Effect of Women’s unregistered migration on their original country household livelihood: The case of Alaba Special Woreda, Ethiopia

Van Hall Larenstein University of Applied Sciences
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master in Management of Development,
specialisation Rural Development, Social Inclusion, Gender and Youth

By

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Last but not the list I would like to thank my commissioner for providing professional assistance and necessary feedback before, during and after the field work even if the situations were stressful at that moment.
Dedication

I dedicate this paper to my beloved mother who has invested her life in me and always pushed me not to settle for less things in life.
Abstract

This paper is a summary of a research paper submitted to Van Hall Larenstein University of Applied Sciences, Netherland in partial fulfilment of Master of Management of Development, Rural Development, Gender, Youth and Social Inclusion Specialisation. Unregistered women migration is expensive and insecure compared with the legal one. Therefore, this study aimed at identifying the household assets affected by the migration, the shift in livelihood strategy and its effect on livelihood outcomes at the country of origin by taking Alaba special woreda, Ethiopia. Purposive, snowball sampling was used for the interview with 20 HH representatives who has one or more women migrants in the Middle East. In additionally, observation in the interviewee’s households and focus group discussion with 4 stakeholder key informants were undertaken. The data collected from the interview, FGD and observation were transcribed, themed up and analysed using sustainable livelihood framework. The findings of the study indicated most women migrants’ household livelihood assets are adversely affected by either partial or total shift in the livelihood strategy from farming to expecting remittances. In the process, four household assets namely, financial, natural, human and social capital are invested towards migration livelihood strategy with a consented household decision-making to achieve better income and improve the household living condition. Nevertheless, the migration livelihood strategy could not help most households because some are not receiving any remittance and some are receiving remittances but not in a level they expected to achieve their livelihood outcomes. The other few groups have achieved their livelihood outcomes through migration strategy. Accordingly, recommendations for Women and children affairs bureau, youth capacity building office and other stakeholders. The recommendations focused on making the already existing interventions sustainable towards women development and more ideas to strengthen the stakeholder collaboration for a better change.

Keywords: Women Unregistered Migration, Household, Livelihood asset, strategy and outcome
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DFID</td>
<td>Department For International Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EPRDF</td>
<td>Ethiopian People Revolutionary Democratic Front</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FDRE</td>
<td>Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HH</td>
<td>Household</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MoLSA</td>
<td>Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PEA</td>
<td>Private Employment Agencies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SLF</td>
<td>Sustainable Livelihood Framework</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SNNPR</td>
<td>Southern Nation, Nationalities and People’s Region</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WCAB</td>
<td>Women and Children Affairs Bureau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YCBO</td>
<td>Youth Capacity Building Office</td>
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</table>
CHAPTER ONE

1. INTRODUCTION

Ethiopia’s largest population of about 102 million makes it the second biggest population nation in Africa, next to Nigeria (CSA, 2016 in World Bank report, 2017). The country’s economy mainly has agrarian nature: more than 80% of Ethiopians live in rural areas. Although making up less than 50% of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP), the agricultural sector is a higher employer with more than 70% of the labour force. Under normal circumstances those born in rural areas stayed there, but land scarcity has started pushing the youth to cities. There aren’t enough jobs in urban areas either, 30% of 20 to 24 years old in urban areas are unemployed, some studies suggest this is as high as 50% (Hunnes, 2012). Hence, land scarcity is not the only pushing factors for the rural people, migration occurs in response to livelihood degradation, an inability to grow enough food, or to provide enough income for the family, and is profoundly influenced by the interaction of environmental change on five drivers of migration, namely political, social, economic, demographic, and ecological drivers (Hunnes, 2012).

Migration is said to be a ‘necessarily pre-emptive’ move to mean the drivers of survival instinct for better life opportunities push a human being from the inside (Sundari, 2005). People move from place to place whether nationally or internationally for several purposes, mostly in search of better livelihood opportunities. The phenomenon of rural-urban and national-international migration is not new for the Ethiopians. There were two types of migration when we discussed international migration from the legal and policy frame of the sending and receiving countries perspective. The first form of migration is through a legally documented contracted ways where people get a legal document (visa) to live or work in receiving country legally. Whereas, the latter is leaving a country of origin and getting into other country’s border without having any registration or legal permit either through tourist or pilgrimage visa or overland through different channels (Demissie, 2017).

Historically, the concept of international migration is transcendent to the imperial period in Ethiopia. Starting from the imperial period, even if it is difficult to know the exact number of emigrants, studies indicate many Ethiopians emigrated to several countries for the pursuit of education and career and some as slaves (Fransen and Kuschminder, 2009). Later in the Derg regime (1974-1991), the government changed the policy and restricted every Ethiopians from emigrating to any other country without the goodwill and knowledge of the government. After the fall of the Derg regime, Ethiopian Peoples’ Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) opened migration to any desired country. This started an era of freedom of movement to several places increasing the number of emigrants to US, Europe and the Middle East year by year (Fernandez, 2011).

Even if it is challenging to have exact statistics on the number of Ethiopians who have migrated abroad due to unregistered migration and the absence of centralised registration system, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MoFA) estimates, more than two million Ethiopian diasporas live abroad. However, the number is estimated to be higher because there is growing evidence that immigration has increased significantly in recent years (ILO, 2017).
Women Migration trend in Ethiopia in the study area

Migration patterns have been studied for long, but migration patterns concerning gender are only studied since the 1970s (Sundari, 2005). The migration patterns between men and women are known to have variation after scholars start analysing the phenomena of migration through a gender lens. Accordingly, the similar study stated that it is believed that half of the international migrants currently are women who in the previous years are known only for staying in the surrounding areas of their home cities and town. The roles of men and women at receiving country differ based on their gender. The primary income generating activities for women in the receiving countries are the clothing, sex and housemaid industries (Phizacklea, 1996). The gender difference between men and women migrants is not only in the destination preference but also in the types of income generating activity they engage in and the amount of remittance they send to their household at the sending country. Women migrants tend to remit more of their income to their families or household in the sending country than male migrants in both international and internal migration (Martin, 2004). As a study on remitting behaviour in South Africa determined, “employed migrant men are 25% less likely than employed migrant women to remit” (Collinson 2003). However, women migrants earn less because of the line of work they are engaged in which again determines the amount of remittances they send.

Coming to the context of Ethiopia, the number of women migrants was and still is higher than the number of men migrants as clearly explained in the forthcoming literature chapter. To see the prevalence and the level of women migration Ethiopia, the increasing regional number of migrations in table 1 below clarified in detail. From the table, the Southern Nation Nationalities and People Region (SNNPR), which is the selected study region, is the fourth highest sending origin of women migrants to the Middle East. Since there is no figure related to the unregistered women migration, refereeing the registered migration and speculating the unregistered migration trajectory option is adopted by MoLSA to study the trend. The following table indicates the number of domestic workers migrating through the legal recruitment process facilitated by Private Employment Agencies (PEAs) and approved by the MoLSA.

Table 1: Number of registered migrant domestic workers to the Middle East

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oromia</td>
<td>3600</td>
<td>2757</td>
<td>20430</td>
<td>64431</td>
<td>39185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amhara</td>
<td>3551</td>
<td>1952</td>
<td>10769</td>
<td>62836</td>
<td>33831</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Addis Ababa</td>
<td>7251</td>
<td>6860</td>
<td>11813</td>
<td>26774</td>
<td>11472</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SNNPR</td>
<td>1981</td>
<td>1300</td>
<td>4547</td>
<td>23392</td>
<td>13813</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tigray</td>
<td>949</td>
<td>573</td>
<td>1582</td>
<td>8592</td>
<td>4966</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>17332</td>
<td>13442</td>
<td>39141</td>
<td>186025</td>
<td>103267</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The SNNPR which comprises around 56 ethnic groups, 13 zones and eight special woredas according to the 2007 national census is the fourth sending origin from Ethiopia. A specific number of migrants from each zone and woreda in SNNPR could not be found during the desk study of the research because of lack of centralised registration organ and system. Therefore, the above number specified include all the registered migrants from all zones and special woredas in SNNPR. Even though there is the inconsistency in the number of registered migrants in different studies, it is depictable the prevalence of a high number of unregistered migrants from Ethiopia to the Middle East. MoLSA estimated the number of migrants through unregistered/irregular channels to be equivalent to or more than the registered one (MoLSA, 2007).

Alaba special woreda which is one among the eight special woredas in SNNPR is selected as a study area because of interest from the commissioner, researcher personal experience and previous observation during the work experience in WCAB in Hawassa (capital city of SNNPR) which will further be explained in chapter 3 of this paper.

1.1 Problem statement

Various sources indicate that migration from Ethiopia to the Middle East is on the rise since the 1990s, especially among women migrants. Although the data from Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs (MoLSA) has irregularity, available figures indicate in the year 1999, 1,202 women migrated to the Middle East through legal Private Employment Agencies (PEAs). This number increased to 4,568 in 2000, 7,629 in 2001 and since 2008-2011 it came out to be 35,000 every year constituting 92% of the total migrants (Fernandez, 2011). In a recent study, this number raised to 175,427 women migrants to the Middle East in the year 2013 (ILO, 2017). MoLSA estimates far more than that number of migrants leave the country through irregular channels without registration. The registered migrations via PEAs are always expected to be under the umbrella of the government fixed or controlled price, monitored, secure, legally covered and accountable channels with a legal frame of Employment Exchange Services Proclamation No. 632/2009. Whereas, unregistered migration is far more expensive, dangerous and insecure compared with the legal channels. There are several effects like challenges to HHs of sending country as food insecurity, loss of HH assets, constant fear and worry for the wellbeing of migrants; challenge to migrants like physical assault, wage deprivation, sexual assault, not finding a job immediately at receiving country and others are linked with the unregistered migration both during journey and/or after reaching destination.

