

**ADDIS ABEBA UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF GRADUATE  
STUDIES**

**IRREGULAR MIGRATION FROM ETHIOPIA TO THE  
MIDDLE EAST: THE HUMAN SECURITY PERSPECTIVE**

**By**

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**ADDIS ABABA**

**MAY, 2016**

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THIS SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES OF ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENT FOR THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

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May, 2016

## DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to the creator of all things both positives and negatives  
which make our world amazing.

**Declaration**

I, the undersigned, sincerely declare that this thesis is my own original work and the source materials used in this thesis are appropriately acknowledged.

Name of Student: -----

Signature: -----

Name of Advisor: -----

Signature: -----

Place and Date of Submission: Addis Ababa on 9 June 2016

## **Acknowledgment**

Over the last few years I have been beneficiary from the critics of my teachers. Being bombarded by the critics is the essence of acquiring knowledge, yet, it requires perseverance as some critics resulted in irresolution as they were senseless. While formally exonerating those who support me from responsibility for the short comings of this thesis, I would like to thank Dr, Zafar Alam who was my advisor and others who gave me moral support. Besides the above, I would like to thank IOM Ethiopia for its willingness to conduct interviews with its key informants. Most of all, I want to acknowledge the help of those who contact me with the right interviewees who experienced internal and irregular migration. I also want to thank all interviewees for their valuable time and information without it this study could not have been materialized. Last but not least, for all persons' positive attitude for me. Thank you for your positive energy that helps me. I feel that Energy!

## **ABSTRACT**

*The process of irregular migration from Ethiopia to the Middle East via the Red Sea and The Gulf of Aden is one of the problems that endangers the human security of individuals .The process of irregular migration comprises the human security situation of individuals before their migration which is a driving force, their human security situation during the dangerous journey and in their destinations. This research stressed on political, economical and food securities of individuals. As a result, the objective of this research is to analyze and deal with the human security situation of Ethiopians in relation to irregular migration from Ethiopia to the Middle East. So as to achieve this goal, qualitative methodology was employed through collecting primary as well as secondary data.*

*The analysis of the study shows that political, economical and food insecurities affect a number of individuals in Ethiopia. Besides, irregular migrants experienced these insecurities during their journey. In other words, they were derived out of their country by insecurities and they also risk a number of deadliest threats during their journey as well as their destination.*

*Keyword:- Irregular migration, Human Security, Political security, Economic security, Food security*

# Table of Content

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| Acknowledgment .....   | i   |
| <i>ABSTRACT</i> .....  | ii  |
| Table of Content.....  | iii |
| LIST OF FIGURES AND TABLES .....   | v   |
| LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS .....  | vi  |
| CHAPTER ONE .....  | 1   |
| Introduction .....   | 1   |
| 1.1. Background of the Study .....   | 1   |
| 1.2. Statement of the Problem .....  | 3   |
| 1.3. Hypothesis .....  | 4   |
| 1.4. Research Questions.....   | 4   |
| 1.5. Objective of the Study.....   | 4   |
| 1.6. Methodology and Methods of Data Collection .....  | 5   |
| 1.7. Delimitation of the Study .....   | 5   |
| 1.8. Organization of this Study .....  | 6   |
| Chapter Two.....   | 7   |
| 2. Conceptual Frame Work and Literature Review .....   | 7   |
| 2.1. Definitions of Concepts .....   | 7   |
| 2.1.1 International Migration .....  | 7   |
| 2.1.2 Irregular Migration .....  | 7   |
| 2.1.3 Human Security .....   | 11  |
| 2.2. The Nexus between Human Security and Irregular Migration .....                                    | 15  |
| 2.3. General over view of Ethiopians experience of Migration to Avoid Insecurities .....               | 22  |
| 2.3.1. Irregular Migration of Ethiopians to the Middle East.....                                       | 27  |
| 2.3.2. Instruments as to Protecting the Human Security of Irregular Migrants .....                     | 29  |
| Chapter Three .....  | 35  |
| 3. Human Insecurities as Deriving Forces of Ethiopian Irregular Migrants to the Middle East .....      | 35  |
| 3.1. Political Security in Ethiopia Pertaining to Irregular migration. ....                            | 35  |
| 3.2. Economic Security as Deriving Force of Irregular Migration from Ethiopia to the Middle East.....  | 52  |
| 3.3. Food Security with Respect to Irregular Migration.....  | 59  |
| CHAPTER FOUR .....   | 71  |
| 4. The human security situation of Irregular migrants during the process of migration .....            | 71  |
| 4.1. The human security situation of irregular migrants during the journey and after destination ..... | 71  |

|                         |    |
|-------------------------|----|
| CHAPTER FIVE.....       | 78 |
| 5.1. Conclusion .....   | 78 |
| 5.2 Recommendation..... | 81 |

## LIST OF FIGURES AND TABLES

### LIST OF FIGURES

- Figure 2.1. Comparative poverty measures of Ethiopia, world bank Data's with MPI as compiled by OPHI, 2015..... 54
- Figure 3.2. Allocation of proportions of development assistance to the development of different sectors, adopted from UNDP's 2013 Report. . . . . .65

### LIST OF TABLS

- Table 2.1. Irregular Migration and its relation with other types of migration.....10
- Table 2.2. The number of Ethiopians who resided Overseas before 1993 . . . .25
- Table 3.1. Main Macro Economic Indicators of Ethiopia in some selected years. ....52
- Table 3.2. Bilateral and multilateral partners who are the largest donors for Ethiopia in 2011 and 2012,. . . . . 66
- Table 3.3.. Food poverty situation in Ethiopia . . . . . 68
- Table 3.4. The 2016 Estimation that shows the priority requirements Joint Government and humanitarian partner's document,2016 .....69

## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

AAPO – All Amhara people’s organization  
AEUP – All Ethiopian Unity Party  
Amahara National Regional State  
ATV – Amhara Television  
BTI – Bertelsmann Stiftung’s Transformation Index.  
CSO – Civil Societies Organization  
EPPF – Ethiopian People’s Patriotic Party  
EPRDF – Ethiopian People Revolutionary Democratic Front.  
EU – European Union  
EBC – Ethiopian Broadcast Corporation.  
FDRE – Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia.  
FAO – Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations.  
GDP – Gross Domestic Product.  
GNI – Gross National Income.  
GTP – Gross and Transformation Plan.  
Human Rights Watch.  
ICCPR – International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.  
ICESCR – International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights.  
IFLO – Islamic Front for the Liberation of Oromia.  
ILO – International Labor Organization.  
IMF – International Monetary Fund.  
MOFED – Ministry of Finance and Economic Development.  
MOLSA – Ministry of Labor and Social affairs  
MPI – Multiple Poverty Index.  
NBE – National Bank of Ethiopia.  
NGOS – Non Governmental Organization.  
OLF – Oromo Liberation Front.  
ONLF – Ogaden National Liberation Front.  
Oromo National Regional State.  
PASDEP – Plan for Accelerated and Sustained Development to End Poverty.  
SLF – Sidama Liberation Front.  
UDHR – Universal Declaration of Human Rights.  
UNDP – United Nations Development Program.  
UNICEF - United Nations Children’s Fund.  
UNCHR - United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

UNO - United Nations Organization.

US - United States.

WB – World Bank.

# CHAPTER ONE

## Introduction

### 1.1. Background of the Study

Commercial relations and cultural exchanges have been carried out between Ethiopia and the Middle Eastern States since long ago. For instance, Christianity was accepted as the religion in Ethiopia in the Fourth century A.D. Besides, Islam as religion of many Ethiopians was preached in Ethiopia since 622 A.D (Erich, 1994:1-5).

This period has been regarded by many scholars as influential and the foundation of the relation between Ethiopia and Middle Eastern states. The two peoples used to migrate to and from each land during time of insecurities. For example, when the Quraysh persecuted Muslims and made their lives problematic in Makah, the prophet ordered some of his followers to migrate to Ethiopia. He advised them “if you were to go to Abyssinia, you would find there a king who does not wrong anyone” (Emara, 2011:27; Erich, 1994:7). As a result, the earliest Muslims were saved from infuriated Quraysh who were rulers in Arabia at that time. Consequently, Prophet Mohammed ordered his companions “Leave Ethiopians as long as they leave you alone” (Erich, 1994:9; knife, 2004:51-52).

This renowned assertion of the prophet is regarded as the foundation for most Middle East states in their relations with Ethiopia. Since then, most Middle East states regarded Ethiopia as “daralhiyad” which means “the land of impartiality” which is not liable to jihad (Erich, 1994).

During Prophet Mohammed’s time, Ethiopians who migrated to Saudi Arabia and those who were sold as slaves were not discriminated. They were treated fairly and were made the part of Ummah, in other words, they were integrated in the social as well as political life of the Islamic Community of Arabia (ibid, 13-14). Islam Claimed to be a universal religion that abandoned racism, slavery, and ethnic categories. This is the fact widely accepted by most scholars.

The relation between Ethiopia and the Middle Eastern States has considered to be positive and cordial due to the migration of individuals from Middle East to Ethiopia and vice versa, but there is a negative aspect in their relation as the former regimes of Ethiopia intolerate Ethiopian Muslims (Kinfe, 2004:56).

Yet, he further argued that Ethiopia's current constitution has accorded equal rights to all religions of the country, so it has been seen as fair by most Middle East states as a result, it is one of the factors that strengthen their relation (ibid). Besides, Eritrea's separation from Ethiopia and its independence is regarded as another factor that enhances their ties. Furthermore, the trade relation between the two, the investment by Middle East investors in Ethiopia, and the increasing number of visitors from that region to Ethiopia have been seen as positive by Ethiopian Foreign policy makers and strategists (ibid).

Many Ethiopians have migrated to different parts of the World either regularly or irregularly through smuggling and trafficking channels. Middle Eastern States are the Major destinations for Ethiopian Migrants (Elias, 2013:39; Embet, 2002:4). The irregular migration of Ethiopians has three major routes: the Gulf of Aden and Red sea route-from Ethiopia Via Djibouti and Somalia to Yemen and beyond, the North Africa route from Ethiopia Via Sudan to North Africa and Europe and the Southern route from Ethiopia Via Kenya to south Africa (IOM, 2014:14). This paper is about irregular migrants of Ethiopians using the former route towards Middle East i.e. the Gulf of Aden and Red Sea route.

Irregular migrants of Ethiopians who traveled through this route experienced very dangerous crossing in which the appraised unexpected death rate is very high (MSF.2008:7). For instance, about 25,800 migrants reached in Yemen in December 2007 having crossed the Gulf of Aden, with at Least 300 dead and 300 missing (UNCHR cited in MSF, 2008:7). It further stated that the number of migrants from Ethiopia and Somalia in to Yemen has reached over 100,000 as of 2012 (ibid).

Manifold factors are supposed deriving irregular migration such as physical violence, threats to life, lack of access to basic services and livelihood, arbitrary arrests and detentions, poverty, disease, climate change and environmental degradation (ibid). All these are human security issues. In other words, they are possible threats to human security of individuals (Michal, 2005:18).

Human security approach is preferable to the traditional perspectives of International Relations in dealing with irregular migration as it concentrates on the security of the people in which they live safely and decently and they gain their living, where as the

traditional paradigms of International Relations focus predominantly on the security and sovereignty of the state (Alkire, 2003:6-7).

Unquestionably, in Hobbesian thought, Security from fear is provided by the state, as group of individuals transferred their rights for the sovereign that guarantees security, as a result, the state is a referent object in the study of security (Ramel, 2007:29). Yet, some states are sources of insecurities against their own citizens whereupon they become illegitimate (Eriksen, 2007:19). Of Course, sources of insecurities may emerge outside the state and insecurities which are not the result of intentional human action for which the state is not responsible (ibid). Hence, it is found to be advisable to employ human security approach which is developed by the UNDP in 1994.

## **1.2. Statement of the Problem**

As mentioned earlier, migration was one of the ways of creating ties and exchanging of customs between Ethiopia and Middle East since the Past time. Of course, this is the positive side and basic historical role of migration as part of human experience (Righard and Fryklund, 2012:4). However, recently irregular migration from Ethiopia to the Middle East has been dangerous in which the security of those irregular migrants is vulnerable to various risks (IOM, 2014:14).

Before proceeding further, one point needs to be clear, irregular migration like other type of migration is a process which is divided in to spatial segments: states of origin, routes of migration, and states of destination (Righard and Fryklund, 2012:8). The human security situation of migrants is affected at all stages of migration. The impediments of human security as deriving factors affect migrants in their origin from the get-go (Ashary, 2008:41). During travel through the Gulf of Aden and Red Sea route, the security of migrants has been extremely endangered whereby illness and death are common (MSF, 2008:3-4). Besides, Ethiopian migrants experienced, having arrived in their destination i.e. Middle East states, exploitative, oppressive as well as unbearable working conditions against which they could not have protection. Beydoun (2006:2) suggested that “the trafficking of Ethiopian domestic workers in to Lebanon has proliferated since 1989, and neither governmental nor influential transnational human rights actors have instituted any meaningful measures to prevent it”. The same problem has been observed in Saudi Arabia where Ethiopian migrants are oppressed and exploited and that the Saudi regime

has been criticized being negligent of protecting them from violation of the rights of them (Selamawit, 2013:63).

Despite all these insecurities, over the last three years, about 200,000 Ethiopians migrated to Saudi Arabia on a regular basis (Regional Mixed Migration Secretariat, 2014:9). Moreover, irregular Ethiopian migrants to Saudi Arabia are increased two fold of that number (ibid).All these indicate that irregular migration from Ethiopia to the Middle East is a problem that affects the well being and dignity of a number of individuals.

### **1.3. Hypothesis**

The key argument of this study is that irregular migration from Ethiopia to the Middle East via the Gulf of Aden and Red sea route has been perilous as the safety and dignity of the number of Ethiopians have been vulnerable for various risks. Of course, it is believed, the security of Ethiopian irregular migrants, before, during and after migration, is endangered due to the impediments of human security at home.

### **1.4. Research Questions**

The main question of the study is to discuss how is the human security situation of Ethiopian irregular migrants in the process of migration from Ethiopia to the Middle East.

- How safe and free are Ethiopian migrants before migration?
- How do threats enforce individuals to migrate on the irregular basis?
- How are the security situations of Ethiopian migrants during the process of migration?

### **1.5. Objective of the Study**

The general objective of this study is to analyze and deal with the security situation of Ethiopians in relation to irregular migration from Ethiopia to the Middle East. In order to understand the impediments of the security of Ethiopians, the following specific objectives are stated.

- To identify and discourse, comparing to and substantiating by the existing and available data's, the threats of human security that result in irregular migration of Ethiopians to the Middle East.
- To assess the human security situation of Ethiopians in the process of migration.

## **1.6. Methodology and Methods of Data Collection**

This research employs qualitative methodology which increases our understanding why security situations of Ethiopians are the way they are and how insecurities result in irregular migration. It is concerned with quality and meanings of the social aspects of our world in which irregular migration of Ethiopians to the Middle East in relation to human security situation in Ethiopia is interpreted; however quantitatively researched materials are used to substantiate the issues understudy and as the way of triangulation. Besides, all sorts of secondary sources such as books, journals, reports of organizations and governments, official documents of governments and organizations, and internet sources pertaining to irregular migration and human security situation of Ethiopians have been used. Furthermore, interviews made by Television and Radio Programs with key members of the government, political parties and international organizations have been included. Moreover, to further all sources mentioned, primary data namely interviews have been conducted with key informants and those who experienced irregular migration including focus group discussions.

### **▪ Interviews**

To make interview with key informants, members of International Organization for migration and UNDP were selected purposively. In case of individuals who experienced irregular migration, snow ball sampling was used in Addis Ababa; as it is the capital of Ethiopia, many of them are expected to come to it from all corners of the country as a result, it is believed to solve the problem pertaining to geographical representation.

## **1.7. Delimitation of the Study**

On the whole, this study concentrates on the assessment of irregular migration from Ethiopia to the Middle East using the Gulf of Aden and Red sea route based on the human security perspective of UNDP which was well organized as a frame work in 1994. In other words, to all intents and purposes, this study assesses irregular migration through the route mentioned along with the human security situation of Ethiopian migrants.

### **1.8. Organization of this Study**

This study is organized in to five chapters from the start to the conclusion. The first chapter is about introduction that comprises the proposal of the study. The second chapter is concerning conceptual framework and literature reviews. Besides, the third chapter is in relation to human insecurities as deriving forces of Ethiopian irregular migrants to the Middle East, where as the fourth chapter is about the human security situation of irregular migrants during the process of migration, and the fifth chapter contains both conclusion from the findings and Recommendation.

## **Chapter Two**

### **2. Conceptual Frame Work and Literature Review**

This chapter starts to define key controversial concepts such as international migration, irregular migration and Human security, and ends by making an effort to discuss the interconnection between irregular migration and human security through reviewing related materials.

#### **2.1. Definitions of Concepts**

##### **2.1.1 International Migration**

Defining international migration is not an easy task for scholars as there are different types of migrations, it results in terminological complexities. IOM (2014) defines international migration as “the Movement of a person or a group of persons across an international border. It is a population movement encompassing any kind of movement of people, whatever its length, composition and causes; it includes migration of refugees, displaced persons, economic migrants, and persons moving for other purposes, including family reunification”. This is a broader definition of international migration as it includes various types of movements across national borders along with the causes of those movements. Notwithstanding, those various types of movements across borders of states are condensed in to two broad categories viz. regular migration and irregular migration. This implies that irregular migration is one of the broad types of international migration. The Focus of this study is on irregular migration.

##### **2.1.2 Irregular Migration**

Like international Migration, irregular migration is complicated and difficult to give comprehensive and Orthodoxy Working definition, as migrants turn in to irregularity in various ways when they enter other states covertly, when their documents are confiscated by their employers or by the authority due to expiry of their contract (International Council on Human Rights Policy, 2010:1), and as it encompasses different types of irregularity. Accordingly, the need arises here to explain the nexus of those terms before to define irregular migration as the working definition of this study.

Migrants in an irregular situation are called undocumented or clandestine, illegal and transit migrants. Even if some migrants enter legally, they can be regarded as undocumented or clandestine when their work permit expired and they keep on residing and engaged in unauthorized employment (IOM, 2004a:12).This shows that regular

migrants can be resulted in irregularity or “illegality” when the certifications of migrants are invalidated or due to bureaucratic stumbling block and suspension to renew it (king, 2012:19).

Migrants also may cross two or more states to reach their choice of destination such as Djibouti, Somalia and Yemen where are crossed by most Ethiopian Migrants. They use the intervening states as transit, as a result Righard and Fryklund (2012:11) termed this type of migration as transit migration. In any event, Lesger and others employed the “mode dimension of migration” to identify and justify the solitary migrants from those who are assisted by others that is termed as network or chain migration (Cited in Remand, 2010:6). Spener (2012:2) also suggested that the role played by networks of individuals, agencies and institutions in facilitating migration should be taken in to consideration in the study of international migration in general and irregular migration that comprises human trafficking and migrant smuggling in particular. This implies that human trafficking and migrant smuggling are types of irregular migration mostly occur in the transit and mode dimensions of irregular migration. Not surprisingly, some scholars regarded human trafficking and migrant smuggling as migration problems (Lee, 2011:29). He further argued that “human trafficking is a subset of illegal migration” (ibid).

Illegal migration is outlined as the movement that happens beyond the regulatory rules of the origin, transit and destination states (EBDM, 2009:16). Illegal migration may be happened by the means of both legal and illegal out lets of the sending states, for that reason comprises transnational trafficking in person, migrant smuggling, travelling using deceptive or fake documentation, illegal border – Crossing, Visa – Overstaying and illegal employment (ibid).

Besides, Spener (2012:2) critically noticed, by citing both Salt and Stein, that as a whole, the event of international migration could be regarded as “a diverse international business” that comprises human trafficking and migrant smuggling.

