

# **Decision of Rural Households on Migration into Cities and Settlement in Slums: the Case of Sana'a city, Yemen**

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Degree of Master of Management Development,  
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**By**

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## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

CSSW	Charitable Society for Social Welfare
NIC	National Information Center
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
WB	World Bank

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## **Dedication**

To my beloved daughter Amal and sons, Khalid and Zakaria who always make my happy even in the hard time, I dedicate this work.

## **PREFACE**

The study is about exploring how the rural households take their decision to migrate to Sana'a city and settle in the slums areas. The study was conducted in three areas, two slums in Sana'a city namely Wadi Ahmed and Madbah and one village called Bait Mayhab 40 km far from Sana'a city. Qualitative approach was used to collect the data from (8) households heads migrated from rural areas into slums in Sana'a city (3 of them are females) and (2) households in rural areas intending to migrate to Sana'a and settle in one of those slums.

The study investigates the characteristics of households migrated to slums areas, the steps through which the household goes to take migration decision, the influence of origin and destination areas on the decision, the role of migrant networks in stimulating further migration into slums areas and the evaluation of the migrated household for the taken decision.

The main outcome of the study is that multi factors, social and economic, play a crucial role in motivating rural household to migrate and settle permanently in Sana'a city. The economic factors mostly push the head of household to migrate at first while social factors have more influence on decision of the whole household migration and settlement permanently in the city. The inter-familial issues including the disagreement between the wife and her mother-in-law or the non-adaptation of the urban-raised wives to the life in rural area have significant impact in pushing the whole household to move to city. Besides, the migrants networks have a quite large influence in the household migration decision through facilitating the settlement, providing information on employment and housing and inducing further migration through visits and phone conversations.

The study also shows that the migrated households evaluate their decision to migrate positively while the fear from losing comfort and freedom if return to rural areas make women more opponent to the idea of returning back.



# CHAPTER 1

# INTRODUCTION

## 1-1 Background

The Republic of Yemen is located at the southern part of the Arabian Peninsula in the south-western part of Asia. It is bordered in the north with Saudi Arabia, in the west the Red Sea, in the east the Sultanate of Oman and in the south the Arabian Sea. According to the final results of the general census for the year 2004, the number of population of the Republic of Yemen reached (19.685.161), and according to the evaluations of 2011 the total population reached (23.832.569). The population is growing at a rate of (3%) per annum, the male population represents slightly over 50% of the population. Yemen is also considered as a high populated countries in the Arab peninsula in comparison with the surrounding countries and has one of the highest rates of fertility in the world (5.2).(World Fertility Report, 2009)

Yemen is characterized by the diversity of climate and therefore is divided into three climate regions.

*The coastal plain region* which extends along the coast of Yemen alongside the Red Sea and Arabian Sea. The region is characterized by a hot climate throughout the year with high humidity and little rainfall ranging from 50-100 mm per annum. However, this region is considered as an important agricultural region and it contains many agricultural valleys especially Tehama plain.

*The mountainous highlands region* which extends from the farthest point in the north border to the farthest in the south in the form of mountain range. The region is the highest in the Arabian peninsula and contains a number of valleys. Agriculture is the main source of employment. The range of rainfall is higher in this region than in the other regions.

*The desert region* which is a sandy region descending from the mountainous areas and slopes down to the north east till the center of the Empty Quarter. The climate is characterized by high temperature, scarce rainfall and low humidity.

Yemen also has many islands spreading along the Yemeni territorial waters. The most significant ones are Socotra Island in the Indian Ocean which is characterized by the diversity of flora and fauna and Kamaran island which is the second biggest island in Yemen located in the Red Sea.

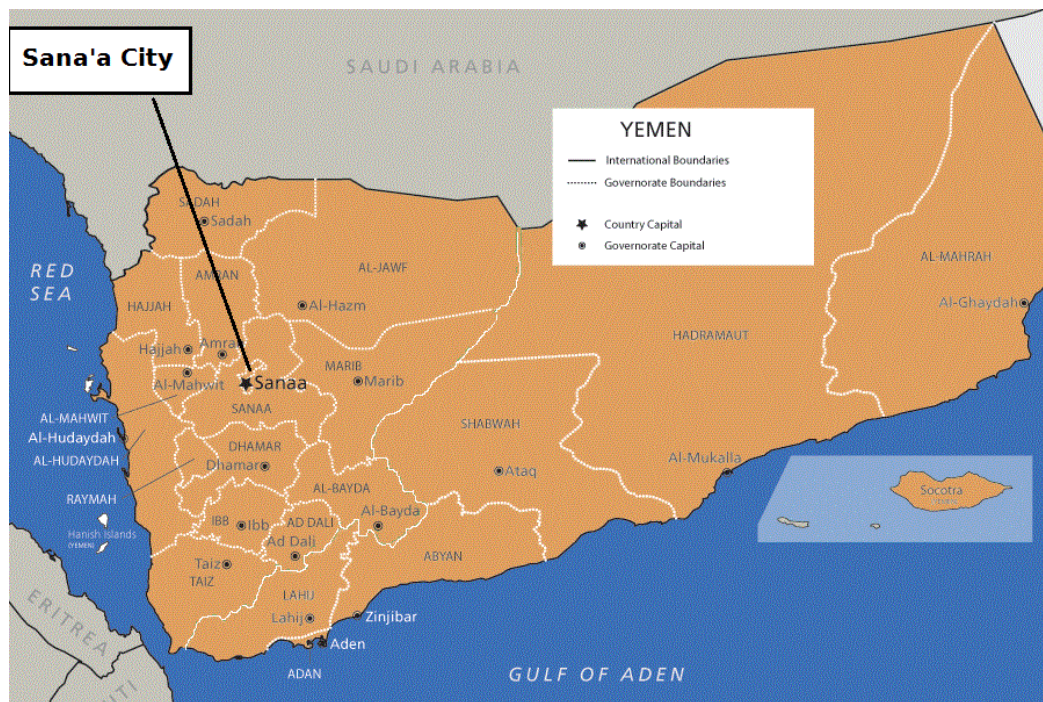
### Sana'a city

Sana'a city is the main area of research. It is the capital of Yemen and its population represents 8.9% of the total population of Yemen. It is divided administratively into 10 districts and contains the ministries, institutions, governmental departments and the foreign embassies and consulates as well as many commercial and industrial companies.

Sana'a city is located in the mountainous highlands region and its climate characterized by a moderate temperature in winter and in summer. The total areas of Sana'a city is about (390) square kilometres with a total population of (1,747,834) people scattered in ten districts namely Old Sana'a, Sho'ob, Azal, Alsabaeen, AL-Wehda, AL-Tahrir, Maeen, AL-Thawra and Bani AL-Harith (National Information Center, Yemen, 2013)

In recent years the population of Sana'a is increasing remarkably leading to the emergence of many slums at the outskirts of the city especially in Maeen and Bani Al-Hareth districts.

Figure 1: Map of Yemen with an indication to the location of Sana'a city



(Source: Garenegie, Endowment for International Peace, 2013)

## 1-2 Rural-Urban Migration in Yemen

Internal migration is a form of population movement inside the country within its territory. The population movement is associated with redistribution of economic, social and cultural activities. Internal migration is often characterized by the movement from areas with low economic situation to areas with better economic conditions whether from rural to rural areas or rural and urban areas (Bin Azoon, 2003).

The most prevailing type of internal migration in developing countries is rural-urban migration, from the rural areas into the main cities. Some people leave their village temporarily at the end of the agricultural season while others migrate permanently.

Yemen, as one of the least developed countries, has a high rate of rural out migration which has led to the concentration of its human resources in the cities. At the beginning of 1970s of the last century, Yemen witnessed a high rate of migration toward the main towns and cities as a result of the stability of the country after the civil wars that followed the revolution of 1962 (Al-Zogbi and Shoga Al-Dein, 2000). The stability of the country was associated with an improvement of the infrastructure especially roads that connect rural areas with cities, that contribute in increasing the rate of outflow into the cities. Such stability also contributed in creating many jobs in different sectors in cities other than agriculture which attracted many people from rural areas (Al-Doree, 2000).

The gulf war in 1991 also represents a turning point in the history of internal migration toward cities where more than one million of Yemeni migrants returned from gulf countries. Then, the surplus of workforce in rural areas associated with the big number of returnees from gulf countries increased the rate of migrations toward the main cities instead of the gulf countries (Al-Doree, 2000). The recent reports also indicate that the rural-urban migration is the main factor leading to the increase of

population in urban areas in Yemen which reached up to 32.9 % (Human Development Report, 2013).

### **1-3 Migration to the Capital City of Sana'a**

The capital city of Sana'a is ranked the first city in receiving migrants, the majority of them from rural areas according to the population census 1994 with 51,52% of the total number of internally migrants. It is also the most attractive city to rural migrants in Yemen according to Al-Zogbi and Shoga Al-Dein (2000) due to the concentration of governmental bodies, educational institutions and other facilities, and most of the business companies. The migration toward Sana'a witnessed an increase after the unification of North and South Yemen in 1990, where Sana'a become the capital of the two parts (Al-Doree, 2000).

The inflow of rural migrants to Sana'a city in the last two decades has led to the emergency of slums at the outskirts of the city which lack the basic services such as sanitation and water networks and create a pressure on the services provided by the government such as electricity, water, health and education services (Al-Shahari, 2007).

### **1-4 Problem Statement**

Migration theories assume that the individual usually move to another place with an expectation of being better off in the destination (Chi and Voss, 2005) but such expectations are not always realized. The rural-out migrants who move to the city sometimes end up in miserable situations facing multifarious problems such as overcrowding, inadequate housing, high rate of unemployment and crime.

The rural households move to the urban areas in Yemen especially to Sana'a city having in their mind that they will reach a high quality of life. Yet, many of them become more vulnerable in the destination. The household head may end up unemployed depending on the assistance provided by humanitarian organizations or working in marginal jobs with low wage, the children drop out of school, work in street as beggars, steal or join illegal works, the girls become vulnerable to prostitution in addition to the spread of infectious diseases because of the lack of sanitation and congestions in the living areas (Al-Shaharee, 2007; Khalid, 2010).

The high rate of rural-urban migration in Yemen and to Sana'a city in particular led to the emergency of slums at the outskirts and made a pressure on the services provided by the government and the humanitarian and developmental non-governmental organizations. The continuous inflow of rural households toward Sana'a city and the emergence of more slums made the government and non-governmental organizations incapable to provide the necessary services to those households which in turn increase their vulnerability. This also contributed in the deterioration of the agriculture sector due to the abandonment of agricultural lands and movement of the labour force into the urban areas.

The obvious disparity between the poor and rich in urban areas makes the poor feels severely deprived especially within the availability of services and commodities in the city in contrast to the rural areas (Al-Shahari, 2007). Such feeling makes the poor in urban areas more aggressive and more vulnerable to commit any illegal action to meet their basic needs, a matter that led to a high rate of crime in Sana'a city and slums areas in particular unlike in the rural areas where the social controls and solidarity among community members contribute in reducing the effects of poverty.

The Charitable Society for Social Welfare (CSSW), as a humanitarian organization whose mission is to contribute in the development and poverty reduction in Yemen through implementation of developmental projects and programs, provide its services to poor people in rural and urban areas. The services include food stuff distribution, microfinance services, health services and support children education through distribution of school bags and uniforms. Its services and activities in Sana'a city are concentrated on the slums areas located at the outskirts of the city in which the recently rural-out migrated households are settling. However, CSSW management feels that the provided services become less tangible within the continuous flow of rural households to Sana'a and emergence of new slums. This also enforces CSSW to provide only food aids rather than implementing developmental activities to improve their livelihood situations in a long term .

For this reason, CSSW wants to get a clear idea on how the rural households make their decisions to migrate to Sana'a city and settle in slums in order to contribute in reducing their outflow into Sana'a city and also to help in preparing its strategic plan for (2014-2017) in which it intends to expand its activities to reach more rural areas to contribute in their stability and improve their livelihood situation.

Moreover, all the previous studies on rural-urban migration in Yemen addressed the topic of rural-urban migration at large with a focus on the economic pulling and pushing factors using quantitative approaches which only gave breadth information, while this research is more specific through focusing on the migration of the whole rural households and settlement permanently in the slums areas at the outskirts of Sana'a city. The research uses qualitative approach to generate in-depth information on the rural-households decision making to migrate and factors that influence such decision with a focus on social factors.

## **1-5 Research Objective and Questions**

To give broad insight about the problem mentioned above, the research is aiming at exploring how do the rural households make decision to move to Sana'a city and settle in slums areas by examining the factors in the origin and destination places that motivate them to migrate in addition to the steps taken to make such decision.

