

Exploring the Interplay Between Migration and Changes in the Social Capital of Sending  
Communities: Experiences from *Raya Kobbo Woreda*, North Wollo

By: Getachew Desale

Addis Ababa University School of Social work

Advisor: Abebaw Minaye (Ph D)

March 2016

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## Abstract

Labor migration to the Middle East has become a common phenomenon in North *Wolo* of *RayaKobboWoreda*. This study aimed at identifying and comprehending the changes brought by migration vis-à-vis the six dimensions of social capital (groups and networks; trust and solidarity, collective action and cooperation, information channels and communication, social cohesion and integration, empowerment and political action). In tune with the ethnographic strategy employed, I made desk reviews of pertinent documents; held six FGDs comprising 46 (17female) participants; conducted in-depth interview with eleven key informants and 15 purposefully selected informants from the community along with observation of major social events. The data obtained from the diverse sources were triangulated and analyzed to see changes that occurred to the community following international labor migration.

Though hard to fully attribute all the changes in the community to migration alone, migration has a discernible effect on the social capital of the community. Groups and networks with economic purposes are declining sharply. Migration also endangers informal sociocultural structures. There is also a decline in terms of mutual support, collective action and cooperation; and meaningful participation of the community in their own affairs. Older children preferred migration and the elementary schools are the most affected institutions. At the family level, the effect is mixed: some are successful and send remittance to their non-migrant family members while many do not succeed at all. Participants urged government and all stakeholders and all stakeholders for alternative job opportunities for the youth; facilitating the legal process of migration; and supporting farmers by harnessing the underground water there.

**Key Words:** labor migration, social capital, communities, Ethiopia

## Acronyms

<b>EPRDF</b>	:	Ethiopian People Revolutionary Democratic Front
<b>FGD</b>	:	Focus Group Discussion
<b>ILO</b>	:	International Labor Organization
<b>IMF</b>	:	international Monetary Fund
<b>IOM</b>	:	International Organization for Migration
<b>KII</b>	:	Key Informant Interview
<b>SCI</b>	:	Save the Children International
<b>SNNPRS</b>	:	Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Regional State
<b>UNHCR</b>	:	United Nations High Commission for Refugees

## Table of Contents

Acknowledgement .....	iv
Abstract .....	v
Acronyms .....	vi
Table of Contents .....	vii
Chapter One: Introduction .....	1
1.1: Background of the Study .....	1
1.2. Problem Statement .....	3
1.3. Research Objectives .....	7
1.3.1. General Objective .....	7
1.3.2. Specific Objectives .....	7
1.4. Scope of the Study .....	8
1.5. Significance of the Study .....	8
Chapter two: Literature Review .....	10
2.1. The Impact of Migration on Communities of Origin .....	10
2.1.1. The overall impact of migration at the household level .....	10
2.1.2. The impact of migration at the community level .....	13
2.1.3. The socio-cultural impact of migration .....	14
2.1.4. Beyond remittance: migration and social capital .....	15
2.2. Conceptual Framework .....	17
Chapter Three: Research Methodology .....	23
3.1 Qualitative Approach .....	23
3.2. Methods of Data Collection .....	24
3.2.1. Observation .....	24
3.2.2. In-depth Interview .....	24
3.2.3. Focus Group Discussion .....	25
3.3. Site Description .....	25
3.4. Informant Selection methods and Sample Size .....	29
3.5. Data Collection Procedure .....	30
3.6. Data Analysis .....	32
3.7. Ethical Issues .....	33
Chapter Four: Data Analysis and Interpretation .....	34
4.1. History, Causes, patterns and Prospects of Migration in Gedemeyu .....	34
4.1.1. History and causes of migration .....	34

4.1.2. Patterns of migration.....	35
4.1.3. Prospects/propensity to migrate in Gedemeyu. ....	37
4.2. Groups and Networks .....	39
4.2.1. Wobera/Jiga: .....	39
4.2.2. Wonfel: .....	41
4.2.3. Eritiban:.....	43
4.2.4. Sera: .....	43
4.2.5. <i>Equib</i> :.....	47
4.2.6. Amachi Ez:.....	47
4.2.7. Irrigation channel Committee: .....	48
4.2.8. Duberti/Qoti: .....	49
4.2.9. Abagar:.....	50
4.2.10. Tertib:.....	50
4.2.11 Jumua: .....	51
4.2.12. Wedding:.....	51
4.2.13. The family:.....	52
4.2.14. Schools:.....	55
4.3. Trust and solidarity .....	57
4.4. Collective Action and Cooperation.....	58
4.4.1. Schools construction .....	58
4.4.2. Road construction: .....	58
4.4.3. Water pump management .....	59
4.5. Information and Communication.....	60
4.6. Social Cohesion and Inclusion.....	61
4.7. Empowerment and Political Action.....	63
4.7.1. Forest management. ....	63
4.7.2. Electricity installation. ....	65
4.7.3. Shrine places management.....	65
4.7.4. Conflict resolution mechanisms.....	67
Chapter Five: Discussion and Interpretation.....	68
Chapter six: Conclusion and social Work Implications.....	74
6.1. Conclusions.....	74
6.2. Social Work Implications .....	76
6.2.1. Implications for social work Research.....	76

6.2.2. Implication for Social work education.....	77
6.2.3. Implications for social work Practice. ....	78
6.2.4. Policy implications.....	79
Reference .....	81
Annex1: FGD checklist.....	90
Annex 2: Consent form for Key Informant Interview .....	93
Annex 3: Observation Checklist .....	96
Annex 4: Checklist for in-depth interview household members .....	97
Annex 5. List of participants.....	99

## Chapter One: Introduction

### 1.1: Background of the Study

According to International Organization for Migration (IOM) (2000), “more than 150 million international migrants celebrated the turn of the millennium outside their countries of birth.” (p. 3) IOM (2014) also indicated that “there are some 232 million international migrants in the world” (P. Vii). As such it can be stated that migration has always been an aspect of human life. Yet the experience of migration has diverse implication both to sending and host societies. According to Hear & Sorensen (2003), although they tend to emphasis the developmental effect of migration, they also indicated that “the influence of migration on development have varied over time: sometimes migration has been seen as beneficial and at other times detrimental to development, depending on the historical moment and circumstances” (p.14).

With these all mixed and complicated facets of migration, Ethiopia experiences migration both as a sending and destination country. The IOM special Liaison office in Addis Ababa (IOM, 2014) explicated that currently, Ethiopia is hosting more 629,000 refugees making the country the first in African to host this number of refugees. The IOM assessment also indicated that Ethiopians are emigrating using three major migratory routes, viz: Northern corridor, Southern and Eastern corridor. i) The northern corridor is mainly used by people from Oromiya, Amhara and Tigray regional states to migrate through Sudan, Egypt and Libya and some advance to Europe as their ultimate destination. ii) People from SNNPRS use the Southern Corridor to travel through Kenya, Tanzania, Zambia and Malawi to reach South Africa while some advance to North America. iii) Ethiopian migrants also cross Somalia and Djibouti, the Gulf of Aden,

Yemen to reach the Middle East, mostly the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia with possible travel to Turkey and Europe.

Review of the existing literature indicated that there seems to be a general agreed notion of migration having a positive and developmental effect for countries of origin. Subscribing to this notion, Hear and Sorensen (2002) stated, “The transnational literature generally shows a positive effect of migration on development in the countries of origin” (p. 30).

However, the effect of migration is not exclusively limited to the sending communities alone. It can also have a negative effect on the host communities as well. With this in mind, destination countries have been trying to deter immigration for “the allegedly harmful economic, social, political and demographic consequences of immigration, about 40 per cent of all states implement policies aimed at reducing immigration” (IOM, 2003, p. 30). This study is therefore an attempt to critically explore the effect of migration on the sending communities by examining its effect across the six dimensions of social capital (groups and networks, trust and solidarity, collective action, information, social cohesiveness and solidarity and empowerment and political action). The study is conducted in *Gedemeuyu* kebele of *Raya Kobo Woreda*. The *woreda* is one of the eleven *Woredas* of North Wolo zone of Amhara National Regional State. *Raya Kobo Woreda* is bounded by *Raya Almata Woreda* of Southern Zone of Tigray National Regional State. Basically *Raya Kobo* and *Raya Azebo* found in the northern tip of Amhara Regional State and Tigray Regional State respectively are characterized by a large number of migrants to the Middle East, specifically to Saudi Arabia (IOM, 2014; Animaw, 2011).

## 1.2. Problem Statement

Migration has been treated by some writers as a coping strategy of households entangled in precarious situations. As such the economic return of migration in the form of remittance has always been provided as a rational motive for people to get migrated (Animaw; 2011, p. 8). Cortes (2007, p. 32) asserts that “migration provides means to overcome financial constraints, and puts in contact different cultures and knowledge, enriching in many ways the sending regions”. However it can be said that migration is an intricate phenomenon which cannot be comprehended with all its multiple dimensions and the ramifications thereof. On the one hand migration especially labor migration is experienced as a last resort to improve livelihood. As migration is a broad phenomenon which is not subject to a single discipline or single theoretical and analytical framework, its study has been on the basis of the researchers’ and policy makers’ interest. Much of the study has, therefore, been on factors that lead to migration aspiration and decision in the form of push and pull factors. In tune with this idea, Timmerman, Hyse and Mol (2010) wrote “Various recent studies on international migration point at the importance of discourses and imaginations about migration and possible destination countries in generating and perpetuating migration aspirations and decisions” (p.4). As we can see from the aforementioned statement, therefore, much of the focus has been on the situations that lead to the migrants’ decision to migrate with the aim of reaping the possible opportunities in the destination countries. Yet as Animaw (2011) has explained it “despite the demand for cheap labour in the countries of destination, most of these countries have restrictive immigration policies, exposing migrant workers to a range of human rights abuses, including labor exploitation, violence, trafficking, mistreatment in detention, and even killing”(p. 8).

Close examination of literature of migration tends to assume the beneficial effect of labor migration through remittance. Mentioning the Human Development Report of 2009, Animaw (2011) indicated that Ethiopia obtains about \$359 million which accounts to 1.5 per cent of its Gross Domestic Product (GDP and made a general statement that “.... remittances are vital in improving the livelihoods of millions of people in developing countries, many development authorities and governments consider international migration as a promising form of development” (p. 7). According to IMF (2014) Ethiopia country Report, “Remittances averaged about US\$3.7 billion in the last three fiscal years, higher than the value of total exports of goods during the same period.” (p. 41). Noting the fact that developing countries got \$404 Billion in 2013, \$436 Billion in 2014 and projecting \$516 billion for 2016 in remittances, The World Bank (2014) Experts advocate for the recognition of migration in Post-2015 Development Agenda emphasizing the need to reduce migration costs, improve migrants’ rights and improve development finance. In tune with these notions it was also mentioned that

mostly researches discussed the impact of migration on community development, particularly, remittances as possible source of development in the community as well as in the country, but the issues of socio cultural and economic circumstances of left behind family is yet under-researched” (Rehman & Rehman, 2014, p. 2).

We can somehow see from the aforementioned discussions that the emphasis has mainly been on the economic returns of migration while the negative consequences of migration to the sending communities in developing countries in general and in rural communities in particular - as they are forced to lose the most productive and active members of their community – was mentioned just in passing.

Rehman & Rehman, (2014) wrote:

Policy makers are usually concerned with remittances for economic development and they ignore social, psychological, cultural and political impact of migration on those left behind. Well-being can be measured by using tangible and intangible indicators like, income, health, education and psychology, among those left behind (P.4).

Despite the long held view of migration as a coping strategy, lived realities- as depicted by current sociological studies, show that migration has a multitude of negative and sometimes irreversible consequences. Cortes (2007, 4) wrote that “more than a third of Mexican children experience some type of household disruption during childhood”. This can probably be seen as the darkest façade of migration as it will have irreversible impact on the holistic development of children.

Khuseynova (2013, p. 31) identified lack of sense of independence and vulnerability to shocks; family disruption; expansion of child labor; negative psychological and socio-ethical effects as major corollaries of labor migration. The impact of migration extends from the family to the community and to the national level. According to Grootaert (1998, 6), “... migration thus runs the risk of eroding social capital. Rural associations may be thinned out by departing members and lose critical density”. Abebaw and Thomas (2013) also identified the impact of trafficking and smuggling in Ethiopia at the family and the community level. Accordingly, the major family level negative impacts are related with cost of migration, dependency of the left behind members on remittance, the lack of care and treatment for left behind children and the disruption of family while loss of productive work force; increased school dropout; poor integration of the returnees and challenges to national securities are the major community/society level impacts. Migration has always been conceptualized from the perspective of outgoing members of the community,

their migration experience and their return aspect. For example, Admnesh, explained migration as follows:

While talking about trans-border migration, the concept of migration can be divided in to three broad parts: 1) life before migration and the causes of migration; 2) migrants situation in the host country; and 3) coming back to the country of origin which includes reasons for their return, their situation in their country of origin and their contribution to their country's development (2006, p. 1).

But the fact that the migrants are departing from their long established community network and the how their departure is experienced by the left behind members of the community is most often overlooked.

The area is identified as one of the high trafficking and migration prevalent areas in Ethiopia with all its multitude of adverse ramifications (Animaw, 2011; Abebaw and Thomas, 2013; IOM, 2014). I also observed personally the sociocultural and political dynamics in Raya, as a Rayan myself and while conducting two ethnographic studies in Raya. It is with these ideas in mind that I have tried to explore the sociocultural impacts of labor migration in *Kobbo Woreda* of North Wollo Zone. In this study, I have attempted to explore the socio-cultural impacts of migration in the light of the six dimensions of Social Capital perspective (groups and networks; trust and solidarity; collective action, information; social cohesiveness and integration; and empowerment and political action). The changes are explored at the household, neighborhood and community/village level. The study has the following Specific questions to address:

1. What is happening to the existing groups and networks in *Gedemeyu* following the migration experience in terms of their structures and functions?
2. How is migration affecting the trust and solidarity of individuals with their relatives, neighbors and the larger community and even strangers?

3. How is migration affecting community member's involvement in collective action in *Gedemeyu*?
4. What are the ways and means by which community members in *Gedemeyu* receive and exchange information? And how are these affected by migration?
5. How do community members maintain social cohesion and inclusion in the face of migration?
6. How is migration affecting *Gedemeyu* community members' engagement in political decisions at the community level?

### **1.3. Research Objectives**

#### **1.3.1. General Objective**

The general objective of the study is to explore the interplay between migration to the Middle East and the associated changes in the social capital of the community by taking the case of *Gedemeyu Kebele* in the light of social capital dimensions.

#### **1.3.2. Specific Objectives**

- 1) To identify the changes in the structures and functions of Groups and Networks in *Gedemeyu* at family, neighborhood and community level as a result of migration.
- 2) To explore the trends of trust and solidarity vis-à-vis the labor migrants to the Middle East
- 3) To explore trends of collective action and cooperation of the community members in *Gedemeyu* vis-à-vis the labor migration to the Middle East

- 4) To identify and map the ways and means by which community members, as members of groups and networks, receive and exchange information regarding markets and public services and how they are impacted by migration
- 5) To describe the effect of migration on the tenacity of social bonds and their potential in including or excluding members of the community
- 6) To explore how migration affects the community's involvement in political decisions that affects them in their day to day life.

#### **1.4. Scope of the Study**

This study is limited to the exploration of the consequences of international labor migration to the Middle East to the sending communities in Gedemeyu. Internal migration; migration to other destinations; migration for purposes other than labor could also affect the social capital structures and functioning of the community which are not covered by this study. The study does not dwell in examining the causes of migration. The study is also limited geographically to *Gedemeyu Kebele*. The study is also limited to the social and cultural impacts of migration. Lots of other aspects like the economic, the health, the psychological, etc that ensue migration experience need a thorough examination on their own right. These are not the focus of this study.

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

This study will be used to comprehend the dynamics of migration and its impact on the social capital of the communities in *Gedemeyu Kebele* of *RayaKobbo Woreda*. With this general purpose, the study is thought to be helpful for national level and local authorities to comprehend the impact of migration at the rural community level. The study attempts to suggest ways of harnessing the positive effects of migration and curbing the negative consequences of migration

through a coordinated and well-designed strategy. The study is also expected to serve as an inspiration for further research undertaking both by providing some informative insights on the situation of rural communities following migration and by raising further questions that needs further study. The study also suggests possible intervention strategies for those actors who are responsible for the wellbeing of the community.

## Chapter two: Literature Review

### 2.1. The Impact of Migration on Communities of Origin

#### 2.1.1. The overall impact of migration at the household level

Migration is an intricate process that involves the migrant and its family member under certain socioeconomic, political and cultural contexts. Understanding migration stipulates the proper examination of the diverse features under which migration is experienced.

Migration involves the migrants as well as other members of the household in a complex set of relationships linking migrants with those left behind. Assessing migration's impacts of migration on left behind children requires understanding the causes and characteristics of their parents' migration; the reasons why these children were left in the community of origin. The analysis should consider the role of social, economic and political institutions in the parents' decisions and in shaping the impacts on children (Cortes, 2007, p. 3).

It is this situation that renders migration hard to comprehend and the research findings thereof become highly contested. The vexing aspect of migration is that one can easily tell something both about the benefits and costs of migration simultaneously. Migration can be mutually beneficial both for the sending and receiving countries (Adamnesh, 2006). A case study of male migration and the problems faced by families left behind in Thesil – Daska portrayed that “Family left behind experience two types of consequences. One is positive like improvement in quality of life, increase in income of household and has greater access to the variety of goods and services and other one is negative like children and women's feeling of insecurity and loneliness” (Kousar, 2014, p. 9). Yet a study on the same theme has the following to say:

..... the research concludes the following negative consequences or impacts of labor migration on migrants' households, such as high dependency of migrants' households on remittances and their vulnerability to adverse risks associated with job loss, accident, illnesses, death, etc. of their migrant family member working abroad; difficulties for women in managing the household work in absence of male households (husbands, fathers, older sons); difficulties in child-rearing in absence of their fathers; negative effects of labor migration on child education,

negative effects of labor migration on expanding child labor in the Tajik society, particularly in early ages (consequently, exclusion from education); and, negative psychological effects of labor migration on migrants' wives (Khuseynova, 2013, p. 4).

