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**INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION AND ITS EFFECTS ON SOCIO ECONOMIC WELLBEING OF
MIGRANT SENDING HOUSEHOLDS: EVIDENCE FROM IROB WOREDA,
EASTERN ZONE , TIGRAY REGIONAL STATE**

MA THESIS

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JUNE, 2014

MEKELLE, TIGRAY, ETHIOPIA

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**THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF REQUIREMENTS FOR
COMPLETION OF MA DEGREE IN DEVELOPMENT STUDIES**

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DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that this thesis is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other university, and all sources of material used for the thesis have been duly acknowledged.

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Place and Date of submission:

June 2014, Mekelle

CERTIFICATION

As Thesis Research advisors, We hereby certify that we have read and evaluated this prepared thesis under our guidance, entitled "**INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION AND ITS SOCIO-ECONOMIC IMPACT ON MIGRANT SENDING HOUSEHOLDS: EVIDENCE FROM IROB WOREDA, EASTERN ZONE OF TIGRAY, ETHIOPIA**" We recommend it be submitted as fulfilling of the requirement for the degree of master of science in Development Studies with specialization in Local and Regional Development at Mekelle University College of Business and Economics, Department of Management. It is a record of original research carried out by **Bisrat Weldesilassie Kahsay** under our supervision, and no part of the thesis has been submitted for any other degree or diploma.

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ACRONYMS

ADCS/M	Adigrat Diocesan Catholic Secretariat Mekelle Branch
ARRA	Agency for Refugee and Returnee Affairs
AU	African Union
EAMRI	East Africa Migration Route Initiative
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
HCIDC	House of Commons international Development committee
ICMPD	International Centre for Migration Policy Development
IGAD	Intergovernmental Authority for Development
IOM	International Organization for Migration
IWSYAO	Irob Woreda Youth and Sports Affairs Office
LDCs	Less Developed Countries
PASDEP	Plan for Accelerated and Sustained Development to End Poverty
PSNP	Productive Safety Net Program
WDAs	Woreda Development Agents
WMR	World Migration Report
EEA	Ethiopian Expatriate Affairs
DFID	Department for International Development
FIC	Feinstein International Center

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ABSTRACT

There is an enduring debate over the development impact of international migration and remittances. This study examined the role international migration, allied remittances and returnee migrants play on the socio-economic welfare of migrant-sending households in Irob; a drought prone, hot-spot and at a time, chronically food insecure district; from where prevalent transmigration is observed.

The study was cross sectional survey method and employed questionnaire survey and key informant interview as a data collection instruments. It intended primarily, to analyze the effects of the remittances and returnees on individual migrant sending households' daily consumption, health care, education, housing, asset building, business creation, debt repayment, ceremonies as well as philanthropic activities; then, to see if the effects are limited to the recipient households or have spillover effect onto non-recipients and the wider community.

Findings of the study indicated that international migrant remittances have positive role in terms of relaxing expenditure restraint of the recipient households. Unfortunately however, most of the remittances were spent on daily consumption which brought down sustainability of the remittance effects. Moreover, most of the remittance-induced investments and returnee migrants remain in urban centers than going back to the district. This jeopardizes both productiveness of the area and integrated existence of the minority. As a result, migration is temporarily benefiting Irob migrant sending households but its long term effect is likely to be destructive.

*As per this study, further investigation is needed so as to reveal deeper and broader impact of migratory movements as well as to find middle ground where the perverse incentives of international migration and the study area's food self-insufficiency can be reconciled. The study also recommends human capital development and complementary investments, area selective interventions like ecotourism, shoat restocking and **cactus processing**; ways of attracting returnees and retaining migrant sending households as possible resolutions to be taken.¹*

Key Words: Irob, Migration, remittances, returnees, socio-economic welfare of the recipient Households, spillover effect

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1. 1. Background of the Study

As World Bank (2011a) reports, more than 215 million people live outside their home countries in search of economic opportunities. Migrants endeavor goes beyond self-improvement and they also try to help their families at home through their remittance earnings (Kiiru, 2010). Thus, [International] migration has become a strategy for individuals and families, to resist shocks and economic crisis as well as reduce poverty, mainly in developing countries. Migrant workers' remittances sent back from the country of employment to the country of origin, accounted for more than 2 per cent of GDP in all developing countries in 2009 (World Bank, 2011b).

According to Adams *et al.*, (2012), remittance earnings sent home to their families, particularly international migrants have grown and exceed official development assistance and direct foreign investments. The World Bank (2005) estimated that international remittances rose from \$85.6 billion in 2000 to \$167 billion in 2004 as compared to \$79 billion of development assistance and \$166 billion of foreign direct investment. The bank, in 2007 estimated that international remittances reached \$318 billion, some \$240 billion of which went to developing countries. More articulately, referring to Kapur and McHale (2003), de Haas (2007) witnesses that amount of registered remittances alone be as twice the amount of official development assistance and 10 times higher than the amount of net private capital transfers that flow to developing countries. Remittances sent back to developing countries are said to be \$31.1 billion in 1990, \$76.8 billion in 2000 and no less than \$167.0 billion in 2005.

International remittance flow has shown an increase of US \$ 214 billion within 34 years—1970 to 2004—and about 70 per cent of this goes to LDCs; this exceeds the number of migrants and each international migrant on average, sends back home more money than ever before (Taylor, 2006). Nonetheless the amount is often underestimated as it excludes undocumented remittances channeled through ways other than formal banking system. All resource inflows however, have some important implications for household livelihood and local economic development at large.

International Committee for Migration Policy Development (ICMPD) elaborates East African context as follows.

“Population mobility in and from the Horn of Africa has a longstanding tradition. However, conflict, environmental deterioration and economic decline paired with growing economically active populations have increased labor and forced migration both in the region and beyond” (ICMPD, 2008:P.14).

As of 2005, migrants from developing countries that lived and worked outside the country of their birth were about 100 million (Babatunde and Martinetti, 2011). They added that though only small portion of the total remittance flows to the SSA region is recorded, formal flow to the region were estimated at US\$ 10.8 billion in 2007 with Nigeria, Sudan and Senegal being the largest recipients.

According to PASDEP (2006), in 2004/ 2005, 16per cent of Ethiopia’s total population lived in urban areas; and in 2020, about 22 million people will live in Ethiopia’s largest cities. The growing rural-urban migration is expected to result in rising urban unemployment, which in turn may lead to increased international migration, which among other ends produces remittances.

The World Bank Migration and Remittances Fact book (2011) estimated that Ethiopia’s outmigration in 2010, stood at 620,100 which makes up for 0.7per cent of the country’s population. National Bank of Ethiopia, reported 9.3 per cent increase of remittance inflow in its annual report of 2009/2010 fiscal year. And reflecting upon direction of Ethiopian national government, the Bank assured that efforts will be made to build international reserves of the country by prompting inward of remittances(2010).

Lisa (2012), by making a reference to the World Bank (2011a), claim that Ethiopia stands among the top 10 remittance receiving countries in Sub-Saharan Africa. More impressing is, the country’s remittance inflow increment of about USD 343 million within only 7 years—from USD 46 million in 2003 to about USD 389 million in 2010—(Lisa,2012).

In the last four years (between 2002 and 2005 E.C), about 21,801 illegally and 21,611 legally through employment agencies have transmigrated from Tigray Regional State (BoLSA, 2013). Irob Woreda's Youth and Sports Affairs Office similarly reported that until April 2013 (reporting time), total out-migration is recorded to be 1,850; out of which 358 are females. The office also reported 477 f, 250 m, totally, 627 returnee migrants as a result of the illegal workers' discharging by the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

1.2. Statement of the problem

Ethiopia is one of the poorest countries in the world and among which are experiencing significant emigration flows. The World Bank Migration and Remittances Fact book (2011), estimated that Ethiopian's total outmigration in 2010 alone was about 620,100; which makes up 0.7 per cent of the country's population. In the same year (2010), the total remittance inflow to Ethiopia stood at \$ 359 Million and accounted for 2 per cent of GDP (MTM i-Map, 2012).

Relevance of the topic is unarguable. Because, first of all, the role migration plays in wellbeing of communities (both host and sending, but concern of this paper is the later one) is debated on. As a result, migration-development relation has been variously termed as unsettled (e.g., *see* Ellerman 2005; de Haas 2007; Castles 2008). In case of remittances too, pessimists argue that remittances are not the result of local economic activities and are only for daily consumption; which lend dependency syndrome than sustainability (Ncube and M. Gómez 2011). Optimists however, consider it as a typical livelihood strategy and engine of development (e.g., *see* Ayón, 2012; Fransen and Kuschminder 2009). Furthermore, though migration is part of the people's livelihood strategy, it is determined by contexts (Haan 2000).

Number of studies that assess migration has been conducted in Ethiopia (e.g., *see* Adamnesh 2006; Emebet, 2003; Abye, 2003; Yohanness, 2006; Semalegne, 2011; EAMRI, 2008; Lisa, 2012; FransenKatie and Kuschminder, 2006). But most of them are concerned with internal migration and less is done on international migration. The last four deals with migration and development broadly and Lisa (2012) has tried to assess migration and remittances' effects at household level but none of them refer to the particular study area albeit remittance effects differ across societies, cultures and migration patterns.

In Irob case, so far, only Fessuh (2013) has investigated migration as an attention demanding issue. He examined the *Patterns and Intensity of Irob out-Migration* along with its *deriving factors*. He concluded that probability of out-migration is influenced by sex, age, mass media access and non-farm employment while intensity was affected by age, household's family size, availability of labor (adult equivalent), Purpose the remittance used for and livestock (total tropical livestock unit). But as it can be read from the topic, the central concerns of his study are *Patterns and Intensity of out-Migration* and *the main deriving factors*. As a result, migration and remittance effects on a household's socio-economic wellbeing and community/locality development remain a lacuna in knowledge portfolio, mainly from the communities view point. This is the gap this paper is devoted to fill.

On the top of this, Irob wereda is the area where drought prone and zone of *no-war-no-peace* scenario that has lasted for years resulting in many types of internal and external migration. In such areas, we cannot expect migration and remittance to have the same causes and effects as in Addis Ababa or other places. There is no research done before, to assess the effect of migration and remittance on household livelihood and local economy of Irob community. So, migration and remittance effects on household's consumption pattern and community/locality development remain lacuna in knowledge portfolio. This is the research gap in which paper is devoted to fill. But due to the absence of prior works, adequate information of migrants and international migration in general; less is done to take account of migrants and their remittances as part of socio-economic wellbeing of Irob community. This research strived to investigate thoroughly the role of international migration and remittances play in socio-economic wellbeing of the migrant sending households and the district at large.

1.3 Research Question

The central question of this study was *what are the contributions of international migration and remittances to the migrant sending households and local economic development in Irob wereda?*

Particular questions that informed the study were;

- What is the profile of Irob international migrants' families at home before and after migration?

- What is the effect of international remittances on socio-economic wellbeing of a household?
- Is the effect of remittances limited to the recipient household or have spillover effect to the non-migrant households and the district community?

1.4 Objective of the Study

1.4.1 General Objective

The general objective of this study was to investigate the effects of migration, through remittances and returnee migrants, on migrant sending households and the wider community.

1.4.2 Specific Objectives

The specific objectives of this study were:

- To examine how international migration affects economic wellbeing (income, occupation and wealth) of a migrant sending households
- To study how international migration affects social wellbeing (access to education, health services and housing) of a recipient households
- To see if the effects of international migration are limited to the migrant sending Households or have multiplier effect on the community.

1.5. Scope and Limitation of the Research

1.5.1 Scope

In this paper; the role of international migration and remittances on household wellbeing and local economic development of Irob woreda was investigated by looking at the current migration situation at Irob woreda and contribution of international migrants (returnees and not returned) remittances; government initiatives regarding remittance and managing it for development. This study also analyzed how remittances contribute to household income and business creation; how it affects non-remittance receiving households and public welfare.

In short, this research limited itself, theoretically, in economic dimensions of international migration and socio-economic changes at migrant-sending households and community of Irob wereda. Geographically, despite the findings can have vital implications for districts that have similar contexts with the study area (e.g., drought-prone and chronic food insecurity), conclusions of this study refer only to places within the confines of Irob wereda. Lastly, as data collection method, the study heavily relied on household survey questionnaire and key informant interview. Thus, issues like total number of outmigration and related events could be actually known if there had been enough financial and time budgets to carry out preliminary survey and focus group discussions.

1.5.2. Limitation of the Study

The research strategy used in this study is more of qualitative, which is invaluable in revealing the point of view of the subjects but it cannot generalize beyond the targets. In fact, it would be vital if more districts and populations were included so as to produce much more reliable data. The researcher however, has limited time and financial budget at his disposal.

As a result, population beyond the migrant sending households and places outside Irob district were not included in this study. The absence of similar research works done in the study area and/or data regarding number of out-migrants, remittance receiving households and remittance inflows at regional and district levels was also the other limiting factor which makes difficult to determine an appropriate sample size. As the result, the study heavily relied on the memories of the respondents which may not always be accurate.