With the above objective, the main research question is: how do rural households make decisions regarding their migration to Sana'a city and their settlement in the slums?

To answer this question, six sub-questions have been developed:

- What are the characteristics of rural households that have migrated to Sana'a city and settle in slums?
- What are the processes that they went through to take migration decision?
- How does the community in the origin areas influence rural household's decision to move to Sana'a city?
- How does the community at destination influence rural households decision to move to Sana'a city?
- What is the role of migration networks in the process of decision making?

- How do migrated rural households evaluate their current situation after settling in Sana'a city?

## 1-6 Definition of Concepts

**Community:** for the purpose of this research, the word community refers to the group of families, kinship, friends and acquaintances with whom the migrant interact (Faist, 1997) in both origin and destination communities.

**Migration network** is a set of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants and non-migrants in origin and destination areas through bonds of kinship, friendship and shared community origin (Massey et al. 1993: 448, cited in Haas, 2010).

**Household** is the social group which resides in the same place, shares the same meals, and make joint or coordinated decision over resource allocation and income pooling (Meillassoux, 1981; Ellis, 1993: Ch.1, cited in Ellis, 2000).

**Household head** is the person who exercises the authority to run the household and takes the decision on behalf of its members.

**Social capital** is defined as the social relationship that allows individuals to claim access to resources possessed by their associates and the amount and quality of those resources (Bourdieu 1985, cited by Haas, 2010). For the purpose of this research, social capital indicates to the resources of information or assistance that households obtain through their social ties to prior migrants.

**Human capital** refers to education, skills and health and is increased by investment in education and training, as well as by the skills acquired through pursuing one or more occupations (Ellis, 2000).

**Decision making** is the processes through which individuals select an action among several options. The processes consist of three phases, first the pre-decisional phase (consideration or intention), second is the phase after taking the decision (planning) and the third is the action phase in which the action is carried out. For migration decision making the three phases are considering migration, planning for migration and moving (Kley, 2010).

## 1-7 Areas and Focus of the Research

The research will focus on the households who already migrated or are intending to migrate the slums located at the outskirts of Sana'a city. The research will focus only on the voluntary and permanent migration of the rural households to urban areas. Any other kind of migration such as displacement because of war or conflict in the origin areas will not be considered in this research. The migration of individuals such as single youths or household breadwinners who migrate in a circular manner will not be part of this study.

## **CHAPTER 2**

## **LITERATURE REVIEW**

This chapter consists of two sections, first the theories on migration including neo-classical theories, push-pull factor, and social capital and migration network theories. The second section consists of two decision making theories, the rational choice and herd behaviour and informational cascades theories.

### **2-1 Migration Theories**

#### **2-1-1 Neo-classical Theory**

The core of migration and mobility according to the neo-classical theory is the movement of workers as a response to the imbalance in the spatial distribution of labour forces (Wood, 1981). The unemployment is the main trigger for people migration where they move from a place where the capital is scarce and labour is plentiful to place where labour is scarce and capital is plentiful. The theory also considers the wage differences between two geographic locations as a motive for people to migrate.

The theory explains the migration from economic perspectives. It considers migration as transition of traditional society into a modern one particularly in terms of rural urban migration. In other words, the modern or industrial sector induces more labour supply from the traditional/ agrarian/ rural sector to meet the need for more labour supply, keep the wage rate, the sustainability of large scale production and generate profit (Wood, 1981). Therefore, economic change is the key determinant of migration according to the theory.

The Harris-Todaro model and the human capital theory are both considered part of the neo-classical migration theory.

The Harris-Todaro model is the basis of neo-classical theory. It was developed to explain the ongoing phenomenon of rural-urban migration with the assumption that not just the wage differential between the rural and urban areas makes people migrate, but also the expected income and employment (Haas, 2008).

Human capital is a determining factor in migration decisions, as the qualification level correlates with the probability of finding a job and with the wage level at the place of destination. The human capital influences people's decisionmaking for migration from rural to urban areas. Moreover, the human capital theory assumes that only the high qualified group in the community is likely to migrate which helps in explaining of the neoclassical theory for the selectivity of migration (Haug, 2008).

The neo-classical theory was criticized by the inability to explain the processes and dynamics of migration. Its explanation is restricted by the wage differences and employment assuming that people are homogenous without any consideration to the uncertainty, cost, information and risk valuation to take migration decision (De Jong, 2002) in addition to the focus only on the individual as the main agent of migration decision making ignoring the role of household and society at large. Moreover, such theory does not take into account the specific-local conditions and omit the role of social ties and interaction which are important for migration decision making (Massery, 1990; Epstein, 2008).

#### **2-1-2 Push and Pull Factors**

The push and pull factors model is determined by the individual choice and equilibrium between the origin and destination areas. The model depends on two

main forces that motivate people to migrate. The first is population growth and the pressure on the available resources in the origin areas (push factors). The second is the development and economic conditions that attract people to the cities (pull factors) (Mabogunje, 1970).

Much more recently, Haas argued that the push and pull factors model could not be considered as theory. It is rather a descriptive model that reflects the separation between the factors leading to migration in an arbitrary manner. The model does not enable the researcher to assign weight for the different factors influencing migration decision making. It also ignores the heterogeneity of individuals and the different structure of societies. For instance, some people stay in their origin areas although the population is increasing and the resources are depleted which means that other forces come into play rather than push and pull factors (McDowell and de Haan, 1997). This could be the human capital which is ignored in the push-pull factors model (Haas, 2008).

Besides, this model is also criticized by its underestimating the migrants' agency, perception and aspiration. It analyses the migration in a linear manner without any consideration for the dynamics of the migration processes (Haas, 2008).

### **2-1-3 Social Capital and Migration Network Theory**

The social capital and migration network theory starts from recognising that economic factors may play a crucial role in motivating the pioneer migrants to leave their origin areas, however, new forces, migration network, come into play after the settlement of pioneer migrant in destination area (Haas, 2008).

The prior migrants play the role of "bridgeheads" through facilitating the flow of information back from destination to origin areas. Such a role reduces the cost, uncertainty, psychological cost and the risk of moving for the subsequent migrants and motivate the inflow of migrants from the same origin areas to the destination where the prior migrant settled. (Brown, 2002; Haas, 2008).

Social capital at the origin area is an important determinant in the migration intention and serves as push factor, for example in the case of the intra-familial conflicts or discrimination (Haug, 2008).

The pitfall of this theory is that it focuses on the personal relationship between the migrants and their origin communities and this is not enough to explain the process of migration. The theory also ignores the factors that may enhance or weaken the migration networks. Sometimes, prior migrants work as "gatekeepers" instead of "bridgeheads" especially when there is a saturation of migrants from the same origin community in the destination areas which inflates competition for the available jobs (Epstein, 2008). Only some groups get access to the resources of such migration networks and the other may will not have the same chance. Therefore, in this case network migration could undermine or prevent some people from migrating. This is likely to happen with international migration where many procedures should be carried out or facilitated by the prior migrants such as visas or job securing etc (Massy, 1990; De Jong, 2002; Haug, 2008).

The migrants, through networks and communication bring new ideas, behaviours, identities to their origin community. On the one hand, this could promote the entrepreneurship and improve the economic situation through financial remittances. On the other hand, this affects the perception and feeling of relative deprivation for the non-migrant people (Massey, 1990; Curran and Saguy, 2001; Brown, 2002). At the end, this may contribute in creating "migration culture" among the community

members not only to improve their income but also to keep themselves at the same 'level' with the other households in the community (Haas, 2008).

The household characteristics which refers to the household's well-being and satisfaction which arise not only from improvements in absolute economic status but also through comparison with other households in the reference community is a crucial factor in motivating to migrate (Massey 1990). Thus, the household may be motivated to migrate if its income is low relative to others in the community. The household may also opt for migration as income diversification strategy to minimize income decline risk or if the previous migrants from the same community acquire better earning through migration (Haug, 2008). Such a strategy is more likely for temporary not permanent migration.

Society has an impact on the individual behaviour and decision making. The people react in their context through everyday communication which can generate information and feedback from the migrants. The news and feedback from the migrants form a kind of data which the individual build on to make the migration decision (Massey, 1990). Furthermore, the society correlate with migration decision making from two sides, the first, according to Haug (2008), the social relationships which is connected to the actual place of residence significantly influences decisions. Migration takes place when a comparison of the outcomes of either staying at the place of origin or at the place of destination reveals the latter alternative to be more attractive. However, the place of origin ties persons to particular places, referencing goods which are not available everywhere, assuring that utility would be lost or diminished if the person were to migrate to another place. This means that a decision to leave implies that partial or complete loss of location-specific assets makes the individual evaluate the cost and benefit before taking the decision which is also confirmed by Curran and Saguy (2001) who stressed on "social embeddedness" as one of the determinants of migration decision making.

On the other hand, the social and cultural relationships determine the form of migration whether it is permanent or circular, the choice of destination where usually the migrants prefer to move to destination where there are relatives or kinship from their own society (Haug, 2008) or people with the same cultural background.

## **2-2 Theories on Decision Making**

In this section, two theories of decision making will be discussed which are related to the decision of migration: rational choice and herd behaviour theories.

### **2-2-1 Rational Choice Theory**

According to this theory, to take a decision, people are intended to weigh the consequences of each alternative options and choose the one that is the most advantageous for them. The person, who has two or more behavioural options, will evaluate the positive and negative outcomes of each option and then will rationally decide to select that option that generates maximum utility and minimize the negative consequences (Baanders, 1998). The theory assumes that all action is fundamentally rational in character and the people calculate the likely costs and benefits of any action before deciding what to do (Scott, 2000). The rational choice theory is also considered akin to neoclassical micro-economics as it regards to any action such as migration as rational action, maximising the individual's net benefits (Todaro, 1976, cited in Haug, 2008).

The theory was subjected to criticism by several authors. It does not consider the situational context, where in many circumstances the individuals have limited



behavioural options because of certain situational constraints that compel them to select the option that yields only suboptimal utility (Baanders, 1998, cited in Haug, 2008). Moreover, the individual may be obliged to select a behavioural option based on a choice made earlier in his life. For instance, a person may choose to move from the village to the city because he studied banking sciences and consequently he will not find a job in the village. In this case the person is compelled to choose moving to the city option as a consequence of the earlier made choice to study banking sciences.

In some situations, the "satisficing" behaviour comes into the board instead of "maximizing behaviour". The people may select the option that makes them happy or satisfied even though such option generate less advantages and utilities (Simon 1957; cited in Baanders, 1998). For instance, the household head may take the decision to stay in the village with a low wage job rather than migrate to the city to get a high wage job because he feels happy to live with his family.

Some authors argue that the individuals may not be able to make a strictly rational choice because the person needs perfect knowledge and accurate information about the available possibilities around him and the consequences of the behavioural options. As a result, the individual may face a kind of uncertainty and confusion regarding the outcome of the options and thus the rationality and utility maximisation will not be reached (Fridman & Hechter, 1988 cited in Baanders, 1998). The authors argue that the individuals in such situation may select the option based on the socially accepted behavioural patterns and normative regularities, i.e. the option that can be regarded as a right decision by the society will be selected (Fridman & Hechter, 1988; Lesthaeghe & Moor, 1992; cited in Baanders, 1998).

The theory is also deemed as an overly individualistic perspective which claims that individuals are highly autonomous actors. It omits that individuals are embedded to a social context and thus are faced with a set of normative prescriptions created by their societies (Baanders, 1998). Moreover, the individuals sometimes direct themselves toward the actions that are frequently observed and familiar within the society as cited in (Baanders, 1998, p.35):

*Furthermore, Meyer (1988) feels that not all actions can be viewed as a result of a conscious decision-making. Sometimes it is no more than a taken-for-granted behavioural option common to the social background of the individual. The social environment offers the individual a more or less restricted "decision environment" (McNicoll, 1980), and this brings individuals to orient themselves toward specific courses of actions that are frequently observed and thus familiar.*

### **2-2-2 Herd Behaviour theory**

The herd behaviour is a decision model in which the decision maker looks at the decisions made by previous decision makers in taking her or his own decision, i.e. people will do what others are doing discounting their private information to follow the 'herd' (Banergee 1992, Epstein 2002).

The theory suggests that the first person took his or her own decision in a rational way based on accurate information and the received signal. The second person may also take the same decision and depends partially on her own signal and private information. Thus, the subsequent decision makers will also choose the same options or take the same decision of the two previous decision makers discounting their own information (Banergee 1992).

