To leave or not to leave?
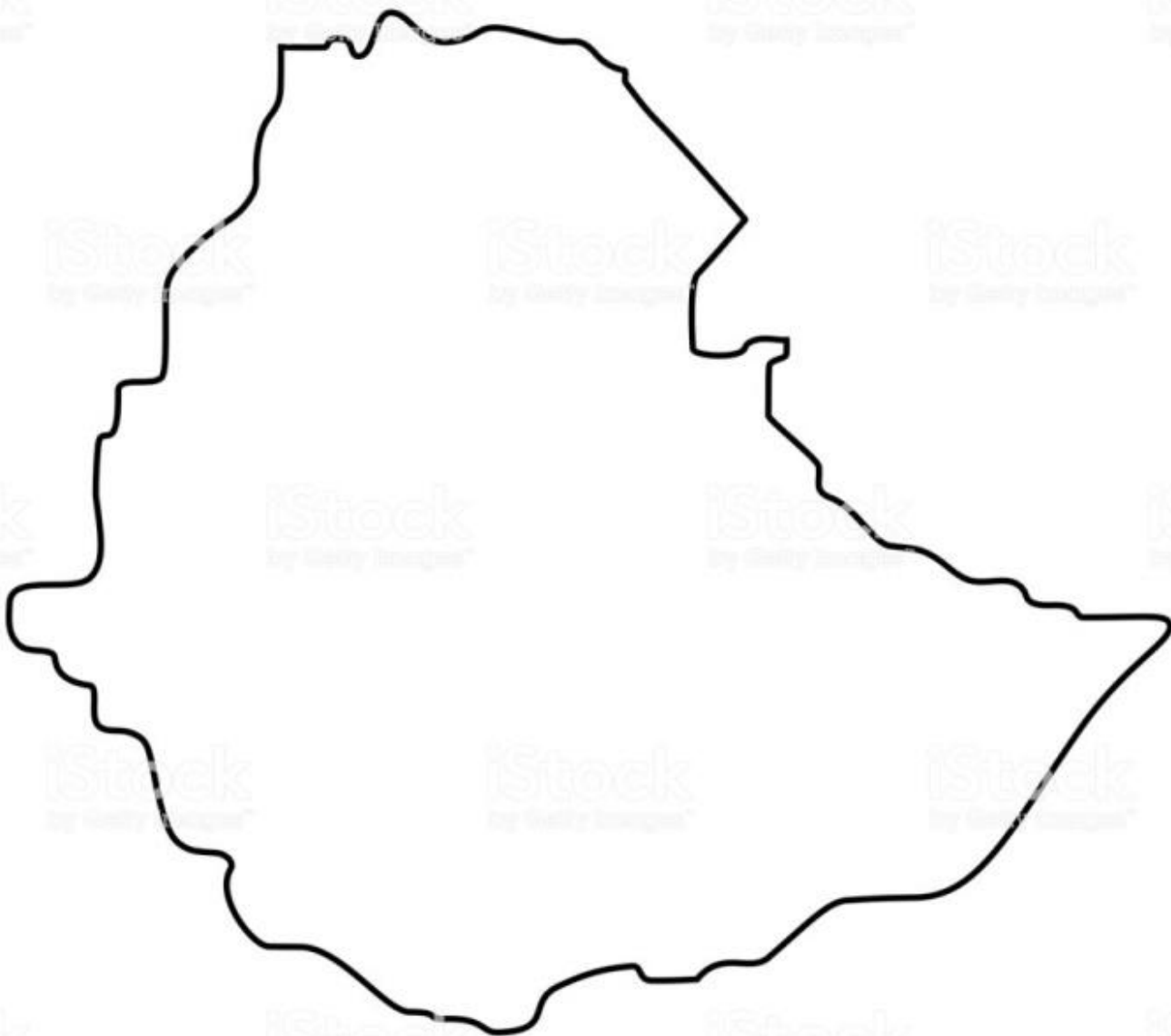
Analysis of the influencing factors that shape migration aspirations among Ethiopian youth.

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Analysis of the influencing factors that shape migration aspirations among Ethiopian youth.

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ABSTRACT

Ethiopia is a country that can be characterised by her long history of inwards and outwards migration flows. Nowadays Ethiopia is one of the major labour sending countries and the largest refugee hosting country in Africa (ILO, 2017). The majority of the literature on international migration flows originating from Ethiopia, is focussed on the flow of labour migration from the rural areas. These studies do not include urban youth and do not take the factors which shape migration aspirations, into account. Therefore, this study, focusses on the influences that shape migration aspirations among youth in urban centre Mekelle. Stories of youth who did not yet migrate and maybe never will, are presented in order to give insights into the influencing factors that shape these aspirations. Besides the narratives of youth with the aspiration to migrate abroad, stories of youth that prefer non-migration over migration are included as well.

In order to grasp the personal narratives of the youth from Mekelle, 12 interviews were conducted with young people. Furthermore academic experts in the field of migration were interviewed in order to understand the stories of the youth in the context of emigration from Ethiopia. Lastly, 366 surveys were conducted among young people in order to explore a pattern within the influencing factors. The in-depth interviews helped to obtain in-depth information and gave a better understanding of the survey output.

An aspiration/ ability model, based on Caring (2002) is used to place the quantitative data and qualitative output in a literary context. This model illustrates that emigration environmental factors as well as individual level characteristics both, play a role in shaping the aspiration on whether to migrate or not. The most important environmental factors within this research were the unemployment rate among youth and the current education system. Social class and the embedding of an individual within a social network were the most important individual level characteristics, which play a role in shaping migration aspirations.

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List of abbreviations

DV Lottery	Diversity Visa Lottery
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
ILO	International labour Organization
IMUNA	International Model United Nations Association
IOPS	Institute of Population Studies
NELM	New Economics of Labour Migration
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NHDR	National Human Development Report
NLA	National Learning Assessment
TVET	Technical and Vocational Education and Training
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
USA	United States of America
WHO	World Health Organisation

1. Introduction

When it comes to migration, Africa is often seen as 'the continent on the move' (Flahaux & De Haas, 2016). Media, politicians and scholars are responsible for the common belief that the international migration flow from Africa is increasing, mainly directed towards Europe and driven by poverty and violence. This south-north migration pattern is based on the perception that poverty and income gaps between relatively wealthy and poor countries, are the root causes of migration (Flahaux & De Haas, 2016). However, these assumptions are based on selective observations rather than empirical evidence. In their article, Flahaux and De Haas (2016) illustrate that international migration flows from Africa are more often directed to the Middle Eastern countries, the United States of America [USA] or other African countries instead of to Europe. According to the numbers of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR], given in Flahaux and De Haas (2016), 14 percent of international migrants in Africa represent refugees. This implies that about 86 percent of the international migration flow within Africa is not migrating because of conflict and violence. Instead, most Africans migrate for family, work and study purposes, just like migrants from other regions.

Migration cannot just be seen as a coping mechanism to escape violence. Especially among the African youth, the idea of migration gives these young people the opportunity to feel a sense of pride, self-respect within their family and social communities (Min-Harris, 2010). Min-Harris (2010) states in her article that young Africans see migration as a way to improve their social class, learn new skills and enrich their transit into adulthood.

In the last years there has been written a lot about migration patterns in general, migration within Africa and about migration among rural youth. However, less is known about the youth that has not migrated yet. Also, research among youth in urban centres is underrepresented in the literature debate. Therefore, this study is focussed on the migration aspirations of the urban youth that have not yet migrate and maybe never will.

This research is conducted in urban centre Mekelle, located in northern Ethiopia. Ethiopia is a country that can be characterised by a long history of inwards and outwards migration flows. Personal narratives of youth living or studying in Mekelle give insight into the influencing factors that shape migration aspirations among them. Stories of youth who share the desire to migrate are included in this study, for example the narrative of Solomon[1]. Solomon is an 18 year-old high school student and after the summer of 2019 he intends to attend Mekelle University. A few years ago, he lost his mother and older brother and ended up living with his grandmother. He dreams of moving to the USA in order

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[1] Please note that the names of all participants are pseudonyms in order to ensure their anonymity.

to get a good education in the field of software engineering and become the new Bill Gates. Every year, he partakes in the Diversity Visa [DV] Lottery and wishes that his desire of living a good life could become a reality.

In addition to the young people who have the desire to migrate internationally, narratives of youth who have the aspiration to stay in Mekelle are included as well. For example, the narrative of Gebre (male, 24), who is born and raised in Mekelle and explains that he will never leave 'his city'. He works as an English high school teacher, is involved in several businesses with friends and enjoys his free time around town.

The personal stories of these young Ethiopians in combination with the output of the conducted survey, intend to explore which factors are influential in shaping migration aspirations. The aim of this research is to identify the influences that shape international migration aspirations of Ethiopian youth between 15 and 25 years old. The factors that are included in this research are the youth unemployment, the education system and the political environment. Individual level characteristics, such as social class, gender and one's embeddedness with a social network are important factors that will be studied within this research as well.

2. Theoretical framework and literature review

The following chapter will give an overview of the most important theories and concepts in order to give a broader understanding of the migration aspirations and the decision-making processes of young Ethiopians. The theories and concepts in this section, built on to a theoretical framework that serves as the foundation of this research. Firstly, in paragraph 2.1, some classic migration theories will be explained in order to give a broader understanding of general international migration patterns. Secondly in paragraph 2.2, the concept of migration aspiration will be explained and linked to the concepts of social network and social capital in order to illustrate the influence on international migration processes. Also, the role of gender and social class within the social network will be discussed. Lastly in paragraph 2.5, an aspiration/ ability framework will be presented to illustrate how the different concepts mentioned, relate to international migration aspirations.

2.1 Classic migration theories

In the previous decades, many migration theories have been constructed to give an understanding of migration patterns all around the world. Many of these theories try to capture the relationship between development and migration and try to explain the root cause of international migration processes (Icduygu et al., 2001). These classical migration theories are influenced by the neoclassical point of view. Which means that classical migration theories focus on the economic aspects within the decision whether to migrate or not (O'Reilly, 2012).

The Rational Choice Theory is one of the leading approaches within migration studies and is an example of a neoclassical migration theory. This theory has an actor's perspective; and therefore state that the migration patterns can be explained by an individual's behavior. Haug (2008) argues that individuals can be seen as resourceful- and profit-maximizing actors who select their best choice out of a selection of alternatives. In other words, individuals weigh up the costs and benefits before making an independent decision what will be most beneficial (O'Reilly, 2012). The Rational Choice Theory supports the idea that the global labour market should be equal to time when relying on the actions of the rational choices of individuals: *"the poorer move to richer countries and the crowded move to less populated areas, and everything ends up even"* (O'Reilly, 2012, p.31).

Another theory that fits into the neoclassical way of looking at migration is the push-pull theory. The push-pull theory claims that migration is driven by certain push factors coming from the county of origin and pull factors coming from the country of destination (De Haas, 2010). Poverty, unemployment, landlessness or the political environment are examples of push factors that compel people to leave the country of origin (O'Reilly, 2012). Employment opportunities, better living

conditions and higher wages are examples of pull factors (De Haas, 2010). However, the push-pull theory overlooks the role of social structures and historical factors that influence the decision to migrate. It assumes that factors such as population growth, unemployment and poverty are influential on its selves (Castles, 2010; Castles & Miller, 2003).

The neoclassical migration theories mentioned above do not take the influence of friends and family into account within the social network and socio-cultural factors, that also play a role in making the decision whether or not to migrate as an individual. In addition to the neoclassical theories discussed above, the New Economic Labour Migration theory [NELM] came up in the 1980's and 1990's. This theory places the behavior of individual migrants in a wider perspective by assuming that not the individual, but the family or household is the most appropriate decision-making factor for whether an individual will or will not be migrating (De Haas, 2010; Massey, 1990). This theory goes beyond the maximizing profit of an individual and models migration as risk sharing behavior of families or households (De Haas, 2010). People act not only to maximize income but also to minimize risks; migration across or within borders can be perceived as a household response to decrease income risks. For example, remittances as cause of migration can provide income insurance for the family or household of origin (De Haas, 2010). Therefore, migration can be seen as a household strategy. As a household strategy, one or more household members migrate to areas with better livelihood opportunities. In the place of origin, household members benefit, for example, from the remittances sent home by the household's migrant (Fransen & Kuschminder, 2009; Massey, 1990).

2.2 Migration aspiration

The dominance of economic rationality, as mentioned above, has a long held dominant place within theories of migration (Carling & Collins, 2018). However, the decision why people actually migrate requires more than the assessment of the costs and benefits of migrants' movement, even if it is to financially support their family members left behind (Carling & Schewel, 2018). Carling and Collins (2018) argue that even the economic aspects of movements are socially constructed. The economic factors that motivate one's movement can only be seen in relation to the feelings and emotions of the migrant (Carling & Collins, 2018). According to Carling and Collings (2018), drawing attention to emotions within studying migration processes blur the boundaries between different types of migration. Therefore, studying migration as being socially constructed, brings forth the subjectivity and the identity of migrants as being fluid. In other words, the reason behind migration cannot be explained or predetermined by the place of destination or the mode of arrival (Carling & Collins, 2018). This subjective relation of migration possibilities of an individual is, according to Carling and Collins (2018), often conceptualised as migration aspirations.

The aspiration to migrate can be explained as the feeling or the thoughts around potential mobility and can be explored in two interconnected ways (Carling & Collins, 2018). It does so by firstly taking people's life aspirations into account. General aspirations in life can affect migration processes and are related, among others, to wealth, security and family constructions (Carling, 2014). Secondly, migration aspirations can describe in what way migration is desirable. On one hand, this can be desirable due to people's personal preferences for another country. On the other hand, migration can be "the lesser of two evils"(Carling, 2014). Related to this idea, is the argument of Bakewell (cited in Carling & Collings, 2018); he argues the following: *"people do not aspire to migrate; they aspire to something which migration might help them achieve"* (Carling & Collins, 2018, p. 917). This quote illustrates that migration aspirations connect root causes of migration and migration outcomes to each other.

The aspiration to migrate can be analysed at a macro- and a micro level perspective. The macro perspective gives insight into the question why a larger group of people has the desire to migrate. Social, economic and political factors, that have their influence on all members of a certain community, play a role. The decision whether to migrate or not is based on the context which is common to all members of the community. The micro level perspective illustrates the desire of those who want to migrate and those who want to stay by taking into account individual level characteristics such as age, gender, social class, and family relations (Carling, 2014). Beyond this macro and micro level perspective, the aspiration to migrate could have possible implications for other people, places and possible futures. Ray (2006) explains this by referring to a so called 'aspiration window'; migrants achievements may be observed by others which motivates them to see migration as a realistic future prospect (Ray, 2006). In this way, peers can be influenced through this migration window in developing migration aspirations themselves.

2.3 Social networks and social capital

As explained above, the debate around migration goes beyond the neoclassical point of view of the classic migration theories. Migration and the desire to migrate will be discussed, within this study, as a socially structured process. The decision of an individual on whether to migrate or not is closely related to the social network of the individual. A social network in relation to migration can be defined as the interpersonal relation between community members left behind and individuals who have recently migrated (Curran & Rivero-Fuentes, 2003). This transnational network forms the foundation to share information and reduce the costs and risks of one's movement (Haug, 2008). As explained by Massey (1990) the aspiration to migrate may begin with a variety of reasons but the decrease of the costs and risks by transnational network ties into the increasing of the probability of actual migration. The mentioned costs include more than only the economical expenses such as travel costs. It also

includes the time and effort to search for a job and accommodation and the emotional costs of leaving friends and family within the familiar environment (Massey, 1990).

2.3.1 Social capital

The social network of an individual can be seen as social capital. According to Haug (2008), social capital provides an important tool to capture how social networks affect migration. To understand this relation, social capital will be briefly explained here. Portes (1998) distinguishes three basic functions of social capital, as a source of: 1) social control, 2) family support and 3) benefit through extra familial networks (Portes, 1998, p.9-10). Social capital, as a particular kind of resource available to an actor, is distinguished from other capitals, such as an economic capital and human capital, due to the inherent structure of relations between and among actors (Coleman, 1988). Drawing on Bourdieu; Siisiäinen (2000) argues that the access to resources differ between individuals with the same amount of economic and human capital, due to their control of the social capital. In other words, individuals can increase their economic or human capital by restricting the ties within their social network. In order to explain how the investment in social networks leads to an increase of social capital, Lin (2017) uses four elements. The first, is the already mentioned element of information sharing; social ties can facilitate an individual with information that would otherwise not have been available. The second element is the influence of social ties on agents, such as supervisors or recruiters. The third, is about the social credentials of the individual. In other words, what are the additional resources an individual can add beyond their human capital, using his or her social relations. The last element mentioned is reinforcement; being a member of a social group and sharing similar resources provides emotional support, mental health and entitlement of resources (Lin, 2017).

2.3.2 Social network ties

Important to take into account while looking into the concept of social networks, is the role of network ties as part of an individual's social capital. Network ties can be divided into strong and weak. Granovetter (1983) defines strong ties as the links a person has with their close friends or family members. Most of the friends or family members know each other and together they form a social structure. Weak ties are defined as acquaintances. A person can have a collection of acquaintances, who do not know each other, the individual is the bridge within this social structure. Communication and regulation within social systems relying on weak ties are insufficient and will be fragmented and incoherent (Granovetter,1983). However, individuals with many weak ties have better integration possibilities into the modern society than an individual with only strong ties (Lui, 2013). The study by Dekker, Engbersen and Faber (2016) illustrates the role of social media within the social network of migrants. They use the notion of strong and weak ties in order to explain this role. In their article they explain that migrants with strong network ties are able to stay in touch with their friends and family

left behind through social media channels. The connectedness of the migrant of easily being in touch with friends and family makes it easier for the migrant to be away from home. Social media is also able to strengthen weak ties or create new network ties in order to facilitate new information recourses. Lastly, social media channels are increasingly chosen over institutional information sources due to the easy access and low-key information restriction by social media channels (Dekker, Engbersen & Faber, 2016).

