Rural Female Youth Migration to Arab Countries and Socio Economic Transformation in Their Home of Origin: The Case of Hetosa Woreda, Arsi Zone

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Abstract

This study focuses on the lives and challenges of female youth migrants from rural Ethiopia to Arab countries on the one hand and socio economic benefits they bring to their home of origin on the other. It compares and contrasts the advantages and disadvantages of the female youth migration, driving factors, and the new socio economic transformations that arise as a result of this migration. Using purposive sampling for selecting the female youth migrants and their families, taking into account the distance each kebele has from the woreda capital, the paper considers only those who travelled to Arab Countries by legal means, through Bole Airport. Focusing on Hetosa Woreda, in Arsi Zone, which is suspected to be among the largest source of female youth migrants in Oromia Region, 40% of the female youth migrants are forced to live for a prolonged time, at least double of the years they expect to stay in Arab Countries. About 30% of them are left empty handed when they arrive home and are exposed to different problems. The paper found that only 30% of the migrants achieved what they envisaged to have and were able to enjoy economic improvement at their home of origin. As a result sending a daughter to Arab Country has created a sense of competition among parents.

Keywords: female youth migration, Arab Countries, economic transformation, remittance

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Introduction

According to the 2007 National Population and Housing Census, the population of Ethiopia was 74 million and most of the population lives in rural areas (CSA, 2007). The vast majorities (85%) of Ethiopian women live in rural areas and work in the informal agricultural sector (Emebet, 2002). Due to this, rural women are vulnerable to many socio cultural, political and environmental problems (Ezra, 2001) and they prefer to migrate to other Middle East countries for better jobs (Frehiwot, nd). As quoted in Franson Baraagaber, in later years the motives of Ethiopian migrants to flee their country shifted to more economic motives (Franson 2009).

International Organization for Migration (IOM, 2004:41) defines migration as the movement of people from one place to another within a country, or from one country to another for variety of reasons. The Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, also known as the Palermo Protocol (UN, 2000:2), provides a comprehensive definition:

Trafficking in persons shall mean the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation.

It is reported that many women who migrate to Arab Countries will face various problems. Women have described having their passports taken away so they cannot leave, working 24 hours a day, and not being able to have contact with other Ethiopians (Fransen and Kuschminder, 2009). These females speak of deception, isolation, maltreatment, heavy workloads, unpaid salaries, confiscated passports and physical and psychological abuse (De Regt., 2006). The research carried out by International Labour Organization (ILO) in cooperation with the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs (MoLSA), the Confederation of Ethiopian Trade Union (CETU),

and the Ethiopian Employers' Federation (EEF) in 2010 indicates that trafficking of Ethiopians as domestic workers for labour exploitation is highly prevalent in Ethiopia (Animaw, 2011).

Selamawit (2013) pointed out that women are deceived and sometimes coerced into migrating to the Middle East countries and the Sudan without adequate protection from abuse and exploitation. According to the findings of the research carried out by International Labour Organization (ILO) in cooperation with the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs (MoLSA), the Confederation of Ethiopian Trade Union (CETU), and the Ethiopian Employers' Federation (EEF) in 2010 the larger proportion, i.e. 53.6% of the migrant female Ethiopians are between 19 and 25 years of age; about 30.3% are between the age group 25-30; and fewer but a significant percentage (13.5%) migrate at a relatively older age. There is adequate evidence that girls are trafficked before they reach the age of 18. Four (11.4 per cent) of the victims/returnees contacted for this study were child victims at the time of their trafficking (Animaw, 2011). The study confirmed: "Although both educated and uneducated women may be potential migrants and victims of trafficking, female students who failed their national exams at the end of the second cycle of elementary (8th grade), junior secondary (10th grade), and sometimes preparatory (12th grade) levels of education are most at risk." (Animaw, 2011). The study conducted by American University in Cairo, Centre for Migration and Refuge Studies, on mixed migration flow of Ethiopia and Somalia in 2010, identified that the most common initial source of funding for the journey came from respondents' families (29%). The second main source was having worked and saved for the journey (21%), followed by the selling of material possessions (15%), remittances from family abroad (15%), selling their livestock (8%), selling their home and/or land (6%) and borrowing money (5%) (Jureidini, 2010). One of the largest and recent problems that happened to Ethiopian migrants who lived in Saudi Arabia is a typical example of the challenges faced by Ethiopian migrants. Aljazeera, reported about the unpleasant incident as follows:

Ethiopia has repatriated more than 140,000 citizens from Saudi Arabia, with estimates from the foreign ministry that the number could reach "over

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150,000", in one of the biggest humanitarian airlifts in recent years. The move comes after the Saudi government's crackdown on migrant workers that sparked protests in the Gulf nation (Aljazeera 19 Dec, 2013).