Moreover, much has already been studied from different angles in the recipient and sending country but there is a gap on the effect of unregistered migration on the livelihood of the household at the country of origin. From the push and pull factor theory it is evident poverty plays a significant role in indicating the household are changing their livelihood strategy. Micael Lipton his book named ‘International Migration, Remittances, and Poverty in developing countries’ explained the correlation of poverty and migration as

“migration increases intra-rural inequalities... because better-off migrants are ‘pulled’ towards fairly firm prospects of a job (in a city or abroad), whereas the poor are ‘pushed’ by rural poverty and labour-replacing methods” (Page et al., 2003)
Considering the above facts and literature, unregistered women migration is causing households in the sending country for deprivation of livelihood assets and leaving them short of livelihood strategies because they are investing their asset towards migration. Considering the problem at hand, there are few kinds of literature focusing on effects of women unregistered migration on their origin household. There is also a lacuna on the knowledge of household livelihood strategy and its interaction with livelihood outcomes concerning women unregistered migration.

1.2 Problem owner

The problem owner SNNPR Women and Children Affairs Bureau (WCAB) is a governmental organisation which function in all the SNNPR region through its representative offices in the zonal and woreda level. One objective of the organisation women empowerment to achieve gender equality and Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) in the region through sound women participation in development activities. Therefore, the office has the mandate to undertake studies which are helpful for its intervention strategies to achieve its objective. The office commissioned the researcher to undertake a study on the effects of women unregistered migration to the HH they leave behind and come up with a recommendation which could collaborate the stakeholders and bring a sustainable strategy for the problem at hand.

1.3 Research Question

The objective of this study is to assess the effects of women unregistered migration on the migrants’ household livelihood outcome at the sending country, in order to recommend a sustainable women livelihood development strategy for SNNPR WCAB and other stakeholder working in the area.

The main research question of the study is:

What are the effects of unregistered women migration to the Middle East, on the migrant’s origin household livelihood outcome in Alaba special woreda?

This main question is sub-divided into the following sub-questions:

- What are the expected outcomes of unregistered women migration to the Middle East in light of household livelihood outcome at sending country?
- What are the significant household assets affected by the migration of the member/s of a household because of the migration?
- What were the primary livelihood strategies in the household before and after one or more of the women family members migrated to the Middle East?
Unregistered women migration to Middle East is increasing in SNNPR Ethiopia

Assumptions of researcher which require more study

- Increasing poverty
  - Food insecurity
    - Recurrent famine
  - Less employment opportunity
    - Ethnic conflict
    - Less education opportunity

- Physical and sexual assault
  - Confinement sanction
  - Imprisonment
  - Denial of salary

- Livelihood strategy
  - Livelihood assets
    - Household Livelihood outcome
    - Women migrants' Household livelihood at country of origin

- Individual impact on migrants

- Politico-economic impact (to country of origin)
  - Dependency of family in receiving remittance
  - Negative relation with the country of destination
  - Loss of labour force in country of origin

- Effects
  - Family push to send the women abroad to get remittance
  - Better job opportunity
  - Information about better livelihood (only positive)
  - Inspired by other immigrants living standard change
    - Access to information
    - Low government law enforcement against illegal smugglers

Main problem

Causes
CHAPTER TWO

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Women in Ethiopia

‘Women are both producers and providers of food in developing countries, most particularly in African countries’ (Nahusenay and Tessfaye, 2015)

In most developing countries, women have productive, reproductive and community managing works (Ayferam, 2015). According to this research, women’s productive works is the child caring responsibility and domestic HH activities which are less regarded compared to men’s productive work.

Regarding the reproductive roles, childbearing, caring and bringing up children are women responsibilities. It also includes processing and preparing food, clearing the house, fetching of water from far places, gathering and collecting fuelwood and animal dung, caring for sick family members and olds. In Ethiopia women almost cover 40% of agricultural labour according to the Ministry of Agriculture report yet they are given less regard given for the women by the agricultural sector workers like extensionists (Frank, 1999).

Around 26% Ethiopian population, mostly women and rural residents, live with income less than a dollar per day and regarding health and welfare, the country is ranked among Africa’s and the world’s poorest nations in the world (Mohajan, 2013). Moreover, women in Ethiopia face difficulties accessing the primary economic development facilities like credit, training for better production and marketing, and other supportive livelihood strategy information (USAID, 2013). The article explained lack of access and control over income and asset to live under the poverty line in Ethiopia. Therefore, the women look for different coping strategies to improve the living condition of their households. According to Hunnes, one of the many coping strategies adopted by the rural women is migration (Hunnes, 2012).

2.2 Women unregistered migration to the Middle East

Some terminologies are used synonymously to this word by several scholars. The most commonly used besides unregistered migration are: Irregular migration, undocumented migration, unauthorised, illegal or more; but all are to express more or less similar ideology. Catherine Dauvergne, in her publication called ‘Making People Illegal’ define the term about breaching the law because the essence of her publication was of a legal content giving it a name ‘Illegal migration’ (Dauvergne, 2008). However, later in the 1990s, the term was no more famous because of the movement ‘No one Is Illegal’ (NOII). Recent papers followed the motto of NOII and stopped phrasing the people ‘illegal’ rather explained the situation as an ‘irregular situation’ where people find themselves in a country other than their original country against the laws and regulation of receiving country without having a lawful entry, residence permit, employment contract or other related documents which could make them legal (Kefale et al., 2017).

From the two definitions, the phrasing of the study for such circumstances will be Unregistered migration focusing on the channels they chose to travel and also relating it to the sending country’s system of legislation. In the Ethiopian scenario, the government has enacted a protective law for the
migrants and an organ to oversee the situation (MoLSA). The migrants who are out of the organisational and institutional umbrella are referred to as ‘Unregistered Migrants’ and the situation as ‘Unregistered Migration’ in this study.

Now coming to women unregistered migration from Ethiopia to the Middle East, most of them leave the country through various routes. The typical route from Addis Ababa (the capital of Ethiopia) airport to one of the Middle East countries (mainly Kuwait, United Arab Emirates, Qatar, Bahrain, Saudi Arabia, Yemen) is using a tourist or pilgrimage visas for a month and continue to the desired destination to working for a prolonged time. The other route for unregistered migration is overland through the routes of Dire Dawa in Ethiopia, then to Hargeisa in Somalia and from Somalia border to the transit country Yemen through a dangerous boat trip (Fernandez, 2011 and IRIN, 2011). As introduced in chapter one of this paper, the number of unregistered women migrants is not known because of the nature of the channel yet the MoLSA estimated an equivalent or a greater number of women migrants leave the country without any registration (MoLSA, 2007). However, the numbers are estimated to be increasing since there is growing evidence that outward migration has increased significantly in recent years (ILO, 2017). Graph 1.1 below shows migration growth over the years differentiating male and female registered migrants.

Figure 2: Ethiopian Migrants leaving the country from 2008-2013

![Graph showing migration growth](image)

Source: Carter B, and et al., 2016

The stimming up of conflict, income inequality and poverty pushed Ethiopians, especially women, to change their livelihood strategy and adopt migration to overcome the hardships in the sending country. Therefore, the dangerous nature of the routes, the amount of money spent, the last destination anticipation and other related factors do not interfere in the plan of migrators especially
for those who chose the unregistered migration (Hunnes, 2012). Mostly this is because of the success stories they heard from expats or the rumours from smugglers and brokers (Fernandez, 2011). Remittances and job opportunities are the primary aims of women migrants and their families in the country of origin (Hagen-Zanker, 2008).

### 2.3 Women unregistered migrants and their origin household livelihood

Migration has a vital role in the household livelihood regarding family roles and the household expectations. Also, the particular member of the family who is chosen for migration also play a vital role in the rest of family members (Louka et al., 2006). The member who migrates takes up responsibilities of sending remittance or facilitating the way to take the rest of family members to the receiving country while other household members in the sending country will take up the responsibility to take care of the household well-being for the duration.

As most researchers agree, remittance has a positive impact in the livelihood of migrant’s household at the country of origin. For example (Acosta et al., 2008), (Lokshin et al., 2010) and (Beyene, 2004) described remittance as a significant factor for poverty reduction at a household level. Unlike the scholars mentioned above, there are some who are against the idea of positive impacts of remittance from different perspectives specially mentioning the unplanned expenditure of remittance and the issue of dependency on the side of remittance receiver households. The most amplified concept nowadays is the positive impact of remittance in the micro and macro level.

Saying all the above studies and the already known facts the author of this paper sees a lacuna in the topic of migration especially the unregistered women migration about its effect to the migrant’s household at sending country. Even if studies are linking the household livelihood with the migrant’s, little is known when it comes to unregistered women migration dynamics with their household livelihood.

Therefore, understanding the lacuna, the researcher decided to study the effects of women’s unregistered migration on their household livelihood using the following theoretical and conceptual framework.