The consequence of migration depends on the specific contexts under which migration is experienced. According to Bina Fernandez (2011), women migrant workers in Lebanon have been a safety net mechanism for otherwise vulnerable households in Ethiopia for survival and 'future social reproduction of the household' in the absence of strong social welfare mechanism in the country the better access to education. Fernandez also mentioned Ethiopian migrants are treated with disrespect and the unbearable human rights violations and exploitations mostly treated as the least compared to Filipina and Indonesian Nannis or cooks (p. 453).

Taking the specific experience of the Tajik society by employing an in-depth analysis of society Khuseynova concluded that labor migration has adverse consequences especially for children. According to Fjermstad, Kvestad, and Daniel (2008), the traditional routines, in the family, are the bases for the children's later easy cultural integration as "stability of care and parenting is crucial for normal development and mental health in children" (p. 447). Adding on the negative side of migration in Ethiopia, IOM (2005) wrote "in Ethiopia, remittances are commonly used by rural and urban families to pay the travel costs of an economically active household member to work abroad "(P. 39). The remittances are not used in productive engagements. Similarly Adamnesh (2006) mentioned migration has an adverse consequence by creating extra burden to left behind women and brain drain.

Migration will, therefore, have a huge impact on the sending communities' family composition and structure; challenges the long existed gender roles in the family; and child outcomes in terms of labor, health and education, cultural effects and issues related to crime (Katseli, Lucas & Xenogiani 2006, p. 44).

Children are the most vulnerable segments in the family as a result of migration.

According to Antman (2012), the absence of a parent due to migration has a tremendous effect on the overall development of children. Antman indicated that remittances from international migration can serve to cover education and health expense while at the same time relieving children from child labor. To the contrary, Bakker, Pels and Reis (2009) wrote, "... the reality is that children in the Caribbean are significantly affected by migration. They risk losing the right to education, health, as well as long and sometimes indefinite periods of separation from their parent(s)". Noting the importance of area and time specific empirical research to comprehend the causes and consequences of migration de Haas (2007) noted that remittances could help to cover the costs of education and at the same time it can also deter children from their schooling. He wrote "... migration can also create *negative* incentive structures for education in cases of low skilled, often irregular migration, where few if any positive returns on education can be expected" (p. 59).

Many research findings indicate that the youth represent the most mobile and migrant segments of the society. In his study of the effect out-migration, Mahama (2013) found that the migration of the youth to the urban centers affected the agricultural production in the rural areas as the most active and capable members of the community leaving the agricultural activities in the country. Subscribing to this notion de Hass (2007) also wrote that the exposure of the youth to a new and better way of life in the urban settings following migration creates a different aspiration for the youth where they lack interest to *reengage* in the demanding agricultural works and the life thereof culminating in the perpetual justification of migration. By challenging the existing social network mechanism, migration will, therefore, have a negative impact to the family members and to the overall development of children in particular. Ethiopia is also one of the countries that are affected by migration. According to Wagari Gudeta (2014), "one of the largest

current international migration flows is Ethiopian women migrating to the Middle East as domestic workers, which also often occurs through trafficking”(p. 237). Gudeta mentioned this migration to the Middle has multiple causes and the major ones are “poor awareness on recruitment processes, preference for quicker method of migration, prevalence of traffickers throughout the country who brainwashes young girls with false promises, and poor understanding on the risks involved in trafficking intersect and put women in trafficking networks” ( p. 243).

### **2.1.2. The impact of migration at the community level**

One of the characteristic features of communities, especially in rural areas, is the sense of stability and solidarity. But for different reasons this solidarity and stability is challenged for its continuity. Migration is one of such challenges that shatters the solidarity and stability of rural communities. According to Grootaert (1998) “...massive rural-to-urban migration thus runs the risk of eroding social capital. Rural associations may be thinned out by departing members and lose critical density” (p. 6).

Social capital is what most rural communities rely upon in times of shocks and uncertainties. It is this basic social safety net mechanism that migration shatters. Of courses there is a debate on the impact of migration on the community. Ports (2010) wrote:

~~Social networks operate as a double-edged sword on the effects of migration on community and national development. They underlie the optimistic prognosis by Stark and Massey concerning the resolution of local market deficiencies and other production bottlenecks as well as the onset of indirect multiplier effects of remittances. On the other hand, the progressive lowering of the costs of migration that networks make possible can lead, in the absence of countervailing forces, to severe depopulation of sending towns and regions. In the end, there would be few people to send remittances to and no productive apparatus to be re-energized by migrant investments or increased local demands (P. 9).~~

Portes (2010) poses to this dilemma and asks a question as to what circumstances of migration make social networks beneficial and what other circumstances render migration

counterproductive to the sending communities and suggests two possible solutions for this: governmental intervention and the character of migration itself. According to de Haas (2007), the impact of migration is contingent upon the sociocultural and ecological contexts of the sending communities on the one side and the migration policies, political and economic conditions characterizing both the sending and receiving communities. As such, a host of issues need to be considered to explore the impact of migration on both on the sending and receiving societies. Given the fact is an inherent aspect of human life, the pros and cons of migration will depend on the specific circumstances that migrants are situated both in terms of their community of origin and destination countries. Given the poor infrastructure and the low human capital in most developing countries in general and in remote rural areas in particular, it can be safely argued that migration will have a detrimental effect for the sending communities.

### **2.1.3. The socio-cultural impact of migration**

It has been reiterated that most researches conducted on migration exhaustively discuss on the economic implications of migration. But the social, cultural and political implications of migration are mostly overlooked in favor of remittances. In line with this notion, Kousar (2014, p. 69) cogently asserted:

.... the impact of migration on community development, particularly, remittances as possible source of development in the community as well as in the country, but ~~the issues of socio cultural and economic circumstances of left behind family is~~ yet under researched.

The majority of literature on migration has been on the economic impacts of migration - be it on positive or negative - both from the perspective of sending and hosting communities. But migration has a vast array of impact on in the social, cultural, political and economic aspects both for sending and host countries. The cultural implication of migration especially from the perspective of sending communities is the least explained. Portes (2010) summarized the major

consequences of migration for sending society as depopulation where the community is subjected to miss their most productive members; transnationalization of local culture; and buttressing of existing social structure of privilege and hindering the genuine transformation of the community. Migrants who are leaving their communities are also subjected to a host of social, cultural, and political problems. According to Abebaw (2013), "... loss of family identify and community culture is profound for people whose sense of well-being and pride are based on these markers" (p. 289). These members of the community will face double challenges in terms of adjusting themselves to the new culture in the destination areas and at the same time they will also be challenged later remigration.

Emphasizing on the impact of migration on culture and the essence of culture on the life of the community Downman (2012) explicates that culture is not simply the "traits, customs and rules, but also" a means of expression whose change has a "disempowering, confusing and destructive" effect to the community in question (p. 63). By changing the firmly held and long established cultural patterns, migration will therefore have an adverse effect on the survival of the community as a social entity.

#### **2.1.4. Beyond remittance: migration and social capital**

According Sager (2014), migrants' contribution is not limited to remittance alone instead they also facilitate the exchange of resources in the form of human, social and cultural capital between sending and receiving countries. This is made possible through networks that many researchers tend to call them social capital (de Hass, 2007; Pallion, Massey, Ceballos, Espinosa & Spittel, 2001). These networks are defined by de Haas (2007) as "sets of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants, and non-migrants in origin and destination areas through bonds of kinship, friendship, and shared community origin" (p. 31). According to Katseli, Lucas

and Xenogiani (2006), these "... [N]etworks provide the scaffolding for transnational strategies in which individuals and families make use of cross-border connections to redress spatially distributed inequalities" (P. 12). Fjermsatd et al also succinctly explicated that "a broad view of social networks includes their role in providing both material and social assistance to the family as well as serving as role models for the child and his/her family" (p. 447). The easy access and expansion of travel and communication facilities have helped migrants to maintain their bond with "economic, cultural and religious networks" (Sager, 2014, p. 3). In Ethiopia social networks are easily referred to as causes of migration along with economic factors and peer influences (Meskerem, 2011). In his discussion of causes of migration, Elias Ashene (2013) also mentioned pull factors prevailing in the destination countries; push factors prevailing in the sending communities; and social networks linking both the sending and the destination communities.

Despite the fact that the ontology of networks following migration is apparent, the causal direction of these networks is not clearly explicated. Some consider these networks as causes of migration. For de Haas (2007), "social capital is ... crucial migration resource in (1) enabling and (2) inspiring people to migrate" (p. 31). It is implicitly and explicitly indicated that connections, knowledge and information that people acquired in the course of their migration experience have helped them in bridging the host and the sending communities. As explained in the preceding paragraph, these networks are developing as a consequence of migration.

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Whichever direction we are talking about, it is also important to reconsider the origin, development and roles of these networks in reference to the already existing networks that migrants have before their migration in their country of origin and later in their destinations. Regarding the role of social capital as a cause of migration, it also needs to be considered cautiously lest the networks be taken for granted as causes of migration veiling the real cause of

migration. I believe that social networks are simply facilitating the process of migration and are not causes in its strict sense.

## 2.2. Conceptual Framework

This study basically aims at exploring the dynamics of social capital among the *Rayans* by taking the case of *Gedemeyu* as a corollary of the labor migration to the Middle East. International Organization for Migration defines Labour Migration (2012) as “movement of people from one country to another for the purpose of employment” (p. 15). As can be seen from the trajectory of development since its use as a conceptual scheme, social capital has been defined and redefined indicating the intricate nature of the concept across time and society. According to Putnam (1995, P. 67) social capital “refers to features of social organization such as networks, norms, and social trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit”. The essence of social capital as defined by Putnam was its role in facilitating coordination and cooperation among the members of the association for commonly pursuit goals. But this definition of social capital was considered by many writers as shallow and focusing only on the horizontal associations and the corollary norms that will somehow influence productivity in the given community (Grootaert, 1998 and Tzanakis, 2013). Later analysts of social capital challenged “Putnam’s preference for horizontal over vertical and hierarchical organizations” (Shrader and Krishna, 2002). Prior to Putnam, Coleman (1988) wrote, “it [social capital] is not a single entity but a variety of different entities, with two elements in common: they all consist of some aspect of social structures, and they facilitate certain actions of actors-whether persons or corporate actors-within the structure” (P. 98). For Coleman, social capital has an enabling role for actors to meet their shared objectives.

The major contribution in Social Capital discourse was made by Bourdieu and he defined social capital as the “aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition – or in other words, to membership in a group – which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectively-owned capital” (p. 252). Although Bourdieu did a great work in bringing social capital as one of the forms of capital apart from the economic and cultural capitals, critiques argued that his analysis culminated in dealing with economic behaviors (p. 139). His analysis focuses on how each forms of capital are convertible to economic gains ultimately

According to Grootaert (1998), social capital is the missing link among the traditionally acknowledged drivers of growth and development known as natural capital, physical or produced capital, and human capital. On the basis of the unit of analysis, (Woolcock and Naryan, 1999) summarized four perspectives in social capital. The first is communitarian view which emphasizes on small and local community structures such as associations, clubs, and civic groups. The second perspective is networks view which focuses on horizontal (bonding) and vertical (bridging) ties in the community. The third is institutional view which emphasizes on the legal, political and economic environment for effective and functional community networks. The fourth perspective is synergy view which in a way is an attempt to synthesize the insights from the three perspectives and come up with a comprehensive analytically and operationally viable framework of social capital.

Despite the diverse approaches and discrepancies in conceptualizing, operationalizing and utilization of the concept of social capital, many researchers and development practitioners argued on its (social capital) for sustainable development (Woolcock & Naryan, 1999; Grootaert,

1998; and Kahkonen, 1998). Similarly many researchers also explicated social capital as having both instrumental and dark façade, in enabling and deterring development (Portes, 2010; Siddiqui, 2012; and Pantoja, 2000). Pantoja cogently stated, "...there are positive and negative effects of social capital that should be identified and accounted for when evaluating the social capital resources of a given community" (P. vi).

The notion of social capital is the most frequently written and explained and yet the most perplexing concept for analytical and operation purposes. Colletta and Cullen (2000) wrote "categorizing and analyzing social capital is difficult, for there are many definitions of the term and what it encompasses (p. 2). With this background in mind, Colletta and Cullen defined social capital as "systems that lead to or result from social and economic organization, such as worldviews, trust, reciprocity, informational and economic exchange, and informal and formal groups and associations" (p. 2). According to Grootaert and Bastelaer (2002, p. 2) social capital is defined as "the institutions, relationships, attitudes, and values that govern interactions among people and contribute to economic and social development". Birhanu and Tigineh (2004, p. 187) defined social capital as a resource to be harnessed from a sustained social interaction.

Colletta and colleen (2000) stated that categorizing and analyzing social capital is difficult due to the diverse definitions of the term and the concept it embodies. However, as part of comprehending the nature and functioning of the social capital found in the village in relation to migration, the theoretical/analytical framework developed by *a team of experts from World Bank is adapted. The team identified 6 dimensions of social capital as indicated below.*

Groups and Networks: Measuring the structural or network component of social capital has to relate to the types of networks or mutual support mechanisms that rally people together for their shared interest (Krishna and Uphoff, 1999). According to Collier, "traditional peasant social

structures are efficient responses to the problems of opportunism and free-riding, partly by creating high observably and repeated transactions” (1998, P. 18). Under this category the nature and extent of a community member’s participation in various types of social organizations and informal networks, and the range of contributions that one gives and receives from them are explored. The focus is on capturing the diversity of a given group’s membership, how its leadership is selected, and how one’s involvement has changed over time following the migration incidences.

**Trust and Solidarity:** According to Krishna and Uphoff (1999), trust is a major aspect of social capital manifested in the different forms of norms of reciprocity and cooperation among the community (p. 4). This category seeks to procure data on trust towards neighbors, key service providers, and strangers, and how these perceptions have changed over time in relation to the migration incidences prevalent in the village in particular and among the *Rayans* in general.

**Collective Action and Cooperation:** under this dimension, the cases of collective actions are presented and discussed. According to Krishna and Uphoff (1999), “It is not the networks *per se* that are important so much as the *meanings* that these networks hold for members and the possibilities for collective action and personal benefit that they open up”(p. 19). The focus here is how migration challenges the community members’ readiness to observe community expectations or the tendency to violating community expectations in the face of increased trend of migration.

**Information and Communication:** According to *Grootaert and Bastelaer (2001, p. 14)*, “the impact of social capital is manifested through improved exchange of information (about technology or creditworthiness of contract parties), higher participation in design, implementation and monitoring of service delivery systems, and more effective collective action”. Group formations and collective actions are stipulating the need to have prior

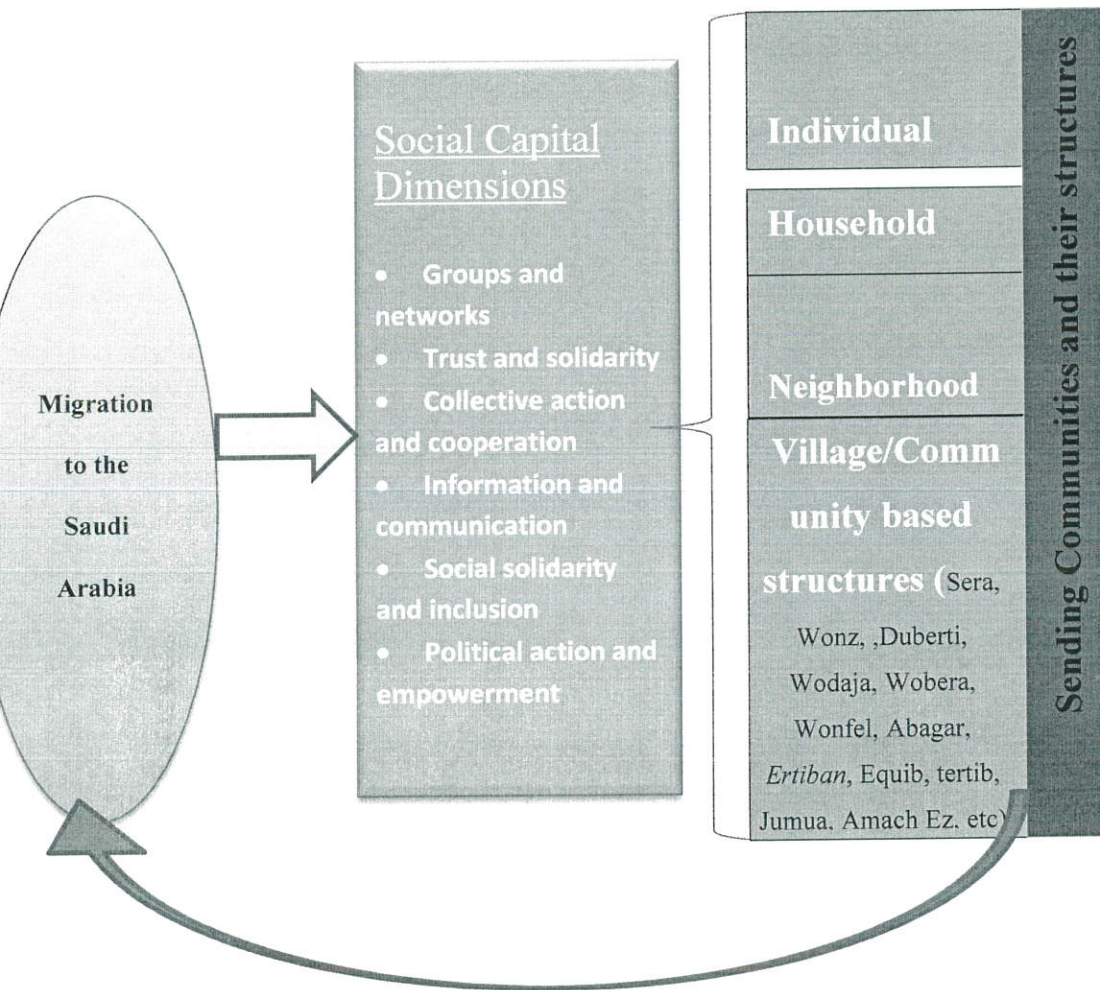
information and at the same time the one purpose these structures serve is the sharing of information to their remembers. Under this section the ways and means by which community members receive and exchange information pertaining to market conditions and public services and the extent of the community members' access to such communication infrastructures are explored.

