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1. Author information

Mulugeta Berihun Asfaw

Department of Sociology, Wolaita Sodo University, Wolaita Sodo,
Ethiopia

2. Author e-mail address

Mulugeta Berihun Asfaw

E-mail: mulertaytukung@gmail.com

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A Pre-Departure Vulnerability Context to Human Trafficking in North Wollo, Ethiopia¹

Mulugeta Berihun Asfaw*

Corresponding author:
Mulugeta Berihun Asfaw
E-mail: mulertaytukung@gmail.com

Abstract

The migration of economically and socially vulnerable Ethiopian men, women and children has become a mounting phenomenon. Although their exodus initially seems voluntary labor migration, their vulnerable position gradually makes them victims of human trafficking. This study scrutinized the pre departure vulnerability context to human trafficking in North Wollo, Ethiopia, given primacy to context specific sociocultural etiology of human trafficking. The study was based on mixed research approach. In-depth interview, key informant interview, survey, FGDs and documentary review were used as the principal means of generating data. Information was gathered from various groups of informants: returnees, law enforcing agents, knowledgeable key informants and prosecuted local traffickers. As per the finding of the study there are various social, cultural and economic forces that make the local youth vulnerable for human trafficking by creating a massive lure for over sea migration; poverty, the dynamic interaction between the traditional patriarchy social structure and the changing women's aspiration, failure in education and peoples growing pessimism on culturally legitimated means of success (i.e. education), excessive social pressure for financial success and people's erroneous attitude about migration 'Better Life Syndrome, and the culture of migration. The interactions among these socio cultural forces and their cumulative effects expose the local people for human trafficking through creating a massive lure for migration.

Keywords: human trafficking, vulnerability context, patriarchy, culture of migration, better life syndrome.

¹ The Author is very grateful to all the study participants for their commitment and time in responding to all the questions.

* Department of Sociology, Wolaita Sodo University, Wolaita Sodo, Ethiopia.

1. Introduction

Human trafficking is a mounting worldwide occurrence and concern that is considered as contemporary form of slavery and a crime against humanity (Ebbie, 2008). Involving the various means and resulting in a flagrant violation of human rights, trafficking exists and victimizes vulnerable persons throughout the world transcending national, ethnic, or cultural boundary (Aronowitz, 2009; Selamawit, 2013).

As proclaimed by Adepoju (2005) being the poorest region in the world, sub-Saharan Africa is the most vulnerable area and a source place for large numbers of victims of human trafficking. This holds true for Ethiopia. Several men, woman, and children in Ethiopia are being trapped in trafficking project within Africa and outside the continent mostly in the gulf region (Emebet, 2002). Every year thousands of Ethiopian who initially migrate for the purpose of escaping thorny and hard knock life becomes victims of human trafficking in the Arabian Gulf nations (USDS, 2013).

Factors rendering particular individuals and communities vulnerable to trafficking are varied and complexes (Cameroon, Newman, 2008). In several empirical research on human trafficking (Salah, 2004; UNODC, 2008; Shelly, 2010; PTA, 2011), poverty is often equated with vulnerability and it is cited as a leading cause for the incidence and upsurge of human trafficking. Obviously poverty increases vulnerability to trafficking because the need to survive and provide for one's family can drive individuals to accept offers of work which may appear at first to be legitimate but turn out to be extremely exploitative later on (UNODC, 2008).

However, poverty alone cannot explain the full picture of the vulnerability context of human trafficking (Makisaka, 2009; Biniam, 2012). Beside poverty there exist numerous socio cultural forces both at a micro and macro level which make individuals vulnerable to human trafficking. The idea that poverty alone causes trafficking is a simplistic and reductionist views of what is more likely a complex relationship (Bales, 2001 as cited in UNODC, 2008). Factors like gender, social and cultural exclusion, limited access to education, socio-cultural and legal framework, movement and the demand for cheap labor and service at the place of destination are mentioned alongside poverty as causes of human trafficking in most literature addressing the root cause of trafficking (Bales, 2007; Dottridge, 2002; Aronowitz, 2009).

This study is principally designed to deal with the pre-departure vulnerability context of human trafficking. The added value of this research is, unlike several studies which ethos solely the economic reason and the force of poverty in examining the vulnerability situation of people from migrant sending countries for human trafficking, this study focuses on context specific

socio cultural etiology of human trafficking. It thoroughly scrutinize the ‘social construction’ of the victimization process and the socio-cultural practices, tradition, belief and value system of the local community that forced people to perceive oversea migration as desperate option, their last resort to attain better life, and thus make them vulnerable to human trafficking.. The influence of the following social forces on the vulnerability of the local population for human trafficking is the central theme of this study. A) The dynamic interaction between the traditional patriarchy social structure and the changing women’s aspiration. B) Excessive social pressure for financial success and people’s erroneous attitude about migration ‘Better Life Syndrome’. C) Failure in education and the growing pessimism on the culturally legitimated means of success. D) The culture of migration.

The study is conducted in Hara and Doro-Gibir village town of North Wollo zone, well-known source areas for many men, women and children labor migrants and a home to several returnees.

2. Materials and methods

2.1 Study design

This study is cross sectional in its design whereby the required data on the pre-departure vulnerability context to human trafficking in North Wollo were collected once at a time. Hence the entire data collection process was completed from February 6, 2014 - March 31, 2014. Data relevant to address the objectives of the study were obtained from both primary and secondary sources of data.

2.2 The research setting

The research was conducted in North Wollo administrative zone which is one of the eleven zones of Amhara regional state administration. The population is almost entirely rural and is largely Ethiopian Orthodox Christian, though about one-fifth of its inhabitants are Muslim (CSA, 2007). North Wollo zone is divided into ten rural districts and two town administrations. Specifically, the research was undertaken in Hara and Doro Gibir areas, well-known source areas for many men, women and children labor migrants and a home to several returnees.

2.3 Method of data collection

2.3.1 Survey

Survey method is used to generate quantitative data regarding the factors that make migrants vulnerable for human trafficking. In this study a self-administered questionnaire was developed based on the general themes of the specific objectives of the research. All in all, the questionnaire contained question items on the personal characteristics and living circumstances of returnees prior to their migration. The specific aim of employing the survey method was to generate quantitative information which was suitable for descriptive analysis. Hence, the researcher administered 112 questionnaires for returnees selected through purposive and snow ball sampling techniques. Upon completion the researcher collected 100 questionnaires.

2.3.2 In-depth interview

In the context of this study a total of 14 purposively selected returnees 9 female and 5 male were interviewed. Through in-depth interviews, the researcher uncovered detailed information about the subjective experience of trafficking victims.