The herd behaviour theory is used in migration to explain the clustering of migrants from the same origin area and the relocation in one destination areas. According to (Epstein 2008, p.3), it implies that the migrant to select one destination rather than another, thinks in the way of *'I will go where I have observed others go, because all those who went before me cannot be wrong, even though I would have chosen to go elsewhere.'*

The pitfall of this theory is the omitting of that each person may know the entire history of choices made by the prior decision makers, and in this case the person may take his decision based on a rational choice.

## CHAPTER 3

## METHODOLOGY

### 3-1 Research Strategy

For this research project a qualitative approach was used including individual interviews and observation. The approach consisted of two case studies, the first case was held in two areas in Sana'a city (Madbah and Wadi Ahemen) where (8) male and female households heads were interviewed (3 in Madbah and 5 in Wadi Ahmed). All the selected households settled recently in Sana'a city and have no official job or stable income source in Sana'a. The two areas represent the slums in Sana'a city in which the recently rural-out migrated households are living. The households heads were asked to tell their stories on migration followed by probing questions. Conversations were also held with CSSW field coordinators in both areas to get more information about the current situation of households living in the study areas and the problems prevailing among them. The data generated from the two areas is presented together because the researcher did not find any significant difference between the households in the two areas.

Story telling method was part of qualitative approach used in this research because it is more empathetic and interactive (Chambers, 2007) and made the respondent feel more comfortable to talk about his/her life. The researcher start the interview by listening to the households migration stories and then open-questions were asked based on that. The researcher also shared part of his own story on migration with the respondents to facilitate the engagement of the households heads in informal and flowing conversation. Open-ended questions through checklist (Annex No. 2 ) were also used during the interviews to facilitate the researcher getting more details and unraveling as much as possible of information about the households' story.

All the interviews with the male household heads were conducted individually while the interviews with female households heads were conducted with the help of Mrs. Aum Abara'a, the wife of CSSW field coordinator in Wadi Ahmed. She has experience in interviewing women and conducting need assessment surveys for the female-headed families in the areas. She also had good relations with the interviewees which made them feel free to talk about their stories. She helped the researcher through transforming the questions asked by the researcher into words understandable by the interviewees as she speaks the same dialect. She also interpreted the words which the researcher could not understand. The engagement of a female assistant in the interviews with female households heads also helped the researcher to get more information about the influence of women on decision to migrate and the familial issues which the men may feel shy to talk about.

In order to know more about the processes through which the household goes and the factors that could hamper taking decision to migrate, second case study was conducted through in-depth interviews with two households in the rural areas. The two selected households were from Bait Mahyab, a village located 40 km far from Sana'a in Bani Matar district. According to the village inhabitants, this village witnessed a high rate of migration among households to Sana'a city in the last two decades. One of the selected household intended to migrate but the decision was cancelled at the end, the other household is planning to migrate to Sana'a city in the coming days. The two households were selected because they were intending to migrate to Sana'a and settle in one of the research study areas in Sana'a city (Madbah). The researcher visited the village and stayed there for one day during which he interviewed the two households, talked with the villagers and observed their daily life activities.

*Figure 2: Interview with one of the female households heads in Wadi Ahmed area.*



To get an insight into the current situation of the rural-out migrating households and their livelihood conditions, an extensive observation was made in the three research areas. This also enabled the researcher to compare between the information generated from the households and what is on the ground.

Desk study was also used in which the researcher explored the latest materials including articles, national and international reports and other publication on rural to urban migration, decision making and the situation of poor households living in slums in Sana'a city.

### **3-2 Data Collection Method**

The researcher used in-depth interviews as the main method to collect data in addition to the observation during the visit of the households. Informal conversation with CSSW field coordinators who are living in the same areas was also used. Data about the problem and conflict issues among the households living in slums was also generated through an informal conversation with the people living in the study areas.

### **3-3 Sampling**

In the first case study, the sample was 8 household heads: 5 males and 3 females. All the three female households heads were selected from Wadi Ahmed area because of high rate of female-headed households living in the area whether due to the death of the husband or divorce. The researcher did not investigate the reasons behind such high rate but the affordable housing cost in the areas could be the reason. The male households heads were selected from the two areas, 3 households heads from Madbah and 2 from Wadi Ahmed.

The selection of households was done in consultation with CSSW field coordinators in both areas based on the criteria formulated by the researcher which included that the household has already moved permanently from rural area to Sana'a city within the last three years and is living currently in one of the two study areas. It is also one of the low income households or has no stable income source in the city.

The scope of the sample selected from Wadi Ahmed in Sana'a city was broadened from 3 households into 5 households as a result of the selection of female households heads only from this area and to ensure a suitable representation of female households heads in the sample.

The sample of the second case study included individual interviews with only 2 households from rural area. The first interview was with household intending to migrate to Sana'a city and settle in one of the slums areas (Madbah) which helped the researcher to get more information about the processes through which the household goes to take its decision to migrate. The second interview was made with a household who intended to migrate but the decision was cancelled at the end which enable the researcher to generate information about the factors that can hamper rural households from taking decision to migrate. The two interviewed households were from "Bait Mahyab" village and were also selected with the help of CSSW staff working in Bani Matar district in which the village is located.

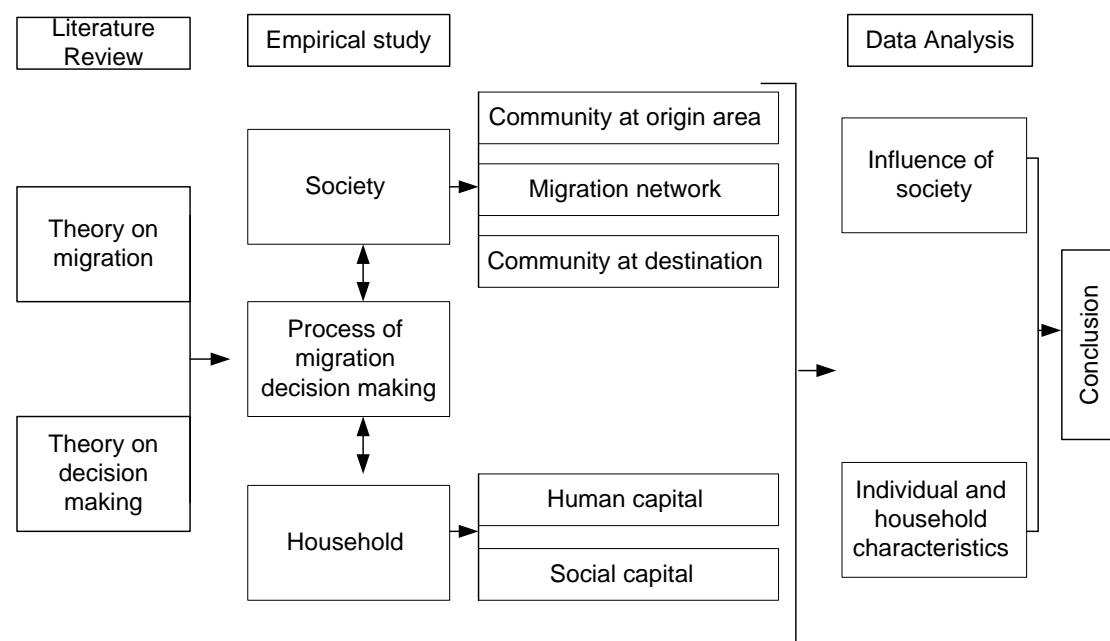
### 3-4 Data Analysis

Data gathered through observation and conversation with CSSW staff and informal conversation with the areas' inhabitants was used in describing the study areas and the current situation of households.

Data gathered through the interviews and listening to stories of the households heads was used to analyse the characteristics of rural migrated household, the influence of communities of origin, destination areas and migration network on the household decision to migrate and how do the migrated households evaluate their decision with hindsight.

### 3-5 Research Framework

Figure 3: Research framework



### **3-6 Validation and Cross-Checking**

During the interviews, the researcher registered the phone numbers of interviewed households heads and communicated with them later during the analysis process for cross-checking and to get additional information. Regarding the female households heads, who have no phone, the researcher communicated with the female assistant, who in turn contacted them for additional information. This helped the researcher to generate additional information about the households stories and compare between them.

### **3-7 Research Limitations**

The research work field was during Ramadan (holy month for Muslims) where the people fast during the day which made the atmosphere less conducive to conduct interviews or tell stories. Some interviews were made during the night which makes it difficult to observe the housing and living condition of the respondents especially within the cut-out of electricity in Wadi Ahmed area. Additionally, due to the coordination through CSSW staff and the coincidence of field work with Ramadan in which, as a religious ritual, the rich people help the poor, the households were expecting assistance from any person wanting to visit them whether through giving them cash money enough to buy food or clothes or in-kind foodstuff. The researcher also intended to avoid the ethical aspect of paying money to get information. Therefore, a number of households refused interviews unless they get assistance which took a long time and effort to convince them to make the research interviews.

The dialect of some respondents which is different from the dialect spoken by the researcher made it difficult to understand some words. The researcher addressed this issue through communication with his acquaintances from the same origin areas of the respondents to clarify the meaning which helps the researcher to get a complete insight into the stories of interviewed households and motivate him to probe for additional information in the cross-checking phase.

The results of the study depends on the opinions and experience of small number of households heads. Therefore, the results cannot be generalized to all rural households migrating to the slums in Sana'a.

The coordination through CSSW organisation staff to meet the households might have made some people feel that the interview was a process of assessing their needs. Therefore, they may have exaggerated some information or minimize their income and livelihood sources which may affect the reliability of their information on their livelihood situation.

Moreover, the refusal of two female households heads to record the interviews made it difficult for the researchers to grasp all the provided information since at that moment he only depended on taking notes.

### **3-8 Ethical Issues**

In order to make sure that respondents knew what they were being asked to do, the researcher introduced an informed consent form (Annex No. 1) which included information about the study. The same information also was given verbally to illiterate respondents. To ensure the respect to the society traditions, the researcher

coordinated with a women to help him in conducting interviews with female households heads.

The information gathered from this study are used strictly for the scientific purpose and the households heads names are kept anonymous. The recordings of interviews destroyed after the completion of the study.

### **3-9 Epistemological Awareness**

The researcher was born in a rural area in Yemen and lived there for about 16 years. His experiences with the life of rural households and their migration into the cities may influence the formulation of questions. This might lead the researcher to ask many subjective questions and probe for more details which may exceed the study limit. Such experiences may also influence the analysis of the results and the interpretation of the respondents' words.

## CHAPTER 4

## FINDINGS

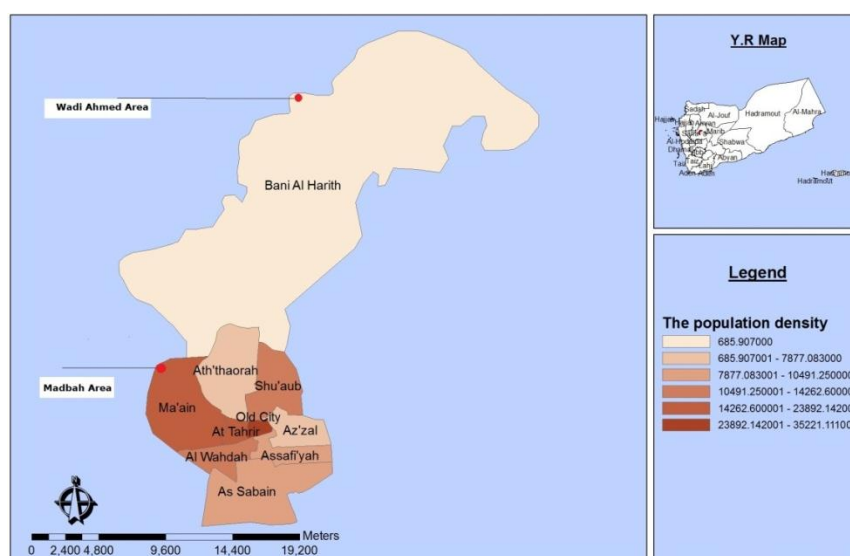
This chapter will include the findings of the field work in five sections; in section 4-1, the study areas will be described based on the official statistics and the observations from the author. In section 4-2, the characteristics of migrated household to the slums at the outskirt of Sana'a city will be outlined including size of household, education, livelihood and employment, housing, health status and land in origin areas. In section 4-3 the reasons for migration are presented including economic reasons, societal and household pressure, utilities and low access of humanitarian organizations into rural areas. In Section 4-4, the role of migration networks will be discussed, consisting of communication and feedback by prior migrants, facilitation of migration processes and selection of destination areas. In Section 4-5, evaluation of the households for their decision to migrate will be given, where the evaluation of the current situation and the willingness to return to the origin areas will be outlined.