CHAPTER-TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Operational Definitions of terms as used in this Study:

- **[Trans/International] Migration:** An Irobs' movement across national border of Ethiopia to reside permanently or temporarily in foreign country.
- **Migrant:** Is a person whose area of origin is Irob and currently living abroad
- **Remittance: cash or kinds** sent home by Irobs living abroad to his/her family, relatives and/or friends at home.
- **Household:** A group of people who lives together or belongs to one another for essentials of living and have migrant member abroad
- **Returnee Migrant:** Is a person who out-migrated from Irob, lived one year or above overseas but currently is back in home.
- **Wellbeing:** Positive improvements in income/consumption/health care service/housing/business funding capacity....etc of an Irob household at home.

2.1. 1. Definition of Concepts

On the top of their unsettled relationship, migration and development are some of the concepts that have no single universal definition. This may be attributed to different if not conflicting, tendencies of scholars and fields to serve their respective interests. Similarly, not referring to prior works of the same topic causes incoherence of literatures. So, definition and relatedness of these concepts cannot be exhaustive and exact.

2.1.2. Migration

Migration is not a simple, one cause-effect movement; rather, it is a multi faceted and complex global issue which involves many countries and millions of people across the globe, in which each of all the countries is an origin, transit, destination or combination of all at a time. In a review article of Massey *et al* (1993:432) the complexity of international migration is stated as:

“...remains mired in nineteenth-century concepts, models, and assumptions a full understanding of contemporary migration processes will not be achieved by relying on the tools of one discipline alone, or by focusing on a single level of analysis. Rather, their complex, multifaceted nature requires a sophisticated theory that incorporates a variety of perspectives, levels, and assumptions”; to quote Haas (2007, P. 9).

Migration involves not only a spatial or geographic mobility of a person but also changing one's social environments as well as time and distance. Migration may be within one's own country or across borders of two or more countries. This study deals with the latter one. The length of time and distance to be covered by migratory movements is however, determined rather arbitrarily. Regardless of the difficulties involved, however, the term migration connotes a form of population movement that takes place when a person changes his/her place of residence either temporarily or permanently.

2.1.2 Remittance

Though remittance is commonly used to refer to money transfers by workers abroad, many literatures take it beyond that to include social remittances (diffusion of various types of social practices, ideas and values); Knowledge or technology remittances (knowledge, skills and technology brought back by returnee migrants), and political remittances (changing identities and political awareness) (Castles, 2008; WMR 2010; Mara *et al.*, 2012).

As per Ncube and Gómez (2011), remittances may be in terms of money or in-kind transfers that migrants sent home to their non-migrant relatives/ households. In the context of this paper, remittance refers to money and/or materials sent off to Irob by migrants abroad and specifically channeled to and/or incurred in economy of Irob woreda; as reported by the subjects. So, remittances that are sent to Ethiopia but specifically channeled to Irob's economy taken as remittance subject to this study.

2.1.3 Development

Development is defined as desired change, progress or transformation to more advanced and matured state. To be development however, the transformation has to be holistic progress. That is, development has to realize social and economic objectives and values that the society strives for (Thrillwall , 2006); as well as life-sustenance, self-esteem and freedom (Goulet, 1971 cited in Thrillwall , 2006). The latter three provisos are quite important in describing development.

The following paragraph is taken from seminal article of Stephen Castles in which he questioned “*Development and Migration or Migration and Development: What comes first?*”

“What do we mean by development and who decides? The concept was first coined to refer to postwar reconstruction after 1945 in Europe, and then applied in a top-down way to the post-colonial Third World. It has become a commonsense term, but the original simple definition of development as growth in GDP (absolute or per capita) has been questioned by ideas of human development, human security, development as capability or freedom or autonomy.questioned the idea that some of the world’s most exploited workers should provide the capital for economic growth, where official aid programs have failed. They argued that a strategy based on exporting workers to richer countries was a sign of the failure to achieve development in the interests of the majority of the population. The implication is, that migrants and the communities they come from and go to should have a voice in defining development”(Castles, 2008 P. 22).

Ranis (2008), defines development in its contemporary broader context, extending beyond income growth and welfare gains. He broadens it into distribution of the income and the reduction of income poverty. Welfare is measured mainly in terms of enhancing human development and capability; not only increased income. Lending Amartya Sen’s work of (1999), JMDI (2011) manifested development in enhancing the peoples’ intrinsic capacities. In this approach, capacitating the people is set as a goal and the means of development. People are their own providers of aid: they are the beneficiaries, as well as the architects of economic and social progress.

2.2 Migration and Remittances: Current trends and future prospects

Migration has been practiced since human beings started changing locations in search of food and escape insecurity (HCIDC 2004). Now days however, there is much swelled international migration than before (Yeganyan, 2009; WMR 2010) and worldwide about 3 per cent people live outside their country of birth (HCIDC 2004; UNFPA 2005).

This is attributed to the world's natural increase of population size, faster globalization and social networks, technological advancements and effects of environmental change as well as mass-media. As a result, international migration has been swelling and it is likely to continue. WMR further states;

“...214 million according to UN DESA (2009) – and their number has increased rapidly over the last few decades, up from 191 million in 2005. If the migrant population continues to increase at the same pace as the last 20 years, the stock of international migrants worldwide by 2050 could be as high as 405 million”(WMR, 2010 P.1).

International migration has both positive and negative implications for sending and host countries and communities. At micro level for instance, it may diversify income source and improve livelihood status of the migrants themselves and their households while strengthening economic and political ties between countries is typical one at macro level. As a negative aspect, migration exposes migrants to grave challenges and deplete active workforce at the place of origin and/or increase unemployment at destination thereby causing other social problems.

According to World Migration Report, despite migration seems to get increasing attention from international community, many countries still lack the capacity to manage migration effectively. Thus, countries are not taking full advantage of migration and may experience its more negative consequences. Moreover, migratory movements are posing new challenges to countries. To help prevent such challenges and enhance existing capacities, taking early action, partnerships between governments as well as State and non-State actors and coherence policy are vital measures (WMR 2010).

When Fessuh(2013) writes about what is pushing people to migrate out of Ethiopia, he states as follows;

“Since the largest share of Ethiopia's economy is based on agriculture, apart from war and political violence, ecological factors (droughts and degradation), famine, and poverty are

historically among the major causes of migration in Ethiopia”(
Fessuh,2013:10).

The World Bank Migration and Remittances Fact book (2011) estimates show that Ethiopian’s total outmigration in 2010 alone was about 620,100; which make up 0.7 per cent of the country’s population. In the same year (2010) the total remittance inflow to Ethiopia stood at \$ 359 Million and accounted for 2 per cent of GDP (MTM i-Map, 2012).Again, Lisa (2012) repeats the passage from Geda and Irving (2011) and claim that though National Bank in 2010, reported remittance inflows as high as USD 600 million.

But if both formal and informal channels were considered, the actual annually remittance inflows are estimated to be between USD 1 billion to USD 2 billion. At a region level, Tigay BoLSA reports of Augst 2013 show that in the last four years (between 2002 and 2005 E.C), about 21,801 people have illegally migrated from Tigray to other countries through traffickers (BoLSA, 2013). The total sum was composed of 10,505 males and 3,279 females. According to BoLSA, in Tigray, there are 23 employment agencies; 11 of which are involved in foreign countries’ employment. Consequently, from 2002 to 2005 E.C, number of individuals that have migrated abroad legally has reached 21,611; 2,573 males and 18,938 females. In the last two years, number of legal migrants has skyrocketed. In 2003 E.C for instance, it was 1866; in the two next successive years /2004 and 2005 E.C however, it stood at 9630 and 9311 respectively. The main destination has been Saudi Arabia but now, it has not taking Ethiopian workers and the trend of legal outmigration has thus, slowed down.

The study area, Irob is one of the region’s hot-spot, drought prone and chronically food insecure areas and thus, there is number of outmigration. The Woreda’s Youth and Sports Affairs Office reported that until April 2013(reporting time), total out-migration is recorded to be 1,850; out of which 358 are females. The office also reported 477 f, 250 m, totally, 627 returnee migrants as a result of the illegal workers’ discharging by the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

2.3 Migration and Development: paradoxes

According to de Haas (2007), migration got the first scholarly attention in the late 19th C by Ravenstein's contribution that consisted of two articles (1885; 1889); in which he formulated his 'laws of migration'. Ravenstein saw migration as an inseparable part of development, and he asserted that the major cause of migration was economic motive (de Haas, 2007). Migration is a complex phenomenon. It has, for a long time, been a major development issue vz. Whether and how the resources generated through migration affect development (O'Neil 2003; Ncube and M.Gómez 2011; JMDI 2011); with emphasis of many debates on the role of emigration, as a source of remittances, for countries of origin (Ncube and M.Gómez 2011; WMG 2010). However, as mentioned in the very beginning, the relationship between international migration and development is not a simple task to figure out. As a result, it has been variously termed as unsettled (Ellerman 2005; de Haas 2007; Castles 2008).

Migration is one of the components of demography and population change and the changes in scale and pattern of migration have a great consequence in social, economic, cultural, and political configuration of a society both in the places of origin and destinations (Gartaula 2009).

Since recent times, there is significant literature in the field of migration and development signaling a remarkable renaissance of optimistic views; particularly policy oriented debates and practical considerations towards migration and development integration. Larger global and national development contexts determine local development contexts, which in turn affect peoples' aspirations and opportunities to migrate (JMDI 2011). At the same time, how people use resources resulting from mobility for the wellbeing of themselves, their communities and nations is contingent upon their aspirations and the opportunities available in their local context, where they live (de Haas et al., 2010).

This reciprocal relationship between migration and development is aligned with the Amartya Sen's approach—*development as freedom*. Amartya Sen sees development as a means of empowering and freeing people through enhancing their capacities; defined as what they are able to do and be in life. Because people are seen as holding the power to shape their lives, it

has to be realized only by themselves, development cannot be achieved for them by others. Gustave Ranis (2008) in his analysis of relationship between migration and development, he presented positions of neo-classical model of 1950s and 60s in one hand and the World Systems' theory of the consecutive two decades (1970s and 80s) on the other hand.

For neo-classical model approach, economic motive (income disparity between the place of origin and destinations) was the main and sufficient reason for migration. This model assumed that migrants always come back to their place of origin and contribute to the local development.

In such a manner, migration in the long run was viewed as a tool for local development. In the other hand, the World Systems' Theory viewed migration as a means of underdevelopment of the poorer regions.

As World systems theory, migration was good neither for the migrants themselves nor for the underdeveloped world. It was a mechanism by which peripheries were easily exploited and cheap labor was provided to the market of the developed world. This aligned with other resource expatriation, again made the rich far richer at the expense of further impoverishment of the peripheries.

Taylor (2006) shows the attention given both by academic research and the press to the negative effects of international migration in LDCs making reference to the cost that LDCs bear due to loss of labor and human capital to foreign labor markets especially "brain drain". Haas himself again puts how migration was perceived negatively as follows;

"Migration tends to be seen as problematic, in academic and policy debates, and in the popular press. It is often seen as the consequence of ruptures, of environmental disaster, economic exploitation, or political or civil tensions and violence. And it is often perceived to be a cause of problems, like environmental degradation, health problems, 'brain drain', political or social instability, declining law and order, and unraveling social fabric and support systems" (de Haas, 2007. P.5).

Although the negative effects of international migration cannot be ignored, many positive sides are also claimed. Castles (2008), for example, positively interlink migration and development in which he believes migration to promote development in the country of origin mainly in LDCs. Migration is seen as a livelihood strategy and integral part of development in countries of origin particularly in LDCs. This includes remittance income and the economic multipliers that it produces; the influences of migration and remittances on investments, which appear to increase productivity; poverty alleviation; and migration-induced incentives to invest in schooling and health.

Broadening this, IOM (2012), take the potential of migration beyond the country of origin asserting that properly managed migration can stimulate new economic opportunities in destinations and shape the economic, social and cultural conditions in developing countries. As reflected in Tacon and Warn (2009 and JMDI, 2011), migration has the potential to contribute to the human development of migrants themselves, their families and, indirectly, the whole communities. Migrants are therefore, accredited with a unique potential to bridge the various contexts in which they simultaneously invest, and to engage in long-term philanthropic activities.

Linked together, two points stand; i) there is a growing recognition of the reciprocal relationship between human mobility and development—development shapes migration, and migration, in turn, influences development despite this remains contingent to the particular political, economic and social environments prevailing. ii) International migration produces both negative and positive effects; but given proper management and policy considerations, it provides part to the whole development of a particular society.

2.4 Migration in development: Migrant contributions

In today's world, International migration is one of the most important factors affecting economic relations between developed and developing countries. International migration can have favorable features for the countries of destination and origin as well as for the migrants and their

families with its social, financial, human and cultural ‘capitals’ (Castles 2008; ICMPD 2008; JMDI 2011).

Although it is essential to acknowledge that migrants can (and do) contribute significantly also to their host (destination) countries, this paper focuses on the ways in which migrants and remittances can positively affect the development of migrant sending communities in particular study area (Irob wereda in Tigray Regional State of Ethiopia) experienced with many types on internal and external migration. For sending countries, as optimistic views, migration can generate remittances and hence, contribute in poverty reduction. And returnee migrants, with them, bring vital knowledge, skills and expertise which contribute positively to development in their home countries. Financial capital is money sent back home from abroad to support livelihood of the families at home while human capital refers to knowledge and skills that can be transferred into practice. Social capital is related to networks linking different groups. And cultural capital is claimed when the migrants help for better understanding of rights and obligations.

