



ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
COLLEGE OF LAW AND GOVERNANCE STUDIES
CENTER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

**THE SMUGGLING OF MIGRANTS: A CASE FROM THE
CITY OF SHIRE ENDASILASSE IN TIGRAY REGION**

Netsanet Mulugeta Alemseged

January 2021
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

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Advisor: Meron Zeleke (PhD)

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Approval sheet by the Board of Examiners

Name: Netsanet Mulugeta Alemseged

ID No. GSR/2771/10

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Approved by the Examining Committee:

1. _____

Advisor

Signature

2. _____

Internal Examiner

Signature

3. _____

External Examiner

Signature

Declaration

I, Netsanet Alemseged, hereby declare that this thesis is original and the result of my own work and has never been submitted to any other institution. I also declare that any secondary sources or materials used in this thesis have been duly acknowledged.

Declared by: Netsanet Mulugeta

Signature _____

Date _____

Confirmed by: Dr. Meron Zeleke

Signature _____

Date _____

Abstract

In recent times the Tigray region has seen an increase in the number of migrants being smuggled into another country in search of better living standards. This thesis studies the smuggling of migrants from Shire Endasilasse city of the Tigray region. It focuses on understanding the factors for migration, the migratory routes, the costs incurred, the network of smugglers, and the protection risks faced by migrants. It further addresses the various measures taken by different stakeholders to stop irregular migration from the city. The study mainly employed a qualitative research methodology and used both primary and secondary sources of data. The study found that smugglers in the city use enticement to lure potential migrants. Migrants set out on a long and arduous journey where they are subjected to abuse, exploitation, and even death. Migrants from the study area take either the Eastern route to Saudi Arabia or the Northern route to Europe. They are often forced to pay additional sums of money to continue their journey and are physically tortured and sexually abused if they fail to do so. The study also found that there are various measures taken by local government officials to tackle the problem including awareness-raising activities, campaigns for the young population, and trying to capture and convict smugglers. The study also found a non-governmental organization working with returnee migrants that offers livelihood, psycho-social, and capacity-building support. The smuggling of migrants is a very pervasive and timely issue in the city of Shire Endasilasse which has and continues to expose the young population to suffering, exploitation, and human rights abuse, and needs the immediate attention and action of all stakeholders involved.

Key Words: smuggling, trafficking in persons, migrants, illegal migration, Tigray

Dedication

To my father, mother, and sister who have been by my side through everything, with patience and love greater than anything I have ever known. Everything I have accomplished is because of them and I cannot imagine being where I am today without their unwavering support. Thank you.

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I would like to extend my heartfelt gratitude to every participant in this study for their willingness to share their experiences with me and take part in my research. It is because of their cooperation and good-will that this study has come to be.

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List of Acronyms

DRC	Danish Refugee Council
E.C.	Ethiopian Calendar
E.U.	European Union
G.C.	Gregorian Calendar
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
IDPs	Internally Displaced Persons
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
ILO	International Labor Organization
IOM	International Organization for Migration
MSF	Médecins Sans Frontières
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
OHCHR	Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights
RMMS	Regional Mixed Migrants Secretariat
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNDOC	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Background of the Study

The Smuggling of Migrants from the global South to the global North is a significant phenomenon that has affected almost every country and its policymaking. For various reasons (better employment opportunities, fleeing political prosecution, war and conflict, natural disasters) people choose to move from their origin of country to another country they think will provide a better living situation for them. Furthermore, the smuggling of migrants is not only an issue of illegal activity taking place; it is also a matter of human rights as most migrants are exposed to exploitation and trafficking along the way that usually costs them their lives¹.

The smuggling of migrants is a global concern with a large number of countries affected by it as origin, transit, or destination points. Profit-seeking criminals smuggle migrants across borders and between continents². They take advantage of a large number of migrants willing to take risks in search of a better life and exploit the lack of legal opportunities available to migrants and take advantage of their situation by offering services at great cost. Many migrants are abused on the way to their destination and many more are abandoned on-route. Refugees and asylum seekers, as well as vulnerable migrants such as unaccompanied minors and pregnant women, can be among those who pay a high price for smuggling services³. Each year some 55,000 migrants are thought to be smuggled from East, North, and West Africa into Europe, generating about \$150 million in revenue for criminals⁴.

Africans constituted 34 million of the 244 million international migrants in 2015⁵. Various factors contribute to the migration of migrants ranging from economic factors to socio-political ones⁶. In Africa, migration often leads to drainage of local resources. The

¹ Hamood, Sara. (2006). *"African Transit Migration through Libya to Europe: The Human Cost"* The American University in Cairo: Forced Migration and Refugee Studies, p.45-47

² Triandafyllidou, A. and Maroukis, Thanos. (2012). *"Migrant Smuggling."* Irregular Migration from Asia and Africa to Europe. New York; Palgrave.

³ Ibid.,

⁴ United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime. (2004). *"United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime and the Protocols Thereto."* United Nations General Assembly resolution 55/25

⁵ United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime. (2011). *"Smuggling of Migrants."* A Global Review and Annotated Bibliography of Recent Publications, p.105

⁶ RMMS. (2014b). *"Going West: contemporary mixed migration trends from the Horn of Africa to Libya & Europe."* Nairobi: Regional Mixed Migration Secretariat.

total sum at times is very high and usually leaves the family in the country of origin impoverished for many years to come. Several migrants are caught between the perpetual fear of being arrested and deported by authorities and the ever-increasing economic demands of the smugglers which often leaves them poor and stranded. This leads migrants to either return home to a worse economic situation than they had when they left or are forced to stay abroad with irregular status. The arrest, illness, and sometimes death of migrants along with failed migrations make the social cost of smuggling of migrants from the Horn of Africa very substantial. When the risk to migrants is high, it increases the social costs for their community of origin⁷.

In 2016, over 181,000 migrants crossed the Mediterranean Sea from North Africa to Italy. Yet, data on the smuggling of migrants is limited due to the under-the-radar nature of smuggling⁸. Countries in Africa with the largest source of migrants include Nigeria, South Africa, Ghana, Somalia, Ethiopia, and Senegal, while the overall rate of Africa's international migration is assessed to be at 1.9 percent⁹.

Similarly, several migrants from the Horn of Africa regularly undertake the journey north and north-west to the Mediterranean coast¹⁰. This route has risen in popularity among migrants from the Horn of Africa as evidenced by a large number of Ethiopians, Eritreans and Somalis found on boats crossing the Mediterranean. In 2013 alone, Eritreans and Somalis accounted for 16% of the total number of migrants found crossing the Mediterranean Sea¹¹. Moreover, in recent years, 80,000 Ethiopians have arrived in Yemen, 2,000 - 5,000 Eritreans leave their country every month, and around 20,000 Somalis and Ethiopians have traveled to South Africa. Migrants originating from the Horn of Africa move in different directions but the majority of those have three preferred destinations: South Africa through Kenya, Tanzania, Malawi, Zimbabwe, Zambia, and Mozambique; Saudi Arabia via Yemen; and Europe via Sudan and Libya¹².

⁷ United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime. (2011). *“Smuggling of Migrants.”* A Global Review and Annotated Bibliography of Recent Publications, p.105

⁸ Migration and Vulnerability. (2020). *“Smuggling of Migrants.”* Migration Data Portal. <https://migrationdataportal.org/themes/trafic-illicite-de-migrants#data-sources>

⁹ Asnake Kefale and Zerihun Mohammed. (2015). *“Ethiopian Labor Migration to the Gulf and South Africa.”* Addis Ababa, Ethiopia: Forum for Social Studies, p.2

¹⁰ RMMS. (2014b). *“Going West: contemporary mixed migration trends from the Horn of Africa to Libya & Europe.”* Nairobi: Regional Mixed Migration Secretariat.

¹¹ Horwood, Christopher and Malakooti, Arezo. (2014). *“Fatal Journeys: Tracking Lives Lost During Migration.”* International Organization for Migration, p.117

¹² Ibid., 118

On the other hand, Ethiopia is a source as well as a transit country for many migrants. Young Ethiopians are usually driven to undertake migration by the promise of better economic opportunities and higher living standards. There are three known routes and destinations for irregular migrants originating from Ethiopia; the Eastern Route, the Northern route, and the Southern route¹³. Ethiopians travel extensively along the eastern route and use Somaliland as a transit point from where they are smuggled by boats to Yemen. Conversely, migrants who take the northern route travel through Sudan to Libya intending to cross the Mediterranean Sea to Europe. Migrants who follow the southern route pass through numerous countries including Kenya, Malawi, Mozambique, Rwanda, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia, and Zimbabwe to reach South Africa. They travel on foot, by container trucks, buses, and boats and the journey can take many months. Most use smuggler networks with a scarcity of protection¹⁴.

Migration in Ethiopia has historically been determined by several complex factors including poverty, drought, political repression, poor governance, and forced resettlement. Migration has also become a strategy to earn a better living for many Ethiopians in search of better opportunities¹⁵. Even though the hardship and mistreatment Ethiopian migrants face have often been reported and shared, many Ethiopian youths choose migration to achieve better standards of living elsewhere. The international migration from Ethiopia is growing at a faster rate and the wish to seek better economic opportunities outside the country fuel the profitable and expanding business of international migration.

In addition, the arrangement between the Ethiopian and Saudi Arabian governments that lasted from 2012 to 2013 facilitated the sending of a huge number of Ethiopian domestic workers, around 45,000 per month. This incident prompted the idea of domestic work abroad and even though the Ethiopian government temporarily banned the sending of

¹³ Breines, Markus, Collyer, Michael, Lutterbeck, Derek, Mainwaring, Cetta, Mainwaring, Daniel and Monzini, Paola. *"A study on smuggling of migrants: characteristics, responses and cooperation with third countries; case study 2: Ethiopia – Libya – Malta/Italy."* European Commission, DG Migration and Home Affairs, p. 11-12

¹⁴ Horwood, Christopher. (2014). *"Fatal Journeys: Tracking Lives Lost During Migration."* International Organization for Migration, p.141-146

¹⁵ Fransen, Sonja and Kuschminder. (2009). *"Migration in Ethiopia: History, Current Trends and Future Prospects."* Maastricht Graduate School of Governance – Paper Series: Migration and Development Country Profiles, p.35

domestic workers in 2013, the desire for overseas work has already been popularized¹⁶. Although historically, the rate of migration from Ethiopia has been low, international migration in recent times has been producing economic, social, and political impacts¹⁷.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Ethiopia is a source, transit, and destination country for migrants and refugees who are looking to travel through the Eastern route to the Middle East and the Gulf countries, through the Northern route to Europe, and the Southern route to South Africa. Various reasons are attributed to the surge in irregular immigration in Ethiopia including poverty, unemployment, low income, peer and family pressure, high population growth, insecurity, internal conflicts, and enticement by traffickers and smugglers¹⁸. Despite Ethiopia's recent economic surge and its integration into the global economy, much Ethiopian youth perceive migration as the only way to attain a better standard of living¹⁹.

Out of the 90,000 migrants that arrived in Yemen in 2015, 90% were from Ethiopia. Many migrants try to make the journey across the Red Sea whereby they are forced to suffer through physical abuse, kidnapping, and being held in prisons in transit countries²⁰. Migrants serve as a commodity in this business where smugglers and traffickers have a high chance of making profits with almost no risk of penalty. Smugglers extort very large amounts of money from migrants while subjecting them to neglect and abuse that frequently results in their death²¹.

In recent years, the Tigray region in Ethiopia has seen an influx of smuggling of migrants in part due to the region's proximity to northern Africa, which is often regarded

¹⁶ Asnake Kefale and Zerihun Mohammed. (2015). *"Ethiopian Labor Migration to the Gulf and South Africa."* Addis Ababa, Ethiopia: Forum for Social Studies, p.1-7

¹⁷ Ibid., 83

¹⁸ Kinfe Abraha (Dr.), Aradom Gebrekidan (Dr.), Shishay Tadesse, Kibrom Fekadu, Kefyalew Kinfemichael, Atakilty Gebre-Eyesus. (2017). *"Comparative Study of Culture of Migration among Communities with Strong Culture of Migration and Less Migration Prone Communities of Tigray, Ethiopia."* Institute of Population Studies, Mekelle University, p.2-3

¹⁹ Van Reisen, M., Mawere, M., Stokmans, M. & Gebre-Egziabher, K. A. (2019). *"Roaming Africa: Migration, Resilience and Social Protection"*. Bamenda, Cameroon: Langaa RPCIG, p.39

²⁰ International Organization for Migration. (2016). *"The Migrant."* IOM Special Liaison Office, Addis Ababa Quarterly Newsletter, Volume 12, Issue 4, p.4-5

²¹ Horwood, Christopher. (2014). *"Fatal Journeys: Tracking Lives Lost During Migration."* International Organization for Migration, p.147

as the hub for migrants looking to be smuggled into Europe across the Mediterranean Sea²².

There is a prevalent culture of migration in the Tigray region aided by its geographical location and border towns with Sudan. Hopeful migrants hire smugglers to facilitate their journey who use deception to induce the young population to undertake migration. There is a complicated, dynamic, and well-organized network that manages and profits from the smuggling industry²³.

Low income, shortage of land for farming, the desire to accumulate large sums of money in the shortest possible time, and observing the experiences of previous migrants who had been successful in securing improved livelihood are among the pushing factors for migration in Tigray²⁴.

Brokers are also known to have distributed brochures that advertise job opportunities in the Middle East, with full address, whom to contact, and procedures on how to apply. Returnee migrants have also been instrumental in disseminating information about migration by distorting the truth about the hurdles of the journey and what awaits them at the destination country²⁵.

Furthermore, an income gap has risen between migrants and non-migrants due to international migration. Some returnee migrants flash their expensive belongings thereby exacerbating the need for irregular migration among their peers. Thus, economic inequality (due to migration) has become both a cause and a byproduct of illegal migration affecting the balance of livelihood and purchasing power in the local community²⁶.

Additionally, migration undermines local economies by robbing the community of valuable labor force, increasing dependence on remittances, and encouraging subsequent

²² Weldeabrha Niguse Gebreslassie. (2018.) *“Globalization and International Migration: Implications for Irregular Migration in Eastern Zone of Tigray Regional State.”* Journal of Citizenship and Morality Vol.2, No.1, p. 74-96

²³ Fesseha Berhe. (2013). *“Youths on Perilous Journeys: Irregular Migrants from Tigray, Northern Ethiopia, to the Gulf Region.”* Annales d’Ethiopie, p.346-356

²⁴ Fitsum Weldu Abrha. (2017). *“Determination of Youth Migration the Case of Tsegedie Wereda.”* Journal of Business and Financial Affairs 5: 234, p.6-8

²⁵ Genene Yilma. (2013). *“Migration of School Girls from Raya Kobo Wereda to Middle East: Antecedents and Consequences.”* Addis Ababa University School of Graduate Studies, p.41

²⁶ Bisrat W/Silassie, Teklebrhan Berhe, Weldeabrha Niguse and Muuz Abrha. *“Irregular Migration in Eastern Zone of Tigray: Causes, Consequences and Alternative Strategies.”* The International Committee for the Development of Peoples (CISP) Ethiopia, p.45-46

migration. Households that receive remittances from abroad depend on the remittance instead of creating additional means of livelihood²⁷.

The studies that have been done on the smuggling of migrants from Tigray mainly focus on the Eastern route which leads to Saudi Arabia and the Gulf region and rarely focuses on the Northern route to Libya (E.g. Fisseha Berhe, 2013). Furthermore, these works focus their study area in different Woredas and Zones of Tigray (E.g. Fitsum Weldu, 2017 and Bisrat W/Silassie, et al. 2013). Even though the city of Shire Endasilasse has become an important hub for the smuggling of migrants, adequate and in-depth analysis has been lacking in that region addressing the exact issue, experiences of outgoing and returnee migrants, and the measures being implemented by local authorities. This study, therefore, intends to get information on the smuggling of migrants in Shire Endasilasse by directly getting in contact with returnee migrants, the local administrative government, and non-governmental organizations working in the area.

