

Addis Ababa University
School of Graduate Studies

Causes and Consequences of Child Trafficking in Southern Nations, Nationalities, and People's Region: The Case of Children Trafficked from Cheha Woreda, Gurage Zone to Addis Ababa

By Asham Assazenew

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**Causes and Consequences of Child Trafficking in Southern Nations,
Nationalities, and People's Regional State: The Case of Children
Trafficked from Cheha Woreda, Gurage Zone to Addis Ababa**

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By: Asham Assazenew

Advisor: Dr. Gebre Yntiso

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By

Asham Assazeneu

College of Social Sciences

Department Of Sociology and Social Anthropology

Approved by Board of Examiners:

Gebre Yntiso



Advisor

Guday Emirie



Internal Examiner

Muluneh Alhadash



External Examiner

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Map 2. The Cheha *Woreda*

Acronyms

AIDS- *Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome*

ANNPCAN- *African Network for the Prevention against Child Abuse and Neglect*

BBC- *British Broadcasting Corporation*

BOLSA- *Bureau of Labor and Social Affair*

CAD-ET- *Children Aid-Ethiopia*

CANU- *Child Abuse and Neglect Unit*

CEDAW- *Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women*

CIAI - *Italian Center for Children Aid*

CPU- *Child Protection Unit*

CRC- *Child Rights Convention*

CRDA- *Christian Relief and Development Association*

CSA- *Central Statistics Authority*

CYFWO- *Children, Youth and Family Welfare Organization*

E.C.- *Ethiopian Calendar*

ENACT- *Environmental Nutrition and Activity Community Tool*

FBO- *Faith Based Organization*

FGD- *Focus Group Discussion*

FDRE- *Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia*

FSCE- *Forum on Street Children- Ethiopia*

GAATW- *Global Alliance against Trafficking in Women*

GO- *Government Organization*

GPSDO- *Garage People's Self-help Development Organization*

HIV- *Human Immunodeficiency Virus*

IDP- *Internal Displaced People*

ILO- *International Labour Organization*

IOM- *International Organization for Migration*

IRIN- *Integrated Regional Information Networks*

KAT- *Kembata Alaba and by Tembaro*

MCDP- *Multi-Purpose Community Development Project*

MOLSA- *Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs*

NW- *North West*

NGO- *Non Governmental Organization*

OPRIFS- *Organization for Prevention, Rehabilitation and Integration of Female Street Children*

OVC- *Orphans and Vulnerable Children*

PA- *Peasant Association*

SCD- *Save the Children Denmark*

SNNPR- *Southern, Nations, Nationalities, People's Region*

STI - *Sexual Transmitted Infection*

UN- *United Nations*

UNICEF- *The United Nations Children's Fund*

US- *United States*

Glossary

- Addis Admas*- the name of the newspaper
- Arefa*- annual festival for Muslims
- Autobus Tera*- Addis Ababa Cross-country Bus Terminal
- Balukas*- brothel owners who exploit the girls by engaging them in sex work
- Belg* - a short rainy season usually taking place during February/March/April.
- Demoze bet*- literally means a house of payment
- Enset*- locally known *asat* and scientifically known *ensete ventricosum*
- Fano*- migrant
- Fasika*- Ethiopian Easter
- Gesho*- a plant, the leaves of which are used to make beer
- Gommen*- cabbage
- Gurages*- the people of Gurage Zone
- Hedar*- November
- Idir*- Community based organization for burial
- Kocho*- locally called Wusa which is pancake bread
- Kola*- lowland
- Meskal*- the annual festivity based on the Christian tradition of the finding of the True Cross
- Meskerem*- September
- Miazia*- April
- Sebat-bet Gurage*- seven house/group of Gurage
- Senbelet*- grass mats
- Tahesas*- December
- Teff*- a grain original to Ethiopia from which injera is made
- Tegraya*- very refined bread
- Tere*- January
- Tikimit* – October
- Waq*- the sky God
- Weyna dega*- moderate

Yejoka Kitcha - council of Gurage elders

Zher- local land measurement-1zher= 4meter

Abstract

In Ethiopia, internal child trafficking is a growing yet disregarded phenomenon. Children are trafficked from rural areas to urban areas. However, it is difficult to know the magnitude of the problem due to the absence of comprehensive and reliable data as well as the inaccessibility of the victims. Due to the increased prevalence of child trafficking and the absence of comprehensive and reliable data on it in Ethiopia, the study has tried to assess the factors that directly contribute to the vulnerability of children to trafficking, to explore the consequences of trafficking and to examine the existing policy framework in *Cheha Woreda* (Ywezhe kebele, Buchach kebele, Emdibir, Gubre), *Gurage Zone* and Addis Ababa. The assessment of the effects is made through qualitative methods. The findings show that there are three main interrelated factors (economic, socio-cultural and demographic) that are common among the trafficked children. In the research areas, most of the children are forcefully taken to Addis Ababa for the purpose of engaging them as domestic workers to generate income to the household at an early age due to low family income. In addition to, the findings identify frequent forms of exploitation through the process of trafficking in Addis Ababa such as labour, physical, sexual, and psychological exploitation. But the most serious aspect of child exploitation is labour exploitation that exposes children to physical, sexual, and psychological exploitation. Based on the findings, Ethiopia has not ratified the major UN and ILO instruments which are relevant to the issue of trafficking in children. In addition to this, there is lack of a comprehensive national policy and a comprehensive law that addresses the issue of trafficking in children. Moreover, the study finds out that there are very few relevant organizations that have positively intervened in child trafficking. The study made use of the Convention against the Transitional Organized Crime also called the Palermo Convention of trafficking to describe the cases of trafficked children. Moreover, it was relevant to use the Gender-responsive, Human Rights, Migration Based Approaches to describe some of the factors that contribute to child trafficking. Criminal Justice, Human Right Based Approaches and the national legal framework are relevant to oppose the consequences of trafficking on trafficked children. The Multidisciplinary Approach is also relevant that decision makers should consider children rights in victims of trafficking.

CHAPTER 1: General Background

1.1 Introduction

Children suffer from poverty and from social injustices in many countries. They are a powerless segment of the society, who often become the foremost victims of natural and man-made hardships. By considering these facts, the United Nations sought solutions that would enable children to grow protected from conditions which would put their normal growth and development at risk (CAD-ET 2002:1).

The Convention on the Rights of the Child adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations guarantees legal provisions for the protection of children against abuse, neglect and exploitation. The responsibility for development, protection and socialization of children is primarily given to the government and then to families since both are the best and the most appropriate environments for children to grow and to attain normal development (CAD-ET 2002). Despite these requirements, the unfortunate conditions of children are gradually getting worse in every region of the world. Cases of child trafficking have been reported in South Asia, in South –East Asia, and in Eastern Europe, with the patterns of trafficking in the Americas and in the Caribbean only now beginning to emerge. South Asia, South –East Asia, Central and West Africa show particularly high numbers (ILO 2003: 5).

The term “trafficking” had never been precisely defined in international law until December 2000 despite its inclusion in a number of international legal agreements including some of the first human rights treaties. Various definitions were proposed and

adopted, intended to reflect the priorities and perspectives of their promoters. Until very recently, the terms “trafficking” and “smuggling” were often used interchangeably by governments and international organizations (Gallagher 2002:10).

In 2000, the United Nations adopted the Convention against Transnational Organized Crime, also called the Palermo Convention and two protocols. These are protocols to prevent, to suppress and to punish trafficking in persons, especially women and children; and a protocol against the smuggling of migrants by land, by sea and by air. Thus, distinction is made between trafficking on the one hand and migrant smuggling on the other (Bhabha and Zard 2006:6). However, this thesis has adopted the following trafficking definition to guide the scope of the study. Trafficking in persons is defined as:

“The recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring or receipting of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person for the purposes of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labor or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs” (Bhabha and Zard 2006:6).

For this study, child trafficking refers to the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring or receipting of children that takes place within Ethiopia, not across borders.

According to Child Rights Convention, a child is recognized as a person under 18, unless national laws recognize the age of majority earlier (CYFWO 1992:37). For this study, I refer children whose age is under 18.

In the case of Ethiopia, internal child trafficking is a growing yet disregarded phenomenon. As a Forum on Street Children Ethiopia- FSCE (2007) report shows, 1558 children (505 boys and 1053 girls) were taken to Addis Ababa from different regions of the country between 2004 and 2006.

Due to the increased prevalence of child trafficking and the absence of comprehensive and reliable data on it in Ethiopia, the study has tried to find out the factors that directly contribute to the vulnerability of children to trafficking, to explore the consequences of trafficking and to examine the existing policy framework in Cheha *Woreda*, Gurage Zone and Addis Ababa. I selected Cheha *Woreda* for this study because a large number of children (especially girls) are reported by Wolkite Child Protection Unit (CPU) to have been forcefully taken. According to the FSCE- CPU the problem of child trafficking is highly prevalent in Addis Ababa. Cheha *Woreda* is one of the Gurage Zone *Woredas* which is located 458 km from the Regional Town (Awassa); 185 km from Addis Ababa, and 30 kms from Wolkite. Thus, this study paper assesses the nature and the extent of child trafficking in these areas.

1.2 Problem Statement

Ethiopia is among those countries where internal trafficking of children has become a prevalent and a steadily increasing practice (AGRINET 2003, MCDP 2004 and FSCE 2003). However, it is difficult to know the magnitude of the problem due to the absence of comprehensive and reliable data as well as the inaccessibility of the victims. Studies conducted by NGOs in the area suggest that internal child trafficking is gradually becoming a serious problem in the country.

The number of cases reported to FSCE located at the Addis Ababa Bus Terminal (*Autobus Tera*) in the years 2004 -2006 is indicated below.

Trafficked children, 2004-2006			
Regions	Boys	Girls	Total
SNNPR	161	348	509
Amhara	171	330	501
Oromia	143	300	443
Tigray	13	19	32
Afar	0	12	12
Somalia	0	4	4
Benisangul Gumuz	0	1	1
Addis Ababa	9	29	38
Gambella	0	1	1
Harari	4	5	9
Dire Dawa	4	4	8
Total	505	1053	1558

Source: FSCE (CPU), 2007

The above figures only include those cases reported to the CPUs of FSCE and police stations. According to the counselor at FSCE-CPU, there are many children who are trafficked from the Regions to Addis Ababa which are secretly undertaken by transporters, employers, family members and relatives. Such kinds of cases are not reported to CPUs.

A legal expert with the IOM's counter-trafficking unit in Addis Ababa says that internal trafficking of children in Ethiopia is one of the highest in the world, approximately 20,000 each year (IRIN News 2005). The expert further points out that around two-thirds of the children are sold for exploitation by brokers who take a share of the child's earnings, while one-third is trafficked by friends and family.

The problem is highly prevalent in the *Merkato* area, which is a major commercial center in Addis Ababa. This is also the area where the cross country bus terminal is located. As reported by the FSCE, the cross- country bus and truck drivers start the deal by transporting the children while brokers, pimps and brothel owners close the deal at the receiving end. On average, each brothel in *Merkato* accommodates 5 to 10 children involved in sexual exploitation (FSCE 2006;11-12).

Study findings on the magnitude of women and children trafficked within Ethiopia, AGRINET (2003), discover that most of the respondents were children aged 10-18. They were victims of coercion, or, deception that resulted in exploitative working conditions. Brokers and/ or pimps take young girls from rural areas to gain income from bar owners and “*balukas*”. This study further shows that the victims of trafficking become socially isolated, stigmatized, get exposed to physical trauma and health hazards and face physical, economic, emotional as well as sexual abuses.

Recently, IOM conducted a study in different parts of Ethiopia, namely, Addis Ababa, Bahir Dar, Awassa, Arba Minch and Dire Dawa. The study indicates that the major purposes of internal trafficking are to engage children in domestic work, as weavers in the traditional weaving industry, and as prostitutes in major Regional towns as well as Addis Ababa (IOM 2006:11).

According to the FSCE journal, police records reveal that children who became victims of abduction got injured and impaired for the purpose of begging. Others are held in bondage

and are forced to work against their will. These children are exposed to starvation, confinement, physical violence and overwork. In the case of girls, the most distressing experience they face is sexual abuse and exploitation (FSCE 2006:4).

Therefore, conducting a study on internal child trafficking is important because little is known about the problem and little has been done to address it. This study reveals economic, socio-cultural and demographic characteristics of trafficked children in Gurage Zone *Woredas* in order to understand their specific context.

1.3. Objectives of the study

1.3.1 General objective of the study

To assess factors that directly contribute to the vulnerability of children to trafficking, to explore the consequences of trafficking and to examine the existing policy frameworks and their implementation with the concerned bodies in combating child trafficking in Cheha *Woreda*, Gurage zone (specifically at four research sites) and Addis Ababa.

1.3.2 Specific objectives of the study

- To discover the major economic, socio-cultural and demographic factors that directly contribute to the vulnerability of children to trafficking
- To find out the consequences of trafficking on children
- To examine the existing policy/legislative framework and their concrete implementations and to understand the contribution of government and non-government organizations found in Cheha *Woreda* (specifically at four research sites) and Addis Ababa in preventing child trafficking and rehabilitating the victims of trafficking.

1.4. Choice and justification of the study areas

1.4.1 Why Cheha *Woreda*

Cheha *Woreda* has been selected as an origin area for the study because of the following reasons. First, as the counselor at FSCE-CPU in Addis Ababa states the majority of the children (especially girls) trafficked from Gurage Zone to Addis Ababa are to be engaged in domestic works compared to other areas of the SNNPR. As the report of Wolkite's police station-CPU police officer also reveal, the Gurage Zone has nine *Woredas* and the large number of children (especially girls) are taken from Cheha *Woreda* to Addis Ababa and other towns to be engaged in domestic services compared to other *Woredas*. Second, most poor families consider their children as sources of income. They send their children to the urban areas to be engaged in domestic work with no access to education; no any freedom to move from place to place, and working long hours in poor conditions. The families receive children's monthly or yearly salary through relatives or neighbors. So, families rely more on them, and the work of children is a critical component of family survival. Third, as the service givers (FSCE and OPRIFS), at the destination area and the Wolkite's police station-CPU confirm, based on the profiles of the trafficked children from Gurage Zone *Woredas* indicated; while they worked as domestic workers, they were physically and emotionally mistreated by their employers. They were exposed to imprisonment, malnourishment, heavy work load, physical and sexual assault.

Within the study area, I selected four research sites. Due to limitations of available financial resources and time constraints, I could not choose additional sites.

I conducted a week-long preliminary study to select research sites with the above mentioned criteria. I wanted to ensure, the research sites would be known for their high rate of child trafficking. The sites met these considerations and were chosen as a study area. I lived at Emdibir (*Woreda town*) throughout the study period. I chose this place because I could gather data about the Woreda easily and effectively, and it was possible to move to the nearby research *kebele*, Ywezeye, which was a 30 minute walk from the town. I also selected Gubre for conducting the study, and I gathered data from Buchach *kebele*, which was a 20 minute walk distance from Gubre. These *kebeles* were selected since they are usually affected by drought and they are known as food deficient areas compared to other areas. Because of this, there is serious poverty which exposes children to trafficking in these areas.

1.4.2 Why Addis Ababa?

I chose Addis Ababa as a destination area because according to the service givers (FSCE and OPRIFS), the problem of child trafficking is highly prevalent in the city since it is assumed by rural people as the best place for improving one's life easily. Due to this, the number of children who are engaged in domestic work is increasing. There is also perception of the urban people that the *Gurage* people are hard working and they are preferred for domestic work with low payment. Therefore, there is a high demand for domestic workers from the Gurage Zone in Addis Ababa. Finally, those *Gurage* who migrate and who live in Addis Ababa have a great influence on the process of trafficking children while they go to their homeland during *Meskal and Arefa*.

1.5. Research Methods

To attain the objectives of the study, two methods of data collection were used: secondary and primary.

1.5.1. Data Collection Techniques

a. Secondary data

Documents related to child trafficking in general and internal trafficking in particular were reviewed. Relevant books, journals, magazines, reports, on line sources, unpublished documents and literatures on international and national legal provisions were assessed and utilized for comparative understanding.

b. Primary data collection

I first considered ethical issues in the data collection process. I asked informants' willingness and consent to conduct the interviews, to tape record the interviews and to be photographed. The data gathering procedure was completely based on the informants' consent. The techniques employed include non participant observations, key informant interviews, case studies, and focus group discussions. The grounds for using these methods are to cross-check the validity and reliability of the data through triangulation.

A. Observation

I stayed for about forty days in *Abegaze* Hotle which is found in Emdibir and I made frequent visits at the research sites. I observed factors that contributed to the child trafficking. I also made frequent visits to Addis Ababa where children stay in shelters of both FSCE and OPRIFS in order to observe the service given to them.

At the research sites, I saw the way of life, how parents raise their children, how they care for them, provide for them, send children to school, sending to school and assigning household chores. I observed that most children are attending school by shift program and are helping their parents with household chores. Some are engaging in petty trade selling fruits, chewing gum and polishing shoes before or after school to support their family. I also observed that children are working in another person's home giving care to a baby or doing household tasks with 10-15 Birr per month given to parents. I also observed that some children do not attend school due to economic difficulties. Finally, I observed children who were reunited with parents returned to school.

I usually walked to see the community settings as a whole. I walked to the research sites (to the adjacent *kebeles*) every day. I observed that schools are constructed near each *kebeles*. I also observed that there is land scarcity in the research areas which has a great contribution to household poverty and then to child trafficking. Most of the population are farmers who have small plot of lands consisting of *enset*, coffee and *chat* next to their houses. They depend on *enset* products and coffee for their daily consumption. Some are engaged in different activities near the towns to supplement income to the household. There are many children living in the houses and playing in the villages. I spent some time at the bus station where *chat*, tea and bread are also sold to the passengers and other customers. This environment enabled me to collect data on different conditions of the factors that contribute to child trafficking.

One day, I took a girl to Wolkite from Addis Ababa FSCE- CPU. I gave her to the Police

officer at Wolkite police station. I observed *kebele* police officer who reunited her with her family. I had a good interview with her. She was one of the informants for my case study.

In Addis Ababa, I frequently visited both the centers, namely FSCE and OPRIFS. I observed how the FSCE's counselor and the OPRIFS's counselor gave assistance and treatment to the victims of trafficking at the Drop-In Center. They gave professional counseling to the children and assisting with contacting the children's family by asking the children to tell them their families' address. Those who did not want to go back to their homes or who afraid to do so provided false addresses.

From observation, FSCE shelter is located far from the FSCE-CPU office in *Autobus Tera*. It is located at a police station which does not accommodate to children, especially for girls. This is because the compound is crowded by policemen and other people. I observed that the counselor assigned the oldest children to look after the younger ones to stay in the compound. The girls are immediately referred to OPRIFS because they have no care takers. The shelter has one bed rooms for boys and one bed room for girls. There is also one small room which is used for watching TV. The shelter consists of victims of abuse and exploitation including trafficking. On the contrary, OPRIFS shelter is the most child friendly place which consists of a shelter, meal, counseling room, informal education room, physical exercise, handicrafts, playing games, toilets, shower and a TV program for victims of trafficking and other abuse. The place only provides services for girls. Children come to the shelter (provided by FSCE or OPRIFS), and they are very quiet, shy and reluctant to mix with others for a number of days. This is due to the psychological violence they have

experienced. In addition, the very fact that they are alienated from their families and people they know cause unbearable consequences on their social interaction. The visit I made to the shelter verified this. I saw children were too shy and quiet and could not play with the other children because of the language barrier. I also observed pictures on the board and photo album of trafficked children when they reunited with their family in both offices.

B. Key informant interviews

I conducted fifty-two key informant interviews from both study areas. They were aimed at obtaining the perspectives of people on the issues central to the study. The key informants were those who are aware of the process of child trafficking (the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring, or, receipting of children) at the origin and at the destination areas. They also told me about factors that contribute to child trafficking, consequences and other related issues.

The interviews conducted were with the concerned bodies working on child trafficking such as eighteen government organizations staff (one Children Affair Department, four police force and two judiciary bodies on the handling of trafficking cases, especially professionals working in the area, three teachers, two *Woreda* administrators, two health bureau staff, one education bureau staff and three agriculture officers) and fourteen non-government organizations staff (three FSCE, three OPRIFS, two IOM, one ANNPCAN, four GPSDO and one *Zema* organizations). The interviews conducted with two former traffickers was applied purposively to get information about how and why they had done so and whether they had trafficked children for the purpose of forced labor, or, for sexual

exploitation or both. Five community leaders were interviewed at the origin areas. Semi-structured, unstructured and informal interviews were used to collect the data.

In addition, I conducted fifteen interviews in Addis Ababa, ten with the residents and five with brokers to get information on the high demand of female house maids. The FSCE counselor helped me to select *Addis Ketema* sub-city since the area is near the bus terminal and highly known for receiving trafficked children from rural areas.