2.3.3 Key informant interview

In this study the informants were selected on the base of their knowledge, proximity to the issue, experience and willingness to participate. A total of thirteen (13) key informants were contacted. The four key informants were parents of returnees who recounted the story of their sons and daughters. Other five informants were government officials (chairperson of the office of labor and social affair of North Wollo zone, chairperson of north Wollo women, youth and child affair, administrator of both Hara and Doro Gibir town and head of police office of the zone). Other two informants were local elders. The rest two key-informants participated in the study were prosecuted illegal local brokers which recruit and smuggle potential migrants.

2.3.4 Focus group discussion

In FGD were employed to generate qualitative data to supplement data obtained through in-depth and key-informant interviews. Totally two (2) FGDs were conducted at both Hara and Doro-Gibir town. The Composition of the discussant groups includes returnees and family members of returnees.

2.4 Participant recruitment

The fact that victims of human trafficking are a 'hidden group' that is difficult to be accessed due to the clandestine and sensitive nature of trafficking in persons and the negative attitude people have toward failed migration experience, restricted the researcher from employing reliable (non-probability) sampling technique. Therefore, in this study, purposive and snowball-sampling technique was employed to approach study participants in the study area. Using the information from BoLSA of North Wollo to get initial contact with returnees, the researcher selected 112 returnees from both town, 56 returnees in each town, using snow ball sampling technique. Similarly, 13 key informants and 13 FGD discussants were selected using purposive and snowball sampling technique.

2.5 Data analysis

Data analysis in this study pursued thematic approach. Thus, the qualitative data generated from the in-depth interviews and focus group discussions was analyzed manually through careful interpretation of meanings and contents, organizing and summarizing in accordance with the issue under investigation. The quantitative data was reduced into descriptive statistics.

2.6 Ethical consideration

Ethical clearance letter was obtained from sociology department of Addis Ababa University and a written consent was obtained from women, children and youth affairs office of North Wollo zone administration. All the study participants were informed about the purpose of the study and finally their consent was obtained before the actual data collection process started. The information provided by each respondent was kept confidential in order to safeguard them from different troubles. Above all the researchers had made an attempt to develop a sense of trust and gain the genuine consent of all of the participants of the study including confidentiality of their information.

3. Result and discussion

3.1 Socio Demographic Profile of the Respondents

Uncovering the socioeconomic and demographic characteristics of migrants may help to understand the reasons why people migrated (Hammond, 1999). One's tendency to migrate is determined by gender, age and other socio cultural and demographic factors, even under condition where

the pull-push factors are the same (IMI, 2011). In the case of Ethiopia, educational qualifications and gender are indispensable variables not only in determining one's tendency to migrate, but also affecting the type of work migrants particularly to the Arabian Gulf regions are engaged in and their exposure to maltreatment and abuse (De Regt, Medareshaw, 2015). Hence, uncovering the profile of the respondents is a key instrument in understanding the circumstances that triggered and/or forced them to migrate and exposed them to traffickers.

TABLE 1. Socio demographic profile of study participants

Characteristics	Category	%	No
Sex	Male	24.0	24
	Female	76.0	76
	Total	100.0	100
Age	< 18	25.0	25
	19-25	59.0	59
	26-30	9.0	9
	>31	7.0	7
	Total	100.0	100
Educational status	Primary (1-8 grade)	55.0	55
	Secondary (9-10)	35.0	35
	Preparatory (11-12)	6.0	6
	Grade 12+education	4.0	4
	Total	100.0	100
Marital status	Married	40.0	40
	Unmarried	19.0	19
	Divorced	31.0	31
	Widowed	10.0	10
	Total	100.0	100
Religious affiliation	Orthodox Christianity	25.0	25
	Muslim	67.0	67
	Protestant	6.0	6
	Catholic	2.0	2
	Total	100	100
Employment status	Student	26.0	26
	Unemployed	72.0	72
	Employed	2.0	2
	Total	100.0	100

Source: field survey (February 2014)

The data from table 1 shows that the vast majority (76%) of respondents are female and only (24 %) of them are male. Though, it seems implausible to conclude that women are more vulnerable than men depending on small sample obtained through snow ball sampling technique, the information obtained from local key informants (head of BoYWCA and BoLSA) is similar with the survey result regarding the gender dynamics of human trafficking in

the area. Key informants stated that, human trafficking is a non sex biased problem and yet higher percentages of the victims in this particular area are female. Administrator of Hara town also attested this claim in his own word: 'Since women have minimum education and employment opportunity in the community it is not surprising that more women decided to migrate oversea to the Arab nation, by any means and at any cost, and thus fall prey to traffickers.'

Detail discussion on the gender dynamics of human trafficking in relation with the traditional patriarchy social structure and the changing women's aspiration will follow in the next section.

Looking at the respondents' age composition large number (59 %) of returnees are between the ages of 19 and 25, followed by the age group younger than 18 (25 %) and the age group between 26-30 (9 %). Fewer but significant numbers of returnees migrated after the age of 31 (7%). Around 25 % of the returnees are under the age of 18 indicating the high prevalence of child trafficking in the area. Information from parents, community members and law enforcement officials also pointed out that the age profile of typical migrants in the study area ranges from 16 to 25.

As proclaimed by Kemal (2013) in his study the dark side of irregular migration of Oromia zone to the Middle East, owing to their inexperience, sense of adventure, and responsibility, it is not surprising that young persons and children commonly fall prey to traffickers and those benefiting from the process. Community elders explained that usually youths more than anyone are driven by sense of adventure and further stirred by anticipation of bright economic future which they think awaited them at their destination areas. They are easily seduced by exaggerated and false information of traffickers and smugglers which romanticized migration to the Arab nations. Besides, their exposure to the success stories of previous migrants highly stimulates them to consider migration by any means. However, such youths with high migration aspiration usually does not have the capability to secure safe migration and employment in the destination countries. Due to immaturity combined with information gaps and failure to fulfill all the legal requirements for migrating through the regular migration ways, local youths migrates via the irregular migration routes (Djibuti-Obock and Somalia-Bossasso outlet) which usually made them fall prey to traffickers.

More than half (55%) of respondents attained primary education (1-8th grade), followed by 35% of returnee with secondary education (9-10 grade), those who attend preparatory school and college are too few representing only 6% and 5% respectively. According to key informants both educated and uneducated individual might be victims of traffickers. This is due to the fact most migrants are mainly trafficked for manual and domestic work purposes,

which demands no sophisticated knowledge. Level of education is not a critical criterion for women migrants to be engaged in domestic work and men migrants to be engaged in manual labor of any kind. As Head of North Wollo Labor and Social affairs office reported men and women migrating through the 'desert route' have similar educational background and experience with those using the legal way through private employment agencies. It is, however, reported that most are student who have failed grade eight ministry examinations and grade ten national examinations. Participants in FGDs have specifically mentioned grade 10 as a common obstacle for youths. When youths fail in their education, usually at grade ten national examinations, they opt to migrate to the Arab nations. It is because these youths usually have no alternative education and job opportunities and they consider migration to the Arab nation as the last viable option to change their life.