The term “illegal migration” is not used instead of irregular migration in this study except referring those movements across national borders and the network of migration and in general the process of migration expose migrants for various insecurities like in the process of human trafficking which can be both illegal and irregular (see the diagram

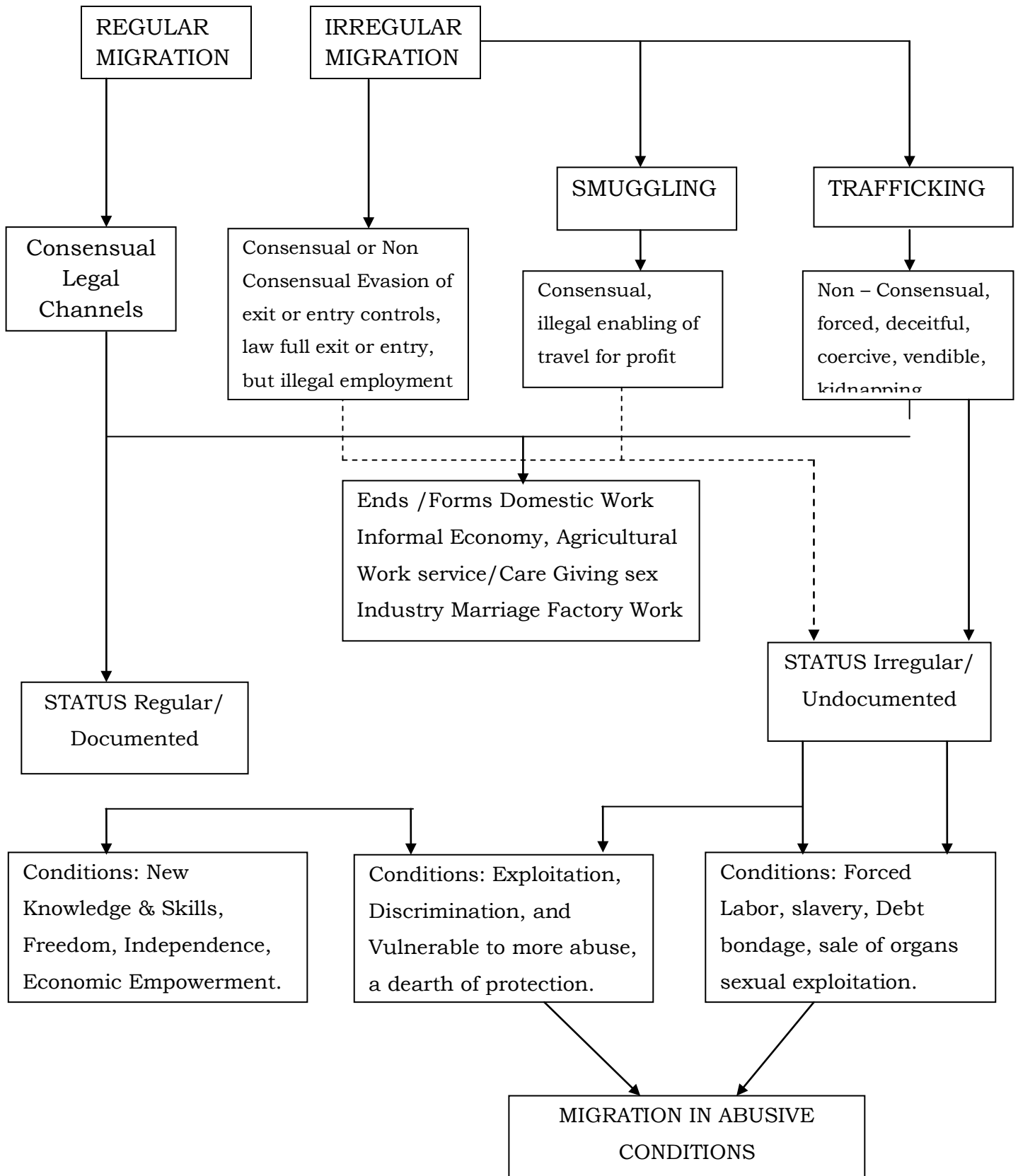
below). Yet, migrant smuggling and border crossing are not regarded as illegal as it contradicts to human rights accorded to irregular migrants by international human rights documents in which states are parties in signing those documents and they are also responsible for realizing protection and security of migrants. For example, Article 12 of the international covenant on civil and political rights accords the freedom of movement for individuals within the territories of their own state as well as other states (Fornell, 2014:8).

There are a number of additional international legal instruments on the rights of irregular migrants, more precisely, the Universal Declaration of Human rights of 1948, international convention on the Elimination of all forms of racial discrimination which was adopted in 1965 and entered in to force in 1969, international covenant on Economic, social and cultural rights which was adopted in 1966 and entered in to force in 1976, international covenant on civil and political rights, convention against torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment which was adopted in 1984 and entered in to force in 1987, international convention on the protection of the rights of all migrant workers and members of their families, convention No.97 concerning migration for employment, among other things (ibid).

Yet, those perpetrators who run the business of human trafficking and migrant smuggling are regarded illegal. In any case, irregular migrants need protection in the process of migration, as they are not criminals by the virtue of being in the state of irregularity. Thus, the term irregular migration is used in this study.

- After reviewing a number of related materials with the issue under this study, the working definition of irregular migration is described as the physical movements of migrants crossing the national boundaries of two or more states through irregular, perhaps dangerous migration channels i.e. assisted by unscrupulous smugglers, and induced by either natural or manmade forces and inertias. These forces and inertias are labeled as insecurities as well as securities as felt and experienced by migrants.

In order to have the clear picture of irregular migration and its relation with other types of migration along with the process of their consequences, it is advisable to use the diagram which is adapted from ILO, 2003. Chart 2. 1.



### **2.1.3 Human Security**

Human security is one of the approaches of international relations. Even though human security is a policy making agenda, it is regarded as an approach within the critical security studies, as it is critical of the state centric paradigms of international relations (Floyd, 2007:38). She (2007:40) further describes human security as “it is the idea that the individual is at the receiving end of all security concerns, where by security is understood as freedom from want and/or freedom from fear”. In spite of that, the state centric perspectives of international relations contended that is the state which is the referent object of security (preserving its territorial integrity, sovereignty and maintain its national interest), not the individual (Shinoda, 2004:5-6 Rourke, 2002:29). They consider issues like insecurities of individuals and human rights violations are internal matters of the state; as a result, they are irrelevant in the study of security at the global stage.

They believe that the state is both the referent object of security as well as provider of security. Notably, individuals in the state of nature, according to Thomas Hobbes, were responsible to provide security for themselves by taking whatever measures they want as the state of nature was fear of violent death i.e. The anarchic condition he called “the war of all against all” (Stumpf and Fieser, 2002:217). Then, so as to end the mutual fear of individuals, they agreed to bestow their rights for the will of sovereign body that provides security for them. Being said that, once the sovereign body is established, it must act absolutely to realize security. The duty of individuals is obedience.

Citizens’ opposition to the sovereign is irrational as independent decision of individuals would relapse in to general insecurities of anarchism (ibid). He believes that the sovereign is trustworthy so that it provides security for individuals. In other words, the security of the state rises above liberty of individuals in Hobbetian thought.

Like the traditional international relation theorists, the Copenhagen school in general, the securitization approaches in particular regard states the referent objects of security study. Be that as it may, Ole Weaver, the prime mover of the securitization approach, in 1995 claimed that “the concept security belongs to the state”, Yet, later on in 1998, he included individuals as one of referent objects of security study (cited in Floyd, 2007:41).

Unquestionably, human security has a deep historical root in political philosophy. Remarkably, Jeremy Bentham showed the relationship between the state, individual and

security in his works where by the individual and his securities are foremost in achieving a happy life, to be precise the greatest happiness for the greatest number (Hoogensen, 2005). Bentham believes that sovereignty is vested in the individual, accordingly, so as to realize the security of the individual, he or she needs to be protected from the misuse of power by the state machineries using sharing sovereignty and establishing the constitutional democracy (ibid). In constitutional democracy, the sovereign people decide who seize government offices of the state machineries. So, they could go to different government offices to search for their various security needs. If the government fails to provide the desired security needs of the people, it will be voted out of office and replaced by a new government. The whole account is about the primacy of the security of the individual in the relation between the state, individual and security.

Unlike Hobbes, Shklar Conferred that the government per se may perhaps the source of fear instead of being the source of security (Cited in Ramel, 2007:30-32). He quoted her as “Fear is a result of the cruelty created by power” (ibid). Augmenting, preserving and employing of the legitimate means of coercions make the state strong and dangerous against its own citizens unless it is directed through upholding the rule of law. Her contribution for human security is clear as her approach is people centric as opposed to the traditional power centric approach of political science (the top-down and bottom up power relationship) (ibid). She further distinguished between misfortune and injustice. The former is the result of powerful nature, where as injustice is inflicted up on individuals by unfriendly people (ibid).

She concludes that Fear is Universal that affects human beings as well as animals alike. And again, recently, Mahbab ul Haq (1995:115) puts forward human security as a new paradigm of security in which the referent objects of security are people. He asserted that “the World is entering a new era in which the very concept of security will change and change dramatically. Security will be interpreted as security of the people, not just territory, Security of individuals, not just nations; Security through development, not through arms; Security of all people everywhere in their homes, in their gobs, in their streets, in their communities and in their environment” (ibid).

What is more security for whom? Canada and UNDP have given the same answer for this question. Both accept that security must deal with the safety of the people. In spite of this, there is a clear distinction between the two as to the values of security which are

classified in to two broad categories i.e. Security from fear and want. Needless to say, some group of scholars argued that the description of human security as freedom from fear and want is wide ranging as it puts every security issues in one basket, as a result, it is difficult to prioritize them to deal with a burning issue, in other words they are crowded without order of importance for policy purpose to take action (Alkire, 2003:21). Even if Canada employs human security perspective in its foreign policy articulation, it focuses on the narrower side of human security i.e. freedom from fear (issues like physical violence, conflict, war, land mines terrorism...). Canada employed “Conflict focused formulation of human security that sets aside poverty reduction goals” (ibid).

The UNDP’s definition of human security is all inclusive of the values of human security, and it lists seven components with providing explanations of them. Firstly, economic security implies a guaranteed essential livelihood gained from work, reliable safety nets and public and environmental resources. Secondly, food security denotes availability and accessibility of food for all. And again accessibility indicates the physical and economic to basic food. Food security can be affected by poor distribution and lack of purchasing power.

Thirdly, health security suggests getting personal health care at the right time and preventive public health programs. Fourthly, environmental security connotes shortage of water, deforestation, land degradation which is the result of environmental rape and lack of conservation which result in drought, famines, and shortage of habitable land which ever leads to poverty. Inversely, poverty leads to disaster and vice versa, the process is on and on. Therefore, there is persistent poverty unless the cycle of poverty and disaster is broken. Fifth, community security implies interethnic conflict and repressive traditions like genital mutilation which are done by ethnic groups. Sixth, personal security points to physical violence from the state, other states in the form of war, from organized criminals, threats on women and child and finally personal security includes threats committed against oneself (like suicide and improper use of harmful substances). Seventh, political security entails the political system that is worth while respecting human rights of individuals (UNDP, 1994:23-33).

The Working definition of human security for this study is based on the UNDP’s description of human security. Human security means the state of being free from the threats inflicted on the political, economic and food security of the people. In other

words, human security entails protection of basic freedoms through establishing political and economic systems that serve as fundamentals for the survival, livelihood and dignity of the people- sustainable development which is expanding choices i.e. job opportunities, safety nets, humanitarian aids, peace operation, respecting human rights mainly political participation are fundamentals created by political and economic systems of the state and the international community.

As it is said earlier, elements of human security are interrelated. This is one of the justifications to use the political, economic and food security aspects in this definition. For instance, political security is closely related to community and personal security, and environmental security has to do with food security, despite the over arching relations with other human security elements.

In Ethiopia there is not only a consensus but also scholars' observation as to threats on political, economic and food securities. For example, political insecurity since 2005 election of Ethiopia and community and individual insecurities due to inter ethnic conflicts have been discussed such as interethnic conflicts in Gambela Regional State, Somali Regional State, Benishangul- Gumuz and Other areas. More to the point that political space is becoming narrower that affects the freedom of expression and association in Ethiopia which are important in expanding choices for individuals (Asnake, 2013; BTI, 2014; Merera, 2007; The Economist, 2008; Zahorik, 2011). To boot, the threat against the economic security and food security in Ethiopia have been obvious as the country has experienced poverty for so many years. The FDRE Government (2002) identified that the vicious circle of poverty is the main threat of the nation. The agricultural sector which is the main stay of the nation has been affected by a recurrent drought and famine; in this manner, a number of people are exposed for hunger and starvation. The government explained the nexus between persistent poverty and the absence of democracy and good governance. It asserted that building a democratic system is a prerequisite so as to break the vicious circle of poverty to be remaining a nation without the fear of disintegration (FDRE Government, 2002:6-9).

A number of scholars and institutions also paid a lot of attention to the fact that poverty is critical danger for the people of Ethiopia. After poverty head count was made in 2009, 44% of Ethiopians were living in abject poverty and the Gross National Income per capita was \$ 280 which was below average (World Bank, 2011:2). Even if poverty head count

decreases, even now poverty gaps keep on being critical; in consequence, millions of Ethiopians are food insecure year after Year (ibid).

The World Bank (2013:11-12) also explained its observation about the economic situation of Ethiopia as “with a GNI per capita of US \$ 370 in 2011, Ethiopia was classified as a low income country and one of the ten poorest countries of the World”. Notwithstanding the economy of Ethiopia was said to be one of the fastest growing economies for the last some years with average growth rate of 10 percent and the poverty head count decreased from 38.7 to 26 percent between 2004/5-20/2/13 using US \$ 0.60 as threshold of poverty line, about 25 million people have lived in absolute poverty and have experienced food and economic insecurities, even those who are slightly above poverty line are at risk of shocks and food insecurity (UNDP, 2015:2-3). It is revealing that a number of Ethiopians are living in Unrelenting economic and food insecurities. In general, threats against political, economical and food securities are main issues that need to be explained in relation to irregular migration of Ethiopians to the Middle East.

## **2.2. The Nexus between Human Security and Irregular Migration**

After the end of the cold war, that was geopolitical rivalry of states to influence each other using their national power to maximize their national interest with the notion of the primacy of national security, has been dwindling in its importance in a rapidly changing World.

Even though states keep on being influential actors at the world stage in providing security for their own citizens, their capability of preventing a number of daunting transnational perils diminished. For example, irregular migration, human trafficking, terrorism, conflicts, climate change, diseases like HIV/AIDS, Ebola, Zika Virus and so on; Food insecurity and so forth are problems which are beyond the military and economic power of nation states of the World (Kegley, Jr and Wittkopf, 2001).

Above and beyond, states are challenged by the processes of disintegration after the end of the cold war. For instance, secessionist forces and resistance movements in a number of states have been a challenge for their integration and stability as well as the security of their people (Rourke, 2002:42). This is not beside the point as a number of states have been seen fragmented because of centrifugal forces such as the former Soviet Union was fragmented in to 15 independent states in 1991, Ethiopia splited up in to two i.e. the

Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia and Eritrea, Somalia dissolved and collapsed i.e. became a failed state, and Sudan dissolved in to two and the newly emerged independent South Sudan mired in to deadly conflicts. Furthermore Ethiopia and Eritrea waged a destructive war because of the alleged dispute over a land about the border area that resulted in the death of untold number of people and the displacement of many others (ibid, Abbink, 2003). The dispute between Ethiopia and Eritrea Continues. The two states have engaged in to proxy war (Abbink, 2003:407).

On the eve and the after math of the war, the two states do not have a clear interpretation of the threat against one another. Was it economic threat? Was it political threat? There is no clear answer for these questions. They have been also affected by persistent drought and famine since they waged a damaging war. Many of their people are on the move using irregular channels thereby they are exposed for a number of insecurities in the process of their movements from their country to other countries .Using irregular channels in crossing the territories of two or more states might be from bad to worse.

All incidents mentioned above are threats against human security, but still they are regarded as security issues of states. Irregular migration is one of the transnational phenomena that are interpreted by the traditional security paradigms as the security issue of states, not as the security concern of individuals. In other words, in conventional or traditional approaches irregular migration is regarded as a security issue that is represented as a danger, as a result, states are committed to watch over the whole process of migration Spaces, appearances of migrants, smugglers and paths of migration through employing different ways like biometricized Passports, Citizenship tests, investing a lot in guarding their borders and so on. They do this without balancing between their security interest and the human rights of migrants. They simply regard migrants as threats for their states (Walter, 2010:218).

States give much more emphasis for the state centric approaches in which they are concerned with security as the underlying danger in the real world whereby they figure out that danger as the main object of security threat. Security threat is said to be existed once a concern is presented as causing existential threat to a referent object labeled, for example, traditionally, Yet not essentially, a state (Buzan and Co.1998:21).

Referent object is a thing that is perceived facing existential threat and has a legitimate claim to survival. In the presence of a real threat, states rationalize to mobilize and employ extreme force to minimize or handle that existential threat (Buzan, 1998:12).

Securitization approach which was developed by the Copenhagen school in the late 1990's observed securitization in different ways emphasizing on the process of securitization which is equated as transferring the concern from non political topic to the political subject matter and then to the security theme. Non political topic implies the issue that is not politicized or prioritized and which is not brought to the public debate but that is regarded as normal in society. Yet, securitization is constructed as a speech act, it is not an object or thing, but it is a way of framing and dramatizing to have the issue get priority and attention in the political arena (Buzan and Co.1998).Each time that government officials present the issue to the security field and prescribe a measure through politicization which includes.

Publicly addressing the need to allocate resources to facile the existing speech act more than anything else, this assertion can be regarded a flawless speech act. So, so as to get the message of the act, security expert does not need to find out real objective threats that jeopardize any object that needs to be defended, but he or she needs to comprehend the process of constructing collective understanding of what is regarded as a threat and that deserves collective responses (Buzan, 1998:25-26).

With respect to irregular migration, the identity of the state where the presence of a migrant is believed to have influence on the culture, space and sovereignty of that state, so, the "we" and "they" categorization is manufactured which is exclusionary and a threat against the migrants which is not mostly taken in to consideration by the states. Especially the well being of migrants is endangered during inhuman detention, deprivation of the opportunity to work, to health services and social security and repatriation (Ganguly-Scrase and Sheridan 2012).

In most states of the World irregular migrants are classified and denounced either as "Spongers" or "beggars" or "Cheats" or "unwanted natural disasters" or "mindless" or "Overwhelming" or "Potentially unstoppable mass" (Liden, Wodak and Bleasdale as Cited in Ganguly - Scrase and Sheridan, 2012:252).

The whole account indicates that the traditional approaches accepted the connection between migration and security, but they consider irregular migrants as aliens and threats not as human beings who deserve security based on the universal declaration of human rights.

Traditional approaches i.e. realism and neo-realism are criticized for not taking in to consideration costs of national security that lacks morality. Wolfer suggested that those states which put national security policy beyond all other values namely the security of individuals through giving up all those values, without doubt, would become a subject of moral judgment; in other words, whatever crimes committed by the name of national security needs to be made liable to moral judgment (cited in Baldwin, 1997:17). So, henceforth, the need is arisen to shift from traditional state security perspective to human security.

Discussing the link between irregular migration and human security is essential here in order to have explicit ideas how threats against the security of individuals are deriving forces of irregular migration and how is the human security situation of irregular migrants in the process of migration. Irregular migration as it was defined earlier is a movement of people across national borders of two or more states forced by various interrelated insecurities and assisted by the chain of unscrupulous group of individuals, the main purpose of their movement is to be safe and to have dignity. This description of irregular migration indicates that there is connection between irregular migration and human security.

The need to identify the causes of international migration in general and irregular migration in particular was suggested by some scholars as the failure of doing so remains to be disregarded as the danger that affects people. For example, Kofi Annan suggested for the international community to “take a more comprehensive look at the various dimensions of the migration issue, which now involves hundreds of millions of people and affects countries of origin, transit and destination and to understand better the causes of international flows of people and their complex inter relationship with development” (in Vietti and Scribner, 2013:24). Of course, this suggestion has indication of the relation between irregular migration as security concern of states in the migration process and the causes of migration in relation to development. In fact, scholars debated whether migration is a menace or providence.

Proponents of migration hashed out that migration has the positive consequence for the host states, sending states and migrants themselves. They further discussed that migration is one of the driving forces of economic and human development. Migrants contribute a lot for the economic and cultural development of the host states (Angenendt, 2008:21-22). According to political economy, the study of the relation between political and economic life, migrants are regarded as the distinctive factors of production (Labor). Migrants' active participation in the labor market of the host state determines the outcome in the process of production, consumption and the fiscal outcome of that state (Freeman and Kessler, 2008:659-660). They contribute something for the receiving state if they actively participate, yet the reverse affects it. It is weighed based on the cost and benefit analysis of migration policy of the state.

The migration policy of states does not give due regard for the rights of migrants but for the very interest of the state (Hyter, 2004). Whereas the migrants can be the source of revenue in the form of remittance for their own state and for their own families (Ibid, Puentes et al, 2010:29-32). Most African states are origins of irregular migration as they depend on labor out migration to the Middle East so as to minimize pressure at home, in other words they use migration as safety valve to ease prospective tension and demand from their growing young population and they use migration as a means of revenue in the form of remittance (Koser and Van Hear cited in Koser, 2005:3).