C. Case Studies

I gathered information from twenty children of which three children were from OPRIFS in Addis Ababa with the assistance of a counselor, since it is forbidden to interview victims. This made the informants be free to express their feelings and life histories. This enabled me to get as much information as possible from the informants' experiences. Interviews with four children were conducted by me. One interview was conducted with a girl whom I took to the study area that I mentioned before. I took the girl from FSCE-CPU to get information with the police for reunification in Wolkite CPU. The other twelve were conducted with reunited children who are now leading good lives and attending school at the study area. I made contact with them through a returning committee of Emdibir Elementary School, Ywezeye Elementary School and Abba Fransewa Mulu Elementary School in Gubre.

The life histories were mainly focused on the socio-cultural and economic conditions of the children before and after they were taken. The process of child trafficking was described

during the interviews. They share their former experiences, their life style, their jobs they were engaged in and the consequences.

I also interviewed case studies with twenty parents who currently send their children to Addis Ababa through relatives or neighbors. During the interviews, the process and factors of trafficking was explained.

D. Focus Group Discussions /FGDs

Group discussions were held in the study areas. An adult FGD was conducted composing of community members at Gubre, government officials at Yewezhe Kebele, and bus terminal workers in Addis Ababa. These three focus group discussions with 8-10 participants in each group were aimed at getting information on the general situation of the as the trafficking process and the factors that contributed to child trafficking.

I used a tape recorder during the key informant interviews and FGDs and a camera to take pictures that depicted factors contribute to child trafficking at the research sites. I took some pictures in the research sites but I could not take picture of the service givers' shelters for victims in Addis Ababa because it was not allowed by the staff.

1.5.2 Data Analysis

The analysis of the qualitative data began with the reading and re-reading of the field notes in order to organize them thematically. The findings that were obtained from the qualitative method were transcribed, translated and categorized. Then in the actual write up, this data was described and analyzed. The descriptive analysis was carried out by comparing the

findings and analyzing them in regard to the extent of the internal child trafficking, the causes and consequences, the rehabilitation process of the victims, the legal provisions at the international and national levels, and the approaches to the analysis of the child trafficking which were explored in the related literature review.

1.6. Significance of the study

The findings of the thesis have theoretical as well as practical significance. This micro level study is expected to give insights to understanding the magnitude of child trafficking in the Gurage Zone in particular and in Ethiopia in general.

The study is expected to raise societal awareness of child trafficking, to identify the factors that contribute to this problem and to understand the challenges faced by the children. In due course, it is hoped that this study will help to prevent child trafficking at a national level. It may also have some contribution to the formulation of appropriate policies for preventing, reducing and controlling the problem of trafficking. These policies will help the concerned bodies to focus on the root causes of child trafficking rather than giving attention to the observed problems. In addition to this, the policies will facilitate to have further studies on the problem since there is a lack of relevant and comprehensive data on the problem of internal child trafficking.

1.7 Limitation of the study

The result of this study does not fully represent trafficked children of the Cheha *Woreda*, the Gurage Zone and Addis Ababa due to the limitation of time and financial constraints.

One specific limitation of this study was that it was impossible to interview people involved in the process of child trafficking, such as those involved in the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring and recipients of children, to prove the information. In addition, those who were involved in the study were supposed to get financial assistance from me but I was not able to do so. Moreover, it was also challenging to find children in their work settings since the process of trafficking is undertaken secretly.

Finally, there was difficulty in finding literature on the topic because little research has been done. The case of trafficking in a court of law was also not found since the case has not been reported as a criminal activity.

Thus, there is a need of conducting further research in order to conduct complementary studies on factors that contribute to child trafficking and consequences of trafficking on the victims on different *kebeles* at the origin area.

Chapter 2: Description of the Study Areas

2.1 The *Gurage* Zone

This study is concerned with child trafficking in Cheha *Woreda*, which is in the Gurage Zone of the Southern Nations, Nationalities, and People's Regional State (SNNPR). According to the Gurage Zone Administration (2006), the *Gurage* people occupy mainly the beautiful semi- mountainous part of the country which is currently known as Gurage Zone. This zone is located in the western part of central Ethiopia; and at the same time, it is the northern tip of the region. The zone is bordered in the south by Hadiya, in the west, in north and in east by Oromia Regional State, and in the south-east by Kembata Alaba and by Tembaro (KAT). The *Gurage* people's homeland extends to the *Awash* River in the north, the *Gibe* River (a tributary of the Omo) to the south-west and Lake *Zeway* to the east (Worku 2006: 25).

A study which was conducted in the *Sebat-bet Gurage* by The Gurage People's Self-help Development Organization (GPSDO) in collaboration with the Save the Children Denmark indicates that the Gurage Zone is composed of nine districts and one provisional town municipalities of Wolkite (GPSDO and SCD 2005:12). As the Gurage Zone Administration report (2006) states, Wolkite, which is 158 kms from Addis Ababa, on the Addis Ababa-Jimma road, is the capital of the zone. The major ethnic groups of the zone are Gurage, Kebena and Mareko. The Gurage Zone has natural as well as historical tourist attraction areas.

Based on the census data 1994, the zone has an estimated total population of 2,224,315, of which 1,078,965 were males and 1,145,350 were females; 139,491 or 6.3% of its

Map- 1 Gurage Zone Woreda Map



population were urban dwellers. With an estimated area of 7,992.22 square kilometers, Gurage zone has an estimated population density of 278.31 people per square kilometer (CSA 2005).

The Gurage groups speak a collection of Semitic languages and dialects, collectively known as Gurage, but they are divided into at least three subgroups known as Northern, Eastern and Western Gurage, mainly the *Sebat-bet* and Gogot (Meskan). *Sebat-Bet Gurage*, composed of seven districts, or *Kifele Hizboch*, as GPSDO calls them, is found in the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Regional State. (GPSDO and SCD 2005: 12).

As the Gurage Zone Administration (2006) states, the economy of the Gurage Zone, like that of the entire country, depends on agriculture. About 94% of the population lives in rural areas which are mostly engaged in mixed farming. The *Gurage* people are known for their extensive cultivation of the *ensete ventricosum* locally known as *asat* or in Amharic *enset*, although this is a practice they share with other southern and southwestern Ethiopians (the Gurage and Silte Research Group 2003). *Kocho*, a product of *enset* is the staple diet of the people, which is also true of the entire region (GPSDO and SCD 2005: 13). The *enset* has a massive stem that grows underground and is completely involved in every aspect of Gurage life. The people also produce wheat, barley, maize, sorghum and *teff* as food crops in varying degrees among the different agro-ecological zones. The Gurage Zone Administration (2006) states that coffee, *chat* and pepper are grown as cash crops. Animal husbandry is practiced, but mainly for milk supply and dung. Eucalyptus is also becoming an important source of income for the Gurages, mainly sold as a

construction material (GPSDO and SCD 2005: 13). However, the use of traditional farming systems, simple implements, unsatisfactory work culture of the people, along with the shortage of arable land have exposed the zone to a state of continued poverty (GPSDO and SCD 2005: 12).

The limited available farm land, which is the main asset for the *Gurage* people has decreased its soil fertility due to over-cultivation. Moreover, the farmers cannot afford to buy fertilizers and special seeds to increase their yield (Worku 2006: 73).

The Gurage area is densely populated, and many *Gurages* migrate to urban areas for work (Gurage and Silte Research Group 2003). This is due to some driving factors such as rapid population growth; poor resource base for agriculture; shortage of arable land and especially, lack of tribute payment and taxes (Worku 2006:73). Carolyn Ford (2002) was serving as a Bible translator and literacy facilitator with SIM (Serving in Mission). Ford (2002) states in her study about the *Gurages* that they are well-known for their hard work and for their skill as traders. Many of the men own shops in Addis Ababa and other cities, returning to their origin area only for a few days each October to celebrate *Meskal* (for Orthodox Christians - commemorating the finding of "the true cross") or *Arefa* (for Muslims), the most important Gurage holidays. She further states that the *Gurage* people have earned a reputation as skilled traders.

Pertaining to religion, Ford (2002) notes that while over 50% of Gurages claim faithfulness to Christianity and another 40% to Islam, many also participate in traditional religious

practices such as offerings to a deity called "*Waq*" and hanging of fetishes in their houses to ward off evil spirits.

She further states that *Gurage* houses are famous for their neatness and symmetry, circular structures held together without the use of nails, wooden spokes protrude from a center pole to support the thatched roof. Locally-made pottery hangs around the inside wall in neat rows. Near the center is a fireplace used for cooking and heating the house. Each stands in its own perfectly clean compound; a dirty one is described as being like that of a dead man because the people believe that idleness is a sin and work is the key to success (GPSDO and SCD 2005: 9).

The *Gurages* live in small densely settled villages, like many other people of the Southern Region. Nowadays, the neighboring peoples like *Kambata*, *Alaba*, and *Hadiya* adopted the same style of house design as the *Gurages* (GPSDO and SCD 2005: 9). As Ford (2002) acknowledges, the *Gurages* take pride in their hospitality and often serve coffee (boiled in a large clay pot and traditionally flavored with salt and butter) and roasted grain to 30 or more guests at a time. This provides socialization for neighbors and refreshment for casual observers. Often a small section on one side of the house is reserved for livestock (cows, sheep or goats, and perhaps a horse), which are kept in the house during the night and put out to pasture in the daytime.

The overall primary health service coverage of the zone is 47.9%, which, compared to the 52% regional coverage is slightly lower. The major health problems of the zone are malaria; intestinal parasites; gastritis; lower respiratory problem; upper respiratory tract

infection; eye diseases; other respiratory tract infections; and skin diseases (GPSDO and SCD 2005: 13). GPSDO and SCD (2005) further states that tuberculosis and AIDS are believed to be among the major causes of morbidity and mortality in the zone, but available data is scarce on these diseases. According to the Gurage Zone HIV-AIDS Prevention and Control Office, there are 2000 AIDS orphans in the zone, for all of which the office maintains a database. The issue of knowing the number of orphans of AIDS, or, orphans in general is not easy even at the national level. In *Sebat- Bet Gurage*, where the prevalence of AIDS is expected to be high because of the urban-rural migration and the practice of polygamy, the expectation is that several AIDS orphans live there (GPSDO and SCD 2005: 52-53).

Concerning marriage, polygamy is common throughout *Sebat- Bet Gurage*. As it is a culturally accepted norm, only a few cases appear before court of law. In Muhur district, there were 67 cases brought to the courthouse whereas there are 29 such cases in 1996 E.C. According to the women affairs office, most of the cases were resolved, meaning the men were forced to provide for the sustenance of previous family members. As it is to be learnt from some people, elders and those in the administrative and the judicial system need to be sensitized to condemn polygamy. According to the "*cheg*" custom, polygamy is still taken as the right of the man and the woman should be submissive as long as he is able to provide her with the necessary budget to the sustenance of the earlier family. However, it is also beginning to be seen as an offence punishable by law as there is a case in the district mentioned above (GPSDO and SCD 2005: 83-84).

Apart from formal administrative and legal systems, the community benefit from *Yejoka Kitcha* (council of elders) which is a local institution and which implements child rights improvement programs and sets restrictions or impositions (GPSDO and SCD 2005: 9).

The Gurage People's Self-help and Development Organization (GPSDO) is the non-governmental organization working in Gurage Zone on various rural development activities. As the organization's director declared, despite other current development activities, GPSDO has undertaken a project on child rights promotion in partnership with Save the Children Denmark.

2.2 Cheha Woreda

As I mentioned earlier, I chose Cheha *Woreda* as an origin area of child trafficking. Cheha *Woreda* is one of the districts in the *Sebat-Bet Gurage*. Part of the Gurage Zone, Cheha is bordered on the south by Enemor and Ener, on the west by the Oromia Regional State, on the north by Goro, on the east by Ezhana Wolene, and on the south-east by Gumer. It is located 30 Kms away from the zonal seat, Wolkite. Cheha is one of the 77 *woredas* in the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples' Regional state of Ethiopia.

According to the Cheha *Woreda* administrator, this *woreda* covers part of the homeland of the *Gurage* people. The towns of Cheha *Woreda* are Emdibir and Gubre, which are the research sites along with the selected *kebeles* in each town. Based on the data from the *Woreda* Administration, the Cheha *Woreda* is divided into 42 *Kebeles*, 3 urban *Kebeles* and 39 rural *Kebeles*.

Based on the 1994 Census, this *Woreda* has an estimated total population of 164,704 (84,521 males and 80,183 females). Some 6,691 (or 4.06%) of its population are urban dwellers, which is less than the Gurage Zone average of 6.3%. With an estimated area of 549.85 square kilometers, Cheha has an estimated population density of 299.5 people per square kilometer, which is greater than the Zone average of 278.3 (CSA 2005).

The *Woreda* Agriculture Bureau staff declares that the economy is based on different sectors such as 93 % in agriculture, 4% in trade, and 3% in different sectors. The backbone of the economy in the *Woreda* is the agricultural sector. According to the *Woreda* Agriculture Officer, the area has rich soil, and farming is the main mode of living for the rural population. *Enset*, coffee and *chat* are produced, as perennial crops. Based on the data obtained from Agriculture Bureau, *Hedar*, *Tahasas* and *Tere* are seasons for harvesting *enset*. Once *enset* is planted by men, it is used for different purposes for a long period of time, and the process of *enset* is undertaken by women. The *Gurages* eat the root and stem of the leaves and the inner bark of the *enset*. The edible portion is squeezed and ground into a flour paste to make pancake bread (*wusa*) and for special occasions, very refined bread which stays longer in the ground. Every household member eats the same kind of food. In the month of *Miazia*, wheat, maize, barley and *Teff* are cultivated as annual crops. Very recently, in some parts of the *Woreda*, people produce fruit (avocado, banana, orange, papaya, etc.) eucalyptus, *chat* and coffee. Moreover, the lowland people now start producing *teff*, maize, wheat and sorghum.

According to the *Woreda* Agriculture Bureau staff, the *Woreda* administrator and the household case studies, there is scarcity of land which leads to over cultivation like other Gurage areas.

The *Woreda* government officials further state that most of the people in the area are engaged in commercial activities as an additional means of subsistence by moving to the urban areas after crop harvesting season. Income from *enset* and livestock is insufficient, and besides supplementing it by selling crops such as coffee and *chat*, people often depend for further supplementation on remittances from out-migrant family members, and off-farm activities such as handicrafts, daily work, trade, etc. Generating additional income is one of the major off-farm activities in which many men in the community are engaged at present.

According to the *Woreda* Agriculture officer, the main domestic animals are cattle. There are few oxen- bulls, usually sold or eaten before becoming oxen, because agriculture is based on the use of the hoe. The breeding of cattle and the cultivation of *enset* are mutually dependent: manure is continuously applied to the growth of *enset* and the cattle are fed on *enset* leaves. Due to population pressure, the small amount of grazing land available has limited the size of herds. In most households, cows are more highly valued than bulls. Sheep, donkeys and horses are reared for cash income and for transport. Most parts of the land are eroded and as a result, *enset* fields are traditionally conserved with stone and soil bunds. The grazing land has decreased, but the number of cattle heads in the area has increased. In addition, cattle are not moved to other grazing lands in any season due to the scarcity of grazing land. In addition to this, the quality of grazing land has deteriorated.

They further note that the other main problem in this *Woreda* is migration. The *Gurage* people usually move to urban sites to search a better life. Most adults and youth migrate to urban areas, especially to Addis Ababa to engage in trade, and children are taken for the purpose of work. The adults and the youth stay for a long period of time in the urban centers. During this time, men may have sexual contact with different women. They can easily contract HIV and transmit the disease to their wives when returning home. Because of this, it is believed that the number of orphans and the number of vulnerable children (OVC) is increasing. Children are trafficked by relatives and by neighbors to urban sites to engage in different domestic works at an early age. They are mostly exposed to abuse and exploitation.

According to the informants, there are two types of working conditions among the Cheha people. They do farming within a specific period of time and are engaged in trade after farming. They are forced to go to near towns, or to other towns to engage in petty trading. They may come back home during the farming period and during holidays (*Meskal or Arefa*). In order to fill the gap of the husband's absence, women play a great role in earning additional income to the household. They are hard working and they sell different food in the market. Some travel a long distance to reach the market. They are the ones that give care to the planted crops after the husbands move to the urban areas. Children may also have the responsibility of giving care to their little siblings. Hence, women are the ones that spend more time outside the home to bring income if the men move to the urban area. Children carry little babies and watch over the home. Moreover, many children are forced

to move to the urban areas through the process of trafficking to generate income to the household.

Regarding religion, the *Woreda* Administrator states based on the 1994 CSA that 44% claims faithfulness to Islam, 43% Orthodox, 7% Catholic, and 6% Protestants. Many also participate in traditional religious practices which is called "*Waq*".

Similar to other Gurage villages, from observation, Cheha *Woreda* is described by a cluster of Gurage round houses. At the back of each house, there is a field for the staple crop, *enset*, which is typical of the linear Gurage village settlement pattern. In the middle of the clustered village, there is a well constructed road which is communally owned by the communities.

Concerning social service distribution, the data from Education and Health Bureau Officers of the Cheha *Woreda* shows there were 36 primary schools, 2 secondary schools, 12 kindergartens, 1 hospital, 3 health centers, 2 clinics and 25 health posts in 1998 E.C. The coverage of education and health in this *woreda* is 80% and 49.4% of the total population respectively.

According to the community elders and FGDs at the origin areas, most parents do not give proper care to their children due to poverty at the household level. Moreover, a return to normal daily activities, in order to bring household income, is important for the mother. There is only intense maternal care during the first two months after birth. It is not uncommon for a child to remain unfed, or not to be looked after for several hours. The care

of the child may even be turned over to a seldom attentive surrogate. If the mother does carry her child with her while doing chores, feeding is often interrupted resulting in neither physical nor emotional satisfaction. Most key informants agree that parents who are poor do not send their children to school; rather they prefer to take them forcefully to urban areas to generate income to the family. This occurs often during *Meskal and Arefa* holidays.

According to informants, the word *fano* means a person who migrates away from homeland and returns to the homeland every year during the holidays (*Meskal and Arefa*). Thus, this *fano* has great involvement in the process of child trafficking every year by recruiting, transporting, transferring and receiving children from this *woreda* to the urban areas for the purpose of domestic work. This enhances the vulnerability to exploitive and abusive consequences. As the GPSDO director further stated, most of the *fanos* who go to the homeland to celebrate the holidays with suitcases and money return with one or two more children to the urban places where they are living. The children then work for the purpose of generating income to the families.

GPSDO and SCD (2005) indicates that the data of Finance and Economic Development Main Department of the Zone, in 1996 E.C. There are expected to be 29,300 children under the age of five while those with the ages ranging from 5-14 would be 48,400. Moreover, the Cheha *Woreda* Administrator affirms that the number of children per household is 5 on average. Both the governmental and non-governmental organizations working in the *Woreda* have given attention to family planning. They both raise awareness in every *kebele* of the *Woreda*. The *Woreda* Health Bureau Officer reported that three years ago, the

coverage of family planning was only 8% of the total population, but now the coverage has reached 52.7% of the total population of which 24% was covered by GPSDO in 2006.

2.2.1 The research sites

I chose Emdibir as a research site since it is the main town of the *Woreda*. Emdibir is surrounded by Yewezye, Yeferezeye and Girar Dibir (Acacia forest), Yawre Dibir (forest of wild life) Yeferemazigbe *Kebeles*. The nearest water sources of Emdibir are Gotam, Gogeb, Metrekat rivers; Hebir and Yewoden springs (Bevan and Pankhurst 1996:1). Emdibir means "mother forest". They further state that Em means "mother" and dibir "forest" which indicates that the area was forested.

The *Woreda's* vice administrator states that it is located at 30k.m. away from Wolkite. The total population is 10,000 of which 5,012 are females.

Emdibir is customarily classified under the *weyna dega* agro-climatic zone. Emdibir has a single major rainy season called *Zar* from early June to mid-September. The entire plateau has two rainy seasons from about mid-April to mid-September. The rain falls in varying intensities - there are big and little rains (Bevan and Pankhurst 1996:1).

As Bevan and Pankhurst (1996) also indicate, Emdibir PA is situated on twenty *gasha* (800 ha.) of the land. Along the river-side soil erosion has become a problem. As they further reported in the *Woreda* office of the Ministry of Coffee and Tea Development, the eroded land in the PA covers about 5 percent (40 ha.) of the total area. The settlement pattern in

Emdibir is such that villages are densely concentrated along the plateau and river banks (Bevan and Pankhurst 1996:1).

All residents in Emdibir PA belong to the Gurage ethnic group who can speak both *Guragegna* and *Amahric* and the majority (about two thirds) of them are bilingual. The maintenance of traditional culture has contributed to their ethnic identity and mutual support. Because of their physical mobility and adaptation to different socio-economic environments, there is no place in Ethiopia that the Gurage have not reached and settled (Bevan and Pankhurst 1996:3).

The household economy of Emdibir is mainly based on the production of the principal crop *enset*. *Chat*, coffee, cabbage, maize, potato and tobacco are also grown. *Teff* is grown in some homesteads and *teff* fields are sometimes fenced with *enset* and *chat* crops. *Enset* and coffee are not usually sold but *chat* is mostly sold. There is a crop history at the end of the profile which shows that the newer crops of sugarcane, coffee, *chat*, and banana were introduced in the 1960s and early 70s (Bevan and Pankhurst 1996:4).