The data on marital status of the respondents indicates that majority of returnees (40%) were married before their migration. Those who were divorced are 31 % followed by 23% and 6% of unmarried and widowed respectively. More than (80%) of female respondent reported that they were married before their migration, those who were not married amounted less than (20%) of the female respondents. (17%) of returnees who were under the age of 18 were married before their migration indicating the existence of early marriage in the area.

The custom of early marriage is one of the traditional practice common in the area. In some cases traditional practices such as early marriage contributes to trafficking of women and girls. When poverty is acute, a young girl regarded as an economic burden and her marriage to a much older man viewed as a family survival strategy. In the study area it is common that, during marriage, the bride's family always receives cattle and/or land from the groom or the groom's family as the bride price for their daughter. While poverty might induce parents to give daughters for the purpose of marriage, child marriage itself, lead to destitute poverty of women through divorce, separation or abandonment. Very often, the only option for girls and women in situations of extreme marital stress is to run away. When girls run away from their parents to avoid an unwanted marriage, or from their husband to avoid unpleasant marriage, they are as likely to end up being trafficked.

As for the male, those who were married before their migration amounted more than eighty percent of the total male respondents. Even though most of the time males marry at a later age relatively with their bride, the practice of early marriage is also prevalent among male in the area. According to a key informant early marriage in boys is usually associated with instability and disorganization of home. When boys enter to marriage at their early adolescent age, before being mature, they are likely to fail in properly

handling their household responsibility. It may lead to unmanageable family size, which may further increase the responsibility of the parent in providing the family with the necessary needs. Such burdens will create a pressure on the family and may force the marriage to end up in divorce. A 22 years old returnee confessed how he was struggling hard to fulfill his three little daughters, his wife and his grandmothers need and how his marriage were finally end up in divorce before he managed work migration to Saudi Arabia. He further explained;

It was hard at all feeding my entire family only with the small plot of land I owned. I had married a local girl five years ago and she gave me three daughters. My old grandmother who gave me the small plot of land I owned is also with me. When I found it difficult to provide my family's need only by myself I suggested my wife to go to Jeddah and support the family. However my wife continuously refused my proposal, then I abandoned her and decided to go to Jeddah leaving my daughters for my grandmother.

Therefore, evidences reflected above indicates that early marriage contributes to migration which indirectly made them vulnerable to human trafficking.

Regarding employment status those returnees who were unemployed before their migration amounted (72%) of the respondents, followed by student and employed, 26% and 2% respectively. From this figure one can understand that unemployment is one factor contributing to the migration of youth abroad which indirectly make them vulnerable for human trafficking. The survey result and the information obtained from North Wollo BoLSA reveals, majority of returnees and victims of human trafficking in the area are those who dropout or fail in education and remained unemployed. However, as interview with chairperson of North Wollo BoLSA reveals graduate unemployment is also another factor that pushed youth in the study area to migrate. As the survey result and interview with head of BoLSA reveal individuals who graduate either in 10+ certificate or degree even opt to migrate due to lack of job. Except (55%) of the respondent the remaining (35%) had completed grade ten, (6%) completed grade twelve, and (4%) were graduates. However all of this (45%) of the respondent were unemployed.

Majority of the respondents are Muslims (67%), followed by orthodox Christian (20%). Those who follow protestant and catholic religion each represent 6% of the total respondents. At the first glance it may seem very simplistic to relate people's religious affiliation with being vulnerable to human trafficking. However, studies (PTA, 2011; Hangen-Zanker, 2008) show

how the religious affiliation of people related to their vulnerability position to irregular migration and/or human trafficking. PTA (2011), in the study 'trafficking in person oversea for labor purpose, with specific reference to Ethiopian domestic workers' show how, in the area such as Wollo where Muslim is a dominant religion, the culture of migration emerged as a result of the existence of large number Muslim population that have travelled to Mecca and Medina, Saudi Arabia for the Muslim pilgrimage. The population in the study area had positive image for the cultural values of people in the Middle East due to high similarity in their religious value. Since their religious doctrine preach Muslim follower to visit Mecca and Medina, those who can afford to cover the cost constantly used to enjoy the pilgrimage. This practice contributes for the emergence of cultural value and practices that favors migration to the Middle East.

Therefore, it is not a coincidences that majority of the returnees in the survey are Muslim. The study does not claim the religion is directly related with trafficking it rather proves how the Muslim religious tradition create positive image for migration to the Middle East, which in turn creates fertile ground for traffickers who are actively searching for persons who are motivated to migrate to trap in to their fishing net.

3.2 Socio cultural contexts of vulnerability and the social construction of victimization process to human trafficking

As Chuang (2006; 140) explains 'the problem of trafficking begins not with the traffickers themselves, but with the condition that caused their victim to migrate under circumstance rendering them vulnerable to exploitation'. In much of the literature on trafficking (Salah, 2004; UNODC, 2008; Shelly, 2010; PTA, 2011), poverty is often cited as a leading cause for the incidence and upsurge of human trafficking. The evidences in this study also reveal that poverty is one among several factors that pushes people to migrate abroad by any means and at any cost and thus make them vulnerable to human trafficking. The data from Table 2 indicate large percentage (36%) of the respondents mention poverty as the primary reason for their migration. Poverty creates an unending chain of hapless human forcing them to become unwilling victims of human trafficking (UNODC, 2008). (20%) of the respondent assert failure in education as the primary reason for their migration. The desire to improve personal and family life is mentioned by (22%) of the respondent as the major reason for their migration. Those who mention peer and family pressure and success stories of other and failed marriage as the principal reason for their migration amounted (10%) and (12%) respectively. The main reasons of migration vary by sex, age,

educational status, employment status and marital status. Poverty is reported to be a greater cause of migration among male respondent (50%) than female respondent (31.6%). This is also true for respondent with (18-25) age group (44.1%), respondent with preparatory level of education (66.7%), unemployed (38.9%) and divorced (45.2%).

TABLE 2. Main Reasons for migration: respondents' view.