Of course most scholars contended that migrants themselves are expected to be more secure economically and politically and they also acquire knowledge and skills in the host state, they cannot get otherwise (ibid, Angenendt, 2008:21-22). The commission on Human Security (2003:41) generalized the mutual benefits of cross border migration as "The Movement of people across borders reinforces the interdependence of countries and communities and enhances diversity. It facilitates the transfer of skills and knowledge. It stimulates economic growth and development. And for the majority of people, whether they are migrating temporarily or permanently, it creates new opportunities... for business". The whole accounts indicate the positive aspects of irregular migration for the states as well as the migrants themselves.

On the other hand, migration is supposed to affect the sending state, receiving state and the migrants differently. For instance, the sending state would be dependent on transmittal of money from its migrant citizens. Depending on remittances makes the

sending state diplomatically weak as they would be concerned about the employment opportunity of their citizens might be imperiled (Angenendt, 2008:22). Besides, irregular migration affects the sending state in the form of brain drain. Its skilled man power moved out of the country. It is a risk for the sending states as there would be abnormal shortage of labor for its own labor market (Ade POJU, 2008:31).

More importantly, in the post 9/11, most states of the World Concerned about their national security that could be threatened by ideological radicalism and terrorism which was supposed to be caused by migrants in the host states, even if it was misperception (Koser, 2005:10; Givens, Terri and Others, 2009).

Irregular migrants are forced to move across national borders of two or more states by a number of causes. The commission on Human security (2003:41) stated “most people move to improve their livelihood, seek new opportunities or escape poverty. They also leave to rejoin family members elsewhere . . . . Another reason for moving is forcible displacement or coercion because of war, violent conflicts, human rights abuses, expulsion or discrimination”. It mentions some threats of human securities which are recognized to be derivers of migration. For instance, as far as economic security situation of the World is concerned it explained” A fifth of the worlds people – 1.2 billion – experience severe income poverty and live on less than \$ 1 a day nearly two- thirds of them in Asia and a quarter in Africa another 1.6 billion live on less than \$2 a day. Together, 2.8 billion of the world’s people live in chronic state of poverty and daily insecurity, a number that has not changed much since 1990. About 800 million people in the developing world and 24 million in developed and transition economies do not have enough to eat” (Commission on Human security, 2003:73).

Economic insecurity is one of major causes of irregular migration. Yet, structural violence can also cause a number of people to migrate (Thompson, 2013). Yet again, Vietti and Scribner (2013:23) suggested “migration both results from and can lead to human insecurity”. In general those causes mentioned are regarded as threats that enforce people to plan to migrate as the way to escape from insecurities. The commission on Human security (2003:41) Suggested that “For many people, therefore, migration is vital to protect and attain human security, although their human security may also at risk while they are migrating”.

Bad migration policies of states exacerbated threats against human security of irregular migrants. For example, more restrictive policies along with greater surveillance, detention and deportation despairingly affect the human security of migrants as those restrictive actions of states enthrall migrants to divert to more dangerous routes using migrant smugglers and human traffickers which curbs the possibilities of getting access to safe countries. This is damaging the human security of migrants (Koser, 2005).

Those sources of insecurities such as restrictive policies like deportation and detention policies which resulted in perils of the safety of irregular migrants are the consequences of the reluctance of states to offer sanctuary to those who are genuinely in need of it (Thompson, 2013).

Unsurprisingly, the two approaches that is to say human security and national security are often regarded as being not in a state of ease with each other. As it was stated earlier the dispute between the two was who's security need to come first. Should we focus on humans, in this case irregular migrants or states? Some scholars have attempted to reconcile the two approaches and they believe that a morally prudent way of designing policies that regards the crucial elements as well as interests of national security and human security make a helpful holy marriage between the two there by the human security of individuals can be achieved. For instance, Krewin(2012:3) emphatically explains:

*“Human security is often set against the concept of national security, but the two need not be at odds. Properly crafted national security policies should further human security. However, the human security frame work moves the migration discussion beyond national security’s narrow preoccupation with border control, detention, and the criminalization of migrants and opens it to the conditions of insecurity that drive irregular and crisis migration .Human security also asks whether policies developed out of a misguided view of national security put people in less secure positions, like the hands of traffickers and smugglers”.*

In consequence, if states and the international community at large focus on the security of humans and they formulate policies, and strategies by taking in to consideration the former time and time again, the security of all can be achieved.

The entire explanation hints that the human security situation is predominantly affected in the process of migration. It is for this reason that many authors conclude that human security threats to irregular migrants by far outweigh the national security threats that they may create (Koser, 2005). The linkage between migration and human security is not partial. The issues stated above clearly indicate the link between irregular migration and human security. Thompson (2013) contended that the aspects mentioned are just some of the nexus between human security and migration.

### **2.3. General over view of Ethiopians experience of Migration to Avoid Insecurities**

Migration is one of the strategies employed by Ethiopians and their governments in the face of multifaceted threats such as droughts, political instabilities, wars and economic insecurities (Mberu, 2006; Derese, 2009; Dessalegn, 2003). Migration is a generic term which implies regular Vs irregular and internal Vs international, the dichotomization continues. Internal migration in Ethiopia is used as the first option to avoid threats as a strategy for survival (ibid).

Ethiopia suffers from the consequences of wars political insecurities, and food insecurities because of wars and recurrent droughts that occurred between 1973 and 1974 in which approximately 250,000 People died (Mberu, 2006). Besides the country experienced major droughts such as 1977-78, 1984-1985 and the 1993-1994 droughts (Dessalegn, 2003). The 1973-1974 and the 1983-1984 famines were considered to be the most appalling, more than 8.3 million people were precariously exposed for starvation and hunger related death (Ethiopian Academy of Sciences, 2015).

As a result, one of the strategies employed by the Dergue regime was resettlement and Villagization programs. So, about 600,000 drought victims were resettled from the northern and central part of Ethiopia in other parts of Ethiopia (Dessalegn, 2003). Sadly, about 33,000 settlers died reportedly by various insecurities during and after resettlement, and some of them absconded because of various reasons or insecurities (ibid). However, those settlers who inhabited there were also returned to supposedly their former territory of ethnic origin by the existing government due to the country's reconstitution based on the ideology of ethnic Federalism. Conversely, the current government of Ethiopia also applied planned voluntary resettlement strategy for those

individuals who face persistent food insecurity due to the decline of agricultural production and the infertility of the soil and the resettlement program of pastoralists (Assefa, 2005; Kassa, 2004). The resettlement program is designed as the part of the grand development strategy i.e. the plan for Accelerated and sustainable development to End poverty (PASDEP).

Individuals also use internal movement from one region of the country to other regions to avoid the same insecurities, but the situation where they arrived is not as such promising as their security is endangered through violence, discrimination and forceful displacement. In other words, internal movements of Ethiopians from one regional state to the other regional states are made when security risks arising from the shortage of arable lands, a steadily deteriorating environment to preempt the worst or to avoid perceived and actual consequences. For example, a number of individuals internally moved from ANRS, specifically from Wollo, Gondar and Gojjam to East Wollega (Tesfaye, 2009:857). Besides, many individuals internally moved from ANRS and ONRS to Benishangul – Gumuz Regional state (Asnake, 2006). Furthermore, appreciable number of individuals from Amhara, Tigray, Oromia and other regions has internally moved to Gambella National Regional State (Derege, 2012). Above and beyond, large numbers of people have migrated from rural areas of Ethiopia to urban areas because of the growing urbanization along with the increasing malignancy of those threats mentioned above (Mberu, 2006).

The internal migration of Ethiopians from one region to another region of the country can be regarded as one way of searching for better securities. However, the saying “the internal is international” seems plausible that when individuals in Ethiopia are affected by a number of threats, they can also use irregular migration crossing the national borders of states.

Even if out migration of Ethiopians using irregular migration channels is not new phenomenon in the history of Ethiopians out migration, some scholars pointed out some important periods as radical for irregular migration that happened after critical political events of the country. For instance, after the down fall of the imperial regime, post 1974, large number of Ethiopians migrated crossing the national borders of states to save their lives as their lives were endangered by the tyrannical and ruthless rule of the Dergue regime (Smock, 1980:l; Ahmed, 2009).

The transition from the old regime to the new, Dergue regime was undertaken through bloodshed. The armed junta, the Dergue had stolen the revolution from the civilian left through employing fire and killing that was called 'Red Terror' so as to sterilize the revolution from remains of the old regime and dissidents (Lefort, Markakis and Degu cited in Merera, 2003:80).

Besides, the regime carried out mass assassination of 57 high – ranking officials and many others who were the proponents of the old regime (Knife, 1994). Of course, it is said that untold numbers of Ethiopians were slaughtered, imprisoned, tortured and those who reviled left the country crossing the national borders. Knife (1994: xix). Further stated “it is conservatively estimated that more than 100,000 educated Ethiopians were decimated while several hundreds of thousands more were forced to flee the country to settle in Europe, the U.S and in countries around the region”.

Because of the famine happened between 1984 and 1985 in Ethiopia and the devastating civil war waged between the Dergue regime and Eritrean and Tigrean people liberation Fronts, many people were affected and displaced (Black, 2003). Black (2003:33) further stated that “this created not only physical insecurity but also insecure livelihood conditions for local people, forcing hundreds of thousands to flee to neighboring Sudan”.

The demise of the Dergue regime is also regarded as another momentous time for out-migration of Ethiopians, but it was due to the right of free movement of individuals which was constitutionally granted (Ahmed, 2009). All the same, this point is contested as insecurities that risk individuals were also regarded as the driving forces of irregular migration even after the down fall of the Dergue regime (Beydoun, 2006).

Getting reliable data and bona fide number of Ethiopian migrants who were dead during migration and those who survived and realized their dream of reaching their destinations overseas, and those who were at risk and victims of threats is thorny. Yet, the number of Ethiopian migrants who resided in a number of states of the World was provided by the Global Migrant Origin database in 2003, but the data indicates the number of Ethiopians in states of the World before 1993 which includes Eritreans as Ethiopians. See table 2.2 below.

| <b>States where they</b> | <b>Their number</b> | <b>States where they</b> | <b>Their number</b> | <b>States where they live</b> | <b>Their No</b> |
|--------------------------|---------------------|--------------------------|---------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------|
| <b>Live</b>              |                     | <b>Live</b>              |                     |                               |                 |
| USA                      | 73,066              | Australia                | 3,544               | Belgium                       | 1,022           |
| Israel                   | 58,900              | UAE                      | 3,363               | Russia                        | 919             |
| Saudi Arabia             | 21,992              | Pakistan                 | 3,211               | Zimbabwe                      | 791             |
| Canada                   | 14,486              | Lebanon                  | 3,088               | India                         | 783             |
| Sweden                   | 11,281              | Cote d'voire             | 2,511               | Iraq                          | 735             |
| Germany                  | 9,542               | Greece                   | 2,507               | Kenya                         | 723             |
| Jordan                   | 8,122               | Switzerland              | 1,972               | Ghana                         | 2,499           |
| Uzbekistan               | 721                 | United kingdom           | 8,122               | Finland                       | 694             |
| The Netherlands          | 7,592               | Zambia                   | 1,661               | New Zealand                   | 657             |
| Italy                    | 6,310               | Kuwait                   | 1,483               | South Africa                  | 638             |
| Sudan                    | 5,112               | Yemen                    | 1,233               | Egypt                         | 636             |
| Congo DR                 | 4,196               | Burkina Faso             | 1,201               | Nigeria                       | 617             |
| France                   | 3,715               | Serbia<br>Montenegro     | 1,108               | Norway                        | 3,575           |
| Guinea                   | 1,023               |                          |                     |                               |                 |

Source: Global Migrant Origin Database, Development Research center on Migration, Globalization, and Poverty, University of Sussex, 2003 as cited in Ahmed (2009).

As it is indicated in the above figure, Ethiopians out migration is towards a number of states of the World. Nevertheless, the states where Ethiopians are living as migrants have not been mentioned completely. The figure is very important even if it is not comprehensive. It is very important because it demonstrates that many states of Middle

East are destinations of irregular migrants of Ethiopians. It is also worthy as it shows that many Ethiopian migrants living in different states of the World.

The causes that derive irregular migration from Ethiopia to other parts of the world are supposed to be many. Yet, as it was stated earlier, critical political incidents were considered to be land marks for burgeoning number of irregular migrants. Subsequently of those critical political events which were disputable, the supposedly impassable threats to the human security of individuals can be regarded as resulted from that crisis and then resulted in the growing number of irregular migrants. For instance, Ahmed (2009) suggested that the number of irregular migrants or Ethiopians out Migration Was dramatically increased after the moot national election that was held in 2005 in Ethiopia. In spite of that, other perilous events of drought and economic crisis can be also mentioned as insecurities that threaten individuals and force them to decide to use irregular migration as the only way of survival.

If there is irregular migration, there should be some routes mostly used by irregular migrants. For instance, the southern route implies the irregular path Via Moyale through Kenya and crossing a number of transit states like Tanzania, Malawi, Mozambique, Rwanda, Uganda, Zambia and Zimbabwe and Ultimately in to South Africa (Brian and Laczkoceds, 2014:141). According to the estimation of Ethiopian Embassy in South Africa, about 45,000 up to 50,000 Ethiopians reside in South Africa, 95 percent of them were smuggled in to South Africa irregularly (ibid, play Therapy ltd, 2011:44). Most of irregular migrants who travel by the Southern route so as to reach South Africa are from SNNPS (Play Therapy Africa Ltd, 2011).

However, South Africa is also regarded as a transit state for some Ethiopian irregular migrants who aspire to migrate to North America, Australia and Europe (Brian and Laczkoceds), 2014). Besides, the transit states in the Southern route also can be destinations for some Ethiopians.

The North route is via Metema through Sudan and Crossing Libya and the Mediterranean and finally, irregular migrants of Ethiopians are smuggled in to Europe, some others travel in to Egypt with the hope of getting in to Israel and Middle East (Play Therapy Africa Ltd, 2011). Ethiopian Foreign Affairs approximates that about 75,000 up to 100,000 Ethiopian irregular migrants use the Northern route to Libya per annum

(ibid; ILO,2011 cited in Brian and Laczko,2014). Sudan is regarded as both transit and destination country for Ethiopian migrants (ibid). Besides, smugglers use Gambella and Asosa to get in to Sudan without being tracked (ibid).

### **2.3.1. Irregular Migration of Ethiopians to the Middle East**

Ethiopian irregular migrants use different routes to the Middle East. As it was stated earlier the Northern route was used by smugglers to move Ethiopians to the Middle East via Metema, Gambella and Asosa through Sudan and Egypt finally in to the Middle East. Another irregular migration of Ethiopians to the Middle East States has been carried out through Bole international Air Port (Play Therapy Africa Ltd, 2011).

The Last but the most important route for this study is the Red Sea and Aden Gulf route which is dominantly used by irregular migrants of Ethiopia who hope to get mainly in to Saudi Arabia, despite some of them stay in Yemen, other move permanently or temporarily till they could move to other middle East states Further on. Considerable number of Ethiopian irregular migrants uses the Red Sea and Aden Gulf route to the Middle East. This exodus of Ethiopians along this very dangerous route has been witnessed by a number of international organizations both Intergovernmental organizations (IGOS) and Nongovernmental organizations (NGOS).

Brian and Laczko (2014:141) stated by citing UNCHR and Other NGOS asserted that “Ethiopians dominate irregular migration flows to Yemen”. According to the conservative guestimates of UNCHR, the total number of Ethiopians who reached Yemen for the last seven years was at least 300,000 (ibid). The exact number of Ethiopians who travel by the Red Sea and Aden Gulf Route must be more than the figure mentioned above, because proper recording of all arrivals is very difficult for all parties involved in assessing the irregular flow of Ethiopians. Brian and Laczko (2014:142) explained “the real figure is reckoned to be higher due to monitoring limitations and because most new arrivals do not register but are kidnapped by criminal gangs and/or transported immediately to torture camps or north towards Saudi Arabia in enforcing smuggling”.

The Red sea and Aden Gulf Route is situated in geographically diversified and difficult Lands and water bodies. Passing through this route is dangerous as the route is located in desert regions which is waterless and without vegetations and with harsh climatic conditions. The aridity of the route begins in Ethiopia and extends throughout the

transit and destinations of Ethiopian migrants. Efimenco (1957:480) described the region as “the land pattern shows the bold mountain ranges, in some places there are great dunes of sand, forever shifting with the wind. Besides, the land of the region is characterized by featureless plain or plateau. In the main, these are desert land” (emphasis is added).

Crossing the two water bodies namely the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden is also very fatal. The Red sea is 1,930 Km long and 270 Km wide, but narrower at the strait of Babal Mandab with a distance of 27 Km. Besides, its average depth is 524 meters (Mistafa, 2005:4). The Bab al Mandeb meaning “the gate of tears” divides the part of Asia Particularly Yemen and Saudi Arabia from Africa markedly Djibouti and Somali land in the Horn of Africa and it also connects the Red sea to the Gulf of Aden (Norris and Harring, 1980:113). The distance of the Gulf of Aden is Larger than the Red sea in terms of width, where as the Red sea is “the most saline sea, with salinity of 41,000 PPM at the Gulf of Suez and 39,000 PPM of salt at the southern end” (Mistafa, 2005:17). This explanation of the geographic feature of the region informs us how it can be harsh for individuals who decide to cross it during irregular migration.

Almost all states of the Middle East have been classified as authoritarian regimes. As these regimes are not responsive to the growing peoples’ demand for democracy, they are critically challenged by the escalating pressure of their own disappointed peoples (The Economist, 2008). The Economist (2010:2) further affirmed that “Authoritarian trends have become even more entrenched in the Middle East and much of the former Soviet Union”. The Arab spring is a typical example of the consequence of the unresponded questions for democratic change. More to the point, the human right situation is precariously endangered in the region (Human Rights Watch, 2010).

Insecurity is becoming the attribute of the region conceivably, Yemen is regarded as a failed state which is unable to provide the minimal security required for its own people and for the number of irregular migrants and asylum seekers who stayed there. The security situation of all is uncertain in Yemen. The insecurities are exacerbated because of the civil wars that have started in Yemen since 2004 and affect the overall security situation of individuals (ibid). Besides, the civil wars in Syria, Iraq, and Libya can be mentioned as causes of insecurities in the region.

According to the World Bank Atlas method of the average economic growth of 2007, the Middle East and North Africa had the gross national per capita income of \$ 2,794 by which the region was classified as lower middle income, but this is more than gross national per capita income of Sub Saharan Africa i.e.\$ 952 in which the region was categorized as the low income region (Todaro and Smith, 2012). Yet, Some states of Middle East such as Kuwait, united Arab Emirates, Qatar and Saudi Arabia, which are oil rich and producing states, have higher gross domestic product as compared to non-oil producing states of Middle East and many of developing states of the World.

Possessing and Producing oil which is strategically valuable resource for industry during peace time as well as war time makes those oil producing Middle East states influential in World politics. However, GDP is highly criticized by scholars as it could not demonstrate the economic well being or security of each individual in the economic and political performances of states of the World. As a result, some scholars developed different ways of measuring inclusive economic growth that takes in to consideration the economic as well as political security of individual's i.e. human development index, the social progress index and so on. For example, in so far as social progress index is concerned, most Middle East states perform less than Botswana with the social progress index of 65.60 except United Arab Emirates (72.92), Israel (71.40) and Kuwait (70.66). Of course, Saudi Arabia's GDP (US\$ 27,346) is more than the GDP OF Israel (US\$ 27,296) and Botswana (US\$14,109), but its social progress index is lower than both states (Porter, Stern and Green, 2014:13). This implies that social progress index is more different and inclusive than GDP. In other Words, it is better in showing the economic, political and food security situation of states in comparison.

### **2.3.2. Instruments as to Protecting the Human Security of Irregular Migrants**

Irregular migrants are mostly regarded to be in the state of legal limbo in the presence of a number of instruments that can help realize their security by the virtue of being human beings. Even if the practicality of those instruments is controversial as well as paradoxical as they fail to protect the security of individuals in many occasions, mentioning them is important as still they are important in upgrading the security of human beings in general and irregular migrants in particular. Of course, the international community attempted a lot to realize the safety and well being of human beings from both man made as well as natural threats especially after learning from the

scourge of two universal wars and the consequences of scourges of diseases and poverty across the World (Wallace, 2003). As a result, the international community prefers to Co-operate to solve insecurities as they learn that threats occur at distance places affect others and many challenges are difficult and beyond the capability of individual states (Rourke, 2003).

Those attempts to protect human security of individuals are made at different levels at the international, regional and national levels the following are some of the instruments in relation to protect the security of migrants.