**Social Cohesion and Inclusion:** within the community we have different forms of divisions and differences which might culminate in deadliest conflicts unless managed successfully. As cogently explicated by Colletta and Cullen (2000), Social cohesion refers both to the absence of latent conflict on the basis of any discrimination and at the same time the presence and proliferation of functional bonds and institutions that reinforce reciprocity, contain possible cleavages and manage conflict ultimately when it occurs. Under this dimension the nature and extent of these differences and the management mechanism are explored vis-à-vis migration. Community events such as weddings, funerals, and other events that could foster solidarity, strengthen cohesion, and that contributes for the development of collective consciousness are explored as part of manifestations of social capital.

**Empowerment and Political Action:** Individuals are "empowered" to the extent that they have a measure of control over institutions and processes directly affecting their well-being (World Bank, 2002). The questions in this section explore household members' sense of happiness, personal efficacy, and capacity to influence both local events and broader political decisions by juxtaposing these experiences in relation to the experience of migration.

# Conceptual Framework on the Effect of Migration on the Social Capital

## Dimensions of the community



Source: Social Capital Dimensions are Adapted from Uphoff and Krishna (1999), the overall framework is adopted by the Researcher

## Chapter Three: Research Methodology

### 3.1 Qualitative Approach

The overall objective of the research is to explore the trends in the nature and quality of the social capital in sending communities by assessing the different dimensions of social capital following migration. As it has been reiterated, the impact of migration on the sending communities, specifically in the area where this research is conducted, is not well presented in the previous research findings. More specifically there is little study on the socio-cultural impact of migration among the *Rayans* despite the mass migration of the youth to the Gulf Countries. According to Creswell (2003), “if a concept or phenomenon needs to be understood because little research has been done on it, then it merits a qualitative approach” (p. 22). The research explored the changes in the family composition and structure, neighborhood connections, and community’s level network and groups as a result of migration. In a way the social and cultural dynamics following migration are explored where the study of attitudes and behaviors is best understood “within their natural setting, as opposed to the somewhat artificial settings of experiment and surveys” (Baby, 2006) for which case qualitative approach is chosen as an ideal one.

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In tune with the aforementioned justification to use the qualitative approach for this specific study, I have used ethnographic and case study as major strategies of inquiry. In ethnographies the “researcher studies an intact cultural group in a natural setting over a prolonged period of time by collecting, primary observational data” while case studies are employed to explore a full and detailed account of a case under investigation (Creswell, 2003, pp. 14-15).

### 3.2. Methods of Data Collection

As a corollary of the aforementioned strategies of inquiry, the following methods of data collection are used in this specific research: Data was collected both from secondary and primary sources the research questions necessitate. As to the secondary data, literature review was made with the aim of putting the research in context. For this end, books, journals, magazines, unpublished researches, thesis and dissertations on migration and social capital were reviewed. This has helped me to refine the research questions and devise the appropriate research design.

Primary data was also collected through Observation, Focus Group Discussion and In-depth interview as explained below.

#### 3.2.1. Observation.

Observation checklist was prepared in reference to the specific questions that the research endeavors to address. Observation checklist was used to systematically observe such events as *Edirs*, *Duberti*, *Wonfel*, the village's context, the fields in the *Kebele*, the farm lands, the natural and manmade resources and their management, and the people's interaction in their community. These observations were made through transect walk with notable persons across the *Kebele* (See Appendix 1).

#### 3.2.2. In-depth Interview

An in-depth interview was held with key informants from *Kobbo Woreda* and *Gedemeyu Kebele* who have an in-depth knowledge of the community – its different social structures and their functioning - and who occupy key positions in formal and informal structures as well. The key informants from the *Woreda* were interviewed on the historical and current conditions that are associated with migration; the prevalence of migration across the different *Kebeles* in the *Woreda*; the measures taken and to be taken by the government to curb the spread of migration

and the prospect of migration. Key informants from Gedemeyu were approached to discuss in detail on the structure and functioning of the different networks and groups that are identified in focus groups discussions with more specific examples and how these structures and functions are affected by migration. An in-depth interview was also held with households who have their family member migrated to the gulf countries. The data collected in such a way served primarily to analyze the impact of migration at the family and household level and shed light to the analysis at the community level as well.

### **3.2.3. Focus Group Discussion.**

A focus group discussion was also held with selected community members who represent the different segments in the society. The initial focus groups discussion was made with a group comprising both men and women and the purpose was to skim the major community structures in the *Kebele* and to elicit an idea of how these structures are affected by migration. A separate focus group discussion was also held with community representatives and notable persons to procure data on the impact of migration on the different dimension of social capital. The researcher worked with local officials and notable persons of the area in identifying potential participants for the discussion.

## **3.3. Site Description**

According to the Government Communication Affairs Office of the *Woreda*, *RayaKobbo Woreda* is bounded by *RayaAlamata* (part of *Raya* under the administrative Region of Tigray) in the North, *Gubalafto Woreda* in the south, *Afar Region* in the East, and *Gidan Woreda in the West*. The *Woreda* has a total area of 249,360 hectare land. The *Woreda* comprises three weather zones (highland 3%, lowland 38% and moderate 59%). The *Woreda* is located 570 KMs away from Addis Ababa- the country's Capital City, and 410 KMs from Bahir

Dar, the Regional Capital. The seat of *RayaKobbo Woreda* is *Kobbo* town and it comprises three emerging *Kebele* towns, 37 rural *Kebeles*, and two town *Kebeles*. The *Woreda* has a total estimated population of 237,859 in 2008 of which 118,240 are females and only close to 6% (13,435) of the population lives in the towns while the rest live in rural areas and are predominantly agrarian. *Gedemeyu* (01) is one of the 37 rural *Kebeles* found in *Kobbo Woreda*. It is located to the east of *Kobbo* Town. In the North the *Kebele* is bounded by *Mendefera* (06) and *Zoble* (010) *Kebeles* while it is abutted onto *Abuare* (07) and *Addis Alem* (07) in South and onto *Gatira* (011) in East (*Raya Kobo Woreda Communication Affairs Office*, 2015).

*Gedemeyu Kebele* has a total of 2939 population of which 1438 are females. According to the elderlies, *Gedemeyu* is made up two words in *Oromifa*: *Gandaa* and *Mayuu*. *Gandaa* means village and *Mayuu* is the first Oromo father who settled and founded the village afterwards the village was called after his name as *Gandaa Mayuu*. But as time goes on people corrupted *Gandaa Mayuu* and christened the village as *Gedemeyu* (Belete, personal communication, September 27, 2015). The people are residing in three gots and nine villages (*Hamusit, Gedadoi, Tedla Mender, Debeko, Gedemeyu, Abay Gamo, Kere Habiyu and Areda*). The open fields for farm and grazing are called *Cheli, Hormat, Abay Kebele, Wodi Gara, Kokebie, Nedi, Hubchitu, Kobbo Erash, and Tedila Erash* (FGD, September 27, 201).

*RayaKobbo* is then part of the mainstream *Rayathat* runs from *Ala Wuha* in the south to Ebo in the north and from Afar in the East to Lasta in the West. Despite the politically motivated division that the Ethiopian governments have always been making against the will of the people, the *Rayans* have a strongly shared cultural and ethnic identity that ascended to the level of national identity (Getachew, 2003). So strong is *Rayans'* allegiance to their ethnic identity that they have been fighting a series of battles to preserve their ethnic and national boundary. The

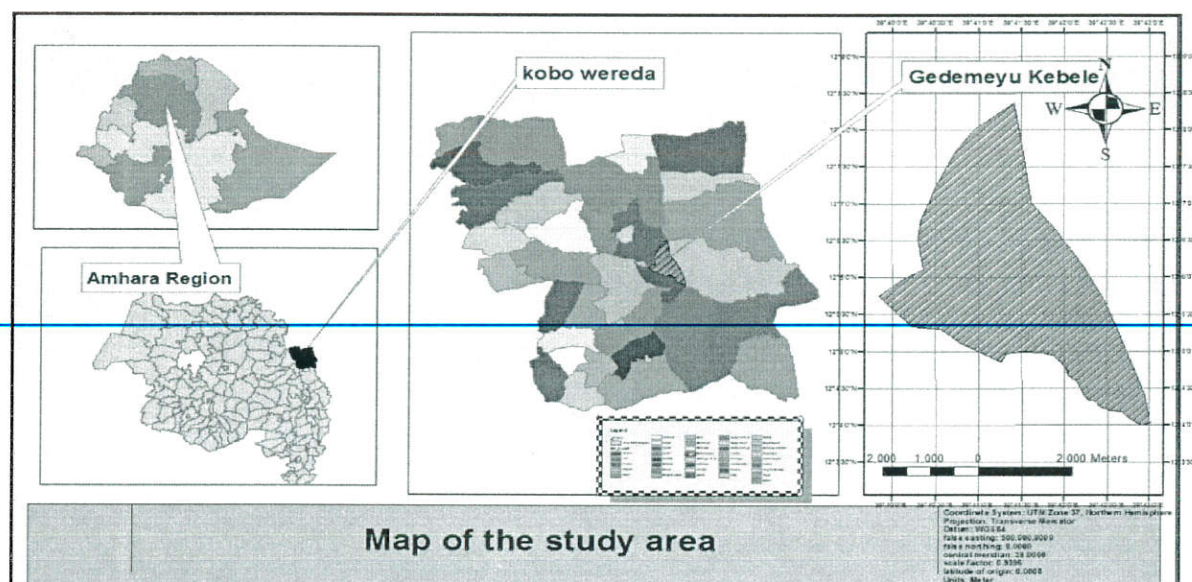
*Rayan* nationalist movement - popularly known as *Woyane* - is the first organized nationalist movement in the history of modern Ethiopia (Bahiru, 2002). Bahiru also further stated that the major reasons for the rebellion were “administrative inefficiencies and corruption and the rapacity of the territorial army units stationed in the province” (p. 215). He also emphasized that the “the rebellion was a continuation of the *Rayya-Azabo* peoples and the government” which ascertains the *Rayans*’ relentless effort to maintain their autonomy and deter the central governments intrusion. Starting from *Kobbo*, the *Woyane* managed to liberate all areas and advanced to the north up to, and including, Mekele but finally the central government in collaboration with the British air force defeated the movement (Fekadu, 1990; Gebru, 1996 & Bahiru, 2002). *Woyane* was first started as a traditional practice where the youth in *Raya* were fighting among themselves with the couching and direction of the elderlies. The purpose was to nurture and test their manhood and empower them for raids and counter raids as the *Rayans* were mainly agro-pastoralists (Agezew, 2000).

In all those difficult times, the *Rayan* popular leaders rally their people under the concept of *RayaRayuma*. *Rayuma* means *Rayanness*, indicating a firm conviction to a *Rayan* national solid identity. According to Kibrom (2005 EC), the phrase *RayaRayuma* was first developed as a mechanism of strengthening internal solidarity, under the common ancestor called *Ray* which is also the case for all Oromos, and creating a strong front to outsiders. He added, the phrase

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*RayaRayuma* is a conscious ethnically designed political call for all *Rayans* to stay united and keep nullifying the artificial divisive plots that the central governments have always been making tirelessly. The frequent use of the term *Raya-Rayuma* in the mushrooming songs on *Ray* by *Rayan* singers - and lovers of *Raya* and the *Rayans* - is also indicative of the historical call for the United *Raya*, *Raya-Rayuma*.

With this geographical and historical context, the community in Gedemeyu has multiple social structures that are initiated and nurtured to ease day to day life challenges and experiences. In Gedemeyu, the family is characterized by strong bond and solidarity and it is situated in the context of extended family with all the warmth and challenges of kinship structures. As a result, it is common for children to grow with their grandparents or close relatives such as uncles and aunts (Muleta, personal communication, 26 Oct 2015). This kinship structures has made the costs of migration easy in terms of leaving the children behind for migrant families. According to focus group participants the major informal community structures in Gedemeyu are Wobera/jiga, wonfel, *Ertiban*, Sera, *Equib*, Amach Ez, Melie chiresh, Duberti, Abagar, Customary Law, Tertib, Jummua, Wedding and other ceremonies (FGD i, 27 Oct 2015). The *Kebele* has also such public services as water point, schools, health centers, dry road, electricity (to be functional soon), agricultural extension works where *Kebele* administration, Health and extension office play a pivotal role (Lakew, personal communication, October 27, 2015).



Source: CSA 2012

### 3.4. Informant Selection methods and Sample Size

Systematic observation was also made with households whose member/s have migrated on their interaction and relationships of in their day to day life like farming. Key informants and notable persons were selected on snowball sampling basis from the formal and informal community structures like *Edirs*, *Wonz*, *Duberti*, , *Wonfel*, and religious and spiritual institutions formal structures (agricultural Office, Women, Children and Youth Affairs Office, Education Office, etc). In-depth interview was made with eleven key informants who are office holders in different government offices. In-depth interview was also made with 15 informants who were chosen on the basis of their knowledge of the social capital elements in questions and who have also ample knowledge of the history of the *Kebele*. These groups of people are reached through snowball sampling technique.

Focus Group Discussion: Overall Six Focus Group Discussions were held in *Gedemeyu Kebele*. The first focus group discussion was with a group comprising both men and women where a total of nine participants (four female) were involved. The purpose of this initial FGD was to explore the major social structures like formal and informal groups and networks found in the *Kebele* and to have discussed on the general effect of migration on these structures. Then two consecutive FGDs were held with men only comprising seven and eight members each with the aim of exploring the effect of migration on existing social groups and structures that are mostly related with economic activities. One FGD was also made with the youth comprising nine participants and the purpose was to explore the migration experiences among the youth and the propensity to migrate. Finally two FGDs were also held with women only that comprise six and seven participants each for the purpose of furthering identifying social capital structures that

are established and nurtured and to see the changes these structures are experiencing due to migration.

### 3.5. Data Collection Procedure

The data collection process in this study was eased for three major reasons. First, I have ample knowledge of the area as an insider and as a member of the community. Second, I have also conducted two ethnographic researches entitled “ethnic identification and description: The *RayaCase*” and “Harnessing cultural diversity for peaceful coexistence in Ethiopia” on the area. For the second research, I was commissioned by Emy International Consultancy Firm as a consultant. Third, I also know many of the office incumbents in *Kobbo Woreda* and they have immensely supported me in facilitating the data collection process, site selection and provision of pertinent documents.

In my first two days in *Kobbo Woreda* for this mission, a friend from *Kobbo Woreda* took me door to door to major government sector offices. This person had been working as a head of one of the sector office in the *Woreda* and he has a good acceptance and respect from the community and the office incumbents. That was a good opportunity for me to introduce the purpose of the research, the information needed to undertake the research, and the highlight of methods to be employed. This way we visited the Media and Communication office, the Administration Office, the Peace and Security Office, and the Women and Children Affairs Office. The heads of offices and experts whom we met welcomed us very warmly and they were also interested about the research and its purpose. In those discussions, as the people whom we met were interested about the topic, we made some preliminary interview and gathered pertinent information that helped us to select research sites.

Gedemeyu *Kebele* and Workie Gebeya were therefore selected to be research sites from the preliminary discussion about the experience of migration in *Woreda*. We selected the two research sites on the basis of accessibility and the prevalence of migration in the *Woreda*. For more in-depth interview and to procure pertinent information to answer the research questions, I made an appointment with experts and heads from Media and Communication Office, the women and Children Affairs Office and the Peace and security Office. Afterwards, I also identified the gate keepers from Gedemeyu and Gura Workie and established a rapport very shortly through my friends and relatives from *Kobbo* and even Gedemeyu.

In the preliminary interviews with key informants in *Kobbo Woreda*, the Amharic translated check lists were tested for validity. A series of improvements was made on the wording of the list of check lists and probing expressions and phrases. This process was made continuously to adjust the items to the specific conditions of the interview and observation sessions. Themes and concepts used by the local communities to express the informal and formal structures in the community, migration and experiences of migration were consciously listened to. The juxtaposition of the data collection and continuous analysis render the data collection process easier. The field notebook was specially designed to help me capture pertinent data, participants and informants' opinions, reflections, emerging themes and my own reflections on them all. This made the final analysis and the write up much easier.

The notable persons that I established rapport with from Gedemeyu supported me both as a source of information and in facilitating the data collection process by organizing the FGD, KII, and observations. I also made a transect walk with notable persons and the elderlies from the community where we observed the public institutions (schools, roads, water points, the environment, the different housing styles and the changes in it, shrine places, farms and crops,

coffee ceremonies, conflict resolution events, the vegetation cover in the village and its surrounding) were cautiously observed.