2.3.3 Chain migration

Social capital in the form of social network ties, plays a dominant role in the decision of potential migrations. Interconnected migrants, former migrants and non-migrants across borders increase the probability of international migration and create chain migration processes (Haug, 2008). Haug explained the relation of migration decision-making and social network by a multilevel model that shape a chain migration process. This process involves three stages: 1) pioneer migration, 2) labour migration and 3) family migration (Haug, 2008). The model illustrates that the flow of pioneers to a new destination is more difficult than migration flows to destinations with already existing chains. Pioneers can be defined as the first migrants to a particular destination and are therefore confronted with high costs and risks because migration networks did not yet exist. The pioneers create these migration chains by building migration networks and establish and maintain social ties that provide useful recourses for later migration flows. Once the pioneers have dealt with the risks of migration, the transfer of social capital and other kinds of capital is easier to access for potential migrants. The pioneer migrants provide information on opportunities and support potential migrants in areas of travel, transportation, accommodation and work (Haug, 2008). The social capital of a specific place of destination increases with every new migrant that comes in (Lui, 2013).

2.3.4 The other side of social capital

Most researches on social capital emphasize the positive outcomes of social capital. However, social capital has negative outcomes as well. The four most important downsides are identified by Portes (1998). He mentioned the exclusion of outsiders, excess claims on group members, restrictions on individual freedoms and downward levelling norms as negative effect of increasing social capital. These negative effects result in an "insider-outsider" distinction within the society and affect individuals who do not belong to the in-group.

To explain the negative outcomes of social capital, Agnitsch, Flora and Ryan (2006) bring up the concepts of bonding and bridging social capital. Bonding social capital refers to the close-knit ties among homogenous individuals or groups. The densely connected ties, connect group members to each other and provide social support and in-group solidarity. Those ties can be defined as the previously mentioned strong ties. Bridging social capital represent the weak ties among the

heterogeneous individuals or groups. These weak ties connect people or groups that are different from each other. The main role of social capital is to facilitate resource acquisition; a wide variety of resources and information is shared within and between groups. As mentioned in the article written by Agnitsch, Flora and Ryan (2006), too much bonding and not enough bridging ensures the negative outcomes of social capital: *"Bridging social capital mitigates many of the 'costs' by providing ties external to a given group, allowing individuals greater access to resources and reducing dependency"* (Agnitsch, Flora & Ryan, 2006, p.39).

2.4 Other factors

As illustrated in the previous paragraphs different factors have their influence on migration aspirations and decision-making processes about whether to migrate. Besides being embedded in social networks also economic, social and cultural factors play an important role. Aspects as age, sex, social class and family structures indicate why somebody would move, what form of migration would take place, where they would potentially go and whether they would stay permanently or temporary (Haug, 2008). This research will especially focus on the aspects of gender and social class in order to look into the migration aspiration of the youth in Mekelle. Therefore, paragraph 2.4.1, will focus on the relationship between gender and migration. Followed by the influence of social class, explained below.

2.4.1 Gender

In order to grasp the relationship between gender and migration, again the social network is important to take into account. The costs, risks and benefits of migration may differ for men and women (Curran & Rivero-Fuentes, 2003). Therefore, also the value and the reliability on the social networks' ties are different for men and women. In other words, men and women experience migration differently and rely on different ties in terms of their decision-making process (Lui, 2013). Moreover, females intend to rely more on their strong network ties. Strong ties are especially important for women when there are high challenges or social barriers for female migration. Weak network ties are more important for male migration, especially when there is a lack of information sources about the migration process (Lui,   2013).

Both the prevailing idea that women are more vulnerable, as the norms of family honor, have resulted in less freedom to move for some women in comparison to men (Curran & Rivero-Fuentes, 2003). Therefore, men and women rely on different sources of support in communities of origin and destination. These ideas are further explained by Curran and Rivero-Fuentes (2003). Their study shows that women can rely on their family networks when they migrate as part of a family move. On the other hand, when a woman attempts to migrate on her own, either as an independent migrant or to be reunited with her husband who has migrated before, male family members often oppose this move

(Curran & Rivero-Fuentes, 2003). However, it is not always the case that women are less likely to migrate on their own or that they migrate only on the reliance of family networks. When women migrate less frequently than men, the experience and presence of previous female migrants has a major influence on other women. These previous female migrants teach other women that migration is an option for them as well (Curran & Rivero-Fuentes, 2003). This process works in a similar way as the migration processes of the pioneer migrants, explained in paragraph 2.3.2. Women pioneers create chains based on their personal capital to create the opportunity for other women as well.

2.4.2 Social class

Social class can be seen as a two-folded concept; on one hand, social class can refer to the material resources of an individual. On the other hand, social class includes the perceived rank of an individual within the social hierarchy (Rubin et al., 2014). Bourdieu, mentioned in Rubin et al. (2014) also sees social class from a dualistic perspective. Bourdieu puts forward that objective conditions give meaning to the subjective identities of individuals that give substance to their social classes. With objective conditions Bourdieu refers to the access of individual to social, cultural, economic and symbolic capital. This definition illustrates that social class is a context sensitive term that is closely bounded to a person's capital (Rubin et al., 2014).

In order to see the relationship between social class and migration aspirations, it is important to see migrants as active agents that are not passively pushed around by push factors such as poverty, demographic pressure or environmental degradation. People will only migrate if they have the desire and the resource to do so. Social class in forms of economic, social and human capital may influence the aspiration of an individual to migrate. These aspirations depend on people's life aspirations and to what extent these can be fulfilled in one place or another (Flahaux & De Haas, 2016). Social class can also influence the ability to migrate. Some may not have the economic capital to finance their migration. As already mentioned, someone's social network may assist to compensate the lack of economic capital. Also, human capital in the form of skills and knowledge can compensate the lack of economic capital.

More about the relation between the aspiration and the ability whether to migrate or to stay will be explained further in the next paragraph.

2.5 Conceptual framework

Research by De Haas (2012) has demonstrated that it is not the poorest of the poor that migrate due to the lack of economic resources to finance the costs of migration. As already mentioned, economic resources are not only of interest when it comes to one's desire to migrate. Sources such as the social network or human capital in the form of labour skills or knowledge also play a role in facilitating a migration process of those who lack economic capital. Therefore the poorest of the poor do migrate, although they are indeed less likely to do so due to their economic ability (Kuschminder, Andersson & Siegel, 2018). The aspiration/ ability model below explains this in more detail. The aspiration/ ability model based on the model designed by Carling (2002), will be used in this research to illustrate the relationship between the social, human and economic capital and the aspiration whether to migrate or not to migrate abroad. As Carling explained, migration aspiration within the model is defined as the conviction that migration is preferable to non-migration (Carling & Schewel, 2018).
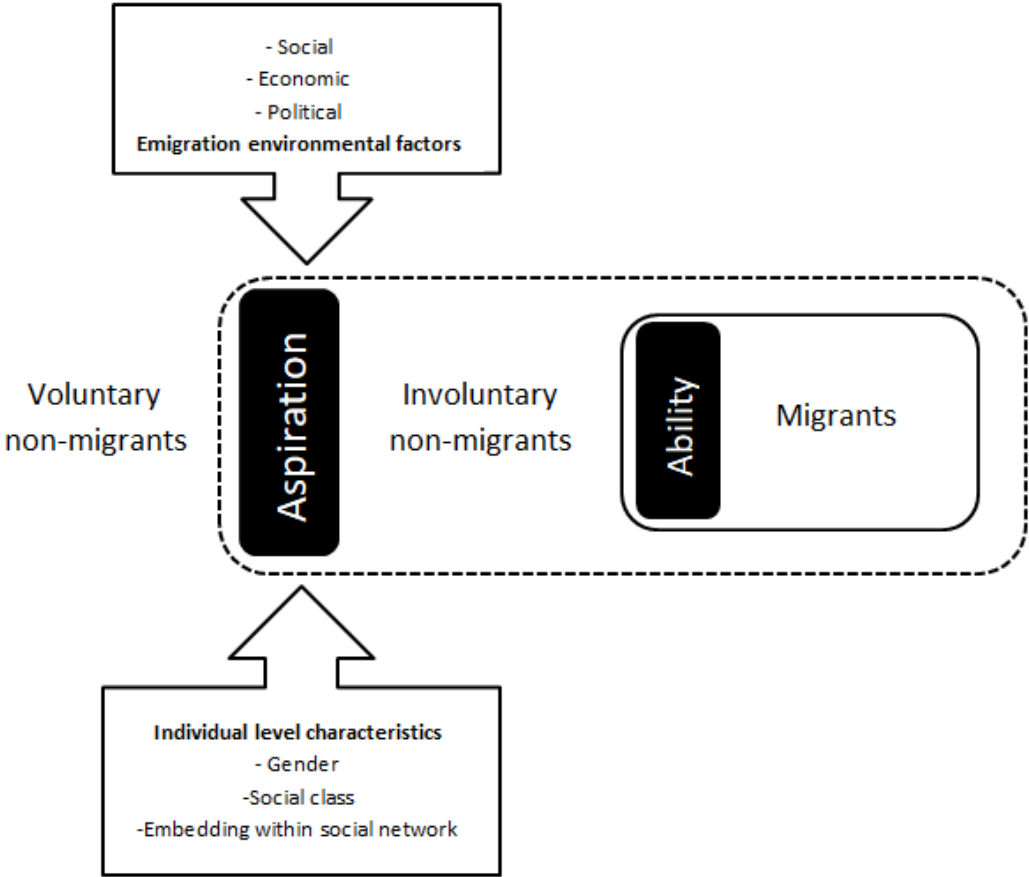
Figure 1: Aspiration/ ability model based on Carling (2002) in Carling and Schewel (2018)

The fluid boundary of the aspiration to migrate is represented with a dash line in figure 1. The individual level characteristics are in this study used to refer to one's economic, social and human capital. Those who have the aspiration to migrate and at the same time have the ability to do so, according to their economic, human and social capital, manifest in actual observable migration. In the model, these are represented as 'migrant'. Those who do not migrate fall into two different categories. The first category is the 'involuntary non-migrants'. Those individuals have the aspiration to migrate but lack the ability to do so due to their economic, human or social capital. The second group are the 'voluntary non-migrants'. Those are the individuals who think that non-migration is preferable and stay in the place of origin (Carling & Schewel, 2018).

This study will focus on social, economic and political emigration environmental factors. The individual level characteristics, which will be discussed in this thesis, are one's embeddedness within a social network, gender and social class. This study focusses on the aspiration of young people and not so much on the concept of ability. Ability, however, will be shortly discussed in chapter 9.

2.6 Research objective

This study focusses on the international migration aspiration of young people in Mekelle and tries to investigate which factors influence their desire to stay in Mekelle or to migrate abroad. The role of the social network of the youth is a key factor within this study. Therefore, this study tries to capture the influence and the value of the social network of the studied youth.

Besides the social network, other social, cultural and economic factors are also included to shed light on the migration aspiration of the youth. The concepts of gender and social class are included within this study in order to get a better understanding of the relationship between the migration aspiration and the ability to migrate.

The personal stories of the youth that took part in this study contribute to bridge the gap within the existing studies about youth migration in Ethiopia. The international migration of youth from Ethiopia is a well-studied objective. However, those studies mainly focus on migration from rural areas or zoom into the return migrants and their reintegration processes. Those studies are all focused on youth that have already migrated. In contrast to previous studies, this study is focussed on youth living and studying in urban centre Mekelle and captures the migration aspiration of youth that have not yet migrated and maybe never will.

2.7 Research questions

The theoretical embedding, as well as the regional context (chapter 3), flows into several research questions that try to capture the research objective mentioned above.

Main question:

What are the influences that shape international migration aspirations among Ethiopian youth in Mekelle between 15 and 25 years old?

The following sub-questions are formulated in order to answer the main question:

1) What are economic and political factors that influence youth in Mekelle in shaping international migration aspirations?
2) What is the role of one's social network in shaping international migration aspirations?
3) What is the role of the individual level characteristics gender and social class in shaping international migration aspirations?
4) How do the different influences relate to each other?

3. Regional thematic framework

3.1 National, regional and local context

The Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, better known as Ethiopia, is located on the eastern side of Africa and is part of sub-Saharan Africa (WHO, 2010). Addis Ababa is the capital city, located in the center of the country. The country has a total surface of 1.1 million square kilometers and has heights ranging from 4550 meters above sea level in the north to 110 meters below sea level in the Afar depression, in the north-east. The country is land-locked and has six border countries; Djibouti, Somalia, Eritrea, South Sudan, Sudan and Kenya. Ethiopia, together with Djibouti, Somalia and Eritrea form the Horn of Africa. Ethiopia is the second most populous sub-Saharan African country and has an estimated population rate of about 95 million inhabitants (NHDR, 2018). Near to 80 percent of the total population live in rural areas. Although urbanization has increased in recent years, this big percentage makes Ethiopia one of the least urbanized countries in the world (WHO, 2010). Agriculture plays an important role in the economy and accounts for 37 percent of the Ethiopia's Gross Domestic Product [GDP]. The Ethiopian population is dominated by young people; 70 percent of the population is below the age of 30 (NHDR, 2018).

Map 1: Map of Africa. Reviewed from: http://afrika-kaart.blogspot.com/2011/10/kaart-afrika-reizen.html

Map 2: Map of Ethiopia. Reviewed from: https://www.infoplease.com/atlas/ethiopia

Ethiopia consists of nine self-governing regional states; Afar, Amhara, Benshangul-Gumaz, Gambella, Harari, Oromia, Somali, Southern Nations Nationalities and People and Tigray. Furthermore, Ethiopia is a multi-ethnic state with Oromo (34,3 %), Amhara (27%), Somali (6,2%) and Tigray (6,1%) being the biggest ethnic groups (NHDR, 2018). A great variety of languages is spoken in Ethiopia with Amharic as the official working language. Mostly, only in the big cities people have an understanding of the English language, even though it is usually used in secondary and higher education institutions (WHO, 2010). Furthermore, religion is important for most of the people in Ethiopia, with 43,5 percent of the Ethiopians being Ethiopian Orthodox. Besides Ethiopian orthodox, about 33,9 percent of the population is Muslim and 18,5 percent is Protestants.

3.2 Political instability

Ethiopia is Africa's oldest independent country and is the symbol of the African independence during the colonial period. With exception of the Italian occupation in 1936-1941, Ethiopia maintained its freedom from colonial rule. Due to the independency of the state, Ethiopia has an interesting and rich political history (IMUNA, 2018). However, this history is mainly characterised by political conflicts and war.

In 1974 the last monarch Haile Selassie, who had ruled since 1930, was deposed by the military Derg regime and a socialistic state was established. The Derg regime was challenged by different coups, wide-scale drought and an increasing refugee problem. In 1994, the Derg regime was defeated by the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front and Ethiopian's first democratic elections were held in 1995 (Central Intelligence Agency, 2019). Additionally, political tension occurs in the late 1990s due to a border war with Eritrea and the increasing ethnic tension between differed regions within Ethiopia. The high political tension between Ethiopia and Eritrea slowly came to its end in 2012, when prime minister Haile Mariam replaced the previous leader Meles Zenawi. In April 2018, prime minister Abiy Amhed Ali took office as being the first Oromo prime minister and signed a peace agreement between Ethiopia and Eritrea in July 2018 (Central Intelligence Agency, 2019). Abi Ahmed also strengthened the ties with neighbouring countries and Middle Eastern countries like Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates. Within Ethiopia, important reforms were planned in the political and economic fields. However, the planned reformation is challenged by the increasing tension and violence by impatient Ethiopians protesting for change. This resulted in a failed coup against the federal government last June (2019).

3.3 Migration in Ethiopia

Unfortunately, the Ethiopian population growth as well as the growing economy has had no positive effect on the reduction of the poverty or the increase of job creation. This particularly affects the youth in a negative way. Besides poverty and unemployment, family- and peer pressure as well as the low

public awareness on the positive and negative aspects of migration, create a strong culture of migration among youth in Ethiopia (ILO, 2017). According to the International Labour Organisation [ILO] (2017), Ethiopia is a real hub for outward and inward migration processes. Although it is difficult to give the exact number of the Ethiopian diaspore due to irregular migration and the absence of a centralized registration system, the number of Ethiopian living abroad was stocked in 2015 on 1,072,949 people (ILO, 2017). Some of the most prominent internal and international migration processes in Ethiopia will be illustrated below.

3.3.1 Internal migration processes

When it comes to internal migration, Ethiopia is one of the leading countries in comparison to other African countries (Mberu, 2006). According to Mberu (2006), the reasons for the internal migration flows are mainly associated with the country's economic transition from a socialist- to a market oriented economy. Besides this economic perspective, the political instability and the decline in the agricultural sector have also shaped the migration patterns in Ethiopia (Mberu, 2006). One of the most important dimensions of internal migration patterns is urbanization. According to African standards, Ethiopia is largely un-urbanized. From 1975 up to 2000 the number of people moving to urban areas has increased. During this period, mass organisations, government- and non-governmental agencies created job opportunities in cities, especially in major towns in the north (Mberu, 2006). However, the economic growth and job creation has not been accompanied by considerable reduction in poverty, particularly for Ethiopia's youth (ILO, 2017).