### 2.4 Theories of International Migration

There are several studies and theories about international migration. Earnest Ravenstein is a pioneer theorist to relate migration with ‘Push-Pull’ factors between sending and receiving countries (Daugherty H.G and Kammeyer K.W., 1995). Depending on the Ravenstein ‘Push-Pull’ theory latter in 2009 Bodvarsson elaborated the push and pull factors as low wages, high unemployment rates, lack of heal care in one side and high wage and low unemployment on the other side respectively (Bodvarsson O. H., 2009).

The most important current theories which explain rationals behind international migration are The Neoclassical economic theory, The New economics of migration theory, world system theory which explains migration as a function of globalization (Silver, 2003); Dual labour market economy which focuses on demand side of labour at receiving country (Kurekova, 2011); and network concepts-perpetuation of migration theory. The last theory is focused on the rationale behind perpetuation of migration even when the wage differential at both sending and receiving country has insignificance difference (Vertovec 2002; Dustmann and Glitz 2005 in Kurekova, 2011). Even if each theory has
peculiar assumptions and ideas, they supplement each other and differ in their perspective. The author of the current study focused on the Neoclassical and the new economics of migration theories because it is believed that the theories best explain the rural livelihood of migrants HHs at sending the country about livelihood assets and strategies.

2.4.1 The neoclassical economic theory

The Neoclassical economics theory views the aspect of migration regarding supply of labour and wage increase or decrease in both sending and receiving countries. It refers to economic, social and personal development through experiences, availability of labour force, skill transfer, technology transfer and for all individual, household and country levels (Massay et al., 1993). The Neoclassical theory divided the economic demand and supply labour market into a macro and micro level. Since the focus of the study is at household level emphasis is given to the micro theory. The some among the 10 assumptions of this theory are: first, Individuals calculate a cost and benefit analysis, and if they receive a positive net return from migration they will decide to migrate. Second, estimate migration net return in the destination country taking probability of obtaining job in to consideration. And third, if the wage difference between sending and receiving country come to equilibrium, it would be possible to stop migration from sending to receiving country (Massay et al., 1993). All the three summarised assumptions revolve around the demand and supply for labour in sending and receiving countries and the wage difference thereof.

‘*People choose to move to where they can be most productive, given their skills*’ (Borjas, 1990)

However, before they get a chance to earn higher wages, Borjas explain about a prior investment like costs of travelling, costs for the moving period and looking for work time, learning new language and culture and the psychological costs of cutting old ties and adapting new one (Borjas, 1990).

2.4.2 The new economics of migration theory

The new economics of migration (NEM) emerged challenging the assumptions of neoclassical theory (Stark and Bloom, 1985). The theory reasons for migration and a bilateral agreement between the migrants and family explicitly differed it from previous theory. NEM changed the focus of migration concept from an individual to a unit decision (family or Household) (stark, 1991). Remittances play a vital role in the NEM research as they directly support the concept of household dynamics and minimising risk since there is no much market and production insurance institution in developing countries (Taylor 1999). The rationalities behind NEM for HH to reach a decision is because of most HHs desire to increase the heterogeneity of income in the HH. That means families use migration as unemployment insurance, crop insurance and capital insurance to increase the productivity of HH assets (Massay et al., 1999). The NEM is criticised for being one-sided to a sending country and for its limited applicability due to the nature of unattainable perfection from risk and employment variables (Kurekova, 2011). The idea of bias for the side of sending country significantly helps when there is a need to study migration from the perspective of the country of origin since most of the theories are more or less tilted to the capital economy (receiving country) side.

In summary, the neoclassical theory is more calculative individual decision of migration through weighing the positive and the adverse effect. Whereas for a new economics of migration theorists, decisions are made at HH or family level. Therefore, the pillars of the paper are constructed around
the above two theories and the sustainable livelihood framework (which will be explained in the conceptual framework sub-topic of this chapter).

2.4.3 Conceptual Framework

The study of the effects of women unregistered migration to the Middle East on migrants’ household livelihood in the sending country was studied in light of Sustainable Livelihood Framework (SLF). The SLF which is developed by the Department for International Development (DFID) was adopted and used in the research process. The four elements of SLF employed to assess the livelihood of Alaba migrants’ HHs closely. These elements are vulnerability context, livelihood assets, livelihood strategies and the livelihood outcome. These elements are expected to best explain the livelihood of the migrants’ household in the sending country. The SLF presents the main factors that affect people’s livelihoods, and typical relationships between these (DFID, 1999). SLF also enables to assess how people (HHs) operate in a vulnerable context; and enables to assess how HH assets combine to develop a range of livelihood strategies to achieve the expected outcome (de stag et al., 2002 on GLOPP, 2008).

Vulnerability context

The vulnerability of HHs came in three forms in the SLF of DFID, which are shock, trend and seasonality which the HH face as challenges from time to time (GLOPP, 2008). The vulnerability context focused on the two elements according to this paper. The vulnerability contexts are seasonality (like employment opportunity and productivity) and shock like conflict. The vulnerability context is essential to answer sub-question 1 of is research in combination with livelihood outcomes.

Livelihood assets

A household could have five livelihood assets as it is shown in a shape of the Pentagon in the SLF under the explanation. The five livelihood assets represent human capital, natural capital, financial capital, social capital and physical capital of an HH or a given community (GLOPP, 2008). As specified in the SLF guidance worksheet of 1999, the assets each could constitute elements of given an example below:

Human Capital – skilled or unskilled labour capital within the HH (if assessing HH livelihood)
Natural Capital – land with a potential to be transformed into financial capital
Financial capital – livestock, savings and income, loan, government aids
Social capital – mutual trust, cooperation, respect and social status
Physical capital – affordable transport, health services, clean water, access for information

These elements are interlinked with each other, and a positive or negative change to one will bring either constructive or adverse effect on the others. For instance, if a farmer sold out part of HH’s farmland and spent it for an investment which did not bring an outcome the farmer will have less production in the limited farmland left (assuming other factors are unchanged), then at the end of the year the financial income of that farmer will decrease meaning the financial capital is adversely affected by the effect on the natural capital.
The above five livelihood assets are used in this paper to assess the livelihood of women migrants’ HH at sending country. Also, the research assesses the cause and effect relationship that exists among the HH assets, livelihood strategies they adopt before and after one or more HH members went for migration and lastly the expected livelihood outcome. Discussing the HH livelihood assets is believed to answer research sub-question 2 of the paper.

**Livelihood strategy**

These are different adapted or inherent livelihood activities where an HH chose to earn a living, or they employ to pass a certain situation. Livelihood strategies and outcomes at HH level depend to a more considerable extent on the amount and qualities of livelihood assets owned or controlled by the HH (McDonald and Brown, 2000; Scoones, 2005; FAO, 2008). The livelihood strategy element of SLF is believed to answer sub-question 3 of this research paper and in the entirety with other elements answer the main research question.

**Livelihood outcome**

According to the guidance sheet of SLF, livelihood outcomes are either positive or negative outputs of a livelihood strategy that an HH employee (DIFD, 1999). The outcomes become positive when the expected outcomes are achieved using livelihood strategies. Otherwise, the outcome will have a negative value or loss. The livelihood outcomes in this paper are addressed as HH expected livelihood outcomes after the HH changed or added up their livelihood strategy to migrating one/more women HH member. The livelihood outcomes partially answer research sub-question 1 of this paper.

Figure 3: Sustainable Livelihood Framework

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**Figure 1. Sustainable livelihoods framework**

Source: (DFID, 2000)
2.5 Operationalisation

Figure 4: operationalisation

Concept
Livelihood Assets

Sub-dimensions

- Human capital
- Financial capital
- Natural capital
- Social capital
- Agricultural activities
- Unregistered migration
- Other supportive activities

Indicators
- Decreased labour capital
- Pay cost with HH asset
- Remitted fully, partially or not
- Decreased land size
- Frequency of communication
- Increased/decreased
- positive/negative outcome
- Stopped/ added

Women in Ethiopia

Women unregistered migration to Middle East

Women unregistered migrants and their origin HH livelihood
2.6 Definition of terms

Migration

Migrants leave the country of origin (or sending) and go to a destination (or receiving) country. Along the way, some, such as refugees and asylum seekers, may spend time in a transit country (Keeley, 2009).

Emigration: refers to people leaving a country for long periods or permanently;
Immigration: to people coming in;
Permanent migration: for people intending to settle in another country “for good”;
Temporary migration: covers people who intend to return home.

Household
A unit containing people who are living under one roof, where the members are either blood relatives or relatives by law, and other employee relations constitute a household.

Livelihood
A livelihood is constituted of capabilities, assets and activities (like farming, business engagements, migration and others) required for living. Building a capacity to cope up with difficult situations (vulnerabilities) and be able to enhance its capabilities and assets for the present time and the future we say it is sustainable livelihood (DFID, 2000). Accordingly, livelihood is a means of living whereby the household depended for their living. It is a strategy adopted for coping with different vulnerability and specific poverty in the context of this paper.