According to the *Woreda* Agriculture Bureau, most of the crops grown are perennials. However, in the *belg* season people produce annual crops, mainly maize, tomato, *gommen*, green pepper and tobacco with either young *enset* or coffee.

Most of the population are Orthodox Christian or Catholic; not more than one quarter of the population is Muslim. Orthodox Christians and Catholics are more or less equal in number; if there is any difference there are more Orthodox Christians (Bevan and Pankhurst 1996:3).

From observation, there are very few culturally constructed houses like other rural Gurage areas. Since Emdibir is the town of the *Woreda*, most of the houses are made of corrugated iron, mud and wood. In a very few places, there are modern buildings, including *Abegaze Wolde* Hotel. Near the bus terminal, there are shops where tea and *chat* are sold to passengers and inhabitants. This *chat* comes from the surrounding *kebeles* every morning by farmers and children. The traders buy from the farmers at wholesale prices and sell it to others at retail prices. As I have observed, adults, youths and small boys carry a huge bundle of chat covered by *enset* leaves coming from different sides of the town to the bus terminal where the traders are accessible.

As the data states by the Cheha *Woreda* vice administrator, concerning social service distribution of Emdibir, there are two primary schools, one secondary school, one kindergarten, one health center, and one private clinic. The inhabitants have access to electricity, pipe water and telephone.

The community elders argue that there is a practice of polygamy in this town which has a great contribution for having many children and exposure to poverty.

The government organizations are Cheha *Woreda* Administration, Municipality, Rural Agriculture Office, Health and Education Bureaus, Finance and Economic Development Bureau, etc. which are found in this town. Moreover, there are three NGOs in the town such as GPSDO work mainly on family planning, *Zema* Women for Justice Association (the former Proginist Organization) work mainly on child's rights and the Catholic Church working mainly on food security.

Currently, the problem of child trafficking is getting attention by the governmental and non- governmental organizations. Especially, government schools play a great role in controlling the trafficking case at the elementary school level by establishing returning committees for the purpose of returning students from the urban areas. The data collected from elementary schools teachers confirms that there are many students who forcefully taken to the urban places for work. Some of them have reunited with their families through the returning committees and have continued their education.

I selected *Yewezye Kebele* for the study since the rate of trafficking is high due to poverty. According to the *Woreda* Administration and Agriculture office and community leaders, the area is known by drought and food deficiency. Food aid is usually distributed in this area. There is also a high scarcity of land which leads to poverty. People therefore are engaged in daily activities to supplement the household income. There are two rivers called Gogeb and Metrekat that separate the *kebele* from the town taking 35 minutes walking distance. The *kebele* chairperson states that the estimated total population was around 2070, in 2006. The *kebele* is divided into eight sub-*kebeles*.

The FGD conducted in Yewezye *kebele* points out that the people use a small plot of land for many purposes, and the land is highly infertile and is eroded because of over cultivation and over grazing. Moreover, the land size on average is estimated to be 0.5 hectare per household. The people only depend on permanent crops such as *enset*, coffee and *chat*. They do not produce annually grown crops. The Rural Agriculture Extension Officer of the *kebele* said that currently, coffee is affected by a disease called *cholera*. Therefore, the farmers do not produce much coffee. They mainly depend on *enset* and *chat* which grow on limited land. *Enset* is used completely for consumption, but *chat* is grown for sell in near by towns. Due to the scarcity of land and the habit of depending on cash crops, the people do not have much effort in producing annual crops like other *kebeles*.

As the case studies at the household level indicate, most of the people engage in off-farm activities to supplement income to the household and force their children to urban areas during the holidays in order to work. During the winter, there is a shortage of food at the household level due to low family income. Children are forced to move to the urban areas to generate income at an early age. There is a serious poverty situation at the household level. The FGD participants agree that there are cases of inability of not sending children to school due to lack of ability of paying small amount of birr (2 birr) per month for school contribution.

Concerning housing, I observed that the house is like most Gurage house which is proportional, spherical structures held together without the use of nails, made of wood spokes sticking out from a center pole to hold the thatched roof. Locally-made pottery

hangs around the inside wall in neat rows. Near the center is a fireplace used for cooking and heating the house. Next to the house, each household has a small plot of land that consists of *enset*, *chat* and coffee. There are many children playing in each village every day. While they saw me, they came close to me and they moved from place to place with me.

According to the *kebele* chair person there are few social services: one elementary school, one kindergarten, one health post, and one agriculture training center. The health extension workers state that there are also many children in the villages due to the parent's wish of having many children. This is because they consider children as an asset. It is assumed that children would alleviate their family's poverty by engaging in different activities in Addis Ababa or other urban areas, and by generating income to the family. Even if parents want to send their children to school, the situation of having a low income forces them to send their children to urban areas through the process of trafficking. More elaboration will be given on the coming section that deals with factors contributing to child trafficking in the study areas.

I have also chosen Gubre as the research site, which is a small town and found in the lowland of the *Woreda*. There are 16 sub-*kebeles* out of which Buech and Deneb, Azer and Sise and Emateye *kebeles* surround this small town.

The Cheha *Woreda* vice administer indicates that the total population of Gubre is 3,876 out of which 1,957 are females. It has one elementary school, one high school, one health post and one private clinic. I studied Buchach *kebele*, which takes 20 minutes walking distance

from Gubre. I chose this site because there is a high rate of trafficking case, especially among the Muslims. Children are taken to Dela town (SNNPR) and to Addis Ababa to be engaged in different activities, especially in domestic works. There is scarcity of land compared to other *kebeles* and because of this people do not produce other food crop like in other lowland places and thus are exposed to poverty.

Like other Gurage areas, each household has a small plot of land that consists of *enset*, *chat* and coffee. Farmers are not only dependent on perennial crop but they start producing annual crops which helps the farmers to increase household incomes. Moreover, the house construction is more or less the same like other research areas that were mentioned above.

2.3 Addis Ababa

For this study, Addis Ababa was selected as a destination for the rural people to practice child trafficking. Addis Ababa is the largest city of Ethiopia within close proximity to the Gurage land. Addis Ababa is located about 2,400 meter above sea level, at 9.03° N 38.74° E) (CSA 2005). Addis is the house of people from various ethnic groups (Addis Ababa City Administration 2006).

According to the 1994 Census, the population of Addis Ababa was 2.3 million of which 28,149 are living in the rural parts of the city. Of the total population, 51.6% are females while 48.4% are males (CSA 2005). However, this ratio was reported to vary from time to time due to the influences of internal migration (Mieraf 2003: 15).

Rural migrants come to Addis Ababa from villages with diverse ethnic and linguistic backgrounds. *Amhara*, *Oromo* and *Gurage* are the dominant ethnicities in the city. According to the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (2006), the ethnic groups represented as *Amhara* (41.3%), *Oromo* (26.2%), *Gurage* (17.5%), and *Tigray* (7.6%), while others constitute 7.4% of the population. The city has as many as 80 nationalities speaking 80 different languages.

Addis Ababa is experiencing a steady but effective development. The city is the main commercial, financial and industrial center of the country. It is also a service provision center in the country having employment structure quite distinct from the rest of the country. Service is followed by trade, and manufacturing industry is the dominant sectors in terms of employment opportunities (Addis Ababa City Administration 2007).

The majority of the city's population is engaged in the informal labour sector. The sector is providing a means of living for about 61% of the population in Addis Ababa (Loop, 2000). The rest of the people were engaged in trade, manufacturing, civil service, transport and communication.

There are different religions: Christian, Muslim,¹ and Jewish communities. 82% of the population are Orthodox Christians, 12.7% Muslims, 3.9% Protestants, 0.8% Catholics, and 0.6% followers of other religions (Hindus, Jews, Bahais, Jehovah's Witnesses, Agnostics, etc) (FDRE, 2006).

Addis Ababa and its surroundings comprise the major source of attraction for the *Gurage fanos* (migrants), and it has always been the destination of the largest number of *Gurage fanos* from generation to generation. They are engaged in different activities like shoe shining, domestic work, petty trade, schooling, government staff and running big business, hotels, restaurants, etc. (Worku 2006: 226).

The Addis Ababa Cross-country Bus Terminal, which is known as *Autobus Terra*, is located near *Merkato*. According to FSCE social worker, it is the main bus terminal where most of the regional buses arrive and depart. It is the center for brokers and brothel owners to be involved in trafficking children.

As the study which was conducted by Bevan and Pankhurst (1996) indicates, migration is an important means of risk management of the *Gurage* people. The reasons include possible failure of agricultural productivity, shortage of land, the high cost of living and taxation. The *Gurages* work in domestic off-farm activities in towns irrespective of the qualities of the job. Their activities range from owning big hotels and factories to jobs like selling second hand cloth and magazines.

The study further states that people from the community have regularly migrated to a range of places for trade, but migration for temporary work has only started recently in the community. The number of *Gurages* who have migrated for wage labour has been expanding until the regionalization programme led to ethnic conflicts in some places. In Emdibir town, at least one man from each household was away to Addis Ababa and other towns at all times during the agricultural off-season. It was mostly younger men who migrated; they need the

cash and they have fewer attachments, and at least 1 trip abroad is an assertion of independence and a symbol of manhood. Beginning from the age of 10, many male children have migrated to the urban centres following the household members in search of work.

According to the IOM (2006), the trend of migration reportedly masks an increasing level of trafficking in children from the Gurage Zone (IOM 2006: 41). In the Gurage culture, people mostly migrate to Addis for work and to save money, and to go back to the family with money during the holidays to get a blessing from them. Most of them stay in one house for a long time to save money and to return home. They get patience even if they face lots of challenges during their working time. They go out from the same house after a long time suffering. As the case studies indicate, most of the siblings of the interviewed children are taken Addis Ababa to be engaged in domestic work. So, there is no problem with parents sending their children to urban places to be engaged in domestic work because they had already known the trend of migration. On the other hand, the case studies further state that children are highly demanded by urban people to be engaged in domestic work or in restaurants or in any other activities since there is a belief that the *Gurage* people are hard working.

The NGOs (FSCE, OPRIFS, IOM, etc) staffs working on child trafficking in Addis Ababa declare that Addis Ababa is a good destination area for child trafficking compared to other cities in the country. Rural people think of Addis Ababa as a good place, or, that it has access to better social service; education and health services. They believe that it is an easy place to get money and job opportunity. Hence, the rural people are by far misinformed by

the urban people about Addis Ababa, or, about other cities of Ethiopia as the best urban places are good for living. They think living in Addis Ababa is like living in Europe, or in America.

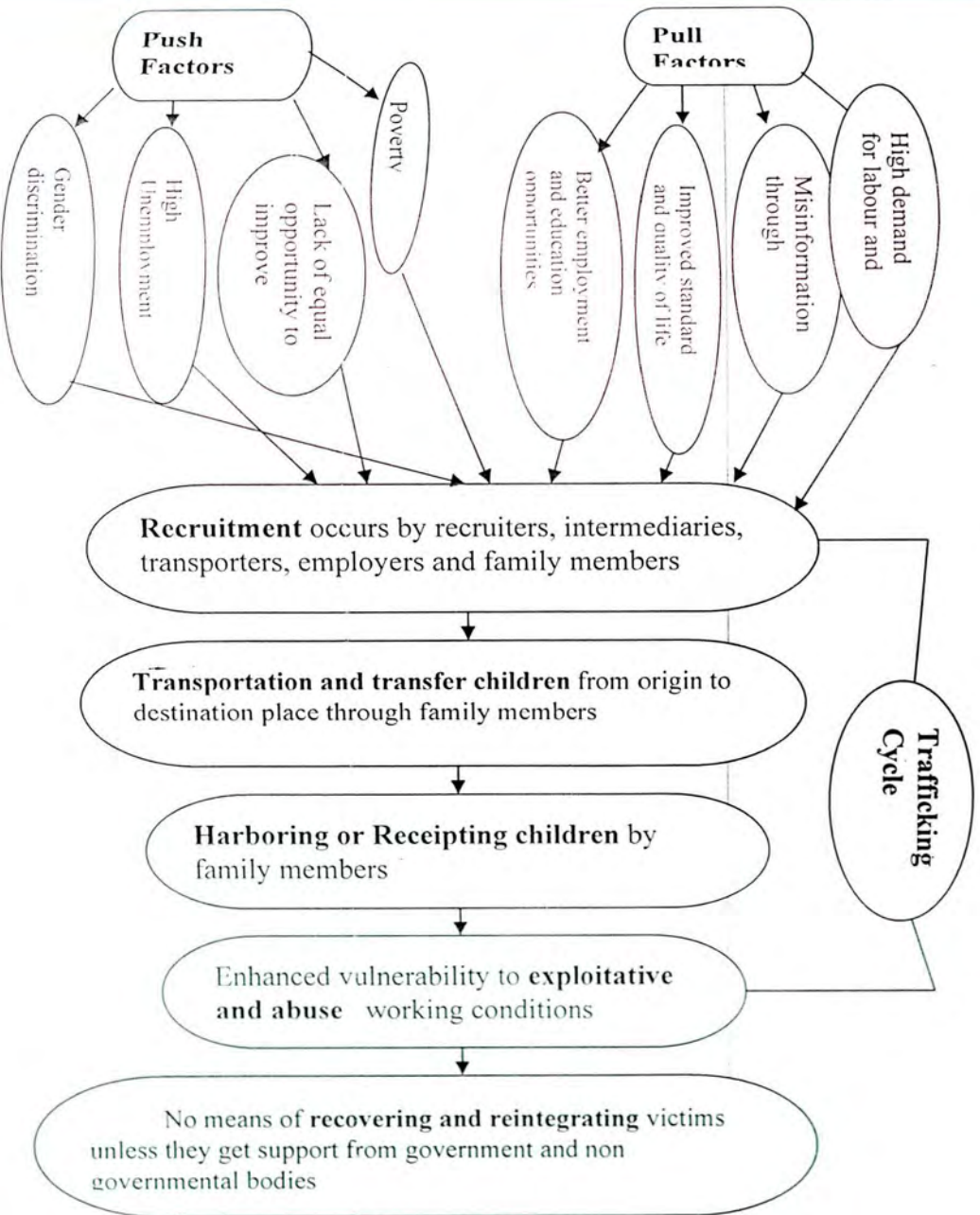
Because of this belief and attitude, the prevalence of child trafficking is increasing from time to time. By understanding the problem, FSCE established the Anti-Child Trafficking Unit at the Bus Terminal in 2004 in collaboration with Addis Ababa Police Commission to undertake preventive measures (FSCE 2005: 21).

Chapter 3: Conceptual Framework, Approaches and Literature Reviews

3.1 Conceptual Framework

According to various literature, the push factors of trafficking such as poverty, underdevelopment and lack of equal opportunities to improve quality of life, etc. together with the pull factors such as a high demand for labour and sex, traffickers and peer pressure, etc. fuel child trafficking (ENACT 2004 Sinha 2006, ILO 2003, Terre des Hommes 2001, Gallagher 2002, Williams 1997). The 'Trafficking Cycle' involves a series of actions and actors (including recruiters who are close to the child, intermediaries, transporters, employers, and family members) at different points, from the point of the origin to the final destination. The cycle begins leaving the origin place, usually through traffickers and the arrival at a final destination where different types of exploitation and abuse take place. Once a child is in the cycle, getting out is a real challenge unless a child is encouraged and supported by government bodies; child-centered laws and policies and NGOs working in the field. There is no way out for victims if there are no means of recovering and reintegrating victims. Lack of such support increases the likelihood of victims getting sucked back into the cycle of exploitation and abuse (ENACT 2004). Thus, this thesis has used the chart that is indicated below as a basic model for the study to prove the compelling factors, and the process of child trafficking starting from recruiting to exploitation and abusive working conditions.

Chart 1: Factors that increase the vulnerability of children to trafficking



Source:

Adapted from Bhabha and Zard 2006, ENACT 2004, Sinha 2006, ILO 2005, Terre des Hommes 2001, Gallagher 2002, Williams 1997, FSCE 2003

3.2 Approaches to the Analysis of Child Trafficking

Despite the relative lack of material on child trafficking, the following five main approaches to the analysis of child trafficking focus on migration, human rights, gender-responsive, criminal based and multidisciplinary approaches have emerged around its research and analysis. Thus, these approaches are relevant in terms of explaining the circumstance of child trafficking in the study areas.

3.2.1 Migration-based approach

The migration- based approach with its emphasis on migrant labour, policies on migration, availability of work opportunities, globalisation of the economy and the development strategies. There is a demand for sexual services, in some instances, met by trafficking women and children. There is also a demand for cheap labour (and cheap goods in the second instance), which creates demand for vulnerable and exploitable labour force that in some instances is met by trafficking (Anti-Slavery International's views 2006). On this demand, globalization has fuelled changes in the relative shares of economic sectors, in the international division of labour and in labour market demand. It has created a gendered labour demand in both the developing and the developed countries for sectors such as agriculture, food processing, construction, labour intensive manufacturing, and the lower end of the informal service sector. Feminized migration and trafficking in women has largely occurred in response to this demand driven reality (Cunha 2002:17).

The majority of trafficking is emerged from irregular migration; a new alternative arises in the response of the demand for sexual service and for cheap labour. This would involve

regularisation of labour migration where feasible, protecting the rights of migrants, rescue, return and reintegration. This is mostly the concern of the government (Marshall 2001:10-12).

Migrant workers should be entitled to the protections outlined in the 1990, United Nations *Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant workers and their Families*, and should also be informed of their rights, and how to access support in the country of destination. Both those trafficked into labour exploitation and sexual exploitation should be provided with similar assistance and support. Specialised assistance should be available to children who have been trafficked (Anti-Slavery International's views 2006).

Therefore, the above insight helped me to look at the internal child trafficking in both study areas by giving emphasis on the migrant labour, policies on migration and availability of work opportunities. The existing situation of the demand for labour and regularisation of labour migration and protecting the rights of migrants on the part of government and non-government organizations and the return and reintegration process of the victims in the study areas have been investigated. My study has also tried to see that the division of labour, labour market demand feminized migration and the trafficking of women has largely occurred in response to this demand driven reality.

3.2.2. Human Rights-based approach

The use of a Human Rights based approach in the analysis of child trafficking is based on a child rights perspective rather than being based on matters of crime control or of border

control. In this sense, child trafficking is not just an issue of security and organized crime, but it also implies marked violations of a wide range of fundamental human rights (ENCAT 2004). The protection and promotion of human rights are primary responsibilities for States and Governments (and in particular for the responsible ministries as identified by the national Referral Systems). Anti-trafficking laws, policies, programmes and interventions should not interfere with the human rights or dignity of persons: The rights of victims should be protected and respected. Under the international human rights legislation, the special needs and rights of children are recognised by the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child. On the phenomenon of child trafficking, Art. 35 of the CRC states that: “State Parties shall take all appropriate, national, bilateral and multilateral measures to prevent the abduction of, the sale of or traffic in children for any purpose or in any form” (ENCAT 2004).

As Pattanaik cites, The Global Alliance Against Trafficking in Women (GAATW’s) Human Rights based approach addresses trafficking issue entails non- discrimination on any grounds, including ethnic descent, age, sexual orientation or preference, religion, gender, nationality and occupation (including work in the informal sectors such as domestic work and sex work) (Pattanaik 2006: 4).

This approach, in general, acknowledges the importance of criminal justice, but puts the causes of trafficking in issues such as the abuse of power, discrimination, and state failure to protect civil, political, economic and social rights.

Thus, I argue this approach as a suitable means to draw the real picture of trafficked children rights for the purpose of domestic work in the study areas.

3.2.3. Gender- responsive based approach

A gender-responsive based approach is necessarily also a rights-based approach, since gender discrimination is now recognized as a fundamental denial of human rights. Women's human rights must therefore lie at the center of any credible anti-trafficking strategy, for violations of human rights are both a cause and a consequence of trafficking in persons. Conversely women are human beings, although differently and inequitably situated in relation to men in terms of their gender roles and the impact of gender stereotypes. They thus have different needs. Therefore, a human rights orientation to trafficking must also be responsive to gender differences and disparities, and focused on realizing human rights equally for women and men, girls and boys (Heyzer 2002: 11).

Facilitating safe migration and combating trafficking requires a thorough empowerment of women (knowledge to understand the social direction and change, the ability to generate choices and exercise bargaining power, skills appropriate to the country of destination, development of self worth, and enabling regulatory and policy framework). If government and development agencies fail to follow these principles, women will become further marginalised and the trafficking of women and girls will increase at an unprecedented rate (Raj Panta 2005).

On the whole, a gender responsive and a rights-based approach is a vision and practice of development that ensures fundamental human entitlements – social, economic and political – in ways that expand human choices, promote human well-beings and empowerment. The claim to human rights has a strong moral force. Human rights cannot be reduced, and they

should impose an obligation on States to fulfill them (Heyzer 2002:11). Thus, a gender and human rights perspective is an essential element in combating trafficking in women and girls.

Hence, I have tried to identify the gender differences in the trafficking processes at the origin place as well as at the demand for labour and for sexual exploitation at the destination area based on this approach.