Within internal migration patterns and especially rural-urban migration, young people and adolescents play a predominant role. Studies have shown that young people and adolescents are most likely to move from rural to urban areas (Erulkar et al., 2006). This is also the case in Ethiopia, rural-urban migration is a growing concern and is continuing to occur at high levels as young people seek better living conditions in the city in order to escape rural poverty (Fransen & Kuschminder, 2009).

3.3.2 International migration processes

International migration movements of the last 30 years can be divided into four waves (Kuschminder, Andersson & Siegel, 2013). The first wave can be characterised by the return of the Ethiopian elite whom migrated for the purpose of education (Kuschminder, Andersson & Siegel, 2013; Central Intelligent Agency, 2019). In 1974 the last monarch, Hailey Selassie, was defeated by the military Derg regime, which caused political instability. The bureaucratic uncertainty accompanied by a wide-scale draughts resulted in famine, which ultimately characterizes the second wave: refugees fleeing to neighbouring countries. The third wave, taking place from 1982-1991, mainly portrayed family reunion; the family members whom were left behind, emigrated to be reunited with their families who had previously fled from the military Derg regime. In 1994, Ethiopia held its first democratic elections

after the Derg regime was defeated in 1991. Ethiopia became a hosting country for the incoming flow of refugees from its neighbouring countries.

3.3.3 Ethiopia as host country

Nowadays Ethiopia is one of the major labour sending countries and the largest refugee hosting country in Africa (ILO, 2017). According to the global trend UNHCR report of 2018, Ethiopia is the ninth largest refugee hosting county. At the end of 2018 the refugee population in Ethiopia reached 903,200 refugees. Nearly half of the refugee population came from neighbouring county South Sudan. The number of South Sudanese refugees in Ethiopia, at the end of 2018, was 422,100. Besides the refugees from South Sudan, Ethiopia hosted 257,200 Somali refugees, 174,000 refugees from Eritrea and 44.000, refugees from Sudan (UNHCR, 2018).

3.3.4 Key destination areas

Opposed to the previous flows that were characterised by refugee migration, the recent migration streams from Ethiopia are dominated by labour migrants. Three main destination areas can be identified, starting with the most prominent destination area: the Middle East. The Middle East, in this research includes the countries: Kuwait, Lebanon, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates and Yemen. In the late 1990s Ethiopia started to send domestic workers to the Middle Eastern countries. This flow has increased over the years. Data from the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, stated in an ILO report (2017) that around 460,000 Ethiopians legally migrated towards the Middle Eastern countries between 2008 and 2013 (ILO, 2017). Almost 90 percent of these legal labour migrants were women. Most of the female labour migrants carried out domestic work (Kuschminder, 2016). According to the ILO (2017), 100 percent of the women are migrating to Oman in order to be employed as a housemaid. In Lebanon 81,8 percent of the Ethiopian women work as a housemaid and in Kuwait it is 75,5 percent. The main destination countries within the Middle Eastern countries are Kuwait and Saudi Arabia.

Men also migrate towards the Middle Eastern countries, even though the number is considerably smaller. An important reason for this difference is that women have better legal labour migration opportunities to the Middle East while male migrants need to resort to irregular migration channels due to the lack of job opportunities (ILO, 2017). The main destination country for men is Saudi Arabia where they mainly find jobs in the construction sector (Kuschminder, Andersson & Siegel,2018). The study by Kuschminder, Andersson and Siegel (2013) profiled the Ethiopian migrants towards the three main destination areas. They argue that the migrants who migrate to the Middle Eastern countries are young and female. These women mainly come from rural areas and have a relatively low level of education. Women make up 86 percent of the migrants that migrated regularly from rural areas with a limited educational background (ILO,2017). The predominant motivation for migration is

employment and the average time spent abroad is about four years. Most migrants migrate alone, often with the help of a broker or trafficker (Kuschminder, Andersson & Siegel, 2013).

The second is the international migration flow within Africa. The main destination countries within Africa are Sudan and South-Africa (Kuschminder, Andersson & Siegel, 2013). Migrants drifting to Sudan are mainly women in search of domestic work. The flow of migrants towards South-Africa is dominated by young men. According to the ILO, 86,5 percent of the Ethiopian migrants that emigrate to South-Africa tend to own businesses (ILO, 2017). Aside from migrating towards South-Africa for economic purposes, South-Africa is also used as a transit country in order to eventually get to the United States of America [USA], Europe or Canada (Kuschminder, Andersson & Siegel, 2018). The Ethiopian Embassy in South-Africa estimated that in 2009 there were 45.000-50.000 Ethiopians in South-Africa (Horewood, 2009 in Kuschminder, Andersson & Siegel, 2013).

According to the study of Kuschminder, Andersson and Siegel (2013), migrants who move to other African countries are primarily from rural areas, where their household is involved in agriculture. These particular migrants have a relatively low level of education and migrate without a passport or visa. This group of migrants is most likely to move with a group of friends (Kuschminder, Andersson & Siegel, 2013).

The final group of Ethiopian migrants are heading to the North; the USA and Europe. Migrants that migrate towards the North are more likely to be educated and almost always migrate legally. Illegal migration towards the North occurs as well, the absolute numbers are unknown (Kuschminder, Andersson & Siegel, 2018). The reason for Ethiopian migrants to move towards North-America or Europe are linked to employment, education and family reunion. These groups of migrants are more likely to have a network in the country of destination and often make their decision in consultation with their family members, since they assist them in funding the migration process (Kuschminder, Andersson & Siegel, 2013).

As mentioned by Mains (2007), many Ethiopians who have entered the USA in the last few years are most likely to have family members with DVs or have won the lottery themselves. The USA DV [diversity visa] Lottery select each year 50,000 winners all around the world to receive a USA visa. To fill in the DV Lottery form one must be a high school graduate, require a job skill, have a sponsor in the USA who will provide initial support while being in the USA and lastly, the applicant should not be infected with HIV. About 4,000 winners migrate to the USA each year.

In addition to the three before mentioned main destination areas, the flow of return migrants is also an increasingly important flow. The Ethiopian government imposed a ban on the migration towards the Middle East countries in 2013. This ban was imposed by the government due to reports of Ethiopian women being abused in their destination areas (Kuschminder, 2016). In October, that same

year, Saudi Arabia send 150.000 Ethiopians back to Addis Ababa. The huge flow of returnees became a fast-growing issue and is known as the 'Ethiopian return crisis'. The return creates substantial problems due to a lack of facilities in the form of shelter and other basic needs. (Kuschminder, Andersson & Siegel, 2018).

3.4 Education

According to Matsumoto et al. (2006), people living in low-potential agricultural areas are more likely to migrate than people living in cities or in high-potential agricultural areas. An important factor linked to this migration pattern, is the level of education. Matsumoto et al. (2006), illustrate in their article that education would be a solution to escape from unfortunate livelihood households because it increases the awareness on the positive and negative side effects of migration. The National Human Development report [NHDR] of 2018 states that Ethiopia made progress in their education system, however still a lot needs to be done to secure all youth of a high-quality education. Most difficulties occur in primary and secondary education and have consequences for those who attend tertiary education such as colleges or universities. To understand the relationship between migration and education, the Ethiopian education system will shortly be discussed below, followed by some of the difficulties within the current education on primary and secondary level.

3.4.1 The Ethiopian education system

The basis of the Ethiopian education system will be explained below in order to sketch some context in the discussion of the educational challenges below (paragraph 3.4.2).

Private primary schools do not automatically have pre-school educational facilities. The government is encouraging public primary schools to open a grade for the 6-year old children to prepare them for grade 1. However, most of the kindergartens are private or NGO-supported establishments and are mainly located in urban centres.

The primary education can be divided into two cycles; from grade one to four and from grade five to eight (Dom, 2017). At the end of grade eight, primary school students take a regional exam in order to receive a certificate, which is required to enter into secondary education. If a student fails the grade eight exam, they are encouraged to re-sit the exam in order to get the required marks (Dom, 2017). Secondary education, is again, organised into two cycles. The first cycle is grade 9 and 10, this is still part of the general education. The second cycle, consist out of grade 11 and 12, which is for students that have the intention to join university, this cycle is called the preparatory cycle. At the end of grade 10, students participate in a national exam. Grade 10 students that pass the exam flow into the preparatory cycle. Students who fail the grade 10 exam are eligible to attend a public formal National Technical and Vocational Education and training programme [TVET] or can join one of the private colleges (Dom, 2017). At the end of grade 12, students take, again a national exam. Students that pass

the exam, can join one of the public and thus government-subsidised universities. Students that fail the grade 12 exam can do a re-sit or join a TVET institute or private college or university, if they can afford the costs (Dom, 2017).

3.4.2 Educational challenges

The Ethiopian government has been investing in education in order to expand the access to education at all levels; which, for example, resulted in a decrease of illiterate people in the year 2013 (form 70 percent in 1999 to 42 in 2013)(NHDR, 2018). According to the NHDR, written in 2018, 48 percent of all women and 30 percent of all men between 15 and 49, were illiterate in the year 2016. Out of these percentages 57 percent of the illiterate women live in rural areas versus 16 percent of the illiterate women living in urban areas (NHDR, 2018) The education level in urban areas is higher in comparison to the rural areas, although it is still low; in 2013, 28 percent of the urban population had a high school certificate or above while 17 percent had no education at all, see figure 2 below (NHDR, 2018, p. 27).

Figure 2: Educational attainment of the urban population in 2013 (NHDR, 2018, p.27).

Besides the issue of access to education, the quality of education occur as a serious problem. As mentioned in the NHDR (2018), high school students only grasp a small part of the knowledge and skills they are expected to maintain. This occurs due to the incomplete primary education and the poor quality of secondary education. The poor quality of secondary education includes unqualified teachers and deficient school facilities. Also, the curriculum of secondary education is not appropriate to secure a high quality and the universal access to tertiary education. For many students, the curriculum is difficult and irrelevant. Too much details in specific topics are taught (NHDR, 2018). The curriculum, for instance, fails to secure the needs of the students who will not enter university after high school.

The curriculum is designed to prepare students for the university level entry requirement and thence overlooks the base needed for those who will enter the labour market or go to technical colleges after high school. Numbers of the National Learning Assessment [NLA] indicate that in 2010, students in grade 12 scored below average in the subjects English, Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry and Biology (NHDR, 2018). Most of these students will enter higher education, even though their scores are insufficient. In 2008/2009 63 percent of the grade 12 students scored below average on the five before mentioned subjects, 83 percent of them were still admitted to public universities. The problem of lacking quality and a mismatched curricula continues and will ultimately have consequences on the demand for skilled workers to the labour market.

3.5 Women and Migration

In order to look at the differences in migration aspirations and decision-making processes among men and women, this paragraph gives a short interest in the relationship between women and migration in Ethiopia.

Kuschminder, Andersson and Siegel (2013) mention in their study that emigration from Ethiopia can be seen as highly gendered; 60 percent of the migrants crossing the Ethiopian border is female. An ILO report on labour migration in Ethiopia (2017) illustrated that the majority of the regular labour migrants from Ethiopia are women form rural areas. These women have a limited educational background and are searching for better employment opportunities, in order to improve their own livelihood and support their families (ILO, 2017).

Besides the movement to escape from unfortunate livelihood conditions, the research of Erulkar et al. (2006) have shown that many young women from rural areas migrate in order to escape early marriage. Ethiopia has one of the highest rates of child marriages in the world (Erulkar et al., 2006). Although the Ethiopian law states that a woman must be 18 years or older to get married, the national average age of women to get married, is 14 (Erulkar et al., 2006). Child marriage is an important aspect while looking into the migration flow of women, since it could lead to further challenges such as low educational perspectives and health risks (Fransen & Kuschminder, 2009). When it comes to education, Ethiopia achieved progress in bridging the gender gap and they are still trying to build on to the support of women empowerment, according to the NHDR (2018). Therefore, more girls enrolled in primary education and women are more political represented at national and federal level. Although, these changes help empower women and break with the classic gendered role patterns, there are still a lot of changes that need to be done to bridge the gender gap.

4. Research design and methods

This research was conducted in Mekelle, northern Ethiopia during a fieldwork period from the beginning of February until the end of May 2019.

The participants that took part in this study were young Ethiopians between 15 and 25 years old. At the time this research was conducted, all of the participants lived, worked or studied in Mekelle and were either male or female. In this section the participants are divided into three different groups: 1) students of Mekelle University, 2) students of private colleges and 3) 'non-students' including young graduates, employed, unemployed and high school students. Academic experts in the field of youth migration and return migration also took part in this study. In section 4.1 the concepts used in this study will be operationalized. Secondly the qualitative research methods will be explained followed by the quantitative method.

4.1 Operationalization concepts

This research uses the concepts of youth, gender and social class to give an in-depth view on international migration patterns of young people in Mekelle. The operationalization of these concepts is based on common definitions that occur in the theoretical framework (chapter 2). Firstly, the term youth refers to the group of people aged between 15 and 25 years old, living, working or studying in Mekelle. Secondly, in this research the concept of gender refers to the underlying structures within cultures and social rations that shape a specific image of masculinity and femininity. These socially and culturally constructed images cause inequalities in expectations, opportunities and responsibilities for men and women. Lastly, in this study social class refers to the economic and human capital of an individual and his or her family. The economic status of the individual and his or her family plays a role, as well as the educational level or labour skills of an individual.

4.2 Research methods and operationalisation

To create a higher data validity, both qualitative and quantitative research methods are used in this study. Semi-structured interviews were the most dominant form of qualitative methods in this study. The quantitative method used, was a survey consisting out of 10 open ended questions, 20 close ended question and 3 ranking questions with strongly disagree, disagree, neither agree or disagree, agree and strongly agree as answer options. The answers on the open ended questions were code categories designed according to the most common answers. The survey was answered by 366 young people. However, the sample used in this study is not a simple random sample but a voluntary sample. Therefore a statistical analysis is not significant in order to test the output. Descriptive statistics are

used as an addition to the data collected with semi-structured interviews. In the following subparagraphs, the specific qualitative methods that were used in this study, will be explained in detail

4.2.1 Hanging out

During the first weeks in the field, *hanging out* was an important method that was used to get familiar with the environment, the culture and the people. *Hanging out* is a method that is part of participating observation and is mainly used in the first stage of an Anthropological research process (Boeije, 2010). Participating observation is not one of the main methods used in this research but *hanging out* turned out to be an important element within the first weeks in the field. Information was gathered while having informal conversations and discussions with the staff of Mekelle University and with youth at the campus or around town. This information gave an insight into the ideas and views about youth migration among the people living in Mekelle. The first phase of this research also turned out to be an important step in the process of creating a network and getting to know the residents of Mekelle.

4.2.2 Secondary data

Besides *hanging out*, secondary data was collected in the first weeks of the research. The colleagues of the Institute of Population Studies at Mekelle University, did a lot of research about migration. The papers and articles, written by the colleagues of the institute, provided valuable and up to date information on migration processes in Ethiopia, especially in the Tigray region. Also other experts that took part in this research provided secondary data in the form of master theses, research papers and articles. The collected secondary data helped in formulating the interview guides and to get a better understanding of the contextual processes about migration in Tigray region.

4.2.3 Interviews

During the fieldwork period that lasted 14 weeks, 18 semi-structured interviews were conducted; 12 among young Ethiopians between the ages of 15 and 25 and 6 with experts in the field of youth migration. The characteristics of the interviewees can be found in appendix 5 on page 73. Comprehensive interview guides with main questions, as well as probes were used to gather in-depth information about the participants. The interview guides slightly changed while conducting the study in order to grasp and explore the most important themes related to the research topic. The format of the used interview guides for both the youth and the experts can be found in appendix 1 and 2.

All of the 12 interviews with the young Ethiopians were conducted in English, without the help of a translator. The level of English of all interviewed youth was good enough to have an in-depth conversation. All of the interviewees gave permission for the recording of the interview. Only one of the interviews was not recorded. This particular interview took place spontaneously, therefore only

notes were made during the conversation. The interviews with the youth took place in different spots in town. Most of them took place in a café or a local coffee house which the participants chose, to enable them to talk in a place they felt most comfortable.

One of the key informants assisted in arranging interviews with five of the participants, five informants were the result of the network built in the first phase of the research period and two youngsters were selected as a result of the snow ball method. This method encouraged participants to expose the research to friends, classmates and other member of their social circle in order for them to participate as well.

Beside the youth, six interviews were conducted with academic experts in the field of migration. Two of these experts were staff members of the Institute of Population Studies. These experts completed several researches regarding migration patterns in Ethiopia and gave seminars. The third expert is a lecturer of the Anthropology department and was conducting a research on returnees from rural areas, while the present research was taking place. The fourth expert is a researcher, also at the Anthropology department and wrote his master thesis in collaboration with the Institute of Population Studies on the topic of youth migration to the Golf states. The last two interviewed experts are PhD students in the field of migration. These expert interviews took place at Arid University campus and were all conducted in English. All participants gave permission to record the interview. In addition to the interviews mentioned above, interviews were also conducted with a male returned migrant from the United States of America [USA] and with a female labour migrant working in Dubai. These interviews were shorter than the interviews mentioned above, and therefore mainly focussed on the decision made to migrate at a young age. The interview with the returnee was recorded, the interview with the migrant was documented in the form of notes.

All recorded interviews were transcribed and coded in Nvivo. The code tree of the codes and nodes used can be find in appendix 9.