However, though these families face different problems, the benefit of migration has to be considered. The Ethiopian government increasingly recognizes the importance of remittances from its migrants for the development of the country and has taken a number of initiatives to optimize the effects of these financial flows. One of their goals was to stimulate its Diaspora members to send money through formal channels (Fransen and Kuschminder, 2009). Remittances are among the most easily discernable effects of migration. Since Ethiopian migrants remit their earnings both through official and non-official means, it is difficult to compile accurate data on the amount they send to their home country (Firehiwot, nd). Moreover, in most societies in Ethiopia, remittances serve as vehicle for changing gender relations by promoting respect for women who remit. However, research reveals that though migrant women experience upward social mobility, at the same time their social status goes down in their countries of destination (Firehiwot, nd). Summarizing the information gained by group discussion, Emebet pointed out that "the migrant women themselves usually make the decision to migrate and their families support that decision. Sometimes families push them to go abroad and make money. Usually, families borrow the money from relatives or from lenders with interest. And migrants pay back the money from their monthly salaries. These women cannot go home; as they have not earned enough to pay back the money they owe" (Emebet, 2002).

Objective of the Study

General Objective

The general objective of this paper is to assess the challenges female youths face and explore the opportunities that arise at their home of origin.

Specific objectives

- To assess major driving factors which led rural female youth to migrate at their early age;
- To assess the challenges that transpire during the migration process and at their country of destination;
- To compare and contrast the benefits and the side effects of female youth migration; and
- To analyze the new socio economic situations that emerged as a result of migration in the migrant's home of origin.

Significance of the Study

The paper is expected to have the following contributions:

- As female youth migration is currently a public agenda in Ethiopia, as mass of rural youth migrants have migrated at an early age, leaving their education and taking migration as the best option of getting money, the paper examines the current situation of female youth migration from rural areas.
- It identifies the root causes and explores additional driving factors and forwards recommendations to solve the problem.
- The study sheds more light on and creates awareness about the various problems Ethiopian migrant females are facing in the countries of destination.
- Shows the benefits of migration if managed properly and the changes that transpired as a result.

Methodology

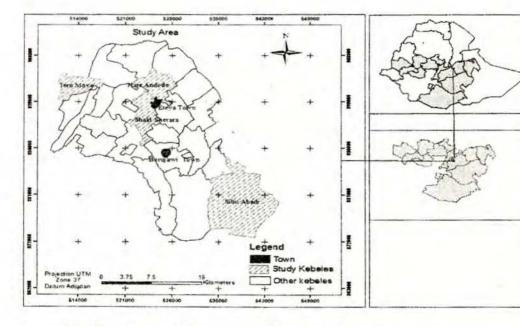
The Study Area

The study area is Oromia Regional State, Arsi Zone, Hetosa Woreda. The woreda is astronomically found in between 7° 53'N to 8° 14'N and 39° 5'E to 39°24'E and the altitude of this woreda ranges from 1500m to 4170 meters above sea level. Mount Chilalo is the highest point. A survey of the land in this woreda shows that 52.8% is arable or cultivable (46.5% was covered with cereals), 16.3% was covered with pasture, 28.1% with forest

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and the remaining 2.8% is considered swampy, mountainous or otherwise unusable (Wikipedia). The administrative centre of the woreda is Etheya some 150 km south of Addis Ababa. The woreda has a total population of 124,219 of which 105,738 are rural dwellers and about 52,320 are females (CSA, 2007). The following map shows the study area.

Figure 1. Map of the study area



Source: Ethio GIS Data from AAU, constructed by the author.

Data Sources

In order to conduct this research both primary and secondary data sources were employed. Primary data was collected from females who completed their visa process and were ready to fly, returnees, and their parents. Direct observation of the activities was also employed in the study kebeles. To have a sound qualitative research, the study used structured and semi structured interviews. Secondary data from MoLSA has been used to

compare and contrast the amount of payment that women are paying for the travel and Visa Process through legal and illegal ways. Through secondary data sources, data was gathered from published and unpublished research papers, books, journals, newspapers and the internet. In addition to the structured questionnaire, three focus group discussions were organized. The group consisted of migrants who are planning to migrate, parents who sent their daughters abroad and returnee female migrants.