The smuggling of migrants does not only affect the victims but also affects families and the community at large. This study aims to explore why migrants from the study area decide to leave their country through illegal means and at any cost, how they get in contact with smugglers, the cost of the travel and how payments are made, the routes and roads they take to reach the place of destination, and the different types of exploitation and trafficking they are exposed to by the smugglers along the way²⁸.

1.3 Objective of the Study

1.3.1 General Objective of the Study

The general objective of this study is to understand the driving force for migration in the city of Shire and the risks and challenges migrants encounter on their journey to the desired destination.

1.3.2 Specific Objectives of the Study

Against this background, the study mainly looks into four general interrelated themes of inquiry.

²⁷ Ibid., 45-46

²⁸ Breines, Markus, Collyer, Michael, Lutterbeck, Derek, Mainwaring, Cetta, Mainwaring, Daniel and Monzini, Paola. *"A study on smuggling of migrants: characteristics, responses and cooperation with third countries; case study 2: Ethiopia – Libya – Malta/Italy."* European Commission, DG Migration and Home Affairs, p. 30

1. Understanding the multifaceted and multi-layered push and pull factors accounting for migration and re-migration from the area
2. Examining the decision-making process and actors involved in the decision making of migrants
3. Understanding the vulnerability of migrants and protection risks associated with migration
4. Getting information on the migratory routes taken by migrants and the cost of the journey
5. Understanding the measures taken by different stakeholders including the local administrative government and non-government organizations

1.4 General Research Questions

1. What are the major factors accounting for the rise of migration in Shire city?
2. Who are the different actors affecting the decision-making process of prospective migrants?
3. What are the different types of protection risks migrants from the study often face?
4. What are the routes migrants take to get from their place of origin to the destination and how much does their journey cost?
5. What measures has the local government been implementing to combat illegal smuggling in the area?

1.5 Significance of the Study

Studies that focus on refugees and migrants inform policymakers about the formers' experiences²⁹. Analysis and research on migration are some of the main sources and a starting point for migration policymakers. It is also important to migration practitioners, students, scholars, and the public as they examine aspects of migration³⁰. A study on the smuggling of migrants in the Tigray region can shed light on the realities of the underground operation and help shape policymaking regarding smugglers and traffickers in the region. By highlighting the experiences of migrants and the exploitation and abuse they are subjected to at the hands of smugglers, the study can help inform policy

²⁹ Birman, Dina. (2005). *"Ethical Issues in Research with Immigrants and Refugees."* Handbook of Ethical Research with Ethnocultural Populations and Communities, p.160

³⁰ International Organization for Migration. (2020). *"Chapter 4: Migration Research and Analysis: Growth, Reach and Recent Contributions."* World Migration Report 2020, p.55

deliberations on what steps to take to tackle the smuggling of migrants in the region and take appropriate measures against smugglers. Furthermore, this study will add to the existing literature on the smuggling of migrants in the Tigray region by providing the perspective of migrants from Shire city. This study will also help other further researches on the area by providing input and information on the subject matter.

1.6 Research Methodology

1.6.1 Research Design

A qualitative research design is used for this study. Qualitative research is a type of social science research that collects non-numerical data and interprets meaning from these data to help us understand social life through the study of targeted populations or places. It also examines the understanding of a given problem, people's experiences, meanings and relationships, and social processes and contextual factors. It is a form of social action that stresses the way people interpret and make sense of their experiences to understand the social reality of individuals³¹.

The most commonly used methods of data collection in qualitative research include participant observation, in-depth interviews, focus group discussions, and document analysis. The standard characteristic of both in-depth interviews and focus groups is the use of open-ended questions which are followed up with inquiries in response to participants' answers³².

Qualitative research incorporates a valuable set of methodological tools used for data collection, analysis, and interpretation. The general objective of qualitative research is to build an understanding of social phenomena in the natural setting of the experience, perceptions, and behaviors of those studied. Qualitative research aims to find a detailed examination of the phenomenon that will deepen our understanding and provide a plausible explanation of the phenomenon under study³³. Qualitative research gives voice

³¹ Mohajan, Haradhan. (2018). "*Qualitative Research Methodology in Social Sciences and Related Subjects.*" Journal of Economic Development, Environment and People, Vol-7, Issue 01, 2018, p.2

³² Guest, Greg, Namey, Emily E., and Mitchell, Marilyn L. (2012). "*Collecting Qualitative Data: A Field Manual for Applied Research.*" Sage Publications, p.4

³³ Agius, Steven. (2013). "*Qualitative Research: Its Value and Applicability.*" The Psychiatrist, 37(6), p.204-206

to the lived experience while at the same time allowing the researcher to gain a deeper understanding of the unique experiences of individuals³⁴.

1.6.2 Method of Data Collection

The research employed both primary and secondary sources of data. Different data collection tools were used in the process. Primary data was collected through in-depth interviews with key informants. For secondary data books, articles, publications, and studies were used and duly acknowledged.

In-depth interviews

In-depth interviews were very pertinent in understanding the experiences of returnee migrants and gain a better insight into the workings of smugglers of migrants and the process as a whole³⁵. The interview followed the semi-structured guidelines. For this study, stories are collected from returnee migrants' experiences using a narrative approach³⁶. In-depth interviews were conducted with twelve (12) returnee migrants of which ten (10) were male and two (2) were female.

The interviewees' ages range from 20 years old to 35 years old. Only one respondent has a university degree, while the rest are high school dropouts. Three respondents are married with kids while nine of them are single. Of the 12 interviewed 10 are returnees from Saudi Arabia while 2 are returnees from Libya.

Focus Group Discussion

A focus group discussion was held with five (5) returnee migrants all of whom were male. Their ages range from 25 years old to 32 years old. Two are married while the rest are single. The interviewees consisted of 3 returnees from Saudi Arabia and 2 returnees from Libya. All of the interviewees had completed secondary school but pursued no further education.

Key informant interviews

Interviews were held with relevant government agencies whose mandate involves working directly with the youth to understand what the local government is doing to

³⁴ Roberts, Elysa. (2017). *"The Value of Qualitative Research."* The University of New Castle Australia.

³⁵ Triulzi, A and McKenzie, R (ed.). (2013). *"Long Journeys. African Migrants on the Road."* Leiden; Brill.

³⁶ Creswell, John W. (2014). *"Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed Method Approaches."* SAGE Publications Ltd, Fourth Edition, p.32

tackle this issue. The government agencies consulted for this study include Shire Endasilasse city's Youth and Sports Affairs Office, Labor and Social Affairs Office, and Tigray Region's North-Western Zonal Social Affairs. One employee from each office was interviewed. In addition, two employees at the International Committee of the Red Cross, Shire Endasilasse office, were interviewed to gain a perspective into non-governmental organizations working with (returnee) migrants in Shire Endasilasse.

1.6.3 Sampling Technique

For this study, two sampling techniques were used. Purposive sampling was used in the identification of key informant institutions and persons such as relevant governmental as well as non-governmental organizations. Purposive sampling is an approach in which specific persons or settings are selected to provide information that cannot otherwise be obtained from other sources³⁷. In this sampling technique, the researcher determines who will provide the best information to accomplish the objectives of the study³⁸.

On the other hand, snowball sampling was employed to identify returnee migrants for in-depth interviews. Snowball sampling is a design process that is usually done using networks when an individual or a group directs the researcher to another group³⁹. This sampling technique was selected because snowball sampling uses a few cases to help encourage other cases to participate and is mostly used to access individuals that are otherwise difficult to get in touch with⁴⁰. Returnee migrants fall into this category as most of them feel like outcasts in society and prefer not to be publicly identified as such. Therefore, to gain access and get in touch with returnee migrants, snowball sampling proved to be the most useful sampling technique.

1.7 Ethical Consideration

Research consists of collecting data about people from people. It is thus important for researchers to protect their participants and develop a trusting relationship with them,

³⁷ Taherdoost, Hamed. (2016). "*Sampling Methods in Research Methodology; How to Choose a Sampling Technique for Research.*" International Journal of Academic Research in Management (IJARM) Vol. 5, No. 2, p.23

³⁸ Etikan, Ilker, Bala, Kabiru, (2017). "*Sampling and Sampling Methods.*" Biometrics and Biostatistics International Journal, Volume 5 Issue 6, p. 215

³⁹ Ibid., 216

⁴⁰ Taherdoost, Hamed. (2016). "*Sampling Methods in Research Methodology; How to Choose a Sampling Technique for Research.*" International Journal of Academic Research in Management (IJARM) Vol. 5, No. 2, p.22

refrain from misconduct, and cope with new challenges. Ethical questions such as authenticity, privacy, confidentiality, credibility, and deception often arise during research and should be given due consideration. Therefore, ethical issues need to be given proper attention at the beginning of a study, during data collection and data analysis, and in reporting and dissemination of the data⁴¹.

Moreover, ensuring individuals feel safe and are not deceived about the purposes of the study is an integral part of the ethical consideration of research. Ethical research facilitates a collaborative and respectful discussion to ensue between the researcher and the participants. Effective and ethical research is a way to bring to the public the experiences of participants in ways that result in transformative changes⁴².

Since this study employs interviews with vulnerable individuals, it entails particular ethical considerations and demands sensitivity and accuracy. In this type of study, ethical concerns of justice, fairness, and moral actions go beyond sets of rules and guidelines⁴³. All research participants must voluntarily consent to participate after having been informed of the potential risks and benefits of their participation. They must also be able to withdraw from participation at any given time⁴⁴. Moreover, gaining an understanding of the migratory context and the institutional context in which participants move are very important in ensuring ethically sound research⁴⁵. Last but not least, as a way of protecting the informants, pseudonyms are used in this study.

1.8 Scope and Limitation of the Study

This research focuses solely on Shire city of Tigray region and does not include data from other cities in the region or outside the region. The focus is on those sections of the population who had undertaken illegal immigration out of Shire and gone to either Saudi

⁴¹ Creswell, John W. (2014). *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed Method Approaches*. SAGE Publications Ltd, Fourth Edition, p.132

⁴² Cacciattolo, Marcelle. (2015). *Ethical Considerations in Research*. In: Vicars M., Steinberg S., McKenna T., Cacciattolo M. (eds) *The Praxis of English Language Teaching and Learning (PELT)*. Critical New Literacies (The Praxis of English Language Teaching and Learning (Pelt)). SensePublishers, Rotterdam, p. 71

⁴³ Van Liempt, I., Bilger V. (2018). *Methodological and Ethical Dilemmas in Research Among Smuggled Migrants*. *Qualitative Research in European Migration Studies*. IMISCOE Research Series, p.269-283

⁴⁴ Clark-Kazak, Christina. *Ethical Considerations: Research with People in Situations of Forced Migration*. Canadian Council for Refugees, Vol. 33 No.2, p.12

⁴⁵ Van Liempt, Ilse. (2012). *Ethical challenges in research with vulnerable migrants*. *Handbook of Research Methods in Migration*, p. 464

Arabia or Libya. The research also intends to include interviews with the local authority as well as non-governmental organizations operating in the area.

The study is inhibited by the difficulty of getting in touch with potential migrants as well as the smugglers themselves. Since the smuggling of migrants is an illegal underground operation carried mostly out of sight, it had proved quite difficult to get in touch with the smugglers themselves and get them to reveal their method and operational systems. Potential migrants who are planning to take illegal migration were also not forthcoming for fear of getting apprehended. Moreover, the method used to get in touch with returnee migrants was snowball sampling which took a considerable amount of time in finding people willing to be interviewed.

1.9 Organization of the thesis

This thesis is structured into five chapters. This first chapter outlines the introduction and discusses the background, statement of the problem, objectives of the study, research questions, scope and limitations, methodology, and significance of the study. The second chapter gives an overview of the literature on the subject matter and is divided into a conceptual framework, theoretical framework, normative framework, and a brief overview of the literature on the main sub-themes of the thesis. The third chapter discusses the results of the empirical research carried out and focuses on factors accounting for migration, migratory routes, and cost of the journey and method of payment. The fourth chapter further analyzes the outcomes of the empirical research and discusses the network of smugglers, protection risks, and measures taken by different stakeholders to tackle out-migration in the area. The fifth and final chapter summarizes the important arguments from the study and puts forth recommendations for policy and law.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1 Conceptual Framework

A conceptual framework is a structure that explains the natural progression of the phenomenon to be studied, in this case, the smuggling of migrants. The conceptual framework presents a combined way of looking at a problem under study and describes the relationship between the main concepts of a study. It is an arrangement of a logical constitution to provide a picture of how ideas in a study relate to one another. This framework helps to specify and define the concepts within the problem of the study⁴⁶.

The concept of migratory process sums up the complex sets of factors and intentions which lead to international migration and influence its course. Migration is a process that affects every dimension of social existence and which develops its own complex dynamics. Much more often migration and settlement are a long, drawn-out process that will be played out for the rest of the migrant's life and affect subsequent generations⁴⁷.

The IOM defines migration as “the movement of persons away from their place of usual residence, either across an international border or within a State”⁴⁸ and a migrant as “...a person who moves away from his or her place of usual residence, whether within a country or across an international border, temporarily or permanently...”⁴⁹ This study uses these definitions when using those terms throughout the text.

In this section, the common concepts used in the study of migration such as economic migrants, asylum seekers, refugees, internally displaced persons (IDPs), smuggling of migrants vs. trafficking in persons, and legal vs. illegal migration are defined. International migration is hardly a simple individual action in which a person decides to move in search of better life-chances, pulls up his or her roots in the place of origin, and quickly becomes assimilated in the new country. It is an intricate process with many players which this section aims to provide a conceptual definition of.

⁴⁶ Adom, Dickson, Hussein, Emad and Joe, Adu--Agyem. (2018). “*Theoretical and Conceptual Framework: Mandatory Ingredients of a Quality Research.*” International Journal of Scientific Research, p.439

⁴⁷ Castles, Stephen and Miller, Mark J. (2009). “*The Age of Migration.*” London: Palgrave Macmillan, p.20-21

⁴⁸ International Organization for Migration. (2019). “*Glossary on Migration*”, p.137

⁴⁹ Ibid.,132

2.1.1 Economic Migrants vs. Labor Migrants

The International Labor Organization (ILO) defines a migrant worker as a person “who migrates from one country to another (or who has migrated from one country to another) intending to be employed other than on his own account, and includes any person regularly admitted as a migrant for employment”⁵⁰.

The International Organization for Migration (IOM) makes a distinction between economic migrants and labor migrants. IOM defines labor migrants as those who move for the purpose of employment,⁵¹ while the Encyclopaedia Britannica adds that labor migrants are unskilled workers who move from one country to another offering their services on a temporary or seasonal basis⁵². On the other hand, according to the IOM, economic migrants consist of a broader category that includes people entering another state to perform economic activities (such as investors, business travelers, project-tied workers) but can also sometimes be understood in the same sense as labor migrants⁵³.

When we talk about migrants, particularly in this case, we are referring to economic migrants who have left their countries, whether lawfully or unlawfully, to seek better lives in another country. They are mostly motivated by better economic opportunities. The IOM defines an economic migrant as “a person leaving his/her habitual place of residence to settle outside his/her country of origin to improve his/her quality of life. This term may be used to distinguish from refugees fleeing persecution and is also used to refer to persons attempting to enter a country without legal permission”⁵⁴. Therefore, in this study, the term economic migrant is used to refer to those migrants who choose to leave their homes in search of better economic opportunities elsewhere.