4.2.4 Survey

In addition to the in-depth information gathered from the interviewees, a survey was designed to create a higher validity among the collected data. The interview transcripts and the secondary data was used to formulate the survey questions. The survey designed by Lotter van der Heijden in 2018 was used as a basis for the questions formulated in the survey used for this research. Since the survey was distributed among the three different groups of youth, mentioned above, three different versions were used. The difference between the versions is explained in the introduction section; some of the questions within this section were not relevant for all groups of youth. The survey can be found in appendix 3 on page 62 , as well as the characteristics of the participants that took part in this study; appendix 4.

The first group that filled in the survey were 200 bachelor students of Mekelle University from 8 different studies: 1) management, 2) law, 3) civics, 4) geography, 5) sociology, 6) history, 7) economy and 8) political science. Four sociology students were recruited by a colleague from the Population Studies Institute, and asked to each distribute 50 surveys among 25 boys and 25 girls within the 8 mentioned fields of study. Before distributing the survey, the four sociology students filled in the survey themselves to test comprehension of the questions, the structure and the estimated time to complete the questions. The recruited students were asked to interview the students instead of just distributing and collecting the survey, in order to prevent misunderstanding or skipping the questions. The students got seven days to distribute the 50 surveys with a compensation of 300 birr per day (about € 9,00).

The second group that filled in the survey were 70 college students. While entering the data of the first group into SPSS, it turned out that some questions were not optimally formulated. One college graduate and the two teachers tested the survey questions before the survey was distributed. In collaboration with one colleague from the Population Studies Institute, the questions were adapted to the target group. The two college teachers were asked to distribute the survey among their students in class. The English stated questions were explained by the teachers to filter out possible misunderstandings. To compensate the assistance of the teachers, they received 700 birr each(about €21,50).

Lastly, 100 surveys were distributed among non-students. This group was the most difficult to detect and reach. Moreover, this group struggled with answering the questions as a result of a lesser understanding of the English language. Two young people volunteered to distribute the survey in town among young people that were not students. Before distributing, some questions were changed due to irrelevance. Both the university students and the college students mentioned that the response time of the survey was too long, so in order to reduce time one ranking question was deleted from the survey for this group. The two volunteers took 5 days to distribute 100 surveys. Although these students voluntarily distributed the survey, they got a compensation of 1000 birr each (about €30,00).

4.3 reflection on positionality researchers

This research induced some limitations that occurred because of the positionality of the researcher in the field. Limitations according to the used methods are discussed in paragraph 9.5 and result in suggestions for further research.

First, a reflection is needed on the visibility of the researcher in the field. The researcher was highly visible due to her western appearance in an African environment. On the one hand, this resulted in many informal conversations, which made it possible to create a network among youth in town more easily than expected. On the other hand, approaching youth at the university campus was slightly

difficult. Youth felt rather shy or insecure about their language which made it difficult to build a network among them. This difficulty was solved with time, students got used to the presence of the researcher and felt more free to talk and eventually share their ideas and stories. Furthermore, being a woman in the field, contributed to this visibility. This sometimes created unwanted attention or conversations.

A second limitation concerning positionality of the research concerns language. All interviews were done in English. The researcher was not able to speak to local language Tigrinya or the national language Amharic. Since students are taught in English from grade nine and university students are taught in English as well, having in-depth conversations in English was no major limitation. As mentioned, however, some students felt insecure about their English skills. The ability of the researcher to speak the local language or working with a translator would have been valuable to make the youth feel more comfortable during conversations and in approaching youth with lower levels of education.

5. Results – the influence of rural migration flows

Speaking with the young interviewees about the topic of migration, allowed them to tell personal stories about the migration flow towards the Middle East. The migration flow towards the Middle East plays a dominant role in migration processes in Ethiopia, which is explained in chapter 3. As explained in chapter 3, migration routes towards the Middle East are predominantly followed by youth from rural areas. From the stories the interviewees and respondents told, it became clear that the migration patterns of rural youth, has had an influence on the perception of migration and the decision making processes of the respondents in Mekelle. Therefore, this empirical chapter illustrates the view that respondents have adopted on international migration processes, dominated by challenges of migration towards the Middle East.

5.1 Migration is risky and challenging

In order to get a general understanding of the view on youth migration, the interviewees were asked to explain what they know about youth migration. Although all of the interviewees grew up in the urban centres Mekelle and Addis Ababa, most of the stories of the interviewees were focused on the migration flows of rural youth. In addition to the stories from the young interviewees, the expert interviews were also dominated by migration flows from rural areas. The stories on international migration were dominated by the challenges migrants may face when they migrate abroad.

According to the informants, especially girls are vulnerable for abuse on their way or at the place of destination, while migrating towards the Middle East. Negasi (male) an academic expert in the field of migration and working at the Institute of Population Studies, explained that the human rights valuation and proper work circumstances are not respected by most of the employers (with reference to Kuschminder, 2016). Also college student Mulu (male, 22), who's cousin (female) works in Saudi Arabia, mentioned that the employees are treated like dogs and added that returnees therefore struggle with mental health problems: *"when they came back to the city, I think it is because of the social life, when you go away from your social life here and there you are like a slave, you are like a slave in Arab, so you don't have a social live. You are just a dog so mentally, you are getting abnormal"*. Also Gebre (male, 24), who has two cousins (female) working in Dubai, mentioned that the life and the work in the Arab countries is challenging: *"the people that migrate to Arab, Arab states, are working as household workers, as a maid a servant. So it is not safe. They get a lot of pressures".*
Furthermore, sexual abuse by the employers or brokers and traffickers is a known danger for the informants. In a research on reproductive health, Aida (female) academic expert in the field of return migration, met two girls of 13 and 14 years old in a clinic. One of the girls came to take anticonception

by an injection: *"why do you need it I said?!" because she is going to Saudi the one said"* (Aida, academic expert in the field of return migration, female). These girls seem aware of what risks they may face when migrating to Saudi Arabia. A doctor, specialised in women's health issues, told similar stories of young women asking for anticonception as preparation for their movement towards the Middle East. One of his patients told him that she payed 300.000 birr (around 9000 euro) to a trafficker in order to get to Dubai.

Do you have the aspiration to migrate abroad?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No	182	49,7	49,9	49,9
	Yes	183	50,0	50,1	100,0
	Total	365	99,7	100,0	
Missing	System	1	,3		
Total		366	100,0		

Table 1: Migration aspirations among participants (N=365).

To which continent do you aspire to migrate to?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Europe	84	23,0	46,2	46,2
	Africa	2	,5	1,1	47,3
	Oceania	2	,5	1,1	48,4
	Asia	9	2,5	4,9	53,3
	North America	55	15,0	30,2	83,5
	South America	15	4,1	8,2	91,8
	Middle East	15	4,1	8,2	100,0
	Total	182	49,7	100,0	
Missing	System	184	50,3		
Total		366	100,0		

Table 2: Migration aspirations per continent (N=183).

Besides the stories of the challenges and risks rural youth will face while moving towards the Middle East, also the misunderstanding of the term migration illustrates that migration patterns of rural youth have an influence on the participants in Mekelle. At the beginning of the third month of the fieldwork period, it became clear that the term migration in general was understood by many participants as the challenging movement out of the country. The distinction of irregular and regular migration was not clear to them; Irregular migration towards Europa was most of the time seen as dangerous and challenging such as the regular movement towards the Middle East countries.

Even though the majority of the participants agreed (229 out of 362) that they will face many challenges while migrating abroad, 183 of the 366 participants still have the aspiration to do so. However, from the 365 participants that filled in the question 'do you have the aspiration to migrate abroad?' 183 participants answered the question with 'yes'. Only 15 participants chose the option Middle East on the question 'to which continent do you aspire to migrate to?'. From the interviewees none had the aspiration to migrate towards the Middle East.

6. Results – What makes youth aspire to migrate abroad

As mentioned in the previous chapter, half of the participants that answered the survey questions had the aspiration to migrate out of Ethiopia. The reason why the youth, that took part in this study, aspire to migrate has different reasons. An open ended question in the survey stated 'why do you think young Ethiopians migrate – give a top three of reasons?'. The most frequent answers had to do with unemployment and economic status of the youth, education or scholarships or the current political situation. Since the question was open ended, a variety of answers was given. All answers were classified in the following 7 codes: (1)better life, (2)education/ scholarship, (3)unemployment/ job opportunities, (4)improvement economic status/ better salary, (5)political situation, (6)support family and (7)other.

Why do you think Ethiopian youth migrate? (1)

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Better life	56	15,3	15,6	15,6
	Education/scholarship	41	11,2	11,4	26,9
	Unemployment / job opportunities	113	30,9	31,4	58,3
	Improve economic status / better salary	107	29,2	29,7	88,1
	Political situation	12	3,3	3,3	91,4
	Support family	12	3,3	3,3	94,7
	Other	19	5,2	5,3	100,0
	Total	360	98,4	100,0	
Missing	System	6	1,6		
Total		366	100,0		

Table 3: Why do you think young Ethiopians migrate? (N=360)

From the 360 participants that answered this particular question, 113 participants think that unemployment/ job opportunities is the first reason for young people to migrate. 107 participants think that this reason is the improvement of the economic status, 41 participants give an answer related to educational reasons and 12 participants think that it is the political situation that makes young people migrate. When calculating the top three reasons; improvement of the economic status was mentioned mostly; 254 participants chose an answer related to the improvement of the economic status, followed by unemployment; 194 participants gave this as one of the three reasons. An answer related to education or scholarships, was given by 162 participants. An answer that concerns the

political situation, was stated by 75 participants. The category 'better life' was mentioned 158 times by the participants, see appendix 7 on page 76. From conversations with the young informants who also mentioned better life as an reason to migrate, better life can be defined as an summary of all codes mentioned above.

Also interviewees were asked about possible reasons why people migrate. Most of their answers were related to their own aspirations, whether to migrate or not. The answers given by the interviewees were similar to the survey output. The most dominant reason why they aspire to migrate is due to the unemployment, which is related to the economic status of the youth. Therefore these two reasons will be explained together in paragraph 5.1 below. Paragraph 5.2 will focus on education as a trigger for youth to consider migration and 5.3 discusses the influence of the political situation on migration aspirations of youth.

6.1 Improvement of their Economic status, unemployment and supporting family

In Ethiopia, almost 70% of the population is under the age of 30 (NHDR, 2018). With reference to the NHDR (2018) Negasi (academic expert at the IOPS), mentioned that Ethiopia therefore, can be demographically characterised by young people. The reason why young people cover this high percentage of the total population is according to the interviewed experts because of the high fertility rate and the low life expectancy of the elderly (NHDR, 2018). Negasi mentioned that every year, near 3 million people enter the labour market. Around 100.000 of these people are graduated from one of the public universities (NHDR, 2018). Besides these public universities also private universities and colleges produce youngsters with a diploma or degree ready to enter the labour market. Lastly, there is youth that did not graduate, youth that failed the national examination of grade 10 or 12 and dropped out and went straight into the labour market without a diploma or degree. The capacity of the labour market is not big enough to facilitate jobs for this young generation (Saint, 2004). Therefore young graduates have difficulties to find a job after their graduation.

Almost all of the interviewees mentioned the lack of job opportunities as a problem for after their gradation. *"When you see the economic reasons there is a lack of jobs here for example. So when people, they are learning and when they finish their education, they did not get any job"* (Fana, female, 23). In addition to this, Aman (male, 20) mentioned that most of his friends who graduated two years ago did not yet find a job: *"This is a big problem. You do not want to sit with your parents after you have been graduated you know"*. This 20 year old male sociology student mentioned that he will probably have a job after his graduation but in a different field than his studies. Also Gebre (male, 24) explained that waiting for the government or the private institutions to hire you is not an option, the chance to find a job in your field of studies is too low. He suggests that it is better to create your own

business: *"maybe in a very cheap kind of salary, but the work is available all the time. Sometimes you have to be entrepreneur, you have to invent some work you know, some works by yourself"* (Gebre, male, 24).

However, starting a business on your own or opening a shop can be a solution for the unemployment, but it is not a chance everyone can take. When family members are not able to support their children financially, there are not so many options left for them to get any kind of financial support. The interest rates to acquire a credit from the bank are not accessible for youth, which makes it very hard for the young generation to start up their own business and enter the labour market (Tadesse and Kinfemichael, 2015 and from interviews with several experts).

Since starting a business is not an option for every youngster in order to enter the labour market; unemployment was frequently mentioned by participants and interviewees, as a root cause for migration: *"but mainly, mainly, mainly, the unemployed situation makes people migrate to another country. You know they want to get a good job. And just get the money"* (Solomon, male, 18). Without money you cannot life a 'comfortable' or 'better' life: *"normally they go to get better life, and to get money, indirectly; to get work"* (Zala, female, 22).

Many interviewees and 132 participants mentioned 'better life' as one of the main reasons, most of the young people in Ethiopia migrate. Interviewees explained 'better life' as earning enough money to pay for one's basic needs and support their family financially. Creating a better life both for themselves as well as for their family, is an important trigger for many informants to consider migration. Along with the informants, 61 participants wrote down an answer related to financial support of their family, to the question 'why do you think young people migrate?'. Furthermore, Aida, academic expert on return migrants, and Binham[2] high school and college teacher, explained that supporting their family financially could change their lives. Buying land or starting a business can help to create financial stability within the family. Also high school student Solomon (male, 18) explained that the main trigger for him to migrate is to earn enough money to change the life of his family. He plans to buy a piece of land to build a hotel or restaurant on with the money he will earn in the United States of America [USA]. Rachel (female, 28) who actually did migrate to Dubai explained that the main reason for her move was to earn money, support her family and eventually live a better life. After living in the USA for almost a decade Getachew (male, 35), returned to Ethiopia five years ago. He won the DV Lottery when he was 24 years old. His motivation to partake in the DV Lottery was not to help his family in the first place. He was migrating because of the promising job opportunities and better salary in the USA. As already mentioned this motivation is related to supporting family members who were left behind.

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[2] Interviewed as expert due to the programmes and activities in his classes to raise awareness about the risks and challenges of migration.

During his stay in the USA, he regularly sent money back home. After seven years Getachew was able to visit his family and saw that the lives of his family members were changed due to the remittances he had send. He decided to move back to Ethiopia and build a business together with his family.

From the 363 participants that filled in the statement 'migrating abroad will help me to get a high payment', 150 participants agreed and 49 participants strongly agreed (see appendix 9). The two reasons, unemployment and improvement of economic status, are related to each other; without a job there is no salary to live a comfortable life and take care of your family. Binham (male) explains this relationship by stating the following: *"the first reason why people migrate is economically; for the sake of searching a better job, so that is economically".*
However, the young graduates that cannot find a job are not the only group that have the aspiration to migrate in order to upgrade their economic status. In particular, teachers, government workers and office workers also have the aspiration to migrate because they do not earn enough to secure their basic needs.

6.2 Education

To improve the chances of getting a job, earning more money and living a better life; education is also a reason why young people in Mekelle aspire to migrate abroad.

Interviewees had a rather negative view on the current education system .The main concerns were regarding the quality of the education and the curriculum. First, three of the interviewees mentioned that the quality of education is low because of language difficulties. Till grade 9 of high school, students are taught in Tigrinya, the local language in Tigray. After grade 8 the language changes to English. *"One is, starting from KG [kindergarten], to 8 grade, you learn in the native language, Tigrinya language. Immediately in the 9th grade everything is changed to English, everything. You see? So for one, this is a problem. Everything is in English and even when they study hard (…) the students, they got confused"* (Aida, academic expert in the field of return migration, female). According to the interviewees, the switch to English does not always happen in a consistent and proper manner, mainly due to the limited knowledge of English by teachers themselves.

 Secondly, also the comprehension of information and the quantity of subjects is a difficulty for most of the interviewees. Filmon (male, employed, 24): *"the education is very bad. For example, uhmm, we learn 12 subjects. It is so crazy in your mind you cannot safe nothing. It is too much".* Furthermore, Gebre (male,24), who is a high school teacher, complains about the irrelevant information and content written in the textbooks: *"a lot of students just get tired of it. Because like I have told you; they are taking more subjects who get more specific, in a very short and brief way. So it is very bulk"*. Lastly, in some cases it is the education skills of the teachers and lecturers that generate difficulties. Binham,

who has been a teacher in high school and college for 5 years, mentioned that up until the last few years, being a teacher was a relatively well paid job: *"now it is the reverse. Quality and quality is highly out of proportion"*. According to Binham, more people are able to get their bachelor or master's degree, which has an influence on the quality of the educating skills of the people that teach new generations (and mentioned in Saint, 2004). Besides the quality of the teachers, university student Selemawit (female, 23) mentioned that the learning environment is very harsh: *"they are like, our life is basically in their hands. And they can do whatever they want, there is no system that tells them you can't do this or this. There is no system that our rights are like kept so you like, you fear your teacher, you fear them, for sure. Ja!"*. The point Selemawit makes, was also pointed out in several informal conversations with the interviewees as well. Interviewees described teachers receiving all kind of compensation in exchange for high grades.