Middle East

These countries are countries with reach natural resource especially oil namely; Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates. These countries have high employment opportunity followed by higher foreign labour stocks, but immigration into them is historically recent and explicitly related to the development of oil resources (Baldwin-Edwards, 2005).
3. Research Methodology

3.1 Area Description

Alaba special woreda is one among the eight southwest of Southern Nations, Nationalities, and Peoples Regional (SNNPR) special woredas and is located 310 km south of Addis Ababa and 85 km. According to the Woreda population reports (2004/05), the total population of the woreda was 210,243, where 104,517 (49.7%) were male, and 105,726 (50.3%) were female. The total number of rural households in 76 peasant associations in the woreda was 35,719. Out of these, 26,698 (75%) were men, and 9,021 (25%) were women households. The economically active population of the woreda, (15-55 years of age), is estimated at 102,176 people out of which, 55,668 were male, and 46,508 were female (Bedasso, 2008).

Figure 5: Map of SNNPRS and Location of Alaba Special Woreda

Source: ILRI/IPMS, 2005

The primary reason for study area selection is the request of commissioner due to the estimation of a high number of women international migration prevalence in the area and requests raised from the farmers for government intervention to decrease the migration rate. The second reason for study area selection is the previous work experience of the researcher with soon to be migrants and curiosity developed after interviewing some of them long back.
3.2 Research Design

This study was a qualitative study; it is associated with women unregistered migration concerning its effect on their HHs at the country of origin. It also dealt with the primary HH assets and the family bond affected through the course of the migration. The qualitative research allowed the researcher to see and clearly understand their situation because it gives room for the views, opinions and stories of respondents. The study used the descriptive method, in which it used questions like who, what, when, where and how on the effects of unregistered migration to answer the research question.

3.3 Sampling Techniques

The primary purpose of sample population selection was based on the criteria of the existence of at least one or more women unregistered migrant to the Middle East in the HH. Accordingly, 20 HHs were selected using purposive sampling for an interview. To acquire uniformity among respondents, the sample only included HHs which sent one or more women unregistered migrants. Besides the purposive sampling criteria, the sample selection of farmer HHs in the study area (Alaba) was snowball sampling. This sampling technique was used because the area for the study was new for the researcher and there was no list of HHs which clarifies the existence of women unregistered migrant in the stakeholder offices.

The stakeholder interview with the Woreda government concerned offices were selected conveniently. The stakeholders were contacted through the letter issued by the commissioner, and the researcher undertook a focus group discussion with the contact persons from each stakeholder.

3.4 Method of Data Collection

3.4.1 Secondary Data Collection

Desk Research

Before, during and after the data collection there was a desk study for this research in order to get what other scholars have already found out about the topic and to know what is known in some specific areas. The desk research was done by referring to the studies which are done internationally and nationally. Even if the research is focused on the effect of migration from Ethiopia to the Middle East on the household livelihood of migrants, the desk study covers the other effects on migration on individual and country level since all the three effects are interlinked and one also affects the other. Therefore, the migration trends (through both legal and illegal channels), its effect on the individual migrants at the country of destination, the effect in a country level, the role of brokers, smugglers, traffickers, and PEAs in the chain of movement, the intervention of the government to decrease the unregistered migration and the resources invested from one household for migration was covered under the desk study.

3.4.2 Primary Data Collection

The primary data was collected through the interview of the sample population, FGD with stakeholders and observation at the household level in the study area.
Interview with household

The data from respondents were collected using the pre-tested semi-structured interview (see appendix 1). The HH members interview constituted 20 HHs from Alaba special Woreda among which 10 were fathers of the migrants, six mothers of migrants and four brothers of migrants. The respondents were selected by their free will to give information. It is also in the culture that women are not encouraged to speak to strangers unless there is a man in the house. Therefore, the majority of women are not willing for the interview in households where there are men. The interviews were undertaken in two places; the first group were interviewed in the extension workers office compound where 7 HH representatives from the surrounding came for an interview within three days. Each interviewee in the first phase was interviewed from 60 – 90 minutes duration. The first respondent was contacted through an extension worker whereas the remaining HH representatives came one inviting the other HH representative because they know HHs where there is/are women migrants in the community. The other respondents were interviewed in their home areas. Because of the disperse location of the houses the researcher interviewed two households per day for a duration of 60 – 90 minutes. The respondent's emphases on the challenges and expected outcomes the households had after sending one or more women family members to the Middle East. It helped to gain knowledge on the primary purpose of the pushes to migration, the HH assets invested for the whole process including the payment to brokers, the means for the payment of money and the cause-effect relation of the expense with household livelihood in general and finally if the goal aimed was achieved from the invested migration. The interview focused on the asset affected and the livelihood strategies they adopted after the migration to be able to assess the livelihood outcome while finalising the report.

Observation in a household

Observation checklist was developed to gather data and triangulate the data collection techniques. The observation mainly focused visible HH assets from the Sustainable Livelihood framework (financial, physical, human, social and natural capitals) to cross-check the truthfulness of the interview results. The observation was done in the 13 HHs where the interview was home to home, and among the seven respondents, 3 HHs were observed because they were near the first interview place.

Focus Group Discussion with stakeholders

A Focus Group Discussion was undertaken with key informants from MoLSA, WCAB, YCBO, Micro-Finance and Youth structure representative (from cooperatives and federation). The FGD was undertaken once during the field study and it is undertaken with the collaboration of YCBO since the office is coordinating stakeholders on youth intervention programs like capacity building and organising youth especially returnees from migration. The stakeholder FGD was used to gain knowledge on the intervention work they are already doing to solve the problem and understand the area where there is a gap. Similarly, the FGD was used to triangulate the source of information to check the truthfulness and reliability of information gathered from interview and observation.

3.5 Data analysis

Qualitative Data gathered from interview and FGD was first transcribed into text and translated into English since the interview was in Amharic and another local language. The transcribed and translated
text then arranged according to research sub-questions. Then the arranged responses were arranged with themes according to the elements of SLF. Later in chapter four and five, the themed-up data were used in selective narration, quotes, discussion points and conclusion using SLF and sub-research question.

CHAPTER FOUR

4. RESULTS

4.1 Description of the research context

This study aimed at addressing the following main research question and the three sub-questions under it.

What are the effects of women unregistered migration to the Middle East, on the migrants’ family of origin household livelihood outcome in Alaba special woreda?

a. What are the expected outcomes of unregistered women migration to the Middle East in light of household livelihood outcome at sending country?

b. What are the significant household assets affected by the migration of the member/s of a household because of the emigration?

c. What were the primary livelihood strategies in the household before and after one or more of the women family members migrated to the Middle East?

The result of this paper is constructed based on the sustainable livelihood framework as explained in the literature review of this paper.

Even if it is discussed the selection of respondents in chapter three of this paper, there is a need to introduce the general shared features of respondents. The respondents are constituted of 6 mothers of migrant, ten fathers of migrant, and four brothers of migrants from a total of 20 HHs. The respondents who are fathers or mothers of migrants are aged people with an average age of 50 years. There is one younger brother respondent whose age is 18 while the rest respondents are older brothers from age 35-40 years. All the respondent HHs are farmers, and most HHs have 8-12 members. Exceptionally some HHs have larger household members from 17-24 including children, extended family dwelling under the same roof and house and field workers. The farmers are selected from Alaba special woreda based on the fact one or more HH women member went for migration without registration by MoLSA or any work contract in receiving country, Middle East. The migrants could have a valid passport, but all of them migrated through the unregistered way using channels like bus and boat or through Pilgrimage or tourist visa. More than half the respondents have only one-woman family member in the Middle East or have once had a women family member in the area while the rest have a maximum of two women family member, and one HH has additional one male family member migrant. According to the data found from respondents their women HH members stayed from 1 to 8 years in migration.
An interesting fact about women migrants was the difference in preference of destination country depending on from which Kebele they originally came from. For instance, migrants from kebeles of ‘wolegeba’, ‘woretancho’ and ‘east arsha’ mostly travel to South Sudan and kebeles of ‘muda misham’ and ‘muda gerema’ travel to South Africa which are mostly men according to key informants and respondents. While migrants from ‘waja’, ‘yeye’, ‘shewanko’ and ‘Maqala’ which almost are women, prefer the Middle East for a destination country.

Stakeholder concerning the issue of migration in Alaba special woreda includes; MoLSA, WCAB, Micro-finance, Youth capacity building sector and different Youth Structures (cooperatives, federation and others). In addition to these main governmental offices directly involved in youth reform, there are also other supportive governmental and NGOs providing technical and material support to intervene in the problem. The main focus of stakeholders and supportive organs is job creation and income improvement opportunity for the youth. The principal activities of the stakeholder focus on rehabilitating the returnees, awareness creation in the community using 50 extension workers in all smaller government structures, organising discussion conference on how to decrease unregistered migration among the Kebele representatives, awareness creation on the registered migration possibilities and facilitating youth job creation opportunities in collaboration with other stakeholders and supporting organisations.

4.2 Expected livelihood outcomes of women Unregistered migration

The opportunities in the context of this paper are taken as the expected outcomes after and during the migration of one or more HH member/s. The most common opportunity foreseen by migrants and their HHs at the sending country is a better living condition as mentioned repeatedly during the interview. The better living condition is expressed regarding the HH food security, better housing condition, better income opportunity, for receiving remittance as pension, schooling younger siblings and shifting livelihood from farming to other economic activity.

‘I believed my daughter would build me a better coin house like other children built for their family’

Migrator’s father

The primary target of the migration is focused on investment to the HH rather than personal development for the women except for one respondent. According to this respondent, he invested their common assets not to benefit his HH rather it is to fulfil the wish and dream of his sister. The respondent said the main outcome he expected is his sister’s personal development and supporting his HH can come second.