### ***2.3.2.1. International Instruments with respect to protecting the Human Security of Irregular Migrants***

As it was mentioned earlier the international community established the UNO so as to find Co-operative solutions for multifaceted challenges the World faces. So it was done in realizing international Co-operation so as to advance and foster respecting of human rights and basic freedoms for all without any discrimination. This is stated Under Article 1 sub article 3 of the UN Charter. Besides, the UN charter demanded both UNO and Member states under Articles 55 and 56 that they need to achieve “Universal respect for, and observance of human rights and fundamental Freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language and religion” (Wallace, 2003:207).

The International Bill of rights and the Global Migration Group also affirmed that to realize the security of individuals, those basic human rights must be guaranteed “without distinction of any kind such as race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status” (ILO, 2010:118; Frigo,2014:36).

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights is one of the international instruments that comprises a number of rights which can be applicable in protecting the rights of irregular migrants, in other words, they strengthen the security of individuals regardless of their migration status which includes irregular migrants and their rights in the host states. It states that irregular migrants enjoy the following rights.

The right of life, liberty, security of the person, freedom from arbitrary arrest, detention or exile; the right to be free from slavery or servitude, or the right to be protected from abuse and exploitation; equality before the law and equal protection of the law; to be free

from torture and from cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment; effective remedy by national tribunals; freedom of movement and residence; protection against discrimination, social security, the right to work; free choice of employment, and favorable conditions of work and protection against unemployment, equal pay for equal work without any discrimination, just and favorable remuneration, the formation and membership of trade unions; rest and leisure, including reasonable limitation of Working hours and periodic holidays with pay; and adequate standard of living; and security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability or other lack of lively hood” (Articles 23,24 and 25 cited by ILO, 2010:118; Frigo, 2014:36-37).

These rights are supposed to be essential in enhancing the human security of human beings in general and the security of individual migration in particular if only if they are practically respected and observed by the concerned parties who are in charge of executing them. They can be international organizations, national legal bodies and so forth. As the declaration was a resolution of the General Assembly of the UN, it was not endeavored to be a binding legal obligation, but it was designed to serve as a guideline for states to establish procedures for future protection of human rights noticeably (Wallace, 2003; Hillier, 1999:289). However, it is an important document as it paves the way for the development of customary law (ibid). So, the staunchness to the provisions of the UDHR and other instruments pertaining to human rights was reinforced in the Vienna Declaration and program of Action 1993, a conference on human rights that was held by member states of UN at Vienna in June 1993 (Hillier, 1999).

The 1948 UDHR encompasses all substantive rights such as from Article 1 up to Article 21, civil and political rights are stated which are classified as the first generation rights and from Article 22 up to Article 27, the Economic, social and cultural Rights which are classified as the second generation rights are explained and from Article 28-30 deals with the duties and responsibilities of the individual to the community (Hillier, 1999; Wallace, 2003).

The UN commission on Human Rights was making a draft of two international covenants on human rights ensuring the adoption of the UDHRs. One on civil and political rights and the other on Economic, social and cultural rights (Hillier, 1999). The two covenants were accomplished in 1950s and they were also accepted and opened for signature in 1966 by the UN General Assembly (ibid). The International covenant on civil and political

rights entered in to force in January 1976 and about 100 states are party to it currently (ibid). The ICPR is a binding convention in which signatories are obliged to realize its provisions. Reappling the part of the law in time of emergency is possible regarding some rights, yet not with regard to those rights mentioned as basic namely the right to life (Article 6), and the right to freedom from torture (Article 7) (ibid, Wallace, 2003:210). Derogation right given for states is problematic in realizing basic human rights. It can be one of the obstacles.

The international covenant on ESCR was entered in to force in March 1976 and it has about 100 states which are party to it. As far as obligations under ICESCR are concerned, it is not mandatory, rather it is promotional. Article 2 of the ICESCR stated that “each state party to the present covenant undertakes to take steps, individually and through international assistance and Co-operation, especially economic and technical, to the Maximum of its available resources, with a view to achieving progressively the full realization of the rights recognized in the present covenant by all appropriate means, including particularly the adoption of legislative measures (Hillier, 1999:292).

There are also a number of international conventions pertaining to the rights of human beings in general, but they can be also helpful in protecting the security of irregular migrants. Modern man is smart in designing and adopting laws against insecurities, even if implementation of those laws faces challenges. Mentioning all laws or instruments and mechanisms is beyond the scope of this paper. Yet, it is advisable to remember that there are many international instruments. Conventions of international labor organization and other conventions are considered to be imperative.

ILO’S convention clearly stated that imposition of punishment and sanctions must not be made against irregular migrants who happened to be in the territory of states unauthorized or undocumented crossing the border of states. Instead, ILO allows the states to control irregular movements what it calls “illegal migrations” by imposing punishments on those who organize “illegal migration” or smugglers or traffickers and citizens of host states who receive and employ workers from smugglers and traffickers (ILO, 2010). Yet, irregular migrants enjoy basic rights mentioned earlier, especially fair treatment. Fair and proper screening of irregular migrants whether they are asylum seekers or voluntary economic migrants, so states need to respect the international law and grant entry to their territory to non-nationals who are in fear of persecution by the

virtue of being members of the race, religion, nationality membership of particular social group or political parties, and as a result, they are unable to return to their own states (Frigo, 2014). Entry is also to be allowed for irregular migrants in cases of family reunification (ibid).

Besides, other international organizations also have international labor migration regimes i.e. The World Trade Organization. As it was mentioned earlier, explaining all conventions in this paper is really problematic, but it can be suggested that if they are observed by all concerned parties, they make a difference in enhancing the human security of individuals.

### ***2.3.2.2. Instruments With Respect to Protecting the Rights of Migrants in the Middle East***

Even if migration to the middle east is not a new phenomenon, large number of migrants have moved regularly and irregularly from different parts of the World since the 1970s oil surge in the region, particularly the Gulf co-operation council countries (GCC). Their number is substantial and assessed to be more than the nationals in the GCC. For instance, the total number of population of the GCC countries (Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Bahrain, Oman, Qatar and UAE) in 2008 was 5,646,000 where as there were 10,647,000 recorded migrant Workers in the GCC states in the same year which means the percentage of the total migrants i.e.65.3% in the GCC states was more than the number of the nationals (Winckler, 2010:12). Even the number of migrants can be more than the expressed one as so many migrants with irregular states live in clandestine situation in the region (ibid). Some reasons are mentioned for the growing number of the migrants in the region such as the discovery of oil, and most states of the region, especially the GCC states had small number of population without required skills to utilize the population as the national work force (ibid).

Since the very beginning of receiving migrant workers from abroad, the GCC states did not want to integrate migrants through naturalization as the western democratic states do, because they think that integrating large number of migrants would spoil their fundamental sociopolitical features which are based on kinship and tribal system and they are also afraid that their cultural and religious values would be threatened (ibid).

Due to the increase of oil price along with high scale of oil production, oil producing Middle East states become “renter states” like most third world states including ours.

“Renter states” depend on exploitation of their oil resource without being engaged in other value added production of goods and services. So, redistributing oil income to their nationals is through employment in the public sector with high salary and magnificent working conditions, where as migrants are employed in the private sectors with low salary (ibid). Yet, today the unemployment rate of nationals of Middle East states and their population are growing side by side.

Despite the presence of large number of migrant workers in the Middle East and they achieve a lot in the economic growth of the region, their rights are not protected as middle East states do not give due regard for human rights. Rahman (2010:18) stated that “Gulf Countries often ignore international conventions on the rights of migrant workers”. Besides, most of them are not signatories of the main international covenants of human rights. For instance, Vlieger (2014:297) argued that “instruments of ILO are not generally applied to domestic workers in Saudi Arabia”.

Furthermore, regional mixed migration secretariat (2014:47) explained that “there is the absence of a comprehensive refugee and migration policy in the Gulf states”. In general, all Middle East states are highly criticized for grave violation of human rights (Human Rights Watch, 2014).

Most Middle East states use the kafala or sponsorship system for a migrant to enter and stay in the host states; he or she must be sponsored by the nationals or private agencies to get Iqama, a residency card and a work permit. When the Iqama is expired, the migrants are reduced in the status of irregularity. So, irregular migrants are not allowed to stay and Work in the host states. They are either detained or expelled (Regional Mixed Migration Secretariat, 2014). In general, the human rights situation of migrants in the region is supposed to be in a deteriorated situation.

## **Chapter Three**

### **3. Human Insecurities as Deriving Forces of Ethiopian Irregular Migrants to the Middle East**

As it was stated earlier, human security is broader perspective that comprises various closely interrelated components. This study stresses on the political, economic and food securities of Ethiopians which have greater impact on the well being and safety of Ethiopian. Each of them is discussed as follows.

#### **3.1. Political Security in Ethiopia Pertaining to Irregular migration.**

Political security is one of the elements of human security that need to be taken in to consideration so as to deal with the causes of migration. Threats to political security are deprivation of human rights such as the freedom of press, freedom of association and have a political voice and other rights. The repression of these rights by the government is regarded as threats against political securities (UNDP, 1994:32). Individuals who live under such conditions have been said to be in the state of political insecurity (ibid).

After the down fall of the Dergue regime i.e. 1991, Ethiopia was reconstituted as ethnic Federal state with the determination of travelling by the liberal democratic path (Vaughan, 2003:14). Assefa (2006:131) further stated “the Federal system of government which was intended to decentralize power and resolve the nationalities questions’ by accommodating the country’s various ethno-linguistic groups”. Ethnic Federalism as a means of accommodating competing interests of diversified nations and as a way of managing inter-ethnic conflicts of the multiethnic states is highly disputable among scholars.

The argumentative understanding of ethnic Federalism stressed that it would inescapably caused conflict rather than handle it (Assefa, 2006:137). This view has been substantiated by the empirical evidence of observing the disintegration of the ethnic based Federal governments of the Former USSR, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia after the end of the cold war (Handleman, 2006:97; Rourke, 2003:214-215). Furthermore, Elazar contends that ethnic nationalism is strange in comparison with the principles of Federalism. He firmly suggested that consent must be the Foundation of dividing and sharing of power in Federalism, not “Language, religious or national myth” (Elazar, 1994:18). Besides, liberal democracy rejects ethnic Federalism, in its place; it prescribes the Universal human rights approach as the only way to realize securities of individuals.

It contends that rights are to be observed in individual terms, not in groups in which the individual belongs. Groups are the assemblage of individual agents. So, the individual uses his or her basic freedoms based on his or her choice (Addis, 2001:730). The state has negative duty to refrain from restraining the choices of individuals based on their rights (ibid). As a result, attaching individual rights to groups is irrelevant in liberal democracy.

There is another group of scholars who are in favor of ethnic Federalism as alternative way of accommodating diversified interests and identities and as capable of minimizing inter ethnic conflicts, and by doing so, realizing the security of various groups and the security of individuals who belong to those different groups and minorities who happen to be within the majority ethnic groups. In generic terms, ethnic Federalism maintains the Social, economical and political securities of the community of multiethnic states. They believe that ethnic Federalism is the way of maintaining the balance between unity and diversity. It is the devolution of Power between the two levels of governments. For instance, Fedosov (2002-13) contended that the creation of quasi-states is only one of many ways- and certainly not the most efficient One – of resolving the interests of ethnic minorities.

Institutionalizing of ethnic based identities and territories as the Federal form of government by itself is neither good nor bad, but the concern is whether it is established in democratic and Peaceful way and it is in accordance with human rights and freedoms (Kymlicka, 2006:58). Federation allowed various ethnic groups to cohabit and has a function of protecting the rights of minorities (Burgess, 2006:84).

The demise of the Dergue regime that conceded with the collapse of the former soviet Union was momentous in which the long time up until then centralized unitary system was superseded by decentralized ethnic Federalism with the requirement to inaugurate sustainable peace, democracy and foster the socioeconomic progress of the nations, nationalities and peoples of Ethiopia (Hashim, 2010:27). In other Words ethnic Federalism was preferable to other ways of reconstituting the state by those who subscribe to it as the best way of institutionalizing Ethiopian state after 1991.

Even if an individual is the member of various groups in Ethiopian society, his linguistic based group has been given priority in creating the linguistic based Federalism. As a

result, according to the 1995 constitution as per Article 49, Ethiopia was divided into nine ethnic based regional states and two federally administered city states i.e. Addis Ababa and Dire Dawa (ibid). Ethiopian Federalism recognizes ethnic groups by granting the right for self determination up to secession (Article 39 of the FDRE Constitution); the constitution also allocates the legislative and executive powers for regional states. What is more, the constitution comprises democratic and human rights (see chapter 3 of the FDRE constitution); it has given due consideration for human rights as out of 105 articles of the constitution, roughly 35 articles are about human as well as democratic rights. Furthermore, the FDRE constitution has emphasized that all regional states and Federal government bodies at all levels have the duty of respecting, enforcing and monitoring those human and democratic rights stated in the constitution.

As it is stated earlier that political security implies that individuals can live in a society that guarantees basic human rights and freedom of expression (UNDP, 1994:22). Even if a number of elections were carried out since the transition period 1992 up to 2015 elections, all of them were not immune of dispute. Asnake (2006:58), For instance stated “EPRDF’s promise regarding the development of an inclusive and democratic political order has not materialized”.

Due to a wary approach between EPRDF and OLF, the later left the 1992 regional election as it disavowed the nonexistent of a leveled playing field (Merera, 2007:10, Asnake, 2006:58). The OLF and AAPO withdrew from the transitional government because of the disagreement between these opposition parties and EPRDF over the time of election. The former needed to have additional time for preparation while EPRDF pressed for the election to be held as scheduled, consequently, EPRDF emerged victorious in the elections without being radically challenged by the opposition parties (Fiseha as cited in Mesfin, 2011:117). EPRDF as well accused of OLF’s and AESM’s insistence of employing violence (Asnake, 2006:58; Mesfin, 2011:118). Besides, EPRDF charged OLF for killing of a number of innocent citizens in Bedeno (Mesfin, 2011:118). This indicates, without a shadow of doubt, there was political insecurities during the transition period. The later election that is to say the 2000 election was also remained to be controversial. As Tronvoll (2012:17) cited pausewang and Aalen, stated “when local elections were held in 2001, the process was resulted in several clashes and violent incidents”.

Unlike former elections of Ethiopia, the May 2005 elections of Ethiopia were believed to be multiparty elections as the ruling party, EPRDF and a number of other opposition parties were contesting in the election. Most observers contend that the pre-elections as well as the Election Day were free from commotion, and were also democratic. There was a high turnout of voters and political parties were said to be better organized, besides, the public and private Medias were freely accessible for all sides (Asnake, 2006:58; Tensae, 2012:57).

Perhaps it is good to allow Bereket Simone, the former Minister of communications and information Technology (MCIT) who was assigned as a Campaign Leader of EPRDF for the 2005 election to Summarize:

“The 2005 election was unique and democratic compared with the previous elections. This was because of the two distinct strategies designed by the ruling party, EPRDF and the opposition parties respectively. The strategy of the opposition parties was controlling power by inciting unrest or by carrying out YekelemAbiwote. Whereas, as EPRDF already understood the intention of the opposition parties, it employed a different strategy i.e. broadening the political space and making the whole process democratic, by doing so, it had a plan of blocking any reason for the opposition not to turn to violence. As a result, both the pre-election and the election days were tranquil” (Interview broadcasted by Amhara TV, 2 December 2015).

Conversely, the post election period was regarded as the time of electoral violence (Tensae, 2012:57). It was not unexpected that the election which was seen prospective of being peaceful resulted in post electoral crisis (Abbnik and Aalen cited in Asnake, 2006:58).

Bereket Stated “Unfortunately the post election stage was a dangerous and worrying time. During this time, two popular unrests were broken out” (Interview broadcasted by Amhara TV, 2 December 2015). Asnake (2006:59) further described the post election disorder as “This led to street protests that resulted in deaths of hundreds of people at the hands of security forces . . . the government also undertook a massive crackdown on political opposition, the critical press and civil society organizations”. Moreover, Tronvoll and Hangman (2012:18) expressed the Worst case scenario of post election that resulted

in “a heavy handed crackdown against opposition supporters, the private media and civil society representative in Addis Ababa and other opposition strong holds”.

The causes of the crisis are disputable. The wrangles between both sides are not like the quarrels of lovers which are regarded as the renewal of love. While the opposition parties proclaimed that the ruling party claimed victory by fraud, the ruling party asserted that the opposition parties had illegal strategy to win the election that was planned protest by mobilizing popular demonstration which is similar to that of the orange revolution designed by the opposition party in Ukraine.

Accordingly, the government apprehended some leaders of the opposition parties, civil society activists and journalists. They were indicted for inciting violence, trying illegal change of government combined with genocide (Asnake, 2006:59; Tronvoll and Hangman, 2012:18). Bereket also contended that the whole process of the 2005 election as “partly a failure and partly a success” (Interview broadcasted by Amhara TV, 2 December 2015). Yet, some scholars viewed the post election period of Ethiopia as a reversal of democracy (Abbink as cited in Tronvoll and Hangman, 2012:19; Tensae, 2012:57; Zahorik, 2011:102). It is also argued that the government extremely narrowed the available political space, Asnake (2006:59) contended that “it has enacted restrictive new laws on political parties, the press and civil society organizations”.

At this point in time, there are two types of political parties in Ethiopia, the first category comprises parties which have engaged in non-violence, in other words parties which made a shift from being oppositions to militants, namely OLF, ONLF, IFLO, SLF and Arbegnoch Ginbot 7 (Wondwosen, 2009:2078; Mesfin, 2011:162).

Some of these groups such as OLF, ONLF and Ginbot 7 are described as terrorist groups by the government (ibid). Any link and association with these groups is illegal and punishable as stated by anti- terrorism proclamation No.652/2009. The ruling party also won the 2010 and 2015 elections by landslide victory. Yet, the opposition parties did not accept the results. 33 interviewees who experienced irregular migration via the Red Sea and Gulf of Aden Routes stated their views as far as their experience of elections in Ethiopia is concerned “election time in Ethiopia is a time of insecurity. We are afraid of supporting the opposition parties, and we are also afraid of being members of political parties because we saw our friends, family members and our teachers were arrested after

the 2005 election” (personal interview made with Returnee Migrants, 2014, 2015 and 2016).

They know the importance of being active citizens and participating in the socio-economic and political activities of their country, however some of them prefer to be passive. Said suggested that “I migrated to Saudi Arabia after 2010 Ethiopian election, fortunately I returned to Ethiopia due to the expulsion policy of the Saudi government as a result I was here in Ethiopia during 2015 election, but I did not go to the ballot box” (personal interview, 2015). Gemeches and Ebessa live in Oromia regional state. They also believed that major political insecurities take place during election time as well as during special events like popular demonstration and petition. However, it does not mean that there is no political insecurity in other occasions (Personal interview, 2016).

They mentioned, for example, the insecurities occurred after the popular demonstrations in relation to the organized Addis Ababa master plan, one held before a year and the other happened recently in 2016 this is a real fact even the government itself accepted that there is the problem of good governance that affects the securities of individuals (ibid). Gemeches stated “I was imprisoned without committing any crime, but I was released with warning but I heard many individuals were imprisoned in Oromia region and some were killed, yet I do not know the exact number of deaths and injuries” (Personal interview, 2016).

Human rights watch announced that about 140 demonstrators were killed, but this number is not based on the close investigation of the organization, its announcement is based on the individual witnesses. It suggested that the government employed excessive force (Human Rights Watch cited in the Guardian, 2016). Conversely, the Guardian stated that the causes of the conflict is not only the integrated Master plan of Addis Ababa, but it is deep-rooted that comprises corruption, problems of good governance and the lack of public inclusiveness in decision making of development programs (ibid).

Of course, election is not the only event when political insecurity is prevailing. Political security can be endangered during interstate and intra state conflicts. Usman suggested that “the political security situation in Somali region is due to the conflicts between Ethiopian government and ONLF as well as between different clans in the region, and between the Somalis and Oromos around the border areas. These conflicts are persistent

in the region, consequently not only our political security but also our other securities are threatened” (Personal interview made with Usman, 2016).

The primordial clan system is common feature of the Somali ethnic group that affects the political as well as economic securities of individuals in Somali National Regional state (CHF International, 2006:12). The clan system is complicated and fluid there are many clans, sub-clans and sub-sub clans and the categories keep on at the lower level. Besides, the degree of loyalty is multifaceted, but firm at the lower level i.e. at the sub-sub clan level (ibid). The different tiers of Somali National Regional state have been inhabited by different Clans. CHF International (2006:13) stated that “One sub-clan generally resides in one kebele, meaning Woredas are home to multiple sub-clans, some times of the same over all clan, sometimes of different clans”.

