋጠማቸዋል
- ሌላ ካለ ይግለጹ \_\_\_\_\_

27. የውጭ አገር የስራ ስምሪት እገዳው በ 3-4 አመታት ውስጥ መጠናቀቅ ነበረበት?

አዎ  አይ

28. የውጭ አገር የሥራ ስምሪት እገዳው የዜጎችን የመንቀሳቀስ ሙብት ከተገቢ በላይ አግዳል በለው ያምናሉ?  
አዎ  አይ
29. የውጭ አገር የሥራ ስምሪት እገዳው በቶሎ እንዲነሳ ይፈልጋሉ?  
አዎ  አይ

## Appendix 2

### Focus Group Discussion

#### General

1. How do you understand irregular migration?
2. How do you describe the degree and extent of irregular migration at Waja?
3. Is there any active institution in charge of giving any kind of information and support about migration and migrants?
4. What measures have been taken to curb irregular migration?
5. Is there any support given for returnees?
6. Do learning in second language and political persecution force people to see irregular migration as a choice?

#### Causes

7. What do you think are the major causes of irregular migration at Waja?
8. Which causes are more motivating the youth to migrate?
9. Is there enough job creation for the youth in the region and in Waja?
10. Do you think the school closing forces students to see migration as the only option? How?
11. Do you believe that political oppression forces people to migrate? How?
12. Do you think adults who are asking identity questions might be forced to migration?

#### Consequences of Irregular migration

13. What are the impacts of migration on migrants, households and the community?
14. What do you think are the consequences of irregular migration on local development?
15. How much are the expenses of irregular migrants who migrate currently using Hajj/Umra, illegal employment agencies and sea routes?
16. Have you observed positive impacts of migration on poverty, health, agriculture, urbanization, housing, inequality, education, consumption, investment...?
17. Have you observed negative impacts of migration on poverty, health, inequality, education, local products consumption, agriculture?

18. Does remittance really changed the lives of migrants, their household and the community? How?
19. Are there achievements made by collective remittance on the community and locality?
20. What measures have been taken on those who facilitate migration networks?
21. What measures should be taken at local level to curb migration?
22. Does the depletion of labor force due to migration affect local development?
23. How do you understand irregular migration generally on the well-being, happiness and better lives of migrants, their households and the community?
24. Does remittance affect local development? How?

## **Appendix 3**

### **Interviews**

#### **Key Informant Interview for Residents**

**Informed Consent Form For the interviewees:** I hereby confirm that the interviewer has informed me about the nature, conduct, risks and benefits of the study. I have been told sufficient information about study, and have had enough opportunity to ask questions. I declare myself willing to participate in the study.

Name of participant (**optional**): \_\_\_\_\_

Participant's signature: \_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_\_\_

**For the Researcher:** I hereby confirm that I have informed the above participant about the nature, conduct, and risks of this study.

Interviewer's name: \_\_\_\_\_ Interviewer's signature: \_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_\_\_

This interview guide is full of open-ended and unstructured questions, thereby allowing participants to freely tell their stories.

#### **General**

1. How do you describe the degree and extent of irregular migration at Waja?
2. Is there any active institution in charge of giving any kind of information and support about migration and migrants?
3. What measures have been taken to curb irregular migration?

4. Is there any support given for returnees?

#### **Causes**

5. What do you think are the major causes of irregular migration at Waja?
6. Which causes are more motivating the youth to migrate?
7. Is there enough job creation for the youth in the region and in Waja?
8. Do you believe that political oppression forces people to migrate? How?
9. Do you think adults who are asking identity questions might be forced to migration?

#### **Consequences of Irregular migration**

10. What are the impacts of migration on migrants, households and the community?
11. What do you think are the consequences of irregular migration on local development?
12. How much are the expenses of irregular migrants who migrate currently using Hajj/Umra, illegal employment agencies and sea routes?
13. Have you observed positive impacts of migration on poverty, health, agriculture, urbanization, housing, inequality, education, consumption, investment...?
14. Have you observed negative impacts of migration on poverty, health, inequality, education, local products consumption and agriculture?
15. Are there achievements made by collective remittance on the community and locality?
16. What measures should be taken at local level to curb migration?
17. Does the depletion of labor force due to migration affect local development?
18. How do you understand irregular migration generally on the well-being, happiness and better lives of migrants, their households and the community?

#### **Interview for Kebele Administration**

**Informed Consent Form for Interviewees:** I hereby confirm that the interviewer has informed me about the nature, conduct, risks and benefits of the study. I have been told sufficient information about study, and have had enough opportunity to ask questions. I declare myself willing to participate in the study.

Name of participant (**optional**): \_\_\_\_\_

Participant's signature: \_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_\_\_

**For the Researcher:** I hereby confirm that I have informed the above participant about the nature, conduct, and risks of this study.

Interviewer's name: \_\_\_\_\_ Interviewer's signature: \_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_\_\_

This interview guide is full of open-ended and unstructured questions, thereby allowing participants to freely tell their stories.

### **General**

1. Why municipality changed from Waja to Timuga?
2. Why development at Waja declined in the past two decades?
3. Why high tax is imposed on people but too few social services are provided?
4. How do you describe the degree and extent of irregular migration?
5. Is there any active institution in charge of giving any kind of information and support about migration and migrants?
6. What measures have been taken by Woreda or Kebele administration to curb irregular migration?
7. Is there any support at local level given for returnees?