Furthermore, employment opportunity and better income earning economic activities are the push factors to the Middle East according to many respondents. Most of the respondents heard success stories about the better job opportunity and higher monthly salary especially when it is converted to the national currency. The chances for women migrant to find a good paying job is taken as an opportunity, and they mentioned that fact is among the reasons for sending women members for migration.

During the interview with stakeholders, the key persons from each office confirmed the fact that migration, especially unregistered migration, is increasing in the woreda for several reasons. Among
many reasons, decreased farm productivity, widespread brokers provoke in the rural areas, the political instability of the country and the region, less job opportunity in the cities for youth to improve their income after finishing high school, sharing the experience of migration from adjacent villages, and several other push and pull factors are mentioned. As stated by the key informants most farmers send their family members for migration selling their cattle, borrowing a significant amount of money either from government or individuals, selling part or whole of their farmland. Most HHs expect to receive remittance and recover all the assets lost in a few months according to the key informants.

In general, the HH look for expected outcomes through discussion as a unit. The decision for migration is made weighing the cost and expected opportunity (expected outcome) in an HH. As of the respondents, the unregistered women migration is opted to bring an outcome for the HH rather than a single individual or migrant in almost all cases.

When we look at the responses of HH regarding the remittance they received and HH outcomes they achieved, 13 HH respondents did not achieve the expected livelihood outcomes from migration. Five out of 20 respondents said they are receiving remittance but it is not enough to achieve their HH livelihood outcome, and the rest two respondents said they are remitted and are achieving the livelihood outcome they expected to gain before the migration.

4.3 Major household assets affected by unregistered women migration

Among the 20 migrants’ families, all have lost one or more household asset to cover the migration expenses. They say the cost of unregistered migration is way higher than the registered one, but they preferred the later assuming short process, there is no a waiting list and time for migration and possibility of the registered migration to be closed for an unspecified time. Even if the households have different size, structure, and dynamic each has faced several loses in various elements of HH assets as explained below.

Human capital

According to many of the respondents, women family members who migrated to the Middle East were the necessary human capital in their households regarding labour. The respondents said the women household members use to provide the majority of household work as well as give support in the farm fields starting from preparing the land for harvesting. Some respondents mentioned few women HH member engage in small business activities to support the HH with additional income generating activity. They are mothers, sisters, daughters and wives in their own HH. However, after their migration, there is a considerable gap in the HH, and much of the burden is laid on the rest of the family members. Especially in some HHs where more than one women member migrated to the Middle East, the burden is double according to the respondents.

’she was not married for a long time because there was no one to support me in the house and field work, her small siblings are brought up by her after the death of their mother’ Migrator’s father (R14)

‘They both were good children... once a child is gone out of your hand, they stop being helpful they do not want to come back and help in the house’ Migrators’ father (R7)
The respondents express how much help the women were in the household and the difference they have observed after the women migrate to the Middle East.

**Financial capital**

The financial capital is one of the most distressed HH assets according to the interviewee HH members. The financial capitals according to the farmers are considered as, cows, oxen, donkeys, sheep, goats, financial savings, loans from either informal institution or government organisations. In some cases, the financial capital is the mere asset spent to pay for the migration, while for the others it is taken as an additional asset spent on the process. The amount and quantity of the financial capital disposed of depending upon the duration of the process for the migration and the country of destination where the women migrants prefer.

For example, Respondent 3 paid nearly 70 thousand Ethiopian birrs (1 Euro was equivalent to around 31.9 Ethiopian birrs during the field work) only for the process and gave the woman migrant around 5 thousand birrs on cash for security while most respondents spent an average of 40 thousand Ethiopian birrs for the whole process. The amount also is affected by brokers’ different tariffs for the different channels by which the migrants will be travelling. Financial expenses start from getting a legal passport in the capital city of the region (Hawassa), and it extends until the migrants reach the country of destination. The sending household will also cover all the inconvenience costs in between using brokers.

From the return aspect of financial capital, fourth of respondents received remittance from the women migrants. According to 4 respondents, the amount of remittance they received is very small, and they mostly used it to buy food or fertiliser. They also mentioned it is an insignificant amount of money to rebuy the sold HH assets. On the contrary, one respondent mentioned his child repurchased him the land he sold, and now he gives the land for contract farming. Likewise, the HH is fully living on remittance money because he who used to work in the farm has no potential to cultivate their land because of old age.

The stakeholder’s key informant said they receive information from the extension workers that most HHs of migrants use the HH financial capitals to send one or more of their HH members for migration. Moreover, according to the key informants, many HHs are unable to pay for fertilisers and even cultivate the land using their farm cattle since they sold them to cover migration expenses. Also, the informants said they receive complaints that the government should establish a mechanism to stop unregistered migration because their HH is facing more challenges than before once they have dispensed their financial assets.

During field visit, the researcher was able to observe farmers using small hand hoes to cultivate their farmlands with their children. For instance, the researcher was able to observe a respondent cultivating her land with a hoe, and after carefully listening to an HH situation, it was possible to understand the HH sold farm animals to send their women family member for migration as shown in the picture below.
Natural capital

The natural capital as explained by the respondents is mainly the land they use for farming or dwelling purpose. The Average land size among respondents is one hectare per HH, and according to respondents the list possible land size a farmer could have is a quarter hectare otherwise the person is considered landless. As the area is a rural area, the monetary value of land is remarkably smaller than the one in semi-urban areas when there is a need to sell it. Besides its smaller monetary return, they said it is the most crucial part of their life. They relate ownership of land with dignity, family heritage, livelihood strategy, wealth and security at old age. Having all this in mind, half of the respondents sold part or whole of their land, or they lost it after it was given as a guarantee for loaners.

Furthermore, three respondents said they are still in constant fear of either the government or the loaners will take their land as a payment for the loan received for migration. This group of respondents are using the farm now, but they said:

‘It is a matter of time that either my daughter pay the debt to free our land or the government will take it, and our HH will be out in the streets.’ Migrant’s father (R8)

The stakeholder key informants also mentioned government require collateral when giving loan for cooperatives. Therefore, the migrants who covered migration expenses through government loan are at risk now. Currently, there is a discussion among government organisations on how to collect the unpaid loans from cooperatives, and it is planned to write a notice paper for the collateral owners or guarantors and proceed to court. The key informant from Youth Capacity Building Sector (YCBS) said, they know where the problem lays, but the government money should be returned meaning the farmers will be in a vulnerable situation than before.

During fieldwork, the researcher was able to see the different plots of land which were previously owned by the respondents’ HH and now are sold to other farmers. For example, the researcher was
able to observe a plot land which was partially sold after one farmer explained his HH use to own one-hectare land and currently the HH is left with half a hectare. HH members and neighbours confirmed this field observation.

**Social capital**

The social capital asset of an HH is manifested by the mutual trust, family bond, cooperation, communication and reciprocity according to the Alaba farmers. After the migration of the women family members, their social capital has been changed drastically. The family is essential as most respondents agree, and mention that family is the relationship and trust to one another. Some migrants leave their home and never look back again for many reasons. The respondents think their family members who migrated are either in an impossible situation or intentionally forsaken them after they took the HH’s asset. A significant number of respondents believe their children are in a better position yet are not ready to send remittance to their family because they are improving their life. This belief is developed because of the rumour running in the village about the fact that anyone who had a chance to migrate abroad will be successful. Only one respondent out of the twenty said he is happy about the communication and relationship with his migrant child. He stated:

‘I live totally by her support, and what else social I can ask more; she calls me, send me remittance, and let me know she is always fine there.’

Except for the one respondent, all agree that the social relation, trust, cooperation and family bond is broken or it gets lost once the migrants left their home. Among the respondents, 3 HHs did not contact their migrant family members after they went to migration even if it has been more than a year since they left.

On another view, the respondent who has opposing response said, the HH developed trust on the migrant after she went for migration and started supporting the family with remittance. The father of the migrants also mentioned he is happy with the relationship they built and the communication they have now after the migration

‘she is like the guardian angel of the family… I even trust her with my life and our whole family would not be here if it was not for her.’

Another aspect of the social capital cost of women unregistered migration according to one interviewee is the damage the HH incurred because of their migrant HH member became a mental problem after migration. According to the respondent, his daughter has travelled to Dubai through the unregistered migration, and after she reached the destination country and worked for a few months, she was deported back for a mental health problem. The challenge for this family as they did not know the cause of her abnormality, whether she has been abused or do not have any compensation payment or her salary for the duration she was normal because there was no legal contract binding the employer in the country of destination. As they mention the household is double affected one because of the high expenditure incurred to pay for migration and the other is the well-being of their family member is affected. The respondents also said there are few similar stories in the neighbourhood and adjacent villages whereby women came back losing their mental and physical health. The researcher was able
to observe the circumstances of the family as well as the health status of the returnee during the interview.

The social capital is not only affected from the side of the migrants with the HH rather most HHs even lost good social status, cooperation, and trust within the community because of the amount of money they borrowed and did not tell according to the respondents. Here there are different opinions among respondents.

**physical capital**

About physical capital, all the respondent mentioned no direct connection with the topic of the study. The respondents indicated that underdevelopment of physical capitals like telecommunication, transportation, energy, clean drinking water, irrigation water and others as the driving force for the migration of the youth in general terms. Furthermore, these are mentioned to be some of the reasons for the need to shift from agricultural activities in the rural area.