### 4-1 Description of the Study Areas

#### 4-1-1 Madbah Area

Madbah area is located in the northern-west of Sana'a city. It is bordered by Sana'a university and Sonainah area from the south, Al-Andalus area from the east, Shamlan area from the north, and Al-Kamseen street from the west. The area is also called Al-Laeel city (night city) and is the main slum in Maeen district in which the rural-out migrants are gathering. It is called the night city because the houses are built during the night in a random way to escape from government regulation for construction. Most of the inhabitants are migrants from rural areas. The area is characterized by high poverty rates among people and lack of sanitation services.

*Figure 4: Map of Sana'a city illustrating the study areas (Madbah and Wadi Ahmed)*



Source: NIC-Yemen 2013

According to the report of population census 2004, the total population of Madbah area is 2782 households, 10760 males and 8027 females. The area is characterized by its mountainous topography where the houses were built on the mountain in a random way which prevents the access of many services to the area such as public sewerage and drinking water network. Some of the streets in between the buildings are blocked while the ambulance or fire truck cannot reach some houses. During the author's visit to the area, observation were made that the children and elderly men



and women were collecting water from neighboring water pumps and the overflow of sewerage water noticed in front of the houses.

Most people living in the areas are working as peddlers, construction workers and cleaners, which all depend only on the daily wages without any contracts. Some of them are soldiers.

#### **4-1-2 Wadi Ahmed Area**

Wadi Ahmed Area is located in the north part of Sana'a city in which many poor households who come from rural areas are gathering, especially from Mahwait, Hajja, Raimah and Dhamar. It is bordered from the north with Sana'a International Airport and the Air Defense Camp and Qat<sup>1</sup> farms from the west in which some of the area inhabitants work as qat harvestmen. The main entrance to the area is through a narrow and crooked street with 10m width while secondary streets in between the block are narrower, in some places the width does not exceed 3 m. The garbage is accumulated on the roadside of streets and the sewerage water overflows on the street. The rural culture is dominant in the area which is reflected in the design and materials used in houses construction and the relationship and communication among the people.

The nature of the area is flat and as called wadi (valley) where the rainfall water accumulated from the neighboring areas in this area leading to flood and damage of the houses. There is pressure on the demand for electricity where only a small number of houses are connected legally and the majority of houses are connected illegally which make pressure on the electricity transformer. This sometimes leads to electricity cuts for more than two weeks continuously.

Most of the area inhabitants are poor depending on the daily wage work while some of them work as soldiers in the neighboring air defense camp. The people who depend on the daily wage works stay unemployed most of the time. According to CSSW field coordinator in Wadi Ahmed area, about 15% of the households in the area are female-headed whether due to the death of the husband or divorce. Most of the female households heads work as beggars in the street with their children and depend on the assistance (Sadakah) provided by humanitarian organizations or the businessmen and rich people in Sana'a city.

The services in the area are low, for example the health services are provided only by one clinic and one small health center constructed by a humanitarian organization. This center works only one shift (from 8 am till 2 pm). The area is not connected to the public water network. The water is provided to the houses by water truck from the artesian well located in the neighboring qat farms which costs (2000 YR/10€) per truck.

With regard to education, there is only one primary school with limited capacity according to the area inhabitants. The high density of students in the school makes the environment less conducive to education and increases the high drop out among the children. Some households' children stop going to school after completing primary school because of unavailability of high school in the area and the inability of the household to afford the daily cost of transportation to the place in which high school is located.

Conflicts usually occur among the area's inhabitants on the lands and the places in which they drill latrine holes because of the narrowness of streets between the houses. The area also is subject to environmental pollution emitted from the bricks burning factories in the area next to Wadi Ahmed.

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<sup>1</sup> - Qat is a plant whose leaves are chewed for their stimulating effects. It is produced in a large quantity in Yemen.

Figure 5: Photo for the garbage accumulation in the roadside in Wadi Ahmed Area.



Figure 6: Photo illustrating the narrowness of streets in Wadi Ahmed Area

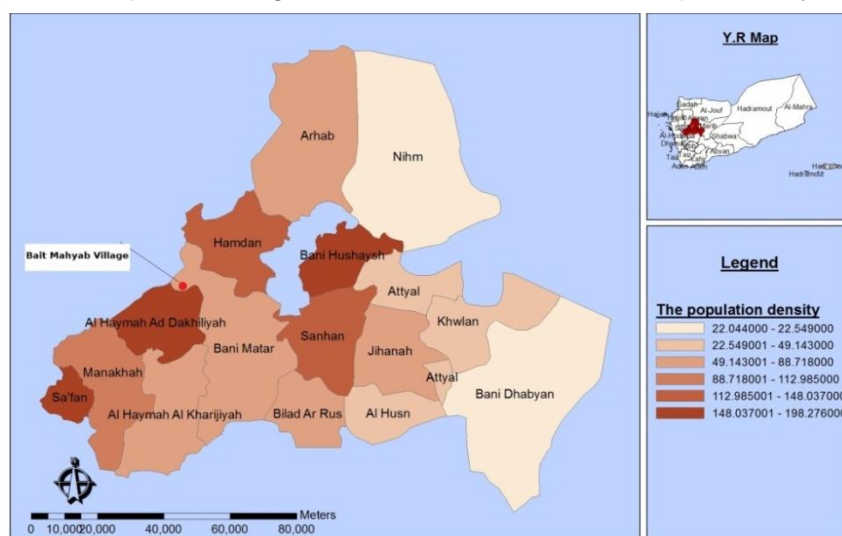


(Photos by the author, 2013)

### 4-1-3 Bait Mahyab Village

Bait Mahyab is a village located 40 km in the western part of Sana'a in Bani Matar district next to Jabal Al-Nabi Shouaib, the highest point in the Arab peninsula. The estimated number of households in the village is 40 about 350 people. Most of the houses were built using stones extracted from the mountains surrounding the villages. The people are working in rainfed agriculture and pasture. Recently, the people have started using artesian well and water pumps to irrigate their crops during the rest of the year. The crops cultivated in the village are wheat, corn, almond, garlic, beans, lentils, fenugreeks and maize. According the village inhabitants, about 14 households quitted the village in the last two decades and moved to Sana'a city which represent (25%) of the total number of the households.

Figure 7: Map illustrating the location of research area (Bait Mahyab Village)



Source: NIC-Yemen 2013

Figure 8: Shepherds in Bait Mahyab Village



Figure 9: Farms in Bait Mahyab Village



(Photos by the author, 2013)

## 4-2 Characteristics of the Households

Table 1: Characteristics of the interviewed households

Resp. No.	Sex	Destination area	Origin area	Educational level	No. of children	Enrolment of school-age children into education	Time since migration to Sana'a city
1	Female	Wadi Ahmed	Mahwait	Illiterate	5	Not enrolled	Three years
2	Female	Wadi Ahmed	Mahwait	Illiterate	4	Enrolled	Two years
3	Female	Wadi Ahmed	Mahwait	Illiterate	8	Enrolled	Three years
4	Male	Madbah	Hajja	Bachelor	7	Enrolled	Three months
5	Male	Wadi Ahmed	Mahwait	Illiterate	5	Not enrolled	Two years
6	Male	Wadi Ahmed	Raymah	Illiterate	4	NA*	Two years
7	Male	Madbah	Mahwait	Primary	4	Enrolled	Three years
8	Male	Madbah	Hajja	Student at university	4	NA*	Two years
9	Male	-	Bait Mahyab	Read and write	8	Enrolled	Migration Decision was cancelled
10	Male	-	Bait Mahyab	Primary	6	Enrolled	Intending to migrate and settle in Madbah

(\*) All the children are under-school age

**Household Size:** The size of interviewed households ranges from 4 to 10 individuals, parents and children as shown in the table above. 2 out of the 10 households contain two families. One household consists of two brothers with their families living together in one house and in the other the grandfather lives with his grandchildren together. Two of female households heads are widows living with their children while one is married and living with her husband who has infection in his eyes.

**Education:** From the total number of the sample, 5 out of 10 interviewed households heads are illiterate, 2 males and 3 females. All the interviewed female households heads are illiterate and only 2 male households heads who finished their secondary

school. Meanwhile, the school-age children of 2 households are not enrolled into education, while the children of 2 households are still under school age as illustrated in the table.

**Livelihood and Employment:** Most of the interviewed households heads who are living in Sana'a have no official jobs. They depend on the wages of their daily work or the assistance provided by humanitarian organizations or businessmen and rich people. 2 female households heads are not engaged in any income generating activities but one female household head has skill in embroidering that help in securing small income for the household. One of the female households heads also depends on the retirement salary of her deceased husband.

3 out of 5 interviewed male households heads living in Sana'a work in fields that do not need any educational background or specific skills such as qat<sup>2</sup> harvesting, carrying, cleaning and construction works<sup>3</sup> while one male household head, who settled in Madbah area three months ago, has an official job but in the village and is intending to go back alone for work in the village leaving his household in Sana'a. One is still student at university and works as taxi driver.

On the other hand, the two households heads who are still living in the village are working in their own land and they have poultry and livestock. The household that is intending to migrate to the city depends only on the income generated from the work in agriculture while the household that cancelled its decision to migrate has two of its children migrating to work in Sana'a seasonally.

**Housing:** The households who migrated to Sana'a city are living in small houses. The passages in between the houses and the streets are so narrow and not paved which leads to the spreading of dust all over the areas. Nine out of the ten interviewed households heads are living in rented houses. The respondent No. 5 added that sometime he cannot pay the rent, *I still owe the owner of this house the rent cost of 3 months. I have no money I could not pay.* Only one female household head has her own house which consists of only two small rooms for 9 persons.

The households heads buy water brought from the neighboring artesian wells by water tankers. It was also noticed that some households send their children to bring the water by hand. The accumulated garbage on the roadside of the streets and the overflow of sewerage water were observed in the two areas. The houses are built in a random way, roads in between are crooked and many streets are blocked.

The houses of the 2 households who are living in the village are more spacious. The houses are surrounded by the agricultural fields which are cultivated with wheat, corn, almond, garlic, beans, lentils, fenugreek and maize. The villagers fetch the water from the manual wells in the area using donkeys.

**Health status:** The respondent No. 1 indicated that her husband who is the breadwinner of the household is affected by eye ache and he cannot see well. The respondent No. 5 is suffering from disability in his left hand who stated that he feels pain if he works hard. He also indicated that his wife is suffering from chronic disease

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<sup>2</sup> - It is worth to mention that Sana'a is the first governorates in Yemen in producing qat where 22493.63 hectares of its arable land are cultivated with qat according to agricultural census 2002. Many of household heads in slums areas go daily to work in qat harvesting in the rural areas surrounded Sana'a city.

<sup>3</sup> - The interviewed households heads who stated that they work as construction workers indicated that they perform only the tasks which do not need any skills such carrying the materials, digging ..etc.

while the respondent No. 1 and 2 revealed that they were suffering from pain in their back and under the navel when they were in the village but now they feel better.

One clinic and one small health center constructed by a humanitarian organization working only one shift (from 8 am till 2 pm) provide health services to the people in Wadi Ahmed areas while in Madbah, there are many small clinics which its role is to provide first aids services in addition to many private hospitals but the people are complaining of the high cost charged by such hospitals. In Bait Mahyab village, there is no health facility, the nearest health center is located in the center of district, 30 km far from the village.

**Land in Origin Area:** 4 out of 10 interviewed households heads living in Sana'a stated that they have not yet gotten their heritage. 2 households heads indicated that they have not officially received their heritage but they got shares from the land as livelihood source while one household head sold his own land before migrating to Sana'a. Respondent No. 6 mentioned that the land of the family was delivered to his oldest brother who is still living in the village while respondent No. 7 revealed that the land in his origin area is a leasehold land and still under the management of his father.

1 out of 3 female households heads indicated that she has no land in the village, where the other two mentioned that they have not yet received the heritage.

The two households heads who are still in the village mentioned that they have land, one of them got his own heritage and the other received only a share from the land as livelihood source from his father.