Besides the quality of education, the curriculum is something young people complain about. In most cases the students are not able to choose their field of study themselves when applying for university. Only the high school students with the highest grades are likely to get into their first choice of study. In an informal conversation with Negasi (academic expert at the IOPS), concerning the role of the government in the education system, he explained that the government decides how many students can be selected for each study field (Saint, 2004). This creates a gap between the labour market and the profession skills of the graduates each year. Negasi (academic expert at the IOPS), argues that the government should manage the current curriculum in order to manage the labour market demand: *"if we look at the capacity of the labour market, it does not accommodate one. One thing is again, there is variation between the labour market demand and the curriculums being crafted and delivered to the students. This is a big issue that the government should work on, because ones the students are graduated they have to get jobs.* Another informant (male), who works as an associate professor at Mekelle University, explained this problem by his own experience. He was a good student in high school, but not excellent and he did not get into his first choice of department and was classified to study history. He explained that it was very challenging to study history when your interest lies somewhere else. However, he finished his history bachelor and had the opportunity to do an additional bachelor. Yet, not every student is as lucky and get this opportunity, or is simply unable to keep up their motivation to study something out of their interest. University student Zala (female, 22) had a similar experience and also explained that it is very challenging to keep up your studies in a field out of your interest. She argues that if there was one thing she could change, she would change the way the government assigns one to a particular program.

The participants that filled out the survey mentioned education 132 times as one of the main reason why they think young Ethiopians migrate abroad. 45 out of the 183 participants who aspire to migrate

abroad, mentioned that their aspiration was linked to educational reasons. Furthermore, statement: 'the education opportunities outside Ethiopia are better' was chosen by 359 participants; out of the 359, 161 agreed and 99 participants strongly agreed with this statement (see appendix 9).

6.3 The political environment

"Uhmm, well, Mekelle is a very beautiful city. Sometimes very quiet and it is very peaceful to live in. Especially when you see now, at this moment, with the current situation which is happening now all around the county, this is a very peaceful city."

- Gebre (Male, 24)

With this quote Gebre suggests, that not all cities in Ethiopia are peaceful. As explained in the regional context the political environment in Ethiopia is not stable at the moment due to the political reformation of prime minister Abiy Ahmed who took office in 2018. According to Binham, the reformation is harming the people instead of creating a stable and peaceful nation. He mentioned that due to the reformation, internal conflicts between the different regions only increase and that a huge amount of inhabitants are displaced (UNHCR, 2018). Merhawi (male, 30), Gebre (male, 24) and Aman (male, 20) speak of an increase of ethnic tension while illustrating the current political instability. *"So out of Tigray, all over the country, there are all different kinds of conflicts (…).So all together, there is a worse kind of politics, ethnic groups kind of politics, and this is very dangerous!"* (Gebre, male, 24). PhD Student Merhawi (male, 30) predicts that the ethnic tension will increase with an eye on the upcoming elections in 2020. Leading up to the elections, people are starting to feel insecure about leaving their ethnic boundaries. This statement was made from his own point of view; Merhawi (30, male) is originally from the south of Ethiopia and his personal feelings of insecurity about living and studying in the north has increased due to the political reformation. He generalises that people like him, with a different religion (Protestant in an environment dominated by Orthodox Christians) and who do not speak Tigrinya are the first to be affected by political instability. Because of these ethnic tensions, he feels uncertain about starting a business or investing in land in Tigray. Selamawit (female, 23) who is originally from Addis Ababa feels the same about the current political predicament as Merhawin (male, 30): *"the country at this point is not stable. So you might be scared, do I wanna stay here (…) I don't think that people will move out because of this, but it will be bad. It scares me sometimes. So I don't want to start my business in this environment and risk to lose my money, you know"*. Also Aman (male,20), indicates to feel anxious about the increasing ethnic tension. He explains that he and his best friend, who lived together in a dorm at the university campus, moved to a private apartment because of a conflict between local students and students from different regions. His friend was assaulted in the bathroom because he is originally from Amhara region. He was not the only student who faced this kind of abuse*: "It happened for a lot of students like that! They were thrown by stones,*

they throw stones at them. Ja. But not just here, also in Arid [main campus]. One student was thrown out of the window" (Aman, male, 20).

Nevertheless, not all participants can relate to the feeling of insecurity due to the political situation. From the 363 participants that answered the statement 'I feel safe in my current place of residence', 170 agreed and 52 strongly agreed (see appendix 9). Out of the 222 participants who agreed, 138 were Tigrayan people.

Most of the participants who filled in the survey did not see the political situation as a main cause for international migration. 75 participants mentioned the political situation as one of the main causes to migrate. Out of the 183 participants that have the aspiration to migrate, six were triggered by the political situation. Besides taking the dominant factors into account that trigger young people to consider migrating abroad, their social network also plays a significant role. Chapter 6 dives deeper into the role of the social network of young people in Mekelle and their aspiration to migrate abroad.

7. Results – The influence of friends and family

"And again the social networks are facilitators of the migration. Because the case is, the major existence of unemployment may not lead to migration decision. (...) If I am unemployed, if I do not have any information on where to go, on how to get in contact, something like that, I do not migrate, simply because I cannot migrate."

<div align="right">- Negasi , academic expert at the IOPS</div>

Many of the interviewees and participants have friends, family members, old classmates or neighbours living abroad. In the interviews, informants explained how they stay in contact with their close friends and relatives abroad, and how this influences their thinking about the before mentioned destination countries. Also the interviewed experts discovered interesting data in their researches on the role of the social network in influencing young people whether to migrate or not. Chapter 2 and the quote in the beginning of this paragraph, already illustrated that a social network can play a role in influencing people to migrate. This chapter will dive deeper into the influences of this social network among the interviewees and participants.

7.1 The social network of the youth

From the 366 participants that took part in the survey, 94 do not have any close relations living outside of Ethiopia. In total 185 participants have a family member living abroad, 170 a friend, 146 a classmate or colleague and 147 a neighbour. Most participants stay in contact with their friends and family members abroad more often than with their classmates or neighbours. 82 participants contact their family members abroad weekly and 43 contact their friends abroad every week. Classmates and colleagues are contacted every week by 23 of the participants and neighbours only by 7 participants. Only 7 participants never contacted their family abroad, while 64 of the participants never contacted their old neighbours abroad. See appendix 11 for the contact frequencies.

The most popular channels used to stay in touch with friends and family abroad, are social media channels such as Facebook Messenger, Viber, Imo and Telegram. The participants were asked about the role of social media as trigger to shape migration aspirations. Out of the 366 participants, 326 answered 'yes' to the question: 'is social media important for you in order to stay in contact with friends/family abroad?'. Social media channels are also influential in facilitating information flows for young Ethiopians about migration destinations, according to the survey output. 128 participants stated that they consider social media as an important factor when it comes to their view of migration destinations and 195 participants stated that social media channels such as Facebook, Instagram, YouTube and Telegram provided them with important information about migration opportunities.

Moreover, all of the interviewed youth had at least one close friend or family member living abroad with whom they had contact ranging from every other week to everyday.

7.2 Family- and peer pressure

That the youth has a social network of friends and family living abroad became clear, but how influential is this network? Negasi (academic expert at the IOPS) refers to the article written by Haug (2008) by arguing that migration in Ethiopia can be characterised as chain migration. He explained that when someone migrates, remittances flow back into Ethiopia. These remittances are used to improve the livelihood of the family, and most of the time, of the community left behind. When significant changes appear to the migrant's family or community, people in their surrounding start thinking of the benefits of international migration as well (Negasi referring to Haug, 2008). Examples of this kind of chain migration is also mentioned by other informants: *"there is a town called Wukro, 42 kilometres far from here, in that town there is one young guy who migrated earlier and he came back with a lot of money and now he has constructed a very standard hotel. So he is living a good life. So when the youth see this guy, they are attracted to go"* (Kaleb, academic expert at the IOPS). The focus on success stories can create family pressure on the youth and give them an extra push to go migrate. Kaleb (academic expert at the IOPS) explained that family members are eager to send their children out of the country when they see what the remittances have brought their neighbours. This is according to Negasi (with reference to Tadesse and Kinfemichael, 2015) the reason why almost every household in eastern Tigray has a family member abroad. In addition to family pressure, also peer pressure is mentioned as an important factor why young people emigrate. Peer pressure is by many informants linked to the use of social media. Most of the youngster in town have a smartphone which makes it very easy for them to get information about migration destinations from their friends and family.

Abraham, researcher at the anthropology department, conducted research among 500 returnees. He explained that the images young people sketch of their life abroad, are rather misleading or completely false: *"they pretend! They are not sending photographs that there are cleaning rooms, or keeping gardens. But they make pictures inside the car and so on"*. Mulu (male, 22) has experienced this with one of his good friends, who has migrated to the Middle East: *"most of the time they tell you the good thing. When you ask them: "how are you?" They tell you: "o we are fine! We are fine! Don't be afraid we are fine." They don't talk to family bad things"*. Mulu explains by saying this, that migrants spread false messages like these while thinking about their families left behind. They would rather lie about their situation than let them feel worried or disappointed about their new life situation (Mulu, male, 22).

On top of the misleading pictures and messages, young people also get trigged by their friends who ask them to come over: *"first thing he said was: came, came! He wanted me to come. 'First you will work as a farmer, after to cashier'. He just motivated me to go there. I said: 'I will not come'.(…) But after he did not called me for a long time, he just ignored me"* (Solomon, male, 18).

Solomon is not the only one of the interviewees who gets these kinds of invitations to migrate. In this study, the main factor predicting whether or not informants get triggered by rather false images and stories or invitations, is the place of destination. All five of the informants who got an invitation to move to the Middle Easters countries, did not aspire to join their friend or family member. Their argument was mostly based on their level of education unlike their migrant friends or family members. Because they are educated and aware of the risks and challenges, they would not aspire to join their friend or family member abroad.

Informants with friends or family in western nations did think about migrating as well. For example Aman (male, 20), Aman's mother lives in the USA and he argues that if he ever gets the chance he will definitely migrate to the USA as well. He describes the life of his mother as 'difficult', referring to her working hours, however, he still aspires to migrate to the USA. University student Selemawit (female, 23) always aspired to migrate to the USA. Nevertheless, she had the opportunity to visit some of her friends and family member in the USA and changed her mind: *"they send pictures, they are so good you know. O my god, America is way better. I want to go there and actually see what is going on there. But when I was there, it is really hard. They have two jobs, it is really hard".* Selemawit (female,23) here mentioned the reason why people that do not aspire to migrate, like staying in Mekelle. Comparing the lives of friends and family members also influences young people to stay in Mekelle. Young people with the prospect of a job or a family, who will facilitate them starting a business, would also rather stay in Mekelle, which will be further explained in chapter 8.

Disregarding the pressure of peers and family members, interviewees were asked if their friends or their family members are a more significant influence in their aspirations to migrate abroad. Only two of the interviewees thought that family members had a bigger influence on them than friends. One of them explained that family members, on top of providing them with information about the destination area, could assist them financially (Merhawi, male, 30). Solomon (male, 18) mentioned family as more influential because he argues that friends, most of the time, just think about themselves. Interestingly, this same reason makes friends more influential, according to Aman (male, 20): *"my family, like my mother, she is on another level of thinking than me, she thinks about us, about her family. But my friend (…) will just tell me what they are doing and thinking".* All the other young interviewees agreed with the argument of friends being on the same level of thinking, which makes friends more influential. In addition to this, participants explained to feel free to talk about all topics with friends, while the

communication with their family members is rather basic, not all issues can be discussed within a household or family.

Who provides you information about migration opportunities abroad?

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
The Ethiopian government (N=357)	68	134	63	83	9
Ethiopian Universities (N=352)	36	104	93	104	15
The International Organization for migration (IOM) (N=352)	36	78	113	102	23
Local Television (N=355)	31	102	70	130	22
International Television (N=354)	17	52	78	175	32
Movies (N=355)	13	43	64	186	49
The Internet (N=356)	11	38	44	197	66
Books (N=358)	33	66	95	136	28

Table 4[3]: Channels that provide youth information about migration destination

7.3 Other influences

Besides the role of social media, peer- and family pressure, international and local TV, movies and the internet all play a role in triggering young people to think of international migration. One of the survey questions states: 'who provides you information about migration opportunities abroad?'. As can be seen in table 4 above, television and movies do play a role in providing information to the youth about migration opportunities. According to the informants these channels also provide information on migration destinations. So does high school student Solomon (male, 18) aspire to migrate to the USA because he has seen a lot of American high school movies, is university student Mahlet (female, 21) triggered to visit Paris because she has seen many images on TV, and mentioned master student Fana (female, 23) Turkey as destination country if she ever gets the chance to go abroad, because she has seen images of Turkey on TV.

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[3] See appendix 6 for complete table.

8. Results – Gender and social class

As previously explained in chapters 2, gender and social class have their influence on migration processes. This empirical chapter tries to explain the influence of gender and social class on the aspiration of the participants whether to migrate or not. First the role of gender within the society will be discussed followed by the influence of gender on shaping migration aspirations among the studied youth. To conclude this chapter, the role of social class in shaping migration aspirations will be discusses.

8.1 Gender role patterns in society

When the young interviewees were asked how they feel about the equality of males and females in society, the overall feeling among them was that males and females are more equal in the urban environment in comparison to the equality of the sexes in the rural areas. Most of the informants argue that specific gender role patterns are still dominant within the urban society, but that they are slowly changing. With these role patterns the youth refer to the deviation of tasks within the household. The men are responsible for the household income. The women are responsible to take care of the children and maintain the household. These role patterns are slowly changing: *"ja! People are now learning, when you see the city, it is getting better, it is more developed. So this [role pattern] will change with time"(*Filmon, male, 24*). In addition, Solomon mentioned:" I think that they [male and female] are the same. I think like that, before they think that they [women] cannot do anything. They are just there to grow the baby, but now it is changing"* (Solomon, male, 18).

Selemawit (female, 23) agreed that the gender roles are changing, nevertheless, a big difference between males and females can be observed in society. She explained that even though the traditional role patterns are not as prevalent as before, her future husband probably will not assist her in preforming domestic tasks: *"(…) I hope he will help me with some tasks, but I don't mind. I don't expect him to help me, it is better not to expect too much"*. This shows that even though the youth is noticing changes compared to older generations, gender role patterns still do rule the current society. One sheer example is when you go out in the daytime to have lunch or drink coffee, most of the cafe and restaurant guests are male. University student Fana (female, 23) explained that she, as a girl, is not allowed to spend her free time going out in town or going on a weekend trip with her friends. Her brothers, on the other hand, are able to do these activities without arguing with their parents. Fana also shared the story of her parents arranging a marriage for her. Although her parents tried to force her, she was able to postpone the marriage until after her graduation. She shared this story to show

that even when the times are changing, old traditions and gender role patterns still play a predominant role in urban areas and not in rural areas only.

8.2 Gender and migration aspiration

In order to grasp the aspect of gender in shaping migration aspirations, the output of the survey was analysed from a gender perspective. As illustrated in table 5 below, significant differences in the reason to migrate between male and female participant did not dominantly appear within this study. In order to capture a more general idea of the relationship between gender and migration, the statement 'girls are more likely to migrate abroad than boys' was formulated in the survey. From the 361 participants who filled in this question, 125 participants agreed and 45 strongly agreed (see appendix 9). For the 125 participants that agreed with this statement, 54.4 percent (68 participants) were male and 45,6 percent (57 participants) were female. Only a small difference can be observed within this statement's output. Furthermore, with 1 missing value, the survey was answered by 166 females and 199 males, 103 males and 80 females had the aspiration to migrate abroad. When looking to the statement ' I have the strong feeling to move outside of Ethiopia in the nearby future', about half of the males[4] as well as half of the females[5] answered this question positive (agree-strongly agree). To conclude, a significant difference in the gender perspective cannot be observed from the output.

Why do you prefer to migrate ?[6]

	Education	Better life	Job opportunities	Economy in destination	Political situation	Other	Total
Male	31	12	22	17	5	14	101
Female	14	8	25	9	1	19	76
Total	45	20	47	26	6	33	177

Table 5: Reasons to migrate for youth that have international migration aspirations dived by gender.

Looking into the role gender within the social network, the survey output does not illustrate relevant differences between men and women. The role of social media in order to stay in contact with

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[4] 96 male participants from the 197 that answered the question
[5] 81 female participants from the 166 that answered the question
[6] 103 out of the 199 male participants had the aspiration to migrate to 80 out of the 165 female participants (2 missing values for the males and 4 missing values for the females). The numbers within this table are absolute numbers.

friends and family, is for instance, important for 88.4 percent of the males (176 participants) and for 89.8 percent of the females (149 participants).

In table 5 above, a small difference between males and females can be observed when focusing on education and politics as reason why they would like to migrate. Also, in the statement about the challenges of migration (appendix 9), a small difference between males and females can be observed: 46.1 percent of the female participants and 36.2 of the male participants think that they will face many challenges when migrating abroad (see appendix 9).

Moreover, the interview output does not support the presumed relationship between gender and migration aspirations. The reason why five interviewed males, and only three of the interviewed females had the aspiration to migrate cannot be explained by a gender perspective. Other factors such as education and the economic wealth were important to take into account. The interview output gives more insight into the relationship between social class and migration aspirations, which will be further explained in paragraph 8.3 below.

8.3 Social class

In this section the level of education and the economic status of the parents will be discussed in order to capture a part of the social class as influence.

Most of the participants that answered the survey, were highly educated. From this sample, 233 participants were obtaining, or already obtained, a bachelor degree and 100 participants were studying in college. The level of education might have an influence on the migration aspiration of the youth. As already mentioned most of the participants did not have the aspiration to, for example, migrate towards the Middle Eastern countries, and would rather move towards Europe or the United Stated of America [USA] (see table 2 in chapter 5). According to the informants, migration towards the Middle Eastern countries or irregular migration towards Europe is not something they aspire due to their level of education and the awareness of the possible risks and challenges. This argument of the informants can also be illustrated by the following statement in the survey: 'people with a low level of education are less likely to migrate abroad'. 139 participants disagree and 51 strongly disagree with this statement which illustrates that a low level of education does not withhold people from migrating abroad (see appendix 9). This statement, however is not formulated optimally to where it illustrates the relation between education and migration opportunities.