**Other findings**

The other new and commonly growing method of covering migration cost is taking a loan from SafetyNet in the name of cooperatives. This is now exercised mainly by men migrants and recent returnees either man or woman. There is a loan package which is designed to support the returnees for job creation in different business activities. The package also includes life skill training, business training and technical training according to the line of business they chose to partake.

Nevertheless, as to the key informants, they are looking for a significant number of returnees taking the fund and going for re-migration to other Gulf countries or African countries. For instance, in the year 2017-2018, there were 179 returnee beneficiaries from SafetyNet fund out of this 123 are women and 56 men. The program gives a loan of average 35 thousand Birr according to the beneficiaries’ business plan and with the requirement of collateral capital. Out of the total beneficiaries, 57 went for remigration taking the capital with them, among which 21 are female beneficiaries. The researcher also witnessed the lists of youth returnee beneficiaries in the YCBO attached to intervention plans and other youth-related data recordings.

Generally, many of the respondents, from interview did expect their HH to face challenges for a few months or a year until their children find a job in the destination country and start sending remittances because they have less HH assets than before the migration. Moreover, few even did not estimate the challenge they would face in short or long time because they were misinformed either by their children or brokers about the immediate job opportunity in the country of destination and ability to send remittance on the next month.

‘I thought it was easy to earn money back after migration and we would not suffer this much’

Migrator’s brother

The interview results, the FGD findings and observations indicate four out of five HH assets are affected in one way or another by the unregistered women migration in Alaba special woreda. If the negative effects of migration is described in levels, profoundly affected assets under each capital will comprise
a majority HHs respondents losing very remarkable amount or value of asset in quantity and quality (Level 3); assets which are moderately affected would be assets which are adversely affected by the migration yet the quantity is lesser than the higher according to majority respondents (Level 2); and not affected if the HH assets are not affected or were affected but reinstated after migration (Level 1)

Considering the above levelling system, the following diagram summarises findings from the majority of respondents.

Figure 6: Asset comparison of HHs before and after the migration of one or more HH member/s

![Diagram](image)

The above figure shows a comparison of previous and current asset pentagon of migrant’s HH at sending country. The bigger pentagon in the figure represents the ideal asset pentagon a HH had before one or more women members immigrated to the Middle East. The inner pentagon shows the effects of migration towards each asset according to the level of their respective effect. For instance, the joints lines representing physical capital meeting at L1 showing the physical capital is not affected by the migration (or the responses did not show a link). The financial capital joint, fall in L3 representing the level of effect on the financial capital to be relatively higher. The three assets (Natural, Social and Human capitals) are affected, but the effect is lesser compared to the financial asset.

Migration expenses are paid mostly out of the family asset expecting they would receive remittance shortly. Also, few migrants also partially paid their expenses from their savings. The graph below shows how the migrants cover migration expenses. The graph is done after counting the response repetitions of the four variables in the figure to the question ‘how did migrants pay for the whole process of migration?’ Here, some migrants used more than one payment sources to cover their expenses. For instance, in the interview, some respondents answered HH members sold financial assets like cows and oxen to pay for immigration of HH member and at the same time.
4.4 Household Livelihood Strategies

Strategies before migration

All the 20 respondents said they were/are involved in agricultural activities like cultivating their land, breeding cattle and keeping milk cows at a subsistence level. Among the 20 respondents, more than half only engaged in farming their land while the rest HHs mentioned one or more HH members undertaking additional livelihood activities. The primary supporting activities are transported service for people and goods using donkey cart and small business through cooperatives. According to the respondents, the supporting business activities besides farming were improving their living condition enabling them to feed their HH members better and earn additional income, yet it was not sufficient because of large family size and decreased productivity by the changing weather.

Strategies after migration

The HHs chose to change their livelihood strategy to migrating at list one women family member because of the information they gathered from either returnees or migrants’ families in the village or neighbouring zones. They heard it is a highly rewarding and life-changing income generating activity. Even if it will get difficult to survive and support their HH with the limited resource left, they hoped it would change the living condition of the HH and the migrants shortly. Believing the information most sold their Natural assets, financial assets and got into a loan either from government or individuals.

For the expected intervals of hard times, most HHs prepared to do extra-income generating activities in addition to the small-scale farming they are left with after paying for migration. They engage in small rewarding jobs in the village like weeding, tiling lands, harvesting and other small roles in neighbouring farms. Some receive a small amount of cash while others receive little produce from their employers in return for the labour force. Three fourths of the respondents have not received any remittance from
the migrants while the rest received a minimal amount for holidays and paying loans. Among the respondents who have never received remittance, some gave up hopes of getting any remittance in the future because of the time length.

According to the respondents, the migration was considered as the best solution to get out of poverty, and most have heard success stories from adjacent villages where one or more HH member migrated and changed the HH living condition radically.

As of the stakeholder key informants, currently, there is a growing request from the part of farmers to stop unregistered migration because they found it unpreferable livelihood strategy and the push to migrate is coming from younger HH members. The request from the farmer is triggered either because most of the migrants are facing difficulty on the way to and in the destination countries or most HHs are adversely affected by the migration than gaining benefit for their HH. The key informants mentioned there are some started intervention activities like training and community mobilisation with the agricultural extension workers yet it is not enough to decrease the migration rate since the extension workers are not the right professionals on the area. There is a need to stop the migration, but the government is shorthanded to create a better opportunity within the country according to the key informants.

CHAPTER FIVE

5. Discussion and conclusion

5.1 Discussion

This chapter demonstrates the relation between unregistered migration and HH livelihood in the sending country in light of the literature reviewed. To address the topics mentioned above the chapter is organised in three main sections. The first section discusses the findings of the research in light of related literature; the second section is the conclusion of the study, and how the findings answer research question stipulated at the beginning of the study, and the third section discusses discourses the implication of the study to the HHs.

The conceptual framework of this paper based the analysis on sustainable livelihood framework (SLF) which covers the vulnerability context (or challenge as described in the result), the five-asset pentagon, the livelihood strategy and livelihood outcomes (addressed as opportunities in the previous chapter) of the HHs in the study area (DFID, 2000).

The effect of migration on destination countries has gained many attentions in media and several studies while different implications on sending country are less discussed (Klaus F., 2015). Among the list of less discussed implications for sending countries, brain-drain and remittance have been given better media and research coverage relatively. Brain-drain mostly is raised as the negative impact of migration on the parts of sending country when one is talking about the immigration of skilled human power. On the other hand, receiving remittance is raised positively perceiving it to boost sending country’s economy and improving HHs living condition.
Theoretically, there are different views on reasons and decision-making of migration. Among these theories, the Neoclassical economics of migration and the New economics of migration stand on opposing views when it comes to decision making. The Neoclassical theorists argue migration is an individual decision of migrant after weighing the expected net return at the end of some period while the new economics of migration theorists argue migration decisions are made with units of related people (HH members or families) as a side or mere investment of livelihood (Massey et al., 1993). In light of the above theories, the results achieved in chapter 4 under section 4.2 it is was found that the HHS make decision starting from the investment for migration expense until expectation of remittances as a single unity confirming the new economics of migration theorists standpoint. However, due to the limitation of the research on addressing the view of migrants, it was unable to conclude whether the decision making remains as HH decision after the migration. This means the HH members make the decision to spend the cost from HH assets and expect a good return as a unit. But the findings do not oppose the neoclassical economics of migration in its entirety because as of this theory, the opportunity foreseen before the migration like higher wage rate and employment opportunity, as elaborated in section 4.1 of findings, are found to be main pulling factor for supply of labour from sending country (Douglas et al., 1993).

From the studies, at micro-level, a positive impact of remittance on poverty reduction and human capital was indicated (Sasin & McKenzie, 2007). HH welfare is mentioned to boost due to receiving remittance in several studies in Nepal (Subedi, 2009) and Ghana (Quartey, 2006). The studies summarise remittance as an important HH income. Moreover, on a study in Ethiopian urban area, remittance was found to contribute for poverty reduction and improving welfare of HHS (Emerta et al., 2010). However, most studies only focused on the effect of migration after the migrants went by any means possible meaning it gives little regard for the pre-migration processes and what has been costed to send those migrants. Moreover, to see the entirety of the effect the author believes it is essential to see both before and after scenarios. However, the findings of the current study indicate contrary facts to the above-mentioned literature. As elaborated in chapter four of this paper 4.1, HHS members expected their women migrant member to gain a better employment opportunity and better income in the receiving country and send remittances to their HH back at the country of origin to achieve the livelihood outcome of the HH.

‘What are the expected livelihood outcomes of unregistered women migration to the Middle East in light of household livelihood at sending country?’

The expected livelihood outcome achievement dynamics is answered through the results found using the indicators. The researcher divided the respondent HHS into three categories depending on whether the women HH member migrants remit the HHS after the unregistered migration. The first group of HHS are those who are receiving remittance according to their expectation as a livelihood strategy and achieving HH livelihood outcome. The second group are HHS which received a small amount of remittances to pay loans or for holidays once or twice a year. This group of respondents are those who could not take the remittance as a livelihood strategy for their HH. The third and last category of HHS is those who did not receive any remittance from the women migrants for any possible purpose. According to the three divisions, the following pie chart shows their respective responses.
The indicators in the pie blow are termed as follows: the first group of HHs are termed as ‘remitted’ to mean HHs which achieved their livelihood outcome through migration strategy. The second groups are ‘Partially remitted’ meaning, HHs which partially achieved their livelihood outcomes from the income of remittance. The last group of HHs which did not achieve their livelihood outcomes as ‘Not remitted’. This graph is developed only by counting the HHs which said they received remittance, HHs which said they did not receive remittance and HHs which responded they received the only small amount of remittance only on occasions. Therefore, the figure does not consider the amount of remittance instead it only depended on the responses headcount.