## **4-3 Reasons to migrate**

### **4-3-1 Economic Reasons**

The 8 interviewed households heads in Sana'a city revealed that the economic reasons including lack of unemployment, small size of landholdings, lack of water and rainfall and reduction of agriculture production in the origin areas pushed them to take the decision to migrate as respondent No. 6 mentioned, *the rainfall has become low recently. This year, the people cultivated the land but it was not raining. The seeds spoiled. They cultivated once again but the seed time has already finished,* and confirmed by respondent No. 8, *Imagine, this year, till date there is no rain we are at the end of rainfall season. The people start selling their goats and sheep to meet the life requirements.* They also mentioned that the possibility of getting an official job or working as freelance in Sana'a city motivated them to migrate as respondent No. 6 stated, *Actually here [in Sana'a] I can find a job, sometimes I work in Qat harvesting, sometimes I work in construction but in the village, I cannot find such work.* The respondent No. (7) also mentioned, *I cover the deficit [in the house budget] through working over- time in the hospital or if someone wants to clean his house, I work for him as freelance.*

Likewise, the households heads in rural areas indicated that the low production of agriculture is the main reason for migration as respondent No. (9) said, *In the past, the income [from agriculture] was enough to feed my family but now it is not. Now, the size of my family increased and the price of goods has become high.* They also indicated that the lack of rainfall, the small size of landholding and the lack of opportunity to find jobs in fields other than agriculture, motivate households to migrate, as respondent No. (10) mentioned: *It is difficult to find a job [other than in the farm] here in the village, even though you have skills.*

Additionally, respondent No. 5, 6, 7, and 8 mentioned that the high transportation cost of people from Sana'a to their own village pushed them to settle permanently in Sana'a with their households.

#### 4-3-2 Societal and Household Pressure

The female respondents revealed that the disagreement and misunderstanding between them and their mothers in-law influenced their decision to migrate. Respondent No. 2 said: *In that period, (after the death of her husband) problems happened with my mother in-law. For that reason, I decided to move to the city to live with my brothers.* The female respondent No. 3 added that her mother in-law did not allow her son to move to a separate house in the same village, a matter that compelled him to move to the city.

Moreover, the respondent No. 3 mentioned that the workload and sufferance which she experienced in the village was one of the triggers that push her husband to take the household into Sana'a city, *One day, I went to pasture with my goats and to collect firewood, you know Malhan is a difficult area, many high mountains. I fell down from the mountain and laid down at the bottom of the valley. The villagers took me to the house on a bed. I was pregnant in that time and I delivered after 20 days... when my husband knew about the accident, he decided to take me to Sana'a. He said "it is enough for you to live such difficult life".*

Respondent No. 7 stated that the society in the village receives the migrants with high respect when they visit their origin areas, *I receive a high respect from the people. They make me feel as an important person. The people invite me to have a meal with them. 10 or 15 days is not enough to visit my village.* He also added that migration to Sana'a city become a "culture" among the young people in his origin area while the elderly people prefer to stay permanently in the village.

Respondent No. 8 and 6 mentioned that the non-adaptation of their wives who were born in cities to the life in the village had an influence on their decision, *after getting married, I lived in my village for a while and then disagreement occurred between me and my wife. She said that she cannot live in my village anymore as she is used to live in the city. Actually the life in my village is difficult for the original people, let alone the people who got used to live in city like my wife.*

Respondent No. 4, mentioned that making the decision to migrate out of the village into the city, was to escape from the pressure exerted by his brothers and tribe members to return back his niece by force to her husband. This was done under the pressure of *Qoblah*<sup>4</sup> while his niece declared that she will commit suicide if he enforced her to return to the husband. *I was under the pressure of Qoblah by my brothers and others from the village. For that reason I should go out of the village as soon as possible.*

On the other hand, respondent No. 6, revealed that the size of family undermine the migration decision of some households in his origin areas, *some people hope to migrate to Sana'a but they have big family, their parents are living with them.*

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<sup>4</sup> - Hajjar or qoblah and in some areas called Waslah is a tribal tradition. When the people ask someone for forgiveness or any other request, they come to his house with social personality recognized in the society and bring with them a goat or sheep as an appreciation for that person. It is a shame and it is not accepted among community members if the person refuses their request.

### 4-3-3 Utilities

The respondents No. 4, 7 and 8 stated that the lack of education services in the rural areas influenced positively their decision to migrate while respondent No. 4, who has a job in the rural area, mentioned that he will go back alone to the village for work and leave his household in Sana'a in order to give his children the opportunity to get good education. Respondent 7 also mentioned that the bad infrastructure of school and lack of staff in rural areas influenced his decision stating, *the building is so old, not enough classes. Imagine! we have only two teachers who teach pupils from 1<sup>st</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> grades in only 3 classes. Some students are taught outside.* Respondent No. 8 also said: *Only three teachers for primary and secondary classes. Some people, especially the well-off, send their children to Sana'a for study where some students particularly the poor, drop out of education and work in the farm.*

Respondent no. 7 also added the unavailability of high school in his origin area pushed the households to move to the city, *the nearest high school is located in the top of a mountain in the neighbouring area. The students spend at least two hours and half to reach the school on foot. They get a car during the day of the market, the rest of the days not.*

Respondent No. 6 revealed that the difficulty to transport the commodities to his origin area is one of the reasons that motivate him to take the migration decision saying: *My village is far away from the center of district and there are a lot of mountains. The last point that car reaches is far from my village by 3 km... We use donkeys,* was his answer to a question on how they transport the commodities to the village from the last point that car reaches.

Respondent No. 5 indicated that the sickness of his wife with a chronic disease that needs continuous treatment compel him to rent a house in Sana'a and move with the whole household. Respondent No. 6 also referred to the same, saying: *There is no hospital. If someone is sick, we carry him to the nearest point of the road and then we take him by 4 drive wheel car to Al-Hodeidah [city in the west of Yemen]. If you depart at 6 am, you will arrive at 12 pm.* Likewise, the households who still living in rural areas mentioned that they move to Sana'a for treatment as respondent No. 9 said: *if someone get sick, I take him for treatment in Sana'a*

The female respondent No. 1 added that the lack of water network which made her suffer to fetch water from distant areas compelled her to press on her husband to move to the city. *In my village there is no water. I spent a long time to bring water from far away. I went to the house of my father. I refused to return to my husband's house. I told my husband that I will not live anymore in village, if he wants me to live with him, he should take me out of the village.*

### 4-3-4 Low access to Rural Areas by Humanitarian Organizations

Respondent No. 5 pointed out that assistance provided by humanitarian organizations to the poor in the main cities influenced his decision to move the whole household to Sana'a city. *Here in the city we get assistance from charity people and humanitarian organizations, but in the village assistance does not reach the needy people. They provide assistance to the people in easy access areas, in cities not villages.*



## 4-4 Role of Migration Networks

### 4-4-1 Communication and Feedback by Prior Migrants

The respondent No. 6 mentioned that the regular visits by the prior migrants to the village influenced his decision, *those people [who migrate regularly to Sana'a] made Sana'a so attractive to us*, while respondent No. 9 added that the feedback sent by migrated women to women who are still in the village such as, *we are comfortable here in the city and you are still suffering from the workload of agriculture and grazing in the village, come to Sana'a, the life here is better-off*, has a great impact in motivating some households to take decision to migrate. Respondent No. 7 added that through his communication with the people from his origin area, he encourage them to quit the village and settle in Sana'a, *Last week, one of emigrants [from his origin area] in Saudi Arabia, phoned me. He consulted me about buying a car and invest it in transportation in the village. I told him "whatever you buy even a car model 2012 will not be feasible if you invest it in the village"*.

### 4-4-2 Facilitation of Migration Processes

Respondent No. 8 stressed on the role of prior migrants from his own village who arranged housing for him before he moved. One of his friends also secured an income source for him through hiring him a taxi to work on. Respondent No. 6 also mentioned : *One of my friends arranged for my trip to Sana'a and secured a job for me*. In fact, respondent No. 7 even suggested that the households who have no migration network to facilitate their migration are unlikely to migrate. *The youth in the village like to migrate whether to Sana'a or to Saudi Arabia. The elderly people like to stay in the village. However, the youth who did not find anybody to facilitate their migration to the city, they do not take the risk, they prefer to stay in the village*.

Respondent No. 7 expressed that one person facilitated his migration and then they both facilitated the migration of another 10-12 households from the same village to Sana'a by securing jobs for them in the same workplace. Respondent No. 1 also mentioned that most of their relatives also followed them and now all of them are living in Wadi Ahmed Area.

Respondent No. 7 added that he facilitate for the potential migrants to settle in the city by accommodating them temporarily till they arrange their settlements. *My sitting room is often occupied by the people who come from the village for treatment or looking for a job. I help them*.

Similarly, respondent No. 4 indicated that his cousin arranged for his settlement, *I moved to Sana'a to my cousin Mahmoud. I stayed in his house for 15 days. My cousin looked for a house for me here in this area because I did not know the city yet*.

### 4-4-3 Selection of Destination Area

5 out of the 10 interviewed households indicated that the prior migrants facilitated their settlement in the two destination areas (Wadi Ahmed and Madbah). The researcher also observed that most of the households living in those areas are from the same origin governorates (Hajja, Mahwait, Rayamah). The female respondent No. 2 indicated that her brothers arranged for her settlement in Wadi Ahmed area. However, respondent No. 5 mentioned that Wadi Ahmed is an area in which person can find affordable housing. *This is the area of poor people. You can get a house with monthly rent of 4000YR. In other areas the rent is more expensive*. Likewise,



respondent No. 1 mentioned that her husband rented a house in Wadi Ahmed because it is cheaper than other areas in Sana'a.

Furthermore, respondent No. 7 revealed that he chose Madbah area to live in because most of his workmates are living there and it is the nearest area to his origin areas (Mahwait) where most of the households migrated from Mahwait governorate are settling in. *This area is also located in the road line which connects Sana'a with Mahwait (the origin place of the respondent), so most of the people who come from Mahwait settle in this area.*

## **4-5 Evaluation of the Decision Making**

### **4-5-1 Evaluation of the current situation**

Most of the households in Sana'a answered that although their situation is bad, they feel that it is better than the life in the village. Respondent No. 2 said, *the city is better than the village even though our living condition is difficult.* The female respondent No. 3 expressed her situation saying, *the life here is difficult. It costs us a lot of money but we feel comfortable, there is no work load like in the village where we work all the day without rest. I had a lot of problems and conflicts with my mother in law when I was in the village,* while respondent No. 8, is expecting that his life will be improved in the future after his graduation from the university who said, *but I hope my situation will improve after graduation from university.*

### **4-5-2 Willingness to Return to the Origin Areas**

Respondent No. 7 mentioned that he will return to the village if he gets job and if the education situation for his children improved. Meanwhile, the female respondent No. 3 said *I will never come back to the village, do you know that my mother in-law wants part of the house as heritage from her son. She [her mother-in-law] said she will marry me to another person if I come back to the village.*

Respondent No. 8, mentioned that he will not return back to the village because he will not find a job with his specialization in the village as he is studying accounting at university.

## CHAPTER 5

## DISCUSSION

The findings show that each household seems to have a unique story that can hardly be compared to others. These variations combined with the small numbers of respondents, makes it difficult to make an analysis and draw very general conclusions. However we still get important insights by discussing them and linking the results to the theories about migration and decision making. That is what we will do in this chapter, in order to put the study in a wider perspective and to find answers to the research questions.

The chapter consists of six sections. In section 5-1 the characteristics of households and its influence on migration decision will be outlined, section 5-2 will discuss the steps taken by rural households to migrate to Sana'a city. Then, 5-3 will talk about the influence of community at origin area, whilst section 5-4 will discuss the influence of destination areas on motivating the rural household to take the decision to migrate. Section 5-5 will talk about migration networks and its role in motivating the household to migrate and finally we present section 5-6 in which the evaluation of the decision and the current situation will be discussed.

### 5-1 Characteristics of the Households

Most of the interviewed Households heads who migrated to the two slum areas are illiterate especially in Wadi Ahmed area where all the respondent are illiterate. The results also showed that most of the interviewed households heads have no special skills neither their wives which makes it hard for them to find a specific job or get a stable income. The households also depend on the head of the household as the only breadwinner where the other members are not engaged in any income generation. The male heads of household have employment for which do not need any skill such as carryings, harvesting and some construction works and almost anyone can replace them which may explain their frequent unemployment throughout the year.

The situation of the female households heads who are all illiterate is more complicated. Most of them have no skills and are not engaged in any income generating activities which makes them depend whether partially or completely on the assistance of humanitarian organizations or sending their children into the street to work as beggars. This result is in line with the argument of Curran and Saguy (2001) that non-working women become more dependent on their husbands in urban destination areas and are more vulnerable in case of the death of husband.

Besides that, all the interviewed households are living in rented houses except the respondent no. 3 who has her own house but it is so small in comparison with the size of the household. Spending on rent cost reaches up to half of the households income as respondent No. 7 confirmed which at the end affects the other life requirements.

It has also been shown that the small size of family triggers the household to migrate as respondent no. 8 mentioned that many of the households heads in his origin area are willing to move to Sana'a but the big size of their families where their parents are living with them undermines their decision to migrate. This result is consistent with the argument of Harbison (as cited in Haug 2008) which indicates that the size of family influences the motive, the expectations and the incentive for migration.