Besides the awareness of the educated youth in Mekelle, the economic wealth of the youth or the family of the youth also plays a role. This relationship will be discussed below by analysing the interview output.

Seven interviewees had the aspiration to migrate abroad. Labour migrant Rachel (female, 28) was the only one with aspirations to migrate towards the Middle East. As already mentioned, her motivation

to migrate to Dubai was to earn money and help her family. The other six interviewees aspire to migrate towards the USA or European countries. To begin with Mulu (male, 22). Mulu is a fulltime waiter in a luxury hotel and a part-time college student in the field of tourism. He had the aspiration to migrate to the USA to study and therefore invest in his human capital. He has 6 siblings and had to work to assist his parents and pay for his own expenses. Then Abel[7](male, 21), a college graduate in the field of construction, did not find a job after his graduation. He had the desire to go to Germany to increase his human capital and study sports-management. Also, university student Aman (male, 20) had the aspiration to migrate to the USA to study and work. Lastly, high school student Solomon, (male, 18) lost his mother and elder brother and lived with his grandmother. His biggest desire was to migrate to the USA, earn money and change his life and the life of his grandmother.

The four narratives of the young informants above illustrate the relationship between economic wealth and the aspiration to migrate. All four boys come from a low or mid class family. Their family members were not able to support them financially in order to 'change' their lives. Their aspiration is therefore based on the will to 'live a better life'.

Besides the four boys mentioned above, two female university students Fana (23) and Selemawit (23), had the aspiration to migrate towards the USA and both changed their mind. Fana came back on her desire of moving to the USA through family pressure and Selemawit by experiencing the life of her friends and family members during a visit. Both girls came from a relatively wealthy family, with parents with highly paid jobs such as owning a factory, working at the World Bank and working at Unicef. The reason that they changed their mind can partly be retraced to the economic wealth of their families. Selemawit mentioned that she will start her own business in Addis Ababa, where she originally came from, after her graduation. She is very optimistic about her future business because she can rely on her father's economic wealth as start capital: *"my parents will help me (…) I will start my business from my dad's money. He will support me"*.

Besides Selemawit (female, 23) and Fana (female, 23), university student Jahzara (female, 22) came from a wealthy family, and did not show any feeling of insecurity regarding finding a job or not. Gebre (male, 24) and Kahsay (male, 24) are not from an economical wealthy family and did not have the aspiration to migrate either. Both boys are employed and earn enough money to pay for their expenses and enjoy their free time. Gebre and Kahsay argue that their salary would probably be much higher while migrating abroad. But they do not want to give up the freedom they enjoy whilst living in Mekelle.

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[7] Abel received his student visa to go to Germany a month after the fieldwork period.

9. Discussion

The previous result chapters have illustrated the thoughts and views of the young people that took part in this study, in order to investigate which factors influence their desire to migrate abroad or to stay in Mekelle. Whereas the first empirical chapter (chapter 5) explained rural youth as an influencing factor, chapter 6, 7 and 8 were focussed on the social, economic and political influences that shape the migration aspirations of the youth in Mekelle. This research has aimed to set out these different influences, in order to shed light on the production of migration aspirations among youth in urban centre; Mekelle. Interviews with the young participants gave insight into the personal narratives of the youth and their views and ideas concerning international migration. The interviews with the academic experts in the field of migration gave an additional view on migration patterns, in especially, northern Ethiopia. The interview output provided in-depth information from a limited group of participants.

In addition to the in-depth interviews the survey output gave more body to the interview output. The survey output provided a more general understanding of a larger group of participants. The combination of qualitative and quantitative research helped to gather a broader understanding of the research objectives. However, the output of the interviews and surveys did not always match up, the interview output has partly assisted in interpreting the survey output.

The interview, as well as the survey intends to answer the following research question: what are the influences that shape international migration aspirations among youth in Mekelle between 15 and 25 years old?

This chapter will connect the previously presented findings to each other, in order to place the stories and insights of the young interviewees and participants in a broader literary context. In order to do so, the aspiration/ ability model presented in paragraph 2.5 will be used as guideline. The aspiration/ ability model based on Carling (2002), illustrates that the emigration environment, as well as individual level characteristics play a role in the production of migration aspirations. The emigration environment includes the social, economic and political context, which is common to all members of the community (Carling & Schewel, 2018). These factors create the context in which the desire to migrate is produced and developed. Chapter 5 illustrated that the factors unemployment, the education system and the current political instability influence the youth in Mekelle in shaping migration aspirations. However, the emigration environment does not act on its own; individual level characteristics interact with the emigration environment in order to determine why someone has the desire to migrate and why someone would rather stay (Carling & Schewel, 2018). As previously explained the individual level characteristics included in this thesis are gender, social class and the embeddedness within a social

network.

Paragraph 9.1 below, will focus on the role of the emigration environment, paragraph 9.2 on the individual level characteristics and paragraph 9.3 focus on the aspect of ability. This chapter conclude by giving an answer on the research question and will discuss the research limitations, which will flow into some suggestions for further research.

9.1 Emigration environmental factors

The emigration environmental factors mentioned by the youth, are unemployment, the education system and the political instability. Another influence that shapes migration aspirations among youth in Mekelle, is the stories of rural youth's movement to Middle Eastern countries. The influence of rural youth migration is mentioned here as an emigration environmental factor, since these stories are well known by young people in Mekelle and are approached by the majority in the same way. The factors mentioned below are the main factors and induce other migration desires or fall in line with other influencing factors.

9.1.1 Youth unemployment

The reason most young people in Mekelle had the aspiration to migrate, can be explained by the unemployment rate. According to the NHDR (2018), the unemployment rate is decreasing due to the growing economy. In 2003, 26 percent of the urban population was unemployed to 17 percent in 2016. However, the unemployment rate in urban areas is still high, especially among youth (NHDR, 2018). Economic influences such as the desire to financially support family, earn a good salary and live a better life are in line with the unemployment among youth; without a job there is no salary to live a comfortable life and take care of your family.

The New Economic Labour Migration [NELM] theory states that the family or household is the most appropriate decision-making factor in whether an individual will or will not migrate. Migration can therefore be seen as a household strategy; remittances send home provide income insurance for the family member who is left behind. The same understanding prevails among participants, when they explain that they can change the lives of their families, if they migrate abroad. However, participants see migration not exclusively as a household strategy. This research has shown that the desire to support family is more often one of the positive outcomes of international migration and not seen as a main reason to migrate on itself.

9.1.2 Education system

Although only 12.7 percent of the youth in urban areas completed secondary education in the year 2013, the majority of the students that took part in this study were highly educated. However,

participants frequently mentioned international migration as a strategy to receive a better education[8]. Participants that aspire to migrate internationally to improve their human capital were applying for scholarships or were intending to do so after graduation. Moreover, the majority of the informants took part in the DV Lottery every year in the desire to get better educational opportunities in the United States of America [USA]. The reason why young people have the desire to pursue education abroad, is the unfortunate quality and curricula of the current education system. Furthermore, participants argued that international education will increase their chances of getting a job, which is concurrent to the theory by Matsumoto et al. (2006). Matsumoto et al. (2006) explained that a high level of education can be a way to escape from unfortunate livelihood conditions. Therefore, the aspiration to migrate due to better educational opportunities lies in line with the desire to live a better life.

9.1.3 Politics

At the time of the field work period, acts of violent protests, in especially Amhara and Oromo region, increased. Besides the one story of university student Aman (male, 20) on the assault of his best friend due to his ethnic background, Mekelle was seen by the participants as a safe and peaceful place. Even though participants from other regions mentioned that they enjoy living in Mekelle and that they feel free and safe, they would not invest in land or in starting businesses. The reason for this can be explained by the political instability and the ethnic tension that occurs in other regions. Participants expect the ethnic tension to increase due to the upcoming elections and feel anxious that violent acts will also occur in Tigray. In conclusion, the political instability was not as frequently mentioned as the other main cause mentioned above. Mekelle was dominantly seen as a developed and stable city to study and live in. The stability within Mekelle was therefore rather seen as a motivation to stay in Ethiopia.

9.1.4 Previous migration flows

Ethiopia can be seen as a country that is characterised by inward and outward migration processes. For a long time, Ethiopia was one of the main hosting countries for refugees from neighbouring countries. Recently, Ethiopia became a labour sending country, with the Middle Eastern countries as main destination areas for female labour migrants (ILO, 2017). Stories of migration towards the Middle Eastern countries are well known by many people in Mekelle and influence the decision of young people on whether to migrate abroad or to stay in Mekelle.

According to the Rational choice theory, individuals weigh up the costs and benefits before they make their independent decision to migrate. They choose the best choice out of a selection of alternatives

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[8] Education was mentioned as main reason for migration by 132 participants.

that benefit them the most. The youth that participated in this study did not merely weigh the cost and benefits in economic terms. The costs also include emotional challenges that the movement induces (Massey, 1990). The youth in this study intend to see the total picture of their possible movement. Some of the participants had the aspiration to migrate due to economic reasons, such as unemployment and had the desire to earn a good salary. However, they would rather stay in Mekelle not fulfilling their economic desire, than migrate to one the Middle Eastern countries, where they most probably would find a job and earn money. The benefits of having a job and earning a relatively good salary, cannot withstand the costs of experience the physical and mental challenges as mentioned in chapter 5.

Moreover, the stories and images of the migration flow towards the Middle East is explained as an influencing factor in shaping migration aspirations among the youth in Mekelle. The reason that the youth prefer to stay in Mekelle, rather than being employed in the Middle East, is according to them, due to their education level. This is in line with the literature, Matsumoto et al. (2016) explained that the level of education increases the awareness on the positive and negative side effects of migration. Youth attain a higher level of education and are therefore more aware of the risks in order to make a well-considered decision whether to migrate to a certain destination area or not (Matsumoto et al., 2016)

9.2 Individual level characteristics

The mentioned emigration environment factors can be seen as push factors, that influence youth in shaping international migration aspirations. Pull factors, such as job opportunities, better salary and better livelihood conditions, were mentioned as frequently by the youth. However, push and pull factors do not stand on their own in shaping migration aspirations. As mentioned by Castles and Miller (2003), the social structure and historical factors should be taken into account, whilst studying migration processes. Carling (2002) also stated that the aspiration to migrate is socially constructed and the environmental factors are influenced by individual level characteristics; those will be discussed below.

9.2.1 The social network and the role of social media

All of the interviewees and most of the survey participants, had at least one close friend or family member living abroad with whom they stayed frequently in contact. The social ties between the youth and their close friends or family members can be defined as strong network ties. The weak network ties within this research include neighbours, colleagues and classmates.

Besides the distinction of strong and weak ties, an extra difference can be observed within the strong network ties. Friends are seen by the youth as more influencing within the social network. Friends, rather than family members have more influence on the process of shaping migration aspirations. The

strong ties of family members are by some youth valued the same as their weak ties existing neighbours and colleagues.

Furthermore, participants shared stories of their peer migrants, sending false messages and images of their migration. These images have influence on friends and family members left behind. Ray (2006) explains this influence as a migration window. Migrant's achievements motivate other peers or family members to see migration as a realistic future prospect. The interviewed academic experts who did research among rural youth migration also explain why youth get triggered by seeing images from their peer migrants. However, the youth that took part in this study explain that these rather false images and stories are meant to comfort family members left behind. The migrants would keep up their families' belief and trust that they are fine.

The output of this study makes it clear that the use of social media is an important influence in shaping migration aspirations. Most of the youth that took part in this study have a smart phone and use different social media channels to stay in contact with friends, family and acquaintances abroad. Dekker, Engbersen and Faber (2016) explain that the use of social media facilitate new sources of information because social media can strengthen weak ties. In line with this argument, two of the informants explained that they use social media channels to stay in contact with former tourists from the USA and Spain, in order to gather information about possible scholarships opportunities. Channels, such as movies, international and national TV were also seen as important influences in shaping migration aspirations, as can be seen in appendix 6.

Social media as an important factor to strengthen the social network ties, is increasingly chosen over institutional information sources according to the study by Dekker, Engbersen and Faber (2016). The youth in this study also chose social media channels over institutional recourses to gather information about migration destinations (see appendix 6).

9.2.2 Gender

According to Kuschminder, Andersson and Siegel (2013) international migration processes from Ethiopia are highly gendered. This did not become evident in this study. The view of international migration and the aspiration on whether to migrate, were not significantly different for male and female participants (see chapter 8.2).

As shown in figure 2, males in general are higher educated than females, in urban Ethiopia. Most of the interviewed university students, however, were female while the majority of the men studied in college. Due to the small sample size of the interviewed youth this outcome cannot be generalize. In general, this study does not show a clear difference between the ideas and views between men and women.

One of the reasons why the gender aspect does not illustrate significant differences could be the level of education of the participants. The majority of the participants were highly educated. Gender role patterns, where women are responsible for the household and men are responsible for the income, still rule the Ethiopian society. However, participants state that this role pattern is slowly changing. Women are increasingly involved in tertiary education and are, for instance, as much as the male participants planning on starting a business.

The embeddedness in the social network was important for both men and women. According to literature, men and women differ in the reliability on their social network. Lui (2013) points out that weak network ties are more important for men and that women intend to rely more on strong network ties. The output of this research, however, does not show a particular differentiation between the reliance on strong and weak ties by men and women.

9.2.3 Social Class

As operationalized in the methodology (chapter 4) social class in this research, refers to one's human capital and the economic capital of an individual and his or her family. The level of education and the economic well-being of the participant or their families, plays a significant role in shaping migration aspirations. According to this study, youth with a high level of education or a well-paid job were less likely to have the desire to migrate abroad. Also, youth with an economically well stated family would rather stay in Mekelle. They can rely on their parents for financial support. This group of youth explained they value the freedom they experience by living in Mekelle. They intend to see factors as unemployment as less important since they earn enough money or they can rely on their family members. Furthermore, high-educated youth explain they know the challenges that could occur while migrating abroad. Matsumoto et al. (2006), also explain this in their study. They state that high-educated youth are aware of the positive and negative outcomes of migration and therefore make a more considered decision than youth with a lower education level (Matsumoto et al., 2006). Participants with a lower level of education or that dropped out of high school, see factors as unemployment and low wages as most important factors and desire to live a better life abroad.

Social class may also play an important role in the ability of a person to actually migrate. This study only sheds light on the factors that shape migration aspirations and does not take into account the aspect of the ability youth have to actually migrate. The next paragraph, however, will discuss the aspect of ability within the aspiration/ ability model in order to explain why it would be valuable to include this concept in further research.

9.3 Ability

The aspiration/ ability framework makes a distinction between voluntary non-migrants, involuntary non-migrants and migrants. Voluntary non-migrants are the people that do not have the aspiration to migrate abroad. In this study, most of the youth with a (prospect on a) good job or people from an economical wealthy family can be characterised as the voluntary non-migrants due to their desire to stay in Mekelle. The involuntary migrants are the youth that have the aspiration to migrate abroad but lack the ability to do so. Lastly, the migrants are the youth that have the aspiration and the ability, and therefore actually have migrated. This study, however, does not focus on the ability aspect of the youth. Therefore involuntary migrants cannot be distinguished from pre-migrants; the ones who will actually be migrating. This study showed the importance of social capital and social class in shaping migration aspirations. The ability to migrate is not solely designed by the ability to cover the economic costs. Also, human capital can create the ability to migrate abroad, for example in one's chance to get accepted for a scholarship. Also, social capital can play a role according to Siisiänen's (2000) theory that states that social capital can compensate the lack of human and economic capital. Therefore, the concept of ability would be interesting to take into account in further research.

9.4 Conclusion

The result sections (chapter 4,5,6 and 7) and the discussion (chapter 8) give insight into the major factors that influence the international migration aspiration among the participants. In order to give an answer on the research question, this section will summarize the most important influences that shape the aspiration to migrate among youth in Mekelle.

The factors that were most influential in shaping the aspiration to migrate abroad were youth unemployment and the unfortunate education system. Also, social class and the level of embeddedness with the social network play an important role. On the other hand, social class as well as the political situation in Mekelle, also had a big influence in shaping the aspiration to stay in Mekelle. Especially youth unemployment has shown to be a major influence on the youth living and studying in Mekelle. As mentioned by Carling (2014), the aspiration to migrate is influenced by the life aspiration of an individual. The majority of the participants put forward their desire to lead a better life. The desire to live a better life is highly connected to youth unemployment. Youth desire to earn a good salary in order to pay for their basic needs, enjoy their free time and be able to support their family. The unfortunate quality and curricula of the education system also induces migration aspirations among youth. The desire to increase their human capital by getting a better education abroad was highly connected to the desire to live a better life. Participants explain that the increase of their education level would create a better chance of getting a well-paid job, which ultimately will lead to a

better livelihood conditions.

Furthermore, being embedded in a social network of friends and family abroad, facilitates youth with valuable information about migration routes and destinations. Stories and pictures shared by social media channels influence the youth in Mekelle in the way they look at international migration processes. Participants argue that friends are more influential in shaping migration aspirations than family. Moreover, the destination of the peer migrant is important to take into account as well. Youth get rather triggered by their friends in western nations, to think of international migration as well. Lastly, social class is influential. As mentioned, the economic well-being as well as the level of education could create the desire to migrate, especially when youth are not secure of a job and have a low level of education. On the other hand, when youth are financially supported by family members or have a well-paid job they do not have the desire to migrate abroad. The desire to stay in Mekelle is closely related to the relatively stable situation in Mekelle. Most of the youth with economic stability prefer non-migration over migration and would stay in Mekelle.