3.2.4. Criminal justice based approach

A criminal justice based approach focuses on legislation and its implementation, policing strategies and impediments to prosecution and the involvement of organized crime (Anti-Slavery International's views 2006).

As a UN report states that the lack of specific and/or adequate legislation on trafficking at the national level has been identified as one of the major obstacles in the fight against trafficking. There is an urgent need to harmonize legal definitions, procedures and cooperation at the national and regional levels in accordance with international standards. The development of an appropriate legal framework that is consistent with relevant international instruments and standards will also play an important role in the prevention of trafficking and related exploitation (UN 2002:8).

According to the Anti-Slavery International's views, law enforcement has, to date, focused on trafficking for sexual exploitation, as reflected in the fact that there have been no prosecutions for trafficking for labour exploitation. The view also states that the new offence of knowingly employing an illegal migrant worker seems to be aimed at

immigration rather than trafficking. If employers are seeking to exploit trafficked, or, irregular migrants, they are likely to be breaking a series of other laws (minimum wage, health and safety regulations, etc.), and this offence is unlikely to discourage them (Anti-Slavery International's views 2006).

A review as to why legislation has not been used to prosecute individuals for trafficking for labour exploitation should be carried out in order to identify the reasons and to remedy this. There is a complete absence of protection and support facilities available to people trafficked for labour exploitation (Anti-Slavery International's views 2006).

Despite the fact that trafficking for labour exploitation and for sexual exploitation are seen as equally serious offences in legislative terms, the treatment of the victims differs greatly depending on the type of exploitation they have been subjected to. Those trafficked into sexual exploitation are considered victims and provided with advice, support and assistance, whereas, those trafficked into labour exploitation are seen as immigrants who should be removed immediately from the problem (Anti-Slavery International's views 2006).

Therefore, I attempted to find out the legislation and its implementation, law enforcement, policies strategies and prosecutions in combating child trafficking in general and in giving equal treatment for victims of labour and sexual exploitation in particular in the study areas.

3.2.5 Multidisciplinary approach

The multidisciplinary approach gives emphasis to trafficked children as not only victims of protection, but also as subjects of decisions, an individual with resources. In order to elaborate good interventions, it is essential to consider, and respect their point of view. Agencies and decision makers should consider children's right and make sure that children have a say on the programs and decisions affecting their present and future life (ENACT 2004: par.3).

The multidisciplinary approach is also an answer to bridge the gaps in provision of services to victims of child abuse and trafficking such as physical treatment and rehabilitation, psychosocial care and legal support (ILO2006:1). Consequently, the study gave emphasis to government and non-government organizations interventions in the provision of services to victims of trafficking in the study areas.

3.3 Literature Reviews

The literature reviews include the nature and extent of child trafficking in the World, in Africa, and particularly the internal trafficking in Ethiopia. Factors that contribute to internal child trafficking, the consequences of child trafficking and the international and national legal provisions are described.

3.3.1 The Nature and Extent of Child Trafficking

The trafficking of children is not new; it existed for many years and continues to grow across all continents and cultures. Child trafficking is emerging as a global issue; nearly all

countries are affected by this criminal violation of children's rights. Child trafficking is a highly complex phenomenon with no simple solution.

Children, victims of trafficking, are mostly separated from their families and communities and coerced into prostitution and other exploitative forms of work such as agriculture, mining, manufacturing, fishing, begging, and they work in the entertainment sector and domestic service. They are vulnerable to abuse and exploitation; often being moved from one form of exploitation to another, and they are most often traumatized by this accumulation of denied rights (ILO-IPEC 2002). Children in forced labour and domestic service are among the most invisible child labourers (UNICEF 2006:50).

Trafficking children always involves a journey, whether within a country- from the rural areas to a tourist resort, for example, across an international border. At the final destination, trafficked children become part of an underground world of illegality into which they effectively disappear (UNICEF 2006: 49).

Trafficking is one of the fastest growing criminal enterprises in the world. Trafficked children are also almost invisible to the eye of the statistician. Collecting data about these children is notoriously difficult. Although reliable global statistics are impossible to compile, it is estimated that trafficking affects about 1.2 million children each year (UNICEF 2006:50). The trafficking industry has become so lucrative that it involves exorbitant annual profits amounting to billions of dollars next to drug and armed dealings (AGRINET 2003:3). An estimated 8.4 million children work under horrific circumstances: They are forced into debt bondage or other forms of slavery, into

prostitution and pornography or into participation in armed conflict or other illicit activities (UNICEF 2006: 50-51).

Central to the phenomenon of trafficking in Africa is the abuse of the tradition of placing children with extended families, or with other care-takers when they cannot be cared for by their parents. Conflict has also contributed to the trafficking of children, not only by increasing their vulnerability, but also through militia-initiated abduction and exploitation. Children are trafficked for domestic service, in family businesses, commercial sex, on plantations and mine sites and general labor (ILO 2003: 5).

The BBC quotes a United Nations Children's Fund report that no one knows the scale of the problem in Africa, but the International Labour Organisation estimates at least 200,000 children are annually trafficked within West Africa. Almost all African states are affected by trafficking as importers or exporters, or both. It also warns that children are the biggest victims of trafficking: forced into slavery, recruited as child soldiers or sold into prostitution (BBC News 2004).

Trafficking in person, especially women and children inside Ethiopia, is becoming a serious and significant problem. They face various exploitation and abuses. It is obvious that few studies have been conducted on the magnitude of child trafficking in Ethiopia. In this regard, the study conducted by AGRINET (2003) indicates that there was a study carried out in six major urban centers of the country, namely Addis Ababa, Dire Dawa, Jimma, Dessie, Bahir Dar and Awasa. The findings revealed that a substantial number of women

and children (24.4%) were found to be trafficked in the selected study sites. A significant proportion of trafficking victims (26.8%) were children aged 10-18 years at the time of migration. The major intermediaries of trafficking are brokers. Out of those women and girls who came through brokers, 68.6% were trafficked, 74.2% of the trafficked were directly engaged in sex work (AGRINET 2003: iv).

A study conducted in Bahir Dar also shows that most of the migrants and trafficked children are originally from the small rural Woredas in the adjacent zones. They are taken to Bahir Dar on account of a multitude of intricate push and pull factors. The most frequently mentioned reasons include: the search for jobs, family breakdown, illusions about urban life, the search for educational opportunities, peer pressure and discord with family members (FSCE 2003:1). Thus, I have tried to find out the nature and extent of child trafficking and to discover whether they are trafficked for the purpose of forced labor, sexual exploitation or both.

3.3.2 Internal trafficking

Reported of trafficking of people within countries has been relatively neglected (Martin 2006:12). In addition to this, Rahel also cites the ILO report and writes that even if trafficking in persons, especially women and children, is growing to be more an issue of global interest. It appears that more attention is given to the external trafficking (among countries) as literatures that depicts the situation of internal (internal) trafficking and measures being taken to alleviate the problem are scanty. But the available literature shows that the internal child trafficking is growing in magnitude (Rahel 2006:3)

According to Martin (2006), the trafficking of people for sexual exploitation and forced labour is one of the fastest growing areas of international criminal activity and one that is of increasing concern to the international community. Generally, the flow of trafficking is from less developed to more developed regions and countries. While much of the attention on trafficking has focused on those who cross international borders, trafficking within countries is also very common. Victims of forced prostitution usually end up in large cities, sex tourism areas or near military bases, where the demand is highest. Victims of forced labour may be found throughout a country, in agriculture, fishing industries, mines and sweatshops (Martin 2006:12).

Internal trafficking shares many common elements with internal displacement and one could argue that internal trafficking victims are internally displaced persons (IDPs). Internal trafficking and internal displacement intersect in other respects. Persons who have been internally displaced by conflict, violations of human rights and natural or human-made disasters are more vulnerable to trafficking. IDPs often lack family and community networks as well as economic opportunities, making them vulnerable to promises of better situations elsewhere (Martin 2006:13).

In four East African countries (Ethiopia, Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda), there is an internal trafficking of children and young women from rural to urban areas for domestic work and for prostitution. The combination of poverty, unemployment, gender inequality (the low status of girl-children), inadequate legislation and poor law enforcement enables trafficking in girls to thrive in East Africa (Pearson 2003:3). It is a long-standing African tradition for

parents of poorer rural families to send their children to go live (and work) with wealthier families, often in urban centers. This was once a kind of 'fostering' arrangement (Olagbegi 2001:59) Today, that practice has been exploited by traffickers so that many such children are in fact child domestic workers with no access to education, no freedom of movement and working long hours in poor conditions for little or no pay. The normalization of the cultural tradition of child domestic work and the fact that it is so widespread in all the four countries is an added barrier to ending this form of trafficking in girls. In some cases, children's movement is facilitated, usually by a 'family friend' or acquaintance and thus in a position of trust. Many such children are then kept in highly exploitative conditions of work (prostitution or domestic labor) suffering non-payment (or under payment) of wages, sexual and physical abuse, long hours and no day off (Pearson 2003:3).

Girls trafficked for prostitution frequently suffer rape, physical abuse, are not paid or underpaid by their exploiters, live in poor conditions and work for long hours, soliciting for clients. Some are abducted by clients. In addition, they suffer from harassment from the police and the local community guards, unplanned pregnancy and risk of HIV/AIDS and STIs infection (Pearson 2003: 4).

Ethiopia is a source country for men, women, and children trafficked for forced labor and for sexual exploitation. Children and adults are trafficked within the country for domestic servant and, to a lesser extent, for commercial sexual exploitation and for labor, such as street vending (US Department 2004).

IRIN News (2006) quotes an IOM report that Ethiopian children are being sold for as little as US \$1.20 to work as domestic workers or prostitutes. It further states that up to 20,000 children, some 10 years old, are sold each year by their parents and trafficked by dishonest brokers to work in cities across Ethiopia. It points out a legal expert with the IOM's counter-trafficking unit in Addis Ababa statements that the internal trafficking of children in Ethiopia was one of the highest in the world. It says *"The parents are often deceived with promises of money or that the child will be educated," "Traffickers pay around 10 to 20 Ethiopian birr (\$1.20 to \$2.40) for each child. We are talking about thousands of children each year."* It also says that the specific numbers were almost impossible to calculate due to the secret nature of the trade, but estimated that it could be up to 20,000 each year. Around two-thirds of the children are trafficked by brokers who take a percentage of the child's earnings, while one-third are trafficked by friends and family. IRIN News (2006) also indicates trafficking is the fastest growing crime in the world; it is believed to net those involved around \$10 billion a year. The majority of boys and girls end up as domestic labourers, commercial sex workers, weavers or professional beggars (IRIN News 2006). In view of that, I have tried to assess the real situation of internal child trafficking taken place from *Cheha* Woreda (selected research sites) to Addis Ababa through traffickers or other people, and its final results to the victims after arriving at destination area. This has facilitated to identify the current crisis of internal trafficking in our country.

3.3.3 Factors Leading to Internal Child Trafficking

The Push Factors

Most literature give emphasis to poverty as a major causal factor for child trafficking. It is

the major reason, which makes the majority of children vulnerable to trafficking, but it should be mentioned here that it is not the only reason for trafficking (Sinha 2006:1, ILO 2003, Terre des Hommes 2001). Two sub-regional studies undertaken by UNICEF in 1998 and 2000, have given us some insight into the other factors that have contributed to and have driven the practice of child trafficking in the region. Analyses in both studies show that poverty, cultural values and traditional belief systems all work to weaken the protection of child rights and push children towards Traffickers (Salah 2001: 4).

As Salah highlights the UNICEF report, some of the other underlying causes are such as lack of vocational opportunities, insufficient and/or inaccessible schooling, inadequate or non-existent protective legislation and poor law enforcement. This is aggravated by the political, and economic instability, the prevalence of armed conflict in some countries, and most importantly, by lack of knowledge of the families, the youth and children of the risks that are involved in trafficking (Salah 2001).

In the socio- cultural domain, children are seen as an investment by parents and, therefore, expected to make a tangible contribution to family income in cash (in kind). It is the tradition of all countries in the sub- region to assign children a task in the household from when they are young as four or five years old. The work of children is socially accepted. This view creates fertile ground for child labour to develop and for the associated activity of the trafficking in children. Gender discrimination is the other factor that increases the risk of being trafficked (ILO 2004:5).

ILO further states that in West and Central Africa, most trafficked children came from families containing 7-15 children; they included single parent families, and both monogamous and polygamous marriages. Children appear most at risk of trafficking when they are members of a family with 8 or more children (ILO 2004).

In the case of Ethiopia, a study which was conducted in *Chencha Woreda* of *Gamo Gofa* by MCDP states that the major causes of children's take to Addis Ababa and to other areas are poor socio- economic situations of their families, large family size against limited landholdings and lack of schooling opportunities for the children (MCDP 2004:6).

The Pull Factors

Trafficking services a market in which there are both buyers and sellers. The growth in trafficking reflects not just an increase in "push" factors, but also the strong pull of unmet labor demands – particularly in the informal, unregulated sector. The demand side of trafficking has not yet been subject to close analysis: a reflection of the widespread, unjustified and often inherently racist assumption that the "problem" of trafficking is essentially caused by the source countries (Gallagher 2002:18). However, as Williams notes in his study of the market dynamics of trafficking, demand is clearly sufficient to sustain the enormous profits required by organized criminal groups and to encourage the emergence of a new breed of entrepreneurs whose job it is to match supply with demand (Williams 1997: 145 -154).

The global labor market reproduces traditional gendered divisions of labor which exist, to a greater or lesser extent, in all countries. The effect of these divisions is that women have

less opportunity than men to engage in skilled work. They are, therefore, much more dependent than men for employment in the very sector where demand for the products of trafficking is strongest (Gallagher 2002:19).

The economics of the trafficking business requires low investments and ensures high returns (Sinha 2006:2). The “pull” power of information should not be underestimated. A study of trafficking patterns reveals that many persons make the decision to emigrate on the basis of false or misleading information. Traffickers typically minimize the risks involved in irregular migration and greatly exaggerate the potential gains. The false promises and deceit which characterize modern trafficking practices follow and build upon such misinformation (Gallagher 2002:19).

In the case of Ethiopia, a study which was conducted in *Chencha* Woreda of *Gamo Gofa* by MCDP states that children can be easily attracted by their relatives as their friends who were trafficked to Addis Ababa and occasionally return home with changed physical appearance. This implies the situation attracted the children to go to Addis Ababa to get similar chances like their peers (MCDP 2004:6). Hence, children who are taken from *Cheha* Woreda (selected research sites) to Addis Ababa share the push and pull factors that I have tried to investigate.

3.3.4 The Consequences of Internal Child Trafficking

The victims of child trafficking mostly separated from their families and communities end up in prostitution and other exploitative forms of work, such as agriculture, mining,

manufacturing, fishing, begging and domestic service. They are defenseless against abuse and exploitation and traumatized (ILO 2003: iii).

It is estimated that millions of children in many countries are trafficked, but the exact number of victims is unknown. Often the children come from impoverished or rural areas/countries and go to urban areas of the same country. The final outcome is the exploitation through work of the child being relocated, and a serious compromise of the child's access to education and other aspects of healthy human development. The exploitation is manifested through the abusive conditions to which the child is subjected to, including physical and mental abuse, confinement, inadequate, or, non-existent health care, poor accommodation, and hazardous work (ILO 2003).

Exploitation may have been intended from the beginning or has been a consequence of the process of displacement (Galen 2003:11). The consequences of child trafficking also include: death, drug dependency, family disintegration; the risk of violence, physical and emotional damage due to premature sexual activity to girls, and exposure to HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases (STIs). In the case of girls, there is also the risk of pregnancy, early motherhood, and reproductive illnesses that might affect future reproductive ability (ILO 2003).

In the case of Ethiopia, as Zerihun (1996:4) cites, UNICEF (1986) and ILO (1996) reports indicate that the work performed by a child is considered to be exploitative when a child starts full time work at too early an age, or, works too many hours or when the work

imposes excessive physical, social and/ or psychological strains which hampers his/her development. Accordingly, this study investigated the consequences of internal child trafficking to the victims after arriving at destination area.

3.3.5 International and National Legal Provisions

International Instruments

Some of the conventions of the UN and ILO dealing with employment, labour and trafficking issues that Ethiopia ratified include: the UN Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others (1949), the UN International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights(1966), the UN International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights(1966), the UN Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) (1979), the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) (1989), ILO, The Private Employment Agencies Convention (No.181,1997), ILO, The Abolition of Forced Labour Convention (No. 105, 1957), ILO, The Discrimination (Employment and Occupation) Convention (No. 111, 1958), and ILO Convention No. 182 on the Worst forms of Child Labor (IOM 2006: 87).

However, Ethiopia has not ratified the major UN and ILO instruments which are relevant to the issue of trafficking in women and children. These are The Migrant for Employment Convention (revised), 1949 (No.97), Migrant Workers (Supplementary provisions) Convention, 1975 (No. 143), The Convention on the Promotion of Equality of Opportunity and Treatment of Migrant Workers, 1975, The UN International Convention on the Right

of Migrant Workers and their families, 1990 and UN Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Person, Especially of Women and Children, 2000 (IOM 2006: 87).

It is indicated in the study of IOM (2006) that, though all international agreements Ethiopia has ratified are regarded as part of the law of the land as per Article 9(4) of the 1995 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Ethiopia, their application is made less relevant to the actual situation because translating the instruments to the official working language is rarely done and the provisions of international instruments require the promulgation of subsidiary legislation by the national lawmaking body (IOM 2006: 87).

Regional Instruments

The African Charter on Human and People's Rights was adopted in 1981 and came into existence in 1986 has been approved by more than forty African states, thus it becomes the most up to standard regional convention (IOM 2006: 88).

According to FSCE program coordinator at the National Consultative Workshop on street and trafficked children conducted in CRDA (2007), regarding the African Charter on the rights and welfare of the Child on its part, Article 29 "*State parties to the present charter shall take appropriate measures to prevent: (a) The abduction, the sale of or trafficking of children for any purpose or in any form, by any person including parents or legal guardians of the child;*" (Bitwoded 2007:16).

Under this Charter, Article 5 also protects children from any form of exploitation including trafficking which "*condemns all form of exploitation and degrading punishment and*

treatment". Thus, this charter protects any form of exploitation including trafficking (IOM 2006: 89).

Child right African Charter is also developed to facilitate the ratification and implementation of the UN convention on the rights of children to the children in Africa, given unique factors of their socio-economic, cultural and developmental circumstances (Zema 2005:15). It condemns trafficking including for the purpose of all forms of begging (FSCE 2006:6).

National Legislations

Policy Framework

Though the problem of child internal trafficking is very serious in Ethiopia, a comprehensive national policy on trafficking is not put in place. Policy instruments in areas like labour which have a direct link with the problem are lacking. Although some of the existing policies like the National Women Policy, the National Education and Training Policy, the Developmental Social Welfare Policy may play a part in addressing some aspects of the problem, their contribution towards guiding and coordinating efforts to combat trafficking is minimal. Generally speaking, it could be said that the "prevention and suppression of child trafficking" has not been given due consideration at the policy level in Ethiopia (IOM 2006:84-85). Besides, in the proceeding of a National Consultative Workshop on street and trafficked children (2007), FSCE program coordinator presented that there is no national policy regarding the sale of children in the country.

Another pertinent document (if not a policy) in connection to the issues of children is the National Plan of Action for Children (MOLSA, 2005). The document recognizes the problem by protecting children from abuse, exploitation, and violence as one of its expected outcomes. To achieve this outcome, the activities designed include publicizing and enforcing laws on sexual exploitation and worse forms of child labor; removing children from hazardous working environments and forced labor; providing them with rehabilitative services such as education, skill training, health and food; and taking serious measures on offenders of sexual violence, trafficking in girls and commercial sexual exploitation of girls (MOLSA, 2005).

The Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Constitution

Articles 36(e), 35(4), 18(2) of the constitution strictly prohibits exploitive child labor; laws, customs and practices that oppress or cause bodily or mental harm to women; trafficking in human beings for whatever purpose. “Although the importance of the above Constitutional provisions in combating trafficking could not be undermined, more detailed rules covering various aspects of trafficking are required to effectively and adequately address the problem of trafficking in women and children” (IOM 2006:90).

The Penal Code of the Empire of Ethiopia (1957)

Even if the Penal Code of 1957 is replaced by Criminal Code of 2005, it is important to see its applicability because it is still relevant for cases already in the process of trial. Article 605 of the penal code is the relevant provision that proposes to prevent trafficking in infants

and young persons in addition to women. As to this provision, an act is considered trafficking in children when it is done for purpose of prostitution even with their consent and despite the absence of gain for the trafficker. In contrast to the Palermo Protocol, article 605 of the 1957 penal code fails to cover sexual exploitation other than prostitution and exploitation of a non -sexual nature. Besides, because of its usage of the term traffic, “*recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring or receipt of persons* as part of trafficking” are not taken in. Third, since it requires coercion for an act to be considered trafficking, it could not be invoked against those traffickers who transport victims willingly for whatsoever reason (IOM 2006: 92).