Most of interviewed households still have their land in the village where they came from. However it is either still in the possession of their parents or its production is low due to the lack of rainfall and unavailability of water. Some of them indicated that

the share of land they got from their parents is small and not enough to feed their families.

From the above we see that the findings in this study seem to indicate that the human capital is not a significant factor to motivate those rural household to migrate to the slums in Sana'a city. This contradicts the human capital theory and neo-classical theories which suppose that the individual human capital characteristics decisively affect the migration decision and that the people who have skills or a higher educational background are more likely to migrate (Radu, 2008).

## **5-2 Steps in the Decision Making to Migrate**

Most of the interviewed households heads or their husbands in case of female households heads migrated to Sana'a alone and stayed there for a while till they found job, formed an idea about the destination, and selected the location of settlement. Then household reunification occurred after that as respondent No. 5 said: *Initially, I was working in this area before bringing my family from the village.*

The households heads who migrated together in the first time get helps from the prior migrants who arranged for their housing and settlement. The respondent No. 4 stayed in the house of his cousin in Sana'a for 20 days and then rented a house while female respondent No. 2 moved to the house of her brothers and stayed there for two months and then moved to a separate house.

In some cases, one single individual from the household migrates to the city and gets married with a women from the city. Afterward, the parents and the other members of the household join them, particularly if the parents become elderly and there is nobody in the village to take care of them as it is the case with respondent No. 6.

We saw in the above that the steps taken by that rural households to migrate to slum areas in Sana'a are first, the migration of the heads of households to secure a job and recognize the area and then the reunification of the whole household come after. The information about the destination areas to reduce the certainty and the cost of migration is gathered through the individual migration of the head of household at first and then the migration of the whole household follows based on the signal received by the household head. This seems to confirm the image that the chain of migration of those households involves two stages, the first stage is labour migration and the second stage is the household migration as it was described by Haug (2008). Haug also added the pioneer migration as the first stage which is more likely to be applied within international migration and not with internal migration.

## **5-3 The Influence of the Community of Origin**

The difficult topography of the origin area plays a crucial role in pushing the household to migrate. All the interviewed households are originally from mountainous areas with difficult topography as respondent No. 8 described it saying, *the government staff who came to our village in 2004 for population census said : "It seems that your grandfather committed a killing crime and escaped to this area so that no one can catch him"*. Such topography makes those areas remain remote with severe shortage in services.

It also appears there is a culture of migration among youth associated with the looking down on the work in agriculture also contributed in pushing the household head to look for a job in Sana'a city and then bring the whole household.

Furthermore, the households heads pointed out a wide variety of pushing factors that compelled them to take their decision to move to Sana'a which are summarized as follows:

**Lack of rainfall:** Most of the respondents indicated the low rate of rainfall in the recent years pushed them to move to Sana'a. They mentioned that the lack of rainfall led to the low production in agriculture and increased their unemployment. The change in the raining season which usually starts in July in Yemen also has an effect on the agriculture production and the household decision to migrate.

**Depletion of water stock :** As a result of the low rate of rainfall, the people depleted the underground water through drilling artesian wells in a random way to be used in agriculture. This led to the drought of many manual wells that the people use for drinking water as respondent No. 7 indicated, while respondent No. 1 expressed that the difficulty in access to drinking water in her origin areas was the main reason for taking the migration decision.

**Small land holding:** The results revealed that the increasing size of the households minimize size of land that each individual gets as heritage. The small size of land enforced the household head to search for other living sources in the city to feed their families. This also leads to the movement of the whole household as its stay in the village is less feasible with small land as respondent No. 7, mentioned, *my portion of the land is small. I am working hard but the crops are not enough. Now, I am intending to move to Sana'a with my household, it is better for them.* Respondent No. 5 also confirmed this result when he said, *The rainfall is also low and my land was small. I had only 15 libnah<sup>5</sup> which is not enough to feed my children. I sold part of my land to treat my wife, at the end I found that my land has become small and not enough to feed my children, so I decided to migrate to Sana'a with my whole family.* He also added that those who have quite large land and animals are unlikely to migrate.

It has also been shown from the results that the migrated households to Sana'a delivered their lands to their relatives who are still living in the village. This could imply that the appropriate size of the land contribute to some extent in the stabilization of some households in the village.

The above results are in agreement with what was mentioned in section no. 2-1-2: the pressure on the available resources (water and land) at origin areas pushes people to migrate.

**Unemployment and lack of production:** The dependency on agriculture as the only resource of livelihood in the rural areas whilst its production has become low due to the lack of rainfall and the depletion of underground water stock resulted in the high rate of unemployment as most of the interviewed households indicated. Moreover, the people who have skills in the fields other than agriculture do not find a job in the rural areas as respondent No. 10, who has skills in construction, mentioned, *It is difficult to find a job here in the village, even though you have skills. The people do not want to build new houses in the village.*

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<sup>5</sup> Libnah is a traditional land measurement unit used in Yemen. One libnah is equivalent to 44.44 square meters.

**High price of commodities:** The difficult topography of the origin areas of the interviewed households and the lack of roads that connect such areas to the towns contribute to the high price of commodities that reach the rural areas due to the high cost of transportation. Therefore, the high price of commodities that reach rural areas in coincidence with the high demand for commodities from outside the areas due to the low of agricultural production pushes the household to move to the Sana'a.

**Social customs and traditions:** The results revealed that some tribal traditions to which most of the Yemeni rural communities especially in the northern part of Yemen are still committed have a significant effects on the migration decision making. People who face any issue that contradicts with tribal traditions, migrate to the urban areas where the government rules are more likely to be applied. The case of Respondent No. 4 confirmed this information who migrated to Sana'a due to the pressure of a tribal custom called "qoblah" based on he was requested to return his niece to her husband by force.

**Familial conflict:** The rural community usually maintains the household for three generations where people live with their grandchildren in the same house. When a young man gets married, often he stays in the same house with his parents either because he is not completely independent yet or his parents want him and his wife to help them in agriculture and their daily tasks. This, in many cases, leads to disagreement between the wife of the son and her mother-in-law. This may push the individual to take the decision to move from the village to city with his own family to avoid such problem as female respondent No. 3 mentioned, *I lived in the house of my husband's parents. Every day there was problem.*

It has become evident from the results that intra-familial conflicts are one of the main reasons that push households in the rural areas in Yemen to migrate to the city which is in line with the argument of Haug (2008), who stressed that tight social networks at the origin place such as intra-familial conflicts within the community can serve as a push factor causing migration.

Furthermore, It seems obvious from the results that if there is a conflict occurring in the parent-in-law house it is always the women who are 'suffering' as all female respondents indicated that familial conflict had an influence on their migration decision. This also indicates the women press on their husbands to take decision to migrate in case of familial conflict.

Besides, the non-adaptation of wives who were born in cities to the life in the village creates a kind of instability and disagreement between the family members which at the end compels the husband to take the decision to migrate to cities as respondents no. 6 and 8 indicated. For full findings see section 4-3-2.

From the above, it seems that the intra-familial issues have a significant effect on the household decision making to migration which is in contradiction with the neo-classical theory assumption that the economic factor is the main reason for migration. The results also shows that neoclassical theory on migration cannot give an integrated explanation for the migration of rural households to slums areas in Sana'a city.

The above results also seems to be in disagreement with the assumption of rational choice theory, mentioned in Section 2-2-1, where the results have shown that those households have limited options because of certain situational constraints, the familial conflict and non-adaptation of urban-raised wives, that compels them to select the option that yields only suboptimal utility, to avoid the disagreement between family members and intra-familial conflict. However, the results are in line

with the argument of (Baanders 1998) in section 2-2-1, who criticised the rational choice theory by arguing that the people in many circumstances cannot take their decision rationally due to certain situational constraints that compel them to select the option that yields only suboptimal utility.

The results also revealed that some rural households select migration as the right decision regarded by society in case of intra-familial conflicts which again, contrasts with rational choice decision making theory and supports the argument of Baanders (1998), mentioned in section 2-2-1.

**Lack of utilities:** Shortage of services in rural areas particularly the areas with difficult topography enforces people to migrate to city in a permanent way. Most of the respondents confirmed that a lack of education services in their origin areas is one of the main causes for their migration. They reported that supply-side issue (no schools, no teachers) in rural areas which is in consistent with the results of (Poverty Assessment Report, 2007) conducted by the Government, UNDP and WB is one the causes that enforced them to migrate to the cities. Respondent No. 7, described the lack of development in his area as the situation is still the same as it was in 1962 before the revolution of Yemen, *There is no schools, no roads, no electricity, no water network in my area. The situation is the same as it was during the Imam regime (Imam was governing Yemen in the past, and then the revolution came to end up this regime in 1962).*

The lack of health services in the rural areas and the small town plays a crucial role in pushing the households to move to Sana'a city, especially the households that have one of its members affected by a chronic disease and needs treatment in a regular way. In case of the sickness of one of the household members, the households may reside with their relatives in Sana'a for short time but then if the period become longer, the household is more likely to take decision to settle in Sana'a. Lack of health facilities in the origin areas or even in neighbouring areas combined with the lack of transportation and the roughness of roads make the people suffering in transporting the patients to the hospital, *we carry him (the patient) to the nearest point that car reaches and then we take him to the hospital in Al-Hodeidah by 4 wheel drive car... if you depart at 6 am, you will arrive at 12 pm*, which in turn push them to move to city.

## 5-4 Influence of Destination Areas

The slum areas play a crucial role in motivating the people in rural areas to migrate with their households to Sana'a. The rent cost in these areas is cheap and affordable for low income households. Such areas are considered as the places of poor people as respondent no. 5 stated about his selection of Wadi Ahmed to settle in. The slums also consist of households from the same areas as it was observed in the field works where a majority of households settled in the two study areas are originally from the areas situated in the northern part of Yemen particularly Mahwait and Hajja. The gathering of households from the same origin areas in the destination created a conducive environment for these households where they share the same culture and dialect and transfer aspects of their rural life into the city. This is corresponded with Haug (2008) who argues that the social and cultural relationship determines the choice of destination as usually the migrants prefer to move to destination where there are relatives or kinship from their own society.

In addition to that, it was confirmed that, Sana'a city, the destination area, has many pulling factors that motivate the rural household to migrate:

**Employment:** As Sana'a city is the capital, most of the economic and governmental institutions are located there. A variety of jobs that people can find in Sana'a motivates them to move as respondent No. 6 expressed, *actually here (in Sana'a) I can find job, sometime I work in Qat harvesting, sometimes I work in construction but in the village, I cannot find such work.* Additionally, the households heads are more likely to work in the city as freelance more than in the village which enable them to diversify and increase their livelihood income. This is in line with what is mentioned in section 2-1-1, where the households migrated to the places where they can get more job opportunities as the neo-classical migration theory assumes.

**Education:** Availability of educational services in Sana'a city is another main reason for the households to migrate. Most of the interviewed households stressed that in Sana'a city their children can get good education. One of the households heads also linked his return to the village with the improvement of education. See section 4-3-3 for full information on this. However, education does not seems a motivating factor for some households which mentioned that its children are not enrolled into education.

The unavailability of high schools in some areas has an effect on the households decision to migrate as respondent no. 7 explained in Section 4-3-3.

**Health Services:** The concentration of private and public health facilities in Sana'a city makes it more attractive to the rural households than the other areas. The households where one of its members is affected by a disease that only can be treated in specialized hospitals and needs a long time treatment prefer to move to Sana'a city in permanent way to avoid the high cost of transportation from the origin areas to Sana'a city. They may stay in the houses of their relatives in Sana'a for a while but not for a long time. Moreover, the interviewed households heads who are still living in rural area confirmed that the lack of health facilities in their areas obliged them to move to Sana'a.

**Water Access:** Easy access to water in Sana'a city whether through public network or trucks providing water to houses is one of the reasons that attract rural households to migrate to Sana'a city. Respondent No. 2 confirmed that she quitted the village because of the lack of water and that she was spending a long time to bring water from far away while in the city it is easy to get water as she said, *yeah, here (in Wadi Ahmed area) I send my children to fetch water from the neighboring water pump. It is so near and for free.*

**Concentration of humanitarian organization's activities on the main cities:** The results show that the low access of humanitarian organizations to the rural areas in Yemen whether due to the security situation or the roughness of roads and the concentration of its activities on the main cities especially Sana'a city have a positive influence on the rural household migration decision, see section 4-3-4 for full findings on that.