The conflict which has been the causes on insecurities of individuals that displaces many people from Somali National Regional state is as well has the intricate nature of inter-ethnic (between Somalis and the Oromos, and between Somalis and Afars); intra ethnic conflict between the Ogadeni and Non- Ogadeni Somalis, and the violence the government of Ethiopia calls it, terrorist operation in the region which is carried out by Ogaden National Liberation Front (ONLF), the government also execute counter terrorist operations. The counter terrorist operation has been increased mainly after ONLF killed many Chinese and Ethiopian Workers there (Asnake, 2006). Aminat suggested that “the in security is because of the fighting between ONLF and government troops, because ONLF has operated in the area since long ago” (personal Interview with Aminat, 2016). Both Aminat and Usman stated that” both sides meaning the Ethiopian government and ONLF are responsible for the political insecurities, of course intra and inter clan conflicts also are the causes for the deteriorating insecurities of our community. (Personal interview , 2016). This implies that the region has been affected by inter and intra ethnic conflicts. Moreover, it has been the theater of terrorist or anti-guerilla operations for a number of years where and when the human security situation of inhabitants has been endangered.

Another important aspect of political security is the freedom of movement from one regional state to the other regional states of Ethiopia. Freedom of movement, reside and work is stated in the FDRE constitution. It gives the right for Ethiopians to move, reside and work in the region of their choice. However, they are insecure to do so within the

territories of the country. The in-depth interview with interviewees and the available literatures show that freedom of movement from one part of Ethiopia to the other part is affected.

Hough (2004:18) suggested that as far as political security is concerned, prominence is given in the domestic politics of some democratic states where individual people are empowered with citizenship rights which comprises the right to vote and reside, move and work in that country.

Even if the regional states are organized on the basis of their ethnic backgrounds, any of them are not homogeneous. Other minority groups exist in each regional state. In other words, they are the composition of diversities. SNNPR, highly diversified regional state of Ethiopia, For example, comprise 56 ethnic groups. Besides, the urban as well as rural areas of regional states of Ethiopia have large number of minority ethnic groups (Assefa, 2006:136). Vander Beken (2007:14) asserted “a closer look at the various state populations indicates that none of the nine regions is ethnically homogeneous”.

This demographic and ethnic composition is the result of the movement of people from outside to Ethiopia and internal movements of people from and to each regional state. People move when they are threatened by other people and natural disasters. They use migration as way of avoiding various insecurities. The government also uses as a policy of avoiding insecurities i.e. the resettlement policy of the 1980. Mberu (2006:510) stated “under these circumstances, migration became not only an individual or family response to adverse socio economic, physical and political environment, but also an official government policy”.

Despite the countries reconstitution on the basis of ethno- Linguistic criteria, there are conflicts that affect individual’s security in Ethiopia. Local tyranny is one of the sources of political insecurity meaning the security situation of minorities in the regional states of the country is one of the problematic issues of ethnic federalism in Ethiopia (Assefa, 2006:136). He further explained:

*“Only five of the major nationalities (Amhara, Oromo, Tigray, Aar, and Somali) have their own regional states. But ethnic minorities exist even in these states, so that there is always a potential for local tyranny. The danger is that the dominant ethnic group will consider itself the owner of the mother state with the result that other citizens, of minority*

*ethnic group, are marginalized economically and politically. This runs counter to the constitutional provisions that stipulate the right to work and to live in a place of one's choice" (ibid).*

Asefa's argument is plausible without any doubt as it can be substantiated by the number of incidents of conflicts which are against the security of individuals in the country. For instance, about 12,000 migrant settlers were displaced from East Wollega Zone, GiddaKiremu Woreda in 2000. During that conflict, many individuals from the settlers as well as the Oromo's side were killed, properties were also destroyed and ultimately the settlers were displaced from their area of settlement involuntarily (Tesfaye, 2009:860). Those settlers started to move and settle there since the imperial regime i.e. 1940 (ibid). The causes of the conflict were political agitation by the local authorities against the minorities by allegedly complaining that minorities claimed a special Woreda of Oromia which is like in Amhara region i.e. Kemissie (ibid). Renaming of places in Amharic, Constructing of churches, the illegal selling of lands for the growing number of migrants and the chauvinistic attitude of the migrants towards the local population are all mentioned as agitated causes (ibid). Conversely, the local people envied the migrant settlers as their livelihood improved and the migrant settlers were excluded from the administration role of the peasant association (ibid).

Other observers argued that the minorities are marginalized from political representation in Oromia region .For instance, even if Amharas make up about 10 percent of the population of Oromia, they are excluded from the political participation or representation at any levels of the region's government (Vander Benek, 2007:115; Tokuma, 2010:iv). All those causes seem securitized or constructed even if they were not real dangers that lead to conflicts. Whatever the case, the causes can be boiled down in to political causes which are political security aspects in general.

Worku and Alelegn stated that" our parents moved from Amhara region to Oromia region before 30 years and settled around Tolay we have lived there and owned property we interact with the local people and integrated with marriage. Our coexistence is peaceful. Nevertheless, violent conflict is incited by some individuals, as a result "our houses and crops are burnt down, and we are beaten to death. For we are insecure, we choose to migrate to the Middle East" (Personal Interview made in 2016). They further stated that they are afraid of moving to other parts of Ethiopia due to the bad experience of their

other relatives in other regions. Retrospectively, For example, Alelegn explained the experience of his uncle; his 3 children and his wife were displaced from GudaFereda with the charge of expanding farm land and destroying the forest. Their displacement was not decided by the court, but it was done by the local officials. So,” I do not intend to move to other region of Ethiopia to work and reside there” (personal interview made in 2016).

According to some studies and interviewees, political insecurities are prevailing in other regional states of Ethiopia like BenishangulGumuz and Gambela Regional states. For BenishangulGumuz regional state is sparsely populated and has fecund land, many migrants are pulled to the region from the neighboring regional states where farm lands became Fragmented and infertile (Vander Benek, 2007:125). The region comprises different ethnic groups such as Berta (25.1%), Gumuz (12.8%), Shinasha (7%), Mao and Komo each amount to less than one percent of the total population of the region i.e. 460,459 residents (ibid). Nonetheless, the same exclusion and intolerance was observed in BeniShangul- Gumuz where significant number of Amahara and Oromo minorities who claimed political representation. Yet, their farm lands were confiscated and they are also denied their right to join colleges, universities and so forth (Asnake, 2013:103).

Yenenew and Mesert asserted their experiences in BeniShangul-Gumuz regional state as “Our parents moved from Eastern Gojjam to BenishangulGumuz during the Dargue regime, we were born there, our parents told us during the Dergue regime the security situation was good, yet after the down fall of the regime, our security situation is getting worse and worse” (Personal Interview, 2015). Torture and killing are committed mostly by the Gumuz; so, displacement and persistent fear are common (ibid). Besides, our land we bought from the local people was taken by them. Equitable political representation, job opportunities in the public and government sectors in the region for us are unthinkable. We choose to migrate to the Middle East; we do not want to move to other places of Ethiopia because we think that is risky. It is better to migrate to outside Ethiopia (ibid).

Gambela regional state has also diversified ethnic composition, namely Anywaa, Neuer, Majagir, Kopo, Komo and Highlanders, Highlanders includes 8 percent Amharas, 8 percent SNNPRS, 6 percent Oromos, and 2 Percent Tigrayans (FDRE Government cited in Derege, 2006:221). Nevertheless, the number has been expected to increase as a number of youth have moved to Gambella from other regional states of Ethiopia for the sake of job opportunities. Despite the Federal Government’s effort to establish stable

regional state in Gambella, the security situation in the region is volatile due to claims to equal political representation among various groups mentioned above. As a result, a number of conflicts has broken out since 1992 and many lives are perished and properties are destroyed (ibid, Dawit, 2011:103).

The “high Landers” did not have political representation in Gambela regional state, except the bureaucracy, trade and other jobs. Yet, the region’s government allocated eleven seats in the state’s council for the highlanders after the 2010 election which is better as compared to the minorities’ representation in Oromia and Benishangul – Gumuz regional states (ibid emphasis is added). However, since the 2003 conflict, each group has their own actual and perceived threats such as Neurs and Anywaas are in persistent conflict to be dominant, Where as the highlanders think that there are threats against their safety (Physical Security) and well being (Job or economic Security). Their economic insecurity is due to the growing number of skilled and trained persons from Anywaa and Nuers (ibid). They can be displaced from their jobs by the virtue of being Amharas or Oromos, and the vacant is filled by the indigenous people. Physical as well as other insecurities are common in the region because of the recurrent conflicts among various groups. For instance, more than 200 highlanders were massacred in Ukuna Village by equipped Anywaas in 1992, in that year, many highlanders were also decimated by the Nuer led by their leader, Wutnyang. The High Landers also hit back at both (Derege, 2009:644).

The Government of Ethiopia dismissed some Anywaa officials and police men in 2003, then after, they resorted to violence and killed 14 highlanders (Human Rights Watch cited in Dereje, 2009:646). In retaliation, about 420 Anywaas were Killed according to international Organizations’ sources, but the government of Ethiopia confessed only 67 deaths (ibid).

There is also complicated interethnic group conflict because of the competition over natural resources among different pastoralist clans of Nuers i.e. between Gaajak and the Gaajok; between Thiang and Gaajak; and there was also conflict over resources between five Gaajak clans (Dereje, 2009:643). This indicates that one ethnic group by politicizing the identity categorization between “US” and “them” or “the others”, in other words by manipulating socially constructed identity as securitization so as to realize some interests. As it was mentioned, the Nuers had discord with Anywaas and the Highlanders

and the vice versa is also true. This is surprising that the other time, they had disharmony and violent conflict among themselves.

These complicated inter-ethnic and intra-ethnic conflicts enable us to postulate that they are the consequences of the absence of the art of how to live together with harmony. Dereje of course suggested that the lack of proper zonation between various groups is a cause of conflict (ibid). His suggestion would appear to be plausible if it means the absence of fair resource distribution not only among various groups but also individuals in those groups is a cause of complicated persistent conflicts that affect the security of individuals. Not Focusing on the security of individuals is problematic as that individual's identity cannot be bread if that individual does not gain anything only from the virtue of being the member of that group. Fortunately, he recommended the importance of establishing ethnic federalism that allows political pluralism to prevent conflicts, in other words to realize individuals' security. For Vander Benek (2007), the absence of equitable political representation for minorities is a cause of dispute. Anyways, those complicated intra and inter ethnic groups conflicts are insecurities against individuals in the region. Individuals live in a state of fear all the time.

Some scholars give priority for some principles of democracy as a significant characteristic for the well functioning of the democratic system. For example, for Schumpeter the selection of representatives by citizens in free and fair elections along with universal suffrage is the most basic feature of modern democracy (Rosema et al, 2011:12). However, Dahl stated that freedom of speech and freedom of association are crucial characteristics for the well functioning of democracy (ibid). Disregardless of prioritizing features of democracy, others tend to observe whether these principles of democracy are observed on the ground.

The FDRE Government enacted the anti-terrorist press and civil society organization laws with the purpose of protecting human security of individuals. For example, the government enacted the antiterrorism law in 2009. The reasons of enacting the act has been stated in the first part of the act as the government believes that the need arises to protect the people from the possible peril posed by terrorism as the people have the right to live in peace, freedom and security. The need is also said to be arisen as terrorism is the threat for the country. Besides, it states that the new act is required as the existing legislations are inadequate to prevent terrorism and to gather information so as to

adequately fight terrorism (Federal NegaritGazeta, 2009:4827). Contrariwise, the critics suggested that the Anti- terror proclamation can be abused by the government, as a result, freedom of expression and association are jeopardized. For instance, some scholars mainly refer to the “encouragement of terrorism” which is stated in part two, especially under article 6 of the proclamation, is potential for manipulation. So that it is abused to silence critical expressions (Adem, 2012:6). The new anti-terror law will encroach on media freedom (Human Rights Watch, 2010:19). Those provisions criminalize journalists who write the security issues above all concerning groups named terrorists (ibid). Whatever they write about terror acts but condemnation of them are regarded as inciting or propping up terrorists (ibid). The government tried to justify the new terror law by saying that the law is the direct copy of anti-terror law of European states who are supposed to have good experience of enacting laws relating to terrorism. However, in general, critics believe due to the new anti-terror law, the security of individuals to be endangered rather than to be protected.

The FDRE government also issued the new press law in 2009 with the aim of spurring “developmental journalism” by making the media responsible and professional. Both laws provide that everybody is entitled to freedom of expression and to obtain and communicate ideas and information. Conversely, article 29, sub articles 6 and 7 of the constitution of Ethiopia state the conditions in which freedom of expression can be limited. As per Article 29 sub article (7) of the constitution “Legal limitations can be laid down ...to protect youth, and the honor and reputation of individuals. War propaganda as well as expression of opinion to injure human dignity shall be for bidden by law” (Constitution of FDRE, 1995:28). This indicates that the constitution gives power for the government to enact laws pertaining to the press and media.

Of course, scholars believe in the importance of defamation laws to protect the reputation of individuals, their livelihood is based on it, from intentional damage by false statement (Article 19, 2000:5). Yet, they contend “there should be appropriate balance between freedom of expression and injury to reputation” (ibid). They described that “by reputation is meant the esteem in which an individual is generally held within a particular community” (ibid). In order to realize the Freedom of expression and injury to reputation of individuals, the defamation laws of states are to be enacted in accordance with international standards, For instance, Syracuse principles devised by the UN in

1984 i.e. Limitation of rights must be prescribed by laws, must have legitimate purpose, and must be essential for democratic society (Article 19 and UN cited in MCEW an strand, 2014:18). On the other hand, to have the required balance, the defamation laws should disregard some issues that are thought to open the door for the powerful to violate freedom of expression. Such issues are as follows the legitimate criticism of officials, assertions that affect the reputation of objects contrary to people, namely the state, nations, or national or religious symbols or emblems, assertions that influence the reputation of the deceased as it hinders historical analysis and opinions that are not facts or neither free nor false (Article 19,2000:5). Besides, it suggests that excessive punishment like imprisonment and heavy fines also must be avoided (ibid).

If defamation laws are enacted based on those principles, they would become good laws i.e. civil laws rather than being criminal defamation laws that have a chilling effect on Freedom of expression (ibid). As it was mentioned earlier, the government's firm position of implementing the new press law is disputed. Amare (2009:29-31) stated "the press law puts eight restrictions contradicting the constitution as the licensing is repressive, content restrictions are amazing, the defamation law, penalties, inter alia, are damaging the press Freedom situation in Ethiopia" .

The new press law goes beyond the bounds of international standards and even it goes beyond what is stated in the 1992 law that regulated the press (Arriola, 2011:6). He Further argued" the defamation of government officials is also criminalized, even without the alleged victim being required to file a complaint, and the associated fines have been increased from about \$ 60 to nearly \$6,000" (ibid). In most cases, it is stressed that the new legislation of the press, has adverse consequences in relation to human rights (Human Rights Watch, 2014:121). In its report, HRW (2011:125) about 15 journalists migrated to other states between late 2009 and May 2010. Besides, 41 journalists migrated between 2001 and 2009 (Arriola, 2011:6).

By and large, 49 journalists migrated to other countries between 2007 and 2012 due to fear of prosecution and harassment (Media Watchdogs Cited by Aljazeera, 2013). Moreover, some journalists are in prison (ibid). The government avowed that those interned in prison are terrorists; they are detained not because of being journalists (ibid).

Of course the government has moral and legitimate duty to protect human rights and public security at some costs of freedom of expression using laws enacted based on widely agreed international standards. The problem is the shortage of consensus in understanding and interpreting laws. Hence, all the above assertions indicate that there is misunderstanding and dispute as to regulating freedom of expression. The provisions of the new press law to be employed as touchstones in limiting expressions of individuals not to be against human rights (reputation) and public security are controversial and are not settled in a democratic way among the academicians, politicians and international community and journalists at large. As a result, the critics indicates that the measures taken by the government against those journalists and critical voices in the name of protecting the nation's security are said to have the chilling effect on freedom of expression which might result in the growing political insecurities and migration.

Adem and Tessema stated that “we had despaired as we did not have any means of criticizing local officials for their embezzlement, maladministration and even the violation of rights” (Personal Interview, 2016). They further asserted that” however, as the government has opened the closed windows of freedom of expression recently and it has had public discussion in which we could criticize local officials, the government seems determined to hear the voices of individuals, yet we are afraid of retaliation unless the government designs any mechanism to protect us” (ibid).

The rights of association and assembly are also important aspects of human rights which are regarded as sine qua non for proper functioning of democracy as well as for the protection of human securities in (UNDP, 1994). The FDRE constitution has included both rights under Article 30 and 31 respectively. Besides, the right of Workers to form associations to protect their rights related their work i.e. conditions of work and economic well being has been stated under Article 42 of the constitution. Yet, the constitution states some conditions in which these rights can be limited and resulted in liability such as when organizations are formed in violation of laws, which the need arises to protect democratic rights of others, public morality and peace and to stop propaganda of war.

The government argued that it took a number of legislative measures to protect freedom of Association and Assembly of citizens such as charities and societies proclamation No.621/2009, political parties registration proclamation No.573/2008, Labor

proclamation, cooperative societies proclamation, Micro-finance proclamation inter alia (Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, 2014:64). Hence, the government contended that due to its determination to realize citizen's freedom of Assembly and Association through taking a number of constitutional, policies, legal, administrative and institutional measures, many Co-operative associations have been established for various purposes. In addition, more than 3000 NGOs have been said operating in Ethiopia presently, and the number of political parties has been reached 77 in 2011 E.C (ibid). Some interviewees explained that "yes, the government has given the opportunity for a number of unemployed individuals to establish their own small businesses, but it is not free from partiality" (Personal interview, 2014, 2015 and 2016). Some of them argued that "even if the opportunity is given, it is half heartedly as it is full of obstacles, For Example, we are demanded collateral and initial capital which we do not have. They Know we are poor" (ibid).

Some observers argued that the government's effort in ensuring freedom of Assembly and Association is not free from disparagement. Accordingly, the CSO proclamation is regarded to be challenging for civil society organizations dealing with human rights as well as good governance concerns (Adem 2012:7). CSOS are obliged not to raise more than 10% funds from abroad (ibid).

In most cases, it is stressed that the new legislations of the press, CSOS and anti-terror have adverse consequences in relation to human rights (Human Rights Watch, 2014:121). Consequently, HRW (2014:121) contended "several of the country's most prominent human rights activists have fled the country due to threats".

Esekedar and Meron suggested that "the causes of irregular migration from Ethiopia to the Middle East are very dynamic; they vary from region to region in Ethiopia. Nevertheless, in generic terms, causes include mainly economic based on the information gathered from those who experienced irregular migration or returnees and there are also cases of political insecurities due to conflicts and tribal conflicts" (Personal Interview, 2016).

At a macro level, the democratic transformation of states of the world has been analyzed and evaluated using text study and empirical analysis by some research institutions annually. For instance, the economist intelligence unit's index makes available the view

of the situation of democracy of 165 states of the world by taking in to consideration five categories such as electoral process and pluralism, civil liberties, the Functioning of government, political participation and political culture. So states are classified in to four types of regimes based on the total scores of the five categories. Full democracies scores of 8 to 10, flawed democracies from 6 to 79, hybrid regimes (4 to 5.9), and authoritarian regimes with scores below 4 (The economist, 2008:8). Based on these criterions, Ethiopia was ranked 105<sup>th</sup> out of 167 states of the world in 2008. Its democratic transformation was averaged out at 4.52 in which it was classified as hybrid regime (ibid). By the report of the economist (2012:28), hybrid regime implies a system in which free and fair election is affected by immense irregularities, government pressure on political parties is perhaps familiar. It is also characterized by ineffectual civil society and rule of law.

Besides, critical weaknesses are common in the political culture, political participation and functioning of the government (ibid). Moreover, journalists are agitated and pressurized (ibid). What is more, there is inclination of rampant corruption and the judiciary is said to be not free. However, Ethiopia was ranked 123<sup>rd</sup> out of 165 states of the World on the basis of the same criteria mentioned earlier in 2012. Its overall score was 3.72. Its democratic situation goes downhill (ibid).

In its 2012 report, the BTI index provided the gamut of political transformation of Ethiopia using a scale (1 implies lowest political transformation, where as 10 indicates the highest political transformation) in which Ethiopia was ranked 108<sup>th</sup> out of 128 states of the world evaluated. Its total score of transformation was 3.68 (BTI, 2012:1). BTI index takes in to consideration a number of political issues Viz. political participation that comprises free and fair election, association and assembly rights, freedom of expression; stateness, rule of law, stability of democratic institutions, and political and social integration (ibid). Generally, BTI index has 5 broad categories of criteria and 18 indicators (ibid). Sadly, both BTI (2014:14) and the economic Intelligence unit (2015:7) classified Ethiopia as Authoritarian regime. Yet, the government argued that even if the country's transformation to democracy has some challenges due to its embryonic stage, there are some undeniable developments like the presence of about 77 political parties, free and fair election and so on (FDRE government, 2014:64).