The Criminal Code of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (2005)

Articles 635-638 of the new criminal code deal with trafficking in minors in addition to women for sexual exploitation. Moreover, articles 597-600 introduce additional provisions to tackle the problem of trafficking in women and children for the purpose of labor exploitation. Even if it includes additional provisions on trafficking, sexual exploitation other than prostitution and labor exploitation other than forced labor and trafficking for the removal of organs are not covered. In addition, the way “forced labor” is defined may create confusion with article 597 that contends with “enslavement including slavery in a disguised form” (IOM 2006).

In terms of penalties, the new criminal code maintains the maximum penalty of five years imprisonment and ten thousand Birr fine for trafficking women and minors for the purpose of sexual exploitation with possible aggravation three to ten years imprisonment and a ten

thousand Birr fine. The punishment for trafficking women and children for forced labour is three to twenty years imprisonment and a maximum fine of fifty thousand Birr. This indicates that trafficking women and children for forced labor is a much more serious offence under the new criminal code compared to trafficking children and women for the purpose of prostitution, which is in the least, hard to explain (IOM 2006: 95-96).

The Private Employment Agency Proclamation No. 104/1998.

As to the study commissioned by IOM, the private employment agency proclamation No. 104/1998 describes the rights and duties of private employment agencies both for local as well as foreign employment. Article 18 (1) (a) of this proclamation stipulates that providing employment services without getting hold of a license in accordance with the proclamation is liable to be punished by imprisonment for three years to five years and a ten thousand Birr fine. Even if the proclamation does not directly define trafficking as an offence, it makes the act punishable. As a consequence, it plays a vital role in filling the gaps of the provisions of the criminal code. Thus, “[a]ny case of trafficking in persons, including trafficking in children, which is not clearly covered by the criminal code, can be prosecuted based on the penalty provision ... of the proclamation ... Moreover, it makes prosecution of trafficking cases easier, as the prosecutor is required to prove only that the accused has conducted employment activities without having a license to do so” (IOM 2006:98-99).

Other provisions that are included in the study as protective of the rights of children who fall under different exploitative situations are Articles 2512 – 2593 and 2601 – 2604 that

recognizes the relationship between a housemaid and her employer and providing rights and obligations of the housemaid and the employer. However, compared to the protection accorded to employees under the labour proclamation, these provisions of the Civil Code provide diminished protection for domestic servants. Some of the protections of the labour proclamation such as the limits on normal working hours are incompatible with the conditions of work for domestic workers. However, other protections, especially those relating to periodic and other rest days, seem to be unjustifiably denied to domestic workers by the law. Considering the fact that most domestic workers are children and young girls and the absence of minimum age limitation in their employment, the law should provide more, rather than less, protection for them. Otherwise, the legal system will be contributing to and sustain the vulnerability of women and children engaged as domestic workers (IOM 2006: 100-101).

The study also avows that the Labour Proclamation No. 377/2003, apart from the other provisions that make young workers enjoy the same conditions of work as adults, provides special conditions of work for young persons under Article 89 – 91. At the outset, employment of persons under the age of 14 is prohibited. In addition, Article 89 (2) prohibits a work situation that puts in danger the life or health of young workers. As to Article 90, the normal working hours for young workers shall not exceed seven hours within a day. Night work, overtime work, works on weekly rest days and on public holidays are prohibited under Article 91.

Article 184 (1) of the proclamation provides penalties for violating conditions provided under article 90 and 91, that is, is a fine of five hundred Birr. Even if a penalty for employing children under the age of 14 is not provided in the proclamation, the act is punishable by article 576 of the criminal code dealing with *Maltreatment of Minors*. The study maintains that sub article 1 of Article 576 of the criminal code stipulates “*Whoever, having the custody or charge of a minor, ill-treats, neglects, over tasks or beats him for any reason or in any manner, is punishable with simple imprisonment not exceeding three month*” (IOM 2006: 103-104).

Moreover, the non-governmental organization (FSCE) together with the government is making efforts towards upgrading the legal system of the country so that it will become more friendly, with the ultimate objective of achieving better standards compatible to the international legal standards particularly the fulfillment of the Convention on the Rights of the Child (FSCE 2006:7).

The Gurage Customary Law (Ye-Gurage Kitcha)

As GPSDO director declares, the organization published and distributed *The Gurage Customary Law (Ye-Gurage Kitcha)* in the *Guragegna* language by 2000 which is relevant to the study areas. *Kitcha* is the Gurage Customary Law under social responsibility states about child rights including child trafficking as follows:

Article 13.1.1

In Gurage culture, parents have responsibility to, shall give care to and teach their children as far as they can without discriminating sex.

Article 13.1.2

Children do not have access to education and those who have access even migrate to urban place to generate income to their families at an early age. The prevalence rate is currently increasing which has an influence on the development of childhood. Hence, parents and society shall prevent the problem.

Article 13.1.3

The Gurage child migration shall need further research since it has negative consequence to socio-economic factors.

Thus, the study which has been conducted in the origin and in destination areas has attempted to give an insight into the existing policy, the national legislative frameworks, the *Gurage Customary Law (Ye-Gurage Kicha)* and their implementation with the concerned bodies in combating child trafficking.

Chapter 4: Factors that Contribute to the Vulnerability of Children to Trafficking

In this chapter, I made an effort to present factors that directly contribute to the vulnerability of children to trafficking from the selected research sites (Ywezhe *kebele*, Buchach *kebele*, Emdibir and Gubre). The section tries to give an insight to three main interrelated factors (economic, socio-cultural and demographic) that are shared by the trafficked children.

The findings of the study are analyzed vis-à-vis the Convention against the Transnational Organized Crime also called the Palermo Convention as well as the Gender-responsive, Human Rights and Migration Based Approaches.

4.1 Economic factors

4.1.1 Poverty

According to the police officer in the Gurage zone police station, the number of cases reported is about 159 trafficked children in the year of 1997E.C-1999E.C. and of which 79 are from Cheh *woreda*. Almost all of them were trafficked due to the reason of poverty and other related factors that will be presented later.

A significant number of the people interviewed agree that the main factor that is part of the cause to the vulnerability of children to trafficking in the selected research sites is poverty. Based on the 40 case materials, there is a serious poverty at the household level. There is

land scarcity due to the growth of population which will be elaborated later. Even if the economy of the household is depending on farming the families are involved in other different activities such as doing daily works, selling fruits and vegetables and selling hand made materials to supplement income. Children are also involved in selling fruits and vegetables, chewing gum and other food stuff in the market or at the side of the road. Boys are more involved in polishing shoes, daily activities, and selling fruits. From the case materials and observation, children are engaged in the mentioned activities before or after school. Due to this problem, some children are forced to move to the urban areas through the process of trafficking to generate income for their family by being engaged in different activities. They are expected to support their family at an early age (see appendix: 1).

All 20 case materials that were conducted at the household level and 20 cases with victims of trafficking presented intensely in the next section point out that many children are trafficked due to low family income. Families can not feed them adequately, can not buy cloth, shoe and can not send them to school. Hence, children are forced to come to Addis Ababa and other urban areas by the permission of their family through relatives or neighbors and they are expected to make income.

A case of a married woman whose age is 26 illustrates with the above statement in Ywezhe Kebele as follows:

Case 1

She is engaged in making and selling coffee kettle stands which are made of sisal, and she gets 5 birr on market days (Tuesday and Friday) of the week. Her husband is a farmer and he is also engaged in daily activities in Emdibir town and he gets 7-10 birr per day. She has one daughter and two sons whose ages are less than 9 years old. Currently, she uses contraceptive, and she stops giving birth because of poverty. She sent her daughter to Addis Ababa two years ago in *Demoze bet* (which literally means a house of payment) to be engaged in domestic work because the mother is unable to feed her daughter and her sons. Her daughter went to Addis Ababa during *Meskal* through her father's relative who is living in Addis Ababa. She visited her family last *Meskal* by bringing some amount of money to her family. This woman has a plan to send her sons to Addis Ababa after they grow up due to the household poverty. She said that they are expected to make income to the household after a few years like their sister. She is living with her mother-in-law who has mental problem.

While I interviewed the above respondent I saw a 7 year old girl in the house and the woman told me about the girl that she had employed, paying her 10 birr per month to carry her small boy, and the woman gives the girl's salary to her mother every month. Her mother is living in a nearby rural *kebele*. As the woman told me, her mother gave her daughter to the woman because of poverty. She is not able to give care to her. I observed that the girl could not carry the small boy, and the woman forced her to carry the baby every time by insulting her. The woman sends this girl and her son to an informal school near her home to learn the Amharic alphabet. There is no payment for the lesson.

Thus, the above evidence and many other case materials reveal that there is a serious household poverty that makes children to be exposed to trafficking in order to make income for the family. The following case of an 11 year boy who reunited with his family in *Atat Kebele* near Gubre and who is a student in *Aba Franswa Elementary School* can also enlighten the above statement using the Palermo Convention of trafficking definition:

Case: 2

He has stayed in Addis Ababa for about a year. He went to Addis Ababa during *Meskal* with his neighbor while his family forced him to be engaged in some kind of job to generate income to the household since they are economically poor. His parents heard that Addis Ababa is a good destination where poor people can move and get jobs easily and save money to support their poor family. Before he went to Addis Ababa, his father had been long-suffering from disease, and he could not work. His mother was the one that brought income to the family by selling oranges and bananas in the market. His siblings are also selling orange and banana in the market. This situation still exists in his family after he had joined his family. When he was living in Addis Ababa, his employer paid him 50 Birr pre month to his family through his neighbor every month. He was carrying a baby. He played with the baby and gave care to it. He didn't perform any other tasks. But he didn't go to school although he asked the employer to send him to school. But the employer told him that the school registration was ended. Then, he continued his work by getting clothes and shoes that he had not owned previously. He also ate food with the family three times a day unlike his parents. Even if the employer has given him this good care, he was not happy. Finally, he decided to leave the employer's house because he did not get a chance to continue his education. He went back to his village with his neighbor who brought him to Addis Ababa after explaining his interest of continuing his learning. The neighbor first rejected this idea, but when the boy repeatedly begged him, he took him to his village, called *Atat kebele* which takes 30 minutes walking distance from *Gubre*. The neighbor reunited him with his family during the *Arefa* holiday. Currently, he is now learning in grade 4 and is polishing shoes to earn income to his family after school.

Based on the above evidence and many other case materials, key informants and FGDs from both the study areas (origin and destination areas), family is the one that plays a great role in the process of trafficking children through close relatives or neighbors. This is due to the family's inability to feed their children adequately and the family's inability to send children to school since most of them are poor. As the *Woreda* Health Bureau, GPSDO staff, 17 case materials at household level and 15 case materials with victims of trafficking indicate, most of the families have many children, and they have a great value to them, but they cannot give good care to them due to low family income. As a result of this, family prefers to send their children to urban areas to generate income. Children may get *kocho* to

eat once or twice per day. An old man said, *"It is better to send children to urban areas like Addis Ababa or elsewhere since they only can get kocho from their family"*.

Concerning education, as the key informants from both the study areas (origin and destination areas) and the observation confirm, there are many elementary schools in Cheha Woreda which are located close to each *kebele*, taking an hour or less walking distance from the village. While the study investigated as to why parents do not send their children to school rather than sending them to Addis Ababa, they said that there is a better educational opportunity in Addis Ababa compared to their villages. Moreover, some parents who sent their children to the urban towns stated that there is a privileged school in the destination area but deprived school at the origin area. Nevertheless, the CPUs, service givers (reunification staff) and 20 household case materials constantly state that parents sent their children to towns because they cannot feed their children since they have low income and have many children. Hence, most of parents said that *"what would the child eat before going to school and after returning from school if we do not have adequate food. Due to this, we are forced to send the children to the urban areas in order to bring income to us."*

Accordingly, the current study finds out from the case materials and other service givers that parents have a preference to send their children to Addis Ababa and to other urban towns for the sake of getting better educational opportunity which is the mask of trafficking, but the fact is they send them for the purpose of generating income for the family. Moreover, from 9 case materials of victims of trafficking, those who are reunited

with their family and get start learning are still engaged in different activities after or before class to earn income to their family.

As the case materials, CPUs (at FSCE, Wolkite, and Cheha) and service gives key informants from both the study areas declare, in most cases children's salary is not sent to their families every month, or every six months by the employer or by the person who trafficked them, but it may be given to the families when the children or traffickers go to the homeland to celebrate annual holidays, especially *Meskal/Arefa*. In some cases, the family expects to receive their children's salary every month or at any time. Furthermore, parents feel sad if the children do not visit them during the holidays since it is culturally a social obligation of the Gurages. Thus, children have to go to the homeland to celebrate holidays with their parents and relatives by holding their salary and other stuff since they give respect to parents in order to get a blessing from them for their future life.

All the above mentioned points are the end result of poverty which makes children vulnerable to trafficking in order to make income for the household.

4.1.1.1 Land scarcity

In the study areas, as the *Woreda* Administration staff, Agriculture Bureau staff, 20 case materials of household and observation demonstrate, there is scarcity of arable land due to population increase. For the majority of the farmers' *enset* fields, together with a small amount of grazing land, are the only farmstead land available for them. The household economy of the research sites is mainly based on the production of the foremost crop *enset*,

chat, coffee in some places and *gesho* in others. Because of the small size of farm land that farmers own, they do not have separate land for each crop. Moreover, households do not produce enough crops for the year on this limited land. They have small harvests of a fewer crops. Therefore, in order to supplement the household income, family members are forced to engage themselves in other activities apart from farming. Thus, children are the ones who play a great role in making income for household by moving to the urban place through the process of trafficking.

The land administration officer in Agriculture Bureau of Cheha *woreda* points out that the average size of land holding in the *Woreda* is 0.43 hectare in *dega*, 0.85 hectare in *kolla* and 0.75 hectare in *weyna-dega per household*. In most cases, the family shares the land that it owns to the son if he gets married and supposes to live with the family on that limited land. The fact is that hardly any share of land and its production that can be transferred from father to children in the study areas. Theoretically, this day, all children have an equal right to land.

The following household case study in Buchah *kebele* illustrates the above mentioned points.

Case 3

An old woman whose age is 50 years old is living with her son who got married and has five children in the same compound. There are two households which have only 4 *zher* land size. Her grandson whose age is 9 was trafficked to Addis Ababa few months ago during *Arefa* to be engaged in domestic work in *Demoze bet* through her daughter-in-law who is living in Addis Ababa. He was dropped out of 2nd grade. The family does not know how much he is paid but the payment will be sent through the woman who took him to Addis Ababa. The family decided to send the boy because the old woman and the mother of the boy, whose age is 36, told me that they cannot feed *kocho* to the five children since they have limited land, and they produce a small amount of *enset* and coffee (see appendix:2). Her son shares with her what he produces equally. Both

families get meals two times a day with a small amount of *kocho* and coffee and sometimes with *gommen* from the market. To supplement the household income, both the husband and the wife are engaged in daily activities. The wife is engaged in scraping *enset* for others and by selling *gommen* during market days. Her husband performs farming for others or other daily activities in Gubre. But they still have low household income which does not cover their food consumption. She started taking contraceptive a few months ago in order not to have more children due to the scarcity of food and low family income.

As the GSPDO director, community leaders and FGDs at the origin area avow, boys are culturally the ones who can inherit the land from the family when they get married, and they are living with their parents. If the family has many boys, it is impossible to share the limited land the family owns, and the eldest one of the children is the one that can take the portion of the land to construct a house, and to share whatever the land produces. Logically, when the land is handed down from generation to generation, the size of the household land size is decreasing gradually and the parents will have a narrow plot of land. Hence, this decreases the family income and the family members are forced to move to the urban place to generate income for the household including the children at an early age through the process of trafficking.

As the GSPDO director, the *Woreda* Administrator and the Agriculture Bureau officer state about the work habit of the people, since farmers are expecting children's remittance from the urban areas, they develop poor work habit in the study areas. Most of them have children who work and live in different urban places. This makes them not to be hard working in producing other types of agriculture products even if the land is fertile and it can grow vegetables and fruits in a small plot of land. The GSPDO director further affirms that

even if there was an effort of producing new crop varieties and cultivation practices like a small-scale gardening by GSPDO in order to increase household income, the farmers were not doing well since they mostly depend on consuming *enset* and have less interest in changing the consumption habits of the communities.

Furthermore, the *Woreda* Administrator, the community elders, 17 case materials of households and the FGDs at origin areas acknowledge that a household may have many children and the land produces a small amount of food consumption because of the limited plot of land. As a result, the households do not produce enough consumption for the year, and the family members are forced to engage themselves in different activities including children at an early age by trafficking to urban places to earn income for the family. This situation can be a factor for the children to be exposed to trafficking and to be engaged in different activities, especially in domestic work. Thus, child trafficking becomes the most important means of risk management due to the possible failure of scarcity of land, agricultural output, the high fertility rate and the high cost of living in the selected research sites.

4.1.1.2 Children as *an asset*

All case materials, CPUs and service giver key informants from both the study areas reveal that children are the prime or the sole income earners of family and domestic labor force of the urban people. Community key informants and FGDs at the origin area declare that the Gurages culturally considered child trafficking as a normal practice since they are commonly known for migration. A child has to come to a town and work and support

his/her family at an early age starting from age 7. This is a widespread practice, and it is a means of survival to the family. Because of this, families prefer to have many children with limited land and production and they see them *as an asset* since they are the source of income for the household. Therefore, this situation could be a cause in exposing children to trafficking. But families do not see the bad consequence of trafficking on their children after they arrived at the destination areas.

The 40 case materials show that families are/were relied on remittance and children are earning income to their families by engaging in different activities in urban areas.

The following evidence of a woman whose age is 50 in Ywezhe *kebele* illustrates the above noted fact.

Case 4

She states that her children are the main source of income to her household. She likes children very much since they are the ones that give support to her family when there is any problem in the house. She believes that children have to support their parent in terms of cash or other kinds throughout their life by going to urban places and by being engaged in certain activities. They have to cover the household cost during the holidays, land tax and medical assistance. She is currently the one who depends on her children's incomes who are living and working in Addis Ababa for long time. She is living with her husband. She sometimes makes and sells stands for coffee kettles and gets 5 birr profit once in a week. The respondent's household has 5 *zher* plot of land producing *enset*, coffee and *chat*. The family size is nine including her divorced daughter with her two daughters. They all depend on remittances that come from Addis Ababa including the land production.

Moreover, there is evidence from the community elders that most parents who are poor prefer to send their children to urban areas to engage them in different activities particularly

in giving care to babies or in domestic work or in working in restaurants. Parents expect them to generate money for the household during the holidays or any other emergency cases. They also expect them to bring clothes, money and other food stuff during the holidays. The respondent further states that this situation is similar to the in searching of a better life outside Ethiopia by other people in the country.

As 17 household case studies reveal, children are seen as *the gift of God* and due to this, there is an ever-increasing parental demand for having a large number of children for the purpose of child labor to generate income for the household.

The following household case study shows the above evidence.

Case 5

A man whose age is 50 told me that he sent his five children to Addis Ababa at an early age due to lack of *kocho* to feed them properly. He sent them through his relatives during *Meskal*. He is living in *Yewzye kebele*, and he is married and has 7 children. He has also 4 *zher* plot of land that grows *enset*, coffee and *chat* for the family consumption. He believes that children are the *gift of God*, and they are valuable to generate income for the family starting from an early age. Those parents who do not have children are considered as *blind* since they will not have any supporter in the future. He further stated that our people depend on the remittance of their children who live in the urban areas. So, it is important to have many children. His children visit the family during *Meskal* by bringing money for the slaughtered cattle. They also bring salt, kerosene, and clothes for the family.

While I interviewed the respondent, I met his married daughter in the house. She said that her husband always forbids her not to take contraceptives because he is the only son to his family, and he wants to have many children. Now, she has two children and has a plan to have more children.

In Cheha *Woreda*, as the study established verification from one woman police officer of the Gurage Zone at Wolkite, CPU and a police officer in Cheha *Woreda*, it is the family that makes the decision on children employment and salary. The family can also change children's place of work through the person who took the children to urban places. If the child refuses to give money to his/her family, the family threatens that he/she will return home and engage in farm activity so this has a great influence on the child's rights. Boys can refuse and be accepted by the parents, but this is impossible for girls as they might fear a curse if they refuse what their family said to them. They will be expected to support their family throughout their life.

The woman police officer further shared her experience as: *"She asked reunited children whose age was 15-18 as to why they allow their parents to collect their salary and they replied that traffickers (relatives or neighbors) with the consent of family has a power to move out them from the employer's home. So, she said that the family even collects 0.10 cents of children's compensation from employers. The family does not give concern to the child care, education and health, but their main interest is money. They are money minded. The traffickers can make contract with employers and can also change their children's work if they have problems with the employers. She further stated that when we compare among parents, the father has a great role in the process of trafficking and driving remittance. The mothers do not know how and as to where and with what money their children are employed. The fathers do not usually discuss with the mothers. Mothers can have a role after their husbands died, or are separated. So, the married ones do not have*

right to ask their husbands where their children are living and working and with what amount they are employed”.