## 5-5 Migration Networks

The findings in this study clearly confirm the positive influence of migrations network on the decision making process of the rural household to migrate to slums in Sana'a city. The role of migration networks can be summarized in the following:

**Facilitation and reduction of the cost and risk:** The prior migrants helped the subsequent migrants in arranging for housing and selection of the current areas for settlement as it is confirmed by the interviewed households heads who already migrated to slums areas in Sana'a. Respondent No. 10 who is intending to migrate also stressed the role of migration network in his migration plan and settlement in slums areas in Sana'a. This result is in conformity with the argument of Messay (1990) that migrant networks are one element of social context that strongly affects the migration decision through the cost side of the equation.

The results also reveal that the prior migrants play the role of "bridgeheads" through facilitating the flow of information back from destination to origin areas and the settlement in destination areas which is in consistent with the statements of Haas (2008), Haug (2008) and Brown (2002) and explained in section 2-1-3.

The migrant networks also play a crucial role in securing jobs for households heads as respondent No. 7 stated, *one day, one of my friends, told me that there is an opportunity to work as cleaner in one of the hospitals here in Sana'a*. This result is also in coincidence with Epstein and Hang (2006), who stressed on the role of migration networks in providing information about the labor market which may increase the expected wage and decrease uncertainty.

It also seems to work the other way around: respondent No. 7 confirmed that only the people who have relatives and friends that can help them to migrate are likely to take the decision to migrate where if they have no one to help them they will stay in the village. This also corresponded with what is mentioned by Haas (2012) that taking risk undermines some households' migration decision.

**Migration as innovation:** It has been shown that households who migrated to Sana'a city and settled in the slums areas play the role of the innovator who took the lead and then many adopters followed him as respondent No. 1 mentioned, *most of our relatives also followed us and now all of them are living in Wadi Ahmed Area*, and confirmed by the respondent No. 7 who indicated that one person facilitated his migration and then they both facilitate the migration of about 10-12 households from the same village to Sana'a by securing jobs for them in the same workplace. The migration of about 12 households from the same village to the same areas and same work place implies that the first person played the role of "innovator" who took the risk and entailed high cost for his migration at the first, *he [the person who facilitate his migration] migrated to Sana'a before me. He was working as peddler for selling perfumes. When the hospital was still under construction, he was in contact with the management. He went through interview and got a job as a cleaning worker*. This person then facilitated the migration of the subsequent migrants and respondent No. 7 was one of them. This result is in line with the argument of Haas (2010) that diffusion theory can explain the dynamics of migration where migrants can be subsequently categorized as innovator, early adopter, majority adopter and non-



adopter. The pioneer migrants play the role of the "innovator" and then the subsequent migrants can be classified within the other categories.

**Communication:** The feedback sent by the prior migrants and the visits to their origin areas had an impact on the rural household's decision to migrate to Sana'a city. The occasional visits of the migrants to their origin areas create a relative deprivation among the households who are still in the villages. As such matters motivate the people who are still staying in the rural areas to take the migration decision to achieve the goals achieved by the prior migrants. This result is again consistent with Haas (2012) who mentioned that the concomitant increases in inequality, relative deprivation and the social prestige attached to migration tend to increase people's aspirations to migrate. It is also in line with the argument of Arango, (2000) that relative deprivation, and the development of a culture of migration that stem from migration, induces in turn further migration. Moreover, it is in line with Massey (1990), Curran and Saguy (2001) and Brown (2002), who argue that the perception and feeling of relative deprivation for the non-migrant people contribute in creating "migration culture" among the community members as it is confirmed by respondents No. 7, *there is desire to move to Sana'a especially among the youth whether alone or with their families.*

Likewise, respondent No. 9 who cancelled his migration decision to Sana'a also stressed the influence of feedback sent by migration network stating, *during their [prior migrants'] occasional visits to the village, they talk about their life in Sana'a. They motivated me to migrate but my economic and social situation [lack of money and the big size of his family] prevent me from taking such decision.* He also stressed the influence of the daily telephone conversations between migrated and non-migrated women where the migrated women usually say, *we are comfortable here in the city and you are still suffering from the workload of agriculture and grazing in the village, come to Sana'a, the life here is better-off,* as he mentioned.

From the above results, it has become evident that social ties between women in the city and the village through frequent telephone contact and socialization activities during the visits of migrated women to the village have strong influence on the household decision to migrate. This also infers that technology in communication has an effect in increasing the social ties and communication between women in urban areas and women in rural areas through mobile phone which has become recently available in rural areas which facilitate more flow of information and feedback to the rural areas and in turn more influence on the rural household to take decision to migrate.

The results also show that migrated households heads to Sana'a city encourage the people to quit the village and invest their money in Sana'a city as respondent No. 8, expressed, *we also advise the people who have money to invest it in Sana'a.*

**Selection of the destination areas:** It has become evident that migration networks have indeed a significant influence on the selection of rural households for the destination areas as the migrants networks theory assumes in Section, 2-1-3. It was noticed that most of the households living in the two study areas, Madbah and Wadi Ahmed are from the same origin areas, Mahwait and Hajja that represents an evidence for the influence of migration networks in the choice of destination (Haug, 2008). Moreover, the idea of (Epstein and Gang, 2006) on the influence of others on

the plans of potential migrating households and the location choice has been illustrated by the results.

## **5-6 Evaluation of the decision to migrate**

***Satisfaction is more than about increased income:*** most of the interviewed households mentioned that their current situation is difficult from an economic perspective but they feel that the life in the city is better than in the village. The households that migrated due to familial problem also evaluated their situation positively without familial problems although their income decreased while some households indicated that they are satisfied with their current situation because their children get a good education.

On the negative side was the cost of living, as respondent no. 7 indicated that life in Sana'a city is costly and everything must be brought from the supermarket in contrast with the village where he can get many things from the land or livestock.

***Willingness to return to rural areas:*** None of the interviewed households have the intention to return back to their origin areas. Some of them indicated that they will return in condition that education services improve.

Results also showed that particularly women associate living in the city with comfort and freedom. The idea of losing that in case of return to the village made female respondents indicate that the life in the city is more comfortable, no workload, their health status improved. Apparently much and heavy physical workloads for women who live in rural areas such as faraway water fetching, grazing and firewood collection is behind the reluctance of women to return and also their influence on the household decision to migrate as it was mentioned in Section 5-3.

The loss of freedom in case of return to the village is also behind the reluctance of return by women as respondent No. 3 stressed, see section 4-5-2. This result is in correspondence with the argument of Curran (2001), who pointed out that women are unlikely to support household return to the origin areas because they realize it entails the loss of newfound comfort and freedom. This also implies that women in general, for different reasons and in different ways, have quite a large influence on the whole decision of households to migrate, and to stay once they have migrated.

## CHAPTER 6 CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter will draw conclusions based on findings and discussions as presented in the previous two chapters, regarding the two case studies with rural households who migrated and settled in the two slum areas, or who intended to migrate to Sana'a city. As such the conclusion also intend to present answers to the research questions. After the conclusions the chapter will finish with recommendations.

### 6-1 Conclusion

The study shows diverse characteristics of the households living in the slums areas in Sana'a which makes it difficult to make general statement on that. However, the illiteracy and unemployment among the households heads is prevailing in the slums areas especially in Wadi Ahmed Area.

The study revealed that the economic factors including unemployment and low agricultural production in rural areas push the heads of households to migrate to the cities looking for a job in the first stage. Afterwards, other factors play a crucial role in motivating the whole household to migrate in a permanent way to Sana'a city. These push factors include familial conflicts, lack of utilities especially the education services and health facilities, less landholding, tribal and societal traditions and the low access of humanitarian and developmental organizations into the rural areas and more concentration on the urban and easy access areas.

It was also confirmed that the difficult topography of rural areas in the northern part of Yemen combined with the lack of services and facilities push the households to quit their villages and move to Sana'a city.

Besides, it was shown that women have quite a large influence on the migration decision of the whole household. The workload that women have in rural areas in combination with potential suffering from any intra-familial conflicts at the husband parents' houses, are behind such influence.

Migration networks influence positively the migration of both the head of the household at first and also the reunification of the household and settlement permanently in Sana'a city after that. The role of migration networks has a direct and indirect influence. The direct influence is through reducing the cost and the risk of taking the decision to migrate by providing information about the destination areas, securing job for the head of the household and arranging for housing in the destination areas. The indirect influence takes place during communication or visits of prior migrants to their origin areas which sometimes create a so-called relative deprivation among the non-migrants in the village and motivate them to take the decision to migrate. The migration network also has a significant impact on the selection of the two slum areas for settlement where most of the households in the two slum areas are from the same origin areas.

The study found that already migrated women also play a crucial role in influencing the decision of other households to migrate to Sana'a city through the socialization activities held during their visits to rural areas and frequent phone conversations. Such role also increases with the spread of using mobile in rural areas recently.

The results also revealed that the existence of slum areas in Sana'a city leads to further migration of the rural households who have no stable income or official job in Sana'a city as these areas provide them with cheap and affordable housing.

Despite their difficult living situations, the study found that the lack of development and services in their origin areas especially education services is behind the positive evaluation of the rural households for their migration decision. The results also found

that the workload and the little freedom that women experienced in rural areas make them strongly support the taken migration decision and as a result, at least as much as the men, makes women reluctant to the idea of returning back to their areas of origin.

## **6-2 Recommendations**

Based on the outcomes of the study, the researcher suggests the following recommendations for both government and non-governmental organizations to contribute in reducing the inflow of more rural households into cities and to Sana'a in particular and also to improve the situation of the households living in slums areas:

More focus in building roads which connect the rural areas with difficult topography to the main towns could enhance the access of rural household to more services with reasonable cost and contribute to their stability in their origin areas.

The support of educational facilities in rural areas through providing sufficient staff and establish more high schools in rural areas could contribute in reducing the high inflow of rural households into Sana'a city who are looking for a good education for their children and also will reduce the density of students in the public schools in Sana'a city.

Establishment of health facilities especially hospitals specialized in treatment of the chronic diseases prevailing among rural communities and also encouragement of the private sector for investment in health in the small towns could contribute in reducing the pressure of rural households migrating to Sana'a for treatment.

More support to the agriculture through providing improved seeds that resists the drought and continuous extension services could contribute in increasing the agriculture production combined with more encouragement and facilitation by the government for private sectors to invest in rural areas and small towns could create an equilibrium in employment between rural and urban areas.

Scarcity of water in rural areas with difficult topography which pushed many households to move to the city could be reduced through building water reservoirs to collect rain water during the rainfall and to be used in the rest of the years. The difficult topography will make it easy to build such reservoirs with reasonable cost which will in turn contribute in increasing water access and improving the agriculture production in the rural areas.

Moreover, implementation of development projects at grassroot level in rural areas by NGOs with focus on gender equality, income generation and illiteracy eradication among women could contribute in diversifying the income of rural households, minimize the familial conflict and in turn motivate them to stay in their areas. On the other hand, vocational trainings for the female households heads in the slum areas could contribute in improving their livelihood situation and reducing their vulnerability.

Finally, more awareness activities to combat the negative tribal traditions among rural communities especially those which contradict with human rights associated with more enforcement of government law could contribute to creating a safe environment for some households to stay in rural areas.

### **Recommendation for further research**

The study found that women have significant influence on the decision of the whole household to migrate and are more reluctant to the idea of returning back to the village, further research on such influence and the factors behind such reluctance is needed to get more insight into the role of women in migration of the household into cities.

The study revealed that some households take their decision to migrate to escape from the commitment to tribal traditions to which the rural community especially in the northern areas of Yemen are still faithful, further research on such traditions and its influence on the rural household to move out to the city is recommended to get more insight on the influence of society on the household decision to migrate into city.

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# ANNEXES

## Annex 1 : Informed Consent Form

You are invited to participate in the interview for the research on decision of rural households to migrate into cities, a case study in Sana'a city, conducted by a master students of Van Hall Larenstein. You were selected as a possible participant in this study because you are the head of rural household already migrated or consider migration to Sana'a city. If you decide to participate I will listen to you story since you start thinking on migration till date and ask several questions after that. I will tape your story and answers and the recordings will be destroyed at the end of the project. The whole interview will not take more than two hours. the interview will be recorded by phone.

This research is part of the requirement to obtain master degree in rural development management from Van Hall Larenstein University in the Netherlands. The information will be treated as highly confidential. The result from the research will be used strictly for academic purposes.

If you have further questions regarding this research please do not hesitate to contact us through [validabdullahfarhan.mahuob@wur.nl](mailto:validabdullahfarhan.mahuob@wur.nl) or [validalshamiri@hotmail.com](mailto:validalshamiri@hotmail.com), Cell: 77744163

You are making a decision whether or not to participate voluntarily.