Figure 8: livelihood outcomes of respondents after women members migrated

‘What are the significant household assets affected by the migration of the member/s of a household because of the migration?’

Coming to the second research sub-question, the findings of the current study indicate contrary facts to the literatures mentioned above. As elaborated in chapter four of this paper (pp 22-29), rural farmer HHs invested their four capitals opting to find opportunities they either heard from migrants or neighbouring villages, except few HHs, most were unable to achieve their expectations. The HH assets which are directly affected by the process of migration are Natural, human, social and financial capital among the five pentagon assets on a model developed by DFID (DFID, 2000). The results did not show a direct effect on the physical capital. The HH capitals are affected by the unregistered migration hoping for the high return rate in a shorter length of time according to results. Even if there is research on the positive impact of migration on sending country saying the remittance payment is used as collateral for migrants to purchase a house and pay off loans in the sending country yet the results in Alaba region show a different situation (Tom, 2015). This means to begin with almost all HHs invested either one or more of their assets to pay for the migration expenses. This fact is clarified under chapter 4, figure 6 of this paper clearly by comparing the previous ideal asset pentagon and the current asset pentagon after migration of one or more HH women members. Moreover, the majority of HHs could not be able to reinstate the financial, social, human and natural assets they invested as they expected at the beginning of migration. That indicates the HHs are socio-economically in a vulnerable situation than they were before the migration.
'What were the primary livelihood strategies in the household before and after one or more of the women family members migrated to the Middle East?'

Livelihood strategy before and after migration of one or more women HH members have shown a difference. Some HHs lost their financial and natural assets which previously was a means of livelihood strategy since they are farmers. Then after the migration, most HHs either engage in small pay labour around their village, or they only undertake a minimized farm activity compared to previous times. Even if literature (Beyene, 2003; Acosta et al., 2008; Lokshin et al., 2010) found the positive contribution of remittance towards poverty in their studies, the findings of this paper indicated the unregistered migration somewhat affected HHs adversely in Alaba special woreda. The variation in the findings could be because most previously mentioned studies focused on a contracted/document migration where job opportunities are easy to find and have a safer, less expensive journey. Where, the focus of this study is on unregistered women migrants who paid costly amount for the process of migration because of the nature of the channels and who are going to job insecure uncontracted migration.

5.2 Conclusion

In this paper, interviews were taken from 20 farmer HH respondents whose women members migrated to the Middle East through unregistered migration and stakeholders to assess the impact of unregistered women migration on the livelihood at sending country HH level. The following facts are concluded at the end of the study:

First, the HHs in the study described the hopes and expectations to be higher, and life-changing as most have been given information by their respective family members, brokers or neighbours. High employment opportunity, high rate of wage and better HH income were the HH outcomes expected at the end of migration.

Secondly, the four main HH assets namely human capital, financial capital, natural capital and social capital are adversely affected by the migration of women HH members through unregistered migration. Even if the degree of effect is different depending on each HH situation, availability of resources, amount of cost of migration and other factors but it is concluded that the HH assets are negatively affected. Besides the mentioned HH assets, there is a government loan given to form cooperation and investment within the country which is now involved in paying for the unregistered migration costs because there is high expectation on both the migrants and their HH members for better return opportunity.

Third, women unregistered migration to the Middle East, was a HH decision to shift a livelihood strategy from farming to receiving remittance because of lack of security for producing enough product for the whole HH. This strategy shift was evident when farmers use their financial and natural assets to cover migration costs.

Fourth, as described on the visualisation of the problem in chapter one of this paper, the family bond or communication between family members at sending country and migrants at receiving country has been adversely affected except one HH which responded otherwise. It was concluded that HH members are in constant fear and stress about their women family member well-being because
the communication is either non-existent or less-than it supposed to be. Even if it is impossible to know the exact reason for less or no connection between HHs in the sending country and the migrants because of the limitation of this study it is understood that the HH members are not happy by the migrants less or no communication after migration.

Finally, the three points imply the HH assets (except physical capital) and HH livelihood outcome have a vice versa effect to one another meaning; when the migrants HH assets are affected by the unregistered migration, the expected livelihood outcomes became far from attaining. The effect of the HH assets also has a direct negative impact on the HH livelihood strategies. The farmers, depend on the profoundly affected HH assets (Financial and Natural capital) making the HH more vulnerable than before. This fact forces most farmers to shift or look for additional livelihood activity. It is searching for a new livelihood strategy to survive the shock of a recently adopted livelihood strategy. Therefore, it is concluded that the HH livelihood outcome of origin is affected by the women unregistered migration since it has a cause and effect relation with HH livelihood asset and livelihood strategy and the two have a direct impact on livelihood outcome.
Recommendation

The researcher of the study come across findings discussed in chapter 5 and concluded some facts from the study. Therefore, it was made possible to see areas of applied intervention during the desk study as well as fieldwork. Based on the conclusions reached after the study the following recommendations are given for stakeholders who are directly working in the area:

1. The findings indicate the existence of uninformed or misinformed decision making especially towards unregistered migration. Therefore, it is recommend that the commissioner, WCAB, to take the initiative and develop a full-fledged training manual containing the existing migration situation and give training for women in the areas where the migration rates are higher since the primary role of the office is giving training, capacity building and empowering women towards sustainable rural development.

2. The high expectation outcomes sought by most HHs came from wrong or exaggerated information from brokers and neighbouring villages. Therefore, a well organised, well planned, and rich information about the truth of the process and destination of unregistered migration via the collaboration of main stakeholders would be appropriate intervention to bring about change. This could be done by creating agenda among the local people for spreading the real information and some experience sharing among HHs. This recommendation is for YCBO because they are the ones coordinating stakeholders on migration.

3. The findings indicated that women are taking government loans in the name of cooperatives and using it to cover migration expenses giving their family property as collateral. Therefore, in order to avoid this situation or decrease the probability of happening, YCBO need to use a bottom-up approach. Meaning, before implementing its programs YCBO need to undertake need assessment among youth. The fund, training and loans should come from the youth initiative themselves rather than implementing a ready-made program implementation. This will help with investment only on intended and sustainable rural development compared to investing HH assets for covering risky unregistered migration expenses expecting unreliable remittance.

4. The conclusion indicates migration livelihood strategy was not successful to achieve the livelihood outcomes that HHs to gain at the end. Therefore, there is a need to take the lead in proposing new sustainable livelihood strategies for the farmers and youth members of the community. The livelihood strategies could be for example by mobilising voluntary community services for the youth so that they can know about the potentials of their village and discover job opportunities by themselves. YCBO as a coordinator of stakeholder need take the initiative to organise the strategy designing yet all stakeholders should contribute their role accordingly.

5. From the researcher observation, strengthening the stakeholders is found relevant. Therefore, stakeholder committee which directly works on migration issues has to add up members like the legal organs to implement laws and policies about unregistered migrations and the brokers which are currently functioning as legal organs in the village.

6. Also, it was found that the cost of unregistered migration to be higher than cost of the documented or contracted migration. Therefore, the stakeholder specially MoLSA should invite legal PEAs to function in the special woreda in order to provide the migrants with a chance to choose the less costly and relatively safe migration to different destination countries with a legal work contract.
Reflection paper

Reflecting on my research experience in the past few months, I had indeed learned a lot starting from the scoping and research title selection up to the last point of reflection writing. The experience helped me more to know my potentials and stress management strategies even when the situations were not favourable. The scoping and setting research title were the steep part of the research since I had more than two research ideas at that time. As a result, the scoping of the list two research topics within one week was a very challenging and hectic experience. Then the proposal preparation was a rash of moments since there was short preparation time. Besides that, it was a significant learning experience because I had no prior research writing practice apart from the mini-research. I encountered some challenges during this stage, especially in the methodology chapter. Evaluating the proposal now, it was evident that it lacked depth and clarity on some chapters which then challenged me in the preparation of the first chapters of this research report. The field work started two weeks late from the schedule in the proposal because of ethnic conflict in the SNNPR capital, and travelling to the study area was not possible without communicating with the commissioner. After the two weeks, my work colleagues were not as supportive as I expected. Therefore, I had to proceed to the study area and find contact persons from member stakeholders directly in the special woreda. Besides the conflict, it was a tough time to travel to the field since I meet my families after a long time yet I motivated myself now and then to travel to the study area and collect data. I accessed the stakeholders without many formalities because I had an excellent prior professional relationship with some of them, especially from WCAB and YCBO. The reporting experience was mostly filling literature gaps, making sense from the data collected, narrating data as carefully as possible with respondent’s response, and coming up with a valid, readable report which an external person could understand easily. In the reporting, I tried my paper to be more self-explanatory, yet I still understand there are some gaps.

I have learned a lot by making faults, correcting it, sharing experiences, re-reading literature, asking for feedbacks, discussing with colleagues and relating it to the specific issues at hand. However, with the challenge and uncertainty, I have learned more practical lessons.