### **3.6. Data Analysis**

All the information from observation, in-depth interview and Focus Group Discussion were transcribed and word processed. Initially, I started collecting data both from Gedemeyu and Gura Workie. But when I started transcribing and coding the data with preliminary comparative analysis, I came to know that it was difficult to manage the analysis. Both areas are known for high prevalence of migration and of course Workie is the worst. The people in Workie are predominantly pastoralists while the people in Gedemeyu are mainly agriculturalists. The effect of migration could have been from different perspectives given different mode of these communities pursue. Later I decided to concentrate on Gedemeu only as it will be difficult to manage the data from the two *Kebeles*. I preferred Gedemeyu, because it is characterized by a dense social capital with a multitude of informal community based structures and suitable to see the effect of migration. The analysis began with the first interview and with the first key informant from the *Woreda* and ended with the final editing of the draft paper. The transcribed data was read repeatedly to understand the overall implications and discern the themes that can be extracted from the data. Track change and comments tabs of the Microsoft Word Program were used to develop codes and notes in the right margin. This was done for the whole transcribed document and finally, similar themes were clustered together for further analysis. These themes were supported with field notes. In the field note, descriptions of settings, categories, emerging themes were recorded and these were used in analyzing the transcribed

documents. The conceptual framework and the research questions thereof guided the data collection and analysis process.

### **3.7. Ethical Issues**

The data was collected from youth, officials, and community representatives. The participants were introduced the purpose of the study first and were invited to participate if they feel comfortable. Once the discussion or the data collection was commenced the participants were also encouraged to withdraw if they feel uncomfortable. Pseudo names were also used to further protect the confidentiality of the information provided by participants and their anonymity as well.

## **Chapter Four: Data Analysis and Interpretation**

In this chapter, qualitative data collected through KII, FGD, and Observation were analyzed and thematically presented. Six FGD (one group comprising both men (five) and women (four) participants; 2 groups with men comprising 7 and 8 members each; one with returnee youths comprising nine participants; and two groups with women only where six and seven women participated in each group) were held in *Gedemeyu*. Key informants and notable persons were also selected using snowball sampling. The key informants are people who have ample knowledge on the formal and informal structures of the community and who can also sharing their views on the effect of migration on these structures. Accordingly 15 informants were selected and interviewed. A case study of an individual about the situation of his household was made and presented. I also made a transect walk with notable persons from *Gedemeyu* who also participated in the FGD where we observed the public institutions (schools, roads, water points, the environment, the different housing styles and the changes in it, shrine places, farms and crops, coffee ceremonies, conflict resolution events, the vegetation cover in the village and its surrounding) were cautiously observed.

### **4.1. History, Causes, patterns and Prospects of Migration in Gedemeyu**

**4.1.1. History and causes of migration.** Before the coming into power of EPRDF, there was a very limited migration to Saudi Arabia. Instead the migration experience during the time of Emperor Haile Selasie and Dergu was mainly internal predominantly to two destinations: first to Metema in Gonder and second to Asaita in Afar (Argaw Nure, personal communication, September 29, 2015). Focus Group Discussion participants comprising five men and four women were asked about the history of migration in *Gedemey* ever since it was first experienced. The participants made a slight discussion

among themselves and come up with the following remarks ultimately (FGD, September 27, 2015).

Migration to Saudi Arabia from *Gedemeyu* and neighboring *Kebele* areas was first started as a religious pilgrimage to Mecca – the Hajj. Later, people started to migrate under the cover of the Hajj for labor purposes. So initially it was only the Muslims who were going to Saudi Arabia for whatsoever reasons. And the initial migration to Saudi Arabia was on a legal basis. Later people started to migrate to Saudi Arabia through Asab to Yemen and to Saudi Arabia in large numbers.

This migration tide was precipitated by the famine in 1990 EC which was known locally as *Zelo Betifia* “a sudden hard slap on the face”. But this route was blocked following the Ethio-Eritrea war. Then the migration through Djibouti and *Bossaso* to Saudi Arabia started and the experience reached its highest in the past eight years where almost every youth and able-bodied people in *Gedemeyu* has migration experience. But not all migrants are successful in reaching their destination. Some die on the road, some are forced to return home from their way, and some are also repatriated home immediately after they reached Saudi Arabia. As a result, there are some people in *Gedemeyu*, who have made subsequent travels to Saudi Arabia up to eight times until they finally succeed or become desperate. I myself have travelled to Saudi Arabia over six times since 1993 EC.

As can be discerned from the above excerpt, migration specially the internal migration was first initiated by famine where people were migrating to Metema and Asaita. The migration to Saudi Arabia was first started as pilgrimage but later turned out to be a labor migration. The illegal migration to Saudi Arabia was first through Asab now it shifted to using Somalia and Djibouti following the closure of the Asab route. Now people are resorting to migration desperately as there are no alternative livelihood mechanisms that outweigh the gains from migration and that can justify the preaching to avoid migration.

**4.1.2. Patterns of migration.** *RayaKobbo Woreda* is one of the areas in Amhara Region known for high prevalence of migration. However, the magnitude of migration is not uniformly distributed across the *Kebeles* in the *Woreda*. Of the forty two *Kebeles* of the *Woreda*, the lowland areas are known for pervasive migration. Mainly migration is prevalent in lowland part of *RayaKobbo*. From the rural towns, *Robit* and *Gobyee* are small towns in the *Woreda* with high

prevalence of migration. From rural *Kebeles*: 022<sup>1</sup> (*Gura Workie*), 023 (*workie*), 024 (*Yayu*) are known for historical high prevalence of migration mainly to Saudi Arabia (*Temesgen*, personal communication, September 26, 2015). Apart from the aforementioned *Kebeles*, the people in 01 (*Gedemeyu*), 04 (*Jarota*), 05 (*Addis Kigni*), and 06 (*Golesha*) started migration lately but they are also known for high prevalence of migration currently. But it does not mean that there is no migration in other *Kebeles* apart from the above mentioned ones. Now the experience is spreading even to highland area *Kebeles* where migration to the Arab world is very new to them (*Yilak*, personal communication, September 29, 2015).

Overall, it was indicated that over 300 people are leaving the *Woreda* on a daily basis. But not all migrants could manage to reach their destination (*Temesgen*, personal communication, September 26, 2015). Many of them return from their way having lost their money and the money they obtained from their parents. Some even borrow money from their relatives for this kind of unsuccessful journey.

Generally the migration from *Gedemeyu* and even the *Woreda* has three patterns. First, the migrants start their journey from *Kobbo* and advance to Addis Ababa. From Addis Ababa they go to Harar and from Harar they are taken to *Bossaso*. From *Bossaso* the smugglers take the migrants to Saudi Arabia. Second, migrants set of their journey from *Kobbo* through Hara to *Chifra* in *Afar* and to reach *Galafi* (the boundary between Djibouti and Ethiopia). From *Galafi* people are smuggled to and reach the ports and they head to Yemen and then to Saudi Arabia. A small number of migrants also traveled to Sudan with the aim of reaching Libiya. From Libya some advance their journey to Europe, especially to Italy (FGD with returnees, September 27, 2015).

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<sup>1</sup> 022, 023, 01, 04, 05, 06, etc are numeric codes officially assigned by the Administration to identify *Kebeles* of the *Woreda*.

Now the brokers have changed their style of facilitating the process of migration. They do not ask for initial payment as they used to. They recruit the youth and guide them to travel up to Somali, they do this on phone. When the migrants reach Somali, the brokers ask the payment. By this time the migrants are forced to call to their parents or relatives for a certain amount of money to be paid for smugglers who are going to take them from Somali to Yemen. This is how the migrants pay to the brokers and smugglers. It is also difficult to trace the brokers because the brokers from *Kobbo* are working based and living in Dre Dawa and Harar.

**4.1.3. Prospects/propensity to migrate in Gedemeyu.** According to Tesfa Zeleke, migration in *Gedemeyu* has now reached to the extent that children are seen in terms of whether they are old enough for migration. He also said that “it is also common to hear parents when expressing to see their children’s marriage after which the children’s migration to Saudi Arabia is excused” (Tesfa, personal communication, September 26, 2015). Osman also said that parents want to get their children married just simply to see her migrate having experienced marriage and first sex. He explained the wedding feast is what is implicitly expected of the individuals who have girls or boys to undertake as wedding is one of the social occasions that serve as a mechanism of exchanging information, reciprocating gifts and other communal obligations (Osman, personal communication, September 29, 2015). From the preceding discussion, I learnt that parents who conduct successful wedding, especially for their girls, are valued and respected by the community.

In the focus group discussion, that comprises women and men participants, one participant desperately, with full of emotion and an uninterrupted speech, uttered as follows while the rest participants were showing their confirmation by nodding frequently:

The youths have no option left other than migration given the recurrent drought and famine. Now that there is no summer rain and people have started to starve.

So we all are likely to migrate. The movement cannot be banned by saying that migration is bad. Everybody knows that. When you say no migration you need to have alternatives. At least for now there is no tangible alternative to convince the youth not to migrate. It is now unlikely to curb the migration of the people. Nor is it possible to check the brokers' (traffickers) facilitation role in the process, as they are doing it using phone by avoiding physical contact. The brokers are not also living here or anywhere in the journey. They are living in Harar and they are facilitating it from there. . “አንድ እንጀራ አጠጉ የገደለውን አስር እንጀራ ብታሸተው አይደንም”:: roughly translated as “You cannot rehabilitate a person with 10 Enjeras ( a traditional spongy pancake) who died lacking one” (Zenebu Lakew, personal communication, September 27, 2015).

The above excerpt clearly indicated the desperate situation of migration and the

inevitability of migration as a result. Another participant in the same discussion also stated the desperate situation of migration and the pains involved in the process of migration.

The government shall not waste its time to control migration by intimidating brokers and illegal traffickers only. After all people migrating are experiencing the worst pain from the Federal Police and community Police. The Defense force is very helpful and understanding. If they get you at the border to cross illegally, they will catch you, teach you, give you something to eat and help you to return back to your village. They will not torture you unlike the common deed of the Federal Police. But the Federal police and the community police, when they catch you they inspect you not for why you are illegally migrating but for the money you have. Once you are arrested, they treat you inhumanely and even burrow into your private parts searching for money. If they get the money they will leave you. If they do not find any money then they will make you have a telephone call to your relatives in the meantime they beat you so harshly and let your relatives hear the beating and your cry so that your relatives will feel sorry and sympathetic to send you the money that the Federal Police demands from you (FGD part III, September 26, 2015).

The above excerpt is a clear demonstration of the misappropriation of the governments'

struggle to curb illegal migration. People reached a conclusion that the Brokers are assuming the role of the legal body while the Federal Police are doing to the contrary. According to Zenebu Lakew (personal communication, September 27, 2015) “people who go through the brokers will only pay 5000 Birr and reach their destination successfully while the ones who are traveling by their own and fell prey to the Federal police may expend too much extra money, on top of all the inhumane and degrading treatments”. The trend of migration is likely to stay increased in so far

as there is no alternative livelihood mechanism in *Gedemeyu* and the *Woreda*. Observation, focus group discussion, and in-depth interview unequivocally depicted that the physical and social changes in the village are solely the results of migration. People acknowledge that not all migrants are successful in reaching Saudi Arabia, securing good job and sending money back to their families. Be that it may, the changes in the village as can be witnessed in the replacement of the mud houses by corrugated iron roofed houses (apart from changes in consumption patterns and other changes) is nothing but the result of remittance from Saudi Arabia.

Despite the huge cost of the migration process and the pains to be paid by both successful and unsuccessful migrants, all the changes we see in *Gedemeyu* and even in *Kobbo* and other neighboring *Kebele* are due to the remittance from Saudi Arabia. This has been one reason for the people to migrate. If you tell people all the agonies that the migration process entails including sexual harassments, beatings to death, getting drowned, etc people reply “ወይ ከብሩ ወይ ከባህሩ” “Either to go for money or to get drowned” (FGD Par II, 27 October 2015).

## 4.2. Groups and Networks

In *Gedemeyu*, lots of social groups and Networks can be identified with their own respective functions and structures which are challenged to continue. The major groups and networks are identified below with their historical perspective to see the changes and dimensions in their genesis and service to the community that generated and nurtured them. This section examines the changes brought in the nature and function of these groups and networks in the face of migration. As such both the informal and formal institutions found in *Gedemeyu* are explored for changes and persistence following migration experience.

**4.2.1. Wobera/Jiga:** This is a form of voluntary support where the host prepares *tella* (local drink) and meal and invites for people to help him in certain farm activities. The person

requests his neighbors, distant and close relatives, and his friends. The villagers also know that the poor, the elderly and the widowed, living in that village, rely on the villagers' support for their farm activities. As depicted in the discussion with focus group participants the major farm activities executed through *Wobera* (which, sometimes, is also called *Jiga*) are plowing, sowing, mowing and threshing. The types of activities depend on the type of crop to be cultivated. *Teff* is the most demanding crop and stipulates a collaborative effort for all of the aforementioned farm activities (Muleta, personal communication, September 26, 2015). Apart from farm activities, *Wobera* is also used for constructing houses regardless of the service recipient's wealth status.

Participants in the focus groups discussion were also asked about the current status of *Wobera*. Some of the participants mentioned that there is no *Wobera*. Some others were arguing against this idea mentioning the example of the services they got from their neighbors. But the later groups' participants were challenged where the former ones mentioned the degree of the support that has been there some eight and nine years back. The later groups justified their argument saying that

It is true that *Wobera/Jiga* is not completely lost but currently the farmers are not interested to engage even in their own farm activities let alone to support others. Of course people will give/lend you their oxen but many will not give you the man power. So you need to look for somebody who is going to till for you or you need to hire a daily laborer. And if people support you in plowing they will not repeat that services for the next level farm activity like in wedding, mowing or threshing (FGD participant 1V, September 26, 2015).

After a little hot discussion the group came to agree that *Wobera* is not completely lost as a community support mechanism but it is not in a way it used to be some time back. Following this conclusive remark, the participants were also asked about the reason for the decline in this one time decisive support mechanism. The participants unanimously mentioned that now the youth is flooding to Saudi Arabia and most of the farm activities are executed by daily laborers.

From the discussion, it was evident that almost from every household in the community there is at least one member migrating and the household relies mainly on the remittance from that person specially to cover the expense for daily laborers.

In-depth interview with key informants also confirm the opinions expressed in the focus group discussion. A key informant was asked as to what he will do if he is poor and if the people in the neighborhood are not supporting him in farm activities as has been the tradition. He said,

If you are poor, either you will have some body to help you from Saudi Arabia or you need to look for credit from Amhara Credit and Saving Institution (ACSI). If you still cannot do this you will have two options left: renting your farm land for a defined period of time and giving your land to a close relative or a friend on a crop sharing basis (Muleta, Personal communication, 26 Sep 15).

From the preceding discussion, we can see that *Wobera/Jiga*, as form of communal support to the needy is being challenged to be of utility for the most vulnerable members of the community. Series of discussants in the FGD and key informant interviews showed this bitter fact. From the discussion, it was explicitly and implicitly indicated that farmers have lost interest in the returns from their farms. The youth specially has no values to the farm lands and returns from these lands. Instead the youth floods to Saudi Arabia using every possible exit sometimes even risking their precious life. Given the prevalence of these desperate situations it would then be a luxury to expect the youth to work in their own farms let alone to help others.

**4.2.2. Wonfel:** It is a community's mutual support mechanism mainly in farm activities. Unlike *Wobera*, *Wonfel* is not voluntary service to needy members of the community. Instead the people in the neighborhood will agree in such a way that they will collectively work on their respective farm lands by taking turns so that they will exert a collaborative effort and reap the results of that synergy. The major activities implemented using *Wonfel* are clearing farm land, plowing, sowing, weeding, mowing (for teff), and threshing (for Teff and Sorghum).

According to the focus groups discussion participants, these kinds of mutual support mechanism are getting loose. In return, individuals resort to the money they earn from their migration working in the Arab world and resort to hiring daily laborers for the farm activities, as against relying on the mutual support mechanisms. Not even the household support mechanism is preferred instead people rely on their money remitted from migrants in the Arab world (FGD participant V, Sep 26, 2015 & Sep 27, 2015). Asked about the historical and current function of *wonfel*, Nuru summarizes his idea by saying “ አሁን ዘመኑ የወዘደር ነው። ወጣቱ ልሱ ያለው አረብ አገር። በገደመዩ ወጣት ሆኖ አረብ አገር ያልሄደ ማግኘት ከባድ ነው። እዚህ ያለው ገበሬዎ ቢሆን በወዘደር ያስከሰባል እንጂ በራሱ ማሰ ላይ እንኩዋን እንደደረገው መከሰቡን ትቶታል።” roughly translated as now it is the era of Daily Laborers. The youth is always dreaming to go to Saudi Arabia. Almost all the youth in *Gedemeyu* has experience of migration with the aim of reaching Saudi Arabia. The farmers left behind here are also resorting to hiring daily laborers and they do not even engage in their own farm lands” (Nuru X, September 26, 2015).

A woman farmer, who is tirelessly working to introduce a modern farming in *Gedemeyu*, desperately sated overall there is this kind of orientation where people are always obsessed with the money that they can possibly get by working in the Arab world. The youth refers to few people who are seen to have succeeded as they have built long storey buildings and corrugated iron roofed houses in *Gedemeyu* (Britu, personal communication, September 26, 2015).

According to Britu (personal communication, September 26, 2015), the left behind members of the family ask the migrants from Saudi Arabia to send them money to be paid for plowing they send that; the migrants also send for weeding, harvesting, threshing, and other farm activities unconditionally as they will not have the opportunity to see how the money is spent. The farmers sell these crops in a season when crops have low price. In those seasons, merchants

are the ones to decide the prices of crops. So the crops harvested with high expenditure and sold for low price will have a negative overall value if critically analyzed making the net result of migration as useless. Generally, if critically analyzed the cost of production outweighs the final harvest but the farmers are not conscious about it because the money to be paid for the daily labors expense is coming from Saudi Arabia. Though the net return of agricultural activities for those who receive from remittance from Saudi Arabia is seen to be low, still poor farmers who do not get remittance will be the worst affected by the low price of crops. In the absence of voluntary services and mutual support mechanisms, the poor are going to rely on credits either from Amhara Credit and Saving Institution or from individuals.