As the community informants at the origin area agree, some trafficked children have no chance to go back to the homeland during the holidays (*Meskal and Arefa*) unless the employer allows them to go. In fact, this is because of the lack of money to go back to their homeland. Some may not have enough money for transportation and for the holidays due to the remittance to the household income before the holidays.

The data of FSCE -CPU in Addis Ababa, CPU of Wolkite town and Cheha *woreda* reveal that the problem of trafficking is high in both sexes; boys and girls. But relatively speaking, as the Wolkite CPU police officer states, the case of trafficked girls is higher in number compared to the number of boys in Cheha *woreda*.

Why more girls?

As 15 case studies of household, 14 case studies of trafficked children, community elders and FGDs of the selected research sites reveal, parents prefer to send their daughter to the urban place since the demand for girls for domestic work and attending babies at the urban areas is high. So, they send them to the urban place to make income for the family. Because of this, nowadays, elementary schools are preventing child trafficking by giving awareness to parents to send their children to school rather than sending them to the urban place for work through the returnee committee. Schools give priority to girls in the learning process

compared to boys, and they also give special support to those who are poor in order not to be trafficked to the urban place.

A woman police officer of the Gurage Zone at Wolkite CPU states that girls are trafficked more because girls are needed in the urban areas for domestic work and for carrying babies. Most of them prefer to send boys to school and girls to go to the urban areas to generate income for the household. Girls whose age is in between 7-18 are commonly employed as domestic workers like giving care to little babies or performing household activities or watching over at house during the day time or giving care to old people. That is why parents send especially girls to the urban area. Thus, many girls are moved to the urban areas from the Cheha *woreda* for the purpose of domestic labour. This denies the Gender Responsive Based Approach which is also a right based approach since gender discrimination is now recognized as a fundamental denial of human rights. It states that a human rights orientation to trafficking must also be responsive to gender differences and disparities, and focused on realizing human rights equally for women and men, girls and boys.

One of the key informants of the GPSDO points out that there is lack of awareness in the communities about child rights. Recently, GPSDO starts working on child's right promotion based on CRC in collaboration with the Save the Children Denmark in three *Woredas* in the Gurage Zone after having base line survey among *Sebat-bet Gurage* that is used for the analysis.

So, if the child labour is culturally accepted at the origin area (research sites), this can easily be recognized as people consider their children *as an asset* which is contracted by the Human Rights based approach which is focused on a child rights perspective. It gives attention to the special needs and rights of children that are recognised by the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child. Child trafficking implies marked violations of a wide range of fundamental human rights.

Vulnerability of OVC

From case materials and schools reports, there are 8 and 18 OVC respectively exposed to trafficking due to different reasons. Most of them are living with their siblings, grand parents or close relatives. They take to Addis Ababa to earn income to the guardians since the guardians are poor and are not able to give care to them. If the guardians do not feed them, they directly send them to the urban towns through the process of trafficking to generate income. These OVCs are those who lost their parents due to different cases such as accident, various illness including AIDS, etc. The returnee committees at schools level are trying to return them back from where come by giving counseling to the guardians.

The HIV/AIDS desk under the Health Bureau at the *Woreda* level also confirms that it is estimated that there are about 3000 orphans and vulnerable children (OVC). Out of these, as the project officer of Catholic Church Secretariat in Emdibir mentions, 400 OVC get support from this organization. Both informants agree that these OVC are easily exposed children to trafficking since they do not have any means of survival.

However, the following case of a girl whose age is 18 demonstrates the OVC case in relation to trafficking at the household level in Ywezhe kebele using the Palermo Convention of trafficking definition:

Case 6

She is attending 4th grade in Ywezhe primary school. She lost her father when she was 10 years old and her mother died 9 years ago. She does not know the reason of her father's death. She went to Addis Ababa through her relatives during *Meskal* and she has been working in Addis Ababa by carrying a baby for 15 birr per month. The salary was given to her older sister. She returned home after three years because the employer did not send her to school so she came here and started living with her older sister who lost her right hand and her younger brother. She has 4 siblings of which one brother and one sister are living in Addis Ababa who are engaged in domestic work to generate income to the household before and after the death of the parents. Her brother went to Addis Ababa through a neighbor then, he took his sister after a few years. They have almost spent 4-5 years in Addis Ababa. She is doing coffee kettle stand and her older sister takes and sells the things that she made to market twice a week. Her younger brother who is living with her is student of grade 7th in Ywezhe primary school. He sometimes performs daily works to cover his educational cost. Recently, her brother who is living in Addis Ababa has started selling second hand clothes after working for 3 years as a domestic worker and her sister is still hired with 50 birr per month performing domestic work. Both of them visit their siblings during *Meskal* by bringing some amount of money, clothes and other stuff. They have 4 *zher* plot of land that consists of *enset*, coffee and *chat*. They sell only *chat* annually for 100 birr. They eat *kocho* and drink coffee in the morning and in the evening. Sometimes, they eat *kocho* with *gommen* and potato which are accessible during market days.

As can obviously be explained from the above, since children are under the control of their parents, they have to respect their parents' decision. They do not have the right to refuse what parents have decided. Hence, I realized from the study areas that children are forced by their parents to go to the urban place for work to earn income. But, be that as it may be, one can logically argue that no child wants to be separated from his/her parents for the sake of working for others to make income at an early age.

4.1.2 High demand for child labour in Addis Ababa

As 10 residences in Addis Ababa show, this day there is a problem of getting housemaids in Addis Ababa since there are other alternative activities that generate income to them in the city. This day, they prefer to do daily work since the payment is 15birr per day. They rent house in a group and live together. If they get housemaid they ask high cost and they do not stay for long time because they want to increase their payment. So, it is preferable to bring housemaid from rural side because they can stay for long time and the payment is not expensive like the urban one. Due to this, the condition leads to the increase in the prevalence rate of trafficking children from rural to urban areas.

Five brokers state that the demand for child labour from rural areas with little or no payment in Addis Ababa is increasing due to lack of female domestic workers at the destination areas. If there are domestic workers, the payment they are asking is very expensive. Because of all these reasons, urban people prefer to bring domestic workers from the rural areas with little payment, and rural parents fill the gap of domestic work at the destination areas by sending their children at an early age due to poverty. This is a great contribution that increases the problem of child trafficking from rural to urban areas.

As it is perceived by the urban people say the Wolkite, and Cheha CPUs Police officers and FSCE social worker at the bus terminal, rural child labour is very cheap. They do lots of activities with little or no payment. They do not feel tired and bored. They are obedient to employers. They do lots of things for long hours. They are hard working, and if they get physical attacked they do not say anything because they do not know their rights and where

they have to get help. According to the FSCE social worker at the bus terminal, very few children get contact with the CPUs after lots of sufferings such as punishment, starvation and other problems. They come to the CPUs through neighbors or other people or sometimes by themselves to get support. Therefore, many children are trafficked from the rural areas to Addis Ababa since child labour is very cheap and has high demand at the destination areas. That is also why as it mentioned before parents prefer to send their daughters to the urban place to make income for the family since the demand for girls for domestic work at the urban areas is high. Thus, the migration based approach also gives emphasis that the availability of work opportunities or the existing situation of the demand side for labour at the destination areas is increasing the vulnerability of child trafficking. Besides, the demand side creates feminized migration and trafficking in women has largely occurred in response to this demand driven reality.

4.2 Socio-cultural factors

It is not only the economic factors that expose the children to trafficking; socio-cultural factors also make a great contribution to the problem. This study identifies that the socio-cultural factors are also another main factors for child trafficking. Thus, I have made an attempt to investigate the socio-cultural factors that contribute to the vulnerability of children to trafficking in the research sites.

4.2.1 Meskal and Arefa Holidays

As 30 case materials, the school reports (53 cases in 1999E.C.), the key informants of CPUs, the service givers and the FGDs in both of the study areas declare that the other

main factors for child trafficking are *Meskal* and *Arefa* holidays in the study areas. These two holidays have a great influence on the recruitment of children for the purpose of domestic work. There is a high prevalence rate of child trafficking during these times. Culturally, it is common that the migrated *Gurage* people who live and work in urban places return to their villages to celebrate the holidays with their families and relatives at their homeland. These types of *Gurage* people locally known as *fanos*. This word refers to those *Gurage* people who move to the urban areas to search for jobs, and they come back to their homeland during the Holidays (*Meskal* and *Arefa*), or, sometimes during farming season. As Worku (2006) interprets the term *fano*, “to those who migrate to urban areas and those who are rural- rural migrants, despite the characteristic differences that have existed between the two in terms of both their streams and their occupation within their communities of destination” (Worku 2006: 46). Hence, as 40 case materials the service givers and the FGDs point out, these *fanos* have a great contribution to the process of child trafficking during *Meskal* and *Arefa* when they return to their homeland to celebrate the holidays or other times. *Fanos* can be attracted the residents in the way they dress and they can also be misinformed the residents by telling them that living in urban areas is easy to generate income and to support families in rural areas. They also initiate parents to send their children to urban areas to earn income working in *Demoze bet*. Hence, parents can be easily attracted and misinformed by *fanos* during these holidays and many children are trafficked to Addis Ababa and to other towns for domestic work at an early age to make income for the family.

Parents and teachers in the study areas mention that families send their children to school before the *Meskal* holiday, which is in the month of *Meskerem* since it is an obligation of the elementary school. But when the *Meskal and Arefa* holidays are over, they can send their children with the *fanos* to Addis Ababa and to other towns. For instance, Aba Fransewa Elementary school's report from the month of *Tikimit to Tere* 1999 (E.C.) shows there were 60 students trafficked to urban areas through relatives and neighbor. This is the result of *Meskal and Arefa* holidays of which 21 were female. The elementary teachers who were members of the returnee committee acknowledges that nowadays the elementary schools make sure that the students attend class or register for school before and after *Meskal and Arefa* holidays. Previously, the elementary schools were not given serious attention whether the students attended or not before/after the holidays. There was no strict measurement taken against those parents who send their children to the urban places. But now there are committees that are organized to prevent school drops out including the problem of child trafficking in each school before/after the *Meskal and Arefa* holidays since these are events that contribute to the vulnerability of children for being trafficked. They also monitor if there is any student who drops out of school at any time due to different reasons such as illness, family problems, etc.

The study also reveals that children are still being trafficked to the urban areas during these holidays even if there are committees formed in each school. On the side of the schools, the teachers state that the prevalence rate is decreasing, however, as 20 household case materials show, parents still send their children to the urban areas and they still have a plan to send their little children when they grow up in the future due to poverty.

4.2.2 Misinformation

According to 20 cases of trafficked children the *fanos* (traffickers) misinform parents to take children to urban areas to earn income by saying that the children would face a good life and get access to better education by comparing life in the rural areas and generate income to the household.

As the case studies, the CPUs and the service givers witnesses, children are being trafficked from the rural areas to Addis Ababa by traffickers (relatives or neighbors) with the agreement of parents from the study areas. The families expect that their children can get a better education and jobs. In view of the fact, the recruiters employ different methods for recruiting children by telling the parents a false promise that their children will get a better job opportunity and education at the destination areas but after they arrived at the destination areas, all the promised words are changed and the children are exposed to abuses. Actually, the parents/guardians are not well aware of the real situation of the child abuse in the urban places. Parents/guardians think that life in Addis Ababa and other towns is good and easy for their children by hearing what the migrants talk about the city while they come to their origin places for holiday and other purposes. The CPUs and the service givers suggest that if parents know the real consequence of trafficking, they would not send their children to the urban places. This is because, according to one of the key informants who is a counselor working for the FSCE, when some families are reunited with their children who were trafficked, they hold their children tightly with both hands and cry deeply. As he says, families are misinformed by other people and they send their children to Addis Ababa to generate income for the family, and to get better education but the reality

is not so. When the family understands the reality, they regret what has happened to the child, and they told the counselor that they were cheated by others.

The data from the FSCE, the OPRIFS, the CPUs staff and the community elders in Emdibir show that parents' lack proper knowledge about child work in Addis Ababa, and they do not realize the bad consequence of child trafficking, rather they typically focus on the income that the children generate after they go to and are engaged in the urban areas. Those who go back to their homeland after a few years to celebrate the holidays can talk about the attractiveness of the city, the high labour demand in urban places, and the income they receive, etc. They may also tell people that it is the best way of alleviating poverty at the household level if children move to the urban areas and generate income. Hence, misinformation may easily bias parents to imagine Addis Ababa as everyone just has illusion about foreign countries through the rumor. Likewise, the rural parents can be easily deceived by those *Gurage* who are living and working in Addis Ababa and other urban areas and go back to their homeland during the holidays, or, other times. This makes the parents to eagerly send their children to Addis Ababa or to other towns to make money for the household.

In some cases, the study investigates from the CPUs, case materials and the service givers, the traffickers (relatives who are living in Addis Ababa) take a child from the rural area and hire him/her in somebody's house and collect his/her salary for themselves, instead of giving the salary to the family.

A 13 year old boy who was reunited with his family in Buchach *kebele* explains the case as follows:

Case 7

He was living with his parents. He went to Addis Ababa because his uncle's wife gave birth and his parents asked him to carry this baby and generate income to the family. During that time, he was attending school but quit his learning. Though, he wanted to attend his class, his parents pushed him to go with his uncle who has promised him to send him to school when he arrived at the destination towns. After he arrived at the town, the uncle did not send him to school for a long period of time. He is a teacher and his wife is a housewife. When the boy saw children attending school, he felt sad. In the intervening time, he met a boy who was his relative at his homeland. He pushed him to return home to continue his education and finally both decided to return together before *Meskerem* (school registration) without telling his uncle. He used the money that he received from his brothers for transportation. His brothers were living in Addis Ababa and they were engaging in different activities. He did not get any salary when he was with his uncle, but his family got benefit in terms of kind and cash when his uncle visited them. He has never seen his family for about two years. When he returned home, he asked his parents what they were getting from his uncle and they told him that they received money, clothes, etc. Because of that, they still say to him that it is better for him to live with his uncle to generate income for the family. At this instance, he is living with his parents, who are engaged in farming and his siblings in Buchach. After he returned home, the uncle stopped to give the money and other things to the family. He just visited them without bringing anything like before.

Some of the cultural factors to a certain extent intensify the abuses and the exploitation of trafficked children. For instance, there is a proverb told in reference to child upbringing in Cheha *Woreda* that carries the notion that children do not require much care e.g. *lije bedelu yadegal* which literally means that a child has to be brought up by mere chance.

As can be observed from the above explanations, some families do not know the bad result of child trafficking due to the false promise made by the traffickers, and they only focus on

the income the children generate to lessen poverty at the household level, and after something has happened to the child, they are disappointed.

4.3 Demographic factors

This section presents the demographic factor as a factor that contributes to the vulnerability of child trafficking. Demography deals with social characteristics of the population and their development through time. There are many factors of demography but for the purpose of the study I use the factor that concerns with changes in the population as a result of birth.

In the research sites, a significant number of respondents agree that parents want to have many children since there is a high parental expectation of child support. According to the Economic and Development Bureau at the *Woreda* level, the family size at household level on average is 5-7 in 1997(E.C). As it is also mentioned before there are expected to be 29,300 children under the age of five while those with the ages ranging from 5-14 would be 48,400 in 1996(E.C). This is due to the high rate of fertility at household level which has a great contribution to the household poverty. Beforehand, as the data from the *Woreda* Health Bureau indicates, the contraceptive prevalence rate was only 8%, but now; recently it has increased to 53%, which is the result of both the *Woreda* Health Bureau and the non-governmental organization (GPSDO) in improving the contraceptive prevalence rate of the users after having lots of hard work.

The 7 cases of households among women show that they recently start taking contraceptives not to have many children. But formerly they have thought that children are

the gift of God and they are useful to the family by generating income. But when there are many children, parents cannot give proper care, and they cannot feed all the children adequately.

The following case of an old woman whose age is 50 indicates that, *“Previously life was not expensive and we could have many children since they are gift of God but now the life become expensive and we can not have many children because we can not feed the whole children sufficiently. So, those parents who have many children send them to urban areas to make income for the families. She added that it is also believed that those who do not have children consider as blind or beggar. That is why people want to have many children.*

4.3.1 Concept about family planning

According to the GPSDO program coordinator in Cheha Woreda, until very recently, the Cheha people lack awareness about family planning. Much effort has been made to bring perceptual change among the society since they strongly believe that children are useful to generate income for the household and this has exposed the children to trafficking. Previously, GPSDO has only given attention to only wives by giving lessons on contraceptive secretly, but this was not a good method and no improvement has seen. Then the organization started to give lessons to husbands about the advantage of family planning to eradicate household poverty. Due to this, the effort to change people's perception has been difficult for a long time until the government's intervention has come into existence.

The reproductive agent of Emdibir of the GPSDO and the government health extension of Ywezhe kebele briefly explain that currently, the people's perception towards contraceptive is totally changed and women are using different types of contraceptives. Due to this, the reproductive agent of GPSDO has been awarded by the Federal Republic of Ethiopia, President Girma W/ Giorgis, in 1996E.C. for her strong effort on raising people's awareness on family planning and for having more than 400 clients in Emdibir. She has won the competition among the *Woredas* that are found in the Gurage Zone. Now, she has 500 clients in Emdibir who use different contraceptive methods. She has been doing this voluntarily for about 8 years and she is still working with excitement.

Both health extension workers that mentioned above share their experiences that they had lots of challenges while they were teaching about family planning and distributing contraceptives to the communities. At the beginning, husbands did not accept the idea of contraceptive. They prohibited their wives not to use the contraceptives. The reproductive agent of GPSDO lost her best friends due to her work. Most of her friends, especially the women did not give greetings when they met her on the road since they may have fear of being seen by their husband's. She even got warning from husbands in order not to give contraceptives to their wives. Some women did not want to use contraceptives due to the rumor that they heard from others since it would damage their womb and make them not to give birth. So, there was misconception about the use of contraceptives. The government's health extension mentions that she gives lessons about family planning to both husbands and wives together in Ywezhe kebele. She has 2 years working experience, and she has 80

clients. They give lesson to the community by saying that having many children with low family income would expose the household to serious poverty.

Both health extension workers confirm that Gurage people give high values to children and they like children and want to have many children with low family income. As a result, they are not able to give care to their children and are not able to feed them adequately. People believe that children are wealth since they earn income to the family by moving to urban areas. Meanwhile, both extension workers give lessons to the communities about the drawback of child trafficking while they were teaching family planning, and they give door-to door service two times per week. They tell families they should not only give attention to the income their children generate, but they should also think about their children's health. They explain to the parents that the girls may be exposed to sexual abuse then to HIV, STIs and unexpected pregnancy. Both health extension workers also declare that there are still families that send their children to Addis Ababa and other towns to make income to the households due to having many children and inability of feeding them adequately.

As I mentioned before, 17 cases of household and 15 cases of victims of trafficking indicate, families are forced to send their children to Addis Ababa and other towns since they have many children and since they can not give good care to their children. Children go to urban areas to make income to their families.

A household case of a woman whose age is 30 and who lives in Ywezhe kebele reveal that:

Case 8

She has 8 children of which 5 are living in Addis Ababa working in *Demoze bet*. They went to Addis Ababa during *Arefa* and they usually visit the family during *Arefa* by bringing 200-300 Birr for holiday. They dropped out from school and went to Addis to generate income to the household. She has a plan to send the rest of her children after they grow up. She is living with her husband and with the rest of her little children. Her husband is engaging in daily work and earns 3 Birr per day and she is making *kesha* which is a mat made of *enset* product and earn 2-3 Birr per day. They have 3 *zher* land which produces *enset* and coffee but it does not give adequate production since the land is infertile. The family eats *kocho* with coffee once in a day. Now, she starts taking contraceptive. But previously, she wanted to have many children and her husband too. He even refused her to take the contraceptive. But now they accept the family planning lesson that is giving by health extension workers and she start to use it. This is due to the inability of feeding children adequately (see Appendix 3).

Thus, the rate of using contraceptive has increased due to poverty that was mentioned before as one of the factors directly contribute to the vulnerability of children to trafficking from the selected research sites.

The Palermo Convention definition of trafficking and the approaches that are mentioned at the beginning are relevant for the study as well as for the analysis in this context.

As can be observed from the above situations, it is impossible to identify the victims of trafficking from the Gurage Zone and Addis Ababa for domestic work since they are trafficked through close relatives and neighbors. They are excluded and invisible to others since they face lots of challenges secretly which is exploitation and neglect. The next section will entirely deal with the consequences of Trafficking on Children.

Chapter 5: The Consequences of Trafficking on Trafficked Children

This Chapter deals with the consequences of trafficking on trafficked children: labour, physical, sexual, and psychological exploitation. I employed two approaches for analyzing the findings to this section and the approaches specifically are Human Right Based and Criminal Justice Based Approaches. I also use trafficking in person definition of the Palermo Convention, Child Rights Convention and some national legal frameworks which are relevant to the section.

5.1 Labour exploitation

Child Labour is the employment of children under an age determined by law or custom. Many countries and international organizations consider this practice as exploitative (Wikipedia: the free encyclopedia).