⁵⁰ International Labour Organization. (2015). “*ILO background note: the contribution of labour migration to improved development outcomes - Mainstreaming of migration in development policy and integrating migration in the post-2015 UN Development Agenda.*” ILO Migration and Development.

⁵¹ Simon J, Kiss N, Łaszewska A, et al. (2015). “*Public Health Aspects of Migrant Health: A Review of the Evidence on Health Status for Labour Migrants in the European Region.*” WHO Regional Office for Europe. (Health Evidence Network Synthesis Report, No. 43.) Annex 2, Definitions of Labor Migrants.

⁵² [Encyclopaedia Britannica](http://www.britannica.com/topic/migrant-labour). (2015). “*Migrant Labour.*” London: Encyclopaedia Britannica, <http://www.britannica.com/topic/migrant-labour>.

⁵³ Simon J, Kiss N, Łaszewska A, et al. (2015). “*Public Health Aspects of Migrant Health: A Review of the Evidence on Health Status for Labour Migrants in the European Region.*” WHO Regional Office for Europe. (Health Evidence Network Synthesis Report, No. 43.) Annex 2, Definitions of Labor Migrants.

⁵⁴ International Organization for Migration. (2004). “*Glossary on Migration.*” International Migration Law, p.21

2.1.2 Asylum Seekers, Refugees, Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) and Other Populations of Concern

There are related concepts that are sometimes confused with the term migrants. One of these concepts is Asylum Seeker. An asylum seeker is a person who has claimed asylum based on a well-founded fear of persecution because of his race, religion, nationality, or political belief. That person remains an asylum seeker for as long as his application is pending. On the other hand, a refugee is an asylum seeker whose application has been accepted. The definition of a refugee also includes people who are forced to flee because of civil war or natural disaster who could be entitled to humanitarian protection⁵⁵.

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) makes a distinction between refugees, asylum seekers, internally displaced persons (IDPs), and other populations of concern. Accordingly, UNHCR defines refugees as those recognized under the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees, its 1967 Protocol; the 1969 OAU Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa; and also includes those recognized under the UNHCR Statute, individuals who have been granted complementary forms of protection or temporary protection, and since 2007 also includes those who are in a refugee-like situation. On the other hand, asylum-seekers are those individuals who have applied for the status of refugees and are waiting for the outcome of their application. Alternatively, internally displaced persons (IDPs) are forced to leave their homes to avoid armed conflicts, violence, violations of human rights, or natural or man-made disasters but have not crossed an international border. Since 2007 UNHCR also identifies people in an IDP-like situation. On the other hand, returned refugees are former refugees who have returned to their country of origin in conditions of safety and dignity but are not yet fully integrated, while returned IDPs are individuals who were beneficiaries of UNHCR but who have now returned to their country of origin during the year. The UNHCR also identifies another group of people, stateless persons, as those who do not possess the nationality of any State. Finally, the term “others of concern” refers to individuals who do not directly fall into any of the

⁵⁵ Migration Watch UK. “*The distinction between asylum seekers and refugees.*” Immigration System, Asylum and Policy: MW 70, p.1-2

groups above, but who still enjoy UNHCR's protection and assistance based on humanitarian and other grounds⁵⁶.

The United Nations Population Division defines another sub-group, irregular migrants (or undocumented migrants), as individuals who enter a country in search of employment without the required documents or permits, or who overstay the authorized length of stay in the country⁵⁷.

In this study, the concepts of asylum seekers, refugees, IDPs, and irregular migrants are used according to the definition set above by the UNHCR.

2.1.3 Smuggling of Migrants vs. Trafficking in Persons

The smuggling of migrants and trafficking in persons are usually used interchangeably even though they are two distinct concepts and two distinct crimes under international law. According to Article 3 of the Protocol against the Smuggling of Migrants by Land, Sea and Air, smuggling of migrants means "the procurement, to obtain, directly or indirectly, a financial or other material benefits, of the illegal entry of a person into a State Party of which the person is not a national or permanent resident." Article 3(b) of the same protocol defines illegal entry as crossing borders without complying with the necessary requirements for legal entry into the receiving State⁵⁸. Smuggling of migrants is usually a central part of illegal migration which results from the discrepancy between the need to migrate and the lack of (legal) opportunities for migration. Illegal migration can take three forms; an illegal crossing of a border, crossing of a border using falsified documents and staying after expiration of legal status⁵⁹.

On the other hand, article 3(a) of the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons Especially Women and Children, supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime defines trafficking in persons as:

⁵⁶ UNHCR. "The UN Refugee Agency Population Statistics." UNHCR's populations of concern. <http://popstats.unhcr.org/en/overview>

⁵⁷ Zimmerman, Cathy, Kiss, Ligia and Hossain, Mazed. (2011). "Migration and health: a framework for 21st century policy-making." PLOS Medicine.

⁵⁸ United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner. (2000). "Protocol against the Smuggling of Migrants by Land, Sea and Air, supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime." General Assembly resolution 55/25

⁵⁹ Heckmann, Friedrich. (2007). "Towards a better understanding of human smuggling." (IMISCOE Policy Brief, 5). Bamberg: europäisches forum für migrationsstudien (efms) Institut an der Universität Bamberg, p.3

“the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. 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”⁶⁰

The above protocol’s main elements for trafficking in persons are the occurrence of exploitation and coercion. Border crossing is not a necessary ingredient as trafficking in persons can happen within the borders of a state. The protocol defines coercion as not only the presence of physical force or psychological dominance, but also includes the abuse of a position of vulnerability which can include a range of situations such as poverty, hunger, illness, lack of education, and displacement. On the other hand, the protocol’s definition of exploitative actions includes prostitution and other forms of sexual exploitation as well as non-sexual labor relationships such as bonded labor and child labor. However, the distinction between the smuggling of migrants and trafficking in persons is rarely as clear in practice. The wide spectrum between smuggling and trafficking consists of different levels of coercion and exploitation that it usually defies any clear categorization. Most smuggled migrants start their journey with consent to an initial proposition; however, circumstances usually change en route or on arrival in the destination country. States often choose to look at the point of departure to identify a migrant’s decision to take the journey⁶¹.

The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNDOC) identifies three major differences between the smuggling of migrants and trafficking in persons. The first difference is the source of profit, in which smugglers receive their profit through facilitating illegal entry after which the relationship between the smuggler and the

⁶⁰ United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner. (2000). “*Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons Especially Women and Children, supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime, article 3(a)*.” General Assembly resolution 55/25

⁶¹ Bhabha, Jacqueline. (2005). “*Trafficking, Smuggling, and Human Rights*.” Migration Information Source: Free Thought, Authoritative Data, Global Research, p.3-5

migrant seizures. In contrast, traffickers gain their profit from the exploitation of persons whose relationship extends well beyond the entry time. The second major difference between smuggling and trafficking is the transnational aspect by which the smuggling of migrants has a transnational dimension involving at least two countries and its objective is always to facilitate illegal entry or stay. Trafficking in persons, on the other hand, may not always involve the illegal entry or stay of a person and can even occur within the home country of the victim. The third difference is victimization which states the smuggling of migrants does not necessarily involve the victimization of the migrant and is often carried out with the consent of the migrant. However, trafficking in persons is a crime against a person in which victims are coerced, forced, or deceived⁶².

It should also be noted that not all smuggled migrants become victims of trafficking even though they are vulnerable to falling victims to trafficking. The smuggled migrant usually seeks the assistance of the smuggler for illegally sneaking out of the country in exchange for payment. Nevertheless, along the journey, the migrant might be forced to pay an additional payment to cover transportation costs and thus get forced to pay off the debt through debt bondage, extortion, or use of force. Smuggling networks are increasingly becoming more organized and profits from smuggling and trafficking have been reported to be used to finance transnational organized crimes and terrorist networks⁶³.

2.1.4 Legal vs. Illegal Migration

The International Organization for Migration (IOM) defines irregular migration as illegal entry into a country, overstaying or engaging in unauthorized work⁶⁴. Furthermore, the concepts of emigration and immigration are sometimes used interchangeably even though they are quite different. Emigration is “From the perspective of the country of departure, the act of moving from one’s country of nationality or usual residence to another country...”⁶⁵ On the other hand; immigration is defined as “From the

⁶² United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime. (2011). “*Smuggling of Migrants: A Global Review and Annotated Bibliography of Recent Publications*”, p.6

⁶³ International Organization for Migration. (2015). “*Human Trafficking and Smuggling of Migrants in the Context of Mixed Migration Flows: State of play in the IGAD Region.*” Sixth IGAD Regional Consultative Process on Migration, p.4-5

⁶⁴ United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime. (2011). “*Smuggling of Migrants: A Global Review and Annotated Bibliography of Recent Publications*,” p.5

⁶⁵ International Organization for Migration. (2004). “*Glossary on Migration.*” International Migration Law, p.62

perspective of the country of arrival, the act of moving into a country other than one's country of nationality or usual residence..."⁶⁶ Emigration is a right internationally recognized as stipulated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, while immigration is not⁶⁷.

According to the European Parliament and Council, "illegal stay means the presence on the territory of a Member State, of a third-country national who does not fulfill, or no longer fulfills the conditions of entry as set out in Article 5 of the Schengen Borders Code or other conditions for entry, stay or a resident in that member state"⁶⁸.

The International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of their families, article 5 sub-paragraph (a) defines regular migrants as those who are "...authorized to enter, to stay and to engage in a remunerated activity in the State of employment pursuant to the laws of that State..." On the other hand, article 5 subparagraph (b) of the same convention defines irregular migrants as those "...that do not comply with the conditions provided (above)..."⁶⁹ Similarly, the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons defines illegal entry as "...crossing borders without complying with the necessary requirements for legal entry into the receiving State"⁷⁰.

This study uses the term legal migration to refer to migrants who obtain entry into a country through legal means while illegal migration is used for migrants who are either smuggled or trafficked into a country, who enter a country through legally obtained visa but overstay their duration and all those who use means of entry that break national or international laws.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 103

⁶⁷ United Nations Statistical Commission and Statistical Office of the United Nations Economic . Commission for Europe. "Is the measurement of international migration flows improving in Europe?" Conference of European Statisticians, p.3

⁶⁸ European Parliament and Council. (2008). "Directive 2008/115/EC on common standards and procedures in Member States for returning illegally staying third-country nationals." European Database of Asylum Law

⁶⁹ United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner. (1990). "International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families." General Assembly Resolution 45/158

⁷⁰ United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner. (2000). *Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons Especially Women and Children, supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime*. General Assembly resolution 55/25

2.2 Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework is based on existing theories in a certain field and serves as a foundation on which research is constructed. The theoretical framework consists of theories about aspects of human endeavor that can be used for the study of events. It consists of theoretical principles, constructs, and theoretical concepts. This framework also helps researchers in providing and contextualizing formal theories into their studies⁷¹.

The theoretical framework of this section focuses on the most widely-known theories of migration. These include economic theories of migration such as the neoclassical (Push-Pull) theory, the new economics theory, the dual/segmented labor market theory, the historical-structural approach, and migration systems theory. Studying these theories will help us gain a better understanding of the objectives stated in chapter one.

International migration is hardly a simple individual action in which a person decides to move in search of better life-chances, pulls up his or her roots in the place of origin, and quickly becomes assimilated in the new country. Much more often migration and settlement are a long-drawn-out process that will be played out for the rest of the migrant's life and affect subsequent generations.

2.2.1 The Neoclassical (Push-Pull) Theory

The Neoclassical theory remains the dominant standard in economics and has had an important role in migration studies. The neoclassical perspective has its antecedents in the earliest systematic theory on migration, the statistical laws of migration, formulated by Ravenstein⁷². These were general statements not connected with any actual migratory movement. Such theories emphasize the tendencies of people to move from densely to sparsely populated areas or from low to high-income areas, or link migration to fluctuations in the business cycle. These approaches are often known as 'push-pull' theories because they perceive the causes of migration to lie in a combination of 'push factors' forcing people to leave their areas of origin, and 'pull factors', attracting them to

⁷¹ Adom, Dickson, Hussein, Emad and Joe, Adu--Agyem. (2018). *"Theoretical and Conceptual Framework: Mandatory Ingredients of a Quality Research."* International Journal of Scientific Research, Volume 7 Issue 1, p.438

⁷² Castles, Stephen and Miller, Mark J. (2009). *"The Age of Migration."* London: Palgrave Macmillan, p.22

certain receiving countries. The push factors outline poor access to social services, the prevalence of poverty, lack of parental support, poor living conditions, peer and family pressures, political and social violence, discrimination against women, and early marriage⁷³. This theory also emphasizes the individual decision to migrate, based on a rational comparison of the relative costs and benefits of remaining at home or moving⁷⁴.

However, studies of specific migration experiences cast doubt on the neoclassical theory. More frequently, migrants are people of intermediate social status from areas which are undergoing economic and social change, rather than the poorest people from the least developed countries⁷⁵. At the same time, the push-pull model predicts movements from densely populated areas to more sparsely populated areas, yet countries of immigration are among the world's more densely populated. In addition, the push-pull model cannot explain why a certain group of migrants goes to one country rather than another⁷⁶. Other critics of this theory include exclusion of politics and policies, ignorance of market imperfections, and homogenization of migrants and societies⁷⁷. Therefore, neoclassical migration theories have been criticized as incapable of explaining actual movements or even predicting future ones⁷⁸.

Even though criticized by other scholars and subsequent theories, neoclassical theory's push-pull factor provides its own explanation for factors of migration, which is one of the objectives of this study. Additionally, this theory's emphasis on the individuals' decision to migrate helps shed light on another objective of the study, the decision-making process.

2.2.2 The New Economics Theory

Alternatively, the new economics of labor migration that emerged in the 1980s explains migration decisions are not made by isolated individuals, but by families, households, or

⁷³ Assefa Admassie, Seid Nuru and Tadele Ferede. (2017). "*Migration and Forced Labour: An Analysis on Ethiopian Workers.*" ILO Country Office for Ethiopia, Djibouti, Somalia, Sudan and South Sudan, p.19

⁷⁴ Ibid., 22-23

⁷⁵ Castles, Stephen and Miller, Mark J. (2009). "*The Age of Migration.*" London: Palgrave Macmillan, p.23

⁷⁶ Ibid., 23

⁷⁷ Kurekova, Lucia. (2009). "*Theories of Migration: Critical Review in the Context of the EU East-West Flows.*" Cooperation project on the social integration of immigrants, migration, and the movement of persons, p.7

⁷⁸ Castles, Stephen and Miller, Mark J. (2009). "*The Age of Migration.*" London: Palgrave Macmillan, p.23

even communities. Such groups may decide that one or more of their members should migrate, not just to get higher wages, but also to diversify income sources and to provide resources for investment in existing activities⁷⁹.

Migration cannot be simply explained only by income differences between two countries, factors such as the chances of secure employment, availability of investment capital, and the need to manage risk over long periods need to be considered. The unit of analysis for the new economics of labor migration is therefore not the individual but the social group⁸⁰.

This theory further emphasizes the importance of relative deprivation as a determinant of migration and migration as a strategy to diversify risk and overcome market incompleteness⁸¹. The emphasis on relative deprivation as a determinant of migration is based on the hypothesis that potential migrants carry out income comparisons with other people within their social settings. Therefore, it is this comparison that constitutes the important element in the decision-making process. Besides, migration by one or more members of the household gives the rest of the household a sense of self-insurance against future income risk. Therefore, a greater tendency to migrate is expected from those areas where there are greater market incompleteness and lesser availability of self-insurance methods⁸².