Characteristics	Main reason for Migration (%)					Total	
	Poverty	Failure To Succeed In Education	To Improve Personal And Family Life Situation	Peer And Family Pressure And Success Story of Others	Failed Marriage	%	N
Sex							
Male	50.0	12.5	12.5	4.2	20.8	100.0	24
Female	31.6	22.4	25.0	11.8	9.2	100.0	76
Age							
<18	28.0	24.0	4.0	20.0	24.0	100.0	25
18-25	44.1	16.9	27.1	5.1	6.8	100.0	59
26-30	11.1	44.4	11.1	22.2	11.1	100.0	9
>30	28.6	0.0	57.1	0.0	14.3	100.0	7
Educational level							
Primary	18.2	23.6	32.7	12.7	12.7	100.0	55
Secondary	57.1	20.0	5.7	8.6	8.6	100.0	35
Preparatory	66.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	33.3	100.0	6
Grade 12+education	50.0	0.0	50.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	4
Employment status							
Student	30.8	26.9	23.1	3.8	15.4	100.0	26
Unemployed	38.9	18.1	19.4	12.5	11.1	100.0	72
Employed	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	2
Marital status							
Married	27.5	32.5	22.5	10.0	7.5	100.0	40
Unmarried	36.8	5.3	36.8	5.3	15.8	100.0	19
Divorced	45.2	16.1	19.4	9.7	9.7	100.0	31
Widow	40.0	10.0	0.0	20.0	30.0	100.0	10
Total	36.0	20.0	22.0	10.0	12.0	100.0	100

Source: field survey (February 2014)

A 26 year old uneducated woman returnee stated her frustration, how wretched her family living were and how they decided to let her migrate for making money abroad and freed her families from thorny and hard knock life. Her husband as she said, does not own land, work for other people to get a share from the production.

We are from poor peasant families. Our parents own a piece of land which they depend for their living. We inherit nothing from them. My

husband used to plough other people's land for sharing crops. We don't have any other means of generating income. Depending on shared crops from small plot of land it becomes difficult to feed ourselves and our three sons. So we decided that I have to go to Arab and make money to change the family's life.

The livelihood of the local population in North Wollo specifically of Doro-Gibr and Hara heavily depends on agriculture, which is often unreliable. Studies such as Emebet (2001) indicated economic problem as the major driving force for labor migration and thus made people vulnerable to human trafficking. In this study, too, most of the returnees explained that their family life is too impoverished due to the meager income they obtain solely from farming which is insufficient to fulfill their family's basic need.

Therefore, similarly with the claim of several previous research on trafficking and migration (Emebet, 2002; UNODC, 2008; Shelly, 2010; PTA, 2011; Biniam, 2012) the evidence this study obtained showed that being trapped in poverty, the desire to escape thorny and hard knock life and change the livelihood of themselves and their family is one rational that forced citizens to take oversea migration as desperate option and thus make themselves vulnerable to trafficker.

Obviously poor and destitute people who are unable to gratify their basic needs properly are likely to be vulnerable to such problem and can desperately take a measure that may put their life in exploitative and abused condition. But poverty is only one part of the picture. Poverty alone cannot explain the vulnerability context of human trafficking (Makisaka, 2009; Biniam, 2012; UNODC, 2008). Rather, beside poverty there exist numerous associated social forces that make individuals vulnerable to human trafficking. The idea that poverty alone causes trafficking is a simplistic views of what is more likely a complex relationship (Bales, 2001 as cited in UNODC, 2008). The empirical evidence obtained in this study also justifies that besides poverty there are some other socio-cultural factors that could explain the subject. These are discussed below.

3.2.1 The changing women's aspiration and Patriarchal social structure

Though men, women and children are potential victims of human trafficking most victims of human trafficking in this locality are women. The traditional patriarchy system and the relative value given to females and males in a community is a decisive force in influencing the practice of human trafficking and its gender dynamics in the area. To have a clear ideas of the phenomena of trafficking in relation to its gender dimension it is essential to understand the way young women live and feel at home.

The traditional image of Wollo women is that 'she is a pretty, strong person-hard working and capable of managing the situation'. She is expected to live with deprivation and to support the household, to see to everything by means of limited budget. Wollo folk song praise either the most beautiful and/or industrious maiden who is about to marry and is the object of somebody love or at a more advanced age, the wise and caring mother. It is not clear what other role she may have other than being a fiancé, and, later on a loving mother.

The patriarchal system made them to setup the image of selfless dedicated individual who, having very few choices in life, have accepted to suffer numerous deprivation. The life style of this women best reflects the overall despair and lack of opportunity. However, this traditional image of women in the area is now being eroded. Young women now do not appreciate the traditional image their culture attached to them; they do not want to follow their mother's life model. Thanks to globalization and the expansion of different media of communication, now local girls know the other corner of life, at least they had the glimpse of modern way of life. They got the inspiration to live better life than previously their socio-economic background allowed them. However, there is no good opportunity for young women at home to make their wish come true; they had limited opportunity for education and thus for employment. This aspiration-reality discrepancy felt by the local women together with the exaggerated information from the local traffickers that romanticized life and work opportunity abroad in the Arab nation pressured the local women to view migration, by any means and at any cost, as the only viable way to achieve their desire for better life.

The result of Cramer's V nominal level measure of association with coefficient of (.560) indicates the existence of strong association between education status and gender of the respondents. As the level of education increase the number of women decreases. While the percentage of women in primary level of education is high (65.8%) as compared to men (20.8%), this is not the case in secondary, preparatory and tertiary level of education. The percentage of women in secondary level is (32.9%) against (41.7%) for male, while it is (1.3%) against (20.8%) in preparatory level and (0) for (16.7%) for tertiary level and above.

TABLE 3. Educational level * sex of returnees Cross tabulation % within sex of returnees

		Sex of returnees		Total
		Male	Female	
Educational level	Primary	20.8 %	65.8 %	55.0 %
	Secondary	41.7 %	32.9 %	35.0 %
	Preparatory	20.8 %	1.3 %	6.0 %
	12+certificate and above	16.7 %		4.0 %
Total		100.0 %	100.0 %	100.0 %

Phi = .560; Cramer's V = .560

Source: field survey (February 2014)

Due to the socially constructed concept of gender women possess relatively lower position in the society. Local women who are deprived of equal opportunity for education, jobs, payment and so forth view migration to the Middle East as a desperate option to escape their marginalized position. Women's growing aspiration for better life in the face of lack of opportunity at home is one condition that makes the local women vulnerable to human trafficking. Traffickers usually trap local women by exploiting the aspiration-capability discrepancy felt by local women.

The data on table 4 indicates the existence of moderate association between employment status and gender of the respondents with the coefficient of (.258). While the percentage of unemployed women (72.4%) is higher than the percentage of unemployed men (70.8%), the percentage of employed male (8.3%) is greater than female (0).