Migrants develop and maintain social ties across different locations linking different groups from migrant families, to Diaspora associations, to professional and business networks, or even religious congregations. This allows the creation of networks that facilitate the flow of information, skills, financial resources, values, ideas, etc. This paper however, focused more on financial remittances and returnee migrants. In the discussion of migration and Development, the main emphasis has been on the rapid growth of remittances to less-developed countries (Ghosh, 2006). Significant remittances through investment can contribute in promoting development.

2.5 Remittances in Household and local economic Development

Regarding effects of remittances, mainly two categories stand; optimistic and pessimistic. Optimistic views generally uphold the positive impact of remittances. In one hand, though determined by social context, migration is part of the people’s livelihood strategy (Haan 2000) as its remittance generates income and possibly induces local investments. Given the variation of remittance impacts across regions of the world, due to differences in culture, migration

patterns and the stage of economic development, remittance has the potential to affect a large number of variables in the recipient countries. On the contrary, pessimists see remittances as promoting dependency and poor lives that are not a result of local economic activities. Because, remittances are only for daily consumption and hence, do not guarantee sustainability; rather, leave us with dependency syndrome (Ncube and M. Gómez 2011).

According to Toborga (2008) and Ghosh (2006), today, next to Foreign Development Investment, remittances constitute the second largest share of external funding sources for developing countries; and are acclaimed as potential engine of development for their communities of origin (Ayón 2012). Volume of remittances continues to grow. Remittances constitute the monetary, as well as the most visible aspect of this constant circulation between migrants and their countries of origin. This flow of money has caught the attention of governments and financial and development institutions who have begun to identify and implement initiatives aimed at maximizing the impact of remittances for poverty reduction and local development.

The current volume of remittances sent home by international migrants is estimated to be \$93 billion per year; with the addition of unrecorded remittances the total amounts to perhaps \$300 billion which far exceeds the global aid of \$68.5 billion per year.
(HCIDC 2004 P. 14)

In Ethiopian case, individual remittance inflows showed an increase of 9.3 per cent in the 2009/10 fiscal year as the annual report of National Bank of Ethiopia of the same year. Remittance of labor is an important component of globalization and economic development in many less developed countries. Remittances, first of all, support the families' sustenance. Sometimes, when it is beyond consumption, it opens up new opportunities for investment in socio-economic improvement and empowerment by a means of business (profit and employment) and basic infrastructure. Often than not, migrants are devoted to improve living standards of their families and participating in humanitarian activities which is typical way of filling the gap left out of the reach of national and regional governments. This is very common among Diaspora associations which collect and remit their money for specific purposes at home

towns or countries. Ethiopians Diaspora bond of the Renaissance Dam is typical example. Remittances can potentially help to promote economic development. However, from the viewpoint of economic theory, the overall impacts of remittances are empirical evidence of previous studies of the impact of workers' remittances on economic growth as well as poverty reduction is mixed.

2.6 Migration and Development in practice: Ethiopia's National Migration and Remittance related Policies and Strategies.

International migration and remittances have now become not only a significant source of external finance but also an instrument for social and political ties between migrant sending and host countries. It is thus, currently, migration and development have gotten grounds by academia, policy makers, NGOs etc. Ethiopia is not an exception; since the turn of the millennium, it has been making empirical advancements. As Fransen and Kuschminder (2009) Migration polices in Ethiopia are implemented by the Government of Ethiopia, at the African Union level, and through the International Organization for Migration (IOM). According to the same source, Government of Ethiopia has taken important measures so as to improve development impact of migration and make Ethiopian Diaspora participate in the development of the country. One of the commitments is establishing the General directorate that takes care of Ethiopian Expatriate Affairs, hereafter, abbreviated as EEA. Among the main responsibilities of EEA;

- ☒ *“Serves as a liaison between different Ministries and Ethiopians in Diaspora,*
- ☒ *Encourages the active involvement of the Ethiopians in Diaspora in socio-economic activities of the country,*
- ☒ *Safeguards the rights and privileges of Ethiopian expatriates,*
- ☒ *Mobilizes the Ethiopian community abroad for a sustained and organized image building.”* (Fransen and Kuschminder , 2009, P.26)

Atnafu (2006) cited in the source referred to above, states EEA in 2006 established regional branches that are meant to facilitate the Diaspora's engagement in economic development and democratization. The information from interview with the Tigray branch office official proved that they smoothen the ways in which Tigray Diaspora can come and invest in the region. He also pointed the bureau's effort of advertising investment opportunities the region has in different corners of the world. There is appreciable attempt of integrating migration and remittances by attracting Diaspora with to invest their money, knowledge and expertise in their home land.

Adamnesh(2006) mentions some of the activities that EEA is in charge of, as follows;

- ✘ *“Disseminating precise and useful information to the Ethiopian community*
- ✘ *abroad through various media outlets;*
- ✘ *Conducting research to identify problems of the Ethiopians in Diaspora in*
- ✘ *order to improve legislation that is crucial for their participation and*
- ✘ *contribution; and*
- ✘ *Ensuring the well being, safety and security as well as the rights and*
- ✘ *privileges of Ethiopians abroad” Adamnesh (2006, P.76)*

To mention few of the new commitments of the government

- In 2004 the Government established a directive to allow non-resident Ethiopians and non-residents of Ethiopian origin to have a foreign currency account in Ethiopia. This was done in an effort to attract foreign investment and entrepreneurship from the Diaspora. Investments from the Diaspora have been most notable in the cut flower and horticulture business (Lyons, 2007).
- In 2006, the Government of Ethiopia created a directive to regulate remittance transfers. The Directive aimed at , among others,
 - ✘ “To improve the operations of the formal remittance service in Ethiopia
 - ✘ To reduce the costs of remittance transfer system in Ethiopia

- ✎ To increase access of international remittance service for Nationals and make the service reliable, fast and safe” (National Bank of Ethiopia, 2009)

The Directive establishes regulations around rates and remittance service providers. Rates of different providers (for sending remittances to the National Bank of Ethiopia) are available on the website of the National Bank of Ethiopia, which provides transparency to the process. It appears, however, that there are 12 other banks in Ethiopia, and remittance services and partnerships are only offered through the National Bank of Ethiopia. It is unknown if the directive is enforced or provides improved services for remitters”(Fransen and Kuschminder (2009, P.26)

- ✎ In 2008 Ethiopia’s first Diaspora bond known as the Millennium Bond was issued by the state-owned power utility company Ethiopian Electric Power Corporation (EEPCO) (Negash, 2009).

Other actors that are involved in facilitating Ethiopia’s Migration-development linking efforts include African Union and IOM.

2.6. Migration-Development Conceptual Framework

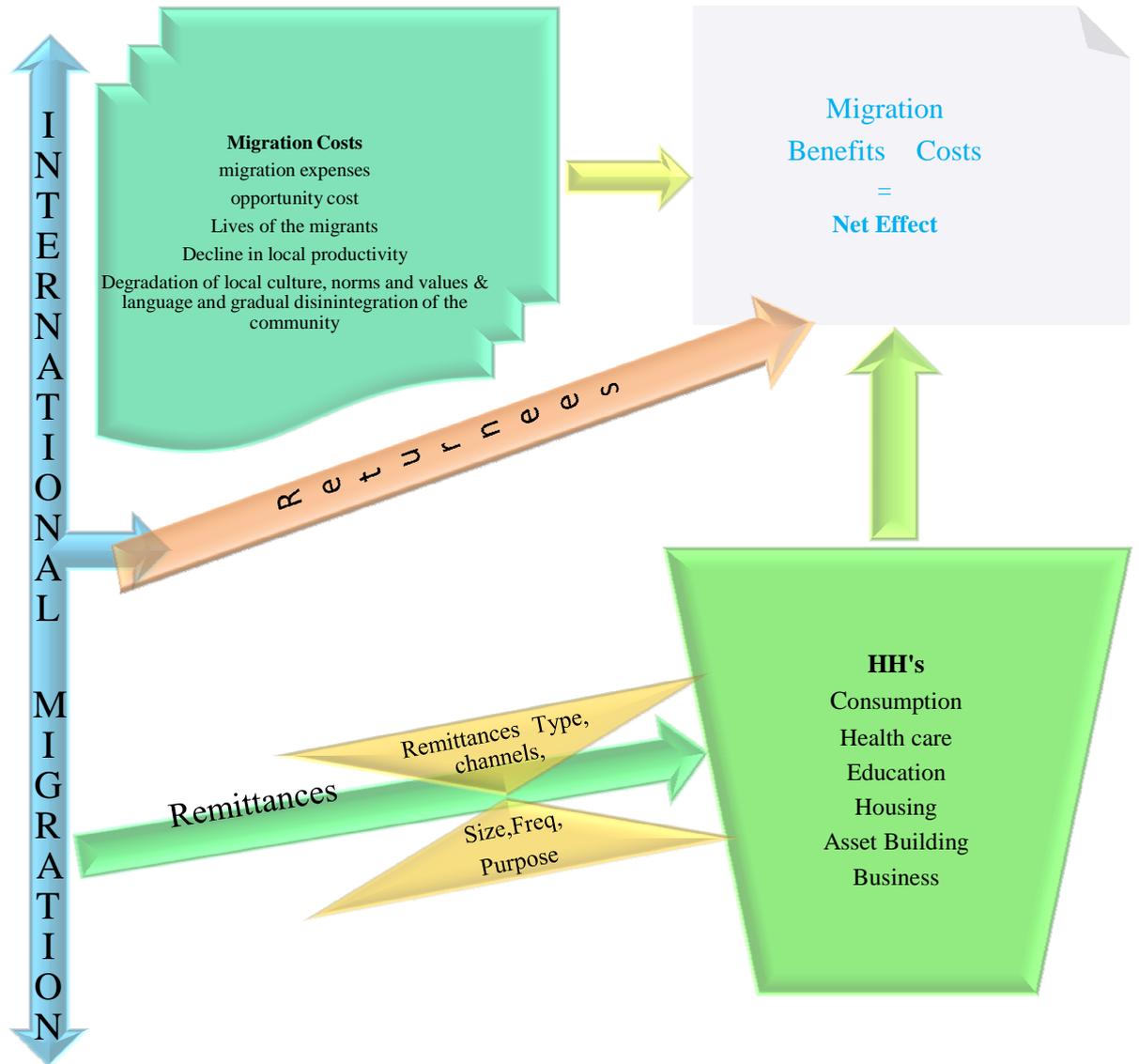


Fig-3 Development-Migration conceptual framework

2.6.2 Description of the conceptual framework

In this framework, the researcher tried to relate migration and development in two ways; the first one is how returnee migrants' combined potential (knowledge and skills along with money they bring, if any) contribute to local economic development and the Second, the role of financial remittances. Channels, safety and cost of money transfer influence the migrant's decisions to remit or not to remit resources and determine effective and timely delivery of the resources.

The amount sent and frequency of releasing remittances by migrants dictate the amount of money received by remittance recipients at home country. The more safer and timely service delivery with cheaper cost of transfer seemingly paves a way for more monetary transfers through formal remittance channels. The idea is, more inflow of money enhances Banks' foreign exchange holdings and thereby capacity of lending.

Why that particular person sends money back (for food consumption, educating family members or health etc) also matters and in turn may determine who receives the money. Business and any other similar prevailing conditions may or may not favor that particular type of expenditure. All together, these variables tell us how remittances are used—as daily consumption, health care, education, housing, asset building, setting up a business or humanitarian activities –by the recipient households. How remittances contribute to local economic development can be manifestation of how it is used. That is why the researcher wanted to examine this variable.

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Under this chapter the study area Irob, the data need, research design and how data were collected as well as analyzed are discussed in fair details.

3.1. Description of the Study area

Geographic location:

Irob woreda is found in northern tip of Eastern zone of Tigray Regional state, its center being 42 Kms far to the north east of Adigrat. It is surrounded by Gulomedra in the West, Eritrea in the North and North East, Afar Regional State in the East as well as Sae-sie Tsa'eda Emba in the South and South east. Its absolute location lies between $14^{\circ}7'$ to $14^{\circ}10'$ N latitude and $39^{\circ}30'$ to $40^{\circ}00'$ E longitude. Its capital, Dawhan is situated at 162km north of the regional administrative capital Mekelle (Fessuh, 2012).