These different economic approaches lead to equally varied ideas for migration policy. Neoclassical economists sometimes advocate ‘open borders’ and ‘freedom of migration’, believing that this will in the long run lead to a global equalization of wage levels. However, wage levels might fall to levels as low as those in the poorest countries of origin, causing social turmoil in more developed countries⁸³. The new economics approach is similar to neoclassical theory in that it focuses on the supply side of migration, which is the factor that forces people to cross borders in search of work. However, neoclassical theory concentrates on individual wage maximization, while the new economics focuses on collective decisions concerned with a much wider range of

⁷⁹ Ibid., 24

⁸⁰ Ibid., 24

⁸¹ Aberu, Alexandre. (2010). “*The New Economics of Labor Migration: Beware of Neoclassicals Bearing Gifts.*” Association for Social Economics, p.8

⁸² Ibid., 8

⁸³ Castles, Stephen and Miller, Mark J. (2009). “*The Age of Migration.*” London: Palgrave Macmillan, p.24

factors. Policies concerned simply with controlling entry are unlikely to succeed, but governments could influence migration decisions by policies that help shape insurance and credit markets as well as investment opportunities in countries of origin⁸⁴.

The new economics theory puts forth an additional set of factors for migration, such as secure employment, investment capital, and to overcome market incompleteness, which is the first objective of the study. The new economics theory also negates neoclassical theory's emphasis on the individual and instead stresses the role of families in the decision-making process, thereby addressing the second objective of the study.

2.2.3 Dual/Segmented Labor Market Theory

It is important to introduce different factors in economic research. One way of doing this is dual or segmented labor market theory. This theory shows the importance of institutional factors as well as race and gender in bringing about labor market segmentation⁸⁵. International migration is caused by structural demand within advanced economies for both highly skilled workers and lower-skilled manual workers to carry out production tasks and to staff enterprises. A division into primary and secondary labor emerges and the workers in the primary labor market are selected based on human capital, but also through membership of the majority ethnic group, male gender, and regular migrant status. On the other hand, those in the secondary labor market are disadvantaged by lack of education and vocational training and gender, race, minority status, and irregular legal status. Segmented labor market theory helps explain the important role of employers and governments in international migration and the persistence of migration even when international wage differentials decline⁸⁶.

The segmented labor market theory focuses on the demand-side, emphasizing that migration is driven by structural factors in modern capitalist economies. Strong employer demand for low-skilled labor that is easy to control, and exploit is likely to undermine border restriction policies, creating a black market for migrant labor and opportunities for smugglers and recruitment agents. Governments could counteract undocumented migration only through measures to fundamentally change labor markets and to remove

⁸⁴ Ibid., 25

⁸⁵ Ibid., 23-24

⁸⁶ Ibid., 24

incentives for employing such workers⁸⁷. A number of criticisms have been forwarded towards this theory including the exclusion of push factors, inability to account for differential migration rates in various advanced economies with similar economic structures, and instability in empirical estimates due to the distinction between primary and secondary sectors⁸⁸.

The dual/segmented labor market theory also addresses the objective of understanding factors for migration which it suggests is caused by structural demand from developed economies for skilled workers. Moreover, according to this theory, demand for low-skilled labor that is easy to control and exploit paves the way for a black market for migrant labor and opportunities for smugglers. This exploitation of migrants can be linked to the third objective of the study, which aims to understand the various forms of protection risks faced by migrants.

2.2.4 Historical Structural Approach

In addition to the economic theories of migration, an alternative explanation of international migration was provided called the historical institutional approach. In the context of an unequal distribution of economic and political power in the world economy, migration was seen mainly as a way of mobilizing cheap labor for capital. It caused uneven development exploiting the resources of poor countries to make the rich even richer. Historical-structural accounts look at mass recruitment of labor which was both a legacy of colonialism and the result of war and regional inequalities. It focuses on the way less developed regions were incorporated into a world economy controlled by core capitalist nations. Dependency and world-systems theory was at first mainly concerned with internal migration but from the mid-1970s world-systems theorists began to analyze international labor migration as one of the ways in which relations of domination were created between the core economics of capitalism and its underdeveloped periphery⁸⁹.

There are different theoretical propositions in the historical-structural approach that emphasize different aspects of migration. One distinction is between those theories that

⁸⁷ Ibid., 25

⁸⁸ Kurekova, Lucia. (2009). *“Theories of Migration: Critical Review in the Context of the EU East-West Flows.”* Cooperation project on the social integration of immigrants, migration, and the movement of persons, p.7

⁸⁹ Ibid., 26

focus on migrant-attracting areas and those that focus on what takes place in migrant producing areas. The main argument of the theories that focus on migrant-attracting areas is that capitalist development in the advanced industrialized economies requires a constant inflow of workers, which creates a structural incentive for immigration to occur. On the other hand, those theories that focus on the migrant-producing areas have emphasized the fact that, rather than being a consequence of a lack of development, emigration from poorer areas is historically associated with the disruption brought about by development and the emergence of capitalist relations in those areas. For example, the sociologist Douglas Massey argues that the processes of capital accumulation and modernization that constitute capitalist development inevitably uproot large numbers of people from their traditional ways of life. Therefore, it is these people that constitute the source for the massive population movements that inevitably accompany development. Thus, the historical-structural approach dismisses the primary importance of individual migrant agency (as opposed to the neoclassical theory) and instead considers that migration as a social process is fundamentally governed by broader political-economic processes⁹⁰.

Nevertheless, historical-structure approaches were criticized by some migration scholars in the 1980s. If the logic of capital and the interests of Western states were so dominant, how could the frequent breakdown of migration policies be explained, such as the unplanned shift from labor migration to permanent settlement in certain countries? Both Neoclassical and historical-structural approaches seemed too one-sided to analyze adequately the great complexity of contemporary migrations⁹¹. The neo-classical approach neglected historical causes of movements, and downplayed the role of the state, while the historical-functional approach emphasized economic and social structure while downplaying the motivations and actions of the individuals and groups⁹².

The historical structural approach proposes various theories for the causes of migration. From the point of view of receiving countries, advanced economies require the inflow of workers, while from the point of view of sending countries, interruption in the market caused by economic development causes people to emigrate. These address the objective

⁹⁰ Aberu, Alexandre. (2010). *"The New Economics of Labor Migration: Beware of Neoclassicals Bearing Gifts."* Association for Social Economics, p.8

⁹¹ Castles, Stephen and Miller, Mark J. (2009). *"The Age of Migration."* London: Palgrave Macmillan, p.27

⁹² Ibid., 27

of understanding the factors of migration. On the other hand, the historical structural approach considers migration as a result of the political-economic process, highlighting that the decision-making process rests beyond the individual agency.

2.2.5 Migration Systems Theory

Out of such critiques emerged a few new approaches. One of them is migration systems theory suggesting that migratory movements generally arise from the existence of prior links between sending and receiving countries based on colonization, political influence, trade, investment, or cultural ties. The basic principle of the migration systems approach is that any migratory movement is the result of interacting macro and microstructures. Macro structures are large-scale institutional factors, while microstructures refer to the networks, practices, and beliefs of the migrants themselves. Another new approach is the migration networks theory which originates in Sociology and Anthropology. The family is important in migration networks as family linkages often provide the financial, cultural, and social capitals which make migration possible. Migration networks also facilitate processes of settlement and community formation in the immigration area. Migrant workers develop their own social and economic infrastructure. As the length of stay increases the original migrants begin to bring in their spouses and children. Once the children start going to school in the new country, learn the language, and form relationships, it becomes more and more difficult for the parents to leave⁹³.

The migration systems theory also takes a look at the push and pull factors, and who the migrants are, and what their reasons for migration are. The push factors discuss the conditions in the country of origin while the pull factors refer to the effects in the country of destination. Examination of migration issues mostly focuses on reverting the migration numbers or the unemployment rates, and the income difference between countries of origin and destination. In addition, the probability of employment in the destination country, the number of previous migrants, and the costs of migration are also used in several studies. Demographic factors are also used to explain who migrants are and why, while cultural ties and social network availability have also been known to play a role in migration decisions. Microeconomic approaches such as human capital, heterogeneity among individuals, unemployment rate and wage differentials, age, education, and availability of social networks answer the question of why. It is an

⁹³ Ibid., p.28-29

analysis that regards the household as a decision-making entity rather than the individual. The where the question, on the other hand, is answered by macroeconomic variables in relation to migratory flows⁹⁴.

According to the migration systems theory, prior political and economic links between sending and receiving countries play an important role in factors for migration and emphasizes the family's role in the decision-making process. These propositions help understand some of the objectives of the study such as factors for migration and the decision-making process.

2.3 Normative Framework

This section of normative framework gives an overview of the existing international, regional, and national legal instruments developed for the prevention of smuggling of migrants and trafficking in persons and protection of victims.

2.3.1 International Legal Instruments

International law has established a number of legal instruments to deal with the smuggling of migrants as well as trafficking in persons. One of those instruments is the Protocol against the Smuggling of Migrants by Land, Sea, and Air, supplementing the United Nations Convention against International Organized Crime (2000) ("Anti-Smuggling Protocol"). The purpose of this Protocol is to prevent and combat the smuggling of migrants, to promote cooperation among State Parties, and to protect the rights of smuggled migrants. This protocol defines human smuggling in Article 3(a) as "...the procurement, in order to obtain, directly or indirectly, a financial or other material benefit, of the illegal entry of a person into a State Party of which the person is not a national or a permanent resident." The protocol also requires State Parties to establish criminal liability for human smuggling and to adopt other measures to prevent it. Article 6 states, "Each State Party shall adopt such legislative and other measures as may be necessary to establish as criminal offences, when committed intentionally and in order to obtain, directly or indirectly, a financial or other material benefit." However, under this

⁹⁴ Otoi, Adrian, Titan, Emilia, and Dumitrescu, Remus. "Internal and International Migration. Is a Dichotomous Approach Justified?" *Procedia – Social and Behavioral Sciences*, Volume 109, p.1013

protocol, victims of human smuggling are not liable to criminal prosecution and are entitled to the protection and assistance measures⁹⁵.

Another international instrument is the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress, and Punish Trafficking in Persons Especially Women and Children, supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime (2000) (“Anti-Trafficking Protocol”). Article 2 of this Protocol states the purpose of the protocol is to prevent and combat trafficking, to protect and assist victims, and to promote international cooperation⁹⁶. On the other hand, although Article 3 provides a definition of human trafficking which does not require cross-border activities, Article 4 limits the application of the protocol to occurrences where human trafficking is transnational and involves organized crime. Moreover, the protocol requires states to establish criminal liability for human trafficking, to adopt preventive and cooperative measures to deter it, and to provide health and social services to victims⁹⁷. In addition, this Protocol includes in its definition “harboring of persons by means of threat or use of force” which migrants are often subjected to.

On the other hand, the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court (1998) (“Rome Statute”) establishes criminal liability for genocide, crimes against humanity, war crimes, and the crime of aggression and details offenses which constitute crimes against humanity including enslavement, forcible transfer, rape, sexual slavery and enforced prostitution, all of which are relevant in the context of human trafficking and smuggling⁹⁸. Moreover, article 7(2) defines enslavement as “the exercise of any or all of the powers attaching to the right of ownership over a person and includes the exercise of such power in the course of trafficking in persons.”⁹⁹

The Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery, the Slave Trade, and Institutions and Practices Similar to Slavery (1956) supplements the 1926 Slavery Convention and article 7(c) of this convention defines slave trade as “...all acts involved

⁹⁵ Protocol against the Smuggling of Migrants by Land, Sea, and Air, supplementing the United Nations Convention against International Organized Crime (adopted 15 November 2000, entered into force 28 January 2004)

⁹⁶ Protocol to Prevent, Suppress, and Punish Trafficking in Persons Especially Women and Children, supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime (adopted 15 November 2000, entered into force 25 December 2003)

⁹⁷ United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. (2008). *“Refugee Protection and Human Trafficking: Selected Legal Reference Materials.”* Protection Policy and Legal Advice Section, p.21

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p.39

⁹⁹ Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court (adopted 17 July 1998, entered into force 1 July 2002)

in the capture, acquisition or disposal of a person with intent to reduce him to slavery; all acts involved in the acquisition of a slave with a view to selling or exchanging him, all acts of disposal by sale or exchange of a person acquired with a view to being sold or exchanged...”¹⁰⁰ This term includes human trafficking when it results in conditions of slavery for the trafficked victim. In these instances, both this Convention and the Anti-Trafficking Protocol would apply together to prohibit the activity¹⁰¹. Migrants face the possibility of being sold into slavery during their journey which is banned in the Slavery Convention and its 1956 Supplementary Convention.

The Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (1984) bans all forms of torture, a term which is defined in Article 1 as, “any act by which severe pain or suffering, whether physical or mental, is intentionally inflicted on a person... punishing him for an act he... has committed or is suspected of having committed... for any reason based on discrimination of any kind, when such pain or suffering is inflicted by or at the instigation of or with the consent or acquiescence of a public official or other person acting in an official capacity.”¹⁰² According to the Convention, there are no exceptions or derogations permitted, even during war or emergency. The prohibition on the use of torture is generally understood to reflect and codify international customary law and is thus legally binding on States which have not ratified the Convention¹⁰³. Migrants often experience beatings, torture, and other forms of physical and mental suffering at the hands of smugglers which is banned under this Convention.

Another legal instrument is the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families (1990) which calls for the protection of both documented and undocumented migrant workers’ rights and their families regardless of their location or immigration status. The Convention defines migrant worker as a person who is engaged in a job in a State of which they are not a national; the Convention also stresses even undocumented migrants (including victims of

¹⁰⁰ Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery, the Slave Trade, and Institutions and Practices Similar to Slavery (adopted 7 September 1956, entered into force 30 April 1957)

¹⁰¹ United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. (2008). *“Refugee Protection and Human Trafficking: Selected Legal Reference Materials.”* Protection Policy and Legal Advice Section, p.44

¹⁰² Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (adopted 10 December 1984, entered into force 26 June 1987)

¹⁰³ United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. (2008). *“Refugee Protection and Human Trafficking: Selected Legal Reference Materials.”* Protection Policy and Legal Advice Section, p.76

trafficking) must have their fundamental rights respected¹⁰⁴. Most undocumented migrants in Saudi Arabia are subjected to cruel and degrading treatment which goes against this Convention. Article 16 also puts obligation on States to protect migrant workers against threats, intimidation violence and physical injury.

There are two pertinent international human rights instruments concerning the rights of women that can be used in the context of smuggled and trafficked women. The first one is the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (1979) which is dedicated to the elimination of all forms of discrimination and violence against women. While all of the provisions have relevance to female migrants and refugees, Article 6 puts specific requirements on states to address this issue, “State parties shall take all appropriate measures, including legislation, to suppress all forms of traffic in women and exploitation of prostitution of women.”¹⁰⁵

The other one is the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women (1993) which provides framework for the elimination of violence against women. The Declaration defines violence against women in Article 2 as, “physical, sexual and psychological violence occurring in within the general community, including rape, sexual abuse, sexual harassment and intimidation at work, in educational institutions and elsewhere, trafficking in women and forced prostitution.”