**4.2.3. Eritiban:** This is a mechanism of mobilizing fund and supporting a person who experienced a certain loss. The person will prepare local liquor (tella) and some meal to eat. Then that person will invite his distant and close relatives, neighbors, friends and acquaintances on that specified date. The money contributed in such a way will be used to restore the loss the person has incurred. Though it is difficult to directly link it with migration, some informants say that this way of supporting people is now declining (Nure, personal communications, 3 October 2015). But partly, we can see that people are relying on remittances of their relatives and family members abroad when they experience such challenges which might then be considered as a positive aspect of migration in income distribution. Apart from remittance, the Credit and Saving Services provided by the Government can also take its share for the decline of *Eritiban* as a social security mechanism (Ashenafi, Personal communication, 4 October 2015).

**4.2.4. Sera:** *Sera* is an Oromiffa word for convention. The word has been used for three community structures with different purpose. *Sera* is a community structure that serves for mutual aid in times of hardship and for support in funeral services. The community structures

established for purposes of mutual support and funeral services is also called *Edir*. *Sera (Edir)* is then a voluntary association of community members originally focusing on support for funeral purpose and later extended to alleviate other social problems. The members of the *Edir* are expected to contribute two Ethiopian birr whenever there is a funeral. The *Edir* leaders are elected on voluntary and participatory basis. At least for now the effect of migration is not strongly felt as the active participants in the *Edir* are the Household Heads while migration is mainly sucking the bachelor youths and the youth who are establishing a family recently (Nuru Wodajo, September 26, 2015 & FGD, September 27, 2015). But as the most active and capable ones are migrating, the elderlies will be left to assume the *Sera (Edir)* activities. In *Gedemeyu*, *Edir* is one of the social institutions that are challenged for potential leadership due to migration. In the long run, if the current trend of migration continues, there will be a real challenge to the continuity and functioning of *Sera (Edir)*. Elderlies are openly expressing their concern that there will be a problem in the continuity of the *Edir* in its current structure and function (Nurye, Personal communication, September 27, 2015).

The second community structure is *Sera* for conserving forest and protecting grazing land. According to Lakew Taye (personal communication, 3 October 2015) and focus group discussion participants comprising the youth (FGD Participant a, 26 September 2015), following the deforestation of the forest in *Gedemeyu* for investment, which is a highly contested one by the community, this structure became weak in the case of *Gedemeyu*. But in neighboring *Kebeles Sera* with the role of conserving forest and grazing land is still strongly functional.

The third community structure is *Sera Mize*. This is a group of young men of the same age who establish a group which is popularly called *Sera Mize* in their childhood. Both the group and the members are known by the term *Mize*. During the establishment the group members

pledge allegiance to their group to support each other in times of hardship and to also share their happiness during major social events related to the *Mize* members. In the course of interaction the *Mize* members ascertain their loyalty to each other and the *Mize* members by participating in jointly agreed meetings, supporting their members in different farm activities and standing by the time of their group's members when there is a security need (like in fighting, illness, looking for lost cattle, etc). As part of cementing their relationships, the group members (*Mizes*) meet periodically where they also entertain singing and dancing. When they grow up, the *Mizes* will take turns and become best men in their group members' weddings. That is one function of *Mize*. The *Mizes* also support their member if one needs their support for farm activities. He notifies his problem and will organize a feast to be served when his *Mizes* come and work for him. This kind of support is called *Mize Ez*. During the night they will have program to sing, dance and rejoice at their *Mize*'s house.

*Mize (Sera Mize)* as described in the preceding excerpt is contrasted with *Ye Kurkur Mize*, a *Mize* formed on ad hoc basis for the purpose of escorting the bridegroom in his wedding day only. The members in this type of *Mize* are mobilized few days before the wedding date to serve as best men. And this type of *Mize* is likely to dissolve right after the Wedding event is over. The members do not have commitment and strong attachment. Unfortunately, currently, *Yekurkur Mize* is prevailing over *Sera Mize* (Kurfa Mengesha, Personal Communication, October 3, 2015).

Though it is difficult to fully attribute the problem to the effect of migration only, *Sera Mize* is the most declining and vanishing community structure. According to the discussion with the elderlies and the focus groups discussion with the Youth, *Mize* as it is used to be some eight years back is not functioning now. In the discussion, it was indicated that this structure

comprises the youth as its members and the youth is now on the move. The youth by now is not in a position to establish a standing structure. There is also a view by the youth that this is a traditional structure with little functional utility in the youth's day to day life (FGD Participant b, 27 September 2015).

Like for boys, there are also *Mize* for girls. But unlike the *Mize* comprising boys (men), the *Mize* by girls (ladies) is not structurally and functionally strong. For girls *Mize* is important for socialization and entertainment purposes and escort each other in their respective weddings. The girls used to participate in a popular song played in August called *Solelye* (Ashenda) (FGD Participant c, September 27, 2015). This play was performed every week centering every 16<sup>th</sup> of August every year in Ethiopian calendar. In this cultural event a group of girls, the *Mizes*, go door to door, sing a song and they are given money in cash or in kind in return. Now this cultural play, though still popular in other parts of *Raya*, it is declining in *Gedemeyu* and other areas predominantly populated by Muslims. According to elderly men in *Gedemeyu* (personal communication, September 26, 2015), for fundamentalist Muslims and Fundamentalist Christians, the ritual is played in commemoration of St Mary, which is celebrated on 16<sup>th</sup> of August every in year Ethiopian calendar. For them, then, Muslim girls are not supposed to play this play as it is associated with Christianity and Christians. But unfortunately, the play as used to be practiced culturally is not also applauded by Conservative Christians. They reduce it into a mere tradition with little reference to the religious principles in its strict sense. Liberal Muslims and Christians do not see the religious basis of the play. They play it and perpetuate it as a tradition inherited from their ancestors. This cultural play - with a multitude of social, cultural, aesthetic essence, is then hammered from every angle which now is becoming almost history in *Gedemeyu*. For two reasons the decline of *Solelye* is associated with migration. First *Solelye* is

not appreciated by Muslims, as *Gedemeyu*, is mainly a Muslim community, and the followers of the religion (including boys and girls) become much more sensitive to their religion and the religious teachings after they return from Saudi Arabia. Second almost all girls, as is the case with boys, are yearning the Arab World and they migrate as soon as their age is appropriate for the challenges of illegal migration and old enough for demanding menial labor demanded in the Arab Countries.

**4.2.5. *Equib*:** *Equib* is also a community based mechanism devised for mutual support where the members pool a certain amount of money on the basis of jointly defined and agreed time and give it to their members on a lottery basis. Currently, there is a decline in the practice of *Equib* as mutual support mechanism partly because there is Amhara Credit and Saving Institute to rely on and at the same time this practice is not also main practice among Muslims (Muleta, personal communication, September 27, 2015). Besides to this the problem with Amhara Credit and Saving Institute is that it gives money when the money's value is so cheap and crops are too expensive and takes money back when the crops are cheap and when money is hard to get (Britu, personal communication, September, 2015). Britu also explained that the farmers are forced to sell their yield right after the harvest seasons partly to repay the debts from ACSI, to cover expense for social occasions like weddings, to pay for taxes, the commemoration of the deceased relatives, etc.

**4.2.6. *Amachi Ez*:** The father or relatives of the betrothed girl will invite the betrothal for certain agricultural activities mainly plowing and mowing, as these are the most labor intensive farm activities. Then the Betrothal (the would-be husband) and his relatives (*Amach*) along with his *Mizes* accomplish the tasks as requested by the girl's (would-be wife) parents. This kind of cooperative activity is called *Amachi Ez* which literally means the services of the In-Laws. The

girl's family will organize a feast for the attendants and up to two hectares of teff can be tilled and mowed. Now as many of the youth have migrated, these kind of mutual support arrangements are vanishing from time to time as the magnitude of migration increases (Muleta, Personal communication, 26 Sep 15).

**4.2.7. Irrigation channel Committee:** this committee mainly comprises men who are using the same irrigation channel commonly. The purpose of the committee is to jointly dig irrigation channels, an activity popularly known in *Gedemeyu* and the whole of *Rayaas Melie Chiresh* (digging channels). The leader of the committee, popularly known as *Aba Haga*, is elected by the members. The leader is chosen on his proven ability to work hard and mobilize his fellow farmers. Mostly this is male domain and women do not participate under normal circumstance. The *Aba Haga* is in charge of mobilizing the members for joint activities and manages the use of the water. The *Aba Haga* fines those members who are abstaining from the irrigation works and at the same time members who try to use the water without being given the chance to do so. The role of Irrigation of canal committee is one of the collaborative farm activities that are vanishing these days (FGD Participant d, October 3, 2015 & October 4, 2015). The decline of such collaborative efforts such as Irrigation canal is indicative of the poor yields that traditional farming styles are rewarding, coupled with fragmentation of farm lands, and poor information system in the price of crops right after the harvest season. According to Kurfa Ahmed (personal communication, Oct 3, 2015) this is one of the many reasons that the youth mentions as a reason to migrate. The decision to migrate and migration also negatively affects the existence and functioning of such kind of traditional arrangements as a local solution for local problems. As a result, now irrigation channels digging have become the task of the *Woreda* Agricultural office and individual farmers.

It has been reiterated that social capital is a prerequisite for successful community development interventions by government or other actors. Cognizant of this the *Woreda* is trying to restore the declining social capital dimensions and reorganize some community based structures. One such effort is the creation of Development Army (which is termed in Amharic as ‘የልማት ሠራዊት *Ye Limat Serawit*,). According to Amare Haile, Development Army comprises *Abagars*, *Dubertis*, *YeWonze Dagnas* and community police and the main tasks are to watch and surveillance of peace and tranquility in the community and readily resolve it when it occurs (personal communication, 25 September 2015).

**4.2.8. Duberti/Qoti:** *Duberti/Qoti* is the name both for an institution where group of women who are expert in undertaking a certain ritual practice and the ritual ceremony itself. According to elderly *Duberti/Qoti* performers, *Duberti/Qoti* is made for multiple purposes but the main ones are to pray for the health of the people, for the health of the cattle and for the wellbeing of the community. The *Duberti* leader is a woman descending from a family believed and accepted as having some spiritual gift to communicate with God and undertake prayer rituals for the community and the community members’ overall wellbeing. *Duberti/Qoti* is mainly held to pray for the health of people, the cattle, the land, etc. *Duberti* is also made before and after vital events such as birth, wedding, and major harvest seasons (FGD Participant f, October 3, 2015). As it is practiced by expert elderly women, at least for now *Duberti* does not seem to be challenged by migration. But elderlies also mentioned their concern that this modern education and so called modernization is trying to reduce the role that *Duberti* has been playing for centuries (FGD Participant g, October 3, 2015). In this regard, migration can also affect the value of *Duberti* and other similar traditional structures in the community as people with migration

experience are getting radicalized and as and modern education becoming critique of the traditions.

**4.2.9. Abagar:** The *Abagars* are a group of men who are descendants of a family who are accepted and venerated by the members of the community as having some spiritual endowment to undertake some prayers on behalf of the community and individuals (FGD participant h, October 4, 2015). The ritual practices are undertaken either in the day time (which is commonly called *Tufta* which means blessing) or at night (which is mostly called *Wodaja* which means prayer). The host family undertakes *Wodaja* or *Tufta* for the purpose of good health and good harvest. Meal and drinks (*tela*) are served for *Tufta* while Meal and *Chat* are served for *Wodaja* (Belete, Personal communication, September 29, 2015). However, the role of *Abagars* in *Wodaja* and *Tufta* is also declining as these ritual practices are considered traditional and not strongly supported by religious teachings in their strict sense. From the preceding discussion, it can be safely concluded that exposure of the youth to different cultures and belief systems due to migration has rendered such structures like Abagar obsolete.

**4.2.10. Tertib:** A neighborhood level informal structure where coffee drinking serves as a primary reason for the group. The members are preparing coffee by taking turns and they share lots of life experiences. The host whose turn is to prepare Coffee Ceremony washes some coffee beans, roast it in a pane, boils it with a kettle to prepare the coffee for drink. Depending on the capacity of the host some meal is also served which should precede a cup of coffee. All the members do the same by taking turns. A single coffee ceremony which might last up to an hour is served in three phases where *Abol*, Tonal and Baraka are served subsequently. The coffee will be boiled again and again after each drink until *Baraka* is served. This is therefore an opportunity for the *Tertib* members, called *Tertibegnas*, to share lots of information regarding their lives,

their cattle, and their community and beyond that. Although the role of migration cannot be clearly discerned, *Tertib* and the coffee ceremony for it are declining currently. Like to other traditional practices elderlies are also afraid of the challenges posed by rising individualism and mobility that is emerging in their community.

**4.2.11 Jumua:** This is a prayer session for Muslim men held every Friday in the Mosque. Attendants of this religious prayer also use this forum as an opportunity to discuss issues regarding their lives, their harvests, markets situations and other issues that have to do with their community. Despite the growing critique to the hitherto ways of practicing the Islamic religion due to migration, there is no clearly felt impact on this structure until now (Beshir, personal communication, 27 September 2015).

**4.2.12. Wedding:** It is one of the socially valued occasions. Wedding is not simply the union of husbands and wives but it is also a form of network between the in-laws and the respective relatives of the in-laws. Wedding ceremony also serves as a forum for people to socialize, exchange valuable information for their lives and make important decisions. According to Muleta (personal communication, September 29, 2015), one of the functions of the *Sera Mize* was for the *Mizes* to contribute their part for the success of wedding ceremony of the bridegroom or the bride. The *Mizes* will take part in the major process in the preparation of the wedding ceremony from collecting fire woods, water, woods for constructing the pavilion for the wedding days, even contributing in cash or in kind depending on their capacity and the bridegroom's or the bride's request for help. But as it has been discussed in the preceding section, *Mize* and the role of *Mize* is declining these days. It is hard to purely attribute the decline of *Mize* to migration alone but as there are continuous engagements for the *Mize* to work in its traditional form ( as in

the different farm and off-farm activities) the effect of migration on *Mize* and its functions becomes evident.

**4.2.13. The family:** The United Nations Convention on the Rights of children (UN CRC, 1989) recognizes the family as “the fundamental group of society and the natural environment for the growth and well-being of all its members and particularly children”. However migration is currently severely affecting this fundamental institution in *Gedemeyu*. Women FGD participants reiterated that due to migration, husbands and wives are forced to separate where either of them is going to Saudi Arabia. Even when they migrate together, they will not have the opportunity to stay intact in Saudi Arabia. In all circumstances, parents in *Gedemeyu*, as it is the case across *Raya*, do not migrate with their children (FGD, personal communication, October 3, 2015).

According to Temesgen Bayleyegn (September 25, 2015), Migration is even challenging the long held values on sexual norms and marriage relationships. There are husbands who accompany or take their wives to the health posts or clinics and ask for birth control injections or drugs for their wives who are going to Saudi Arabia. This is because the husbands know that their wife is likely to be subjected for sexual intercourse in the course of the travel and even beyond. Knowing and grudgingly admitting this bitter fact, the husbands take their wives to the health posts and clinics for contraceptive services. This has been one of the long held values that men from *Raya* would prefer to die for than to see their wives committing sex with other person for whatsoever reason.

As indicated in the above excerpt, migration has completely challenged the community's normative expectations regarding sexual norms that the community has held dear for centuries. This is indicative of the degree of desperation that the community members are entangled with currently. Women key informants also indicated that whenever there is separation in relation to the migration, divorce is mostly occurring as both of them do not trust each other given the prevailing vulnerabilities for women and even men (Temesgen and Nurye, personal communication, 3 October 2015).

According to Britu, in the absence of their husbands women are left with the responsibility of managing the farm, the household chores and the animals. She also said that left behind women usually rent their land to somebody for a certain period or give it to their close relatives or acquaintances on a crop sharing basis. Crop sharing is the common arrangement. But in this crop sharing, women mostly do not get the fair share of the harvest - as expected - as they will not be able to go and check what is in the farm (personal communication, 27 September 2015).

It has been reiterated by participants in the focus group discussion and key informants of both sexes that migration has a mixed impact to children who are left behind. When the parents migrate children are left behind mostly with their grandparents (Biritu, personal communication, October 4, 2015). Many children in *Gedemeyu* are taken care of by their grandparents following their parents' migration to Saudi Arabia. Talking about this issue, an old woman cracked into laughter and stated the following:

አሁን ለቅጥ ወጪዎች ሁሉ እኮ የሚያድገው ከአካላቸው ጋር ነው። ይኸን ወጪዎች አልወደደውም እና እንዲያውም ተሰብስበው 'አካላቸውን ይሙቱ እርጅ መረባ' እያሉ በሚያስቅ ሁኔታ ሲጸልዩ ነው የሚዉሉት። ወላጆቻቸውን በጣም ነው የሚናፍቁት። የቀናቸው እና የተሻገሩ ሰርተው ለልጆቻቸውም ለሚያሳድጉላቸውም ገንዘብ ይልኩላቸዋል። ያልተሳካላቸው ከሆነ ደግሞ እዚህ ያሉት ወላጆች የልጅ ልጅ ለማሳደግ በጣም ይሰቃያሉ (Bedriya Haji, personal communication, October 3, 2015)።

Roughly translated as:

Now that most of the children are growing with their grandparents. And the children are not happy about this where the children are also seen as praying for death of their grandparents. The children are suffering from the longing of their parents. Migrants who are fortunate to reach Saudi Arabia work and send back some money to their children and the children's care takers. The ones who are not fortunate will create further burden to the grandparents.