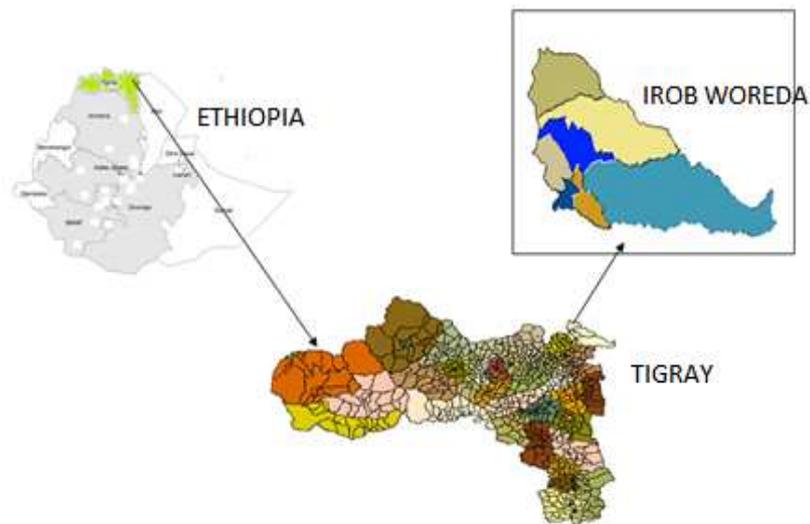


Fig-4 Location map of Irob woreda (Source: Tigray administrative map as cited in Fessuh, 2013)

Topography and Agro-Ecology

While its altitude consists the lowest in Endeli(1200m) and the highest in mount Assimba (3249m) above sea level, Irob includes kolla, woina dega and dega climatic zones. The area is dominated by a rugged topography.

The woreda office of Agriculture and Rural Development data shows that the annual temperature and rainfall range from 12 to 30 °C and 250 mm to 300 mm respectively. Irob woreda has an area of 128.71km².

Administrative Structure and Population Composition

Irob has total population of 31,031 scattered in 7 *Tabia* sand 28 *Kushet*². According to Irob woreda PSNP data of 2012, Irob woreda's total population is about 28,181, with respective proportion of 51.38per cent and 48.62per cent of female and males as well as an average annual growth rate of 2.5per cent (Fessuh, 2013).DOPF (2012) cited in Petros (2013) however, indicating that Irob total population in 2012 was 28,640, indicates that female population account for 60.12per cent (17,220) while females take 39.88 per cent share (11,420). Petros claims that the greater share of female population can be attributed to the massive male out-migration from the area, mainly to the Middle East. Regarding the religious composition of the study area, DOPF (2012) pointed out that Orthodox Tewahdo, Catholic, and Islam take 55.6 per cent , 42.3 per cent and 2.1 per cent respectively.

Livelihood

As Petros (2013), Irob is one of the 31 drought-prone and at the same time one of 22 drought-prone and chronically food insecure districts in Tigray Regional State (He further mentions that animal husbandry coupled with limited crop production make the main economic activities of the study area, states the inadequacy as follows;

“.... still due to erratic nature of rainfall, protracted drought and environmental degradation both livestock and crop production in the district are significantly low.....there happens to be an intricate lock-step relationship among rapid population growth, lack of non-agricultural sectors of employment, including landless labor, environmental degradation

² Added/Calculated from population tables of each tabia: taken from Irob woreda administration office, 2011

and resultant resource depletion, and growing poverty and food insecurity”(Petros, 2013: P.4)

Irob district has for ages, suffered from low agricultural production due to its topographic unsuitability, further restrained by rain fed nature of the agricultural practice and recurrent drought. Irob terrain would be suitable for livestock (cattles and shoats) production as well as be keeping as the products of these activities; mainly butter and honey have very high demand in the zonal and regional markets. These practices too are again hampered by the recurrent drought.

Ethio-Eritrean war is another cause, in which Irob community’s livelihood bases mainly, livestock resource (cattles, shoats, bee hive and colony) were destroyed irreversibly. Generally speaking, the agricultural production has been dropping while there is no or little on/off farm activities. On top of it, the current “*no-war no-peace*” scenario has closed other potential inward economic windows in the areas.

3.2. History of Irobs’ Migratory Movements

In fact, it is hardly possible and appropriate to delineate an exact terminus a quo for phenomena like migration. But there always are peculiar factors and situations that encourage or hinder peoples’ in/out migration from a particular area. From this point of view, despite it was not rare for some members of Irob community to migrate to short distances like Forro in Eritrea. It seasonally, this was insignificant and often temporary/seasonal. Generally, there is no agreed up on account as exactly when and how Irobs started transmigrating. Commonly however, it is said that two situations/routes made them loose-foot.

The first experience, perhaps with far reaching effects, was the introduction of modern education to Irob land in 1845 and its consequent overseas scholarships provided by the Catholic Church. The first modern education center in the history of the Ethiopia is Alitena, a small riparian hamlet in Buknaiti-Arre, Irob. Since this time, priests and students were sent abroad to pursue further education. This practice continually gave a vent for international migration initially to the western world but gradually to all corners of the globe.

The second scenario was Adgadi-Arre's/Endalgeda frequent contact with Eritrea. One vivid effect of Italians' occupation of Eritrea was their connectedness to the wider world, after which they became footloose & started to travel across the globe. Due to the close and frequent contact Adgadi-Arre in particular, had with Eritreans (until Ethiop-Eritrean war), this migration motive gradually passed onto Adgadi-Arre. Then again, it involved the whole community. This proxy effect is now clearly reflected the current records of all tabia's number of outmigration.

Currently, IWYSAO as of April, 2014 reported that about 1,850 persons have transmigrated to different countries until the date of report. The total was composed of 1327 males and 523 females. The same source has for the same period reported about 720 returnee migrants.

3.3. The Study Site selection

The study area is Irob, a woreda found in Eastern zone of Tigray regional state. Irob woreda is selected as a study area for many reasons. First, there is frequent outmigration from the area, mainly; youth outmigration is salient, which partly increases remittance inflows. Second, it is drought-prone area, where agriculture based livelihood strategies are proving to be insufficient due to the recurrent drought and infertile land. Besides, ragged topography of the area and lack of infrastructure facilities along with the no-war-no peace situation between Ethiopia and Eritrea have hindered the non-farm and off-farm activities. As a result, migration is often seen as a best alternative. The real consequences of international migration on migrant-sending households, is however, not systematically investigated. The other factor is the student researcher's familiarity with and prior knowledge of the study area, which in turn, helped capture the information available easily.

3.4. Data Type and Source

This study used both primary and secondary sources to generate appropriate data. Primary data were collected from migrants-sending household heads through survey questionnaire, and the head of the selected villages through key informant interview. Whereas sources of secondary included prior studies (mainly MA theses) in the study area, the Tigray regional livelihood Zone study report, Bank reports and remittance facilitation documents, Ethiopia's national policies for migration and related issues, Migration reports of Ministry of Labor and Social affairs(MoLSA),

Tigray Bureau of Labor and Social Affairs, ADCS and Irob woreda. Quantitative data was obtained to know the magnitude of remittance inflow, the amount a household / individual receives in a year, end use of the remittance (for daily consumption, education, health care, housing or business....) as well as saving and investing level of the remittances by the recipients.

The need to gather qualitative data was in order to know the people's point of view regarding net effect of international migration from and remittances to the study area. In other words, it intended to know the short and long term socio-economic consequences that overseas migration can have on Irob individual migrant-sending households, their counterparts, the district as an economic unit and most importantly, the fate of Irobs as a small ethnic group.

3.5. Research Strategy and Design

This study employed a mixed—quantitative and qualitative—approach. Because, it was needed to capture quantitative data from the migrant-sending households through close ended questionnaire whilst qualitative data is collected from the same households using semi-structured and open ended questionnaire as well as from local government officials through key informant interview. The researcher believed that it would help to estimate the costs and benefits of migratory enterprises, mainly based on remittances and to uncover people's understanding of, and possible solutions for the current migration situation.

This study was planned to examine specific issue at a particular point in time without repeating it. A cross sectional survey method is employed to assess the contribution of remittances and returnees in economic and social aspects of a household in the study area. However, considering the limitation of cross sectional method in capturing changes over time, some questions are designed to approximate process of changes over time. That is, certain questions are included to measure change and process over time.

Therefore, cross sectional method is used because of its effectiveness in terms of both time and money and approximating longitudinal survey questions by cross sectional methods is used to answer research questions involving process of changes over time.

3.6 Target Population

This study scrutinizes socio-economic implication of remittances and returnee migrants for the migrant-sending households; in that, its primary target population is migrant-sending households. But it also tries to examine the effects beyond particular migrant sending families at a community level. Returnee migrants' contribution is asked to see as what resources (new skills and knowledge or remittances) they bring with themselves and what they do with that. Remittances directly affect receiving households while the non-recipient residents are indirectly influenced. It is this change that the study aims to address.

3.7. Sampling Techniques and Sample size

To reach at the actual respondents of the study, multi-stage clustering was used as explained below. Multi-stage sampling was employed to include the right elements and avoid potential overlapping.

Step-1: Clustering Tabias; Cluster Sampling

Irob woreda is composed of seven *tabias* and 28 *Kushets*. For the purpose of this study however, the researcher divided the *tabias* into three clusters based on the history and current trend of transnational migratory movements.

Cluster one included areas with long history of migratory movements. As mentioned in previous section, modern education was started in Alitena, which used to be a hub until very recent past. Thus, Bukniti-Arre, mainly central Bukniti-Arre, has historically been beneficial in accessing better facilities than other parts of the woreda. Due to this reason, this part has longer history than the rest two categories. Cluster two consisted of areas currently with high migration trend. This refers largely to Adgadi-Arre/Endalgeda and yet includes neighboring villages of Bukniti-Arre. From the total 1850 migrants reported by the woreda Sports and Youth Office, 760 or 41.1 per cent are from Adgadi-Arre/Endalgeda. From this *tabia* and its adjacent villages, considerable portion of population mainly youth of this cluster is international migrant whose

dominant destination is Arab countries followed by Israel. The third cluster is composed of Hassabala and its neighboring sections of Bukniti arre. In relation to the categories aforementioned, this category has neither long history nor high trend of migratory movements.

Then, clusters that have long history with migration and currently show higher migratory records were chosen purposively. In other words, clusters one and two were worthy of being chosen.

Step-2: Purposive Sampling

As the financial and time resource available for the study was limited, two *tabias* were purposively selected from the two categories chosen. Purposive sampling was used for effective inclusion of *tabias* that have long standing migration history and are currently facing huge outmigration as well as to avoid possible overlapping. Accordingly, Daya-Alitena and Endalgeda *tabias* were taken on purpose. Because, among the 7 *tabias*, Endalgeda has the highest number of out-migrants (750/1850) while Daya-Alitena has the second highest number (290/1850). Daya-Alitena in addition, as a central Buknaiti arre, has the longest transmigration history in the district.

Step-3: Snowball Sampling: Selection of the actual Sample:

Eventually, respondent were reached at through snowball sampling method. Because, as the researcher did not have a list of migrant households whose members(s) have stayed three or more years abroad, snowball sampling was the best way to reach at them.

Sample size was determined using Kothari's population proportion formula for finite population (2004:177) as follows;

$$n = \frac{z^2 \cdot p \cdot q \cdot N}{e^2(N - 1) + z^2 \cdot p \cdot q}$$

Where,

N = size of population

n = size of sample

e = acceptable error (the precision)
 p = standard deviation of population
 z = standard variety at a given confidence level

In this study,

- N= 1048
- e= 0.07 (taking confidence interval 93)
- p= 0.5
- z= 0.5 (1.81)

$$\text{Thus, } n = \frac{(1.81)^2 \cdot 0.05 \cdot 0.05 \cdot 1048}{(0.07)^2 (1048 - 1) + (1.81)^2 \cdot 0.05 \cdot 0.05} = 144.27 = 145$$

The total sample size was distributed based on the place's ratio to their total sum.
 i.e.,

$$N_{\text{adg}} = \frac{N_{\text{adg}}}{N_{\text{adg}} + N_{\text{alit}}} \times 145$$

Accordingly, Adgadi-Arre took **105** while Alitena took **40**; Total = **145**

3.8. Data Collection Instruments

Data was collected not only from respondents residing in the study area but also from Irob migrant households that are currently living in Adigrat and Mekelle towns. Because, as Petros (2013) states in the case of Irob returnee migrants, they establish residences and/or business in urban centers of the region rather than returning back to their woreda. He puts it as an “exceptional” migration event of Irob woreda. This post-migration-relocation is however, observed not only in the returnees but most migrant sending-households too. On the whole, the researcher believed that international migration is fostering further outmigration by pulling the migrant-sending households to the zonal and regional towns. Hence, to check if it is true or

otherwise, data was gathered from three places. Spatial distribution of the respondents was made arbitrarily which stood at 50, 55 and 40 for Irob, Adigrat and Mekelle respectively.

To make data collection respondent-friendly³ and thereby increase data reliability, the questionnaire was translated to Tigrigna. Furthermore, enumerators were saho speakers so as to make sure that respondents can explain their ideas without any problem. Pre-test on 12 randomly selected respondents was another means of checking the appropriateness of the questions and the questionnaire as well as data accuracy and validity. Questionnaire survey and key informant interview were data collection instruments.

I. Questionnaire

This part, using both open-ended and close-ended questionnaires, gathered data from 145 migrant-sending household heads. The questions included socio-demographic background variables such as age, sex, and educational as well as marital statuses. These variables are incorporated to provide fertile grounds for analysis of remittance spending and effects across households. Other variables against which socio-economic status of the households is examined include income sources & annual income, occupation and wealth along with access to education, health care and housing (before and after migrating of their family member); effects of returnee migrants and the use of remittances received. The questionnaire also collected data on type, size, channel, frequency and purpose of remitting.