Sample size

Hetosa Woreda is selected purposively as the woreda is one of the areas in which a large number of female seasonal migrants move to Arab countries as house maids; the researcher has a prior exposure to the situation in the study area. In order to have a household sampling frame a list of kebeles from the woreda was taken. First the 23 kebeles were grouped into two clusters. Out of 23 rural kebeles, four kebeles were selected with cluster sampling method - one cluster representing near to the town centre (<15km) and the other kebeles are remote kebeles (> 15km). The distance of the kebele from the woreda capital has been considered to see if the distance from the capital of the city has a factor on their migration. The distance is measured by ArcGIS using Ethio-GIS Administration Data. After clustering the selected kebeles based on proximity to the centre of the town, simple random sampling is used to assure the representativeness of the kebele and minimize personal bias. Based on this, two representative kebeles were selected from each cluster. Female youth migrants from the sampled kebeles were selected through:

- a) Obtaining a list of female migrants (sample frame) from the sampled kebeles;
- b) Determining the sample size to be surveyed (10% from the sampled kebele); and
- c) Picking the first sample randomly and applying systematic sampling.

Hence, by following the above procedure a total of 60 female migrants were selected. The information about youth females who died in Arab Countries is gathered by interviewing their parents.

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Sampled Kebele	Proximity to centre of town (Etheya)	Total number of females (2007 census)	Number female migrants (2000-2004 E.C)	Average Distance from the nearest big town (km)	Sampled migrants (10 %)	
Hate- Handoodee	Near	2,745	203	7	20	
Shaki Sherara Near		2,836	171	10	17	
Sibu Abadir	Remote	5,962	169	25	17	
Tero Moye	Remote	1,397	66	17	6	
Total		12,940	609		60	

Table 1. Total sample size

Source: ECA (For total number of females); Primary data collection by author (Number of female migrants 2000-2004); Ethio GIS (For Distance Ethio GIS from AAU).

Data Analyses and Results

Age and level of education of female migrants

The majority of respondents' age group falls between 18-21 years (43.3%) followed by the age group between 26-30 (21%). Through group discussion, some female youth migrants said even though their actual age is less than 18, they fill in pseudo age on their passport adding 3-5 years so as to be able to be eligible for migrating to Arab country as a domestic worker. Thirty per cent of the females also said they put pseudo age on their pass port not to be banned from going abroad.

Degettuu and Deribe are from Abadir Kebele, about 25km away from the woreda capital, Etheya. They have stayed in Dubai for two years and came back home to visit their parents. Both of them dropped out from grade six. Their actual age is 16 and 17. They filled in 19 and 20, respectively, in their passport. "Our parents told as what girls in our neighbourhood did for their parents - buying oxen and sheep, building a house, and the like. When we

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heard about this all, we started to dream about going to Arab Countries and doing what other girls did for their parents." Their dream of going to Arab Countries did come true soon because they knew some persons (family members, friends who returned from Arab Countries, etc.) who could help them contact brokers in the kebele. Of the total respondent female migrants, 13.3% of them are below age 18 when they left their home as indicated in Table 2.

Age group	Number of females	Percentage 13.3	
<18	8		
18-21	26	43.3	
22-25	6	10	
26-30	7	11.6	
>30	13	21.6	

Table 2. Female migrants' age group

Source: Primary data collected by the author

Another parameter used to portray the situation of these migrant female youths is level of education. Amazingly, the result indicates that most of these migrants have only attended their first cycle primary education (31%) followed by those who attended their second cycle primary education (27%). The female youths from remote kebeles did not attend any regular education and they can't read and write. In contrast, almost all of the 27% migrants who attended high school are from the kebeles very close to the town (Hate Handode and Shorima). The females who joined high school also responded that their end goal is not joining a college; they just go to school to complete high school and wait until they are old enough to go and work abroad.

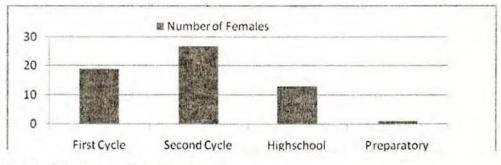
The respondents also said that they are more interested in migrating to Arab countries than pursuing their study and joining college. Kedija, 17, who quitted her education from grade 7 and was ready to fly to Lebanon said:

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None of my friends are able to join preparatory class. All of them after completing high school graduated from TVET College. They didn't get job yet. They waited 2-3 years without getting job. Mine will also not be different from them. Therefore, I prefer to go to an Arab country dropping out from Grade 7.