There are also a new category of children who are born in Saudi Arabia and sent back to *Gedemeyu*, to be brought up by their grandparents (FGD, Participant Z, October 3, 2015). These groups of children might have been conceived during the travel to reach Saudi Arabia or after

they reached there due to rape or other unprotected sexes. As almost all the migrants from *Gedemeyu* are engaged in menial works, as a domestic worker or related labor intensive routines, they will not have the chance to take care of their children while living in Saudi Arabia. As a result, they will be forced to send their children through somebody who is coming to Ethiopia. They pay up to 20,000 Ethiopian Birr the person who brings the children to Ethiopia. The focus group participants ( in men's group) were calling these children as “የፈስታል ልጆች (Festal Children)” (children of plastic bag) (FGD, Participant z, October 3, 2015). These participants explained that they call these children ‘plastic bag children’ because they are simply brought carried in a case which is no different from ‘the plastic bag’ that people use it for their day to day shopping and by somebody who is just coming to Ethiopia and agrees to be paid some amount of money for his/her service.

Britu and other women in the focus groups discussion also talked about the possible privileges that migration brings for strong women who can manage the vacuum created by the absence of the husband. Some women are fully assuming even the farm activities that were male domains. They hire individuals to work for them and also hire daily laborers as needed for the farm activities. But this requires withstanding the challenges and unnecessary attentions from the community following the women's new roles in *Gedemeyu*. As she is engaged in farm activities, by leaving even her job in government office, Britu wants to become a model farmer in modern farming both for men and left behind women (Britu, personal communication, September 26, 2015 and FGD participant Z, October 3, 2015).

The Case of Nuru,

KII\_Ged\_Nuru\_26 Sep 15

I am born and bred in *Gedemeyu Kebele*. All I have three sisters and a brother. All of them have experienced migration. My cousins and nephews have also migrated to Saudi Arabia. Grown up children of his sisters and brothers too have migrated to Saudi Arabia. From my extended family members and relatives, the ones who have not migrated are children under thirteen and the elderlies. After two or three years, these children are also likely to migrate in so far as there is no employment opportunity here. All the left behind members of the family are totally dependent on the remittance from Saudi Arabia. They have nothing to rely up on here.

Ofcourse, my children managed to attend their education here by the money we send back to Gedemeyu while working in Saudi Arabia. But they do not give due attention to their education as we are abroad and as they are dreaming to migrate and reunite with us in Saudi Arabia. I want to assure you that this is the case for many children in Gedemeyu. There is also nobody from Gedemeyu who is educated and leads a better life after schooling. In terms of economic return it is obvious that migration contributes too much. All the corrugated iron roof houses in *Gedemeyu*, as you can see, are constructed very recently and it is all by migrants specifically from Saudi Arabia”.

I also want to tell you that there are costs to migration too. The children lack warmth and care from their parents. If you are abroad, you cannot follow up and support your children in their schooling and for their appropriate upbringing. Instead you will be forced to leave your children either with your parents – the children’s grandparents or other relatives. For example while I and my wife were abroad, our children were left with their grandparents. When we get back, we did not get our children growing on the right track, as we wish them to be. Now that we managed to correct them but we are also challenged for shortage of money. We are finishing the money we have brought from abroad. Currently, I am facing a dilemma whether to stay close with my children and support them in their appropriate development but I have also to go to Saudi Arabia work there and earn money which I am going to choose the second one anyways.

**4.2.14. Schools:** In *Gedemeyu*, the elementary school was constructed in 1969 E.C. The school was refurbished by Save the Children Denmark in 1988. But according to the informants there was a problem with the process of construction. The school was constructed few years after the Dergue government came to power. According to elderlies in *Gedemeyu* (FGD, Participant i, September 27, 2015), the school site was near the area where there was an old man highly

venerated by the local community as a spiritual father. This man was called Getaw Dawud Marye. When the government officials laid the foundation for the construction of the school, this man was not comfortable to see the construction of the school near his shrine residence. He ordered those in charge of laying the foundation to make it a little distant from his shrine place. But those people, especially Dergue officials insisted and constructed the school building against the will of the spiritual father. The school was cursed to remain unproductive and for no one, having attended his/her education there to be successful.

In the discussion with the community members in focus group discussion and in the interview with key informants, it was evident that the people have accepted this curse and considered the school as cursed by the spiritual father and therefore unproductive. According to the informants, the school has close to 38 years of services but only 2 or 3 students have managed to reach higher education level (personal communication, October 27, 2015).

The school's performance has reached its worst very recently. In the discussion it was indicated that up to 100 students get registered every year as grade one. The number of students declines every subsequent higher grade and only few students reach grade 8. Now grade 8 is going to be closed as there are only 4 or 5 students showing interest to pursue their study. Every student boldly states that his/her vision is to grow and go to the Arab world mainly for two reasons. The first one is that these children do not have a single person who is leading a better life as a result of his/her education and who thus can be taken as a role model. Instead they see that people are making a lot of changes by going to Saudi Arabia. Second given the mythology with the school's foundation, the lack of successful individuals from the school who could be a role model, and the occurrence of the drought that is likely to induce a heavy loss of cattle and famine, now migration is remaining to be the only uncontested option (Lakew Temesgen &

FGD, personal communication, September 26, 2015). People unwaveringly state that they are going to migrate as there is no prospect of better life here in *Gedemeyu* or in the *Woreda*. Taken as a prime choice, migration then is nullifying the schools role as an institution and children's and the community's effort for schooling.

### **4.3. Trust and solidarity**

The effect of migration on *Gedemeyu* community and its members has been indicated in the discussion of the different groups and networks and changes brought in their structure and function following migration. If we take the family, spouses are obliged to lead a separate life in which case these are not able to support each other in times of hardship. According to Nuru Wodajo (personal communication, September 27, 2015), couples are forced to lead a separated migration when either the wife or the husband migrates. Sometimes both of them migrate but still they have to lead a separate life, as they have to be where there is work. When they live separated, mostly they do not trust each other.

When the wife went to Saudi Arabia the husband suspects his wife of having somebody else. It has been widely accepted that the process of migration makes the women vulnerable for sexual harassment and of possible sexual relationship with other men. The women also come to think of the same for their left behind husband and the same for their migrant husband. In both cases migration erodes the existing trust and affection that couples have for their partners. The couples will not trust each other and will not rely on their migrated husband or wife. Children are the worst affected in this case. When they have both of their parents migrated children are subjected to grow either with their grandparents, aunts, uncles or their elder brothers and sisters. The parents will not be there to help children in their day to day hassles (Husen, personal communication, October 3, 2015).

#### 4.4. Collective Action and Cooperation

*Gedemeyu* is one of the long established rural villages with a long history of collective actions and collaborations. Under this section, major social events that involve the collaboration and collective actions pertaining to school construction, road construction, water point management, soil and natural conservation of the *Kebeles* residents are explored in relation to migration experiences.

**4.4.1. Schools construction:** One of the activities that the people in *Gedemeyu* have acted collectively is the construction of school. The school is constructed in 1969 EC. But it was renovated in 1988 EC. When the school was renovated, the community members have participated in providing woods, straws, water and labor force. Unfortunately, the community members regrettably mentioned that they are not happy about the school's impact to the community's life. It has been there for over 38 years but only 2 or 3 children have made it possible to reach a level of higher education. They said that all responsible bodies need to think about the quality of education and the perceptions and attitudes surrounding the school (Nasir, personal communication, 29 October 2015, see also section 4.2.14 above). Migration has also now become a good excuses for the children to drop out early and leave to Saudi Arabia. The poor reward on the outcome of the school so far coupled with the lack of clarities and disinterest on the side of the notable persons from *Gedemeyu* has now made migration as the only option left for the youth.

**4.4.2. Road construction:** *Gedemeyu*, though it is very close from *Kobbo* Town, there is no road that connects *Gedemeyu* either to *Kobbo* or its neighboring *Kebeles*. The dry weather road that runs from *Kobbo* to *Dibi*, a village in the neighboring *Kebele* was constructed in 2005 E.C. In the construction of this road the residents of *Gedemeyu* have mobilized themselves on a

voluntary basis and worked collaboratively on such assignments as clearing field and allowing their plot of land for the road if the road has to go through that.

**4.4.3. Water pump management:** There is one water pump in *Gedemeyu*. The people are managing the water point by creating a water committee. The committee assigned one of their members to manage the motor for the extraction of water and also they hire one person who is managing the service at the water point. The people are contributing five birr per month that could be used to pay for the hired person to manage the distribution of water and at the same time to be used for maintenance of the motor. A clear effect of migration on the use and management of water pump was not found from the discussion with the women FGD participants.**4.4.4. Soil and natural conservation:** According to Lakew Taye,

Natural conservation is an activity that requires the concerted and collaborative effort of all the able bodied community members. Every year we are planning soil and natural conservation campaigns by taking into account the available work force. But migration is severely affecting the efforts of intensifying natural conservation as the youth is mass migrating to the Arab World, especially to Saudi Arabia. If the current trend of migration of the able bodied members of the community continues unabated, it is difficult for us to successfully realize expected results in natural conservation endeavors we have planned for this year and beyond (Personal communication, September 25, 2015).

The above excerpt clearly depicts the magnitude of the problem to the extent of challenges even to formal government initiatives. Due to migration, now there is a problem with the labor force. All the abled ones and especially the youth are migrating. Soil conservation and irrigation that demand collective action are now being challenged – there is no labor force who can participate in these campaigns. Only the elderlies and the weak ones are left behind and they will have little contribution for the labor intensive campaigns. These soil and natural resource conservation programs are challenged from planning all along up to their implementation.

#### 4.5. Information and Communication

Historically, the most common informal sources of information for the community had been markets, mosques, *Edir*, funeral ceremonies, coffee ceremonies, churches, farm activities, and meeting at the grain mills. The major market for the people in *Gedemeyu* is the market in *Kobbo* town on Mondays and Fridays every week. The market is serving as a hub for different people across the *Woreda* (district) where people meet and exchange information about their crops, markets, cattle, and their relatives in distant places. *Edir* meetings and funeral ceremonies are also opportunities for members of the community to meet together and exchange ideas about the wellbeing of their *Edir* members, the members' relatives, their cattle and different issues. On the village and neighborhood level coffee ceremonies, churches and mosques serve as forum to exchange new information that attendants of these occasions collected from different sources (FGD, participant x, October 3, 2015).

Apart from exchanging information, the coffee ceremonies and the churches are also forum for in-depth discussion and analysis of such information. People also use farm activities specially *Wobera/Jigi*, *Wonfel* and irrigation as forums to exchange information among participants in these collaborative efforts. Apart from these, the community also gets information from Radio, telephones, messengers, and rarely televisions. As there is no electricity in *Gedemeyu*, the people are watching Television when they are going to *Kobbo* for different reasons. However Radios are very common in *Gedemeyu*. The community used to rely on assigned messengers to receive any information about such events as death of relatives, weddings, etc. But this is now completely replaced by mobile telephone that works everywhere in the village. There is telephone network coverage in *Gedemeyu* so mobiles are effectively used

to send and receive information. Newsletters, as it is the case with many rural areas in Ethiopia, are not available for the local community in any form and in any language.

#### **4.6. Social Cohesion and Inclusion**

The people in *Gedemeyu* are predominantly Muslim and there are very few Christians there. But both Christians and Muslims are living in peace and harmony. Many of the residents regardless of religious differences are related by blood and affinity. So basically, it is a homogenous community with no clear sign and incidence of discrimination at all. In terms of livelihood, the people in *Gedemeyu* depend on agriculture mixed with animal rearing. These are shared modes of earning a living and there is no reason for discrimination in the community on the basis of livelihoods. But sometimes, there are clashes among the community members over the sharing of channel water for irrigation, grazing land, failure to repay debts, and after taking local liquor. During such incidences the community makes use of such community structure as *aba gar*, *Dubertiy*, *Wodaja*, *Wonze Dagna*, and *Selam* committee to resolve conflicts and to restore peace and tranquility in the community. Given the homogeneity of the community in terms of religion, income, culture, language, etc, conflicts are not rife in the community. And yet when conflicts arise for different reasons as discussed above, the readily available conflict resolution mechanism are there to contain it from further escalation. However, currently many of the youth are beyond the reach of these traditional institutions as the youth have migrated to Saudi Arabia. Though not specific to *Gedemeyu*, there are incidents in *RayaKobbo* where conflicts that have occurred in Saudi Arabia among the youth from *Kobbo* were also triggering conflicts with the close relatives of combatants back home in *RayaKobbo Woreda*. Were it not for migration, the conflict as it occurred between or among the youth in the first instant could be managed by the customary conflict resolution mechanism. From my observation, it can also be

seen that some people are getting richer as a result of migration while the vast majority are losers of migration. This in itself is creating a difference in terms of wealth distribution and might widen the gap between the rich and the poor in the future.

*Abagar, Duberti, and Wonze Dagna* and their role in Blood Feud Reconciliation: When there is a grave conflict between individuals or groups in the community that ends in a death, the relatives of the killed ones will look for every opportunity to revenge the killer or a very close relative of the killer. After the incidence is heard, the close relatives of the killer will hide themselves and their properties leaving their residence. They leave to distant places where they will not encounter the relatives of the deceased until the reconciliation is made between the relatives of the deceased person and those of the killer and finally between the killer himself and the close relatives of the deceased person (Azmera, Personal communication, September 3, 2015). While in their hiding, the relatives of the killer will request the *Abagars*, the *Wonze Dagna*, and the *Duberti* to intervene ( Fentaw Beyene, September 29, 2015). Mostly the process is facilitated through the common relatives of the two parties and the friends and distant relatives of the killer person and his relatives. The *Abagars* will establish a tent and will pray for peace to come and for lowering the resentment of the killed ones. The *Abagars* have few rituals to make chewing chat and beating drum with a special rhythm in a way to be heard by the families of the deceased person. Parallel to this the *Duberti* also beg the families of the deceased person by “*Erifo Mereba*”(FGD with *Dubertis*, October 3, 2015). In their request they indicate to the family of the deceased that they fully understand the pain of the mother, father and close relatives is valid and the *Duberti* share it too. But the incident happened unfortunately and peace has to come in the community for which everybody, the *Duberti* and the elderlies, is worried. In the Meantime, the *Wonze Dagnas* will approach the relatives of the deceased for reconciliation.

The prayers of the *Duberti* and the *Abagars* continue until the *Wonz Dagnas* secure the consent of the family of the deceased for reconciliation. Upon agreement for reconciliation an appointment will be made for the two parties to come together in a certain site usually dry river. On that date the *Wonz Dagnas* will lead the process of reconciliation while the *Abagars* and the *Duberti* also perform certain rituals on their part to win the consent of the family of the deceased until the reconciliation is made successfully. The reconciliation is made in sequences first with distant relatives, then with close relatives and then finally with the killer himself and this might take a longer time and too much energy on the side of those involved in the arbitration process.

#### **4.7. Empowerment and Political Action**

According to World Bank (2002), individuals in the community are said to be empowered if they can have a measure of control over institutions and process that directly affect their well-being. This dimension explores the member's confidence to involve in decisions that affect their daily lives and their sense of satisfaction on the major decisions made and their level of involvement. From the different focus group discussions made with participants and in-depth interviews made with key informants, people start to feel uncomfortable when they are posed with questions that seemed to have political implications. However, after a series of discussions, people start to freely share their views and experiences in terms of their involvement and lack of involvement in the major political decisions. The major areas that are discussed on this regard are forest management, shrine place management, access to electricity and conflict resolution mechanisms.

**4.7.1. Forest management.** One important incident that drugged the people in *Gedemeyu* into a clear confrontation with the authorities in the *Kebele* and in the *Woreda* was the

deforestation of the *Hujira* forest. The people in *Gedemeyu*, and indeed with some responsible students and residents, in *Kobbo* were clearly against the plan of deforesting the forest in the name of investment. In my discussion with the focus group discussants with the youth, they were extremely open and straight forward in explicitly stating their opposition to the clearing of the forest in the name of investment. According to the participants in the focus groups discussion with the youth the officials promised that the forest will be cleared for investment and that will create employment opportunities. But the so called investor did nothing different than we have always been doing for centuries, he planted the land sorghum” (FGD, September 28, 2015).

Instead the residents were proposing that some part of the forest land be given for the youth who have no land to till and some part be left for a grazing land and for moderating the weather. But the officials were not taking into account and they immediately deforested the land gave it to an investment enterprise called “*Zelege Ersha Lemat*” which has never added any value to the lives of the community other than complicating their life by destroying their grazing land, their source of wild fruits as cactus, wild animals and worsening the weather (FGD, September 28, 2015).

After a thorough rapport and understanding with the researcher, discussion with key informants also indicated that efforts to protest against the government’s plan of giving the forest land for investors was taken as anti-development move by the *Woreda* Officials in particular. The *Kebele* officials were systematically silenced by the *Woreda* officials not to mobilize their communities against this plan (Kurfa, personal communication, September 28, 2015). I researcher was very much curious about what the views of the ordinary people and people public office incumbents in *Kobbo* looks like. The views of those in *Kobbo* who hold different public offices, other notable and ordinary people have the same opinion and that is against the clearing of the forest. All of those asked replied that the clearing of the rest was a reckless act and it has

not added any values both to the very rural communities whose life was tied with the forest and to the people of the *Woreda* (district) in general. An informant said, “There are some investors who cut the long years’ old acacia trees, produce charcoal, and disappeared” (FGD, Participant I, September 29, 2015).