II. Key Informant Interview

The key informant interview guide is developed with an intention of getting richer information than what was obtained from survey and to crosscheck its reliability. Subjects of the interview were asked for their informed consent and time suitable for them in advance. Here, unstructured questions were used to get woreda level picture of the topic in issue. That is, current migration's

³Irobs' mother tongue is Saho and Tigrigna is the second language. Most of the population can communicate in Tigrigna but some, mainly those in remote rural areas, understand [only] few words of and cannot communicate in Tigrigna.

trend along with overall, effects of migration, remittances and returnees at household as well as district level. It also strived to examine government directions as well as possible measures forward.

3.9 Data Presentation and Analysis

Analysis part is very important stage where the raw data is cooked to give organized information based on which valid conclusions and recommendations of the study are made. To this end, once data was collected, it was entered into, edited and processed using Software Package for Social Sciences (SPSS version 2.0). As mentioned in previous section, most questions were already pre-coded but some (which were open ended and hence, not coded in advance) not. So, these questions were post-coded in a manner they together give structured facts and figures.

Quantitative data is examined with the help of SPSS software and revealed in descriptive statistics like tables, frequencies, percentages and averages. This was crucial to point out differences between the socio-economic statuses of the migrant-sending households before and after migration statistically. Here, migration costs, differences in incomes and income sources, educational levels, share of remittance spending, etc were calculated to scrutinize the differences that may have been caused by migration. Qualitative data were organized, summarized and interpreted by the researcher manually, which then employed description and narration.

CHAPTER FOUR: RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

In this chapter, data is systematically presented and analyzed interpreted and summarized in tables, graphs, percentages and narrations.

4.1. Demographic Profile of the Respondents

4.1.1 Sex Composition

Sex is one of the most important socio-demographic factors that when talking about migration motive and decision, as well as its end uses. As shown in table 4.1, out of the total survey respondents (145), 80 (55.2 per cent) were males while the rest 65 (44.8 per cent) were females.

Table 4.1.1 Sex composition of the respondents

Male	Female	Total
80	65	145
55.2per cent	44.8per cent	100.0per cent

Source: Household survey, April 2014

Compared to two previous studies conducted in the same study area (Petros, 2013 and Fessuh, 2013), the ratio of female population in this study is much higher. This can be attributed to, among others, three reasons; one, from total population of Irob district, females make 60.12 per cent while the rest 39.88 per cent is male population (DOPF, 2012 cited in Petros, 2013). Two, Irob outmigration is dominated by young male group (g.e., see Petros 2013, Fessuh, 2013 and Youth and Sports Office, 2014). And three, as a result of the reasons aforementioned accompanied by inclusion of the urban respondents, which are commonly dominated by females, respondents of this study are outnumbered by female and active, young population.

4.1.2. Age structure of the respondents

Age is an important variable in determining how benefits of migration are used. That is, age of a migrant sending household head is very crucial in influencing the end use of remittances.

Table 4.1.2 Age Distribution of the Respondents

Age Range					
18-28	29--38	39-48	49-58	59 and above	Total
21	44	29	25	26	145
14.5per cent	30.3per cent	20.0per cent	17.2per cent	17.9per cent	100.0per cent

Source: Household Survey, 2014

As shown in table 4.2 above, the five age groups, ascendingly comprised 21(14.5 per cent), 44(30.3per cent), 29(20 per cent), 25(17.2per cent) and 26 (17.6 per cent). From this table, one can clearly see that more than 60 per cent of the respondents is between 18 and 48, which means active labor. Petros (203) in his analysis of respondents' age for his study in the same study area, he found age of most household heads between 40 and 70 years; which shows greater share of aged population than this study's results. The difference is that Petros collected data within Irob district; the original settlement of Irob community while the current study included other regional towns (Adigrat and Mekelle) where members of Irob community heavily reside. Relatively speaking, Irob population in towns is younger than the population in the original settlement. The first two consecutive groups of early age, constituted the highest number of respondents—21 plus 44 equals 65 or 44.8 per cent — and most of them were reportedly from Mekelle and Adigrat.

As mentioned in many studies (e.g., *see* Petros, 2013; Fessuh, 2013 and Irob Livelihood zone, no date,) the livelihood options and social services in Irob district are limited and thus, cannot satisfy all members of the community. It is common therefore, for Irob household to have a second settlement in other regional towns like Mekelle, Wukro and most dominantly Adigrat. In this case, it is very common to see very young boys/girls even of 18 and 19 years, acting as

household heads as their parents remain back at home. Parents that were originally settling in Irob district live in towns only if they remain helpless (due to their old age or ill-health) and even if they come, they don't remain household heads as they were in Irob. So, younger members of a household are in charge of the second or urban residence. Due to this arrangement coupled with the town's connectedness to the external world, it is this young and urban resident population that manages migration remittances and related issues.

4.1.3 Marital Status of the Respondents

Out of the 145 respondents that assumed a role of household head, more than half—91 (62.7)—were married. The second largest group is of the singles, with a count of 44 (30.3 per cent). Other 7 of respondents were widowed while the smallest group, the divorced, consisted 3 household heads.

**Table 4.1.3 Marital Status of the Respondents * Family members abroad
Crosstabulation**

		Family member abroad				Total
		Parents (F/H/W/M)	children(son /dtr	Siblings (Bro/Sis)	Other	
Marital Status	Single	13	0	25	6	44
	Married	14	51	24	2	91
	Divorced	0	3	0	0	3
	Widowed	0	4	2	1	7
Total		27	58	51	9	145

Source: Household Survey, 2014

4.1.4 Educational status of the respondents

From the table above, we can observe three trend directions before and after migration; in three of the first four categories—None, primary and preparatory—the trend in the total number has declined. Before migration, total number of “no education” category was 44; of “primary” 43 and 17 for “preparatory”. After migration however, the total become 43, 31 and 10 respectively.. Whereas in the 3rd category (secondary level), the total remained the same fore and after migration. In the next three consecutive levels viz. preparatory, diploma, TVET and Degree & above, there is considerable increase in terms of the total count. Before migrating of their household member, total count of the levels was 8,6 and 10 in their ascending order. But after migration, total of the same levels appears to be 11, 10 and 22, showing an increment ranging between 3 and 12. Specially, the last (degree and above) category has doubled itself.

Table 41.4 The respondents' Sex * Level of Education before Migrating of their family member Crosstabulation																
		Respondents' Level of Education Before Migration														Total
		None		primary (1-7)		secondary (8-10)		Preparatory (11-12)		Diploma		TVET		Degree & above		
		Before	After	Before	After	Before	After	Before	After	Before	After	Before	After	Before	After	
SEX	M	24	23	24	15	8	12	11	7	3	5	3	4	7	14	80
	F	20	20	18	16	10	6	6	3	5	6	3	6	3	8	65
Total		44	43	43	31	18	18	17	10	8	11	6	10	10	22	145

Source: Household Survey, 2014

This general trend shows us that there has been considerable progress in the educational levels of the respondents. Sex wise however, there is no significant difference in ratio or general trend direction. What is unique here is that 101/145 or about 69.6 per cent of the respondents were literate. The rest 44 (30.34per cent) reported to have no education. According to (CSA 2009/2010) report, Ethiopia’s National Adult literacy rate was 36 while of Tigray Regional

State was 50. According to MTM i-Map (2012), which has cited CSA (2010) however, Ethiopia's national adult rate as of 2007 was 39. The source is the same but there is yet great discrepancy. Though it may be due to the great share of urbanites in the sample, the study area's literacy rate is much higher; compared to the regional and national rates mentioned above.

4.2 Income source of the Respondents before and after migrating of household member

As the study relied more on the memories and subjective understandings of the respondents, only, the major sources of income were examined and their rank is taken. And the tables shows only income sources that are preferred as the first means available for the households, along with corresponding number of respondents. The results revealed that before migration, 60/145 (41.4 per cent) ranked agriculture as the primary source of their household income. PSNP, being preferred by 54/145, which accounted for 37.24 per cent of the respondents, was the second best household livelihood source. With a small difference, Business and salary/wage income sources were chosen as a main resort by 15 and 14 household respondents ascendingly.

This however, does not mean that each livelihood strategy is not part of livelihood economy for the rest households. A household may use mix or sometimes, even all of the sources; but here, they are ranked in their order of importance for a particular household. As a matter of fact, among the household heads that filled in the questionnaire, more than great many of them used mixture of two or more sources at a time. Mainly agriculture and then PSNP were almost in all mixes.

Table 4.2a Respondents' Sex * income source before migration: Ranked Crosstabulation

	Rank the source of income before migration				Total
	Agriculture	Business	Wage/salary	PSNP	
Sex Male	47	1	3	26	80
Sex Female	13	13	12	28	65
Total	60	14	15	54	145

Source: Household Survey, 2014

After migrating of household members however, the role of every category has changed. Dramatically declining, agriculture and PSNP similarly took only 23 (15.8 per cent) and 17 (11.7 per cent)in the order given while business took 21 (14.5 per cent). Remittances, with count of 85 obtained 58.6 per cent.

Table 4.2b Sex * Respondents' source of income after migration: Ranked Crosstabulation

	Rank the source of income after migration					Total
	Agriculture	Business	Wage/ salaries	PSNP	Remittance	
Sex Male	17	11	6	16	45	80
Sex Female	9	13	7	10	36	65
Total	23	21	13	17	85	145

Source: Household Survey, 2014

Generally speaking, agriculture and PSNP were often part of almost all livelihood strategy mixes. That is so because, first of all, residences in the urban centers are seen more as second dwelling than independent ones; even if the urbanites are married. Second, 21 respondent household heads were between age of 18 and 28 years, which is rarely a marriage age in the study area. Consequently, some of the urban residences were simply extensions of the main family in rural that needs support from rural in terms of agriculture products like crops, honey, butter, coal etc. Moreover, though currently deteriorating, among Irobs, there is a strong sense of *extended family* even among nuclear families of siblings thereby streaming outputs of all sources to all residences existed. So, this, in the face of limited non-farm and off-farm activities force heavy reliance in agriculture and PSNP.

In relative terms, respondents with higher in general and female household heads of the same age in particular, dominantly selected agriculture and PSNP as their primary sources of income. Even within this group, when we compare and contrast the ratio of each sex against their income source preference, agriculture was favored more by male households heads where as female household heads favored PSNP.

These tendencies are the result of two factors. The dominance of agriculture and PSNP as the main income sources of this age group is mainly due to the study area's lack of other salary/wage and business activities. Most female household head respondents of this age group (59 and above) privileged PSNP as females face difficulties in agricultural production activities like tilling, though they have plots. In most cases, female headed households suffer not only from lack of productive labor plots and oxen but primarily, from inability to fully utilize them including their adult sons.

4.3 Migration: Migrant Family Members, destinations, Migration modes and Costs

The study revealed that each respondent household head, during the survey period, had at least one family member. Great many too reported that they have two or more with maximum number of five family members abroad; as such, the number of migrant family members of the 145 respondent household heads was 247. It was very common for many households to have two migrants mainly in Saudi and Israel. Out of these 145 migrant-sending respondents, 33 (22.06

per cent) of them said to have parents⁴ (spouses, mother or father), while 58 had their daughter or sons abroad. Other type of relation, with the second highest frequency was a sibling, which was selected by 43 respondents. Category of *others*, that represented migrants who are out of parents, siblings or daughter/son of the respondent, included relationships like aunt, uncle, cousin, etc and scored 11. The time length that migrants stayed abroad ranged from 2.4 to 28 years.

As to the way the migrants went through, 73/145 (50.3 per cent) of the respondents told that their family member migrants migrated lawlessly through illegal brokers and human traffickers. The second very common practice was and still is, one of the family members first migrates illegally and then helps the rest potential migrant family members to migrate legally. Among the 145 respondents contacted, 23(16.7 per cent) had experience of such illegal-then-legal way. This type was relatively dominant in migrants to the western world in which few individuals that left Ethiopia during the 1970s and 1980s political instability and later sponsored their family members.

Table 4.3 Means/Ways of Migration reported by the respondents

Parameters	Frequency	Percent
work visa	13	8.9
Education/student visa	11	8.0
By brokers	73	50.3
first illegally, others by visa	23	16.7
Marriage	10	7.2
Other	15	10.9
Total	145	100.0

Source: Household Survey, 2014

⁴ Parent in a Respondent-Migrant relation meant one of two things; A) a **spouse** if the respondent is a wife or husband and B) a **parent** in the case where respondent (who assumed a household role) is a son/daughter

Migrating through Visa (including work and education) was reported by 24/145 (16.5 per cent) respondents while marriage tie got 10 or 6.9 per cent response. The rest 15 (10.3per cent) responses represented other means most of which were cases that respondents are not clear with or do not remember.

In fact, what makes current migration from the study area more dangerous or at least minifies its returns is partly due to the popularity that illegal migration has got. The key informant interview results depicted that illegal transmigration of youth, most heading to Saudi, Israel and since recently, to the Western (through Irob-Sudan-Libya- Italy) is parented by the study area's limited livelihood options further refueled by the border position, military encampment and no-war-no peace scenario of the study area. Irob's Proximity to the outlets of illegal transnational movements is another incentive that makes illegal movements the day's vogue.