9.5 Limitations and implications for further research

This study was focussed to capture the main factors that shape international migration aspirations among youth in Mekelle. 20 interviews were conducted to get insight into the ideas and feelings of the participants. However, the sample size was rather small and the majority of the interviewees was highly educated. Therefore, the outcome of this study cannot be generalised. As mentioned before, a lot of young people do not get into university and have a lower level of education. Therefore it would be highly recommended for further research to interview youth with a low level of education as well. The gender deviation of the interviewees is also something that can be improved. Most of the interviewed females were highly educated and are enrolled in Mekelle University, while the majority of the interviewed males have studied in college. To acquire a more complete image of the factors that influence international migration aspirations among youth in Mekelle, the gender division and the education level of the youth should be taken into account in further research. Moreover, youth that is employed and unemployed should be included as well to get a better understanding of the influence of unemployment in the production of migration aspirations.

In order to embed the stories of the youth into the literature and get a general understanding of migration processes in Ethiopia, academic experts were interviewed as well. These interviews were valuable, especially in the first few weeks of the fieldwork period. However, all of the interviewed experts were academic researchers or lecturers in the field of migration. For further research it will be valuable to also include the narratives of the local government or institutions and NGO's that are influential in the field of youth migration.

One other limitation concerns the design of the survey and the formulation of the survey questions. The survey includes 10 open-ended questions. Most of these questions should have been stated as close ended questions. While entering the output into SPSS, the open-ended questions induced some difficulties. As a consequence, some questions were analysed in a qualitative way. Moreover, not all survey questions were formulated optimally and were therefore not understood the same way by all participants. Lastly, the formulated questions were not focussed enough in order to capture the concepts of gender and social class.

The sample strategy was not a simple random sample, therefore, the data could not be tested in a proper way. Descriptive statistics and crosstabs only were used to analyse the survey output in SPSS in order to make the link to the interview output.

All interviews were conducted in English, also the survey questions were formulated in English. All of the interviewees had enough knowledge of the English language to have an in-depth conversation. However, therefore only the high educated youth or youth that joined a language school were interviewed. The researcher was not able to speak the local language, Tigrinya, to also interview youth without the understanding of English. Working with a translator would have been a solution for further research in order to ensure a diverse sample.

The same applies for the survey. Although four university students were asked to distribute and translate the survey questions, some participants still might got lost in translation. The survey, however, was too long. The assisting university students were therefore not able to translate all questions in a proper way. Additional research, therefore, should think of shortening the survey in order to keep an active focus of the participants whilst filling out the survey.

Lastly, only youth that did not migrate took part in this study. This research therefore only shed light onto the desire of the youth whether to migrate or not. The facet of the ability to actually migrate is under exposed within this study. Therefore, further research should be focussing on the ability of the youth to migrate also, to create a more complete image of their aspiration.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Interview guide youth

1. **Introduction researcher, research and Informed consent**
   - Ask permission for recording
   - Willing to participate?

2. **Introduction student**
   - Age
   - Gender/sex
   - Place of birth
   - City of residence
   - Education
   - Religion
   - Employment status
   - Family construction

3. **General**
   - Do you have the feeling that there are many young Ethiopians moving to other places abroad? – What stories do you hear?
   - When young people move, what is according to you, the reason for their movement?
   [*political situation – youth unemployment – avoid marriage, etc.*]

4. **Migration networks**
   - Do you have friends or family members outside Ethiopia? - How many are they ? – Where did they move to? – What was the purpose of their movement?
   - How many other people that you know have moved to other places outside of Ethiopia? [*community members, classmates, colleagues*] – Where did they move to? – what was the purpose of their movement?
   -Do you have contact with the people that have been emigrated? - How do you stay in contact with the people that have been moved to other places outside of Ethiopia?

5. **Communication - Social media**
   - Social media in your daily live
   [Are you on social media? What channels do you use?– What is the main purpose you use social media?]
   -Social media use to stay in contact with friend and family abroad
   [Which media do you use to stay in contact with your friends and family that have migrated?- How often do you speak to them through social media channels?]
   - In what way does social media influence the way you look at [*destination*] places abroad?

6. **Gender differences**
   - How do you see the possibilities for man and woman according to migration? *[Do you think*

the options to migrate are the same for men and women?]
- What do you think of your own opportunities to migrate as a [*men or women*]?

7. **Social class**
- To what extend do you think that the options to migrate depend on education level? Can you explain why yes or why not?
- To what extend do you think that family construction influence the opportunity for young people to migrate? Can you explain why [*yes or no*]?

8. **Aspiration to migrate**
- Where do you see yourself in the future [5 years] [*What kind or work are you doing, with whom do you live, where do you live*]
- What support is there to possibly help you? – What are challenges you may face?

Do you have any questions for me?

Appendix 2: Interview guide experts

Introduction , informed consent and research

General questions
- Would you shortly introduce yourself and your profession?
- What is your professional experience when it comes to migration?
- How do you look at the issue of migration among Ethiopian youth?

International youth migration
-Who are the youth that migrate internationally?
[*gender, age, education, social class*]
-What is the purpose of their movement?
-How do they migrate [*legal or illegal*?]
-What are the common challenges youth may face migrating internationally?
-What do you think are the most popular migration destinations for young Ethiopians?
-Why are these places popular?
-What is the reason they move to these places according to you?
-What are the perceptions they have of these places according to you?
-Where do you think these perceptions come from? *[government, social media, their migration network, TV etc.?]*

Migration network
- What is your definition of a migration network, what are the most important factors within such networks?
- What is the role of a migration network when it comes to youth migration?
- How do you think this migration network is able to influence migration aspiration?
- What might be other factors that influence young Ethiopians to migrate?

The role of social media
- How do you think that young Ethiopians stay in contact with their migrated friends and family?
- What is the role of social media within this contact?
- What is the role of social media in the perception of migration destinations?
-Who do you think are most influential when it comes to the perception of migration destinations?
[*Family members (strong) or friends etc. (weak)*]

The influence of gender and social status on migration patterns
- What is your vision on the differences in migration patterns among men and women? Is it more common for men or for women to migrate abroad - why.
- What is your vision on the differences in migration patterns according to social status?

Other
- Do you feel that there has to be something done to stop or support youth migration? – What would this possibly be according to you?
- What is the role of the Ethiopian government when it comes to youth migration in Ethiopia?

Appendix 3: Survey students Mekelle University[9]

Dear Student,

Thank you very much for helping me with this survey which I am currently conduction for my master's research. This research is about the migration networks of young Ethiopians and their possible aspirations to migrate abroad. This survey include questions on migration networks, the use of social media and the perception of migration destinations.

This survey should only take about 15 minutes to complete. Please be assured that all the answers in this survey are anonymous and will be kept strictly confidential.

If you have any questions about this survey or the research in general, please feel free to contact me s.dekort2@students.uu.nl

Thank you again for your help!

Kind regards,

Sara de Kort
Master's student International Development studies at Utrecht University, The Netherlands

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[9] The questions in this survey are based on the survey questions formulated by Lotte van der Heijden. Her master's research was about the role of social media and the perception of Western migration destinations among Ethiopian youth in Addis Ababa.

Section 1 | General Information[10]

1.What is your age?	_____Years old
2. What is your gender?	o Male o Female
3. What are you currently studying?	_____
4. Which year of your studies are you in?	o Year 1 o Year 4 o Year 2 o Year 5 o Year 3 o Other
5. What is your marital status?	o Single o Divorced o In a relationship o Separated o Married o Other: _____ o Widowed
6. Where is you place of birth?	o Tigray region o Afar region o Somali region o Benishangul—Gumuz o Oromia region region o Harari region o Southern nations, o Gambela region nationalities and o Amhara region people's region o Addis Ababa o Other: _____
7. Is your place of birth a rural or an urban environment?	o Rural o Urban
8. What is your household family size?	_____ *(Please state the number)*
9. How many siblings do you have?	Male: _____*(state number of brothers)* Female: _____*(state number of sisters)*
10. What is your mother's occupation?	_____
11. What is your fathers occupation?	_____

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[10] This section slightly differs in the survey conducted among college students and youth that were not in school at the moment of filling out the survey.

12. What is your religion?	o Muslim	o Not religious
	o Orthodox	o Other:
	o Protestant	_____
	o Catholic	

13. Have you ever visited any place outside of Ethiopia?	o Yes (Please fill in the following questions)	o No (Please go to question 16.)

14. Which continents in the world have you ever visited?	o Africa	o Europe
	o Middle East	o Oceania
	o North-America	o Asia
	o South-America	

15. What was the purpose of that visit?	_____

16. What do you think is the most popular <u>continent</u> for young Ethiopians to migrate to?
Please choose one.

o Africa	o Europe
o Middle East	o Oceania
o North-America	o Asia
o South-America	

17. What do you think are the most popular <u>countries</u> for young Ethiopians to migrate to?
Please state your top 3 countries.

1.
2.
3.

18. Why do you think young Ethiopians migrate?
Please state your top 3 reasons.

1.
2.
3.

19. Do <u>you</u> have the aspiration to migrate abroad?

o Yes *(please fill in the following questions)*	o No *(please go to question 23.)*

20. To which continent do you aspire to migrate to.
Please choose one.

o Africa	o Europe
o Middle East	o Oceania
o North-America	o Asia
o South-America	

21. Why do you prefer to migrate to this <u>continent</u>?

_____ (*Please, state the reason why*)

22. For how long would you wish stay abroad?

o 3 to 6 months	o 4 years
o 6 months to one year	o 5 years
o 1 year	o Longer than 5 years
o 2 years	o Longer than 10 years
o 3 years	o Forever

Please state to what extent you agree with the following statements about your personal ideas on migrating abroad.

23. Statements	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree
I have the strong feeling to move outside Ethiopia in the nearby future.	o	o	o	o	o
The education system in Ethiopia is good.	o	o	o	o	o
It is very easy to find a job abroad.	o	o	o	o	o
Friends and family think that I am more successful when I move out of Ethiopia.	o	o	o	o	o
Migrating abroad will help me to get a high payment.	o	o	o	o	o
People with a low level of education are less likely to migrate abroad.	o	o	o	o	o
I feel safe in my current place of residence.	o	o	o	o	o
I will never leave my current place of residence.	o	o	o	o	o

Social media makes it easier to migrate abroad.	○	○	○	○	○
The education opportunities outside Ethiopia are better.	○	○	○	○	○
I will feel safer when I migrate abroad.	○	○	○	○	○
There are many downsides to migrate abroad.	○	○	○	○	○
Girls are more likely to migrate abroad than boys.	○	○	○	○	○
The political situation in Ethiopia is no reason to migrate.	○	○	○	○	○
It will be difficult to find housing when I move outside of Ethiopia.	○	○	○	○	○
When I move outside of Ethiopia I will face many challenges.	○	○	○	○	○

Section 2 | Social network abroad

The following section is about the people within your social network who live abroad and the way you stay in contact with them.

24. Do you have <u>family members / relatives</u> who live outside of Ethiopia? *(If yes, answer the following questions. If no, go to question 25.)*	○ Yes ○ No
How many of your <u>family members / relatives</u> live outside of Ethiopia?	_____*(Please state the number)*
What is your relationship with the migrant family member / relative? *(Multiple answers are possible)*	○ Mother ○ Aunt ○ Father ○ Uncle ○ Brother ○ Nice ○ Sister ○ Nephew ○ Grandmother ○ Cousin ○ Grandfather
In which continent do your <u>family member(s) / relative(s)</u> abroad live? *(Multiple answers are possible)*	○ Africa ○ Europe ○ Middle East ○ Oceania ○ North-America ○ Asia ○ South-America ○ I don't know
How often do you stay in contact with your <u>family members / relatives</u> abroad?	○ Everyday ○ Once every six ○ 4-6 times a week months ○ 1-3 times a week ○ Once a year ○ Every other week ○ Never

	o Once a month o Other: _____

What channels do you use to stay in contact with your <u>family member(s) / relative (s)</u> abroad?	o Telephone calls o WhatsApp
	o Email o Telegram
	o SMS / text messages o Imo
	    o Viber
	o Facebook messenger o Writing letters
	    o Skype calls
	o Twitter o Other:
	o Instagram
	o Facebook _____

25. Do you have <u>friends</u> that live outside of Ethiopia? *(If yes, answer the following questions. If no, go to question 26.)*	o Yes o No
How many of your <u>friends</u> live outside of Ethiopia?	_____ *(Please state the number)*
In which continent do your <u>friends</u> abroad live? *(Multiple answers are possible)*	o Africa o Europe o Middle East o Oceania o North-America o Asia o South-America o I don't know
How often do you stay in contact with your <u>friends</u> abroad?	o Every day o Once every six o 4-6 times a week months o 1-3 times a week o Once a year o Every other week o Never o Once a month o Other: _____

What channels do you use to stay in contact with your <u>friends</u> abroad?	o Telephone calls o WhatsApp
	o Email o Telegram
	o SMS / text messages o Imo
	    o Viber
	o Facebook messenger o Writing letters
	    o Skype calls
	o Twitter o Other:
	o Instagram
	o Facebook _____

26. Do you have <u>classmates or colleagues</u> that live outside of Ethiopia? *(If yes, answer the following questions. If no, go to question 27.)*	○ Yes ○ No
How many of your <u>classmates or colleagues</u> live outside of Ethiopia?	_____ *(Please state the number)*
In which continent do your <u>classmates or colleagues</u> abroad live? *(Multiple answers are possible)*	○ Africa ○ Europe ○ Middle East ○ Oceania ○ North-America ○ Asia ○ South-America ○ I don't know
How often do you stay in contact with your <u>classmates or colleagues</u> abroad?	○ Every day ○ Once every six ○ 4-6 times a week months ○ 1-3 times a week ○ Once a year ○ Every other week ○ Never ○ Once a month ○ Other: _____

What channels do you use to stay in contact with your <u>classmates or colleagues</u> abroad?	○ Telephone calls ○ WhatsApp
	○ Email ○ Telegram
	○ SMS / text ○ Imo
	  messages ○ Viber
	○ Facebook ○ Writing letters
	  messenger ○ Skype calls
	○ Twitter ○ Other:
	○ Instagram
	○ Facebook _____

27. Do you have <u>neighbour(s)</u> that live outside of Ethiopia? *(If yes, answer the following questions. If no, go to question 28.)*	○ Yes ○ No
How many of your neighbour(s) live outside of Ethiopia?	_____*(Please state the number)*
In which continent do your neighbour(s) abroad live? *(Multiple answers are possible)*	○ Africa ○ Europe ○ Middle East ○ Oceania ○ North-America ○ Asia

	o South-America	o I don't know
How often do you stay in contact with your <u>neighbour(s)</u> abroad?	o Every day o 4-6 times a week o 1-3 times a week o Every other week o Once a month	o Once every six months o Once a year o Never o Other: _____
What channels do you use to stay in contact with your *neighbour(s)* abroad?	o Telephone calls o Email o SMS / text messages o Facebook messenger o Twitter o Instagram o Facebook	o WhatsApp o Telegram o Imo o Viber o Writing letters o Skype calls o Other: _____

Section 3 | Social Media

The following section is about the way in which you stay in contact with your friends and family abroad and involves questions about the use of social media.

28.Is social media important for you in order to stay in contact with friends/family abroad?		
o Yes	o No	o Don't know
29. Does social media provide you with important information about migration destinations?		
o Yes	o No	o Don't know
31. How important is the role of social media when it comes to your view of migration destinations?		
o Very unimportant o Slightly important	o Important o Fairly important	o Very Important o No opinion
32. How important is the role of social media on your decision making to migrate abroad?		
o Very unimportant o Slightly important	o Important o Fairly important	o Very Important o No opinion

Please fill in, who of the following provides you information about migration opportunities.