TABLE 4. Employment status * sex of returnees Cross tabulation % within sex of returnees

		Sex of returnees		Total
		Male	Female	
Employment status	Student	20.8 %	27.6 %	26.0 %
	Unemployed	70.8 %	72.4 %	72.0 %
	Employed	8.3 %		2.0 %
Total		100.0 %	100.0 %	100.0 %

Phi = .258; Cramer's V = .258

Source: field survey (February 2014)

On the other hand, deep-rooted practices of gender discrimination that characterize the local communities have created a climate where migration of women is encouraged and even obligatory. Male-dominated social institutions in the community pressure young females to consider oversea migration to support their family at the expense of their education.

It is common for the local family to compel and/or persuade their daughter to dropout from school and migrate to the Arab countries for helping their family escape poverty and make sure that their brothers continue education. A local elder avowed in his own word that: 'We do not know any

case where families force their sons to dropout school and migrate abroad so that they can secure their sisters education. However, it is common for women giving up their education and migrates for helping their brothers’.

The longstanding patriarchy social system had created a conventional image of women which depict them as self-less dedicated person who sacrifices their own success and pleasure for their family. Any women who attempt to refuse such traditional role are likely to face heavy ridicule and scorn in the form of labeling them as selfish, misbehaved and worthless. The local community did not have the attitude that women can succeed in education and bring better life for themselves and their family. Seventeen years old girl has the following to say:

As most local children do in my childhood though I go to school and educated up to grade eight, as I recall education was not my interest. I never grow up believing that I will change my life through education. Particularly, after I become grade six like most local girls, I only thought about the time that I would migrate to Saudi Arabia. It was the life not only me but also my family envision to me.

As the result presented in table (5) indicates there is strong association between Family’s view of migration and gender of the respondents with a coefficient of (.842). The result indicates family’s favorable attitude with the migration of women. The percentage of women who asserted that their family initiated their migration is (38.2%) compared to (0) for men. The percentage of women who asserted that their family supported their migration (61.8%) is much greater than men (25.0%). On the other hand, while none of female respondents stated that their family opposed, did not know anything or no one bothers about, the percentage of men who declared that their family opposed, didn’t know anything or no one bothers about their migration amounts (25.0%), (33.3%) and (16.7%) respectively.

TABLE 5. Family’s view of migration * sex of returnees Cross tabulation % within sex of returnees

		Sex of returnees		Total
		Male	Female	
Family’s view of migration	Support for migration	25.0 %	61.8 %	53.0 %
	Initiated migration		38.2 %	29.0 %
	Oppose migration	25.0 %		6.0 %
	Didn’t know anything	33.3 %		8.0 %
	No one bothers about	16.7 %		4.0 %
Total		100.0 %	100.0 %	100.0 %

Phi = .842; Cramer’s V = .842

Source: field survey (February 2014)

Migration to the Middle East is considered as the most viable means by which women can change their life and help their family. There is a cultural value at the community level which depicts the migration of women to the Arab nation for domestic servitude as appropriate and best option for women. The point here is, the socially constructed notion of gender played double sword in exposing local women for human trafficking. In one way the traditional male dominated institution, from family to the community, forced young women to consider overseas migration by any means and at the expense of their education to support their family. On the other hand the aspiration-capability discrepancy felt by the local women due to their ever growing desire for better life in the face of lack of opportunity at home created excessive lure for migration on the part of women perceiving migration by any means and at any cost as the only viable way out of deep rooted socioeconomic deprivation. Traffickers usually exploit this excessive lure of local women for migration.

3.2.2 Failure in education and the growing pessimism on the culturally legitimated means of success

As noted earlier level of education is not a critical criterion for women migrants to be engaged in domestic work and men migrants to be engaged in manual labor of any kind. Local traffickers target men and women at any educational level who do have a desperate lure for migration. However, the fact is that, many Men, women and child who have given up their education because of various difficulties, such as, failure to pass a grade, loss of parents, economic difficulties, marriage or giving birth, and other reasons usually look for migration to change their life. It is also reported that brokers/traffickers mostly target youths who had failed from grade eight and ten and are without work. This is because they understand that these boys and girls have no hope of alternative education or employment opportunities and hence consider themselves as burdens to their families and are forced to consider migration as the only possible means of changing their future.

Beside failure in education, there are major cultural changes, related with education, that are happening in the local community that make the local youth vulnerable for human trafficking. Biniam (2012) in his study Pattern of victimization and rehabilitation to human trafficking in Ethiopia: with particular reference to stranded victim in Metema highlighted the submission of non-economic institutions to the drives of economic calculations as poverty plus cultural factor contributing to human trafficking. The evidence in this study further strengthens the above argument. The general growing pessimism toward the inability of education to bring better life is one major

cultural factor that explains why local youth fall prey to traffickers. In the past, in Ethiopia education was considered a source of high social prestige and poverty exit mechanism than any other way in the society. Education was the conventional norm of success. Studying hard, scoring good grades and getting good paying jobs was the cultural accepted means of success. But these days, evidence shows that peoples' belief in education as best way to bring good life had deteriorated. Education has been gradually proved to no longer be the efficient means of economic success. Today local youths grow up witnessing the suffering of several men and women in luck of job for many years after finishing their education. Even those who get a job find it hard to lead a better life due to the low amount of salary they receive. Youths are not inspired by the life of their elder who devoted their time for education. Therefore, youths are now viewing education as burdensome less rewarding journey.

Now even local parents and people hold the belief that *"it is foolish to stick on the outdated conventional thinking that education is the best inheritance that parents can pass to their child."* Back in the day education was the precious gift of parents to their children since educated people were relatively reach and prestigious. But now there is a widespread belief that *it is as hard for someone to change one's life for good through education as for the ship to cross the ocean without compass.* These days' youths in the area prefer migration as a means of success than spending years in education. A 23 year old returnee says:

I dropped off grade nine to migrate to Jeddah, because I know that spending years in education any longer could not bring me the life me and my family dreamed. I am from poor family and I know the salary I am going to be paid if I graduated in degree waiting for at least another seven years. I compared the kind of life my teachers and other civil servants are living with the life illiterate neighbors returned from Jeddah living. I believe that it is foolish to stay in education and then decided to give up my education for migrating abroad.

Similarly, a 25 years old returnee also said:

My parents are poor and I was learning to change my family's life, however in the mean time I realized that if I can wright and read it would be unwise to stick on education for the rest of my life. For a crooked youth like me with broke family education after some level, secondary level may be even primary level, is a burdensome less rewarding bustle. I decided that life in the pen is not for me. I dropped off from grade nine and migrate to Saudi Arabia.