As a considerable number of key informants agree and 40 case materials, the most prevalent aspect of child exploitation through the process of trafficking in Addis Ababa is labour exploitation. The key informants of Cheha *Woreda* stress that child labor is the most common problem in the *Woreda*. As it was described in the preceding section, children are trafficked to Addis Ababa for the purpose of domestic work at an early age starting from age 7-10.

The present study, therefore, finds out from the case materials of the victims, the CPU key informants and the service givers from both the study areas that the boys come from rural places for keeping shons, working in teashops, washing dishes, frying biscuits, carrying

water and babies. Girls are mostly engaged in giving care to babies as nanny and they usually take care of all the household tasks including cleaning, washing clothes, carrying heavy materials and preparing meals and food ingredients. But girls are trafficked more often since they are highly demanded by urban people to engage them in domestic work.

As the case materials of the victims, the CPUs and the services givers key informants declare, once children are trafficked they start working without rest for long hours with little payment or without payment. They do hard work. Besides, they do not have leisure time whereas the employer's children have.

Using the Palermo Convention definition of trafficking, the experience of the following case of a 13 years old girl who joined the OPRIFS, exemplifies the above situation.

Case 9

She was living in Cheha Woreda -Gazanacha Peasant Aassociation- Yerare. She lost her parents by death and started living with her aunt. She was living first in Gazanacha and her aunt first brought her to Wolkite to find a job. She initially started working in a small restaurant by washing dishes and carrying a child for 20 birr per month. But the money was given to her aunt who came every month to collect it from the employer. After a few months, she went to Gazanacha for a holiday and she did not want to go back to Wolkite. The reason was because of the workload. Meanwhile, her aunt who is economically poor again sent her to Addis Ababa with her neighbor to bring income to the household. She first got contact with her relative and she got a job in somebody's house. She was doing all the household activities such as washing clothes, carrying a child, cleaning the house, etc. Her aunt was taking her salary every month. After staying for a month, the owner of the house got HIV and she faced serious challenges. The family ordered her to give a complete care to him. She gave food to him and took his urine and stool the whole day. She washed his clothes and gave him treatment to his wound. The patient has a wife, but she did not give him treatment the way as she was giving to him. His wife only washed his body. Even though, she performed all these tasks, she was not thanked for what she did by the employer. Finally, she decided to run away from the employer's house.

As the FSCE counselor points out, the recruiters (traffickers) have classified the SNNPR children for labour exploitation since they are hard working and the Amhara children for sexual exploitation since they are supposed to be beautiful.

However, the above mentioned evidence that are related to child labour exploitation are contradicted by the Human Right Based Approach which mentions about the international human rights legislation, the special needs and rights of children that are recognised by the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child and ratified by Ethiopia. Art. 32 of the CRC states that: *“children have the right to be protected from economic exploitation and from performing any hard work that is likely to be hazardous or to interfere with the child’s education, or to be harmful to the child’s health or physical, mental, spiritual, moral or social development”*. The Criminal Justice Based Approach states the Anti-Slavery International’s views that there is a complete absence of protection and support facilities available to people trafficked for labour exploitation like sexual exploitation. Those who are trafficked into labour exploitation are seen as immigrants who should be removed from the problem. At the national level, Articles 597-600 of the new criminal code of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (2005), introduces additional provisions to tackle the problem of trafficking in women and children for the purpose of labor exploitation.

5.2 Physical exploitation

Physical abuse of a child is that which results in actual or potential physical harm from an interaction or lack of interaction, which is reasonably within the control of a parents or

person in a position of responsibility, power, or trust. There may be single or repeated incidents (FSCE 2007:1).

As the Proginist Organization annual bulletin which was quoted by Richard J.Gilles, physical abuse includes deliberate acts of violence that injure or even kill a child. Unexplained bruises, broken bones, or burn marks on a child may be the signs of physical abuse (Zema 2005:7).

As the 6 case studies, the service givers and the CPU key informants indicate, trafficked children usually get rude punishment from their employers when they make a mistake or do not and girls can also be abused sexually in the place where they are living and working by family members and they are exposed to health problems like fistula, HIV/AIDS and STIs. The service givers (FSCE, OPRIFS and CPUs) say that most of the children who are physically abused can be identified easily by their hands which are almost not smooth since they have performed hard work.

Pictures of children who are physically abused are found in the service givers (FSCE and OPRIFS and the Wolkite CPUs) and can explain the extent of the problem. The disheartening issue is that the children are not only beaten up by their employers, but also by their relatives who brought them from their parents although they have promised to the family that they would not face any problem.

Furthermore, the service givers share their experience that when some children are hungry while giving care to a child they eat the baby's food but if they are discovered by the employer they will be punished and assaulted. By and large, they can only get food after the employer comes home and gives them food from a locked place. Most of them may eat once or twice a day.

In addition to this, if children do not get food, they will get health problems, and if they get sick, they will not have access to medical treatment. So, they may die, or be exposed to disability. A Cheha Woreda policeman said that "a reunified girl was sick while she was with her employer in Addis Ababa and she asked her employer to take her to a clinic, but the employer refused her since her salary's date was not ready at that time. The exact day was after 15 days, and she suffered a lot and got a relief after a few days.

The following OPRIFS's, a 9 years old girl victim of trafficking case study, can elaborate more on a physical attack using the Palermo Convention trafficking definition as indicated below:

Case 10

She came to Addis Ababa a long time ago with her aunt and stayed near Addis Ketema area. She was attending grade one in Yerare - Degag Wenzera. Her parents sent her to carry a baby and to generate income for the household. Her father is farmer and her mother works *Senbelets*. She has four siblings. Her sister left her family to carry a baby in somebody's house in Addis Ababa. After staying few days, her aunt transferred her to another house to become a nanny. The employer gave her salary to her aunt, and she remembered that she sent the money to her family. But she did not know how much she was paid. When she carried the baby she felt tired because the baby was so heavy that she fell down on the ground with him. During that time, his mother was furious and hit her with

a stick. And, she ordered her to sit down and look after him without moving from place to place. Her husband usually hits her body with a rope and he slaps her on the face when she did minor faults. When she made a wrong and if her aunt heard about her fault she also punished her with a stick. Following lots of shocking punishment, one day she decided to run away from the house because her employer ordered her to clean up the house early in the morning while the employer went out to the market to buy food stuff. But when she returned, the girl did not perform what she was ordered to do. The woman was upset and beaten her up with electric wire which was plugged and her body got harsh bleeding and bruises. (*She cried when she talked about her suffering*). At last, she left the house.

The above discussed issues are opposed with the human based approach which affirms on child right as fundamental human right which is recognized by the UN Conventional on the Rights of the Child. It further vows that the importance of criminal justice. The physical abuse is contradicted by Article 19, which states that “*States Parties shall take all appropriate legislative, administrative, social and educational measures to protect the child from all forms of physical or mental violence, injury or abuse, neglect or negligent treatment, maltreatment or exploitation including sexual abuse, while in the care of parent(s), legal guardian(s) or any other persons who have the care of the child (CYFWO 1992:4)*”. In addition, the penal code of Ethiopia, Article 576:1&2 (FDRE, 2005) indicates that a guardian or a tutor who inflicts any kind of harm on a child or who neglects the welfare of the child may be deprived of his rights and be punished by imprisonment (FSCE 2005:8). This Article also strictly prohibits exploitive child labor; laws, customs and practices that oppress or cause bodily or mental harm to women; trafficking in human beings for whatever purposes

5.3 Sexual abuse

Child sexual abuse is unable to give informed consent to, or for which the child is not developmentally prepared and can not give consent, or that violate the laws or social taboos of society (FSCE 2007:1).

The current study also confirms this from the CPUs and the services givers key informants, as well as from two case studies that children who are trafficked for the purpose of labour are highly exposed to sexual exploitation. Close relatives usually abuse girls sexually. The situation usually happens when the wife or other family members move to another place for a while. After the girls have been exposed to sexual abuse, they do not want to inform anyone about the situation. Because the rapist may give warning to the girl not to tell others what he did. On the other hand, the rape incident is not easily accepted by the society unless there is a witness. The sexual abuses usually lead to sexually transmitted infections (STIs), unwanted pregnancy, and illegal and unsafe abortions apart from HIV/AIDS.

Case 11 can be evidence from OPRIFS in collaboration with The African Child Policy Forum to sexual abuse to trafficked children as domestic worker:

Case 11

She is 10 years old and she came from Emdibir - *Megnase Kuten kebele*. Her parents sent her to Addis Ababa through her uncle and after she arrived at Addis Ababa, he hired her in somebody's house where the family has three children. Her uncle and the employer are daily laborers working together. She has been hired for 15 birr per month to give care to a baby. One day the wife went to hospital for delivery, and the husband raped the girl. The girl did not tell anyone but after a few days when the wife returned home from hospital, she saw her that she could not walk properly. Then she informed her husband and asked him her problem. But he did not give any concern, and then she suspected him of sexual affair with the girl. After lots of proving, she definitely made sure that he raped

her and she had a fight with her husband. Finally, the wife sued him at the court. Then she took the girl to The African Child Policy Forum to get legal support. She was a witness to the case by describing what the signs she had seen on the girl after she returned home. The rapist (the husband) has been arrested for only 7 months and was released. The reason for releasing him freely was that she had a problem of communication and expression and she could not articulate what she had faced before. She cannot speak Amharic but can only speak *Guragegna*. Because of that, her court case has taken too long to settle. She could not give adequate answer to the court. She could not tell specifically what had happened to her to the court. She only expressed the incident using sign that he had held her and had raped her but it was ambiguous. She has been even asked by a translator who can speak *Guragegna*, but she still did not give sufficient information to the court. Finally, her case was closed recently, and she went back home.

As the service givers state, trafficked children may experience lots of challenges including sexual abuse and there are no means to protect themselves since they have no knowledge of where to go.

There is also another Gurage region case that the OPRIFS psychologist said: *a 13 year old girl who was raped by her sister's husband. She was hidden at the event to the court without telling her sister's husband crime. She told the court four times four different people who raped her to cancel her sister's husband crime. She kept the truth secretly for one month. But she became HIV positive after having blood test while those men who were falsely identified by her were become HIV negative. Finally, the husband becomes HIV positive and he was suspected as the real criminal. The reason why she has lied to the court was because the rapist gave her strict warning not to tell to anybody the truth.*

The counselors of the service givers (OPRIFS and ANNPCAN) states that sexual abuse cases can be an indignity to rural people for the reason that talking about sex issues freely is

not an acceptable thing. Some sexually abused children do not want to go back to their homeland after developing low self-esteem. This is because sexual abuse is not a tolerable practice in the society. Therefore, such abused children need continuous counseling to change their bad perception instead of sending them home. They feel shame after having sexual relation with close relatives at an early age. Though, this kind of case is usually kept in secret by the family because the family preserves their reputation. Afterwards, the girl feels her case is not considered as fault or a bad act by her family. For instance, the counselor of ANNPCAN told me that there was a case that when a father raped his daughter the mother kept the case secret and evicted her daughter from the home. She preferred this decision due to the reason that she wanted to preserve her family from separation and she wants to keep her family's reputation from rumor.

As the key informants of the service givers, CPU, judiciary bodies agree, those girls who are sexually abused are not visible and it is difficult to estimate their exact number since only a few cases are reported. The very few who come to the service givers can easily get medical assistance from the CANU and this unit presents evidence to the court, if it is necessary to establish case to the sexual abuse.

However, the case that is mentioned above was totally contradicted by the Human Right Based Approach which refers to the international human rights legislation, the special needs and rights of children that are recognised by the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child and ratified by Ethiopia. CRC Article 19 is applied to oppose which was described before. At national level Articles 635-638 of the new criminal code of the Federal

Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (2005) deal with trafficking in women and minors for sexual exploitation. The mentioned rapist was released freely without penalty which can raise questions to the concerned bodies.

5.4 Psychological abuse

Psychological abuse includes restriction of movement, patterns of belittling, denigrating, scapegoating, threatening, scaring, discriminating, ridiculing or other non physical forms of hostile or rejecting treatment (FSCE 2007:1)

According to the psychologist who works for the OPRIFS, the most terrible result of trafficking is psychological abuse which is the result of all the abuses of child trafficking and it is not easily visible to others, and it can only be treated by psychologists. Those trafficked children who are sexually, physically and labour abused may be exposed to psychological problems. For instance, if a child does not play at an early age and s/he is engaged in different activities, and if s/he does not get family love and care this would have a psychological impact on the behavior of the child. S/he becomes shy and silent. Moreover, trafficked children also have difficulties when they join a new culture at an early age, and they directly face abuse by employers. They may also be given household responsibilities by employers and face various challenge if they get any fault. Subsequently, all these things would have psychological impact on their life in the future that would not make them to have good perception to the society.

As the OPRIFS psychologist further mentioned, "When girls are sexually abused, they get psychological failure in essence that they start to hate and consider themselves as dirty and lose their self-esteem. They do not even tell the truth easily so there is a need of using different therapy method that helps them to discover their inside feelings as they are certainly sexually abused. Besides, they do not feel comfort when someone touches them. They do not even commit themselves to remember the case, the place and the incident once they have been raped".

She continues by saying that in the case of counseling, those girls who were raped are not easily identified by the psychologist within a short period of time, but it takes lot of counseling. Once they are abused sexually, they think that they are inferior and they do not feel that they are human beings. They develop bad thinking about boys so they need uninterrupted counseling which needs lots of effort to change their bad perception to a good one.

The study also investigates from the service givers (OPRIFS, FSCE and IOM) that when trafficked children who are labour and sexual abused first come to the temporary shelter (provided by FSCE), they are very quiet, shy and reluctant to mix with others for a number of days. This is owing to the psychological violence they experienced, as they were kept in a confined situation and denied access to play and to take rest. The very fact that they are alienated from their families and from the people they know also causes them unbearable consequences on their social interaction. The visit I made to the temporary shelter verified this. I saw a small boy of age 10-11 years who ran away from the domestic work he was engaged in. The boy was too shy and too quiet and he could not play with the other children because of a language barrier.

The above discussed issues are contrasted with the Human Right Based Approach which declares on child right as fundamental human right which is recognized by the UN Conventional on the Rights of the Child. It further vows that the importance of criminal justice. It also includes the CRC Article 19, stated previously. This abuse is also contradicted by Articles 36(e), 35(4), 18(2) of the constitution Federal Republic of Ethiopia that was mentioned before.

Chapter 6: The Contributions of Governmental organizations and NGOs in combating Child Trafficking

In this section, I present the contributions of governmental and non-governmental organizations in combating the problem of internal child trafficking. Governmental and non-governmental institutions identified for the study are selected purposely based on their mandate and involvement in the area. It also analyzes this section in line with Multidisciplinary Approaches.

6.1 Government involvement

6.1.1 Implementation on preventing child trafficking

On the part of implementation, almost all service givers (NGOs) confirm that the existing police and legislative frameworks are not working since most criminals are released without penalty. The criminal justice approach further mentioned that lack of specific and/or adequate legislation on trafficking at the national level can be identified as one of the major obstacles in fighting against trafficking. Besides, police forces and judiciary bodies lack awareness of internal child trafficking and consider it as normal practice rather than crime or they do not give serious concern to the problem and find solution to the victims. The criminal justice for trafficking prevention in the Country is re-amending very recently with lots of effort by FSCE. As FSCE staff states, there is awareness creating to the judiciary bodies and police forces to prevent the problem. Some cases will take long time. For example, a girl whose age was sixteen lost patience to follow her case for long time and preferred to go back to her homeland.

As ANNPCAN counselor points out, there were several cases on trafficking but only one person prosecuted by the court. Thus, the lawyers have a lack of awareness on internal child trafficking. Moreover, according to the FSCE report by IOM (2006), since the project of trafficking was launched in 2004, there were about forty-six cases of which four were transferred to the prosecution office while the others closed due to lack of police evidence.

According to the Federal First Instance Court judge, there is very few cases of trafficking reported to the court due to lack of awareness among the society that it is a criminal activity. The cases are mostly closed since the victims have nowhere to go and prefer to live with the employers. In fact, the cases are reported by the police force and the victim's families do not know what happened to the victims. Some cases are also closed due to lack of evidence. For instance, there was a sexual abuse accusation in relation to trafficking but it was closed due to lack of evidence. The judge further states that there is adequate legislation on trafficking but there is very few cases reported to the court so there is a need of giving awareness to the problem as it is a criminal activity.

As the Cheha *Woreda* court president states, is no case of trafficking reported to the court, since the case is not known by the people and it is considered as a normal practice due to the normal trend of migration and the habit of the people depending on child remittances from urban places. Therefore, people lack awareness of the problem and need awareness to prevent child trafficking. But the problem exists in all the *Woredas*. Very recently, the prevalent rate is decreasing due to the returning committee that has been established in element of child trafficking. The president further mentions that this

day, there is lack of domestic workers from rural areas in Emdibir since girls are attending school. The court is working with *Zema* Women Justice Organization which the former local NGO is called Proginist. It has a program on Child rights. The legal professionals in the *Woreda* have access to training on child rights through this organization.

6.1.2 Child Affairs Department

According to the Child Affairs Department Head, there is no comprehensive study at the national level, rather there are a very few pocket studies on child trafficking. Actually there is improvement in the new criminal code of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (2005) that can prevent the problem. There is also positive but little effort in reunification of trafficked children with their families by two government bodies, the Addis Ababa police commission, and the Addis Ababa Social and Civil Affairs bureau and one non government body, the Street Children Association. It is possible to say that there is not much effort seen to tackle the problem at the national level. However, there is a government plan in the future at the national level to expand the existing effort at the regional level by creating a federal network with judiciary bodies, police forces, governmental bodies, non-governmental bodies, communities, etc. These bodies are expected to raise awareness in the communities and to receive and provide service to the victims that are found at the destination areas. The Ministry of Justice is also analyzing the scarce studies of internal child trafficking that were conducted in the country in order to have a comprehensive document at the national level. This is currently the government initiative.

6.1.3 Child Protection Units

Addis Ababa Police commission

As the police officer points out, there are CPUs established by FSCE in collaboration with the Addis Ababa Police commission in 10 police stations. Its objective is to prevent children from abuse and exploitation including trafficking. Actually, the trafficking case is usually reported by FSCE- CPU every two weeks to the commission. The report of CPU under the commission is similar to the report of FSCE- CPU. Both concerned bodies are working together to prevent the problem in Addis Ababa.

Wolkite Gurage zone CPU

As Wolkite Gurage zone CPU police officer briefs, the CPU is working on preventing crime in relation to children such as any abuse and neglect including trafficking. It also has a reunification program in collaboration with the Gurage Zone's *Woreda* police officers. The trafficked children return to their home land through FSCE and OPRIFS. When children are reunited with parents the police officer teaches parents that it is a crime and the practice leads to punishment.

It has also a community policy lesson in each *Woreda* with the help of trained police that participate in the community to prevent criminal activities in relation to the child right violation (sexual abuse, trafficking; labour exploitation etc.). The communities nowadays understand the effect of child right violations and participate in preventing the violations.

The CPU is working with GOs, NGOs, and FBOs and its partner Save the Children-Norway. It raises public awareness about how to give care to children and to behave in good condition at any circumstance through meeting, mass media, and different students clubs etc. It prosecutes criminal cases that are committed to children.

6.1.4 Government Schools involvement in Cheha Woreda

As the Cheha *Woreda* Education Bureau Head declares, there are returnee committees in each government school that are established purposely for returning students who dropped out from school due to different reasons. Among the reasons, there are students who go to urban areas through the process of trafficking. The committee tries to return them from where they were trafficked. It deals first with parents or guardians to explain about the disadvantage of sending children to the urban areas through the process of trafficking by advising them to bring their children with them. In some cases, there are schools that have penalties for those who taken children to urban areas and do not return them to the home land to attend school.

The Head of the Education Bureau further states that the members of the committees are teachers, parents who are board members and students. When a student drops out of school, the home room teacher will report to the director then the director will report to the returnee committee. The committee finally goes to the parents to ask why the student drops out of school. After finding out the reason, it gives advice to them to return the students from where they went. It also follows up the case constantly. As the Head declares, families send their children at an early age to Addis Ababa or somewhere else in order to get income.

Thus, be it as it may, the committees give advice to them to not only give concern to the income that they generate but the bad consequences of trafficking for the children. The students in the committees are useful in collaborating with teachers by directing them to the trafficked student's house. Thus, the committees have a great contribution in decreasing the problem of child trafficking in Cheha *Woreda*.

The Cheha *Woreda* Education Bureau Head affirms that the committee members contribute money to the families who are poor to cover transportation cost and get back the trafficked students from the destination areas. In addition to this, the committees contribute money to those students who have poor families for the purpose of supporting the students in having educational materials to attend school. The Head of Education officer shared his experience that an old woman sent her son to Addis Ababa and the committee contacted her after identifying that the boy dropped out of school. The old woman was poor and decided to send her son to Addis Ababa to get income for the household. Then, she told the committee that she does not have money to bring him from where he went. Finally, the committee contributed money for the transportation cost and returned him to his place to continue his education.