According to the findings, destinations with the highest number of Irob immigrants are Saudi Arabia absorbing 73/247 (29.6per cent) and Israel with 72/247 (29.1 per cent). Irobs' immigration to Saudi Arabia has long history intensified by migrants' networks established over decades.

In terms of the pecuniary values a household invested in the migratory process, the minimum cost was 400 Birr paid to cross to Saudi Arabia 15 years ago while the maximum cost was 275,000 Birr a single household borne for its 4 members; 3 to Israel and one to Saudi Arabia, within the last five years. The route to Israel has so far been the most expensive according to study results and interview results. Another ugly face of current Irob migration comes here, when a poor household, whose savings are said to be only few livestock, mainly cattle, is impelled to pay such unbearable amounts.

4.4. Migrant Remittances

As indicated in previous section, the 145 respondents contacted had 274 migrant members abroad. Not all migrants however, send remittances back home. In the case of this study for instance, 127/145 answered “yes” when they were asked if they receive any remittances from their migrant households while the rest 18 respondent household heads did not receive.

Table 4.4 Sex * Remittances Receivers Crosstabulation

		Receive Remittances?		Total	
		Yes	No	Number	%
Sex	Male	71	9	80	55.2
	Female	56	9	65	44.8
Total		127	18	145	100

Source: Household Survey, 2014

4.4.1 Type of Remittances

Among the 127 respondents that received remittances, about 97 (76.4per cent) got it in cash. Other 27(21.2per cent) received both cash and kind types whereas the rest three received in kind. On other interesting issue was a channel of cash remittances shown below.

4.4.2 Channels of Remittance

As we see from the above figure, majority of the respondents receive their money through banks and friends/relatives. Doesn't it seem a paradox when majority of the migrants are illegal but send their money through banks? Of course, it is but has different tricks. In Israel case, people that migrated illegally do not remain illegal; rather, seek work permission as if they are from Eritrea. Thus, they have to win the permission or otherwise are sent back to Ethiopia.

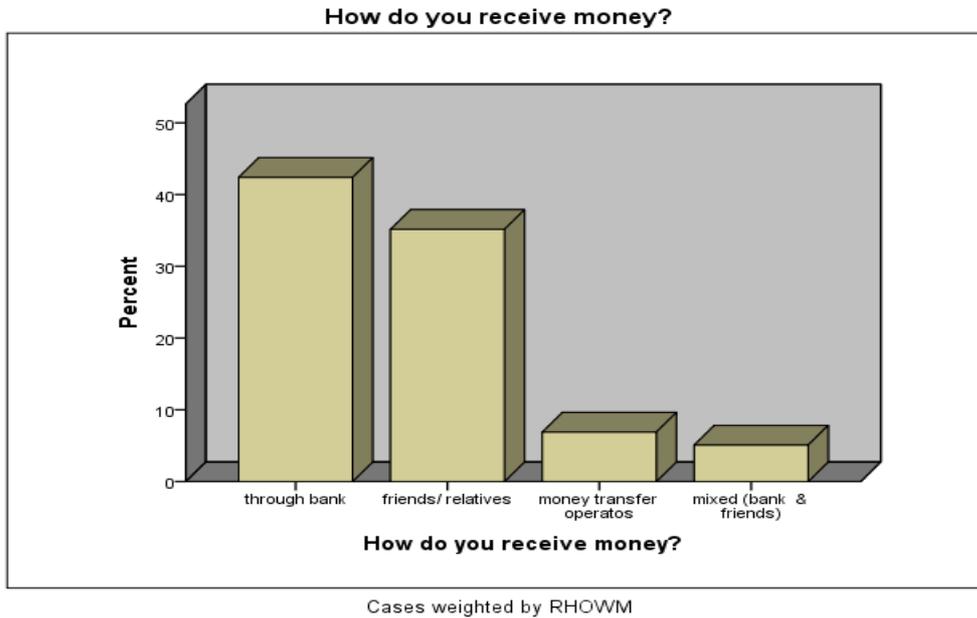


Figure 14.4 Remittance channels

In Saudi case however, until the government of the country cracked down on illegal migrants last year, migrants could work even without permission until they are caught. Under this situation, they pass their money to a person there that has legal status and he/she remits it to the migrant's households at home. Money transfer operators are used by some remittance recipients but are not common.

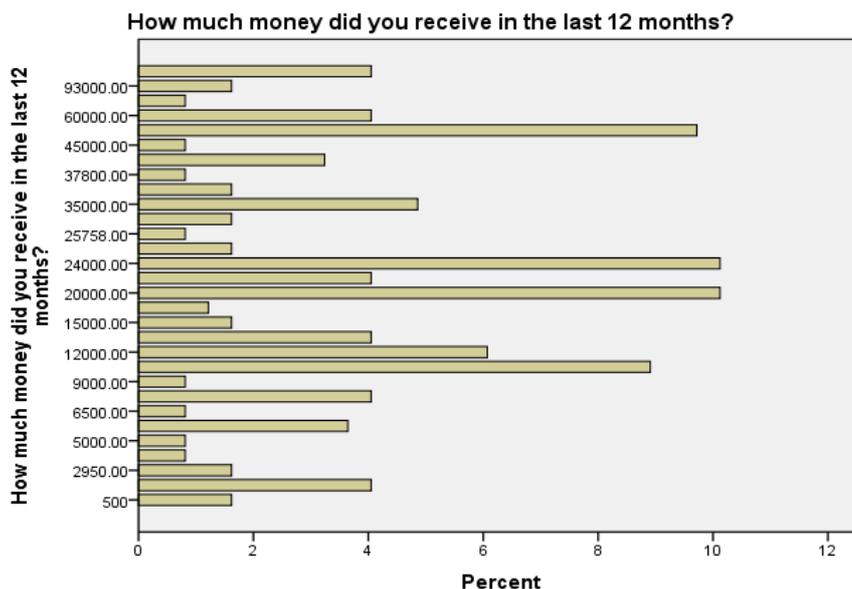
The others who claimed the *mix* meant that cash is delivered sometimes through banks and other times through friends or someone who they know. Normally, there are individuals that receive remittances from someone abroad (for this purpose, partner, who collects money of the illegal workers there and sends to this partner), and distribute here to recipients. Apart from the profit motive of these individual transfer deliverers, in Irob worda there is only one commercial bank, established recently. Thus, remittance receiving obliges the households either to come to Adigrat or make arrangements in which someone readily hands the money to them. This is partly why the role of relatives/friends has been high.

Abinet (2011), taking the case of Republic of South Africa, he explains the practice of remittance channels and their effects as follows;

..... pocket transfer appears to be the main channel, if not the only, of transfer from Republic of South Africa to Ethiopia. Once the money reaches Addis Ababa by passenger from Republic of South Africa, representatives of the agents working in Addis Ababa receive the cash (in USA dollar) and then exchange it often in black markets. The next step in this informal transmission channel is transferring the birr in to the current accounts of the agents..... The implication here is that the agents require comparatively higher fees than the amount required through formal transfer system. These agents are literally giving the banks service without having license or paying the necessary tax or fee for their income generating activities. The transmission channel through black market exchange promotes illegality. Moreover, informal money transmission channels understate the magnitude of remittance inflow and hence misguide the activities and decisions made in this regard (Abinet, 2011, P. 39).

4.4.3 Volume of the Remittances

In fact, it is hardily possible to capture the exact amount of the money households received over a year as it is based on simply their memory. But the central aim of the study was to know their



Cases weighted by RHQWM
Source: Household Survey, 2014

general understanding and use of migration and remittances. When the 127/145 household heads that receive remittances were asked how much money they received within the last 12 months, the amount ranged between 500 and 120,000 Birr. Most of the amounts however, rated 10,000 and above. In terms of frequency, about 115/145, or 79.3 per cent did not have regular time of receiving remittances.

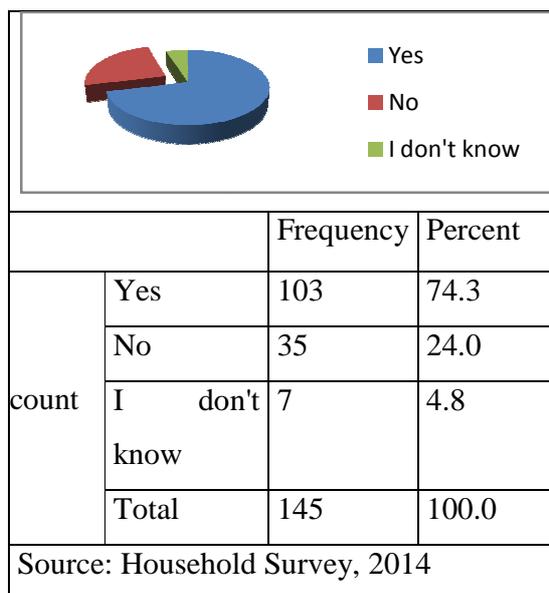
4.5. Remittances and Recipient household's welfare

Remittances can play crucial role in the welfare of migrant-sending societies, through raising levels of basic consumption, health care, education and housing for the household members at home or it may even promote savings thereby initiate business and investments (Mara et al., 2012). The same source also acclaimed remittances for providing communities with relief during shocks, complimenting social protection packages and correcting the limited government policy interventions as well as lifting liquidity constraints.

As a result of recurrent drought accompanied by fragmented and inadequate land holdings agricultural production is low in Irob and thus, remittances constitute very important financial income source for rural households in the study area (Petros, 2013). As the majority of the household respondents said and the key informant interviewees approved, Irob faces shortage of adequate agricultural and related produces as a result of which the people are highly vulnerable to any shocks. As a result, they witness that migration remittances are typical livelihood strategy for the Irob community.

4.6. End use of Remittances

As the most immediate effect of migration remittances, three forth of the respondents witnessed increase in their yearly income due to the additional income remitted by their family members in other countries. Accordingly, 103/145 or 71 per cent of them confirmed that remittances improve a household's consumptions and thereby standard of living.



The results indicate that out of 127 remittance recipient household heads, 92.9 per cent (118) admitted that they use some of remittances for daily consumption. The key informant interview results too proved that most recipients spend at least some of the remittances on daily consumption needs of the household.

In health care too, 106/127, which accounts for 83.5 per cent of the remittance recipients, spent some of their remittance income for health care purpose. According to some respondents, remittances contributed to improved health of their families through improving indoor health care facilities but mainly their food-intake. As the most common responses indicated however, the crucial role of remittances was not preventive as mentioned before; rather, curative. That is, first of all, the recipients develop confidence that they will be able to afford if they face any health problems. Second, it is very common for Irob remittance recipient household members to come to Adigrat and contact their family member(s) abroad, in the case of ill-health or any other special need for that matter. As such, they get better medical services available, including in private clinics. The other very important aspect of remittances in health care improvement was “*timely*” medication.

Migration is of course, believed to boost children's education through provision of better education materials and facilities; at the same time however, the absence of parents due to migration causes many sufferings to the children (Adams and Page, 2005). Remittance spending on education of the household members at home was responded "yes" by 82 or 47.7 per cent of the household heads. The result summary shows that remittances have very important role in, enabling household member students to continue their schooling in Dawhan or Adigrat by covering a house rent⁵ and paying their school fees so as to attend better schools. Providing the students with better facilities which ranged from exercise books to computers was another education enhancing component of the remittances. As mentioned in the previous section, there was significant upgrading in educational level of the respondents measured before and after migration. There are also household heads that acclaimed remittances to have boosted their education. In sum, the results of survey and key informant interview proved remittances' positive role in education of migrant-sending households at home.

On the opposite side however, results of this study indicate that the main destination of Irob international migrants is Arab countries followed by Israel and smaller share of USA and Europe. And these destinations often absorb unskilled labour and/or engage them in such activities; thus, migrants should stay in that domain than upgrade their educational and professional status. The migrant workers have no chance of further education and career advancement. From this, one can easily infer that morethan of the migrants are involved in unskilled labor activities but not up grading academically. Thus, a community with a small number, youth out migrating and at the same time not educating and/or advancing it, hardily has coming generation to flourish the locality. This minifies the role of migration and remittances in long term wel-being of the households and the community at large, if not put the community's healthy existence under question mark.

Housing was another dependent variable to examine effects of international migration and remittance. As per Mara et al. (2012), empirical evidences prove that remittances are primarily

⁵ There are preparatory schools only in Dawhan and Alitena. But students from different corners of Irob cannot attend everyday class in these centers. As a result, they are often forced to rent in Dawhan or if possible in Adigrat. So, migration as a source of house rent and some basic consumption has very crucial role.

spent on basic subsistence needs, and when these needs are fairly served, remittances are spent on housing improvement and eventually land purchase.

From this point of view, this study finds that international remittances were spent, among others, on daily consumption, health care and education by respondents 92.9 per cent, 83.5 per cent and 47.7 per cent respectively. Other 85 respondents of the 127 remittance receiving households (66.9 per cent) said “yes” when they were asked if they have spent any of their remittance income on housing. Housing here included rent, buying new houses and when it needed significant change and expense, maintenance/upgrading of existing ones. Among the household heads included in this study, 35 (24 per cent of the total respondents and 42.2 per cent of those who use remittances for housing) bought new houses in towns mainly Adigrat and Mekelle whilst other 41(48 per cent) and 9(10.6 per cent) used the income for rent and maintenance of existing ones respectively.