### 3.2. Economic Security as Deriving Force of Irregular Migration from Ethiopia to the Middle East.

As it was mentioned earlier that economic security is one of the components of human security. It implies individuals' fulfillment of a basic income which can be gained through gainful employment or from social safety net or environmental resources (UNDP, 1994:23). Observing the economic situation of Ethiopia at a macro level from the start is important to understand the economic security of individuals in relation to irregular migration.

Some observers suggested that Ethiopia's economy has grown for the last decade with average GDP growth rate of 10.8 percent (UNDP, 2014:1). The country's economic growth rates for the four consecutive years were 10.8% in 2008; 8.8% in 2009; 9.9% in 2010 and 7.3% in 2011 (BTI, 2014:11). The UNDP suggested that "the Ethiopian economy grew by 8.8 percent and 9.7 percent in the fiscal years 2011/12 and 2012/13 respectively". There is inconsistency between the reports of BTI and UNDP as far as the growth rates are concerned. For example, BTI itself compared the country's economic growth based on united Nation's report which stated that it was less than 2% where as BTI suggested less than 10%, yet, whatever the case in point, the growth rates are high that make Ethiopia one of the fastest growing economies of the World (UNDP, 2014:11).

**Table 3.1, Main Macro Economic Indicators of Ethiopia for Some Selected years**

|                               | 2004/05 | 2010/2011 | 2011/12 | 2012/13 |
|-------------------------------|---------|-----------|---------|---------|
| GDP growth (%)                | 12.6    | 11.4      | 8.8     | 9.7     |
| Agriculture                   | 13.5    | 9.0       | 4.9     | 7.1     |
| Industry                      | 9.4     | 15.0      | 17.1    | 18.5    |
| Services                      | 12.8    | 12.5      | 11.1    | 9.9     |
| Saving (as% of GDP)           | 9.5     | 12.7      | 15.0    | 17.7    |
| Investment (as% of GDP)       | 26.0    | 27.9      | 33.1    | 33.0    |
| Fiscal deficit (as% of GDP)   | 4.6     | 1.6       | 1.2     | 2.0     |
| Exports (US\$ billions)       | 0.8     | 2.7       | 3.2     | 3.1     |
| Imports (US\$ billions)       | 3.6     | 8.2       | 11.1    | 11.5    |
| Trade deficit (US\$ billions) | 2.8     | 5.5       | 7.9     | 8.4     |
| Inflation (%)                 | -       | 18        | 33.7    | 13.5    |

Sources: MOFED and NBE as cited in UNDP, 2014:11).

Even if the country's economic growth is said to be good for the last decade, it is classified as one of the poor nations of the world with an economy which is affected by increasing trade deficit, growing level of Foreign debt and inflation; besides, it is affected by agriculture reliance on rainfall, drought and land degradation (BTI, 2014:24; United Nations country Team, 2011:12). The World Bank (2013:11-12) also explained its observation about the economic situation of Ethiopia as "with a GNI per capita of US\$ 370 in 2011, Ethiopia was classified as a low income country and one of the ten poorest countries of the World".

GDP per capita is one of the ways of Measuring and understanding the level of poverty of a nation, yet it is not the only and best way of knowing the economic security of individuals. Of course, there are different, possibly better way of understanding poverty which are encompassing the depth of poverty like multidimensional poverty index, Human development index, social progress index and so on. Nevertheless, a \$ 1.25/ day poverty line is widely used as a bench mark to measure absolute poverty which is used to differentiate those who consume less than \$ 1.25/ day from those who do so more than that line. This way of understanding poverty is called income poverty which is supposed to be "the most cited, recognizable, understand able, and broadly applicable" (USAID, 2013:7). Yet, there is no common ground whether which way is exact.

Notwithstanding the economy of Ethiopia was said to be one of the Fastest growing economies for the last decade with average growth rate of 10 percent and the poverty head count decreased from 38.7 to 26 percent between 2004/15-2012/13 using US\$ 0.60 as threshold of poverty line, about 25 million people have lived in absolute poverty and have experienced food and economic insecurities (UNDP, 2015:2-3). A\$ 0.60 poverty line might be either a national poverty line or the poverty line that was used by some scholars to measure the poverty of the low income developing states as Ravallion and others did. Whatever the case in point, it shows that large numbers of Ethiopians are in a state of extreme poverty. In other words, despite its failure to use the international poverty line .i.e. US\$ 1.25/day, the report is still important.

Another data demonstrates that the proportion of people living below the poverty line in Ethiopia has gone down from 45.5% in 1995/96 to 27.8 in 2011/12 (FDRE Government and United Nations Country Team, 2012:3). Whether this report is based on the national

poverty line is not clearly stated in the report. There are some discrepancies between the former reports and other studies. See the following comparative poverty measurements.

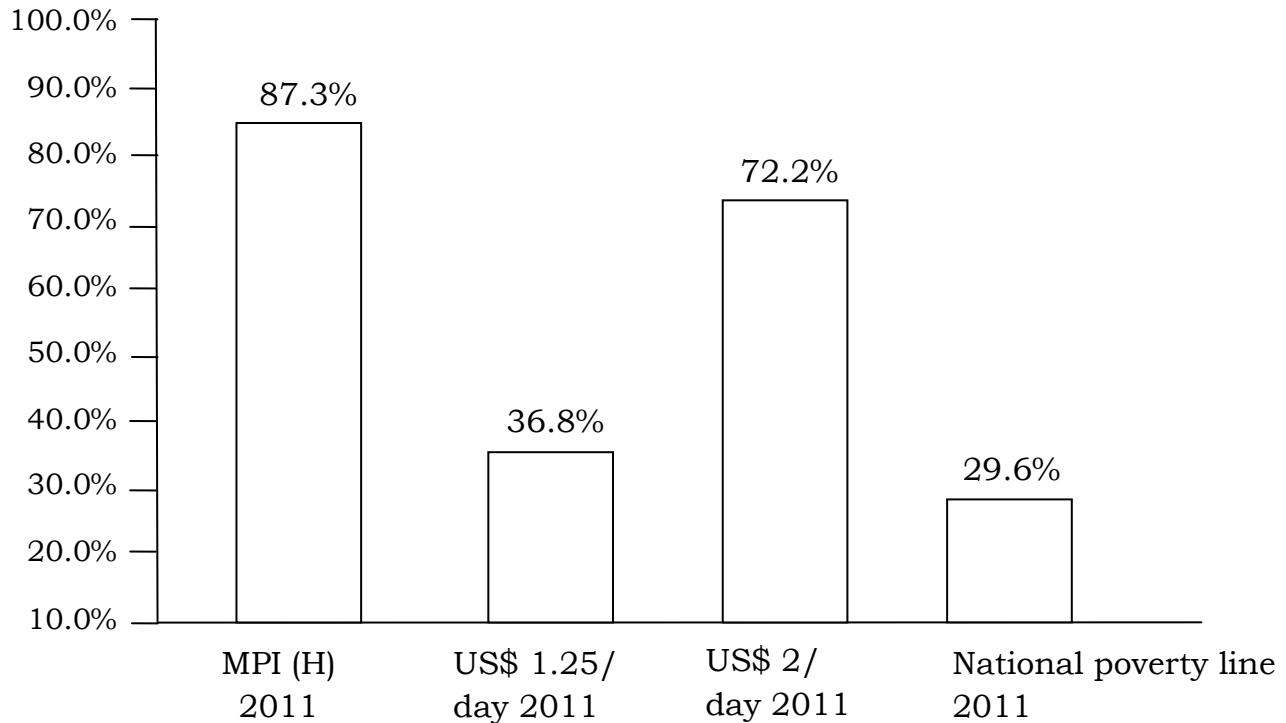


Figure3. 1, Comparative poverty measures of Ethiopia, world Bank Data are with MPI as compiled by OPHI, 2015, 2.

Even if there is some decrease in the level of extreme poverty in Ethiopia, still all evidences show that significant numbers of Ethiopians are living in absolute poverty meaning they earn below US\$ 1.25 a day. When we use a \$2 a day poverty line the number of people who live in poverty increases, even when we compare different poverty, we observe different results with regard to the proportion of the people who live in poverty. For example, the income poverty line of US\$ 1.25 indicates about 36.8 percent of Ethiopian people were living in 2011(see the above graph). Whereas the MPI (H) indicates that 87.3% of Ethiopian people were living in poverty (see the above graph).

Some of the interviews stated that even if they get job in informal sector as day laborers and even in the Agricultural sector, they could hardly survive. For example, dealing suggested' I depend on my family for 5 years after I took the school leaving exam. You see, living without work makes you ignorant, you lack self confidence, you feel despair" (Personal Interview, 2015). He Further explained" I tried to be employed as a day laborers

in road construction company, but the money I earned can't cover my basic need expenses. I used to earn 1200 Ethiopian birr. My friends suggested that the inflation is the problem. As a result, I believed that I could not change my life with that money anymore and finally I decided to migrate" (ibid).

Those who had been employed believed that attempting to get job that changes their life is unthinkable. Of course subsistence living is possible with many risks such as the job is not beneficiary and not permanent.

For instance, Almaz and Demeke expressed their experiences at the horticulture farms situated in Holeta Genet a place 40 kilometers far away from Addis Ababa "the Horticulture Owners pay 24 birr for a woman per day and 30 birr for a man per day, we were employed on permanent base, so, 7 percent is deducted for income tax and other work related purposes". (Personal interview, 2015). Their assertion is right; most Horticulture owners around Holeta pay almost the same amount per day for each workers. The income they earn is below a US\$ 1.25/day which is the international poverty line.

There is no recent data or study about the employment situation in the Agriculture, industry, service as well as the informal sectors. As far as urban unemployment is concerned the joint report of Ethiopian government and the United Nations Country Team (2012:3) stated" the data shows that 16.1 percent of male and 29.6 percent of Female young people (aged between 15-29 years) were unemployed in 2011/12". They Further asserted" urban Youth unemployment fell only from 23.7 percent to 23.3 percent for the same period" (ibid).

This implies that large proportions of Urban Youth are employed, their proportion of unemployment is less than 30 percent for the period stated. The general urban as well as rural unemployment situations are not stated in the report. 23.3 percent unemployment per se is huge figure and a big challenge.

The majority of the interviews are from rural areas. They suggested that they depend on their families who themselves are in economic insecurities. Their livelihood is dependent on rain fed agriculture which is affected by drought, famine and land degradation. Most Ethiopian Farmers do not produced surplus production, more than their domestic consumption. They do not also diversify their production because they have small land and due to their location. For instance, most highland farmers who live in the cold

climatic regions of Ethiopia produce only one crop item i.e. barely the farmers do not have market problem, in other words, there is high demand for barely as many breweries have been established in Ethiopia. There is also a malt producing plant in Gonder which needs more than 250,000 quintals of barely annually to produce malt. Unfortunately, Ethiopian barely producing farmers could not supply more than 16,000 quintals annually. As a result, the plant imports barely (An Interview made by ATV with the head of Agriculture bureau of Amhara Region, 2016).

With regard to migrants, they were from households who have small plots of land to maintain six and more family members. Some families have more than 12 family members. For example, Meron suggested that “there is a shortage of land in Amahara region to sustain the household that comprises from 10 up to 13 members (personal interview, 2016).

When the number of the families increases due to birth and marriage, the size of their small plots of land do not increase (personal interview with migrants, 2016). In Somalia region, the issue of land holding is different as some people in the region are engaged in farming and others possibly the majority are pastoralists. Usman stated “pastoralists do not have specific land holding, their land is where they get water and pasture” (Personal Interview, 2015).

Those who have small plots of land can produce only one or two crop items only. That means, they need to sell from their products to purchase other food items which they can't produce and other their basic requirements. This situation “exacerbates our security. Mostly, we produce teff and sorghum “(personal Interview with migrants, 2016). Their response is viable economically speaking as they have small plot of land, they need to make choice what to produce. They cannot produce more than two food items.

All interviews from rural areas said that they do not have their own land even if they are above 18 years old. They want to engage in Agriculture, but without access to land and other required capital, they cannot achieve their goal of being farmers. This indicates that unemployment in rural areas of Ethiopia is one factor that affects rural youth (Interview made with Migrants, 2016).

Ethiopia with the population of about 90 million needs to create jobs for 1.4 million citizens who want to join the work force of the country annually (UNDP, 2014:12). Can

the Agriculture, industry, service and informal sectors absorb the growing number of individuals in Ethiopia? The demographic challenge in Ethiopia is obvious that the large proportion of the people which is about 60 percent of the population meaning about 54 million is under 25 years old. This number is estimated to be two fold and will become more than 100 million by 2050 (UN is cited in UNDP, 2015:57).

This growing working age population is both a blessing and cursing. It is a blessing if this large working age population is made a human capital through investing in quality education and training and in infrastructure development with the objective of enhancing labor productivity which is possible with efficient economy, saving and investment (ibid). On the other hand it is cursing, if there is no human capital development with healthy economic growth and planed or controlled birthrate. UNDP (2015:58) further contended that low level of saving and high level of dependency of the youth is the big challenge for Ethiopia.

Inclusive as well as equitable economic growth and development is also supposed to be one way to minimize poverty and reduce unemployment. In other words, the economic growth and development needs to be equitable and inclusive as it is stated in the FDRE constitution under Article 89, yet the government's attempt of brining about inclusive and equitable economic growth and development for all regional states could not be materialized. The least developed regional states of Ethiopia, especially the pastoralists are highly affected in the absence of inclusive economic growth (UNDP, 2015:57).

All interviewees argued that the government gives training and loan for some individuals to start their own micro business, yet they could not get that opportunity and they also do not know the criteria how the government selects and give that opportunity (Personal Interview, 2014, 2015, and 2016). They further suggested that opportunities are not inclusive and impartial (ibid).

Recently, some government officials announced that unemployment is the major problem that affects the growing number of youth population of the country. For example, Muktarkedir, the president of National Regional state of Oromia announced that there are large number of unemployed youth in the region, he promised that the government would create job opportunities for 800,000 Youth, for that purpose about 300,000,000

Ethiopian birr would be allocated (This announcement was made during the discussion held at Adama with 2000 Youth of the region, EBC News, 2016, April 16).

The chance to find job with a living wage is very rare in many localities. When they move other areas of Ethiopia for the sake of job, the situation is risky. There is conflict, suspicion and lack of trust (Interviews made with interviewees, 2015 and 2016). For instance indris and Berihum moved to afar region from Amhara region and they were employed in salt producing company. They stated their experiences as “the risk is high due to harsh whether condition, hazardous chemicals plus low payment. All these despaired us” (Personal interview, 2015). They further suggested that “moving to other regions of Ethiopia and working there is difficult, we heard many conflicts and violent displacements of those who are from other regions” (ibid). As it was mentioned earlier, inter and interethnic conflicts affect many individuals who internally move from one region to the other region of the country.

Even if some citizens have been said employed and earn above the national poverty line and below the international poverty line i.e. US\$ 1.25 a day, those who earn a US\$ 2 per day think that they are in a state of extreme poverty. They said that they needed to eat properly, to have cloth and shelter, and to save some amount to cope with future risks. But they dissaved, even did not get the minimum requirements of basic needs. Most are dependent on their families. Of course, their position seems plausible as it is supported by other studies. For example, UNDP (2013:7) in its 2013 report stated that “Ethiopia has low human development ranking: 173<sup>rd</sup> out of 187 countries”. Ethiopia Institute of Development Research (2016) suggested that productivity of the industry is increased along with the payment for employees. However, their payment is not a living wage due to the inflation, increasing prices of consumer goods. They cannot afford the expensive cost of living.

All interviewees who experienced migration via the Red sea and Gulf of Aden Routes stated that absolute poverty is one of the major causes of migration and they also suggested that unemployment pushes them to migration (Personal Interview with Returnee migrants, 2014, 2015 and 2016). Besides, Meron and Eskedar staff members of IOM Ethiopia office stated” poverty and unemployment are among the major causes of migration:” (Personal Interview, 2016). Yet, Meron has a different position, she suggested poverty as a cause of migration is not true for all migration routes, those who migrate

through the southern route via Kenya to South Africa are mostly from southern part of Ethiopia, they paid from 80,000 up to 150,000 Ethiopian birr for smugglers. So, this indicates that poverty cannot be a major deriving force with regard to irregular migration thorough the southern route, have better job and the influence of peers and smugglers play greatest role (personal Interview with Meron, 2016).But with regard to irregular migration via the Red sea and Gulf of Aden Routes, poverty and unemployment are major deriving forces of irregular migration (ibid).

### **3.3. Food Security with Respect to Irregular Migration.**

Food Security implies availability and accessibility of Food for all which can be determined by proper distribution and purchasing power (UNDP, 1994:23). Food availability in the world, regions, in a country as well as local areas signifies the physical presence of food due to production in the farms of the country, or imported from food producing countries or transported in the form of food aid, in other words individuals produce for consumption and supply the surplus for the market and it is made available through donation (International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, 2006:7). In general, availability of food is easily observed in the area (ibid). Whereas, food accessibility denotes the capability of individuals to get required amount of food through production, purchase & food aid (ibid). Mainly, accessibility depends on income of the household (ibid).

Food security is, of course, a broader concept which has different dimensions, availability and accessibility is already mentioned, besides, utilization and entitlement are other dimensions. The objective of mentioning them is not to address all dimensions, but to indicate how the concept is broader. Food security is a basic human right which is included and stated under Article 25 (1) of the UDHR. It stated that everyone has the right to get a standard of living that comprises food which is adequate for health and well being of himself and his family (UDHR, 1948). This blessed idea of UDHR was clearly stated in detail under Article 11(2) Of ICESCR in which Ethiopia became one of the signatories.

State parties to the covenant recognize that individuals have the basic right to be free from hunger. So as to realize the right to food, states are responsible to act in taking measures privately or collectively (through international Co-operation) by employing the following exclusive programs:

- i. To improve methods of production, conservation and distribution of food by making full use of technical and scientific knowledge, by disseminating knowledge of the principles of nutrition and by development or reforming agrarian systems in such a way as to achieve the most efficient development and utilization of natural resources.
- ii. Taking in to account the problems of both food-importing and food exporting countries, to ensure and equitable distribution of food supplies in relation to need (ICESCR, 1966 as collected by council of Europe, 2000:131).

Of course the right to food is included in the FDRE constitution. Article 90(1) state that “to the extent the country’s resources permit, policies shall aim to provide all Ethiopians with access to public health and education, clean water, housing, food and social insurance” (FDRE Constitution, 1995). Food right is written in the constitution as the social objective, not as a human right. The government also designed other strategies and plans in relation to agriculture. Agricultural development-led industrialization (ADLI) was the country’s agriculture based development strategy of the country which prioritized agriculture. The strategy’s ideas are replicated in another plan, plan for Accelerated and sustainable development to end poverty (PASDP). The core idea of PASDEP was enhancing market based agricultural development through strengthening the capacity of the farmers (providing extension program, technical support and training for small land holders and creating linkage between the farmers and the industry, and investment in rural infrastructure.

The growth and Transformation plan (GTP) which was designed and put in action from 2010 to 2015 comprised the concept of social security for the most vulnerable section of the society. It has also the aim of solving food security problem of the nation through augmenting the agricultural production of small-holders and large scale agricultural production (ibid).

The national food security strategy and programs is said to be greatly depended on the GTP that focuses on enhancing agricultural productivity of small holders and both public and private large scale farms (ibid).

Ethiopia has the land area of about 117 million hectares which is large compared with most neighboring countries. About 60 percent of land of the country is expected to be favorable for agricultural development (Ethiopian Science Academy, 2015:1). The small

holders cultivate only less than 14 million hectares (central statistics agency cited in Ethiopian science Academy, 2015:1). Despite its rainfall dependency, small holders' agriculture is the source of about 95 percent of the national annual production (ibid). The land tenure system in Ethiopia is based on the FDRE constitution Article 40(3) states that land is the property of the state; it cannot be the private property (FDRE Constitution, 1995). Individuals have the right to use the land, yet they cannot sell as well as lease it for longer time. Food insecurity is caused by multifaceted problems. MOLSA stated (2012:3) that "Environmental degradation and the dependence on rain fed agriculture contribute to chronic food insecurity" .However, the absence of land distribution or land reform and the inability of households to increase the size of their holding in accordance with the increasing number of their members in rural areas and absence of appropriate and faire land distribution in urban areas as a major problem was not mentioned even if most youth in rural areas of Ethiopia are above 18 years old and are married, they do not have land to use it. Instead, they are dependent on their families' small plot of land (interview made with interviewees, 2015 and 2016). Meron also stated that "IOM identified that most migrants from rural regions do not have land due to its shortage in their localities, as a result, they could not produce adequate food for themselves and their families (Personal Interview, 2016).