Due to their low level of education, when they travel to Addis Ababa to process their visa, most of them said they can't understand Amharic or English and as a result they are assisted by their families. They had to be assisted by their families until they go to the airport and leave their country. Thus language is a major problem when they want to communicate with their employees abroad.

As can be seen from Graph 1, very few female youths also drop out from their precollege study and migrate to Arab countries.



Graph 1. Level of education of migrant female youths

Source: Primary data collected by the author

Driving factors for migration and risks

Most female youths (56%) left for Arab Countries by their own free will and no one forced them to do so. The respondents said that they wanted to change their family's living condition as it would be difficult for them to support their families with the salary they earn after completing their education in the country. Desta, who is 21 and returned home four months ago and was ready for her second round travel abroad, said:

For example, if I graduated from university I might earn a salary of 1500. From this I have to pay for the house rent and other expenses, food and

clothes. At the end of the month I will be left with nothing and can't save money. But If I go to an Arab country I can save all my salary because I have nothing to spend I will save it all. When I was in Saudi, I used to save 3000 Ethiopian birr a month.

The prime objective of most females who are in remote *kebeles* is to buy oxen or to build a better house in their village or to buy additional cows, oxen, goats, sheep or horses. The females who are from kebeles close to the town said they planned to buy a house in the town for them and when they returned home they planned to open commercial shops. Of the female youth migrants interviewed, only 9% responded that, in the future, they want to own their own business in the town or even in bigger towns, and deposit their money regularly in the bank. In the study kebeles, now a days, it is common to see that parents are happy to have a daughter at birth because they hope to send her abroad and get money some day. Female migrant first learn about the working condition in Arab countries from their friends who had been abroad in the past. Even though they heard about the challenges and sometimes the risk and death reported from their friends, they all the same prefer to go.

A returnee said that her employer splashed acid on her face; even so, her sister who heard of this left for UAE after two days. Parents also cooperate to send their daughters to Arab countries. One important finding here is that sending a daughter to an Arab country is creating a sense of competition among parents who compete based on the number of daughters they send to Arab countries, and by the changing living condition they are enjoying as a result. Most parents would consume all the money sent to them by their daughters, while only few parents save their daughters' money until they returned home.

The other important finding here is that married women are among the migrants. Some married women start preparation for the journey six months or a year after their marriage. They negotiate with their husbands, to send them money and husbands also assure them that they would make good use of the money sent to them.

The number of married women who go to Arab countries is increasing from time to time. Thirty per cent of the migrants are married women. The

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important point here is that this practice (sending a wife to an Arab country) changes the marriage and life style of the society in two ways. The first one is that husbands want to have wives early - to send them abroad and get enough money. The other is that, on average, once they left the country, these married women stay up to four years and the chance of having many children is decreasing, as they leave their husband at high fertility age when they should have given birth. Therefore the number of children the migrant females have is limited as compared to those who do not go abroad. As the main informants of this research are female migrants who go abroad through legal means the risks they face are less, as compared to those who illegally cross the boundary through Somalia and Yemen or use other illegal means. The first risk the youth females may face in the process is when they come to Addis Ababa to have a passport. On average they reported that they have to wait two to three months to have a passport. They travel to Addis Ababa at least three times. The first time they come to give a copy of their identity card card and take an appointment; the second time to give all the required information; and the third time to take their passport. During their second travel to Addis Ababa they may spend up to three days since there are a number of people who need the same service at the Ethiopian Immigration Agency. When they come to Addis Ababa from countryside, youth females come at least with one person who assists them in the visa process. The parents of the family are responsible for paying for the facilitator. They will pay for hotel, transport, and food. The girls usually come with their families unless they pay to the broker who brings the girls to the Agency. The girls will check their medical status in the nearest town and come to Addis Ababa to take the last medical checkups. They pay for the check-up process and they spend two days on average until the process is completed and they receive the last medical check-up result. After the visa process is completed, they come back to Addis Ababa to get their visa.