The general idea here is that most people lose their faith on education as a viable tool for achieving the societal celebrated goals of material wealth. Consequently, peoples' growing pessimism at the power of education in bringing desired good life and lack of other alternative means led them to perceive migration as a desperate option for success.

3.2.3 Excessive social pressure for financial success and people's erroneous attitude about migration 'Better Life Syndrome'

The contemporary capitalism world order makes Striving for financial success the prevalent moral order of the day and consequently many people, today more than ever, have come to evaluate their lives and accomplishments not by looking to their relationships or community participation, but to what they possess and what they can buy (EIL, 2002). They come to believe and act as if the consumption of things will confer real satisfaction and guarantee a full life. Such ideas are often associated with a world view in which the worth and success of others is also judged not by their wisdom or kindness or community contribution, but in terms of whether they possess the right clothes, The right home, the right car, or more generally, the right 'stuff'. At the same time, judgments about what is enough are not absolute, but relative to others; people judge their own worth by measuring their wealth and possessions against that of others (EIL, 2002).

This prevalent capitalism's moral order which emphasis pecuniary achievements is now bringing sweeping change in the traditional cultural and value system of the community. In terms of social prestige, the longstanding value system of the community relatively stresses on the non-material aspects of peoples accomplishment. Back in the day people's involvement in the community and their role in the social, cultural, religious and political affair of the community were the major criterion for attainment of venerated social prestige. However, now a day monetary success is perceived to be the significant conditions for earning honorable position in the community. Community elders regrettably asserted how the capitalist mode of thinking awkwardly twisted people's perception of success in the community. They professed that local elders, religious leaders and traditional leaders in various informal community association which were prestigious and powerful in the community are now becoming a socially dinosaur status.

Striving for financial success and material achievement is not wicked by itself since monetary success brings innumerable improvement in the welfares of the local community. However, the ever growing emphasizes on wealth and consumption of latest stuff and the drastic erosion of the traditional value system of the community have its own costs. Evidences reveal that now a days parents' and neighbors' expectation of the youths are totally different from

some years ago. Youths are now not expected to study hard and/or to help their parents in farming. There is a growing belief in the community that depending only in the traditional livelihood strategy of farming and/or in the conventionally accepted means of success, education, can not improve their living standards. Therefore, youths in the study area are systematically pushed to look for other means of generating more money and change their family's life. This excessive pressure for financial achievement at the family and community level put unspeakable pressure on the local youths to develop 'the end justifies – the means' notion and look for any shortcut means of success. alongside such pressure, the explosion of information that depict greater opportunity for making more money oversea and exposure to the success stories of returnees in the community forced local youths to consider migration by any means and at any cost as their desperate option for changing their financial position. It is the prevalence of this excessive lure for migration in this particular community that makes the local youth preferable targets of human traffickers.

The next story in box 1 shows how a pressure on the part of the family and community at large forces youths to look working abroad as the only viable ways to meet family's and community expectation

Box 1; 25 years old returnee

I was born and raised in Hara town together with my two elder sisters. Two of them had completed their education. My first elder sibling graduated with BA degree and works on the Woreda agricultural office, my second elder sister completed her education with ten plus one vocational training and she is employed as cloth tailor in the local cloth shop. My father is a merchant and my mother is a petty trader. Relatively, I would say that we are a kind of middle class family. That is my perception of my family's economic status until recent time. With my parent's effort and a little help from my elder sisters we were living a "normal" life as most of our neighbor used to lives. All I was expected to do was studying. However, as time passed what I recognized is that most people of the neighborhood are sending their daughters to the Arab countries and some were able to change economically. I witnessed as the life of some of my neighbors change with short period of time by sending their daughter to Arab. Some are transforming from a mud house in to a cement house, some others were able to open business, and some are even buying a car. However, my family, even though my parents and two of my elder sisters are hard workers we were not economically successful as our neighbor, we can't keep with the pace of our neighbor's economic success. So when I finished grade 10th instead of continuing my education I start to think about migrating to Saudi. My family also decided to send me for making more money there. Since they find it hard to change their life as they wish by working here. Two of my siblings were consented with my migration. Then, one day one of our neighbor contacted me and my parents with a local guy who she said is expert in handling all my migration process and work there. My parent paid a total of

six thousand birr for the brokers and he arranged my migration. However after I left my home all I faced was totally a different stories. After passing the difficulty and hardships of the journey from logia, all the way through Assayta, Afambo, Dicheauto to Djibouti along that burning desert through truck and bare foot, and the terrifying boat trips along the Red Sea what I faced in the Promised Land was heart breaking. In Saudi everything was not in the way I expected. In Saudi, an Ethiopian man received me and my two friends and takes us to his home. We stayed there for two weeks, and then the men contacted me with another man who is to be my employer. After that the whole thing was very bad. No money, no property. I was exploited for a year and four months working hard for greedy employers for nothing. After two months of my employment when I asked my salary the employer told me that my salary for the first three months belongs to the broker for his service. Later, after three months when I asked him to pay my salary, he always says: 'I will give you all your money when you are ready to go home'. But finally he let me go with empty hand claiming that I had to be thankful for him for providing me with food and shelters for such long time.

Source: depth interview with returnee (2014)

The ever growing desire for financial wealth at the community level and exposure to the success and material achievements of some migrants at their localities pressured youths to feel the relative deprivation to material wealth and forced them to look for migration as the only means to feel this gap. Returnees who even felt that their family welfare was enough to lead a normal life chose to migrate because they have seen people in their communities achieving quick financial success within short time through migration which made them to felt that if they do not migrate in the Arab countries and make more money it would be hard to have sustainable economic life.

While difficult conditions in people's home community (i.e. failure at school and lack of other opportunities) contribute to aspirations not being met, expectations raised to an unrealistic level through exposure to information sources that report better employment opportunities and higher standards of living abroad and also about the success stories of other migrant workers. People's exposure to exaggerated information painting opportunity for good jobs, better payment and better life over sea hurl them to a belief Komenda (2007) explained as the '*better life syndrome*'; a condition that people may come to the conclusion if they simply move closer to these opportunities they will be granted them, regardless of their skills, education, experience, or social connections. The evidence in this study further confirms the above argument by showing how exposure to false and exaggerated information about the working and living conditions abroad coupled with wretched living situations at home made youths to aspire to unrealistic dreams that would never come true.