Migrants and their families often target, among other ends, to raise their assets, sometimes however the effect may be the reverse. That is, they may lose the assets they already had at home due to poor management resulted by out migration (Belay2011). In the study at hand, remittance spending was not as high as consumption, health care, education and housing. And even those who “yes” when they were asked their remittance spending on assets, claimed more of general improvement at a household level and less of livestock other productive assets. One old man said when he was asked the same question; *“No, I did not spend any coin on livestock so far. Because, it meaningless unless it rains. But as you all know, our land has gone short of rain for many consecutive years.”*

The tragedy is, in the beginning when households are coerced to pay tens of thousands for their family member in the hands of ruthless smugglers, they are forced to sell out their livestock; but do not buy any even when they get remittance money; Because, they are afraid of losing the livestock due to the drought. So, generally speaking, remittance income is helping only to set off the difficulties/shocks but not building livestock assets. Rather, it is fueling their deterioration.

International migrants are asked to extend their hands not only for basic consumption needs but also many unexpected expenses like wedding, funeral, holidays and likes. These ceremonies are part of the households and community's social life upon which social capital is partly based. This study indicates that more than half of the households used their remittance incomes for different ceremony expenses. The ceremonies' content and need vary across families and situations.

4.7. Remittance Savings and Productive Investments

Migration remittance earnings are now becoming one typical source of income at macro and micro levels, due to which interest of governments, academia and policy makers is growing. Because, migration benefits, mainly, remittances have emerged as dependable source of livelihood for the migrant-sending households while serving as source of income and hard currency for the nations of the developing world (Nepal Bank, 2012:P. 2).

One and perhaps, sustainable way of using remittances is saving and then investing it in productive activities. This is one way through which multiplying the migration-remittance benefits (making it further productive) and multiplier effect of migration (benefiting not only the recipients but also their environs). As Bank of Uganda 2008 report, retail shops, construction, farming, education projects were among the most successful business/investments initiated with resources from migrants.

With this view in mind, when the respondents were asked if their business are started by seed capital found from remittance, 6 (4 per cent) of them already had it but used remittances for business activities while other 25 (17.2 per cent) were newly entered into business using remittance income as their "*start-up*" capital. Dominant type of businesses reported were shops, followed by café and coffeehouses. Hair salon, barber, glass work, hotel and minibus were also included.

As stated above the dominant activity was shop and normal shops are often handled by the owners. It very rarely employs additional labor. As a result, employment rate stood at half of the business owners' number (16). As a tax base of the business activities, most of them indicated

that they have paid annual tax that ranged between 200 am 5400 Birr. The total tax contribution of the business owner respondents was about 52,018 Birr.

These remittance induced business activities are not however, adding the benefits supposed to ripe to the study area. In fact, through the taxes paid, creation of employment opportunity, providing services, etc, these business activities have something to contribute to the place where they are opened. The problem here is that on the top of agricultural productivity, Irob has no geographically suitable market centers where many people meet. Dawhan, the capital, followed by Alitena is where more or less consumers and sellers meet but even these towns are very small and have no extendable nature. As a result, many people opt to open business in Adigrat than the study area. As such these business activities bring neither tax nor employment contributions to the study area. Of course, there are few individuals that opened in Irob but when compared to the number of respondents and overall migration and remittances expectable benefit, it is meager.

4.8. Development Impact of Returnee Migrants

When migrants return and re-settle in their communities, they often engage in businesses of a general nature if urban based and farming, if rural (Bank of Uganda, 2008). In fact, depending up on the situation in their place of origin, returnees often bring with them vital financial resources, knowledge and technical or technological expertise with which they can contribute positively to wellbeing of their home communities. In the study area/Irob there are not about 729 (522 male and 207 female) returnees outnumbered by those expelled by the government of Saudi Arabia. Among the respondents, 13 had one returnee migrant household member.

According to Adamnesh (2016), effective re-integration process needs proper adjustment of a whole host of social, cultural and economical milieu. Returnee Migrants' contributions are influenced if not determined by these adjustments. Thus, it is a common responsibility of the returnees' families, the community as well as local governments and NGOs to welcome and enable the returnees settle in their area. In line with this, there are efforts to do so but such effect is limited in the study area mainly because, woreda lacks financial capacity and most of the youth members have less or no savings as they were expelled all of a sudden. The youth's

tendency to reside and win bread in towns is an additional motive that diminishes Irob's benefit from migration.

Although the repatriation programs provide different incentives, in many cases these may have been insufficient to realize certain plans of return migrants. It is therefore for this reason that, in the Ethiopian case too, some returnees may have assessed both government and other bodies' initiatives as 'lesser than expected'. In some cases, they even think that their decision to return was wrong.(Adamnes, 2006, PP. 65-66)

As a result of the lack of financial capacity of both woreda and the returnees, far less than needed is achieved. The implication is, though they may have very crucial role to raise welfare of their households and the community at large the climate is limited.

4.9. Overall effect of Migration and Remittances

Migration has continuously been posing challenging questions regarding the nature of development itself. In one side, Poverty alleviation is a step towards development, which migration evidently accomplishes. Migration remittances unarguably raise the migrant-sending families' incomes and are a living for many poor families. Great share of that migration/additional income is spent on basic consumptions like food, health care, education and housing. Thus, migration and remittances contribute to progress toward some of the UN's 8 Millennium Development Goals (MPI, 2003).

The same source cites a bit deeper assumption of neo-classical model. This model assumed that migrants always come back to their place of origin and contribute to the local development; as such, in the long run, migration was viewed as a tool for local development.

In line with the first argument of MPI, this study results found that with an additional remittance income, income of the households is raised and this in turn, has fairly improved their consumption pattern, health care, education, housing and business opportunities. As to the neo-classical model's assumption of returnees' coming back however, this study reveals different

story. That is, not only Irob returnees buy houses and reside in urban centers in their return to Tigray; but also significant number of migrant-sending households resettle as soon as they manage to buy or at least, rent houses in towns. So, let alone the returnees, the families are leaving Irob instead of investing locally.

On the other side, however, the improvements in the households' basic needs/wants do not necessarily account for development. In other words, development needs long-term structural changes in terms of knowledge and technology advancements, efficient businesses creation, good governance, public services and so forth. From this point of view of development, it is argued that migration does not lead to the structural changes needed for long-term development and may actually delay them. This argument states that, much like a natural resource windfall, migration may raise incomes without boosting know-how and institutional capacity, while creating perverse incentives that lead to unsustainable family economies (MPI, 2003).

Migration arguably robs developing countries of their most motivated and innovative people, delaying institutional change. With the same sense, Fessu (2013) hold that out-migration from rural areas depletes the rural labor forces and thereby cuts down agricultural production. Because, he says, most of the out-migrants are in their productive age while the population/labor left at home is often composed of females, children and aged with low productive capacity is less efficient.

The migrants and their families' farm land did not pass through the necessary land preparations especially for cultivation of their land just before the rainy season. The implication is that the output per unit of land would be less than the land can give if it is properly prepared and even there are times when the migrants' family gives their land for sharecropping due to labor shortage (Belay, 2013: 60)

The point is that the current youth out- migration is further deteriorating already low agricultural production.

Socio-economic effects of International migration and its remittances are not always taken to be positive; it is often debated on due to which it is variously termed as *unsettled* (Ellerman 2005;

de Haas 2007; Castles 2008). In the case of remittances too, Optimists consider it as a typical livelihood strategy and engine of development (e.g., *see* Ayón, 2012; Fransen and Kuschminder 2009). Pessimists however, argue that remittances are not the result of local economic activities and are used only for daily consumption; which lend dependency syndrome than sustainability (Ncube and M. Gómez 2011).

Feinstein International Center made Institutional Assessment in 2010 on change of livelihood strategies overtime, taking Tsea'da Emba and Irob as its study area. In Irob case, it found that "Several people's fear of family disintegration as a primary side effect of outmigration. Those who did have a migrant family member stated that though it generates some remittances, it dramatically increased their own work burden. Thus, migration was not a positive coping strategy (FIC, 2010).

In this study too, 80.56 per cent (116) of the respondents believed that international remittances are the most feasible and reliable source of household livelihood at hand in Irob. This was mainly because of the sheer inadequacy of local income sources including agriculture. The respondents however, did not promote migration for different reasons. First of all, it involves active labor force and thus, it is partly an explanatory reason for furthering agricultural production and productivity of the area. Also remittances are used only for temporary consumption while the gradual effect is dependency syndrome.

The other and the most important fright is that Irob, being one of the smallest ethnic groups in the country, may slowly cease its integrated existence. Because, out migrants, even in their return hardly come back to settle in their original village; rather, often reside in larger towns of the region as well as Addis Ababa. The worse, not only the returnees but also families of Irob migrants, if acquire financial capacity to buy or at least to rent house in towns, they leave their village behind and resettle in other nearby towns, mainly Adigrat. As a result, the continuation of the community as an ethnic group with its identity is sabotaged.

CHAPTER-5: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Conclusion

This study examined the effects that international migration and remittances have in economic and social welfare of a household in Irob woreda using questionnaire survey and key informant interview.

Socio-demographic characteristics of this study's respondents and subjects was dominated by more active labor age, proportional sex ratio (80:65), married group and fairly high adult literacy rate. Actually, a household used a mix of two or more livelihood options at a time. The level of dependence up on each source however, varied across families and time. When ranked, the primary source of income before migration was agriculture (41.4 per cent) followed by PSNP (37.2 per cent) while after migration, migration remittances took over the position. But it does not necessarily mean that agriculture and PSNP are abandoned or their share is diminished.

Household-migrant relation was dominated by parent-children type (40 per cent) having fairly small difference with siblings that constituted 35.2 per cent. The majority of the migrants thus, were sons or daughters of the respondent household heads at home. Number of migrant members abroad varied from one to five and specially two was common. The major destinations were Saudi Arabia absorbing 73 or 29.6 per cent of the 247 migrants and Israel with 72/247 or 29.1 per cent by far followed by the US, 19 migrants making up 7.8 per cent. The time length varied between 2.4 to 28 years.

The study revealed that most of the migrants transmigrated illegally as reported by 73 (50.3 per cent) of the household heads whereas legal route via visa was stated by about 23.4 per cent of the respondents. Illegality of a travel route and cost of migration showed direct relationship. In other words, as many of the migrants went through illegal, merciless human traffickers, the cost was at the same time expensive; with the minimum amount of 400 Birr paid 15 years ago and the maximum of 275,000 Birr paid for four members of a household to send three to Israel and one to Saudi Arabia. But much of the migration cost was rated in tens of thousands and even

hundreds of thousands. The survey and key informant interview results both show that the cost to Israel is the most expensive.

Migrants go through life taking routes and times, often with the aim to help the family back at home than for individual benefit. Among the 145 respondents surveyed, 127 (87.9 per cent) receive remittances in cash (76.4 per cent), in kind (0.2 per cent) and both in cash and kind (21.2 per cent). The cash amounts the households received over the last 12 months varied between 500 and 120,000 Birr. Total of all the cash remittances received by the 127 households was reported to be about 3,508,510 Birr. But 18 household heads did not receive any type of remittance from their family members abroad. In comparison with that of the year before, majority of the respondents admitted increment in the amount of the remittance income in the last 12 months. With regardless of the amount each household received, almost all respondents admitted meaningful increase in their annual income after migrating of their family member(s).

The main reasons mentioned for the increase were migrating of additional household members, raised cost of living in the study area, special request of the recipients often for housing, health care and business purposes. Those who reported decline in the amount stated migrant-related declarations and the consequent losing of job of illegal migrants as the main reason. The migrants' establishing of his/her nuclear family and the alternative source of income for the household was additional factors to cut down amount of remittances.

Bank was predominant channel through which the recipient households received their remittances. Together, bank, relatives/friends and combination of the two, with less participation of money transfer operators, governed the remittance transactions.

As per the researcher however, due to the illegal status of the remitters (mostly the case of Saudi), absence of and/or poor banking system in the study area in particular and the region in general, the profit motive of "*pocket transfer*" agents, remittances are expected to be transferred mostly by these profit motivated agents. And this has negative implication for the economy of the area, the region and the nation at large. Even the annual remittance of 3,508,510 Birr per se has significant role in the country's foreign exchange portfolio.

So as to know the end use of remittances, remittance recipients were asked if they spend any amount of their remittance income on daily consumption, health care, education, housing, asset

building, business, , ceremonies, humanitarian activities and “other” if any, the “yes” response rate (among the 127 recipients) went as follows; daily consumption, 118/127 (92.9per cent) ;health care 106 (83.5 per cent), education, 82 47.7 per cent ; housing, 85 (66.9 per cent); debt repayment, 65 (51.2per cent) asset building,27(21.3per cent); business, 32 (25.2per cent), and ceremonies, 89(70 per cent) as well as humanitarian activities 61(48 per cent). When respondents ranked the categories based on the expenditure share of the each item/category, daily consumption stood the first by soaking up the largest share of the households’ remittance income.

By philanthropic activities, here only individual contributions for any generous support maid on the basis of only the difficulty (not based on blood or like relations) were reported. No collective remittances were indicated by the respondents. During key informant interview however, though they did not know the amount, Irob Diaspora contributions to the Irob development association was indicated as a fruits of international migration and remittances.