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Participant's signature

## **Annex 2 : Interview Checklist**

### **Background information:**

Name of the household head (optional):.....

Address: .....

Date of migration to the Sana'a:.....

Number of household members: ..... Male..... Female.....

Income sources:.....

Name of origin areas: .....

### **Migration decision making;**

#### **Household:**

- What is the educational background of the household head and the other members of the households?
- Do you or any of the household members have any vocational skills? If so, what kind of skills?
- Are all your children enrolled into education? If not, how many are not enrolled and why? (male and female)
- Do the household members help you in taking the decision to migrate?

#### ***Community at origin areas:***

- What are the reasons that made you leave your origin rural area?
- What was the reaction of the origin community with your migration?
- Are there prior migrants from your origin community? If so, did they migrate to Sana'a or to other areas?

#### ***Migration decision making processes:***

- What are the steps that you took to migrate?
  - How did you get the information about the destination areas?

- How did you arrange for housing and transport to Sana'a? did anyone help you in that ? If any, who?
- What did you do with your land and prosperity in the origin areas?

***Community at destination areas:***

- Why did you migrate to Sanaá city not to another place?
- Do you have relatives or friends in your current living areas you have known them before migration? If so, Did they facilitate your migration processes? If so, how?

**Migration networks :**

- How did the communication between prior migrants and origin areas (through visitation, remittance, feedback..etc) impact your migration decision?
  - Did the prior migrants visit your village before taking your migration decision? If so, did they impact your decision? Please explain
  - What kind of feedback did they send to your origin area? Example, remittance, information about the well-being in urban areas, employment..etc
  - Did you visit your origin area since you have settled in Sana'a? if, so what kind of feedback did you give to them?

**Evaluation of the decision and current situation:**

- What were the expectations that motivated you to move to Sana'a? How did you come up with such expectations?
- What is the of role prior migrants in making such expectation?
- How do you evaluate these expectations now?
- Do you think about return to your origin area? If not, why?

## **Annex 3: Sample of female household head interview**

### **Respondent (3)**

**Address:** Wadi Ahmed Area

**Date of migration to the Sana'a:** three years ago .

**Number of household members:** 3 males and 5 females.

**Income sources:** Retirement salary of the deceased husband and assistance from organizations and charity people

**Name of origin areas:** Mahwait, Malhan district

### **Interview transcript**

I am in Sana'a for about three years. My husband died in car accident when he went to participate in TV competition program. He wanted to win but he did not come back. My cousin contacted me by phone and tell me that my husband was crashed and he is in the hospital. Before my cousin contacted me, my youngest girls, suddenly cried loudly without any reason. I felt that something bad happening to his father. The heart of child feels if there is something bad happening for her parents. After that I contacted my cousin and tell him that I felt my husband is dead, not only wounded. He tell me then that my husband passed away.

For the story of my migration to Sana'a. I got married in early age. I was 15, 14 years. I lived in the house of my husband's parents. Every day there was problem. I was working in the land and in grazing, I had a lot of goats and sheep, they were fat. My husband was a soldier in the military forces in Sana'a. One day, I went to pasture with my goats and to collect firewood, you know Malhan is a difficult area, many high mountains. I fell down from a mountain and laid down at the bottom of the valley. The villagers took me to the house on a bed. I was pregnant in that time and I delivered after 20 days. My husband was in Mahwait city, studying at university. When my husband knew about the accident, he decided to take me to Sana'a. He said " it is enough for you to live such difficult life". My husband had already built separate house for me in the village. But my mother in-law did not agree to let me and his son live in separate house. She wanted me to stay in the same house to do all the house tasks. He then sold all my goats and sheep and rented a house in Wadi Ahmed. He chose Wadi Ahmed because the area is next to the military camp in which he was working and many of his friends at workplace are living with their families here.

### **How do you feel about your life now in Sana'a?**

The life here is difficult, It costs us a lot of money but we feel comfortable, there is no load works like in the village where we work all the day without rest. I had a lot of problems and conflict with my mother in-law when I was in the village. She did not want me to move to the city, she wanted me to stay as slave in the house to do all the tasks.

***What is your income source?***

We depend on the retirement salary of my husband and the assistance of charity people and humanitarian organization to meet the life requirements. I sold my jewelry to buy a land (1.5 libnah). I built 2 room for my children. At first, I was cheated, two men sold me a land which is part of the military camp. Look at my house, it is not well designed. It looks like a ruined house. I hope that someone helps me in building a new house for my children and pay their study expenses.

***How many children do you have?***

I have 8 children. (3 boys and 5 girls)

***Are they enrolled into education?***

5 children are enrolled and 3 are still under school-age

***Do people from your village visit you?***

Sometimes, the people come from my origin areas for treatment in Sana'a and live in my house for a while. Some of them decided to settle in Sana'a.

***Are there prior migrants from your village in Sana'a?***

Yes

***Did they motivate you to migrate to Sana'a?***

They told us about their lives in the city. The availability of all life requirements, the easiness of getting commodities and services with a low price.

***Are you thinking to return to the village?***

I will never go back to the village, do you know that my mother in-law wants part of the house as heritage from his son. She said she will marry me to another person if I come back to the village. I prefer to stay in Sana'a despite my difficult situation. Sometime, I did not find anything feed my children (she started crying).

***Thank you for your participation.***

The end of the interview

## **Annex 4 : Sample of male household head interview**

### **Respondent (4)**

**Address:** Madbah Area

**Date of migration to the Sana'a:** three months ago .

**Number of household members:** 4 males and 3 females.

**Income sources:** his salary as teacher in the village

**Name of origin areas:** Hajja, Shahel district

### **Interview transcript:**

I came to Sana'a two ..three months ago. It was a problem that compelled me to escape from my village. The story is : We are four brothers, the oldest passed away. After his death, I have taken the responsibility of his children, boys and girls, the girls are five. One of my nieces got married to someone in the village in exchange with another women who got married with one of my brothers. The behavior of the husband was bad. My niece did not like him, so the relationship did not stay for a long time. She quitted her husband's home and come back to my house. My brothers and her husband pressured me to return the girl by force. I refused that but they kept the pressure on me and they tried to use the social personalities in the village to enforce me to do that. I tried to escape, but they were chasing me. I told them that if my niece want to return to her husband voluntarily, she can go back now. But she said to me " if you return me back to my husband, I will commit suicide by swallow the pesticide that we use in the farm". For that reason, I refused their request. After that, they tried to put me in the prison. I escaped many times, till one day I decided to quit the village. I moved with my niece. In that day, it was raining and so windy, we traveled at 5 pm on feet and reached one of the village in Wadi Moor at 9 pm. We were so hungry and thirsty and our clothes were wet because of the raining and crossing the Wadi in which the water is pouring throughout the year. You know Wadi Moor. One of villagers gave us food and we stayed in his house till 12:00 pm. Afterward, someone from my village come to visit this man and has a car. He took us to Hajja city, we stayed there that night. In the second day, I moved with my niece to Sana'a. I am a teacher, I worked at school in my area. Still only 15 days till the end school year. My brothers contacted with the school principal to convince him to raise a report to education office indicating that I am absent and ask to dismiss me and stop my salary. But the principal refused their request and he is said it is only 15 days and I can replace him for one month. Through you, I wanted to extend to him my thanks and gratitude for that position that I will not never forget it in my life.

From Hajja, I moved to Sana'a to my cousin Mahmoud. I stayed in his house for 15 days. My cousin looked for a house for me here in this area because I do not know the city yet. I rented this house for 14,000 YR per month. I prefer to stay in this area because it is near to my cousin and my wife is his sister too and my niece is also his niece.

***This family problem, is it the main reason for your migration to Sana'a ?***

I was stable in the village but in the same time I was compelled to stay there because of the orphans, my nephews and nieces as I told you, 5 girls and 2 boys. I moved to Sana'a with this girl (the girls that wants to get divorced from her husband) and one boy. The rest are still in the village.

***What is your educational background?***

I have a bachelor degree in Islamic sciences.

***How many children do you have?***

I have 4 male and 3 females. 2 male and 1 female are enrolled into school. The oldest one is in the high school. He is 17 years old.

***What did you do then to resolve the problem?***

Many social personalities intervened to tackle the problem. They judged that we have to pay back the dowry to the husband within two years. The dowry is (800,000YR). I have already paid 400,000 YR, still the same amount I should pay next year. The husband got married with another women at the beginning of Ramadan.

***Do you prefer to stay here or to come back to your village as the problem is resolved?***

I would like to stay here because education in rural areas is low. Our areas is cultivated by Qat where the students work in qat cultivating and harvesting. They go to school whenever they like. As I am a teacher, If I will be strict with students, the parents come to me complaining that their children help them in agricultural works. The class should start at 7:30 am but some students come at 8:00 am and some come even later. Sometimes, I wait until 9:00 am and the number of student still not complete.... It is difficult.

I prefer to stay in Sana'a because my cousin is here and so that my children will get good education.

***Why you do not move to another city other than Sana'a. For example, Hajja which is near to your village?***

Hajja is good but Sana'a is better. Here I have my cousin and the life is cheaper. If I want to rent a house like this, it may cost me more than (20,000 YR) but here it costs me (14,000 YR).

***Are any prior migrants from your village in this area?***

There is one other than my cousin. But he did not help me. The person who helps me only my cousin Mahmoud.

***When did this problem happen, did you intend to come to Sana'a or just to go out of your village?***

In that time, I wanted to go anywhere. You know the tribal traditions in Yemen, when I felt frustrated, I thought to buy a goat and give it to one of the tribes leaders in the neighboring areas and ask for "brotherhood"<sup>6</sup> to protect me. But before doing that, I contacted with my cousin Mahmoud who said " the problem did not reach that extent, let us discuss, can you prepare yourself and come to Sana'a?" I said : yes. After that I prepared myself to travel. I was under the pressure of "Qoblah"<sup>7</sup> by my brothers and others from the village. For that reason I should go out of the village as soon as possible. I was lucky because the father of the person who was my guarantee receiving a phone call indicating that his father is sick . So, he went to visit his father, a matter that give me the opportunity to move out from the village.

***If I understand you well, you migrated to Sana'a because of your family problem, but now you prefer to stay here in spite that the problem is resolved!***

The city is better. I am planning to leave my family here in Sana'a. My oldest son will take care of them. The children will continue their education here. I will go to the village for teaching and come back to the city regularly. I want to continue my study at Sana'a university and do a research like you.

***Are they any prior migrants from your village?***

Yes, there are a lot. Especially the educated people.

***Do those prior migrants visit your village?***

Yes, but not so many, only during the occasions especially "Eid".

*The respondent is busy with a phone call. it seems that he is asking a person to borrow him money.*

***Do you have land in the village?***

Yes I have. But the heritage has not officially been divided yet. I have only share of land just to earn my livelihood.

***Who is taking care of your land now?***

My oldest nephew. Last week, he was attacked by my brothers. They challenged me and looted the harvest of the land. The earned from that harvest about (20,000 YR). I said the amount will not have any influence on my life.

***You told me that prior migrant visits your village occasionally, can you explain their influence on your attitude toward village and city?***

They come to visit their relatives for 3, 4 days, one week and go back to Sana'a. We feel that living in the city is better because in the village, there is no electricity, no

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<sup>6</sup> - Brotherhood is a tribal tradition in Yemen, where the individual delivers a goat or sheep to a tribe rather than the one who is belong to in order to protect him from unjust treatment by his own tribe.

<sup>7</sup> - Hajjar or qoblah and in some areas called Waslah is a tribal tradition. When the people ask someone for forgiveness or other requests, they come to his house with social personality recognized in the society and bring with them a goat or sheep as an appreciation for that person. It is a shame and it is not accepted among community members if the person refuses their request.



transportation means, no paved roads. Only 4 wheel-drive cars can reach our mountainous area. The drivers should have high competence and drive carefully. If you heard about it, last week a car overturned and 15 women died.

***Since you have settled in Sana'a, did you visit your village?***

No, I did not

***What about your income ?***

I have a salary from the government as I am working as teacher.(the average salary of teacher in Yemen is 50000 YR about 200 Euro)

***Do you feel that your income was affected after moving from the city?***

Yes, here I should buy everything from the supermarket but in the village we get milk, butter and yogurt from the cow. If we want meat, we just slaughter one of our sheep. The life here is costly.

***So, why do you prefer to stay here?***

The education for my children, especially for my oldest son who is in the high school. It is better for him to study in Sana'a.

***Thank you for your time and participation in this interview. If I need further information can I contact you?***

Yes

***Could you give me your phone number?***

Yes, it is 714735870