He also suggests that there are children who do not have access to education who are exposed to trafficking. Hence, the bureau is registering children aged three and above through *kebeles* to identify how many are not attending school. Currently, 15 *kebeles* report in the *Woreda* out of 42 *kebeles*. Moreover, the bureau has a long-run plan to get more information based on the latest population and housing census.

The Head also verifies that the elementary schools report the cases every month to the Cheha *Woreda* Education Bureau. However, they report the cases by including all drop outs students without identifying the trafficked children. Students drop out from school due to different reasons such as early marriage, family problem, illness, accidents, trafficking, etc. Hence, it is impossible to know the exact yearly prevalent rate of trafficked children in each school. Actually, there is a high prevalent rate during *Meskal*, *Arefa* and monthly religious holidays (in *Hedar* 12 and *Tere* 21).

In the selected research sites, I proved that there are returnee committees in each school that contribute to the above mentioned activities. The activities usually start from September-October when students complete their registration and start the first semester course. Usually, the students drop out from learning within this period since September is the beginning of school and it is a holiday month for *Gurage* people which is called *Meskal* for Christian, December *Arefa* for Muslim and sometimes Ethiopian Eastern (*Fasika*) for Christian also have an influence on increasing the prevalence rate of trafficking. Many students drop out of school and move to urban areas to generate income through their brothers, sisters and relatives who come to rural area to celebrate the holidays. These relatives, sisters, brothers tell parents false promises like access to better education, life, etc but they recruit and traffic children, especially girls for domestic work to the destination areas.

The committees mention that there is a lack of budget to perform the activities that is allocated by the *Woreda* Educational Bureau. The committees are working with governmental and non governmental organizations to prevent the problem. The committees suggest that the schools, police forces and communities have to work together to prevent the problem of child trafficking in the *Woreda*.

6.2 Non Governmental involvement

6.2.1 Forum on Street Children- Ethiopia (FSCE)

As FSCE document states, Forum on Street Children- Ethiopia (FSCE) is an indigenous non-governmental organization established in 1989. Ethiopia is the only country working on child trafficking in Eastern Africa and has become a model for other countries. Since FSCE is a child rights based organization, it is committed to creating favorable and supportive conditions for urban disadvantaged children in general while working for and towards the respect and protection of the rights of street children, sexually abused and exploited children, physically abused children and children in conflict with the law (FSCE:

8)

A Senior Child Rights Expert working for FSCE says that the organization has been working on domestic trafficking for about two years. It is the only prominent organization dealing with prevention, protection and rehabilitation and support to trafficking victims along with the area of sexual and labour abuse. For these purposes, it established a Child Protection Unit in Addis Ababa in January 2004 with the collaboration of the Addis Ababa police commission by constructing a separate block. It has also drop-in-center and

Dessie, Dire Dawa and Bahir Dar giving

service to the victims where there was a high prevalence rate of child trafficking. The Addis Ababa CPU is found in *Merkato* area, specifically located in the main bus terminal "Autobus Tera", where there is high concentration of brothels, small bars and nightclubs. The office was established after doing a need assessment and found out that trafficked children are stationed first at this area and exposed to abuse and exploitation. This Unit undertakes preventive measures and specifically handles cases of child victims of trafficking reported to Addis Ababa Police Commission in the City, compiles the registered reports of victims of trafficking and makes referrals of cases especially girl victims to OPRIFS for the provision of psycho-social support services and shelter service.

The FSCE (2005) document also points out that the organization has five major program components. The programs are integrated with one another. Among them, Preventive and Support Program against Child Trafficking and Preventive and Support Program for Sexually Abused and Exploited Children are useful for the purpose of the study. As the FSCE catalog indicates, the main program objective for Preventive and Support Program against Child Trafficking is that: *The project is intended to significantly prevent, reduce and control the problem of child trafficking with concentrated efforts of stakeholders in Addis Ababa through multiple interventions thereby influencing the Regional State Government promulgating and enforcing anti trafficking policy. The organization is worked on child protection program which is commonly known by police force.*

As the program coordinator states, in this program there are also three parts: Prevention, Protection and Rehabilitation.

6.2.1.1 Preventive Interventions

The program coordinator asserts that prevention includes advocacy on the children's rights and abuse, neglect and trafficking to the society through workshops and media, empowering the victims to know their rights and working with decision-makers such as police forces, *kebeles* and judiciary bodies. Actually, the intervention is a new phenomenon. Because of this, it is difficult to persuade the society that it is a social problem. In fact, some people who have awareness consider it as a social problem. People still do not have awareness on child trafficking and there is a need of having further effort to prevent trafficking.

As the FSCE counselor affirms, there is a report that publishes on newspaper, namely, *Addis Admas* about children's rights, abuse, neglect and trafficking every Saturday. There is also an annual publication on the organization activities including trafficking that is published by FSCE.

As part of its activities, FSCE established four child protection units (CPUs) in Addis Ababa in 1997 as a Pilot project. Currently, there are ten child protection units in Addis Ababa police stations. Children accused of offenses as well as abused children are referred to the child protection units by the police. As the FSCE-CPU counselor and FGD of bus terminal workers reveal, after establishing the child units the case of trafficking is decreasing. FSCE introduces CPUs activities to the society. Because of this, some victims may come to the CPU when they hear about its activity after a long period of abuse through the CPU receives children whose age

is below 18 years old, including trafficked victims and these victims are identified whether they are trafficked or not through in-depth interview by the FSCE counselor. After identifying them, he registers them on the form that the CPU prepared to the victims for trafficking.

In conducting their activities, the CPUs adopt Art. 19 (2) of the UN Convention on the Rights of the child (1989) which states that *“such protective measures should as appropriate, include effective procedures for the establishment of social programs to provide necessary support for the child and for those who have the care of the child, as well as for other forms of prevention and for identification, reporting, referral, investigation, treatment and follow-up of instances of child maltreatment described heretofore, and as appropriate, for judicial involvement”* (FSCE 2005:9).

As the program coordinator at FSCE acknowledges, the organization follows the strategy of cross-border trafficking to prevent internal trafficking since children can be initially found at the bus terminal like the cross border victims found at the borders. These trafficked children can easily be abused and exploited unless they get support. Hence, the organization uses bus terminal workers to protect these children from abuse and exploitation by giving training in order to identify them easily and to bring them to the FSCE-CPU. The trafficked children can also be exposed to the brokers after arriving at the bus terminal. Therefore, the bus terminal workers are the ones who can have first contact with them and can save them from abuse and exploitation. Trained bus terminal workers,

community members, and police forces can help bring the victims to FSCE- CPU. That is why FSCE established CPU for this purpose at the destination areas.

The FSCE-CPU also prosecutes people who are involved in trafficking and abuse and exploitation.

6.2.1.2 Protective Intervention

The organization has its own drop-in-center but the capacity of receiving and providing service to the victims is not adequate. Because of this, the center refers girl victims to the OPRIFS and recently to the IOM to get adequate service. It also sometimes refers boys to BOLSA, then this bureau seeks out other NGOs that provide service to them. Some victims of trafficking do not want to reunite with their family so the organization tries to have them adopted by foreigners. This process is done with BOLSA. Otherwise, the victims stay in the center. According to the counselor of FSCE, victims need lots of support at the drop-in-centers such as psycho-social support, medical support, educational support, etc. while they stay in the center. In fact, the center provides food, bedrooms, and sanitation services such as soap for clothes and baths and TV. The center is not child friendly and secure since it is located at a police station in *Addis ketema* sub-city. From the observation, the center is far from the CPU so the counselor always walks to the place to perform his activities. I observed that there is no one who gives care to the victims in the shelter and he brings the children to the CPU during breakfast, lunch and dinner time in order to take them to the restaurant. They have a food allowance while they stay in the center. I also observed that

at the home. There is lack of a playing place and

playing materials etc. It may be a long time before traffickers appear in courts and the victims stay for a long time till the case is finished. Victims who are abused psychologically need exhaustive counseling to bring change to feel affection for society and to become socialized with others. Thus, they need protection.

6.2.1.3 Reunification Intervention

The organization also reunites victims of trafficking with families by getting contact with families and covering the transportation cost of the victims and parents while they go back to home.

As the project coordinator mentioned, there is limited capacity to deal with the above mentioned activities. So they have to cooperate with other stakeholders to prevent the problem. With four local NGOs (CANU, ANNPCAN, CHAD-ET and OPRIFS) working on children's rights, FSCE work jointly. There is referral to the Child abuse and Neglect Unit (CANU) which is located at *Yekatit 12* Hospital or other hospitals/clinics to get medical treatment. CANU gives medical support to victims and medical evidence to the court if there is a case of rape. Especially nowadays, trafficking is considering as a criminal practice when it is mostly related to cases of rape.

Recently, the organization started working with IOM by referring trafficked girls to the Good Samaritan organization for the provision of shelter, meals and counseling. IOM also gives support for capacity building for staff.

According to the project coordinator, the organization is also connected with regional police to reunite children with their parents. However, there is a scarcity of budget and human power to do further activities in preventing child trafficking. She suggests that there is a need for much effort to prevent the problem. She confirms that FSCE is working only on the symptoms of the case. This means that they give attention to the problem only at destination areas or the consequence of trafficking rather on the cause of trafficking at the origin place due to lack of capacity. There is a need of having a rural based trafficking prevention. She further noted that the law cannot prevent child trafficking alone but it is better to do intensive performance to prevent child trafficking on the rural side. There is lack of awareness about the effect of child trafficking. There are places where mass media are not available. Thus, there is a need of community awareness through *Idir*, religious centers, meetings, etc. in the rural areas since the places are the source of child trafficking. The rural people have to understand that they must not give their child to others in order to generate income. Moreover, the law has to be improved and implemented. Concerned bodies have to work hard together in designing income-generating activities for families in order to send their children to school if they can not afford the cost at the origin areas.

6.2.2 Organization for Prevention, Rehabilitation and Integration of Female Street Children (OPRIFS)

As the project coordinator verifies, the Organization for Prevention, Rehabilitation and Integration of Female Street Children (OPRIFS) is a non-governmental and non-profit indigenous humanitarian organization, working for the welfare and protection of female

street children. Having its root in the Mobile unit that was established by Rada Barna in 1989, OPRIFS was set up in 1994 as a Drop-in-Center to be an extension to the Mobile Unit.

6.2.2.1 Rehabilitation intervention

Apart from providing service to female street children, it gives service to trafficked girls from FSCE to include shelter, meals, sanitation, informal education, skill training, guidance and counseling and family reunification.

From my observation, children were doing physical exercises in the morning, some attending informal education and some doing handicrafts. There was also individual counseling. I visited their bedrooms and I observed while they ate their breakfast and lunch. I also observed some photos of victims' reunification with their families at the organization. For instance, I saw a picture of the Wolkite's police officer and three girl victims when the police officer received victims from the organization to take to their origin area.

In OPRIFS, intensive counseling is very important to the trafficked children before reuniting with their families. Recently, the counselor uses therapy in order to find out the internal feelings of the victims. For instance, a child who is abused sexually washes the doll by putting it into water. She does not talk but she just washes the doll for about 45 minutes. This shows that she is sexually abused. She feels as if she is dirty inside and washes the doll's clothes. When a child gives a sign of sexual abuse through the therapy, the counselor immediately informs others that the child needs follow-up to solve her problem. Some

cases might be sensitive that have not be raised in front of others like sexual abuse but has to be handled through individual counseling. Actually, there is evidence through police records or medical treatment but in some cases there may not be evidence but the victim can identify her problem through counseling or her actions while she spends the day and night time. In some cases, the rehabilitation workers also help her by referring the case to the counselor describing what they find while they spend the daytime with her in the class room or during play time, etc. There are house mothers who spend the night with them. They refer cases to the counselor and the counselor will give individual counseling to the sexually abused girl. I observed the material of therapy in the counselor's office and it is well arranged. The office seems like a child friendly place.

After the counselor finishes the session, the counselor and the rehabilitation workers believe counseling is enough for the victims or after discussing with other workers about what they have done, what they feel and what behavioral change the victims brought about after the session. Then, the counselor informs the reunification officer that the child is ready to reunite with her family. The reunification officer starts to trace her family to get contact with them through the Regional police officer by phone as the child is found in the organization. At the beginning, the officer filled out the form of the organization which consists of the victim's address. When the family arrives at the shelter, the counselor and reunification officer give advice to them to give good care to their children.

The trafficked children who join OPRIFS first know that they will reunite with their family by telling them that family is the right place for the child's growth. The organization

criterion has to know everything all as they will reunite after staying for a few days. But some agree first and later they may refuse to go back home so it refers them to CIAI - Ethiopia organization for adoption. The Italian Center for Children Aid (CIAI -Ethiopia) - is a non- profit organization founded in 1968, which began its activities in the same year as the Italian centre for Inter-country Adoption. It has been working in Ethiopia since 1990 and starting from 1995 CIAI has constantly supported more than 1,500 children with its resources.

According to the reunification officer in OPRIFS, during reunification there is a need of having lots of effort to reunite children to different places which takes a lot of the office work time. This is due to having a limited staff. As it is mentioned before, the family is traced through regional police officers. After reunification, the police officers have also a great contribution to the post reunification program which helps to know how parents give care to their children as they promised before. Do they send their children to school? Do they live in a good condition? The program of post reunification was started in 2006 and covered very few areas due to lack of budget and staff to perform more successful activities. Due to this, the program has taken place only in three areas. The feed back was that most of them are successful, they are happy and they get family care and love but in some cases there are problems like children come back through the process of trafficking. According to the parents, those who come back to Addis Ababa after reunification are attracted by the life style of Addis Ababa. They prefer to live in Addis Ababa instead of their origin areas. So they can not stay in the rural area. One child said that the service she

... attractive because she can eat three times a day but she can

not get meal three times per day in her birth place so she prefers to come back to Addis. Because of this, the organization is trying not to be overly attractive to them since the service creates problem after reunification.

OPRIFS is working with BOLSA. It also has a network with four NGOs working on children's program including CRDA. These four multi sectorial organizations, including OPRIFS, did a pilot study in *Addis ketema* sub-city on sexual abuse and exploitation including trafficking. For instance, one child case can be solved through the cooperation of these five organizations. These organizations are FSCE- CPU (shelter, counseling and reunification), OPRIFS (shelter, food, counseling, informal education and reunification), ANNPCAN (legal protection and counseling), CHAD-ET (coordination the activities and raising fund to the program) and CANU (medical assistance). This is the most useful strategy for a child who has been abused and exploited. These are a kind of package of activities which started a year ago and it is commonly known as June multi sectorial project. The Multidisciplinary Approach states that agencies and decision makers should consider children's rights and make sure that children have input in the programs and decisions affecting their present and future life

The above mentioned service givers (NGOs) give service to the trafficked victims which is also elaborated in the Multidisciplinary Approach as it is an answer to bridge the gaps in provision of services to victims of child abuse and trafficking such as physical treatment and rehabilitation, psychosocial care and legal support.

Chapter 7: Conclusions and Recommendations

7.1 Conclusions

Internal trafficking of children from rural areas to urban areas is widespread but a yet disregarded phenomenon. Children are trafficked to Addis Ababa from different regions of the country. There is also an absence of comprehensive and reliable data on the problem especially in Ethiopia. Due to this, the study has assessed the factors that directly contribute to the vulnerability of children to trafficking, explored the consequences of trafficking and examined the existing policy frameworks and their implementation with the concerned bodies in combating child trafficking in Cheha *Woreda*, Gurage zone (specifically at four research sites) and Addis Ababa. In line with this objective, forty case materials in the research areas (Ywezhe *kebele*, Buchach *kebele*, Emdibir, Gubre as well as Addis Ababa) show that most of the children are forcefully taken to Addis Ababa for the purpose of engaging them as domestic workers.

According to the findings of the study, there are three main interrelated factors (economic, socio-cultural and demographic) that are common among the trafficked children. The main economic factors that are part of the cause of vulnerability of children to trafficking are poverty, land scarcity, considering children as *an asset* and high demand for child labour in Addis Ababa. The other factor in child trafficking is the socio-cultural factors such as *Meskal* and *Arefa* holidays and misinformation in the origin areas. Demographic factor that contributes to child trafficking is the high increase of population due to birth in the research areas.

From the evidence, the root cause that contributes to the vulnerability of children to trafficking is poverty. Due to the scarcity of the land, the households do not produce enough crops for the year to the family members. In addition to this, the families have many children and they have a great value to them. But they can not give good care to them. Families can not feed the children adequately and can not send them to school due to the low family income. As a result of this, some children are forced to move to the urban areas through the process of trafficking by the permission of their families to generate income for the households by being engaged in different activities at an early age. Hence, child trafficking is an essential means of survival to the families in the study areas due to poverty, land scarcity and high fertility rate.

It is difficult to identify the victims of trafficking from the research sites since they are trafficked through close relatives and neighbors. They are excluded and invisible to others and they face challenges secretly, which is exploitation and neglect. The findings identify frequent forms of exploitation through the process of trafficking in Addis Ababa such as labour, physical, sexual, and psychological exploitation. But the most serious aspect of child exploitation through the process of trafficking in Addis Ababa is labour exploitation. This labour exploitation exposes children to physical, sexual, and psychological exploitation.

The outcome of the study shows that the Convention against the Transitional Organized Crime also called the Palermo Convention of trafficking is valid to describe the cases of trafficked children. Moreover, it is obvious that the Gender-responsive, Human Rights,

Migration Based Approaches have been appropriate to describe and to contradict some of the factors that contribute to child trafficking. Criminal Justice Based, Human Right Based Approaches and the national legal framework are relevant to oppose the consequences of trafficking on trafficked children.

Based on the findings, Ethiopia has not ratified the major UN and ILO instruments which are relevant to the issue of trafficking in children. In addition to this, there is lack of a comprehensive national policy and a comprehensive law that addresses the issue of trafficking in children.

The findings address that even if there is a criminal law which is relevant to prevent the problem of trafficking, there are very few cases reported to the Federal First Instance Court. There have been no cases reported to the Cheha *Woreda* Court. This is mainly due to lack of societal awareness on the problem, lack of and the applicable law and also lack of evidence on the reported cases.

From the study, it is evident that there are very few relevant organizations that have positively intervened in child trafficking. This is the fact that the internal child trafficking has not been given serious attention as cross-boarder trafficking by the major concerned bodies so far. The only NGO that is working on the problem of child trafficking in Ethiopia is FSCE. Thus, the Multidisciplinary Approach is relevant that decision makers should consider children rights in victims of trafficking. These children need have need services

psychosocial care and legal support.

7.2 Recommendations

Based on the findings, the following issues could perhaps be considered:

To begin with, there is not a comprehensive national policy on preventing internal child trafficking. This has been created a problem to the concerned bodies to focus on the observed problems rather than giving attention to the factors and the over all problem.

Second, Ethiopia has to ratify the major UN and ILO instruments which are relevant to the issue of trafficking children along with the national policy and legislative efforts. These are The Migrant for Employment Convention (revised), 1949 (No.97), Migrant Workers (Supplementary provisions) Convention, 1975 (No. 143), The Convention on the Promotion of Equality of Opportunity and Treatment of Migrant Workers, 1975, The UN International Convention on the Right of Migrant Workers and their families, 1990 and UN Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Person, Especially of Women and Children, 2000.

Third, the new Criminal Code has to be given serious attention by the legislators. Trafficking for labour exploitation and for sexual exploitation are seen as equally serious offences in legislative terms. It has to be given concern related to the process and purpose of trafficking. In addition to this, it has to include the protection, assistance, rehabilitation and re-integration of the victims.

Fourth, there is a lack of public awareness on the prevalence, process and consequence of internal child trafficking. Moreover, people do not know the existing laws and assistance to the problem that is related to trafficking. Thus, there is a need of raising public awareness on the problem.

Fifth, training and workshops are essential to raise the capacity of the law enforcement and other concerned bodies to prevent child trafficking. In addition to this, there is a need of human and other resources to prevent trafficking.

Sixth, prevention is started from the origin areas since it is important to combat the root causes of trafficking particularly poverty. There is a need of initiating income generating activities and other job opportunities to the *Gurage* people in the study areas to alleviate poverty. In addition to this, those returnee committees that are organized at the elementary school level have to be encouraged and the budget constraints for their activities have to find immediate solution to prevent the problem.

Seventh, the problem in the study areas has a deep root established causes that contribute to the vulnerability of child trafficking economically, socially and culturally. So, the concerned government and NGOs working on Child Rights have to work in cooperation to prevent internal child trafficking.

Eighth, since there is a lack of relevant and comprehensive data on the problem of internal child trafficking, there should be further study on the problem.

Ninth, providing assistance and protection to the victims is essential since they are abused and neglected. They need physical treatment and rehabilitation, psychosocial care, legal support, medical service, training and skill advancement.

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Appendix 1: Children at work to make income



Appendix 2: Houses constructed on limited land and produce limited production



Appendix 3: A woman who sends her 5 children to Addis Ababa and remains 3 boys

Declaration

I, the undersigned, declared that this thesis is my original work, has not been presented for a degree in any other University and that all sources of materials used for the thesis have been duly acknowledged.

Name: _____

Signature: _____

Place and date of Submission:

AAU and November 2007

Advisor(s)

Name: _____

Signature: _____