This section also examines international standards for the treatment of prisoners. The Body of Principles for the Protection of All Persons Under Any Form of Detention or Imprisonment (1988) sets out principles for the protection of all persons under any form of detention or imprisonment and specifies all persons under any form of detention or imprisonment shall be treated in a humane manner and with respect for the inherent dignity of the human person. Furthermore, those Principles clarify that arrest, detention and imprisonment should be carried out in accordance with the provisions of the law and by authorized persons¹⁰⁶. This Body of Principles defines detained person as “any person deprived of personal liberty except as a result of conviction for an offence.” However, most migrants are robbed of this chance when they are captured by authorities and

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., p.63

¹⁰⁵ Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (adopted 18 December 1979, entered into force 3 September 1981)

¹⁰⁶ Body of Principles for the Protection of All Persons Under Any Form of Detention or Imprisonment (adopted 09 December 1988)

thrown into prisons where they remain without a trial or conviction and are subjected to derogation of their human rights, dignity, and their value as human beings.

On the other hand, the United Nations Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners (the Nelson Mandela Rules) (2015) are a set of expanded rules to the ‘Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners’ that was adopted in 1955. The Nelson Mandela Rules provide States with guidelines on how to protect the rights of persons deprived of their liberty including pre-trial detainees as well as sentenced prisoners. These Rules oblige States to treat all prisoners with respect for their inherent dignity and to prohibit torture and other forms of ill-treatment. They also prohibit the reduction of a prisoners’ food or water and the use of chains or irons as instruments of restraint¹⁰⁷. However, migrants who are captured and kept in Saudi Arabian prisons are barely given enough food or water and suffer starvation and dehydration.

2.3.2 Regional Legal Instruments

Africa has also established regional instruments for the prevention of smuggling and trafficking and protection of victims. The African Charter on Human and Peoples’ Rights (1981) (“Banjul Charter”) does not explicitly prohibit trafficking in persons but most trafficking-related activities would be barred by its prohibition of the ‘slave trade.’ Article 5 states “Every individual shall have the right to the respect of the dignity inherent in a human being and to the recognition of his legal status. All forms of exploitation and degradation of man particularly slavery, slave trade, torture, cruel, inhuman or degrading punishment and treatment shall be prohibited.”¹⁰⁸

The Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples’ Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa (2003) requires State Parties to take appropriate measures to prevent trafficking in women and protect those most at risk. Article 4 prohibits all forms of exploitation, cruel, inhuman or degrading punishment and treatment while Article 4.2 (g) requires State Parties to “...take appropriate and effective measures to prevent and

¹⁰⁷ Gilmour, Andrew. (2015). “*The Nelson Mandela Rules: Protecting the Rights of Persons Deprived of Liberty.*” United Nations Chronicle.

¹⁰⁸ African Charter on Human and Peoples’ Rights (adopted 27 June 1981, entered into force 21 October 1986)

condemn trafficking in women, prosecute the perpetrators of such trafficking and protect those women most at risk.”¹⁰⁹

Conversely, the Ouagadougou Action Plan to Combat Trafficking in Human Beings, Especially Women and Children (2006) is part of an on-going process of cooperation between the European Union and African states on the issue of migration and covers anti-trafficking measures, committing states to activities ranging from awareness-raising to cooperation in the arrest and prosecution of perpetrators. However, as an Action Plan, the document does not hold binding legal obligations¹¹⁰.

2.3.3 National Legal Instruments

Ethiopia has ratified most of the key international treaties on human smuggling and human trafficking. These include the UN Anti-Smuggling Protocol (2000), the UN Anti-Trafficking Protocol (2000), UN Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others (1949), the Abolition of Forced Labor Convention (No. 105, 1997), and Convention No. 182 on the Worst forms of Child Labor¹¹¹.

National legal instruments have also been set up to prevent smuggling and trafficking activities and to provide protection to victims. The Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (1995) prohibits human trafficking and considers it a form of inhuman treatment. Article 18 of the Constitution prohibits inhuman treatment and sub-article 2 specifies, “No one shall be held in slavery or servitude. Trafficking in human beings for whatever purpose is prohibited.”¹¹²

Ethiopia’s Overseas Employment Proclamation (2016) focuses on the safety, rights, and dignity of Ethiopian migrant workers overseas. It also identifies three types of recruitment for overseas employment (public employment organs, agencies, and direct employment) and provides modifications to better manage the labor migration process

¹⁰⁹ Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples’ Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa (adopted 11 July 2003, entered into force 25 November 2005)

¹¹⁰ Ibid., p.362

¹¹¹ Zelalem Shiferaw Woldemichael. (2017). “*Criminalization and Prosecution of Human Trafficking in Ethiopia: Assessing the Legal Framework in Light of International Standards.*” BRICS Law Journal, p. 120

¹¹² Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (1995)

and ensure the protection of Ethiopian migrants working overseas¹¹³. This Proclamation was established with the aim to strengthen overseas employment and to establish bilateral agreements, to fight human trafficking and to clearly define and regulate the role of the private sector in overseas employment exchange service¹¹⁴.

Ethiopia had also previously adopted Proclamation 909/2015 which focuses on the prevention, protection, support, and rehabilitation of victims of human trafficking as well as criminalization and prosecution of perpetrators¹¹⁵. The Proclamation also regulates the conduct of criminals organized for trafficking and the smuggling of workers. It criminalizes sex trafficking and labor trafficking and imposed strict penalties for offenders. Four key aspects are outlined in the Proclamation; Criminalization and Prosecution, Prevention, Protection, Rehabilitation and Compensation, and Cooperation¹¹⁶. However, this proclamation was found to lack clarity, to be inconsistent with other laws, and did not provide adequate responses to the issue. This gap called for a new and comprehensive legal framework which resulted in the adoption of Proclamation 1178/2020¹¹⁷. The 2020 Proclamation mandated funding for the government's anti-trafficking activities and addressed organizational and coordination challenges between government agencies¹¹⁸.

2.4 Brief Overview of Existing Literature on Smuggling of migrants from Ethiopia and the Study Area

This section will present an overview of the relevant literature reviewers on the themes; trafficking of smuggled migrants, living conditions of smuggled migrants, the prevalence of forced labor, the profile of smuggled migrants, and gendered dynamics in migration patterns, smuggling routes, and criminal organizations and networks.

¹¹³ International Labor Organization. (2017). *"The Ethiopian Overseas Employment Proclamation No. 923/2016: A Comprehensive Analysis."* ILO Country Office for Ethiopia, Djibouti, Somalia, Sudan and South Sudan – Addis Ababa: ILO, p.2

¹¹⁴ Ibid., p.7

¹¹⁵ Prevention and Suppression of Trafficking in Persons and Smuggling of Persons Proclamation No. 909-2015

¹¹⁶ Zelalem Shiferaw Woldemichael. (2017). *"Criminalization and Prosecution of Human Trafficking in Ethiopia: Assessing the Legal Framework in Light of International Standards."* BRICS Law Journal, p. 123

¹¹⁷ Prevention and Suppression of Trafficking in Persons and Smuggling of Persons Proclamation No. 1178/2020

¹¹⁸ The U.S. Department of State. *"2020 Trafficking in Persons Report: Ethiopia."* Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons.

In 2012 the International Labor Organization (ILO) estimated that around 20.9 million people in the world were trafficked for labor and sexual exploitation. There has been a major increase in Sub-Saharan asylum applicants in Europe in recent years, as could be seen from the 970,000 Sub-Saharan asylum applicants between 2010 and 2017¹¹⁹. According to data from the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), there were 260 Ethiopian asylum seekers in Italy in 2017 alone¹²⁰.

Several young Ethiopians migrate to the Middle East and are subjected to exploitation in transit countries such as Djibouti, Egypt, Somalia, Sudan, or Kenya¹²¹. Many Ethiopians often migrate to the Middle East as domestic and manual workers and the number of young people who are deceived or forced into human trafficking to the Middle East, Sudan, and South Africa has been increasing. The routes migrants take to these countries are diverse and depend on personal circumstances subjecting migrants to abuse and exploitation¹²².

In addition, up to 1,500 Ethiopians are illegally smuggled out of the country daily through Djibouti, Egypt, Somalia, Sudan, and Kenya and become subject to detention, extortion, and abuse in these transit countries¹²³. Additionally, Ethiopian women working as domestic servants in the Middle East are subjected to physical and sexual abuse, denial of salary, sleep deprivation, withholding of passports, confinement, and sometimes even murder. On the other hand, Ethiopian men migrants are oftentimes subjected to forced labor in transit and destination countries¹²⁴.

Only a handful of Ethiopian migrants receive a signed contract from their employers before they start their journey¹²⁵. Moreover, most of the migrants often do not have prior information about the nature of the job that would await them and the job they find upon

¹¹⁹ PEW Research Center. (2018). "At least a Million Sub-Saharan Africans Moved to Europe since 2010." <https://www.pewresearch.org/global/2018/03/22/at-least-a-million-sub-saharan-africans-moved-to-europe-since-2010/>

¹²⁰ United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) Population Statistics Database. http://popstats.unhcr.org/en/time_series

¹²¹ Assefa Admassie, Seid Nuru and Tadele Ferede. (2017). "Migration and Forced Labour: An Analysis on Ethiopian Workers." ILO Country Office for Ethiopia, Djibouti, Somalia, Sudan and South Sudan, p. xvii

¹²² Assefa Admassie, Seid Nuru and Tadele Ferede. (2017). "Migration and Forced Labour: An Analysis on Ethiopian Workers." ILO Country Office for Ethiopia, Djibouti, Somalia, Sudan and South Sudan, p.19

¹²³ The United States Department of State. (2015). "Trafficking in Persons Report." U.S Department of State Publication, Office of the Under Secretary for Civilian Security, Democracy and Human Rights, p.155

¹²⁴ Ibid.,155

¹²⁵ Assefa Admassie, Seid Nuru and Tadele Ferede. (2017). "Migration and Forced Labour: An Analysis on Ethiopian Workers." ILO Country Office for Ethiopia, Djibouti, Somalia, Sudan and South Sudan, p.30

arrival ends up being worse than what they expected or what they were promised. Brokers also play a pertinent role in the choice of employers, especially for female migrants¹²⁶.

Unemployment is mentioned as the main reason for youth migration in Tigray region, followed by low income at the country of origin and a desire for a better paying job at the country of destination. Migrants obtain the money needed for the journey in several ways including loans from financial institutions, own savings, selling assets, and loans from families and relatives¹²⁷. Moreover, potential migrants gain access to information about migration and the place of destination from different sources. These include peers, friends, families, and relatives living at the place of origin, friends living abroad, returnee migrants, and smugglers, and traffickers. Migration in the region has been increasing from time to time and is sometimes considered as a fashion that needs to be followed¹²⁸. Even though some of the youth in the community have a high desire to migrate, the community is not eager to send family members to other countries and does not consider migration as a pride¹²⁹.

According to the testimonies of Ethiopian returnee migrants collected by the International Organization for Migration (IOM) in 2016, they had endured unimaginable pain and suffering at the hands of smugglers. Those migrants had originally paid to travel to Saudi Arabia through Yemen, however, when their boat docked in Yemen, they were met with and taken by kidnappers. The kidnappers subjected the migrants to various kinds of torture until a ransom was paid to release them. One returnee recounted,

“We saw kidnappers carving out the eyes of nine men with a knife. They melted plastic on the backs of some of them. We saw one young man who was beaten so badly that his arm and chest bones were broken...we watched in sadness as he was thrown out and eaten by dogs, alive. If you don't have the ransom

¹²⁶ Ibid., 31

¹²⁷ Kinfe Abraha (Dr.), Aradom Gebrekidan (Dr.), Shishay Tadesse, Kibrom Fekadu, Kefyalew Kinfemichael, Atakilty Gebre-Eyesus. (2017). “*Comparative Study of Culture of Migration among Communities with Strong Culture of Migration and Less Migration Prone Communities of Tigray, Ethiopia*” Institute of Population Studies, Mekelle University in Collaboration with the ZOA RELIEF/HOPE/RECOVERY – Shire Program Office, p.20-21

¹²⁸ Ibid., 25-29

¹²⁹ Ibid., 30-33

demanded, you lose your life. We saw many women who were raped.”¹³⁰

On another account from returnees that had left Somalia to travel to Yemen in early 2016, most of the migrants on boat drowned at sea due to the boat capsizing. The boat was unable to make the 10-hour journey to Yemen and it drifted at sea for a week before capsizing off the coast of Somaliland¹³¹.

Additionally, socially marginalized, economically deprived and poverty-stricken people from Tigray usually fall victim to human trafficking byways of deception and coercion¹³². Such individuals search for an opportunity that they believe would change theirs and their families’ lives. A study conducted on irregular migration in the Eastern Zone of Tigray listed poverty, unemployment, income inequality, population density with limited agricultural land, social network, smugglers, and social and family pressure among the reasons for out-migration in the area. Whereas the pull factors include better job opportunities, perceived better life, social network, and smugglers at the destination country¹³³.

Migrants’ desire of getting rich in a short period of time, lack of adequate information about the true nature of irregular migration, less attention to youth-oriented interventions, and traffickers’ deception contribute to the driving force of migration in the region¹³⁴. Thus, data and information on how trafficking crimes are committed, the roles of local traffickers in the wider trafficking network, their relationship to victims and other criminals, and an understanding of trafficking procedures are essential to identify and prosecute traffickers¹³⁵.

Most migrants around the world are young people with varying social and educational backgrounds¹³⁶. Some smuggled migrants are the poorest of the poor in their countries with low job skills. On the other hand, some of migrants are relatively well-off who

¹³⁰ International Organization for Migration. (2016). “*The Migrant*.” IOM Special Liaison Office, Addis Ababa Quarterly Newsletter, Volume 12, Issue 4, p.3

¹³¹ Ibid., p.4-5

¹³² Bisrat W/Silassie, Teklebrhan Berhe, Weldeabrha Niguse and Muuz Abrha. “*Irregular Migration in Eastern Zone of Tigray: Causes, Consequences and Alternative Strategies*.” The International Committee for the Development of Peoples (CISP) Ethiopia, p.28

¹³³ Ibid., 29

¹³⁴ Ibid., 40

¹³⁵ Ibid., 42

¹³⁶ United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime. (2011). “*Smuggling of Migrants: A Global Review and Annotated Bibliography of Recent Publications*,” p.39-40

choose to migrate to improve their livelihood, especially for young skilled people who are without employment in their country of origin. While those who are financially better off can afford better traveling options (such as the provision of travel documents and less risk of interception), poorer migrants must deal with a higher risk of failure at border crossings and human rights abuses. Moreover, historically most migrants used to be male heads of households from a property-owning class, however, there has been an increase in female migrants recently as well as an expansion in the range of ages and backgrounds¹³⁷. A dominant patriarchal system and socio-cultural gendered norms affect the migration pattern in Ethiopia. There is a prevalence of cultural practices that affect the lives of girls and women in Ethiopia as well as their path to migration. The expectation of girls to support their families is deeply ingrained in the society who also have high financial expectations from female migrants. These female migrants are expected to undertake migration, work hard in the destination/transit countries, and send remittances to support the family. Besides, migration decisions are often made in consultation with the family which is influenced by societal expectations and gender norms¹³⁸.

On the other hand, gendered socialization patterns in which girls are taught cleaning and cooking skills from an early age normalizes gendered division of labor and prepares young girls for work as maids in other countries. Girls also use migration as an escape from early marriage and different forms of gender-based violence. Additionally, gender inequality in access to education contributes to the migration of girls from the country¹³⁹.

Ethiopian migrants in some circumstances are forced into prostitution, domestic servitude, and forced labor once they arrive in the destination country. Several migrants experienced exploitation in the form of non-free recruitment through deception or coercion. Moreover, migrants who sold their assets or borrowed money to finance their travel were more likely to be in forced labor when compared to those who used their savings. Additionally, women were found to be more vulnerable to abuse and sexual exploitation. The research also revealed very poor people have a lower probability to migrate as they are unable to finance their travel. On the other hand, while unemployment served as the main reason for migration in urban areas, its impact was

¹³⁷ Ibid., 41-42

¹³⁸ Meron Zeleke Eresso. (2018). *"Sisters on the move: Ethiopia's gendered labor migration milieu."* Canadian Journal of African Studies, p.6-11

¹³⁹ Ibid., p.12-16

less so in rural areas. Level of education, however, was shown to have an impact in rural areas, with individuals who have secondary and tertiary education showing less probability of migration while those with education level up to junior high school have a higher tendency to migrate¹⁴⁰.