The government tried to make arable land accessible for those who are vulnerable for chronic food insecurity and those who were in extreme poverty through its voluntary resettlement programs. Its success was controversial; some argued that it was made without consulting the settlers and providing required infrastructure like health center, roads, clean water, instruments, oxen etc. (Amdissa, 2006:28).

Notwithstanding the difficulties that settlers face, making arable land accessible for the poor through resettlement programs are good alternatives to realize sustainable food security. The question must be whether the resettlement programs address the scarcity of land and food insecurity in Ethiopia. Because, most interviewees showed interest to move other regional states where there is improved arable land is accessible, if their political security is protected and inter and intra ethnic conflicts would be solved (interview made with those who experienced both internal and international migration, 2015 and 2016). This indicates that there should be protection and encouragement of those who spontaneously move from their regional state to other regional states to reside

and work including engaging in agriculture through renting from indigenous people or through integration with the local people.

Furthermore, Usman suggested that “the government started to resettle some households in Somali region along the Wabishebelle river banks which are conducive for irrigation. It distributes about 2 hectares for a household, but the problem is that most pastoralists do not want to be farmers because of their culture and they also think the land distributed for the household so small and economically not viable. But, still there is conflict over the possession of arable land “(Personal interview, 2016).

Of course, the interviewees explained that their food security is exacerbated due to climatic variability, land degradation and poor soil. The households own small plots of land by which they can hardly produce a variety of food. Especially, households who own less than one hectare are obliged to cultivate two items of crops on the same plot of land. For example, maize and beans; maize and pumpkin and other combinations of food items (Interview made with interviewees, 2015 and 2016).

The semiarid and arid regions of Ethiopia are also vulnerable for food insecurity due to erratic climatic conditions like recurrent drought and famine that affect their overall source of income and food. UNDP (2015:8) stated “one third of Ethiopia’s population currently live in what is categorized as dry land area”. Even if most regions of Ethiopia are affected by some sort of poverty, recent results show that the prevalence of poverty is highest in Afar, Somali, and Gambella which are less developed and pastoral societies, whereas it is lowest in Harari, Addis Ababa and Dire Dawa (UNDP, 2015:32). For instance, in Somali region, individuals are either members of pastoralist clans or agro pastoralist clans or sedentary agrarian clans. Livestock’s are the dominant sources of income and food for pastoralists’, so, pastoralists give much more value for the possession of many cattle, camels and goats, and they feel food as well as economically secured and socially respected (Interview made with Usman and Aminat, 2016). However, the failure of rain affected their food security as their livestock’s are decreased (ibid).

Especially, those who do not have camels and goats are the most vulnerable as their cattle die because of lack of pasture and water, but camels and goats overcome drought and are good source of income and food (ibid). The sedentary agrarian clans, for instance, the Garri produce a variety of food, vegetables, fruits and cereals along the

river banks, but their production is limited, they are not also respected by the Ogadeni pastoralists as they are thought to be poor and inferiors (ibid). Even agricultural activities in the region are rain fed which are vulnerable for the persistent drought that affects millions of people in the region. There is the scarcity of water in the region except the rivers and streams that flow in the region. Mainly, people get water either underground water through digging wells or through harvesting rain waters for drinking and for their livestock's, but due to the exacerbated and erratic climatic conditions, the available water resource diminishes. (Interview made with Interviewees, 2016). Although, the region is the second largest in terms of land size next to Oromia with about four major rivers such as Genale, Wabishebelle, Wayb and Dawa, it is a paradox for that part of Ethiopia to be food insecure with vast land and many rivers. Usman explained the study of the Somali regional government as "it is estimated that there is more than 600,000 hectares of productive land along the river banks".

Now days, the Ogadeni pastoralists have started farming, yet because of the shortage of land which is conducive for both livestock's and irrigation, intra ethnic conflicts occur among different clans, unless the government expand and distribute the land for all individuals fairly, without any discrimination (ibid).

61 percent of Ethiopia's land is classified as arid and semi arid (Pastoralist Forum Ethiopia, 2009:6). For example, Somali, Afar, Benishanguel-Gumuz, Gambella, South Omo, Borana and Arsi in Oromia region are all inhabited by pastoralists dominantly, but agro-pastoralists and sedentary farmers also live in these regions, even if their number is small (ibid). Arable lands in these regions are not well developed. For example, Afar region has 7 percent of area land with some rivers and streams like Awash, Mille, Telalak and so on. In all these regions, expanding and developing arable lands is advisable. Besides, the high and mid-altitude which is mostly cereals producing and mixed farming occupies only a third of total land of Ethiopia where many Ethiopian farmers have shortage of land (Ethiopian Academy of Science, 2015).

Ministry of Agriculture and Rural development (2010:3) stated that 55 percent of farmers use 1 hectare or less than that and one third of the farmers of the country use less than 0.5 hectares. This implies that distributing arable land for the farmers a long with production enhancing technologies and reasonable public investment on small holders' agriculture is required to boost up agricultural production so as to realize food security.

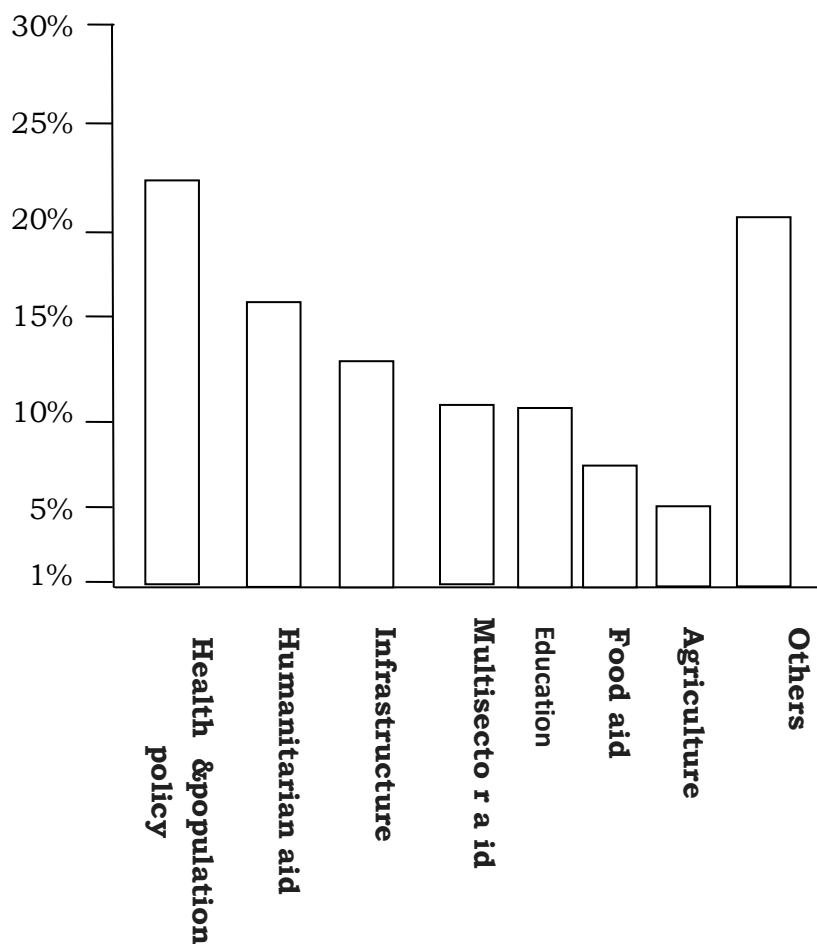
The government growth and transformation plan planned to commercialize both small holders and large scale commercial agriculture combined with developing small scale irrigation as a primary goal and large scale irrigation as secondary goal of agricultural development (MOFED, 2010:9). Producing crops which have commercial values was stated in the program in generic terms. Those crops are not mentioned in detail. Besides, the level of concern given for staple crops is not clear.

The most important point is that making land available for the farmers means making food available and accessible for the farmers themselves and the working and other section of the population including livestock at large. However, it seems that priority is given for large scale commercial farming rather than small holders subsectors. For example, 3.3 million hectare of arable land was allocated for extensive commercial agriculture (Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development of Ethiopia, 2010:8). Even if Ethiopia is said to be potentially rich in its water resource i.e. about 6.5 billion M3 of ground water plus 122 billion M3 of surface water as well as 5.3 million hectare irrigable land, only 5 percent is utilized in producing predominantly industrial and cash crops with small proportion of food crops (Awulachew, Negash and Hordofa Cited in Ethiopian Academy of science, 2015:22-23). Oakland Institute stated that “large numbers of Farmers in Ethiopia have been victims of large scale land acquisitions” (ACCORD, 2014:19). As a result, the possible and actual conflicts between small holders and large scale investments are not resolved both in Ethiopia and Tanzania (ibid). The above discussion demonstrates that there is no proper allocation and distribution of land between the smallholders and large scale investments.

Public spending on small-holders agriculture is recognized to be effective in reducing hunger and poverty. But most states public spending in agriculture is lower (ACCORD, 2014:12). Whereas countries which spend more than 10 percent of their national budget on agriculture could decrease food insecurity (ibid).The government of Ethiopia stated that it had allocated from 13-17 percent of the total budget to agriculture and food security in recent years (Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development, 2010:12 ACCORD, 2014:31). It further stated that the government funded \$ US 9.3 billion from the national budget and \$ US 6.2 billion from donors. About 38 percent of the budget is allocated to develop irrigation that was around \$US 3.4 billion (ibid). Yet, ACCORD contended that the budget was not clear because the plan had contradictions of figures

(ibid). Ethiopian government received US\$ 3.3 billion in 2012 and it also received US\$ 2.6 billion (UNDP, 2013:6).

**Figure 3. 2. Allocation of proportions of development assistance to the development of different sectors, Adopted from UNDP’s 2013 Report.**



**Table 3.2, Bilateral and Multilateral partners who are the largest donors for Ethiopia in 2011 and 2012 adopted from UNDP’S 2013 Report.**

| Donors                   | Amount Donated US\$ Millions |
|--------------------------|------------------------------|
| World Bank               | 734                          |
| United States of America | 720                          |

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| 5 UN Agencies (WFP, UNICEF, IFAD, UNDP; UNFPA) | 603 |
| United kingdom                                 | 487 |
| EU Institutions                                | 226 |
| African Development Bank                       | 167 |
| China  | 152 |
| India  | 27  |
| Saudi Arabia                                   | *   |

\* Saudi Arabia donated US\$460,000 for Ethiopia in the Fiscal Year of 2012/2013.

The households use small plots of land by which they can hardly produce a variety of food items to acquire nutritious food. Especially, households who use less than 1 hectares are obliged to cultivate two items on the same plot of land, for example maize and beans (interview made with interviewees, 2015, 2016). Mostly, they produce one item; they sell a proportion of it to purchase their other requirements like salt, oil and so on. Besides they sell it to pay back the debt that they incurred to use fertilizers and seeds (ibid).

Even if they use fertilizers like DAP and urea and selected seeds, the output is not sufficient to meet their demand for daily requirements. They do not understand the daily requirement in terms of kilo Calorie, i.e. 2300 kilo calorie per day is required for an individual to perform well (ibid). Instead, they understand daily requirement in terms of having food/meals three times per day, yet, they understand the variety of nutrients are required. All interviewees stated that three meals per day with a variety of nutrients are not accessible (interview made with the interviewees, 2015, 2016). The government helps some households through its safety net program. This program helps in cash that is 8 Ethiopian birr for six days within one month (ibid). Sometimes, 15 kg of wheat is distributed for an individual per month (ibid). The criteria of selecting the beneficiaries is not clear, it requires further study.

Admasu and his friends were in Saudi Arabia before they were expelled, they have lived in Addis Ababa. They suggested that” we earn 2000 birr per month; we pay 1500 birr for

house rent. Three of us live in a single room so as to share the burden of the cost we eat two times instead of three times” (Personal Interview, 2015).

The main problem is that they do not have land in Addis Ababa to build their own home as their income permit them to do so; they feel unsecured, they also feel that they are deprived as they are not given the opportunity to have their own home (personal interview, 2015). They suggested that” you do not have your own home means, you do not have much to eat” (ibid). They do not agree on both the national poverty line, US\$ 0.60 and the international poverty line US\$1.25 per day as the way of evaluating income poverty, because they suggested that they cannot survive even they get US\$ 5 per day in Addis Ababa. This is due to the inflation that basic needs are so expensive. To realize both food and economic security, there should be a living wage. The lack of the living wage is the cause of migration (ibid).

According to the study of FAO, around 32 million people, in other words, 37 percent of the people of Ethiopia were undernourished (ACCORD, 2014:19). Although food items are available in the market, they cannot afford the growing price of food as their income is small that cannot cover the food items required in the food basket of the household. Those who do not have income, the unemployed and the section of the Ethiopian people who are excluded from the social security program are victims of food security. Even those who are supposed to be assisted by the productive safety net program suggested that they are in the state of fear of want (personal interview, 2015, 2016). They are small in number as compared to large proportion of people who are food in secured. The government tried to strengthen the food security of individuals who were chosen up by the government to be extreme poor, about 6.9 million in 2012/2013 through its productive safety net program. This objective was not met due to external shocks mainly drought (UNDP, 2015:52).

**Table3.3, Food Poverty Situation in Ethiopia Data of MOFED as adapted by UNDP, 2015:44.**

| <b>Food poverty %</b> | <b>2004/05</b> | <b>2010/11</b> | <b>2011/12</b> | <b>2012/13</b> |
|-----------------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
|                       | 38.0           | 33.6           | 32.7           | 31.8           |

Despite consecutive economic growth of 10.8 percent for the last decade, large number of people are affected by the recurrent drought and reduced in to poverty. The government can hardly address the food insecurity without the Co-operation of the international community. Interdependence is the best way to realize the multifaceted security problem of humanity across the globe. Any country can hardly be self sufficient in various aspects of security. In 2003 12.6 million people were become food in secured due to severe drought of that year (Development Initiative, 2012:4). Whereas 6.4 million people are victims of food shortage in 2008 (ibid). The Ethiopian government does not have intention to call for humanitarian assistance through the UN system (ibid). Yet, it sometimes request independently (ibid). For example, it called for US\$ 271.7 million to fulfill the food in security that occurred in 2005; in 2007, it urged for US\$ 179.3 million and it also appealed in 2011 to address the food shortage that happened in the Horn of Africa at Large (ibid).

Recently, severe drought and food insecurity crisis happened in Ethiopia due to ELNINO 2015 which reduced the agricultural production between 50 and 90 percent (Oxfam, 2016:2). As a result millions of people have become food in secured. The exact number of individuals who are food in secured is not known. Yet, the government and other Observers estimated about 10.2 million people are in chronic food insecurity situation (ibid). But this number is expected to be more than that since 5 and 4 years ago there were about 7.1 million people who were assisted by the government's productive safety net program, and since the 2015 drought, about 10.2 million additional people have been critically starved, this implies that more than 17 million people are in a critical food shortage (ibid). of course, the government tried to address the crisis that occurred since 2015, since as of February 2016 through allocating US\$ 381 million to purchase food and allocate it for those who need most (OCHA cited in Oxfam, 2016:2). However the fact that the crisis is beyond the capacity of the government to handle the catastrophe. The government together with other 66 partners (humanitarian institutions assessed the situation and appealed for US\$ 1.4 billion to assist 10.2 million people (ibid, Joint Government and Humanitarian partners' Document, 2016:8).

**Figure 3.3, The 2016 Estimation that shows the priority requirements Joint Government and Humanitarian partners' Document, 2016.**

| <b>Priority Requirements</b>  | <b>The proportion Required in US\$ million</b> |
|-------------------------------|--|
| Severely Acute malnourished   | 0.4  |
| Moderately Acute Malnourished | 1.7  |
| Without potable water         | 2.0  |
| Displaced due to shocks       | 0.8  |

The drought due to the failure of rain, the degradation of the land, the shortage of land and water affect not only those who are recognized to be food insecure but also others who earn inadequate payment and those are vulnerable for shocks. For instance, as it was mentioned earlier, those who are employed at the Horticulture farms, the private agricultural businesses engaged in producing flowers and vegetables are paid between 25 and 30 birr. A woman is paid 25 birr i.e. almost US\$ 1 and a man is paid 30 birr which is about US\$1.5. Food is not accessible for these groups of individuals. They try to overcome the insecurity through consuming the cheapest item like potato, eating a time or two times a day. Most workers in these farms do not eat winch (personal observation and interview, 2015, 2016).

Yet, there is one Horticulture firm around Holeta Genet i.e. Afri Flowers that pays US\$ 1 for a woman and US\$ 1.5 for a man per day. This firm is unique compared to other Horticulture farms as it provides free lunch for all its employees. Economically speaking, there may not be such thing which is called free lunch. But, Afri Flowers is socially responsible. Workers suggested that it provides them one Enjera with Shero Wet, which is better than nothing (personal interview, 2016). The work they carry out every day is heavy which is not compatible with their calorie intake (ibid). Food poverty is common both in urban areas as well as rural areas of Ethiopia. The proportion of food poor people in Ethiopia was estimated to be 33.6 percent in 2010/2011 using food poverty head count index (MOLSA, 2012:2). Food poverty of rural areas was 34.7% while it was 27.9 percent for urban population during the same year (ibid). This number has been expected to be higher due to the recent crisis.

Both public and private employers do not pay for most workers adequately. As a result survival is difficult for most workers (personal interview, 2016). The inflation is one factor that impacts their living (ibid). Their living has become costly; they are without cost of living adjustment (ibid). Yet, they try to overcome the insecurity through minimizing their consumption as well as through migration as a strategy to escape multifaceted human insecurities (ibid).

During chronic food insecurity situation, most individuals depend on food aid, selling charcoal which affects the livestock and the land; and remittances from family members who migrated abroad: the Middle East, Europe, America and Canada (personal interview, 2015). Irregular Migration to the Middle East, Europe and South Africa is one of the strategies used by large number of Somalis to avoid multifaceted human insecurities such as political, economic and food insecurities (interview made with Usman and Aminat, 2015, 2016). Irregular migration used by Ethiopians due to the same reasons.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **4. The human security situation of Irregular migrants during the process of migration**

#### **4.1. The human security situation of irregular migrants during the journey and after destination**

As it was discussed in chapter three, irregular migrants are forced to move irregularly due to multifaceted human insecurities such as political, economic and food insecurities. These human insecurities reduced individuals in the state of fear and want that obliged them to search for alternatives so as to realize their own security as well as the security of their families. Putting in a nut shell, irregular migration was supposed to be their best alternative to materialize their dream. Their dream was to be free from fear and want. Medicine san Frontiers (2008: 4) recorded the lists of reasons of irregular migration made by large number of Ethiopians and Somalis irregular Migrants who arrived Yemen. It stated that "... Violence and Insecurity being the main one, followed by poverty and lack of work" (ibid).

Most of the migrants choose irregular migration because of their contact with unscrupulous smugglers and human traffickers (personal interview, 2015, 2016). Some irregular migrants suggested that their friends and relatives encouraged and helped them to contact the smugglers in their localities (ibid). Families encouraged their sons and daughters to migrate irregularly because of the insecurities that the household encouraged and they thought that the remittance that might be sent would be one way of being secured. There are chain of smugglers from their localities up to their destination (Interview made with Mesfin and Abdu, 2015).

Their first encounter with the smugglers was full of deception. Everything the smugglers promised the migrants was false (ibid). The migrants suggested that the smugglers convinced that moving crossing the deserts and water bodies is not as such difficult, and after destination that they could get good job and a living wage more than the wage paid for those who migrated regularly (interview made with returnee migrants, 2015 and 2016). However the fact that there are a number of migrants who experienced irregular migration two times or so either via the Red sea route or the Gulf of Aden Route. Considering that, it is impossible to conclude that all irregular migrants are deceived by

unscrupulous smugglers as the latter group know all insecurities they encountered during the perilous journey as they experienced irregular migration two or more times. In spite of that they responded that during their first movement, they were deceived by Smugglers (interview made with migrants, 2016 and 2016).