**4.7.2. Electricity installation.** During the field study, it was noted that electricity is one of the public infrastructures that was introduced recently but there is a delay after the installation begun. The key informants did not like to talk about the delays in the timely installation of electric power other than just complaining the delay. This is indicative of the lower level of community involvement in major public infrastructures and their lower level of influence in the process and delivery of the services. The participants in the focus group discussions were also complaining about the delay of the provision of electric services at least since the electric poles are posted there. They said that they have no clear information about the delay and they do not know whom to ask (FGD, September 28, 2015).

**4.7.3. Shrine places management.** In the field study it was noted that the community in *Gedemeyu* seemed to be much stricter to government officials in matters of their religion and the preservation of shrine places. In one of the days during field study, there was a public meeting concerning the restoration of the shrine land that was redistributed to some landless people. But the residents mobilized themselves, presented their appeal to local officials and challenged the government officials for their deed. The hearing of the case was made in the contested land. Many of the community residents were gathered in the hearing. In this occasion, the community representatives argued that the plot of land given to landless people has always been a place for celebrating ‘Mawulid’ and shall not be given to people for private concession, as it has been a communal and religious place. After a thorough discussion, decision was made to preserve the

plot of land for Mawulid and the people who were given plot of land were given a replacement in other places.

Overall, the community's political empowerment can be said low. The unsuccessful effort to maintain the forest land which they have inherited from their ancestors with all its multiple and irreplaceable services to the community and the passive position that the community members assumed towards influencing the timely provision of the electric service is indicative of challenges that community is facing in their political empowerment. This passive involvement of the community members is likely to be exacerbated as the youth are also becoming desperate and lack interest in the local community affairs. A key informant said, "The youth do not have ample land to plow. Mostly the youth is tilling his parents land. There are not promising and alternative opportunities available for the youth. Migration to the Arab World is the only readily available option" (Emenashu Hamza, personal communication, 3 October 2015). Although the purpose of this study was not the causes of migration, findings indicated that there is a vicious circle between causes and consequences of migration. From the discussion, it was clear that given this prevailing desperate mood of the youth on the local and community affairs and unconditional resort to migration, empowerment of the community is likely to be curtailed. The migration experience, as witnessed and admitted by the returnees, is so worse that returnees do not successfully reintegrate with their communities of origin. Returnees do not engage in agricultural activities that they used to work before they migrated; they do not get dressed like their relatives in the community of origin; they prefer to speak Arabic words while speaking to their relatives and in their day to day conversation; they spent in the towns chewing chat and taking alcohol; and they avoid participating in community events (Emenashu, personal communication, October 3, 2015; FGD, September 28, 2015).

**4.7.4. Conflict resolution mechanisms.** In the discussion with the head of the security administration of the *Woreda*, *ye Wonze Dagnas*, *Abagars* and *Dubertis*, there is an overall understanding that conflicts in the research site in particular and the *Woreda* in general are effectively and efficiently handled with the involvement of the community's own conflict resolution mechanisms, i.e. customary laws (personal communication, 25 – 30 September to 1-4 October, 2015). The elderlies in *Gedemeyu* noted that people who reported to have committed crime do not hide their deeds in the fore of the elderlies (*Abagars*) than to formal government litigation mechanism (Muleta, personal communication, 29 September 2015). Cognizant of this the government has established *Selam* committee (peace committee) in every *Kebeles* with the purpose of watching, monitoring, inspecting and passing judgments when conflict and crime occurs in *Kebeles*. The peace committee comprises *Ye Wonze Dagna*, *Abagars*, *Dubertis*, and government sectors like the community police (Amare Haile, October 3, 2015). From the focus group discussion, interview with key informants and the ordinary people, it was evident that the community has the utmost power in maintaining peace and tranquility in their own community.

## Chapter Five: Discussion and Interpretation

This section of the research presents the major findings of the study in relation to the related literatures on the basis of the six dimension of the social capital, as discussed in the findings. The first major finding from the field study is that social networks and groups that used to ease economic life of the communities in Gedemeyu such as Wobera, Wonfel, *Ertiban*, and Sera are severely affected by migration as the active work force of the population is migrating to Saudi Arabia. As a result of migration the preexisting networks and groups are challenged to assume the pivotal role they used to assume in the life of the community. As clearly explicated by Grootaert (1998, 6), migration affects the rural communities by eroding their social capital as “rural associations may be thinned out by departing members and lose critical density”. This is what is happening in Gedemeyu *Kebele* currently. Farm based activities that used to be undertaken by farmers and their different structures are now left to be done by daily laborers. As strongly expressed by community members in Gedemeyu, the use of daily laborers for the farm activities has reduced the amount of return from the small plot of lands. And within the community, the worst affected are needy people who were fully relying on the mutual support mechanism, like Wobera and support from close relatives. As Bourdieu (1986) states, social capital is an inherent aspect of social structures that are created from sustained interaction and interdependence. The crackdown of these structures means, then, community members will be there without any support in dealing with their daily lives.

Informal institutions such as Abagar, Duberti, Amach Ezi, customary laws, and wedding are also affected by migration of the youth. This is because the youth who are returning from Saudi Arabia and who are exposed to different world views, perspectives and religious teachings are no more in a position to respect and venerate the traditional cultural and spiritual institutions

back home. The mass migration of the youth from Gedemeyu rendered the youth to be skeptic of the traditional values that were held dear for centuries. The youth who are returning from Gedemeyu are not interested in resuming the farm activities they used to work, do not dress *Erbona Gonbiso* at least until sometime they get fully settled and reintegrated; and they also mix Arabic words in their day to day conversation, in a way to indicate their infatuation to the Arab World.

The failure of groups and networks to maintain the structure and function they used to assume also affects the rituals and values that underpin these structures. Trust and solidarity that characterizes the community is also affected by migration. For Culletta and Cullen (2000) Trust, in his view, is a key measure of social capital and is accumulated through norms of reciprocity and successful cooperation in networks of civic engagement (p. 4). But as youth is migrating, and as preexisting networks and groups of mutual support and cooperation are getting loosened, members' reliance on each other and the reciprocity thereof will be severely affected. The needy people whose land used to be cultivated by neighbors' through the different community structures mainly Wobera do not rely on this mutual support anymore. Instead either they have to rent their land for a definite period of time or give their land for somebody to cultivate it on a crop sharing basis. Be that it may, there is also a good level of trust among the community as the left behind members of the community support in matters that they can afford to support each other. The community members support each other in times of illness, funerals, and other social events like wedding, Duberti, Tertib, etc. This is because much of these activities are performed by older men and women who do not migrate.

As Colletta and Cullen (2000) indicated local people's access to information and transparency in decision making stipulates empowering these local communities to demand and use information. This will be helpful in creating and maintaining the synergies and alliances amongst the community and to easily internalize development endeavors. Health Extension workers and

Development Agent workers are the main source of information for peasants regarding agricultural activities, natural and soil conservation and health issues. But due to the slow changes in the lives of rural people in the face of the rapidly changing socioeconomic situations, people do not rely on these formal structure apparatuses. Instead peasants are relying on their networks and groups such as (Edir meetings, funeral ceremonies, coffee ceremonies, farm activities, grain mills, etc) to give and receive information on their environment, their harvest, and the market (mainly confined to the local level market). Accordingly, subscribing to this notion, Collier (1998) wrote: “knowledge transmission may depend upon information pooling, which occurs through reciprocal interactions such as networks (informal) and clubs (organized), or upon copying, which only requires unidirectional interaction”(p. viii). Now with the decline in this networks and groups their roles as a sources and channels of information will also be challenged soon. More important, as youth are now lacking interest to work on the farm and yearn to migrate, there could even be a gap between the adults and the next generation in terms of the apparently common wisdom regarding farming and natural management practices. As Colletta and Cullen (2000) stated “traditional values, roles, and institutions are continually under assault as a result of the communications revolution and the penetration of markets and raising of expectations in even the most remote parts of the globe”(p.5).

On the other side, it can be seen that the least affected aspect of social capital of the community is information and communication channels. With the experience of migration, people are now exposed to the broader world therefore enhancing their knowledge base broadening their perspectives and values. Many returnees from Saudi Arabia in Gedemeyu speak Arabic languages and they also watch Satellite television programs aired in Arabic such as Aljezera and get updated information on the major events and news of the world. Unlike in earlier times, it is also common to see many residents in Gedemeyu making use of expensive

mobile telephone apparatuses that are mainly brought from Saudi Arabia. This has enhanced the people's access to information both locally and internationally. In a way this is rebuilding the social capital of the communities in a renewed form. Beyond their communities, people are connected all across the globe. Left behind members of the community are also easily communicating with their migrant family members and relatives through mobile phones. This is what many migration researchers are attributing to as a social capital. For de Haas (2007), social capital is a resource for migration that enables and inspires people to migrate. But I contend that this argument should be taken cautiously as some are taking social capital as a cause of migration, beyond its facilitation role.

According to Uphoff and Krishna (1999), the ultimate manifestation of groups and networks is their solidarity and engagement in collective and cooperative activities to the benefit of the groups and its members. In Gedemeyu, the community is involved in such collective and collaborative actions such as the building of schools, road construction water pump management, and soil and natural conservation programs. Uphoff and Krishna also stated that “protecting and improving soil, water and plant resources in a catchment area is something that can be done, at best, only incompletely by individual activities and investments”(p. 14). Sera and irrigation channel committee is particularly important community based structure for mobilizing the community and facilitating collective activities such as graze land keeping, forest management and similar activities in Gedemeyu.

According to Colletta and Cullen (2000):

*Social cohesion* was measured by the density and nature of organizations and networks (both vertical and horizontal) and by members' sense of commitment and responsibility to these groups. The propensity for cooperation and exchange (material, labor, ritualistic, and informational) served as a proxy for *trust* (p. 15).

As can be seen from the identification and description of the diverse community based structures and the services these structures offer, it can be said that the community in Gedemeyu was rich in terms of social capital. However, as time goes on and with the advent of migration, the structural existence and the functional utility of these structures is being questioned. Needy people in the neighborhood are no more relying on their neighbors and relatives to be supported through the Wobera structure or other support mechanism. Left behind members of the community are not also relying any more on their migrant family members and relatives for warmth and support in times of funeral, security issues (conflicts within and outside the community), farm activity, etc. The culture of mutual support through the different structures shows this fact. At the same time it has been reiterated that social cohesion is an inherent and indispensable precondition for community development. It is strongly recommended that "... external agents, or projects, should understand the existing fabric of the village before beginning to intervene" (Reid and Salmen, 2000, p. 19).

Understanding the long and firmly established social fabric and harnessing its potential not only renders success to development endeavors but it also further empowers the bearer of these development potential for further potentials. In tune with this notion, COLletta and Cullen (2000) wrote:

Once these local coping mechanisms are identified, they must be incorporated into the reconstruction process. External interventions need to be sensitive to indigenous organizations and be careful not to wipe out the groups' own efforts and their tendencies toward self-reliance. Rather, they should strengthen indigenous capacities, especially to bridge to new roles, functions, and relationships (p. 31).

There were a multitude of opportunities that the development agents operating in Gedemeyu could have utilized the communities' own resources and assets. One such opportunity was on forest management. The clearing of Hujira forest for agriculture purpose

could have been a real opportunity to discuss with the community to make the utmost use of the forest. As it was unanimously and consistently reiterated by key informants and focus groups discussions participants, the community had little chance to discuss on the clearing of the forest for the so called development purpose. When the forest was destroyed, the systems and local wisdom that have created and nurtured it are also subjected for destruction and desperation and this is disempowering and depriving the local community in Gedemeyu. As reported by youth informants, in the absence of a plot of land for the youth to plow, the giving of the land to investors was disappointing and fueled their desperate decision to migrate (Kurfa, personal communication, September 28, 2015). It was noted that people are involved in contributing for school constructions, roads and electricity installations in terms of mobilizing money and labor. People in Gedemeyu seemed to have enjoyed a reasonable power in dictating local officials in maintaining their shrine and spiritual concessions. As an example, the people in Gedemeyu have mobilized themselves and managed to restore the plot of land for Mawlid that was wrongly distributed for individuals.

## Chapter six: Conclusion and social Work Implications

### 6.1. Conclusions

This study attempted to explore the effect of labor migration to Saudi Arabia on communities of origin in the lense of the six dimensions of social capital (groups and networks, trust and solidarity, collective action and cooperation, information and communication, social cohesion and inclusion, and empowerment and political action). Although the prime purpose of the research was not to explore the possible factors for migration, the major factors for migration were revealed in the course of the field study. Accordingly, the main reasons for migration in the study area can be summarized as drought and failure to effectively address drought induced household poverty and scarcity of pasture; lack of alternative livelihoods other than traditional farming; poor education quality; lack of trust and confidence on government due to its subsequently failed promises to engage the youth in productive works; fragmented and less fertile land with its declining yield coupled with poor market information; peer pressure; family pressure; the decline of social capital in itself; etc. But from the discussion, it was evident that some of the causes that are mentioned as causes were also found to be consequences at the same time indicating the vicious circle between the causes and the consequences.

Whatsoever the causes are, migration has a tremendous effect on the social fabric and the functioning of the community in its members' different walks of lives. Migration affects the different networks and groups in society that are created and sustained for their functional utilities. On the economic aspect, the study identified *Wonfel/jigi*, *Wobera*, *Mize Ez*, *amach Ez*, *Sera*, *Equib* and *Ertiban* as major groups and networks that had been operational for centuries. The community structures that were created to ease the burdens of the community in farm and off-farm activities are now challenged structurally and functionally.

Following the crackdown of the long and firmly established groups and networks of mutual support, as described above, trust and solidarity in the community was severely affected. Families of successful families have built houses in *Gedemeyu* and in *Kobbo*. So the effects of migration on the family/household were characterized by the unhealthy mix – some flourish while some are tempted to vanish. This income inequality has widened the gap and created some degree of stratification among the community in *Gedemeyu* and *challenging the long existing social solidarity and cohesiveness*.

Groups and networks are venues for collective action and cooperation. Following the weakening of these groups and networks, collective action and cooperation is also fading away. People in *Gedemeyu* rely on markets, weddings, *Edir* meetings; coffee ceremonies, farm activities, and radio as their source of information which are now declining and failed to serve the same purpose.

The overall empowerment and political action of the community can be rated as low. People are not comfortable to talk about issues that taste political. The efforts made to deter the deforestation of the *Hujira* forest and the passive position held on the delayed electric service provision are incidents indicative of the community's degree of empowerment and level of involvement in political actions.

Generally elements of social capital are affected not only by migration experience but by the desperate mood that lead to migration decision as well. It was observed that when people decided to migrate unsatisfied by social, economic, political, and cultural orders in their community of origin, they tend to assume a passive presence. People who became preoccupied with the idea of migration assumed passive participation in the different walks of life and ultimately migrate to the Arab World becoming the lost members of the community.

## **6.2. Social Work Implications**

From the field study, it has been clearly revealed that the trend of migration is increasing from time to time and there is no prospect, at least in the near future, of curbing the movement of people to Saudi Arabia. Interventions then need to be designed in a way to address the protection risks of migrants, in the short term, until it is possible to convince people not to migrate.

Comprehensive social work interventions that span from direct response to empowering the community is, therefore, recommended to sustainably and holistically address the issues that ensue migration of community members in Gedemeyu. The government and pertinent stakeholders need to work voraciously to respond with meaningful alternative livelihood programs coupled with structured awareness raising programs. The following major recommendations are made in tune with the aforementioned spirit.

### **6.2.1. Implications for social work Research**

Knowledge of the community structures, functions, and the challenges and prospect of these long established mechanisms is highly indispensable for rehabilitative and preventive responses and for empowering communities to become much more resilient and productive. This, therefore, demands a much more systematized and organized study on the mapping of the different community based formal and informal structures and their modes of operation along with the prospects they have and the challenges they are facing. From the focus group participants, it was also noted that migrants need to have further information on making use of the resources they have already in their community before they resort to migration. In the discussion, with returnees and non-migrant members, there was a dialogue – a kind of side talk, on the money needed to dig one bore hole. According to the non-migrant participant, this amount could produce a yield in Gedemeyu, twice more than what a returnee could earn as a herder in

Saudi Arabia. A comprehensive response to the problem of migration in Gedemeyu and similar *Kebeles* in the *Woreda* demands an exhaustive study of the social and human capital along with the natural resources that could be tapped. Besides, it is also helpful to study the root causes of migration along with the issues that facilitate and fuel the decision to migrate. Along with the root causes of the migration, I also recommend for researchers, politicians and social workers to examine the possible solutions to restore the severely harmed social capital values and ways of safeguarding and nurturing the fledgling ones. The central question that 'Why do people in Gedemeyu do have lower social value for education and sending their children to school needs to be addressed' apart from saying that the schools are close due to migration of elder children. The experiences of illegal migration, especially the perilous route that migrant have to pass through to reach Saudi Arabia needs a research by its own. The outcome of such a research could be used to advocate on the plights of unsafe migration.

### **6.2.2. Implication for Social work education.**

The findings of this research will have insight on the situations of social work problems in remote rural and agrarian communities who are subjected to international labor migration. The findings could inform a social work on the specific facets and the mixed effects of rural migrants to international distance. It informs on what is happening to the different community based structures that were established and nurtured to address the specific community affairs, how they have been functioning and how they are challenged to resume their role following migration. The findings could also inspire a student of social work to think about context specific possible solutions to address social work issues in rural communities ensuing migration. Findings indicate that people, the people in Gedemeyu have convinced themselves that it is better to migrate to wallow with the desperate social, political, and economic situation in their village. This call a

need for facilitating a dialogue among the elderly on how to reduce the adverse effect of migration by resorting to the safe and legal way of migration, if it is inevitable. There should also be systematized training on saving and credit, basic business skills, alternative livelihood programs to efficiently utilize the remittances. There should also be a discussion on ways of maintaining a link with the pre-existing groups and networks in their community of origin both individually and through a newly evolving networks and structures that transcend the boundaries of the countries of origin and destination.