Migrants from Ethiopia follow three migratory routes, i.e., the Northern route, the Southern route, and the Eastern route. Among the three routes mentioned above, the Northern route is the deadliest especially for migrants who get smuggled by boat from Libya to Southern Europe. Most migrants who use this route come from Oromia, Amhara, and Tigray regions¹⁴¹.

The main hubs of all three routes usually originate firstly in Ethiopia. Hubs are defined as strategic transit places along the migration routes that provide migrants with the necessary infrastructure and services to continue their migration journey. Addis Ababa, the capital city of Ethiopia, is a gathering and starting point¹⁴².

From 2000 to 2016 G.C. it was estimated that 878,776 Ethiopians migrated via the Eastern route to the Middle East with a total cost of 439 million U.S dollars. On the other hand, the cost estimated for the Northern route is in billions of dollars for the years 2009 – 2016 G.C. although it is unclear what percentage of this belongs to Ethiopian migrants¹⁴³.

Ethiopian migrants use the Eastern route to reach the Middle East by the gateway of Yemen and then onwards to Saudi Arabia and other Gulf countries. This route is exclusively used by Ethiopians and Somalis and they use Djibouti and Somalia as transit hubs¹⁴⁴. According to Ethiopia's country profile gathered from the Regional Mixed

¹⁴⁰ Assefa Admassie, Seid Nuru and Tadele Ferede. (2017). *Migration and Forced Labor: An Analysis on Ethiopian Workers.* ILO Country Office for Ethiopia, Djibouti, Somalia, Sudan and South Sudan, p.63

¹⁴¹ Abraham Tamrat, Sandra Alemayehu, Aynadis Yohannes. (2014). *Assessment of the Socio-Economic Situation and Needs of Ethiopian Returnees from KSA.* The International Organization for Migration (IOM), p.9-10

¹⁴² Monzini, Paola. (2010). *Smuggling of Migrants into, through and from North Africa: A thematic review and annotated bibliography of recent publications.* United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, p. 14

¹⁴³ Van Reisen, M., Mawere, M., Stokmans, M. & Gebre-Egziabher, K. A. (2019). *Roaming Africa: Migration, Resilience and Social Protection.* Bamenda, Cameroon: Langaa RPCIG, p.50

¹⁴⁴ Van Reisen, M., Mawere, M., Stokmans, M. & Gebre-Egziabher, K. A. (2019). *Roaming Africa: Migration, Resilience and Social Protection.* Bamenda, Cameroon: Langaa RPCIG, p.48

Migration Secretariat (RMMS), among the 813,683 youths who have migrated via the Eastern route between 2006 and 2016 G.C., 72 percent are Ethiopians¹⁴⁵.

The Eastern route starts from Addis Ababa then moves towards Jijiga and then to Somalia. From there, migrants board a boat and cross the Red Sea to Yemen. After arriving in Yemen, they travel on land and cross the border to Saudi Arabia. This route has been popular for many years for Ethiopian migrants. Migrants that follow this route either leave from Obock at the coast of Djibouti or from Bossaso in Somalia¹⁴⁶.

The Northern route extends through Sudan, Libya, and Egypt and across the Mediterranean Sea to Europe. Migrants use Sudan and Egypt both as destinations and transit countries. Ethiopians, Eritreans, and Sudanese migrants frequent this route while in Ethiopia migrants from Tigray are the most frequent users. This route is considered the riskiest route with migrants being exposed to kidnapping, detention, and death while crossing both the Sahara Desert and the Mediterranean Sea¹⁴⁷. The two main destinations in Europe for smuggled migrants are Italy and Spain. Many migrants traveling to Italy by sea depart from North African countries, especially Libya¹⁴⁸.

Most migrants have a hard time accessing adequate living conditions, food, and drinking water in addition to a lack of health insurance, sick leave, and social security¹⁴⁹. Additionally, they are forced to perform activities outside their contract such as dangerous tasks and overtime work without payment. Furthermore, female migrants who worked as domestic workers reported having experienced violence at the hands of their employers. Migrants' vulnerable position oftentimes makes them victims of forced labor. Forced labor is manifested through different penalties and coercive actions such as slavery, debt bondage, human trafficking, threats and violence, and restriction of movement. The ILO distinguishes three practices of forced labor; the unfree recruitment, the duress of work and life, and the impossibility to leave the employer. Unfree

¹⁴⁵ RMMS. (2017). *Ethiopia country profile*. Danish Refugee Council, Regional Mixed Migration Secretariat (RMMS)

¹⁴⁶ Marchand, Katrin, Reinold, Julia and Dias e Silva, Raphael. (2017). "Study on Migration Routes in the East and Horn of Africa." Maastricht Graduate School of Governance (MGSoG), p.29-31

¹⁴⁷ Van Reisen, M., Mawere, M., Stokmans, M. & Gebre-Egziabher, K. A. (2019). *Roaming Africa: Migration, Resilience and Social Protection*. Bamenda, Cameroon: Langaa RPCIG, p.50

¹⁴⁸ Monzini, Paola. (2010). "Smuggling of Migrants into, through and from North Africa: A thematic review and annotated bibliography of recent publications." United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, p.10-12

¹⁴⁹ Assefa Admassie, Seid Nuru and Tadele Ferede. (2017). "Migration and Forced Labour: An Analysis on Ethiopian Workers." ILO Country Office for Ethiopia, Djibouti, Somalia, Sudan and South Sudan, p. 38-46

recruitment refers to deceptive recruitment in which the migrant is hired under false pretenses or with coercion, worked in a different place than was originally agreed, with a different employer or in another type of job. On the other hand, migrants are said to have been working and living under duress if they were victims of violence or threat of violence in the workplace such as missing payment or withholding of wages, threats of exposure to the authorities, or the seizure of documents. Migrants are forced to stay with their employers to receive their wages and to repay the loans they took to finance their migration¹⁵⁰.

Some migrants initially attempt to make the journey north without the assistance of criminal smuggling groups, only to come across some sort of legal, geographic, or financial obstacle. After encountering failure, these migrants may turn to locally based opportunists whose services are generally limited to operations in their home country. These include groups that specialize in crossing the Sahara Desert or crossing the Mediterranean or the Red Sea. The relations between these actors may arise out of direct coordination or out of simple market forces in which one smuggler may offer their services for one leg of the trip at the endpoint of the previous leg¹⁵¹. Yet; the structure of the networks of relations existing between the various players has not been studied in detail¹⁵².

Many migrants who travel to Libya are sold by their traffickers to kidnappers who in turn try to extort money from their families back home. Those migrants who cannot afford to pay are tortured and held in brutal conditions for a long time. Coast guards who are trained by the European Union (EU) often try to intercept vessels carrying migrants, who are taken to overcrowded detention centers where they are susceptible to beatings and forced labor¹⁵³.

There is some information about the profile of smugglers of migrants in the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. According to witnesses, some were former agents of the secret service or the

¹⁵⁰ Assefa Admassie, Seid Nuru and Tadele Ferede. (2017). “*Migration and Forced Labour: An Analysis on Ethiopian Workers.*” ILO Country Office for Ethiopia, Djibouti, Somalia, Sudan and South Sudan, p. 38-46

¹⁵¹ Reitano, Tuesday, Adal, Laura and Shaw, Mark. (2014). “*Smuggled Futures: The Dangerous Path of the Migrant from Africa to Europe.*” The Global Initiative against Transnational Organized Crime, p.8

¹⁵² Monzini, Paola. (2010). “*Smuggling of Migrants into, through and from North Africa: A thematic review and annotated bibliography of recent publications.*” United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, p.29

¹⁵³ British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC). (2019). “*African Migration ‘a trickle’ thanks to trafficking ban across the Sahara*” <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-46802548>

police, others were small businessmen and others had been drug dealers, traffickers, or members of terrorist groups. They have garages, stables, apartments, farmhouses, and sheds in which migrants can be hidden while awaiting departure¹⁵⁴.

Even if most of the smuggling networks are not considered part of the organized criminal networks that are active in other areas of crime, migrant smuggling has become a highly profitable business. The risks of detection and punishment for migrants are high and their potential losses are also high, while for the smugglers (other than those driving desert trucks) the risks are very low and the potential profits very high. Because of these characteristics, there is some evidence that, in the long run, the migrant smuggling business can attract traditional organized crime¹⁵⁵.

¹⁵⁴ Bouteillet-Paquet, Daphné. (2011). *Smuggling of Migrants: A Global Review and Annotated Bibliography of Recent Publications.* United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, p.58

¹⁵⁵ Monzini, Paola. (2010). *Smuggling of Migrants into, through and from North Africa: A thematic review and annotated bibliography of recent publications.* United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, p.41

Chapter 3: Discussing Factors, Costs, and Migratory Routes from Shire Endasilasse city

This chapter presents to readers some basic background information about the study area, of Shire Endasilasse city, the routes migrants from the study area often take, the cost of the migration journey, and the factors accounting for the migration of young migrants from the area. The information presented in this chapter is collected from primary and secondary sources of data.

3.1 The Study Area

Shire Endasilasse is found in the North-Western Zone of the Tigray region and also serves as the administrative city of the Zone. It is located 1087 km north of Addis Ababa, the capital city of Ethiopia, and 304 km northwest of Mekelle which is the capital city of Tigray¹⁵⁶.

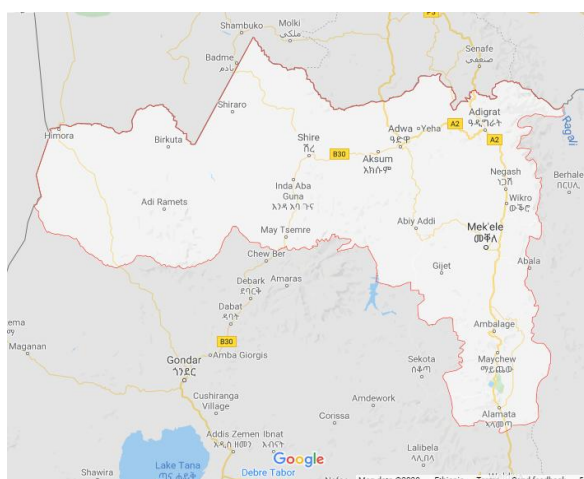


Figure 1 Map of Tigray Region¹⁵⁷

Tigrigna is spoken as a first language in Shire Endasilasse and the city has a temperate climate. The main source of livelihood in the city is business and according to the

¹⁵⁶ Gebrezgi, B.H., Badi, M.B., Cherkose, E.A and Weldehaweria, N.B. (2015). “Factors associated with intimate partner physical violence among women attending antenatal care in Shire Endaselassie town, Tigray, northern Ethiopia: a cross-sectional study.” Reproductive Health Journal 14,76 – BioMed Central.
¹⁵⁷ Google Maps. (2020).

<https://www.google.com/maps/place/Tigray,+Ethiopia/@13.5706159,37.0995177,8z/data=!3m1!4b1!4m5!3m4!1s0x166bfcea93ababf1:0x581e44edcd3248c6!8m2!3d14.0323336!4d38.3165725>

projection made by the city's planning and finance bureau, the city has a population of 85, 983 as of 2012 E.C¹⁵⁸.

Irregular migration from Shire city to Europe and the Middle East has grown since 2013/14 G.C. According to the research conducted by the Institute of Population Studies in Mekelle University and the ZOA Relief/Hope/Recovery Shire Program Office, migration in the area has seen a rise following the establishment of refugee camps in the area. Eritrean refugees coming to Ethiopia usually use the region as a transit to move to Europe via Sudan and Libya. And since the Eritrean refugees use the same language as the host community, they can easily communicate with the local youth and convince them to travel together.

3.2 Migratory Routes from Shire Endasilasse City

In the North-Western Zone of Tigray, migrants take two distinct migration routes. The first one is the Eastern Route which takes migrants towards Middle Eastern countries through Djibouti and Somalia. This route has been in operation since the mid-1980s and has lasted for three decades. On the other hand, following the establishment of refugee camps at Mai-Ayni and Hitsats, the Northern Route has sprung up as another path for migration. This route goes through Sudan, Libya, and Egypt which serve both as final destinations as well as transit countries to Europe. This route is a relatively recent one that has been operating in the last four years. In the years earlier it was more common for people to undertake seasonal migration of labor to Humara and Sudan. However, these days migration to the Middle East and Europe has become the norm in the North-Western Zone of Tigray¹⁵⁹.

There are two routes migrants in the city of Shire can take when they decide to embark on illegal migration. The first one is the Eastern route and the second one is the Northern route¹⁶⁰. The two routes will be discussed in detail in the sections that follow. The information below is based on interviews conducted with returnee migrants in the city of Shire Endasilasse.

¹⁵⁸ Shire Endasilasse Planning and Finance Bureau. 2012 City Population Projection.

¹⁵⁹ Kinfe Abraha (Dr.), Aradom Gebrekidan (Dr.), Shishay Tadesse, Kibrom Fekadu, Kefyalew Kinfemichael, Atakilty Gebre-Eyesus. (2017). *Comparative Study of Culture of Migration among Communities with Strong Culture of Migration and Less Migration Prone Communities of Tigray, Ethiopia* Institute of Population Studies, Mekelle University in Collaboration with the ZOA RELIEF/HOPE/RECOVERY – Shire Program Office, p.73

¹⁶⁰ Interview with Tadesse, Shire Endasilasse; 30.08.2019

3.2.1 The Eastern Route

One of the most traveled routes for migrants from Shire city is the Eastern Route¹⁶¹. This route takes migrants from Shire to Addis Ababa to Jijiga then across the border to Hargeisa in Somalia than to the port city of Bosaso. From Bosaso they cross the Red Sea to Yemen than to Saudi Arabia. This is the most frequented route for migrants in the region. An informant from the focus group discussion stated;

“We set off from Shire Endasilasse and went to Addis Ababa where we bought a bus ticket to Jigjiga. We were met with a smuggler in Jigjiga who put us into trucks to commence the journey into Hargeisa in Somaliland. I was very surprised when they loaded us into the truck as my expectation was we would travel by car or bus. We then traveled to a town called Buru’o then to Bosaso port from where we were loaded onto a boat bound to Yemen. Once we arrived in Yemen we traveled across the desert until we reached the border town of Rago. From Rago, we commenced our journey into Saudi Arabia.” (Interview with Kidanu, Shire; 16.10.2019)

Migrants start their journey from Shire city in Tigray where they contact a local smuggler who facilitates the entire journey. Those smugglers often give out false hopes and promises as a means of enticing migrants. Migrants then set out to Addis Ababa where they are put in touch with another smuggler in the city who sends them to Jijiga in the Somalia region. Migrants usually cover their own cost of the journey from Shire to Jijiga. A third smuggler receives them in Jijiga and puts them in a car so they can cross the border to Hargeisa, Somaliland. Somali smugglers receive them in Hargeisa and take them to a town called Buru’o where they are put into a camp. Here they pay the expense of the journey they took from Jijiga to Buru’o and also for the journey they are about to embark to Bosaso port in Somalia. The entire journey from Jijiga to Buru’o takes three days and three nights and migrants are only allowed to eat one meal per day which they have to pay for¹⁶².