Initially, they agreed to pay between 5000 and 12,000 Ethiopian birr for the Smugglers not only for their guiding service but also for the food and water that the smugglers need to provide throughout the journey. Merone and Eskedar who are staff members of IOM suggested based on the large number of responses of returnee migrants from Yemen that “irregular migrants who move via Red sea route and Gulf of Aden Route to the Middle East pay between 5000 and 10,000 Ethiopian birr initially” (personal interview with Meron and Eskedar, 2016). Of course, their payment is lower than the payment paid by irregular migrants who traveled by the southern Route. Irregular Migrants who move via the southern Route to South Africa used to pay about 100,000 Ethiopian birr (ibid). Nevertheless, the question is how they get such amount of money. Most irregular migrants Via the Red sea route and the Gulf of Aden Route get money to cover the costs of their journey from various sources. Some households had to sell their limited assets, whereas, other borrowed money from local usurers with high interest rate. Besides, there is an indication that some irregular migrants borrow money from micro finance institutions. For example, Adhanome stated that “I borrowed about 7.000 birr from Dedit Microfinance institutions so as to facilitate and cover the cost of my journey via the Gulf of Aden to Saudi Arabia” (Interview made with Adhanome, 2015). Some other migrants also get remittance from their relatives who migrated earlier.

Nevertheless, the initial payment is not enough to get service from smugglers. They are asked for extra payments many times by hostage takers along the route (interview made with migrants, 2015, 2016). These extra payments are not the part of the agreement. Some migrants were forced to pay additional money after they reached Djibouti and they were made hostages two or more times by organized, armed and unscrupulous smugglers, perhaps the deadliest traffickers in Yemen (ibid). RMMS (2014:1) explained that “kidnapping for ransom and detention remain the main protection risks facing migrants /refugees arriving on the shores of Yemen. Ethiopians continued to be more vulnerable to Kidnapping for ransom than their Somali counter parts partly stemming from a perception that they are more likely to pay ransoms demanded”. Hussen and

others returnees (2015 and 2016) stated that” we were demanded additional payment one time in Djibouti and two times in Yemen”.

The households in Ethiopia sold their remaining assets to pay the demanded ransom so as to get their sons and daughters released and again they borrowed money that further exacerbated their economic as well as food in security. Those who had friends and relatives in Saudi Arabia or other Countries send money as a ransom for the hostage takers. Most returnee migrants argued that their families were reduced in to a state of absolute poverty associated with the need of the necessities of daily living as they sold their assets to save the migrants’ lives from deadliest hostage takers. This implies that the process of migration further worsen their living condition. More than this, they were emotionally hurt. They feel guilty of troubling their families (Interview made with returnees, 2015, and 2016). For instance, Teshome and Masresha stated that “we were psychologically disturbed as we feel that we made our families destitute because they sold their assets to pay because they sold their assets to pay the ransom for the hostage takers so as to rescue us”.

The human security situation of the migrants crossing the deserts, Red sea and Gulf of Aden is death- defying. They travelled on foot, by car and boats. The longest journey is covered by travelling through the desert on foot with little food and water (ibid).

It takes 8 days from Afar region of Ethiopia up to Djibouti, the area located in the Desert which is characterized by scarcity of water and harsh weather condition. RMM (2014:2) suggested that the migrants are vulnerable for the lack of water and food. As a result, all interviewees testified that unknown number of migrants died because of hunger and dehydration.

Another death- defying situation that occurred during migration is travelling by a lorry within the container. Many Ethiopians died when they attempted to be smuggled from Ethiopia to Djibouti by Lorries that carry containers (interview made with Returnees, 2015 and 2016).

The situation of the security of Ethiopian irregular migrants during crossing the Red Sea and Gulf and Aden is also threatening. Hussien, Teshome and Abdu stated that” the smugglers beat again and again the migrants and they put all of us to the torture” (interview made with them 2015 and 2016). They further expressed that “after the

smugglers afflicted the migrants severely in a horrified way, they throw away as useless persons in the sea” (ibid). They also testified that they saw migrants committed suicide by jumping in the sea.

They did this in order to decrease the load as the small boat is overcrowded mostly sailed with about 50 individuals. Besides, all interviewees who experienced irregular migration via the Gulf of Aden affirmed that” we were dropped in to water, so many of our Friends who cannot swim drown and died. The smugglers mainly do not want to approach to the coast and disembark us safely as they do not want to be arrested by the patrol navy. Furthermore, we were deprived of eating food and drinking water” (Interview made with Returnees, Teshome, Abdu, Hussen, Said and Others, 2015, 2016). The smugglers deprive food and water for two or three days as excretion in a small and crowded boat is difficult. Some Migrants are put at a lower deck, where as others are put at the upper deck, as a result they urinate and vomit on those who are at the lower deck. Tolerating this nasty situation for three days requires the highest level of patience and perseverance (ibid).

Even if the red sea route is the shortest one that takes short time, the same mistreatment is committed by smugglers. It takes 6 hours to arrive at the coast of Yemen. It is short time, yet they were worried as they were crowded and there was tide. The floor of the boat was filled with the splashing saline water of the sea. The spattered saline water burn them, they were also forced and beaten to discharge the water to save from sinking (ibid).They were worried as they were crowded and there was tide. Besides, the smugglers beat and whip the migrants, and they also deprive them Food and water (Aminat, Hawa and others 2016).The human security situation of Migrants during migration is worse. They face various insecurities, For example, they face shortage of food, water and medication (personal interview made with Meron, 2016). There are a number of deaths during migration due to extortion, torture and boat accident in the Red sea and Gulf of Aden, yet a number of deaths are reported in Afar in Ethiopia, Djibouti and Yemen due to extreme torture and deprivation of food, water and Medications (ibid).RMMS, 2014:2). This indicates that the absence of compassionate and humanitarian rescue mission in the Red sea and Gulf of Aden Route. The Europeans showed compassion in rescuing large number of irregular migrants and refugees( it is difficult to make this distinction) who were crossing the Mediterranean sea which was a

death- defying journey, such rescue mission is non- existent in the Red sea and Gulf of Aden (Interview made with Returnees, 2015,1016). As a result the number of deaths occurred in the Red sea and Gulf of Aden.

Many Ethiopians were arrested and mistreated in the detention centers in Djibouti, Somaliland and Yemen. They detained and deported from these countries. The governments of Djibouti, Somaliland and Yemen do not consider Ethiopians as refugees, they consider them economic migrants. So, they discriminate them and treat them in inhuman way (Interview made with Returnees, 2015, 2016).They speak their mind with shocking memories, surprisingly all interviewees tell the same story. This indicates that they do not beat around the bush. Seeing dead bodies where about the coasts of Yemen is common (ibid).Many of irregular migrants also survived from affliction and torture during crossing the Red sea, and the Gulf of Aden.

After they arrived in Yemen, they encounter a number of challenges; the security situation in Yemen is highly endangered due to civil war between the Houti insurgents and the government army. Besides, more recently Saudi Arabia has started to bomb from the sky which results in catastrophic condition by which the human security of both civilians and refugees and irregular Migrants who happened to be there has been endangered. Uncertainties, risks, and shortage of water, food and medication is common in Yemen now a days (ibid).

Ethiopians are arrested by hostage takers after they arrived in Yemen. The hostage takers in collaboration with Ethiopian collaborators extorted and tortured them for the sake of ransom .Meron suggested that based on the first hand information of many returnees” the traffickers detained the migrants where they tortured and burn them so as to get ransom. Those who are failed to pay ransom were beaten to death and exposed for starvation and dehydration. Many of them are disappeared and killed (Meron, 2016).

Aminat and Hawa stated (2016)” we were flagellated and raped by traffickers our friends could not save us as the traffickers are armed”. They further suggested that many raped women became victims of HIV/AIDS and abortions; some gave birth in Yemen (ibid). Moreover, some irregular migrants were killed by border guards. Gunshot is common around the border between Yemen and Saudi Arabia (Meron, 2016, interview with Returnees, 2015, 2016).

Some survivors were smuggled in to Saudi Arabia crossing the border between Yemen and Saudi Arabia. Most Migrants asserted based on their own experiences that their security in Saudi Arabia is better as compared to their former securities. In other words, even if they could sell their labor for lower price in Saudi Arabia, they believe that it is better than the wage that they could earn at home, in Somaliland, and Djibouti (Interview made within Returnees, 2015, 2016).

Some Returnees suggested that "most employers in Saudi Arabia are trust worthy, they used to pay our wage" (ibid), Nonetheless, there were a number of cases of denial of salaries, the employers enforce and manipulate the migrants and report to the police and get the migrants arrested by the police. Besides, sexual violence, torture and killing are reported, For instance, Meron and Eskedar suggested" a number of dead bodies were sent from the Middle East States to Ethiopia; according to the experiences of many returnees, their salaries were denied; they were beaten and thrown away from the upstairs" (personal interview, 2016).

The victims could not get legal protection from the governments as well as the international community. As it was mentioned earlier most Middle East states were not signatories of the international human rights documents. They believe that they are not forced to observe those universal laws. Yemen is the only Gulf state which is one of the signatories of the 1951 convention which obliges state parties to protect and give asylum for refugees (ibid). However the fact that it shows lack of determination in implementing those laws (ibid). Of course it gives proper protection for Somalis. Conversely, it discriminates as well as neglects Ethiopians, even if the number of Ethiopians who arrived in Yemen since 2012 is more than the Somalis i.e. 84% Ethiopians and 16% Somalis (ibid).

Some Ethiopian migrants asked asylum but they were regarded as economic migrants by both the Yemeni Government as well as UNHCR per se (Interview made with Returnees, 2016). They further suggested" UNHCR showed us some compassion, yet it was not considerate for us as it was for Somalis" (ibid). The government of Yemen used to arrest, detain and deport them (ibid). OF course, many migrants have lived in Yemen; some were employed as house maids and in other low paid labor work. Perhaps they were pink collars. They were engaged in all jobs which were not done by the nationals both in Yemen and Saudi Arabia (Interview made with Returnees, 2015, 2016).

Most migrants in Yemen did not want to stay there. They were either stranded by the war or arrested by the government of Yemen and detained, or detained by the hostage takers.

Specifically, IOM (2015:4-5) asserted” the migrants were intercepted in Yemen while trying to cross the border in to kingdom of Saudi Arabia and have been detained in Yemen from three to seven months in jawaza.IOM Yemen has been providing food and clothing in Yemen”. More to the point, there are a number of teenagers and other migrants who are in a desperate situation which is the consequence of the war in Yemen. Those teenagers moved irregularly from different parts of Ethiopia (Oromia, Amhara,Harari, SNNP etc) Via Red sea and Gulf of Aden to Yemen (ibid).For instance, IOM assisted and evacuated about 3177 Ethiopian migrants from Yemen recently, 46 of them were teenagers who were from 14 up to 17 years old (IOM, 2015: 4-5).

Before a year, 170,000 Ethiopians were expelled from Saudi Arabia. Most forced returnees stated that” we do not forget the inhuman treatment of the Saudi government, especially during the time of detention” (Interview made with the expelled migrants, 2015).As it was stated earlier, the Saudi government is not interested to respect the international human rights documents which are Universal values. Of course, many states failed to do so. Even if Middle East states failed to respect human rights of their own people and the rights of migrants, they must have remembered the compassionate and cultural relations between the people of Ethiopia and their own people during the time of peace as well as during the time of insecurities. The history of the cordial relation between Ethiopia and the Middle East was based on the concept of humanity, mutual respect and justice.

The whole discussion shows that Ethiopian irregular migrants via the Red Sea and Gulf of Aden encounter a number of challenges that endanger their human security. Various international organizations have the same position on the issue i.e. the insecurities that Ethiopians face during the process of migration. To be precise, UNHCR (2012:2) explained that “migrants crossing the Red Sea and Gulf of Aden face multiple risks and challenges in their areas of origin, during transit, upon arrival in Yemen and during their onward travel. They risk arbitrary arrest and detention, closed borders and refoulement, physical and sexual violence, trafficking, inadequate access to basic services such as shelter, water, food, basic education and health care, limitations to freedom of movement and lack of access to a means of livelihood”.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### 5.1. Conclusion

According to the study, various interrelated challenges or risks threaten the human security of many Ethiopians in general and irregular migrants in particular. The study stressed on the human security situation of irregular migrants of Ethiopians who moved to the Middle East via the Red Sea and Gulf of Aden Route that encompasses their human security situation in their process of migration i.e. in their origin, transit and destination. It also focused on the political, economic and food securities which overlap each other. In other words, these elements of human security do not have clear boundary between each other, yet they are found to be important in demonstrating the issue under this study. Consequently, this study reaches on the following conclusions.

Firstly, the whole discussion, based on interviews and literatures, indicates that political insecurities are among the causes of irregular migration. Various studies show that Ethiopia's political transformation towards democracy as compared to other states is still found at a lower level. BTI (2014:14) and the Economic intelligence (2015:7) classified Ethiopia as authoritarian where key rights which are essential in realizing political as well as other securities are not transformed well. Those rights include free and fair election, association and assembly rights, freedom of expression, rule of law and other basic human rights which are expected to be respected through democratic political culture.

According to all interviewees who experienced irregular migration and key informants, the intensity of political insecurities varies from one situation to the other. Political insecurities are mainly prevailing during election time and the after math, during popular demonstrations, arbitrary arrest and fatal incidents happened and during intrastate conflicts. For example, individual's security is endangered in Somalia region due to intrastate conflicts that comprises both inter and intra ethnic conflicts. The same insecurities occur in other regions of Ethiopia that endanger the overall security of individuals. Besides, the absence of good governance is common that threatens political as well as other securities of individuals. Further, the security of those citizens who move from one regional state to the other regional state to work and reside is highly affected. Minorities' political representation and protection of rights is less. Internal migration which can be one way of solving unemployment and boosting economic growth is

endangered. All interviewees stated that they are afraid of moving from one regional state to the other regional states as they think it is risky. Some of them experienced internal movement and political insecurity; they call it “persistent fear” because of the lack of protection and political representation.

Secondly, even if Ethiopia’s economy has been said to be grown by average of 10 percent for the last decade, poverty is still a big challenge that affects that large proportion of Ethiopian people.

Different studies indicate different results about the level of poverty in Ethiopia. For example, the poverty head count is said to be decreased from 38.7 to 26 percent between 2004/5 -2012/13 using us \$ 0.60 as a bench mark of poverty which means 25 million people have lived in absolute poverty (UNDP, 2015:2-3). Yet, when us \$ 1.25 is used as a poverty line the proportion of population who live in extreme poverty was 36.8 percent (World Bank cited in OPHI, 2015:2). When the poverty line is made US \$ 2 a day, 72.2 percent of the people of Ethiopia live in poverty (ibid). This indicates that the majority of the people live in poverty. All interviewees and key informants as well as suggested that poverty along with other factors derive individuals to irregular migration.

As far as unemployment is concerned, the growing number of the population of Ethiopia is a challenge. Ethiopia has about 90 million people, about 1.4 million citizens want to have job annually (UNDP, 2014:12). In another study, about 60 percent of its citizens are under 25 years old which means about 54 million persons are youth (UN cited in UNDP, 2015:57). Based on the studies, the agriculture, industry, service and informal sectors may not absorb the growing number of people who demand job.

According to the experiences of irregular migrants, the jobs available in the market are not sources of a living wage. They used to be employed in the informal sector and agriculture sector and agriculture sector suggested that their wage was below the international poverty line US \$ 1.25 per day by which they could not maintain themselves. Besides, they criticized the discriminatory and partiality of allocating resources and opportunities. As a result, they left their jobs to migrate to Middle East irregularly. In rural areas, unemployment as well as poverty is challenges due to the shortage of land and low agricultural productivity. So, most young people depend on

their families. Their families themselves are insecure economically due to low productivity of the agriculture.

Thirdly, it is a paradox for Ethiopia which has had large arable land along with surface water and underground water resources that can be utilized for irrigation becomes food insecure. The inability of small holders to augment their production due to shortage of land and lack of expanding irrigation system is one factor that affects the food security of individuals. In other words, agriculture productivity depends on rain fed agriculture which is exposed for shocks like drought, famine, land degradation etc. Furthermore, many youth in rural areas do not have land which enables them to generate income and realize their food security.

Those who earn below US\$2 per day are mostly affected by food insecurity. Of course, the government as well as international donors tries to address the chronic food insecurity of some section of vulnerable people. Yet, many individuals are food insecure. Individuals in urban areas also do not have their own land to build their own home, so, high proportion of their income is paid for house rent and other requirements that diminish their proper calorie intake. The unemployed both in urban and rural areas feel to be deprived of their basic right of getting income and food.

Fourthly, the human security situation of irregular migrants during the process of migration is risky. During the perilous journey, they face the shortage of food and water; their rights are violated by unscrupulous smugglers and hostage takers. Torture, deprivation of food and water, sexual violence e.t.c are common. Besides, crossing the Red sea and Gulf of Aden is potentially fatal by which many migrants died due to boat accident and due to being thrown away in to the sea by smugglers including suicide. Irregular migrants do not have any protection in Yemen. They were made hostages in torture camps. The hostage takers tortured and asked for ransom many times which endangered their security as well as the economic security of their families at home.

Those who could attempt to cross the border the border between Yemen and Saudi Arabia risk gun shooting, arrest and detention and finally deportation. In general there is the absence of the protection of the rights of irregular migrants. Denial of salaries, torture, killing, sexual violence and so on are common in Middle East against irregular migrants.

## **5.2 Recommendation**

As regards political security, democratic institutions and culture should be strengthened and must be made well functioning in a way realizing the protection of human rights which are stated in the international human rights documents as well as the constitution of the Democratic Republic of Ethiopia. The protection of those rights means not only materializing the political security of individuals but also the economic, food and other securities of individuals. Besides, multiculturalism or poly- ethnic situation in Ethiopia has been constituted thorough ethnic federalism which is good, yet it requires to work on the general collective identity i.e. Ethiopianism a belief of identifying oneself “being Ethiopian” which I call the general collective identity. In other words, all need to identify themselves as well as each other as Ethiopians. Ethiopianism is a state idea which is a reason for the very existence of Ethiopians and for realizing of human securities, and all development goals. General collective identity paves the way to Universal collective identity. Besides, pluralistic policy responses like through anti-discrimination legislation, special minority protection and so on are required.

As far as economic and food security is concerned, the government need to focus on job creating economic policies. To do this, it must obsess with trade balance deficit through diversifying and increasing its exports, encouraging socially responsible and job providing private sectors, inclusive or equitable economic development which enable individuals get reasonable income with which they would fulfill their basic needs. Of course, public spending on basic infrastructures (quality education, road etc) is also essential for future economic development, but there should be prudent way of allocating scarce resources not to weaken other sectors, for example food production. Pertaining to agricultural sector that comprises food and commercial material production, there should be proper and balanced combination of the three geo economical elements such as land, water, and people. Increasing the size of small plots of the farmers is to be prioritized without neglecting commercial farms. Distributing land for the growing rural youth is also one way of increasing food production and minimizing unemployment. Irrigation must be emphasized. It is the only way for Ethiopia not to be dependent on rain fed agriculture. Further, using time saving and production enhancing technologies would bring about change.

As to the human security of irregular migrants, irregular migration must be completely discouraged for the sake of the wellbeing of individuals ,this does not mean neglecting those who are in trouble and violating individual's freedom of movement , but regular means of moving out should be designed in co-operation with the international community in a way of realizing the human security of migrants .Realizing the human security of individuals along with other policies like population policy minimizes migration in the long run.

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## **APPENDEX**

### **Interviews Made With Key Informants From IOM Ethiopia :**

- 1. Eskedar Tenaye: Voluntary Return & Integration Program Assistance :Interviewed In Addis Ababa At Her Office On 21/5/2016**
- 2. Merone Mengesha: Migration Management Unit, Interviewed In Addis Ababa At Her Office On 21/5/2016**

**Focus Group Discussion In Addis Ababa With Group Of 5 Men: Admasu, Efrem, Taddese, Abebe And Kefle (Their Father Names Is With Held) .All of Them Are Employees In Public And Private Sectors.**

### **Interview Made In Addis Ababa With In Interviewees Who Experienced Irregular Migration**

**Abdu Mohamed  
Ebessa Lemy  
Abera Alemu**

**Alganesh Kiross**

**Gemeches Tora**

**Mesfin Kebede**

**Yenene Habtu**

**Mesert Ayana**

**Mohamed Yasin**

**Meskerem Tolesa**

**Alelegn Demas**

**Worku Alene**

**Said Asefa**

**Aminat Ahmed Farah**

**Berihun Belete**

**Demeke**

**Amaz Gashu**

**Desalengn Abera  
Adem Seraj  
Adhanome**

**Teshome Lema**

**Endris Musa**

**Aster Bekele**

**Yenene w**

**Hailua Yimer**

**Mola Ayalew**

**Muna Teha**

**Liadiya Mohamed**

**Usman Mohamed**

**Tesfamariam**

**Masresha**