### **6.2.3. Implications for social work Practice.**

The findings of this research indicate that there is a need to respond to the intricate needs of the rural communities who are affected by migration. In the discussion with the youth, it was unanimously reported that lack of job opportunity at home is one of the multitude of reasons that force the youth to migrate. As one response to this, it is imperative to come with appealing job opportunities to win the attention of the youth. This can be done by exploring the local resources in the area and by harnessing the ground water in Gedemeyu which does not demand too much effort to do so as observed during the data collection with one key informant. In the discussion, it was also noted that farmers specially the ones who do not have a migrant family to send them money from Saudi Arabia, they have to sell their crop right after the harvest in the nearby market for cheaper price to cover the expense it took them to cultivate their land. Provision of market information and crop management will therefore be indispensable to respond to this problem. Along with this it is also indispensable to provide farmers with Credit and Saving facilities followed by appropriate trainings on business skills. Similarly, it was also noted that much of the remittance from Saudi Arabia is used for consumption purposes only and for covering expense to farm activities. This implies that there is a need to manage the hard earned remittance by

working closely with the families of the migrants as well as to provide them technical support to use it productively.

The major implication of this finding is also the need to genuinely involve the local community and harness their knowledge of their environment for sustainable development. Farmers in Gedemeyu are still feeling to have been alienated and snatched the Hujira forest that they have maintained it for centuries. There should have been ample discussion on how to make the utmost use of the forest. And this should be a lesson to be taken. This is also high time to challenge the myth surrounding the old yet underutilized school by having a series of genuine dialogue with the elderlies and the communities in Gedemeyu and all stakeholders including children.

#### **6.2.4. Policy implications**

The findings of this research indicate that the causes, processes, and consequences of migration as shown in Gedemeyu demands a comprehensive, multi-sectoral and multi-stakeholder approach to understand and respond meaningfully. From the desperate expressions of the community, there is no power to hold them back from fleeing their desperate situation unless those in power come up with solutions to make the life in Gedemeyu worth living. There should therefore be a concerted effort from finance, agriculture, education, administration, etc sectors to properly comprehend and respond to the root causes of rural migration. Determined to migrate, the focus group participants persistently asked “what we need from the government by now is to stop the banning of migration to Saudi Arabia and facilitate the safe and legal migration process instead” (FGD P, September 28, 2015). The other issue that was repeatedly raised during data collection was an issue pertaining to the violation of the human rights of illegal migrants committed by the Federal Police along the borders. As part of a comprehensive

strategy to address the problem of migration, the protection of human rights should be the value that should be adhered at all times. Generally, given the level of desperation and the inevitability of a wave of migration, the incumbent officials should rethink about their agricultural policies, education policies, micro-financing policies, and cultural policies. The yields fragmented plots of lands that are dependent on rain-fed agriculture are not reliable enough for farmers. The micro-finance schemes are contributing the migration process as families are lending money from these structures to cover the expense of their children's illegal migration. The education system is so devalued that not a single child is interested to pursue his/her study. Nor are their parents interested to send their children to school. Discussion that should be led and that target at empowering the communities need to be done on all these issues with the ultimate purpose of informing the implementation of existing policies and coming up with the new ones. It was also unanimously mentioned in the FGD and In-depth Interview that migrants' experience sheer violation of their human rights while caught along the border in the hands of Federal Police. This is an area that needs further study and investigation. In the meantime, I recommend that as part of a comprehensive strategy to address the problem of migration, the protection of human rights should be adhered to unconditionally and at all time.

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## **Annex1: FGD checklist**

### **Consent form for Focus Group Discussion (Men and women)**

#### **Introduction**

Good morning/afternoon. My name is Getachew Desale. I am a student at Addis Ababa University School of Social work undertaking a research on “Exploring the Interplay Between Migration and Changes in the Social Capital of Sending Communities: Experiences from *RayaKobbo Woreda, North Wollo*”. The study focuses on understanding the dynamics of migration on the social and cultural aspects of the sending community - following the migration of its members to the Middle East.

I would like to talk to you about some of the changes that have happened in your community following the onset of migration of some of the members of the community to the Middle East. The benefit of your participation is that you will contribute to our effort to explore the changes that have occurred in your community following the migration of many people to the Middle East. This study will also be an inspiration for other students from the community who are interested in doing research in their community. If you agree to participate in the study, I will have issues to raise for you all for discussion. The discussion will take us from 1:00 to 1:30 time.

Your opinions and experiences are important to us. However, it will not be possible to pay attention to what we are discussing and at the same time take notes of what is being said. Therefore, we have brought a tape record so that we won't miss any part of the conversation. We want you to be honest and truthful in answering our questions. Some of the questions I will ask might be personal. Your participation is completely voluntary. You may ask me to stop discussions if you are uncomfortable, or you may also decline to answer any question if it makes you uncomfortable. The interviews/discussions are strictly confidential so your responses will not be shared with anyone. Your name will not appear on any of my notes or any of the reports. You will not be charged nor will you have to pay for your participation in the study.

#### **Format of Discussion**

This is what we will do: I will ask the group a question related to my research topics. Everyone will have a chance to give their opinion before we move on to the next question.

## EXPLORING MIGRATION IN RELATION TO CHANGES IN SOCIAL CAPITAL

Remember, there is no right or wrong answer, so we want you to be honest and truthful in answering questions. We want to hear all of the different views that people might have, so please tell us your opinion even if you disagree with what others have said.

### **There are a few rules for our discussion:**

1. Please talk one at a time, in a voice as loud as mine.
2. Avoid side talks with your neighbors so that the person who is speaking can be heard.
3. Do not share information shared during this discussion with people outside of this group.

Do you have any questions before we start?

### **On groups and networks**

- ✓ Please tell me about the formal and informal groups available in the village?
- ✓ What groups, individuals, or networks do people feel morally or socially obligated to assist?
  - How is this moral obligation challenged by migration?
- ✓ What characteristics are most valued among network members (eg. Trustworthiness, reciprocity, cooperation, honesty, community respect, etc.)?
  - How is this value expectation challenged by migration? Who is affected most?  
How?

### **On Trust and Solidarity**

- ✓ How do people interact in the community? What is the effect migration on this normatively expected nature of interaction?
- ✓ How do national and local governance affect trust among groups and between individuals? How is this affected by migration?
- ✓ On whom do people rely for different kinds of assistance (e.g., goods, labor, cash, finding employment, entering university, etc.)? how is civic activity affected by migration?
- ✓ How is trust distributed in the community (e.g., primarily within extended families or clans or through specific networks and/or localities)? How does migration affect this pattern of trust distribution?

**On trends of collective action and cooperation of the community members vis-à-vis the exodus of labor migrants to the Middle East**

## EXPLORING MIGRATION IN RELATION TO CHANGES IN SOCIAL CAPITAL

- ✓ What are the most pressing problems in the village? How do you see these problems in relation to migration?
- ✓ To what extent do community members collaborate with one another in order to solve these problems? How is this effort affected by migration?
- ✓ What cultural, social, or community traditions affect patterns of mutual assistance, cooperation, and collective action? What is the role of migration on as part of these factors?

### **On Communication channels and information exchange**

- ✓ What communication mechanism and channels are mostly employed by the community? Formal mechanisms? Informal mechanisms? How are these all affected by migration?
- ✓ What information is available through different networks? To different households and/or groups (i.e., is there differential distribution within the community)? What is the effect of migration on these modes of information and their distribution?

### **On social cohesion and inclusion**

- ✓ What factors support cohesion in the community? What does migration contribute or constrain to this cohesion? Do all the members have equal access to opportunities, markets, information, and services?
- ✓ What kinds of mediation have taken place to help the community resolve conflicts? Have these worked? Why? For how long?
- ✓ What is the effect of migration on these?

### **On Empowerment and Political Action**

- ✓ What are the local legal traditions in the community and how do these traditions affect civic capacity? How is the impact of migration in the continuity of these roles?
- ✓ How do customary laws constrain or facilitate the ability of citizens to exert influence over public institutions? How is migration affecting this role?
- ✓ What is the role of formal laws in facilitating or blocking the ability of citizens to exert influence over public institutions? What is the impact of migration on this exercise?

## **Annex 2: Consent form for Key Informant Interview**

### **Introduction**

Good morning/afternoon. My name is Getachew Desale. I am a student at Addis Ababa University School of Social work undertaking a research on “Exploring the Interplay Between Migration and Changes in the Social Capital of Sending Communities: Experiences from *RayaKobbo Woreda, North Wollo*”.

I would like to talk to you about some of the changes that have happened in your community following the onset of migration of some of the members of the community to the Middle East. The benefit of your participation is that you will contribute to our effort to explore the changes that have occurred in your community following the exodus of many people to the Middle East. This study will also be an inspiration for other students from the community who are interested in doing research in their community. If you agree to participate in the study, I will have issues to raise for you for discussion. The discussion will take us from 1:00 to 1:30 time.

I want you to be honest and truthful in answering our questions. Some of the questions I will ask might be personal. Your participation is completely voluntary. You may ask me to stop discussions if you are uncomfortable, or you may also decline to answer any question if it makes you uncomfortable. The interviews are strictly confidential so your responses will not be shared with anyone. Your name will not appear on any of my notes or any of the reports. You will not be charged nor will you have to pay for your participation in the study.

### **Basic Information**

Community History and Context

When did migration started as an alternative to the community?

Which part of the community is migrating and has the propensity to migrate?

What the major factors for migration?

Which countries/regions are major migration destination countries/regional (external/internal)

### **On groups and networks**

- ✓ Please tell me what formal and informal groups are available in the village?
- ✓ What are the structures and functions of each groups and networks? How are the networks' and groups' function affected by migration? When migration did begin vividly in the village?

## EXPLORING MIGRATION IN RELATION TO CHANGES IN SOCIAL CAPITAL

- ✓ Who do people tend to assist in their daily routine? How, in what circumstances and how often does this assistance take place? What is happening to this mutual assistance pattern as a result of migration?

### **On Trust and Solidarity**

- i. How do people interact in the community? What is the effect migration on this normatively expected nature of interaction?
- ii. How do national and local governance affect trust among groups and between individuals? How is this affected by migration?

### **On trends of collective action and cooperation of the community members vis-à-vis the exodus of labor migrants to the Middle East**

- ✓ What are the most pressing problems in the village? How do you see these problems in relation to migration?
- ✓ To what extent do community members collaborate with one another in order to solve these problems? How is this effort affected by migration?
- ✓ What cultural, social, or community traditions affect patterns of mutual assistance, cooperation, and collective action?
- ✓ What is the role of migration on as part of these factors?

### **On Communication channels and information exchange**

- What communication mechanism and channels are mostly employed by the community? Formal mechanisms? Informal mechanisms? How are these all affected by migration?
- What information is available through different networks? Do all the members of the community have equal access to this information? What is the effect of migration on these modes of information and their distribution?

### **On social cohesion and inclusion**

- ✓ What factors support cohesion in the community? What does migration contribute or constrain to this cohesion?
- ✓ Do all the members have equal access to opportunities, markets, information, and services?
- ✓ What are the patterns of inclusion and/or exclusion in political participation? How is migration related to this?

### **On Empowerment and Political Action**

## EXPLORING MIGRATION IN RELATION TO CHANGES IN SOCIAL CAPITAL

- ✓ What are the local legal traditions in the community and how do these traditions affect civic capacity? How is the impact of migration in the continuity of these roles?
- ✓ How do customary laws constrain or facilitate the ability of citizens to exert influence over public institution? How is migration affecting this role?
- ✓ What is the role of formal laws in facilitating or blocking the ability of citizens to exert influence over public institutions? What is the impact of migration on this exercise?

### **Annex 3: Observation Checklist**

1. Observing Migration affected family
  - a. How are the family members interacting on their day to day life, like in work, entertainment, attending social occasions, etc?
  - b. What are the possible effects of migrated member of the family?
  - c. What are left behind members' perception of the migrated family?
  - d. Edir members interact?
2. Observing village level informal structures  
Observing Zar Cults, coffee ceremonies,
  - a. What are the specific activities involved in the process?
  - b. Who is involved in the different process of the ritual?
  - c. What are the inputs needed to run the ritual?
  - d. How is this affected by migration experience?
3. Observing the functions of Customary Law Institutions (*Wonz*)

How is the *Wonz* functioning?

What is the level of acceptance of the *Wonz* and its major actors?

How is the *Wonz* and its functions affected by migration?

What is the prospect of the *wonz*?

## **Annex 4: Checklist for in-depth interview household members**

### **Consent form for In-depth Interview with migration affected Household (Men, children and women)**

#### **Introduction**

Good morning/afternoon. My name is Getachew Desale. I am a student at Addis Ababa University School of Social work undertaking a research “Research on How Did Labor Migration Affects the Social Capital of Sending Communities: Experiences from *RayaKobbo Woreda*, North Wollo”

The study focuses on understanding the dynamics of migration on the social and cultural aspects of the sending community - following the migration of its members to the Middle East.

I would like to talk to you about some of the changes that have happened in your family following the onset of migration of some of the members of the community to the Middle East.

I want you to be honest and truthful in answering our questions. Some of the questions I will ask might be personal. Your participation is completely voluntary. You may ask me to stop discussions if you are uncomfortable, or you may also decline to answer any question if it makes you uncomfortable. The interviews are strictly confidential so your responses will not be shared with anyone. Your name will not appear on any of my notes or any of the reports.

#### **Basic Information**

##### **PART I: IDENTIFICATION**

Sex of Respondent: \_\_\_\_\_ Location: \_\_\_\_\_

Name of Interviewer: \_\_\_\_\_ Date of interview: \_\_\_\_\_

#### **On groups and networks**

- ✓ Please mention the formal and informal groups and networks that you are a member and their uses?
- ✓ Is there are anyone who has migrated from the groups or networks that you are affiliated to? How is this affecting you?
- ✓ What groups, individuals, or networks do you feel morally or socially obligated to assist? How is this moral obligation challenged by migration?
- ✓ At what different public or private settings or events do groups or networks come together from your own experience? Are these all issues affected by migration? How?

## EXPLORING MIGRATION IN RELATION TO CHANGES IN SOCIAL CAPITAL

- ✓ How do you become a member to this groups and networks? How is migration affecting the creation and maintenance of networks and groups? How often do you meet and what are the major tasks?
- ✓ What characteristics are most valued among network members?
  - How is this value expectation challenged by migration? Who is affected most? How?

### **On Trust and Solidarity**

- ✓ How do you meet with groups and networks that you are a member to? What is the effect migration on this normatively expected nature of interaction?
- ✓ To what institutions (formal and informal) do you turn when you have individual or family problems? How is this related to migration either positively or negatively?

### **On Communication channels and information exchange**

What communication mechanism and channels are mostly employed by the community? Formal mechanisms? Informal mechanisms? What mechanism and channels do you use for your daily communication? How are these all affected by migration?

### **On social cohesion and inclusion**

- ✓ What are the patterns of conflict at the community and family level? How is it related with migration experiences?
- ✓ What are the triggers for everyday conflict among members of the family? How is this related with migration?

EXPLORING MIGRATION IN RELATION TO CHANGES IN SOCIAL CAPITAL

**Annex 5. List of participants**

S. No	Name	Place	Sex	Occupation
1.	Muleta Nuru	Gedemeyu	M	farmer
2.	Belay Aragie	>>	M	farmer
3.	Aragew Nure	>>	M	farmer
4.	Zelege Beshir	>>	M	farmer
5.	Zenebu Lakew	>>	M	farmer
6.	Temesgen Asfaw	>>	M	farmer
7.	Abebaw Taye	>>	M	farmer
8.	Lakew Tesfaw	>>	M	Government Office
9.	Beshir	>>	M	farmer
10.	Aragaw Wolie	>>	M	farmer
11.	Zinash Belay	>>	F	farmer
12.	Ashenafi biru	<i>Kobbo</i>	M	farmer
13.	Biritu Belay	Gedemeyu	F	farmer
14.	Enau Yalew	>>	F	Farmer
15.	Kurfa Mengesha	<i>Kobbo</i>	M	Government Office
16.	Kurfa Ahmed	>>	M	Farmer
17.	Yeshiwa Amanw	Gedemeyu	F	Farmer
18.	Zeritu Yazew	>>	F	Farmer
19.	Tefarw Kewuye	<i>Kobbo</i>	M	Farmer
20.	Tadese Beshir	Gedemeyu	M	Farmer
21.	Zemenay Eyasu	>>	M	Farmer
22.	Nasir Arbsie	>>	M	Farmer
23.	Tadese Zelege	<i>Kobbo</i>	M	Government Office
24.	Muleta Zelege	Gedemeyu	M	Farmer
25.	Seid Tegegne	>>	M	Farmer
26.	Tangut Maru	>>	F	Farmer
27.	Yasin Tesfaw	>>	M	Farmer
28.	Zenaw Zelege	<i>Kobbo</i>	M	Government Office
29.	Bekelech Lemlemu	Gedemeyu	F	Farmer
30.	Tangut Yazew	>>	F	Farmer
31.	Tafese Yirga	>>	M	Farmer
32.	Wondimu Belew	>>	M	Farmer
33.	Zertihun Bekele	>>	F	Farmer
34.	Tiringo Kebede	>>	F	Farmer
35.	Yilak Zelege	<i>Kobbo</i>	M	Government Office
36.	Fisha Zelege	Gedemeyu	M	Farmer

NB: list of participants is converted into Pseudonyms to ensure anonymity.

# EXPLORING MIGRATION IN RELATION TO CHANGES IN SOCIAL CAPITAL

## **Declaration**

This thesis is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other University and that all sources of material used for this thesis have been dully acknowledged

Name: Getachew Desale Nigusie

Signature: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_