¹⁶¹ Interview with Solomon, Shire Endasilasse; 30.08.2019

¹⁶² Interview with Solomon, Shire Endasilasse; 30.08.2019

From Buru'o a large number of migrants are loaded onto an overpacked mini-bus or truck where they are put on top of each other due to a shortage of space in the car. Approximately 160 people are loaded in one truck. After traveling for another three days, the truck reaches the entrance to the port of Bosaso in Somalia and passengers disembark from the truck and travel for two hours on foot to the center of the city where taxi drivers take them to where the smugglers are. They travel from the center of the city for two hours by car and then for five up to six hours on foot to the seaport where they await to be loaded onto boats at midnight. Here migrants are expected to pay for the journey across the Red Sea (approximately 12,000 birr) that is transferred to them from their families back home. Some migrants return from Bosaso because they are unable to make this payment. Additionally, some of the smugglers they encounter in Bosaso are Ethiopians who have settled there and make their living out of the smuggling of migrants¹⁶³.

Thus, those who have made the payment, wait for a week or two for other migrants to arrive before they resume their journey. Once migrants are gathered, they are loaded onto boats carrying 200-250 people and travel for 36-37 hours across the Red Sea, with no food or water. An informant who was interviewed recounted his experience;

“I found the journey on sea difficult to bear. The boat we were on was overcrowded and people sat on top of each other. If we tried to move or make more space, we were severely beaten by the smugglers on the boat. Some of the passengers got seasick and threw up all over the boat. We were given nothing to eat or drink during the entirety of the journey and if the smugglers were angry with some passengers, they threw them off the boat as a warning to other passengers. We traveled for two nights and a day. It was a harrowing experience.” (Interview with Birhane, Shire; 30.08.2019)

Article 6 of the Anti-Smuggling Protocol that was adopted in 2000 puts obligations on State Parties to adopt measures to establish the smuggling of migrants as a criminal offence. The Protocol also sets out specific articles for the smuggling of migrants by sea by putting obligations on States to prevent the smuggling of migrants by sea in

¹⁶³ Interview with Kahsay, Shire Endasilasse; 31.08.2019

accordance with the international law of the sea. Moreover, the Protocol states in Article 8 that State Parties should take appropriate measures to afford migrants protection against violence inflicted on them by individuals or groups or whose lives and safety are endangered.

Ethiopians cross the sea together with Somali migrants. Once they near the port in Yemen one of the boat drivers takes a rope and swims to shore and hangs the rope on an iron bar. The migrants then exit the boat and jump into the water and, carefully hanging onto the rope, slowly make their way to shore. Once the passengers are ashore, the boat turns around and leaves immediately. A different set of smugglers await them at the coast in Yemen and sort out the migrants based on the profile of the smugglers who sent them from their country of origin. Each migrant is grouped according to the smuggler who sent them from Ethiopia. This is because the smugglers in Yemen only receive those migrants who were sent by smugglers they work in connection with at the country of origin. Thus, migrants whose smugglers are not networked with those in Yemen are rejected and have no one to receive them once they arrive in Yemen¹⁶⁴.

One of the returnee migrants who was interviewed recounted what he came across in Yemen after disembarking from the boat;

“Among the migrants that traveled with me were those who did not have smugglers awaiting them on the shore. Because they were left without protection, they were captured by the police and taken to the police station. At the police station, they were subjected to another form of exploitation as some of the police officers told them they would let them go if the migrants called and asked their families to transfer money to the police officers. When the migrants failed to do so, a police officer sold them to another man for 500 Saudi Riyal each (equivalent to 4801 ETB or 133 USD). The man who bought them imprisoned and held them captive for seven days without food and water and beat them continuously. At the end of the seventh day, another person saw what the man was doing and threatened to call the police if

¹⁶⁴ Interview with Kahsay, Shire Endasilasse; 31.08.2019

he did not let them go, which prompted the captor to let the migrants go.” (Interview with Birhane, Shire; 30.08.2019)

This informant’s experience shows a clear violation of the migrants’ human rights. The migrants were sold into slavery which goes against both the 1926 Slavery Convention and the 1956 Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery, Slave Trade, and Institutions and Practices Similar to Slaver. Both Conventions explicitly prohibit slave trade and the definition of slave trade includes human trafficking when it results in conditions of slavery for the trafficked victim.

On the other hand, those migrants who were received by smugglers in Yemen are put into cars to resume their journey across Yemen. Once they reach the city of Atek in Yemen, migrants continue their journey on foot across the desert where they have to endure hunger, thirst, and scorching heat. After traveling for about two days they enter the city of Sa’dah and are housed in a camp where they are expected to make the final payment. From there, migrants travel by car to the border town of Ragu in Yemen to cross the border to Saudi Arabia¹⁶⁵.

Once migrants travel by car across Yemen and arrive in the town of Rago, they are divided into groups, given tasks, and assigned personnel to get them to Saudi Arabia. The grouped migrants are then tasked with smuggling khat, cigarettes, and drugs (which are all illegal) into Saudi Arabia with a leader directing them across the border at night. They take on an arduous expedition through a mountainous road. If they get captured, they are sent to prison, but if they successfully make it across the border, they stand to make 70,000 birr - 100,000 birr. The migrants carrying the drugs are guarded by people who travel in front of them as well as behind them to prevent them from escaping away with the drugs.

The migrants are tasked with delivering the illegal goods to a city called Fifa in Saudi Arabia and have to travel a steep road on foot and try to pass the “Sulah” who are border patrols carrying rifles and who have orders to shoot on the spot. A returnee migrant who had tried to cross the border said of the ordeal;

“The mountainous road we had to pass through to get to the Saudi Arabian border is high and very steep. Once you fall down

¹⁶⁵ Interview with Tadesse, Shire Endasilasse; 30.08.2019

the hill, there is no coming back. We were met with a difficult challenge trying to cross the Saudi Arabian border as it is constantly guarded by border patrols who will shoot at anyone trying to illegally cross the border.” (Interview with Tsegay, Shire; 31.08.2019)

3.2.2 The Northern Route

The network of smugglers for Libya is similar to that of Saudi Arabia in that one person oversees the entire operation. Migrants get in contact with a smuggler in Shire who arranges their travel and sends them to Humera city in northern Tigray. They cover their own cost to Humera where they meet another smuggler who aids them in crossing the border to Hajur, Sudan. Once migrants pass Humera they are told to ditch their Ethiopian identification cards (Kebele IDs issued in Shire) and are given an Eritrean identification card when they arrive in Sudan. In Hajur, Sudan, they are kept in storage for two to three days until payment is sent to them from their families back home¹⁶⁶.

One returnee migrant who was interviewed during the course of the study mentioned he was initially told he would pay 40,000 birr for the journey, however, once he arrived in Hajur, Sudan, he was told to pay 60,000 birr which would get him all the way to Italy. He had his sister transfer the money after which he was taken to Khartoum, Sudan where he was loaded into a car with other people and traveled to Libya for three days across the Sahara Desert. They were not given anything to eat or drink when they crossed the Sahara Desert. Once they arrived in Libya, they were taken to and kept at storage where they were demanded to pay an additional 80,000 birr to travel to Italy. When he told the smugglers in Libya that he was told the 60,000 birr he already paid would get him to Italy, they told him to either pay the 80,000 birr to cross to Italy or pay 40,000 birr to be sent back to Ethiopia. They told him if he refused, they would sell him to a third party who will harvest his organs. He stayed in Libya for two additional months and when his sister sent the 40,000 birr, he came back to Ethiopia¹⁶⁷. Another interviewee recounted his experience of traveling from Tigray to Sudan;

“From Humera city we traveled on foot for six days to cross the border to Sudan. During the journey, we were given only biscuits

¹⁶⁶ Interview with Awet, Shire Endasilasse; 02.09.2019

¹⁶⁷ Interview with Henok, Shire Endasilasse; 02.09.2019

to eat and were severely beaten if we appeared to be walking slowly. Thereafter, we were loaded on trucks and taken to a city called Gedarif in Sudan where we were kept for two days. Afterward, however, we were taken underground and kept there for three months. This is done when migrants' families are late in sending payment. We were allowed outside only during the nighttime to be fed and had to return underground afterward. We were held in filthy conditions and were not allowed to take showers for the entirety of our stay. Moreover, we were at times taken outside and beaten for being late in our payment. After my family made the payment, I was taken out of Sudan and through the Sahara Desert. I traveled for three days through the Sahara Desert before being turned back due to a shortage of payment. A smuggler brought me back to Khartoum and paid for my journey back from the desert which I later paid back.” (Interview with Assefa, Shire; 03.09.2019)

The above informant's experience shows that migrants were kept in horrendous conditions while in Sudan and were subjected to a number of human rights violations including inhuman and degrading treatment, exploitation and torture. This directly contravenes the 1981 African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights which prohibits such acts. Article 5 of this Charter states, “Every individual shall have the right to the respect of the dignity inherent in a human being...All forms of exploitation and degradation of man particularly slavery, slave trade, torture, cruel, inhuman or degrading punishment and treatment shall be prohibited.”

Some returnee migrants who made the trip to Libya some eight years ago say it was easier to travel in the past as there was a lesser degree of deception on the side of smugglers. You only paid what you owed them. Nevertheless, nowadays smugglers have started kidnapping and holding migrants hostage and demanding ransom money in tens if not in hundreds of thousands of birr. One interviewee recalled an incident he witnessed in Libya;

“They made one of the migrants they held hostage call his father in Tigray to send money for his release. We could hear him crying over the phone and telling his father that the kidnappers

would kill him if his father failed to send the ransom money. However, even after the father sent the money, the kidnappers killed the man anyway. There are many cruel instances like this where smugglers kill migrants even after receiving the money, as a warning to other migrants.” (Interview with Tilahun, Shire; 03.09.2019)

3.3 The Cost of the Journey and Modality of Payment

The four main sources migrants use to finance their journey are loans from financial institutions, own savings, loans from relatives or friends, and by selling assets. Aspiring migrants receive information about migration from friends at the place of origin, smugglers, and friends living abroad. Migrants often do not tell their parents or family about their decision to migrate.

The cost of the journey for the Eastern route and the Northern route vary but the method of payment is similar. According to interviewed returnee migrants who took the Eastern route, migrants cover their own cost to get from Shire to Jijiga, and payment to smugglers starts once they cross the border to Buru’o in Somalia. In Buru’o they pay for the journey they undertook from Jijiga to Buru’o and for the one they are about to embark on from Buru’o to Bosaso, Somalia. For the journey across the Red sea, payment is made in Bosaso. Once they cross the Red sea and arrive on the shores of Yemen, they pay for the passage to Atek city and then to the border city of Rago¹⁶⁸.

The entire journey to Saudi Arabia costs on average 30,000 birr (15,000 - 16,000 birr from Jijiga to Yemen and 15,000 birr from Yemen onwards). Smugglers receive the money in one of two ways. Families of migrants either transfer the money to a given account or they are told go to a certain place and give the money to a specific person. Furthermore, migrants are forced to buy food along the way with the small cash that they have which is not included in the journey cost¹⁶⁹.

On the other hand, for the Northern route, migrants cover their own cost for the first leg of the journey from Shire to Humera. However, as soon as they cross the border to Hajur,

¹⁶⁸ Interview with Kahsay, Shire Endasilasse; 31.08.2019

¹⁶⁹ Interview with Tsegay, Shire Endasilasse; 31.08.2019

Sudan, they are demanded to make a payment of around 50,000 - 60,000 birr to get to Libya. Once they arrive in Libya migrants are taken and usually kept in storage until they make the next installment of the payment which will get them across the Mediterranean Sea to Italy. This typically costs hundreds of thousands of birr. Those who make it to Libya but are unable to generate the payment for the sea crossing are subjected to a great deal of beating and torture which could result in death¹⁷⁰.

Migrants do not carry cash with them; rather their families transfer it to the smugglers every time it is demanded. According to the information gathered from informants, the reason for this is migrants usually cannot afford the cost needed for the entire journey, thus they rely on their families sending it to them along the way as demanded. Some families are aware of the journey their children are about to undertake and agree with them about the payment beforehand, while other families are completely unaware of the situation and are forced to sell their assets and transfer the money after the migrants have already started the journey. Payment is divided and paid along the way at each destination. However, migrants are often deceived about how much the journey would cost and often end up paying more than what was initially agreed on. If they are unable to make the additional payment, they are held in captivity, beaten, and tortured to death¹⁷¹.

3.4 Factors Accounting for Migration of Young Migrants from Shire Endasilasse

Most of the returnee migrants interviewed stated their reasons for choosing migration was to find better-paying jobs overseas and earn large sums of money quickly so they can change their lives back home. Most of the interviewees responded that they were employed in various sectors prior to migrating including as a DJ, small business owner, “Bajaj” driver, etc. On the other hand, some interviewees explained they were unemployed and that was what prompted them to migrate. In addition to the above-mentioned reasons, lack of sufficient land for farming, to avoid early marriage (for female migrants), and smugglers’ luring mechanisms such as telling a potential migrant they will take them cost-free if they manage to bring five up to six friends with them are among factors accounting for migration in the region. Even though unemployment and

¹⁷⁰ Interview with Henok, Shire Endasilasse; 02.09.2019

¹⁷¹ Interview with Tilahun, Shire Endasilasse; 03.09.2019

poverty are regularly cited as the main causes of migration, the unwillingness to do manual labor among the youth is more often the reason they choose the path of irregular migration¹⁷².

Moreover, informants mention that the youth seek to accumulate large sums of money in a short period and view traveling to and working abroad as the means to achieve that. An informant who was interviewed related the below statement;

“I decided to migrate to Saudi Arabia because I wanted a better financial standing and I heard quick money could be made from migrating to Saudi Arabia. I used to work as a DJ in Shire and I made a decent living but I was not satisfied. I have seen my friends who have gone abroad and changed their lives economically. I also knew a guy here in Shire who migrated to the Middle East and accrued a lot of wealth from smuggling illegal drugs into Saudi Arabia. This man has houses and cars in the city and I wanted to achieve the same thing.” (Interview with Tadesse, Shire; 30.08.2019)

The desire to look for better employment opportunities and better income elsewhere could be further corroborated by the account that in the years 2007 – 2008 E.C. people who owned furniture stores and metal-workshops sold their establishments and went abroad¹⁷³. Pressure from family members also plays a pertinent role in migrants’ decision to go abroad and in the years mentioned above, many students dropped out of school to migrate. The persuasion and incentives given by smugglers also play an important role. For instance, smugglers promise travel free of charge for a potential migrant if he or she brings an additional five or six people with them. To a lesser extent, some girls choose to migrate to escape early marriage (this happens mostly in rural areas). Additionally, smugglers deceive migrants at the origin country and fill them with false hope and promises¹⁷⁴.

Furthermore, the opening of refugee camps in the area is one of the contributing factors to the rise of the culture of migration among the local youth. The increase in the number of Eritrean refugees in the Zone and the integration with the local youth has amplified

¹⁷² Interview with Birhane and Tadesse, Shire Endasilasse; 30.08.2019 and Awet; 02.09.2019

¹⁷³ Interview with At Goitom Yesma, Shire Endasilasse; 10.09.2019

¹⁷⁴ Interview with At Goitom Yesma, Shire Endasilasse; 10.09.2019

the latter's interest in migration¹⁷⁵. The majority of Eritrean refugees are of urban background which makes their encampment in remote camps difficult. This, coupled with the out of camp policy implemented regarding Eritrean refugees, prompts the latter to pursue irregular migration to cities and other countries¹⁷⁶. The out of camp policy allows Eritrean refugees to find jobs and settle in cities, where they have the chance to interact with the local youth and share with them their aspiration for migration.

In addition, the influence of smugglers and traffickers who convince potential migrants by promising to facilitate their journey and get them to the desired destination plays an important role in potential migrants' decision to leave the country¹⁷⁷.