### **Causes**

8. What do you think are the major causes of irregular migration in Waja?
9. Which causes are more motivating the youth to migrate?
10. Is there enough job creation for the youth in the region and in Waja?
11. Are there economic opportunities that could avoid out-migration of the youth?
12. Do you think closing of the school last year forces students to see migration as the only option?  
How?
13. How do you explain the extent of unemployment in Waja?
14. Do you believe that political oppression forces people to migrate? How?
15. Do you think adults who are asking identity questions might be forced to migration?

### **Consequences**

16. What are the impacts of migration on migrants, households and the community?
17. Have you observed positive impacts of migration on poverty, health, agriculture, urbanization, housing, inequality, education, consumption, investment...?
18. Have you observed negative impacts of migration on poverty, health, inequality, education, local products consumption & agriculture?
19. Do you observe the role of remittance in urbanization of the locality?
20. Are there achievements made by collective remittance on the community and locality?
21. What measures should be taken at local level to curb migration?
22. Does the depletion of labor force due to migration affect local development?

23. Do you give support for migrants and their households in the use of remittance?
24. How do you understand irregular migration generally on the well-being, happiness and better lives of migrants, their households and the community?
25. Does remittance and migration contribute to local development?

### **In-depth Interview for migrants in KSA**

**Informed Consent Form For the interviewees:** I hereby confirm that the interviewer has informed me about the nature, conduct, risks and benefits of the study. I have been told sufficient information about study, and have had enough opportunity to ask questions. I declare myself willing to participate in the study.

Name of participant (**optional**): \_\_\_\_\_

Participant's signature: \_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_\_\_

**For the Researcher:** I hereby confirm that I have informed the above participant about the nature, conduct, and risks of this study.

Interviewer's name: \_\_\_\_\_ Interviewer's signature: \_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_\_\_

This guide is full of open-ended and unstructured questions, thereby allowing participants to freely tell their stories.

- 1) How do you understand irregular migration?
- 2) Why did you prefer KSA?
- 3) Which channel of migration you used to arrive at KSA? (The sea route, Hajj and Umra, Illegal employment agency brokers, escaping from legal employer)
- 4) What are the causes that motivate you to migrate into KSA?
- 5) What are the particular causes that motivate or force migrants to choose irregular migration into KSA?
- 6) Is there enough job creation for the youth in the region and in Waja?
- 7) Had you get any other opportunities?
- 8) Is there any affirmative action that encourages the youth to stay in school and continue their education in your village? If any what enforce students to dropout their education and to think to work abroad?

- 9) What consequences are faced during and after the journey?
- 10) How much are the expenses of irregular migrants who migrate currently using Hajj/Umra, illegal employment agencies and sea routes?
- 11) What do you think of the health impacts of illegal migration?
- 12) Did the Kafala system affect you? How?
- 13) Had the employment ban affect returnees? How?
- 14) What do you feel about the overseas employment ban which has been stayed for relatively longer period of time?
- 15) Does the overseas employment ban which still now compel/ed your family member to choose irregular migration?
- 16) Which sex tended to see irregular migration as an option after the ban?
- 17) Does women are left to serious problems on the journey due to the ban ?
- 18) Are the majority of returnees has re-migrated? Why?
- 19) What do you want to say about the oversea employment proclamation, 2016?
- 20) How much money you spent to arrive at the destination?
- 21) How much many are you paid?
- 22) What have you done for yourself using remittance?
- 23) Do you send remittance to your family? How much? For what purpose?
- 24) How do you explain the status of yourself and your family before and after your migration?
- 25) Do you send collective remittance for your locality? For what purpose?
- 26) Does your locality administration support or disregard you? How?
- 27) Do you suggest young families and non-migrants to see irregular migration as a good option?
- 28) Do you believe Waja and its surrounding as a region of Wollo-Raya unequally treated unlike others? How? Dos it leads to irregular out-migration?
- 29) Do you suggest irregular migration for your family member and friends?
- 30) What do you expect from the national, regional, Woreda and local administration to curb irregular migration?

## Interview for Politically Displaced

**Informed Consent Form For the interviewees:** I hereby confirm that the interviewer has informed me about the nature, conduct, risks and benefits of the study. I have been told sufficient information about study, and have had enough opportunity to ask questions. I declare myself willing to participate in the study.

Name of participant (**optional**): \_\_\_\_\_

Participant's signature: \_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_\_\_

**For the Researcher:** I hereby confirm that I have informed the above participant about the nature, conduct, and risks of this study.

Interviewer's name: \_\_\_\_\_ Interviewer's signature: \_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_\_\_

This interview guide is full of open-ended and unstructured questions, thereby allowing participants to freely tell their stories.

1. Why you are displaced?
2. Why people are harassed?
3. How do you understand irregular migration?
4. Have you ever considered irregular migration after displacement?
5. If you lose political support and face strict challenges from the two regions, do you consider migrating?
6. Do you think that increased political oppression may force the youth to choose irregular migration?
7. How many people migrated due to political oppression?