Again, the study examined effect of remittances on the areas aforementioned; the cumulative result found that remittance incomes have fairly tangible and positive outcomes in almost all socio-economic needs of the households; with relatively less share of expenditure on asset building (mainly, livestock) and business creation. Of, course, there were responses that indicate some or combination of “no change” or sometimes even “negative outcomes” of the remittances. But the general vogue was remittances’ positive contribution in terms of filling an expenditure gap, improving consumption pattern, affording house rent, which again had important implication for students that would otherwise, give up schooling, raising a household’s economic confidence and socio-economic security and very importantly proliferating new houses bought by migrant sending households.

At the beginning of the study, if remittances’ effects are limited to the recipient households or have a spillover effect on the non-recipient ones and at woreda level at large was questioned. Among other possible avenues to do so, returnee migrants, remittance-induced business activities and allied fruits (including the resultant employment opportunity, tax base and service delivery) as well as private or collective remittances were set as criteria.

As reported by the Irob Woreda Youth and Sports Affairs Office (IWYSAO) on June 1st, 2014, about 729 returnee migrants are registered so far; primarily as a result of the official crack down on illegal migrants by the government of Saudi Arabia and to lesser extent, Israel's undertakings to repatriate illegal migrants. Migration study conducted by Bank of Uganda in 2008 maintains that returnee migrants, when they come back home, are often engaged in businesses of a general nature if urban based and farming, if rural. Here, the implication is renovation of local economic activity as a result of the returnees. The study of the Bank did not however, specify or state preconditions required.

In other words, returnees' contribution to the wellbeing of themselves, their families and communities is contingent on, among others, their un[planned] return and level of savings; their families' background(wealth), as well as commitment of local development partners including the community, local government, CBOs, NGOs etc to help them re-establish effectively. It is with this intention that Adamnesh (2006) urges local actors like mentioned above to work jointly for effective re-integration of the returnees.

In the case of this study, 13 respondents were found to have returnee migrants, out of which, five witnessed positive effects in terms of better household management and improved agricultural production. On the other hand, negative effects were felt by four households who faced peace crisis within the household and some overburdened to pay the costs paid for the currently returnee migrant's migration but which he/she could not repay. Other four experienced no salient change.

Remittances primarily raise consumption levels but do not necessarily promote investments in either physical or human capital (Durand and Massey, 1992). In this study however, it is considerable when totally, 32/127 run their business; 26 out of which were able to open business using remittance incomes as a start-up capital. The disfavor is however, when majority of the businesses are in Adigrat, not in Irob. As such, these remittance-induced business activities established in areas other than Irob yield neither business taxes nor employment opportunities nor improved service delivery in the study area. The point is, had they been established in Irob,

they would have some positive contributions; but are not. Consequently, remittance's trickledown effect through business is minimal.

Mara et al., (2012) state that numbers of empirical studies are made to reveal migration impact on productive investment in the place of origin and at the same time compare and contrast potential trade-offs between the income effect of remittances and productivity losses resulting from out migration of active labor. To this end, Fessuh (2013), who studied intensity and driving factor of outmigration in the same study area, maintains that it is the outmigration of the active labor from rural areas in Irob that is further hampering the agricultural productivity.

This student researcher however, fears not only decline in agricultural productivity and dependency syndrome as the maximum dangers of Irob international migration and remittances. The most devastating hardly reversible end is the migrant sending households' leaving their village to reside in towns accompanied by absenteeism or not returning back home of the returnee migrants, which in turn nurtures the gradual disintegration/vanishing of Irobs a unified community.

5.2. Recommendation

Though international migration and its remittances can potentially be tools for household livelihood and local economic development, this is often contingent on the milieu or contexts. Based on the findings and conclusion of the study the following recommendations are worthy to consider;

1. The study found that out-migration was by far outnumbered by illegal migrants, who pass through life taking routes and situations by the inhuman smugglers. Migration cost is also observed to be very expensive to an extent a single household pays up to 275,000 Birr, which is unbearable for a poor Irob household. Most importantly however, it costs not only hundreds of thousands of Birr but hundreds of lives of the youth. Thus, there is a need to intervene in a manner that saves the lives of youth and money of the poor.
2. Migration can never be and should not be halted. Given migration's non-stoppable nature and heavy costs Irob migration is currently demanding, Irob woreda administration has to work on human capital development as it helps migrants make rational decision, be competitive and win better job opportunity at the destinations. At the same time, awareness rising among the community and potential migrants has valuable role in enabling the migrants make informed cost benefit analysis before they leave. The Government of Ethiopia too has to ease costs and complexities of legal transmigration.
3. There is fairly high migration trend outnumbered by young and male population. This young male outmigration is also causing further deterioration of the agricultural productivity of the study area. Depleting of active labor force, lowering agricultural production, accompanied by not coming back of the out-migrants, the future economic base of the area is jeopardized. As a result, it is mandatory to devise all possible solutions and take measures that can offset the inconvenience aforementioned.
4. While devising possible solutions and studying strategic outlets that solve the difficulties sustainably, youth population is swayed by the "*short cut way to wealth*" mentality and

hence, good number of youth may emigrate until resolutions get cooked. It is thus, mandatory to involve idle young labor including returnees in productive activities.

5. In line with the above proposition, “*Beles business*” could be one of the most promising productive investments, as its abundance reduces input costs and can absorb numberless youth. As cactus has high market demand, it would be the matter of organizing the entrepreneurs and raising fund for startup capital.

6. Remittance income has fairly fattened up migrant sending-households’ pockets but it is stated both by survey respondents and interview subjects that it is temporary and does not last long, which in addition leaves us with dependency syndrome. Besides, it was accused of promoting illegal outmigration of additional family members. Because, the migrants’ families often face migration of more members as they believe that their parents or siblings .etc will provide them with the migration cost needed. The point is unless and otherwise, remittances are spent wisely and saved they can eventually have perverse incentives; which can be corrected by developing awareness about the overall migration and remittances benefits and implications.

7. As an alternative resort, establishing simple, rural based and community owned informal financial institutions will help the remittance receiving farmer households easily transfer/receive, save, lend and/ or borrow money. This will in turn build financial resilience of the households to resist shocks or pave a way for private and/or organized investments that gradually foster rural agribusiness and the rural peoples’ participation in rural marketing.

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APPENDIX

Mekelle University
College of Economics and Business
Department of Management
Program: Development Studies

Questionnaire for Migrant Sending Households

Note: The objective of this questionnaire is to gather information in order to identify effects of remittances and returnee migrants on household's socioeconomic wellbeing. Hereby, this researcher wants to assure each respondent that the information given here will remain strictly confidential. In other words, information will never be exposed to any third party, and will be used only for the research purpose stated above.

Thank you in advance

Section 1: Questionnaire for Remittance Receiving Households heads

*Please, write the codes of your choice in the right side column.

S/n	Question	Response/response code	
I. Socio-demographic background			
1	Sex Male = 1 Female = 2		
2	Age	_____years	
3	Marital status single = 1 Married = 2 Widowed = 3 Divorced/ Separated = 4	Before	After
4	Do you have children? Yes = 1 No = 2		

5	<p>What is the highest level of education you attained?</p> <p>None = 0</p> <p>Primary (grade 1- 4) = 1</p> <p>Primary (grade 5- 8) = 2</p> <p>Secondary(grade 9 – 10) = 3</p> <p>preparatory(grade 11– 12) = 4</p> <p>TVET =5</p> <p>Diploma = 6</p> <p>Degree and above = 6</p>	Before	After	
6	<p>What is your status before and after migrating of your family member?</p> <p>Employer = 1</p> <p>Paid Employee = 2</p> <p>Wage worker = 3</p> <p>unpaid family Worker = 4</p> <p>Private business = 5</p> <p>Housewife = 6</p> <p>Others(please, specify_____ = 7</p>	Before	After	
7	<p>What was (were) the source(s) of income before your remitter migrating to abroad? (please, circle the answer)</p>	Source	Yes/no	Rank
		Agriculture activities	Yes = 1 No = 2	
		Wage/ salaries	Yes = 1 No = 2	
		Business	Yes = 1 No = 2	
		Remittance	Yes = 1 No = 2	

		PSNP	Yes = 1 No = 2	
		Others Sources? (specify) _____		
	What is (are) the main source(s) of income now? (please, circle the answer)	Income source	Yes/no	Rank
		Agriculture activities	Yes = 1 No = 2	
		Wage/ salaries	Yes = 1 No = 2	
		Business	Yes = 1 No = 2	
		Remittance	Yes = 1 No = 2	
		PSNP	Yes = 1 No = 2	
		Others Sources? (specify) _____		
II. Information on Migration and migrant family members				
8	Who is (are) your family member abroad?			

	Husband/father=1 Wife/mother=2 Daughter/sister Son/brother=4 Other =5 (specify) _____	
9	If more than one, How many?	_____
10	Where?	_____
11	How long since migrated?	_____years ____months
12	How she/he/they did go? Through temporary work visa=1 Through education/student visa=2 By brokers=3 Other? Please, specify _____=4	
13	How much was paid for the migration process?	_____birr
III. Information on Remittances		
14	Do you receive remittances from him/her/them? Yes=1 No=2	
	If no, skip to Q. ____	
15	If yes, what Type of remittance do you receive? Cash = 1 Kind = 2 Cash and Kind = 3	
16	How often do you receive remittances? Monthly=1 Quarterly= 2 Bi-annually=3 Yearly=4 Irregular=5 Other? Please, specify _____=6	

17	How do you normally receive money remittances? Through banks=1 Money transfer operators=2 Friends=3 Other(please specify)_____ =4					
18	How much money did you receive in the last 12 months?	_____Birr				
19	Compared to the past, the amount you received in the last twelve months has been.... Higher=1 Lower=2 Same= 3					
20	Why? _____ _____					
21	Which category best describes your total YEARLY income? Less than Birr 500 = 1 Birr 500-999 = 2 Birr 1000-1999 = 3 Birr 2000-2999 = 4 Birr 3000-3999 = 5 Birr 4000-4999=6 5000 and Above=7	<table border="1"> <thead> <tr> <th>Before migration</th> <th>After migration</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> </tbody> </table>	Before migration	After migration		
Before migration	After migration					
IV. How Remittances are used						
22	If you receive remittances in kind , what are they?					

	<hr/> <hr/> <hr/>		
23	What do you use the money for?	Your answer	Rank, 1 st , 2nd, 3 rd ...
	Consumption=1		
	Health care =2		
	Education =3		
	Housing =4		
	Pay debt back=5		
	Productive/ asset building= 6 business activities = 7		
	Ceremony (Wedding ,Holiday, Funeral) = 8		
	For local community humanitarian activities =9		
	Other =10 (please, specify)_____		
24	How did Migration affect your pattern of consumption?		
25	How did migration affect access to Education?		
26	How did migration affect your family's health?		
27	How did migration affect you family's housing?		
28	How has migration changed your migration asset building?		
	V. Investment		
29	If you use remittances to start business activities, what type of business are doing?		
30	How has this business activity changed your family's condition? _____ _____ _____		
31	For how many people did your investment create employment?		
32	How much tax did you pay in the last 12 months for your		

	investment?	
33	Do you think that your investment is contributing for development of Irob woreda? Yes = 1 No = 2 Do not know = 3	
34	Do you think the remittance generally improve your standard of Living? Yes = 1 No = 2 Do not know = 3	
35	If yes, please, explain _____ _____	
36	If no, why? _____ _____	
37	Do you think Irob woreda is benefiting from your remittance? Yes = 1 No = 2 Do not know = 3	
38	If yes, how? _____ _____ _____	
39	Are there negative effects of remittances to Irob? Yes = 1 No = 2	
40	If yes, what are they?	
41	Are there negative effects you suffered because of your remitter's migrating to abroad?	

	Yes = 1 No = 2	
42	If yes, what are they? _____ _____	
43	Do you have a returnee migrant family member (but still have no his/her nuclear family)? Yes=1 No=2	
44	If yes, how did his/her returning affect your family? Positively=1 Negatively=2 Do not know=3	
45	What changes have occurred after his/her return? _____ _____	
46	Generally speaking, do you think that migration is benefiting Irob Woreda?	
47	If yes, how? _____ _____ _____ _____	
48	If no, why? _____ _____	
49	What would you suggest for better use of migration and remittance for development of Irob woreda? _____ _____ _____ _____	

Thanks in deed

Annex V: interview guide for key informant interview

Note: The objective of this questionnaire is to gather information in order to identify effects of remittances and returnee migrants on household's consumption pattern. Hereby, this researcher wants to assure each respondent that the information given here remains strictly confidential. In other words, information will never be exposed to any third party, and will be used only for the research purpose stated above. Thank you in advance

1. Out Migration

- Trend
- Composition (sex, age, educational level)
- Status (legal, illegal)
- Success (reported deaths, reached, not known)
- Destination (country)
- costs

2. Remittances

- Amount/size
- What for
 - HH consumption?
 - Philanthropic contributions

3. Returnees:

- Contributions
- Burdens added

4. Net effect of migration

- Household
- Community (multiplier effect)
- Community (humanitarian assistance)

5. Measures taken

6. Suggestion and way forward

Thank you