34. Who provides you information about migration opportunities abroad?	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
The Ethiopian government	○	○	○	○	○
Ethiopian universities	○	○	○	○	○
The International Organization for migration (IOM)	○	○	○	○	○
The Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs	○	○	○	○	○
Family in Ethiopia	○	○	○	○	○
Family abroad	○	○	○	○	○
Friends in Ethiopia	○	○	○	○	○
Friends abroad	○	○	○	○	○
Colleagues , classmates or community members in Ethiopia	○	○	○	○	○
Colleagues, classmates or community members abroad	○	○	○	○	○
People that I know through friends/family abroad	○	○	○	○	○
Social media (Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, YouTube, Snapchat, WhatsApp/ Telegram etc.)	○	○	○	○	○
Local Television	○	○	○	○	○
International Television	○	○	○	○	○
Movies	○	○	○	○	○
The Internet	○	○	○	○	○
Books	○	○	○	○	○

Appendix 4: characteristics participants

Characteristic	Category	Frequencies
Gender	Male	199
	Female	166
	Total	*365*
Age	15 years old	1
	16 years old	1
	17 years old	0
	18 years old	10
	19 years old	18
	20 years old	63
	21 years old	74
	22 years old	67
	23 years old	53
	24 years old	43
	25 years old	36
	Total	*366*
Currently in school	No	52
	Yes	314
	Total	*366*
Education	BA Management	25
	BA Law	25
	BA Civics	26
	BA Geography	25
	BA Sociology	26
	BA history	24
	BA Economy	26
	BA Political Science	24
	College	85
	High school	9
	University study unknown	14
	Non students	52
	Preparatory school	4
	Total	*365*
Employed	No	310
	Yes	56
	Total	*366*

Marital status	Single	267
	Relationship	71
	Married	25
	Divorced	1
	Separated	1
	Total	*365*
Place of birth	Tigray region	216
	Somali region	2
	Oromia region	19
	Harari region	1
	Gambela region	6
	Amhara region	80
	Addis Ababa	33
	Afar region	1
	Southern nations, nationalities and peoples region	3
	Other	1
	Total	*362*
Environment	Rural	162
	Urban	204
	Total	*366*
Religion	Muslim	39
	Orthodox	280
	Protestant	29
	Catholic	11
	Not religious	5
	Total	*364*

Appendix 5: characteristics Interviewees

1. **Characteristics interviewed youth**

	Age	Gender	Place of birth	Grew up in	Highest level of Education	Occupation	Religion
Fana	23	Female	Adigrad	Mekelle	Master MU	-	Orthodox Christian
Jahzara	22	Female	Addis Ababa	Addis Ababa	Bachelor MU	-	Orthodox Christian
Selemawit	23	Female	Addis Ababa	Addis Ababa	Bachelor MU	-	Orthodox Christian
Zala	22	Female	Axum	Axum	Bachelor MU	-	Orthodox Christian
Aman	20	Male	Addis Ababa	Addis Ababa	Bachelor MU	-	Muslim
Mahlet	21	Female	Mekelle	Addis Ababa	Bachelor MU	-	Orthodox Christian
Mulu	22	Male	Mekelle	Mekelle	College	Waiter	Orthodox Christian
Abel	21	Male	Mekelle	Mekelle	College	Unemployed	Orthodox Christian
Filmon	24	Male	Southern Ethiopia	Mekelle	College	Cook	Not religious
Solomon	18	Male	Mekelle	Mekelle	High school	-	Orthodox Christian
Gebre	24	Male	Mekelle	Mekelle	Bachelor MU	English high school teacher	Orthodox Christian
Kahsay	25	Male	Mekelle	Mekelle	High school grade 12	Own business	Orthodox Christian

2. **Characteristics interviewed experts**

	Gender	Profession
Negasi	Male	Staff institute of population studies at MU
Kaleb	Male	Staff institute of population studies at MU
Abraham	Male	Researcher anthropology department of MU
Merhawi	Male	PhD student in the field of migration
Aida	Female	Lecturer and researcher at MU
Binham	Male	PhD Holder in migration studies

Appendix 6: Table information provision

Who provides you information about migration opportunities abroad?

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
The Ethiopian government (N=357)	68	134	63	83	9
Ethiopian Universities (N=352)	36	104	93	104	15
The International Organization for migration (IOM) (N=352)	36	78	113	102	23
The Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs (N=353)	34	89	129	86	15
Family in Ethiopia (N=353)	25	88	55	147	38
Family abroad (N=352)	25	61	55	166	45
Friends in Ethiopia (N=357)	21	71	59	168	38
Friends abroad (N=346)	18	55	71	158	44
Colleagues , classmates or community members in Ethiopia (N=351)	26	83	83	132	27
Colleagues, classmates or community members abroad (N=351)	23	85	83	134	25
People that I know through friends/family abroad (N=354)	20	98	65	145	26
Social media (Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, YouTube, Snapchat, WhatsApp/ Telegram etc.) (N=358)	12	39	57	192	58
Local Television (N=355)	31	102	70	130	22
International Television (N=354)	17	52	78	175	32
Movies (N=355)	13	43	64	186	49
The Internet (N=356)	11	38	44	197	66
Books (N=358)	33	66	95	136	28

Appendix 7: top 3 reasons to migrate

Why do you think Ethiopian youth migrate, please state your top 3 reasons.

Why do you think Ethiopian youth migrate? (1)		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Better life	56	15,3	15,6	15,6
	Education/scholarship	41	11,2	11,4	26,9
	Unemployment / job opportunties	113	30,9	31,4	58,3
	Improve economic status / better salary	107	29,2	29,7	88,1
	Political situation	12	3,3	3,3	91,4
	Support family	12	3,3	3,3	94,7
	Other	19	5,2	5,3	100,0
	Total	360	98,4	100,0	
Missing	System	6	1,6		
Total		366	100,0		

Why do you think Ethiopian youth migrate? (2)		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Better life	51	13,9	14,3	14,3
	Education/scholarship	69	18,9	19,4	33,7
	Unemployment / job opportunties	57	15,6	16,0	49,7
	Improve economic status / better salary	72	19,7	20,2	69,9
	Political situation	36	9,8	10,1	80,1
	Support family	35	9,6	9,8	89,9
	Other	36	9,8	10,1	100,0
	Total	356	97,3	100,0	
Missing	System	10	2,7		
Total		366	100,0		

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Why do you think Ethiopian youth migrate? (3)					
Valid	Better life	51	13,9	15,8	15,8
	Education/scholarship	52	14,2	16,1	32,0
	Unemployment / job opportunties	24	6,6	7,5	39,4
	Improve economic status / better salary	75	20,5	23,3	62,7
	Political situation	27	7,4	8,4	71,1
	Support family	30	8,2	9,3	80,4
	Other	63	17,2	19,6	100,0
	Total	322	88,0	100,0	
Missing	System	44	12,0		
Total		366	100,0		

Appendix 8: survey statements

1. Statement output
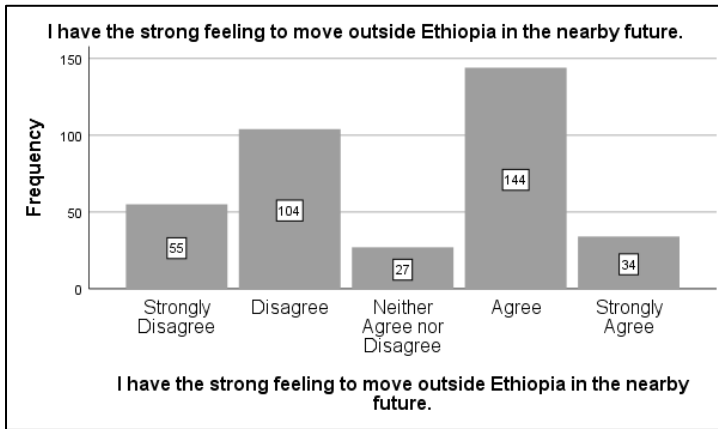
Statement on migration aspiration (N=364)
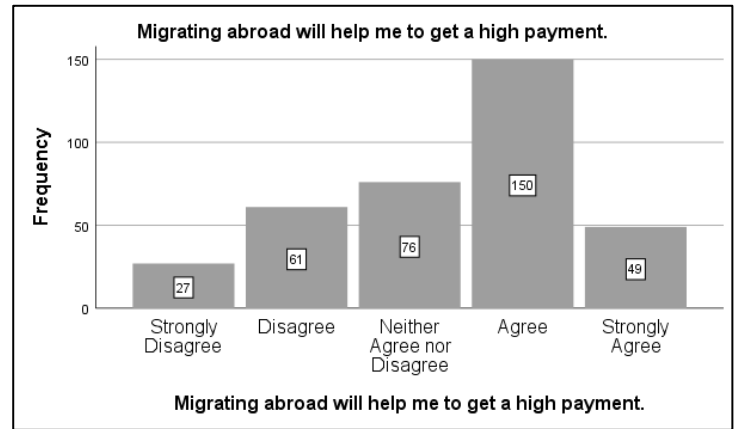
Statement on payment opportunities (N=363)
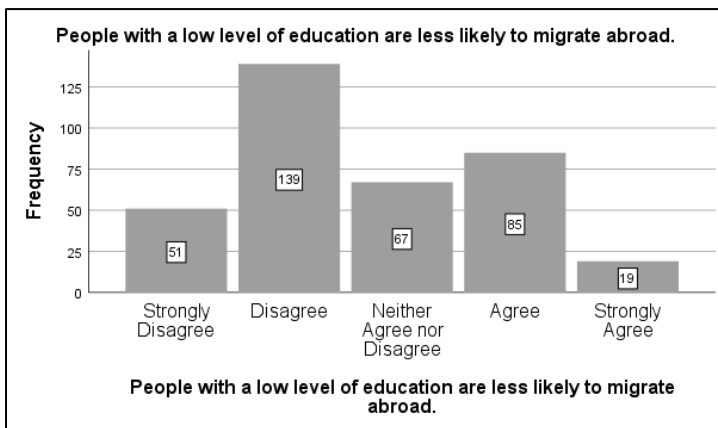
Statement on education abroad (N=361)
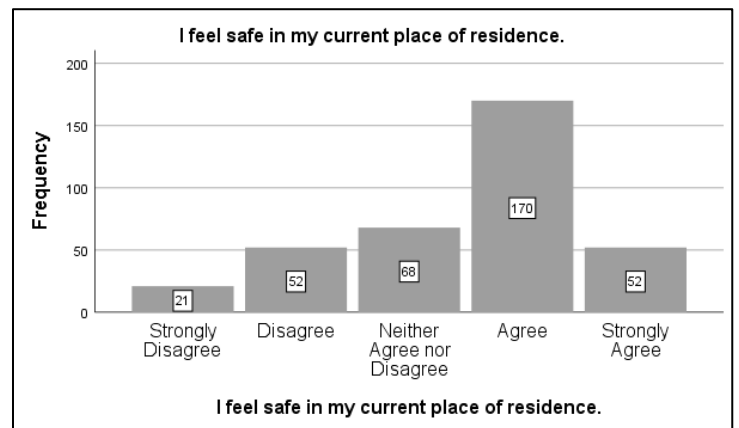
Statement on safety (N=363)
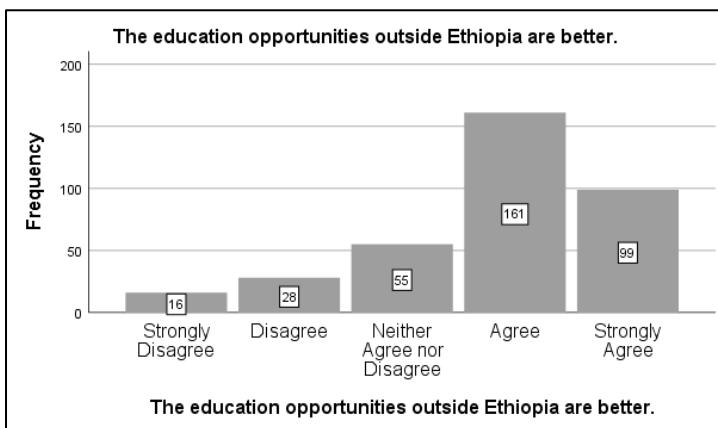
Statement on education opportunities abroad (N=359)
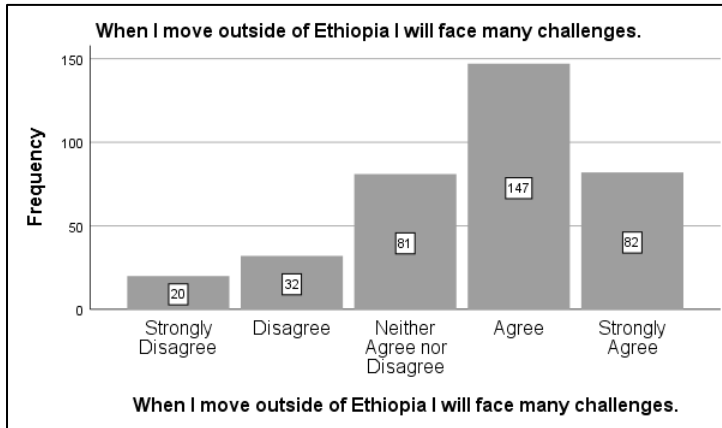
Statement on challenges (N=362)
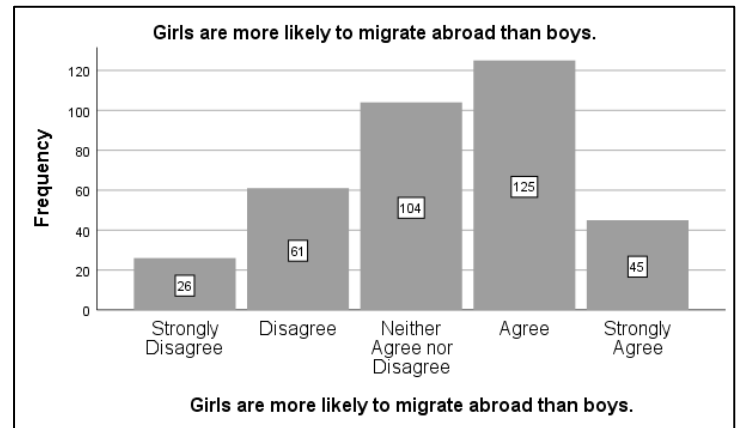
Statement on girls versus boys (N=361)

2. **Statements divided by gender**

When I move outside of Ethiopia I will face many challenges divided by gender

			When I move outside of Ethiopia I will face many challenges.					
			Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Total
What is your gender?	Male	Count	13	19	49	71	44	196
		% within What is your gender?	6,6%	9,7%	25,0%	36,2%	22,4%	100,0%
	Female	Count	7	13	31	76	38	165
		% within What is your gender?	4,2%	7,9%	18,8%	46,1%	23,0%	100,0%
Total		Count	20	32	80	147	82	361
		% within What is your gender?	5,5%	8,9%	22,2%	40,7%	22,7%	100,0%

Statement: 'I have the strong feeling to move outside Ethiopia in the nearby future' divides by gender.

		I have the strong feeling to move outside Ethiopia in the nearby future.					
		Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Total
What is your gender?	Male	28	60	13	74	22	197
	Female	27	44	14	69	12	166
Total		55	104	27	143	34	363

Statement: 'Girls are more likely to migrate abroad than boys' divided by gender.

		Girls are more likely to migrate abroad than boys.					
		Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Total
What is your gender?	Male	17	25	59	68	27	196
	Female	9	36	44	57	18	164
Total		26	61	103	125	45	360

Statement: 'When I move outside of Ethiopia I will face many challenges' divided by gender.

		When I move outside of Ethiopia I will face many challenges.					
		Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Total
What is your gender?	Male	13	19	49	71	44	196
	Female	7	13	31	76	38	165
Total		20	32	80	147	82	361

Appendix 9: Nvivo code tree

Gender	
Government action	
Main causes ➡	Awareness raising
	Economically
	Education
	Lack of jobs
	Politics
Migration ➡	Cases
	Challenges
	Characteristics
	Destinations ➡ Middle Easter countries
	South-Africa
	Western nations
	Legal vs Illegal migration
Migration network ➡	Brokers
	Contact
	Family abroad
	Family versus friends
	Friends abroad
	Influences
	Peer and family pressure
	Social media
Personal aspirations ➡	DV Lottery
	Future plans
	Why no
	Why yes
Personal info interviewee ➡	Education
	Family construction
	Job
	Religion
Rural versus Urban	

Appendix 10: Moments of contact

Table 1: Contact frequencies with family members.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
How often do you stay in contact with your relatives abroad?					
Valid	0	1	,3	,5	,5
	Everyday	10	2,7	5,5	6,0
	4-6 times a week	20	5,5	11,0	17,0
	1-3 times a week	52	14,2	28,6	45,6
	Every other week	13	3,6	7,1	52,7
	Once a month	22	6,0	12,1	64,8
	Once every six months	31	8,5	17,0	81,9
	Once a year	26	7,1	14,3	96,2
	Never	7	1,9	3,8	100,0
	Total	182	49,7	100,0	
Missing	System	184	50,3		
Total		366	100,0		

Table 2: Contact frequencies with friends.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
How often do you stay in contact with your friend(s) abroad?					
Valid	0	9	2,5	5,1	5,1
	Everyday	13	3,6	7,3	12,4
	4-6 times a week	11	3,0	6,2	18,5
	1-3 times a week	20	5,5	11,2	29,8
	Every other week	29	7,9	16,3	46,1
	Once a month	55	15,0	30,9	77,0
	Once every six months	14	3,8	7,9	84,8
	Once a year	14	3,8	7,9	92,7
	Never	13	3,6	7,3	100,0
	Total	178	48,6	100,0	
Missing	System	188	51,4		
Total		366	100,0		

Table 3: Contact frequencies with classmates/ colleagues.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
	How often do you stay in contact with your classmates/colleagues abroad?				
Valid	0	6	1,6	4,0	4,0
	Everyday	2	,5	1,3	5,3
	4-6 times a week	9	2,5	6,0	11,3
	1-3 times a week	12	3,3	8,0	19,3
	Every other week	11	3,0	7,3	26,7
	Once a month	34	9,3	22,7	49,3
	Once every six months	23	6,3	15,3	64,7
	Once a year	10	2,7	6,7	71,3
	Never	43	11,7	28,7	100,0
	Total	150	41,0	100,0	
Missing	System	216	59,0		
Total		366	100,0		

Table 4: Contact frequencies with neighbours.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
	How often do you stay in contact with your neighbour(s) abroad?				
Valid	0	7	1,9	4,6	4,6
	Everyday	3	,8	2,0	6,5
	4-6 times a week	1	,3	,7	7,2
	1-3 times a week	3	,8	2,0	9,2
	Every other week	10	2,7	6,5	15,7
	Once a month	19	5,2	12,4	28,1
	Once every six months	20	5,5	13,1	41,2
	Once a year	26	7,1	17,0	58,2
	Never	64	17,5	41,8	100,0
	Total	153	41,8	100,0	
Missing	System	213	58,2		
Total		366	100,0		