		Kuwait		Dubai		Saudi Arabia		
No	Reason for payment	Payment (Birr) Through Agency	Payment (Birr) Self	Payment (Birr) Through Agency	Payment (Birr) Self	Payment (Birr) Through Agency	Payment (Birr) Self	
1	Passport	300	300	300	300	300	300	
2	Health check-up	850	850	850	850	850	850	
3	Agreement check up at MOFA	162	162	162	162	162	162	
4	Police clearance	10	10	10	10	10	10	
5	MOFA forensic clearance	150	150	150	150	150	150	
6	Insurance	-			600			
7	Embassy Visa	2125	2125	•	•	460	810	
Total		3597	3597	1472	2072	1770	287	

Table 3. Payment information for those who go to Kuwait, Dubai and Saudi Arabia

Source: Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs (MoLSA)

In addition to these payments, they have to pay on average 4000 birr for flight ticket. For some of them it is difficult to cover transportation costs and thus they borrow money from someone and pay it back when they start earning salary abroad.

Most of the females (63%) said that they do not have access to electricity at their home. As a result, most of them do not know how to switch on and off light bulbs, how to use modern toilets, wrap glasses, iron clothes, use stoves, turn televisions on and off, use refrigerators and other modern equipment; this has direct impact on their performance at workplace abroad. In their home of origin, most of the work is done manually. Some of the respondents said that they would spend 6 - 12 months in Addis Ababa to get used to the equipment they are likely to encounter abroad. They get employed as domestic workers in Addis Ababa without telling their

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employers about their visa process. They manage to operate and use washing machines and other apparatus during their stay as house maids in Addis. They also said that they are given training as soon as they joined their employers, before they start working with the machines.

Following are some of the problems the migrants face when they reach an Arab country:

- Long working hours (15 hours and more especially during the months of Ramadan);
- Unable to operate a machine, which they know only by name or sometimes they don't know at all;
- Language it takes them a long time to learn Arabic;
- Harsh climate: most of the females are from highland areas. But the climate of the destination country is difficult to get used to easily;
- Lack of peaceful life, they are forced to change from one house to another;
- Difficult to practice their religion, especially in Saudi Arabia;
- They are not paid on time and some employers may even refuse to pay them and they leave the house without getting paid;
- The employers hide their passports to prevent them from leaving their home and get employed elsewhere. They will be arrested by the police, if they leave a house without passport. They are forced to stay in the same house until their passport is returned to them; otherwise they will be deported to their country;
- Physical damage including broken legs, arms, shoulders, attack by acid, boiling water, etc. They are also harmed when they clean floors and have a risk of falling from tall buildings.
- Death: A group discussions was held with four parents who lost their daughters in Arab countries and had their daughters' bodies sent to them for burial. The reason for their death was not well known, but the parents recognized that their daughters died as a result of the physical injury they sustained. Of the four deaths, two were from Hate Handode Kebele (the migrants died at the age of 18 in Saudi Arabia) and the others were from Tero Moye Kebele (the victims died in UAE).

The migrants usually plan to stay for two years and come back home and renew their visa and return back. However, most of them stayed for four years and sometimes they extended their stay for up to ten years as they feel they have not achieved what they had planned.

Female youths who returned back to Arab countries said that they sometimes have a chance to work in small businesses, living in rented houses. Some of them have a chance of owning their own business together with their friends. But this opportunity is rare and one should stay for more than five years to save enough money to start such business. Once they started to lead an independent life, they begin to employ other friends for the same work. Only few migrants make it to third countries like Europe and America.

The life of female youths in countries like UAE is sometimes at risk as the workload is too much and they are unable to live up to the expectations of their employers. They may thus be forced to leave the house; hate to do similar job and as a result get in to prostitution. Even though they have more freedom and get more money than those who work as house maids, they are vulnerable to different risks.

Remittance

After all, the end result of this migration is the much hoped-for remittance and the money they earn, whether it is used for the targeted purpose or not. Let us first consider the average amount of money they earn annually. The amount of money they earn varies based on different conditions. It depends on the country of destination, the workload, and the willingness of the employers. The respondents said that the country that pays the highest is Kuwait followed by Saudi Arabia. On average migrant females earn about 48,000 Ethiopian birr annually if they work in Kuwait, 42,000 birr in Saudi Arabia and 36,000 birr in UAE. The remittance is sent to the family or husband through their employer once in three months or in two months time. Most of the females send all the money they receive to their families or their husbands.