Returnees' parents participated in FGD reveals the inability of their children to meet family and community expectation and exposure to information that depicts affluent life abroad tempts them to send their children abroad. Obviously, there has been a dramatic growth in the amount of information available to people about work opportunities and living conditions in other places. This has been made possible through increased access to mass media and improvements in transportation that allow those who have migrated to return to their home communities and communicate through word-of-mouth 'what it's like' to be in other places (Hangen-Zanker, 2008). Furthermore, improved communication and transportation have allowed traffickers to disseminate information which creates excessive migration aspiration on youths in remote locations.

However, the balance and accuracy of the information or more importantly people's capacity to judge the balance and accuracy of the information, has not kept pace with this explosion in access. This imbalance between the explosion of information portraying good life abroad and people's limited capacity to know the truth paves favorable way for traffickers to trap people who have already faced huge disparity between their aspiration and reality. Traffickers are able to take advantage of this gap between people's reality and their dreams to trap them in to their fishing boat.

The general point here is, while the ever increasing social expectation for financial success in the face of lack of means at home to realize this expectation create unbearable stress and pressure on the local youths, the exaggerated and deceitful information local traffickers spreads put youths with no option but to perceive migration by any means and at any cost as their only option to succeed. It is this curtailed perception of migration as a desperate option for upward socio economic mobility that made local youth easy target for human traffickers.

3.2.4 The Culture of Migration

There is always confusion in the understanding of the problem of human trafficking. Most of the time the proliferation of traffickers is considered as the sole reason for the ever mounting magnitude of the problem by magnifying only the role of the traffickers and ignoring the existences of various cultural beliefs, social norms and traditional practice on the part of the community that create favorable condition for human trafficking. The development of the culture of migration and the presence of cultural beliefs and practices which depict migration as the culturally accepted and the only viable way for success is one reason that contributes for the burgeoning of human trafficking.

The culture of migration is those ideas, practices and cultural artifacts that reinforce the celebration of migration and migrants (Massey et al., 1993). It is the product of the increased prevalence of migration and the increase in density of migration networks in a community (Massey et al., 1993).

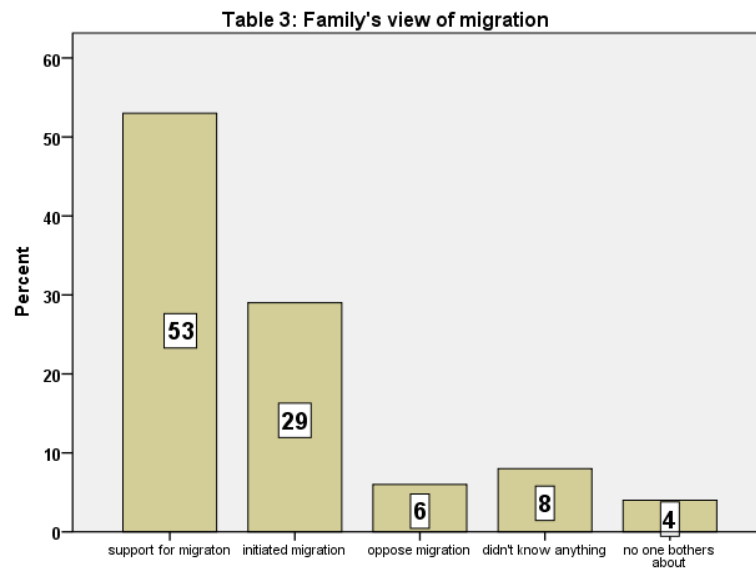
Ethiopia and the Arabian Gulf region have deep historical connection and the migration of people from Ethiopia to Arabian Gulf is not a new phenomenon (De Regt, Medareshaw, 2015). Before the proliferation of massive labor migration from Ethiopia to this region there was century's history of religious travel. PTA (2011), in a study 'trafficking in person oversea for labor purpose, with specific reference to Ethiopian domestic workers' show how, in the area such as Wollo the culture of migration emerged as a result of the existence of large number Muslim population that have travelled to Mecca and Medina, Saudi Arabia, for the Muslim pilgrimage. The population in the study area had positive image for the cultural values of people in the Middle East due to high similarity in their religious value. Since their religious doctrine preach Muslim follower to visit Mecca and Medina, those who can afford to cover the cost constantly used to enjoy the pilgrimage. This historical practice contributes for the emergence of cultural value and practices that favors migration to the Middle East.

The existence of migrant network is another factor for the development of the culture of migration in the area. According to Massay et al. (1993:448) migrant network is a set of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants and non-migrants in origin and destination areas through ties of kinship, friendship and share community origins that would magnify the anticipated net profit of migration. In a society where there is widespread poverty, prevalent economic deprivation and strong social pressure, migrant network could influence individual's migration decision by managing the process of migration and help in securing work at the place of destination (Hangen-Zanker, 2008). Beside migrant network the prevalence of context specific cultural tradition, practice and value system that celebrate migration and migrants contributes for the vulnerability of the local population for human trafficking.

As per the evidence from the field the 'culture of migration' is a key factor underlying high levels of migration and trafficking in the study area. Interviews with the returnees and community elders reveals that the local population had affirmative attitude toward migration. Oversea migration to the Arab region is considered as personal, social, and material success. As (Zenebe, Kasahun, Mulugeta, 2016) in their study 'the migrant hero; culture of migration and its implication on mate selection among Hadiya society, Southern Ethiopia' puts it, now a days there is a growing view of migration on the part of youths, not only as poverty exit mechanism but also as a

thoroughfare to improve their socio cultural status. In this study area, it is not only impoverished youths who wishes to escape wretched and hard knock life that migrates. Youths without poor economic backgrounds also migrates to improve their socio cultural status, feel a sense of pride and self-respect. There is considerable numbers of financially successful migrant returnees in the study area. These returnees usually earn respect in the community as a result of their material possession usually good house and even their jewelries, cloths and living style. The affirmative reaction of the community to the material and cultural change migrant returnee brought to the community instigated local youths to have high migration aspiration. There is a value at family and community level that celebrate migration and migrants.

In most case, though the final decision to migrate is up to the individual evidence showed that migration decision is not an individual matter. The initial ideas of migrating and working abroad and even finally the ultimate decision to migrate comes from other member of household, relatives and friends. Interview with key informants further revealed that the decision to migrate goes far beyond individual and household members, witnessing that there are communities' traditions, social patterns, beliefs, and expectations at the macro level. As the survey results of this study reveal, family plays decisive and pivotal role in the migration decision. The participation of family ranged from initiating to financing and from opposing to hardly known of the entire process of migration. More than half of the returnees stated that their decision to migrate was affirmatively supported by their family. 53% of survey respondents get positive response from their family while for 29% of the respondents even the initial idea of migration is initiated by their family.



Source: field survey (February 2014)

The next story (2) describes how the social construct of migration influences youths to migrate.