The lessons that I have gained from this research are:

- Full preparation regarding methodology and material is vital to undertake a valid and reliable study. For example, during the field FGD, my camera was not prepared to take pictures because there was no charge in the battery and the light was off at the moment.
- Even if I worked with different limited circumstances regarding time, resources and conflict, I have also learned how to systematically focus on the resources I have and overcome the limitations. This is manifested in the decision to directly contact the woreda stakeholders without getting permissions from the WCAB head because at that moment they were not available due to the political situation in the region.
- Since it is my first involvement in handling research individually, it was an excellent opportunity to discover my potential and limitations as a researcher.
- The research was also a live experience to communicate with the society at a grass root level and understand different points of views, perceptions and practices. It was an excellent experience to relate what I have learned in my study in Van Hall Larenstein to a real-life situation in my country.
On the other hand, I believe my position as a researcher has affected the research outcome to some extent. My personal family experience related to migration was the source of curiosity towards the topic. From my and my family’s experience, I was able to witness the negative sides of migration from what happened to one of my family members. Therefore, from the beginning, I say I have an adverse bias towards the issue of migration. Also, in the field experience, I found families who are passing through a difficult time because they put too much trust on the remittance they will receive from migration. Therefore, I some instances I found myself being emotional with their stories, and in some occasions, I found myself filling some information by myself without them saying likewise (even if I corrected it later and only kept only to their stories and responses). Besides that, although the number of respondents who said migration is paying off is few, I was less curious while interviewing the respondents.

I have learned many layout and formality aspects from my flatmates and gained feedbacks from colleague throughout the process. I took up feedbacks from supervisor, classmates, families and other external readers. One thing that I understood is no information is considered irrelevant in handling research starting from a person who shows you direction and leads you to the next interview household to the professional supervisor who shades light on your research paper.

Finally, the research was good experience which opened my eyes and made me more curious about the things that surrounded me, improved my communication and managing a stressful situation.


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Said Ebrahim (2016) Migration of Ethiopian Youth to the Middle East and its impact on the Migrant’s community in Raya-Mehone town. *NTNU Norwegian university of Science*


Appendices

Appendix 1: Semi structured interview guide

1. Existence of women unregistered migrant in the HH
2. Number of HH members
3. Number of women migrated from the HH
4. Reason for preference of unregistered migration
5. Expected outcomes from the migration of women family member/s
6. The livelihood activities changed or added in the HH including migration
7. Sources of information about opportunities of migration
8. The role of women migrant in the HH prior to migration
9. The amount of expenses payed for the unregistered migration
10. Sources of payment for migration expenses
11. The HH assets (financial, natural, human, social or physical) affected in relation to migration
12. Economic and social costs incurred due to the unregistered migration
13. Communication with the migrants
14. Wellbeing and family bond between migrants and HH members
15. The outcome gained at the end of migration (in terms of remittance)
16. Other issues...

Appendix 2: Focus group discussion

1. Current situation of women unregistered migration in the woreda
2. The negative impacts caused and reported to stakeholders in relation to migration
3. Their awareness about the effects of migration to HH assets
4. The role of each stakeholder to solve the problem or minimise the effect
5. Existing intervention activities to decrease women unregistered migration
6. The opportunities available for youth women
7. Planned activities for the future
8. Other issues

Appendix 3: observation check list

1. Visible HH assets (Before and After)
2. Change in the livelihood strategy (if they said one thing and found doing another)
3. Material properties or other manifestations like newly built house from remittance
4. Others
Appendix 4: Field Pictures

Alaba 25 June 2018, A house rebuilt after the HH received remittances

Alaba 16 June 2018: Interview with Migrant’s brother
### Appendix 5: Interview short review

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Res.</th>
<th>Vulnerability context (challenge)</th>
<th>Livelihood assets (human, Physical, Natural, Financial and social capital) (what asset is affected)</th>
<th>Livelihood strategy (what strategy is adopted)</th>
<th>Outcomes (opportunity) What is expected</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Risk because of the ‘illegal’ travel Less cattle... low income generation for the time. Worry about her situation Much effort and low income</td>
<td>1 Labour Two cattle Cooperation -Less communication Part of inherited land</td>
<td>Farming -Expecting remittance -Minimized farming -Labour worker on others farm</td>
<td>Better economic condition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Risk of paying government debt which they do not have Food insecurity Younger siblings stopped school Worry about her situation</td>
<td>1 Labour in the house and in field Borrowed money from cooperatives 1 Milk cow Less trust on her Less communication Part of the farm land</td>
<td>Farming Small business -expecting remittance -labour on others farm Minimized farming</td>
<td>Better living condition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Travel by boat and bus One sick returnee who need to be taken care Paying the debt without remittance</td>
<td>1 sick returnee 2 labour capital Savings, Loan from people Our social bond is broken with migrant No direct communication</td>
<td>Farming Received remittance Contracted farming</td>
<td>Construct better house Stop farming Better living condition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Less living situation than before Insecurity and no variety food Longer travel time to ME</td>
<td>1 labour capital Cattles, sheep, and donkey Lost money for fertilizer Bad communication (angry on her) Low family bond Farming Donkey cart for transport</td>
<td>Farming Donkey cart for transport Received very small remittance Farming with rented oxen</td>
<td>Better life for HH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Traveling cost twice</td>
<td>1 labour capital</td>
<td>Saving from divorce</td>
<td>No physical contact</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
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<td>---------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Stopped supporting their parents</td>
<td>1 labour capital</td>
<td>1 milk cow</td>
<td>No communication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Not be able to live the previous life anymore</td>
<td>2 labour capital</td>
<td>Saved cash, 2 cattle and 1 milk cow</td>
<td>Lost family trust</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Security of my land is lost because Government debt from cooperative loan</td>
<td>1 labour capital</td>
<td>2 oxen, loan holding land and sold land partially</td>
<td>Limited communication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Not be able to feed the family</td>
<td>1 labour capital</td>
<td>Cattles for fattening Farming oxen Milk cow</td>
<td>Disagreement because of division of common properties</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Better working and living condition</td>
<td>1 labour capital</td>
<td>Loan, cattle and saved cash</td>
<td>Better communication Feel satisfied and happy as a father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Lost a farming material and land</td>
<td>1 labour</td>
<td>1 cow, 1 ox, and small cash saved</td>
<td>We do not communicate much</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Number | Description                                                                 | Labour 1 | Labour 2 | Capital 1 | Capital 2 | Income Source 1 | Income Source 2 | Income Source 3 | Income Source 4 | Solution
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Support the whole household 16 members</td>
<td>Oxen</td>
<td>Farm land</td>
<td>Farming</td>
<td>Do not farm</td>
<td>Pension</td>
<td>Pay back the sold property</td>
<td>Live on remittance</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Insecurity about their situation Insecurity about our farm land Fear for supporting my HH</td>
<td>Oxen</td>
<td>Farm land</td>
<td>Farming</td>
<td>Farming</td>
<td>Farming and donkey cart</td>
<td>Expecting remittance</td>
<td>Better living condition</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 14     | Job insecurity for longer time in destination country Household inability to properly survive and be food secured | Oxen     | Farm land| Farming   | Less farming activity | Less farming activity | Expecting remittance | Improve herself

| Number | Description                                                                 | Labour 1 | Labour 2 | Capital 1 | Capital 2 | Income Source 1 | Income Source 2 | Income Source 3 | Income Source 4 | Solution
|--------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------|----------|-----------|-----------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| 15     | We have a woman headed household so there is a lot of insecurity Food insecurity Lost physical capacity to farm the land They were sick and that might be the reason for no support | Oxen     | Farm land| Farming   | Farming   | Farming with hoe and borrowing oxen | Expecting remittance | Increased income

| Number | Description                                                                 | Labour 1 | Labour 2 | Capital 1 | Capital 2 | Income Source 1 | Income Source 2 | Income Source 3 | Income Source 4 | Solution
|--------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------|----------|-----------|-----------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| 16     | She is mentally ill and become burden on the HH Living in a worse economic situation than before Sold part of land for medical treatment | Oxen     | Farm land| Farming   | Less farming activity | Increased income | Receive pension support | Improved income
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>17</th>
<th>We do not have information about the whereabouts of her. Our HH is food insecure and we do not have a means to farm unlike before. Two younger siblings stopped education</th>
<th>1 labour capital</th>
<th>Oxen, donkeys and sheep</th>
<th>No communication</th>
<th>Part of land</th>
<th>Better farming activity. Transport with the donkeys</th>
<th>Farming with hoe and borrowing from neighbours. Youngers work on people farm</th>
<th>Improved income. Better school for the siblings. Build a house</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>My family has nothing to feed on. We become day labourers. No oxen to till the land.</td>
<td>1 labour capital</td>
<td>1 milk cow. Farm oxen.</td>
<td>I believe she is not my relative anymore.</td>
<td>Small scale farming</td>
<td>Expecting remittance. Day labourer</td>
<td>Improved income. Better living condition.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Surviving the hard times until she starts sending remittance.</td>
<td>1 labour capital</td>
<td>Oxen, sheep, goats.</td>
<td>Less communication. Lost trust.</td>
<td>Part of farm land</td>
<td>Better farming</td>
<td>Received small remittance. Small scale farming.</td>
<td>Better living condition. Build house.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>