Respondents also pointed out that transportation cost and other costs were previously covered by the broker or agent. Thus, first they pay back all the

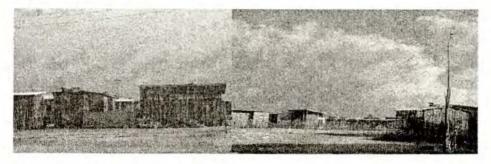
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money they owe the broker and start to send to their families after they fully paid back the broker. The top destination countries for the respondents are UAE (50%), Saudi Arabia (38.3%) and Kuwait (11.6%).

Socio-economic transformations in the migrants' home origin

The paper has raised various problems the migrant females are facing so far. However, even though their activity is full of challenges, the changes happening at their home of origin as a result of their migration are evident. The information gathered from those females who are selected for this study shows that 30% of them have succeeded in having what they wish to have after they returned home. They have been able to build a house for themselves and their families in the capital of the woreda, Etheya Town. There are newly established villages in Etheya Town, called Dubai Sefer. That specific area is called Dubai Sefer because most of the houses are owned by females who returned from Dubai or are now in Dubai. Due to this the value of land in the town is increasing from time to time. Prior to 2002, one could acquire 200m² of land for birr 20,000 on average. But today the value has gone up by four fold. The houses built on these plots are usually of poor quality.

Figure 2. Part of Dubai Sefer in Etheya



(Photo taken by author, December 15, 2013)

The other 20% of the respondents said that they paid back all the money they borrowed and send some money to their family. They said they built a house for their parents in rural areas and bought oxen and goats. They also plan to fly back to an Arab country again and finish what they started.

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The other 40% said that they have not achieved what they planned to do as their parents spent all the money they sent to them without changing their They said their parents' money management system is very poor. life. Similarly, those who sent money to their husbands said that their husbands spent their money on drink and nothing has changed when they came back. Some of them said that their husbands married another wife without telling them. Due to this they faced social problems and planned to go back to Arab countries. Only 10% of the respondents said that the money they sent home is saved in the bank. Economically, some opened small shops in their kebeles. In Sibu Abadir, the kebele far away from the centre Etheya, most of the small shops are opened by parents of the migrant females or the females themselves. Others owned carts, or three-wheelers (bajaj) and managed to rent farm lands; others who stayed up to 10 years have bought a car. Table 4 summarizes the major activities performed by the female migrants in the study area.

Table 4.	Major	activities	undertaken	by th	ne migrant	females	at home o	f
	origin							

Major activities undertaken	Average amount of birr they saved (Each)	Number of females	Year stayed abroad	
Buying a house in town	70,000	5	6	
Building a house in rural area, buying oxen, goats and sheep	35,000	12	4-6	
Three-wheeler	80,000	2	4-6	
Carts	12,000	2	2	
Car	240,000	2	10	
Opening a shop	45,000	3	4	
Agricultural land renting	24,000	4	2-4	
Saved cash	100,000	6	6	

Conclusions and Recommendations

Conclusions

Ethiopian women are driven by different factors to migrate to the Arab World to serve as domestic workers in private households. As illustrated in the body of the essay, the migration process exposes them to both risks and opportunities. The opportunities include financial benefit, the remittance that is used to change their families' life and the economic changes in their home of origin. However, they are tempted to think that it is better to work in Arab state than pursuing their education and changing themselves through education. The attitude is not only of the female migrants, but also of the parents who seem to be happy having many daughters, hoping they will receive more money some day by sending their daughters abroad. Parents are creating a sense of competition on the number of female youths they send to Arab countries.

Recommendations

Dealing with a problem like female youth migration is not an easy task as it has many consequences. It requires a thorough understanding of its complex nature regarding factors, means, perpetrators and victims. Policy frameworks need to consider the economic, socio-cultural, legal and political aspects of the problem. In addition, the efforts that need to be made to avoid the risks should be assisted by the government and need strong coordination among stakeholders. Following are suggested recommendations:

- There should be a common understanding among all government officials concerned about the urgency of the problem.
- Measures should be taken on kebele officials who approve incorrect ages of migrant females.
- There should be strong law enforcement on illegal human traffickers from the federal to the local levels.

- Public awareness efforts of the benefits of education for females should be strengthened.
- Training should be given to migrant females and a bi-lateral labour agreement should be secured with receiving countries.
- Close relationship should be established with Ethiopian embassies in the Arab states.
- A minimum education level should be set for those who want to go abroad to work in Arab countries.

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