Box: 3. 22 years old returnee

The initial ideas to go to Saudi were my cousin living in Saudi. She used to work there for six years and was able to send a lot of money and asset for her family living near to our home. It was always my parent's wish that I will be like her; making a lot of money and helping my family making them rich and respected in the community. June, 2003 my cousin came to visit. I saw she was all changed women. From the garment she wears to her physical appearance even the way she talks. Totally she is awesome. It is at this moment for the first time in my life the ideas of moving to Saudi come to me. In the mean time she asked my mother who already wishes my migration, if she is interested to send me abroad. She finished the entire plan with my family without my knowledge. Weeks later mom told me the plan and I got no reason to refuse the best offer my cousin offers me. I was already provoked by the women's success when I see her.

Source: in depth interview (returnee), 2014

In the above story the returnee acknowledged that she was pressured to migrate to Saudi Arabia in one way by her family and in another way by her close kin. She noted how she grew up listening about opportunities abroad and successful stories of relatives and neighbors who had migrated and how she finally find it hard to ignore when she got the offer from her cousin. The above story is not her only story. As the study revealed many youth in the study area get the initial ideas and motivation to go abroad from their family and relatives.

The qualitative data in this study provides clear evidence about how migrant network and the culture of migration played decisive role in influencing individuals and/or household migration decision. Returnee witnessed that their exposure to migrant's relative material success and wealth inspired them and convince them to consider working abroad as the best and fastest way to positive socioeconomic mobility. Parents of returnee also confessed that their exposure to their neighbor's wealth generated through remittance convince them to allow and even instigate their children to migrate for work. Informant at Doro gibir tell how he was convinced to send his two daughters to Saudi Arabia by his brother who had permanent remittance from his first born daughter living in Saudi Arabia. He further revealed that:

In all time my neighbors was keep telling me I better send my daughters abroad for work and secure good living rather than killing my daughters future life by stuck on the outdated conventional thinking that education is the precious inheritance that a parent can left for their offspring. But it was when my closest relative, my brother told me the same thing with disappointment that I decided to send my two daughters.

Therefore, this study proved that migration decision is not only the individual migrant's as it may seem. The initial ideas and/or even the final decision to migrate represent the interest, tradition and attitude of family member, neighbors and the community at large. The culture of migration is proved to be existent and deep rooted in the study area.

The core point here is the existence of culture of migration in the community makes local youths vulnerable to human trafficking. Local traffickers usually exploit the community's affirmative views of migration to trap their pray. Local traffickers who are conscious of the existence of massive lure for migration among the local youths provides them with a schema which appears to be at first as the facilitation of safe transportation to the preferred place of destination, but turns out to be abusive and exploitative at later stage.

4. Conclusions

Unlike several studies which ethos solely the economic reason and the force of poverty in examining the vulnerability situation of people from migrant sending countries for human trafficking, this study focuses on various context specific social etiology of human trafficking; socio cultural forces that make the local population vulnerable to trafficking. In doing so, it thoroughly scrutinize the 'social construction' of the victimization process and the socio-cultural practices, tradition, belief and value system of the local community that makes local youths easily fall prey to human traffickers. The changing women's aspiration and patriarchal social structure that characterize the local community is found to be one condition that make the local population, particularly women more vulnerable to human trafficking. Deep-rooted practices of gender discrimination that characterize the local communities have created a climate where migration of women is encouraged and even obligatory. The longstanding patriarchy social system had created a conventional image of women which depict them as self-less dedicated person who sacrifices their own success and pleasure for their family. This social system pressures young female to migrate, at the expense of their education, for supporting their family. Besides, now a day local women who are tired of their conventional social image and aspire to lead a better life chooses migration to make their dream come true. The socially constructed notion of gender played double sword, in one way the social pressure from family and the community to migrate and on the other hand the growing lure for migration on the part of the women themselves perceiving it as the best way out from their low socio-economic position at home make local women vulnerable to trafficking since traffickers usually target women who have excessive lure for migration.

Excessive social pressure for financial success and people's erroneous attitude about migration 'Better Life Syndrome' is another socio-cultural factor that makes the community vulnerable to human trafficking. Today, more than ever, there exist value systems which expect people to attain financial success. However, most people in the community lack the means to fulfill this societal expectation. This aspiration-capability discrepancy forced people to develop 'the end justifies the means' notion and look for any short cut to achieve the excessive social expectation for financial success. In line with this aspiration-capability discrepancy the explosion of false and exaggerated information about migration by traffickers creates a widespread erroneous attitude about migration in the community. It hurls the local people to develop a set of belief Komenda (2007) conceptualized as 'better life syndrome'; a condition in which people come to believe if they simply migrate

close to a place with good employment and living condition they will be granted them regardless of their skills, education, occupation and social connections. In general, while the ever increasing social expectation for financial success in the face of lack of means at home to realize this expectation create unbearable stress and pressure on the local youths, the exaggerated and deceitful information local traffickers spreads put youths with no option but to perceive migration by any means and at any cost as their only option to succeed. It is this curtailed perception of migration as a desperate option for upward socio economic mobility that made local youth easy target for human traffickers.

Failure in education and the general growing pessimism toward the inability of education to bring better life is one major cultural factor that explains why local youth fall prey to traffickers. Back in the day in Ethiopia education was considered a source of high social prestige and poverty exit mechanism than any other way in the society. Education was the conventional norm of success. However, now a day people are losing their faith on education as a viable tool for achieving the societal celebrated goals of material wealth. Consequently, peoples' growing pessimism at the power of education in bringing desired good life and lack of other alternative means led them to perceive migration as a desperate option for success which in turn make them easy target for traffickers.

As per the evidence the 'culture of migration' is another key factor underlying high levels of migration and trafficking in the study area. The local population had affirmative attitude toward migration. Oversea migration to the Arab region is considered as personal, social, and material success. There is a growing view of migration on the part of youths, not only as poverty exit mechanism but also as a thoroughfare to improve their socio cultural status. The initial ideas and/or even the final decision of local people to migrate represent the interest, tradition and attitude of family member, neighbors and the community at large. The point is the existence of culture of migration in the community makes local youths vulnerable to human trafficking. Local traffickers usually exploit the community's affirmative views of migration to trap their pray. Local traffickers who are conscious of the existence of massive lure for migration among the local youths provides them with a schema which appears to be at first as the facilitation of safe transportation to the preferred place of destination, but turns out to be abusive and exploitative at later stage.

Generally, as per the evidence in this study, the interactions among the aforementioned socio cultural forces and their cumulative effects render the local youths vulnerable for human trafficking through creating a massive lure for migration.

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