Moreover, pressure from parents and family and a desire to send remittance to their families and the prevalence of smugglers of migrants in the area has also proved to be another factor in the increment of youth migration in the area. On the other hand, migrants who already live abroad post pictures of their lives using social media, thus attracting friends in their country of origin. All these reasons contribute to the high increase in irregular migration among the youth in the city of Shire Endasilasse¹⁷⁸.

¹⁷⁵ Kinfe Abraha (Dr.), Aradom Gebrekidan (Dr.), Shishay Tadesse, Kibrom Fekadu, Kefyalew Kinfemichael, Atakilty Gebre-Eyesus. (2017). "Comparative Study of Culture of Migration among Communities with Strong Culture of Migration and Less Migration Prone Communities of Tigray, Ethiopia" Institute of Population Studies, Mekelle University in Collaboration with the ZOA RELIEF/HOPE/RECOVERY – Shire Program Office, p.55

¹⁷⁶ Tadesse Kassa, Fasil Mulatu and Jaxxu Iddossa. (2019). "Ethiopia's Refugee Policy Overhaul: Implications on the out of Camp Policy Regime and Rights to Residence, Movement and Engagement in Gainful Employment." Ethiopian Journal of Human Rights, Vol. IV, p.132

¹⁷⁷ Van Reisen, M., Mawere, M., Stokmans, M. & Gebre-Egziabher, K. A. (2019). *Roaming Africa: Migration, Resilience and Social Protection*. Bamenda, Cameroon: Langaa RPCIG, p.45

¹⁷⁸ Kinfe Abraha (Dr.), Aradom Gebrekidan (Dr.), Shishay Tadesse, Kibrom Fekadu, Kefyalew Kinfemichael, Atakilty Gebre-Eyesus. (2017). "Comparative Study of Culture of Migration among Communities with Strong Culture of Migration and Less Migration Prone Communities of Tigray, Ethiopia" Institute of Population Studies, Mekelle University in Collaboration with the ZOA RELIEF/HOPE/RECOVERY – Shire Program Office, p. 53-54

Chapter 4: Network of Smugglers, Protection Risks, and Measures Undertaken by Different Stakeholders

Smuggling of migrants is a vigorous, dynamic, and lucrative business with an ever-growing demand. The level of violence and torture smugglers and traffickers inflict on migrants is brutal and includes beating, kidnapping, forced labor, torture, sexual abuse and rape, slavery, and death. Migrants are also held in captivity in atrocious conditions until relatives pay high ransoms for their release¹⁷⁹. This chapter aims to elaborate on the network of smugglers in the city of Shire Endasilasse and beyond, the protection risks migrants are exposed to on the journey to the desired destination, and the measures taken by different stakeholders to tackle the problem.

4.1 Network of Smugglers and Traffickers

Smugglers at each leg of the journey are inter-connected and have a very intricate network extending from Tigray all the way to Libya and Saudi Arabia. Returnee migrants who took part in the interview explained that the smuggler in Shire oversees the entire operation and facilitates the migrants' entire journey. He has people at each country who receive the migrants based on the communication with the original smuggler. Smugglers at each place receive and deploy migrants who have to specify who their original smuggler is at every border and port because if they are unclaimed, they could be subjected to human trafficking and slavery¹⁸⁰.

Returnee migrants also stressed that smugglers in Shire purposefully spread misinformation about migration to entice potential migrants. In order to recruit migrants, some smugglers pose as migrants themselves or hire other people to pose as migrants and approach people, convincing them to join them on their travel. They tell potential migrants they will join them in Addis Ababa and give them the number of the smuggler who will await them there. Once the migrants arrive in Addis Ababa, the posers would call and tell them they cannot make it and to go on without them¹⁸¹.

¹⁷⁹ Horwood, Christopher and Malakooti, Arezo. (2014). "*Chapter 4: From Sub-Saharan Africa through North Africa: Tracking Deaths along the Way.*" Fatal Journeys: Tracking Lives Lost During Migration. International Organization for Migration, p.120-122

¹⁸⁰ Interview with Assefa, Shire Endasilasse; 03.09.2019

¹⁸¹ Interview with Tewodros, Shire Endasilasse; 05.09.2019

There are also instances where returnee migrants act as traffickers and smugglers themselves. Some returnee migrants get into the smuggling business as they are well-versed in the migration route and convince potential migrants they can get them to their desired destination. One informant from the focus group discussion explained;

“There are migrants who, after returning to their place of origin, act as smugglers and try to recruit other potential migrants. They deceive people by falsely claiming they are undertaking the journey as well. But once they recruit enough people, they send those people to other smugglers in other cities but do not travel with them as they promised. Instead, they remain in the city and look for other potential migrants.” (Interview with Gebru, Shire; 16.10.2019)

4.2. Protection risks

General Protection Risks faced by Migrants

Migrants who set out from their countries are not usually fully aware of the dangers that lie ahead and only see what they will be able to achieve (economic prosperity) once they reach Europe. They are largely uninformed of the exploitation they will fall prey to and the grueling journey they have to undertake across the desert and the sea to get to their desired destination. Migrants are stripped of their basic liberties, dignities and human rights. Many lose their lives not only while crossing the Sahara Desert or the Mediterranean Sea but also at the hands of smugglers who beat them to death or simply kill them for not being able to pay an additional sum of money. The Anti-Trafficking Protocol requires states to establish criminal liability for human trafficking and to adopt preventive and cooperative measures to deter it. Furthermore, states are required to provide health and social services to victims, including the possibility of remaining temporarily or permanently in the receiving country¹⁸².

According to a study conducted by Human Rights Watch in 2014, migrants detailed the horrors they witnessed perpetrated by smugglers and traffickers. One migrant recalled an incident he witnessed;

¹⁸² United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. (2008). *“Refugee Protection and Human Trafficking: Selected Legal Reference Materials.”* Protection Policy and Legal Advice Section, p.21

“...a man from the Tigray region had called his family, asking them to send the traffickers money. One day, the guards beat this man, too, with an axe, until he died in front of the other migrants...the traffickers had arranged for a local broker in Ethiopia to go to the man’s family home in Tigray to collect the money when the broker arrived, the police were waiting. They arrested and detained the broker for a few days, but he paid his way out. When the broker called his colleagues in Yemen, they beat the man to death”¹⁸³

When discussing the hardships of the journey, one returnee migrant said the sea journey and the travel afterward was the toughest part, coupled together with the hunger and thirst they had to endure. The desert in Yemen is extremely harsh with very limited water supply. The current conflict in Yemen further exacerbates the situation of migrants as they have to travel through conflict riddled zones. Another interviewee recounted what happened when they were crossing the border to Saudi Arabia with three women and one man;

“Due to the conflict in Yemen, we had to cross through areas where there was an active shooting. While crossing one such area, one of the female travelers was shot and sustained a wound. The smuggler wanted to leave her behind and curtailed any efforts to save her by me and the other migrants. We ended up leaving her behind and only saw her again in prison when we were captured afterward.” (Interview with Tesfay, Shire; 07.09.2019)

Migrants who continue their journey onwards are given illegal goods (khat, cigarettes, and drugs) to smuggle across the border to Saudi Arabia. They carry around ten kilos of drugs each which they are told they can sell for 100,000 birr. Since the border is riddled with border patrols carrying guns, it is literally a life or death situation for the migrants. Some of them die along the way due to exhaustion, hunger, or thirst; some are shot and killed by border patrols; some are captured and sent to prison, and very few successfully

¹⁸³ Horwood, Christopher. (2014). *Fatal Journeys: Tracking Lives Lost During Migration.* International Organization for Migration, p.160

cross the border to Saudi Arabia and can sell the illegal substances they smuggled into the country. Those that survive the shootings but get captured at the border are thrown into prison and held there without trial as they are illegal migrants carrying drugs. Some migrants are also captured after crossing the border to Saudi Arabia and are thrown into prison if they are found by the police¹⁸⁴.

In Saudi Arabia prisons migrants are subjected to further hardship and suffering such as lack of adequate water and food, over-heating, and over-crowded rooms, all of which result in the death of many prisoners. The prisons they are held in do not have mattresses or mats and prisoners are forced to sleep on the floor. Sometimes as many as 600 people are packed into a small room which they also have to use as a bathroom. The prolonged thirst along with the heat and over-crowding is one of the main causes of prisoners' death. Moreover, there is a constant conflict between the Ethiopian prisoners caused by ethnic tensions. Regular fights break out between different Ethiopian ethnic groups almost daily which results in beatings from prison guards and being kept in filthy rooms for hours. There are also several casualties that result from the fights between different ethnic groups¹⁸⁵.

The experiences of migrants in Saudi Arabia prisons demonstrate a clear violation of human rights as stipulated in The United Nations Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners (1955). These Rules stress the necessity of providing adequate and hygienic accommodations that meet all requirements of health, with due regard given to climate conditions and to cubic content of air, minimum floor space, lighting, heating and ventilation. The Standard Minimum Rules also call for the provision of clean and adequate sanitation rooms as well as bathing and shower installations. However, prisons in Saudi Arabia where migrants are kept lack all of the above basic provisions.

Moreover, the Nelson Mandela Rules (2015) put obligations on States to treat prisoners with respect and dignity that are inherent to any human being and prohibit the use of torture or other forms of ill-treatment. These Rules also prohibit the reduction of prisoners' food or water, which migrants in Saudi Arabia prisons are subjected to.

Prisoners are kept for months and sometimes years on end and are moved to two or three other prisons before they are finally released. The Saudi Arabian government arranges

¹⁸⁴ Interview with Solomon, Shire Endasilasse; 30.08.2019

¹⁸⁵ Interview with Birhane, Shire Endasilasse; 30.08.2019

for them to be sent home after they have spent some time in prison. When they are released from prison they are deported in masses to Ethiopia¹⁸⁶.

Returnee migrants who were interviewed in Shire Endasilasse also detailed what they witnessed on their way to Libya. Smugglers in Libya beat and torture those migrants who are unable to pay and kill them at the end because “they are not here to feed them.” The journey to Libya and then to Europe is torturous and challenging. Not only are migrants susceptible to hunger, thirst, and exhaustion while crossing the border to Sudan as well across the Sahara Desert, they are also exploited and taken advantage of by smugglers. Many die trying to cross to Libya and their bodies are left scattered in the desert. Those that make it to Libya are met with an awful fate as they are kept hostage in stores for months in the searing heat¹⁸⁷. When migrants are detained and kept against their will, it is considered a violation of their human rights as is stipulated in the Anti-Trafficking Protocol. The definition of human trafficking in this Protocol includes “harboring of persons by means of threat or use of force...of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits” which indicates unlawful abduction and detention of people for an indefinite time in dire conditions is a violation of their human rights.

One interviewee who had made the journey to Libya described;

“Migrants are forced to endure beatings and torturous treatments for months until the smugglers get their payment. If migrants are unable to pay, they are sold into slavery or simply killed. If they somehow manage to get the payment they need to get on a boat and cross the sea, they have a high chance of dying due to poor conditions of the boats, overloading of passengers, inexperienced boat drivers, and capsizing of boats due to high waves.”

(Interview with Fisseha, Shire; 07.09.2019)

Migrants who make their way to Libya experience a number of human rights violations. They suffer beatings and torture at the hands of smugglers which goes against the Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment that was adopted in 1984. This Convention bans all forms of torture which it defines as an act that inflicts physical or mental suffering on a person.

¹⁸⁶ Interview with Solomon, Shire Endasilasse; 30.08.2019

¹⁸⁷ Interview with Tewodros, Shire Endasilasse; 05.09.2019

In addition, according to informants' accounts, migrants face the possibility of being sold into slavery if they are unable to make the payment that is requested of them. Slave trade is banned in a number of international human rights instruments including the 1926 Slavery Convention and the 1956 Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery, the Slave Trade, and Institutions and Practices Similar to Slavery. The definition of slave trade in the later Convention includes human trafficking when it results in slavery for the trafficked victim. In those cases both this Convention and the Anti-Trafficking Protocol apply together to ban the activity. Enslavement of persons is also prohibited in the 1998 Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court which it defines as the exercise of power to the ownership over a person including in the course of trafficking in persons¹⁸⁸.

Some migrants consider the sea journey worse than their experiences on land. Migrants interviewed for studies by Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF) and Human Rights Watch have detailed accounts of the abusive journey highlighting a large number of people on a boat, the harsh conditions, beatings, and drowning. Deaths at sea or landing places have become more common. Passengers die of various causes including intentional killing by smugglers, exposure, dehydration, and suffocation. This violates migrants' right to life that is stipulated in article 6 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. Ethiopian migrants are also exposed to kidnapping or abduction on arrival in Yemen where they are subjected to robbery, sexual abuse as well as physical and psychological trauma caused by criminal gangs¹⁸⁹.

The smuggling of migrants from Shire to Saudi Arabia usually also involves trafficking elements. When setting out on the journey, migrants are of the understanding that they will only pay the originally agreed upon payment and as long as they make that payment, they will reach their desired destination without further hardship or suffering. However, this often contradicts the reality the migrants are confronted with. Not only are migrants forced to pay more than they originally agreed on the amount, but they are also subjected to beatings, kidnapping, and imprisonment at the hands of smugglers. Some are even sold to slavery and some are lost along the way and their whereabouts remain unknown. Migrants are subjected to severe beatings that may result in severe physical damage as

¹⁸⁸ Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court (adopted 17 July 1998, entered into force 1 July 2002)

¹⁸⁹ Regional Mixed Migration Secretariat (RMMS). (2013). *"Migrant Smuggling in the Horn of Africa & Yemen: the social economy and protection risks."* Mixed Migration Research Series: explaining people on the move, p.40-42

well as psychological breakdown¹⁹⁰. Since by definition trafficking in persons is; “the recruitment, transportation, transfer...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...for the purpose of exploitation”¹⁹¹ migrants that are smuggled out of Shire and taken to Saudi Arabia are not only the victims of illegal smuggling but also of being trafficked along the way.

In prior times migration to Saudi Arabia was not as bad as it is now, the worst part was mostly the sea journey. But now the situation is exacerbated due to the increase in the number of traffickers along the way. Every smuggler on each route tries to trick and take as much money as possible from the migrants. Furthermore, migrants are more prone to getting shot and killed because they usually choose the way of drug smuggling or selling alcohol rather than doing manual labor. Many young people are getting killed in order to make money as quickly as possible. There is a saying that is popular with the young population in Tigray, “ወይ ገንዘብ ብካሻ ወይ ሬሳና ብሳንዱቅ” which loosely translates to “We will either return with money in a sack or our bodies in a coffin.”

Specific risks experienced by female migrants

Some of the experiences of female migrants on the road differ from their male counterparts. While the way they get in touch with smugglers, the route they take, the cost and method of payment is similar to that of male migrants, the journey itself is tougher on female migrants.

Based on the information gathered from male migrants who traveled alongside female migrants, in addition to the continuous hunger, thirst, and exhaustion, female migrants are subjected to sexual assault and abuse along the journey. This is done by the smugglers themselves or by random men they encounter along the route. Even before starting on their journey, female migrants hear of the sexual assault and abuse they could experience at the hands of smugglers or random men. This fills them with fear of having their virginity taken by a stranger who will force himself on them. To prevent this, they enlist someone in their neighborhood to take their virginity so that it will not be taken forcefully by strangers on the road. Smugglers along the road also take female migrants

¹⁹⁰ Interview with Solomon, Shire Endasilasse; 30.08.2019

¹⁹¹ United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner. (2000). *Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons Especially Women and Children, supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime, article 3(a)*. General Assembly resolution 55/25

and hold them in captivity for a month or two and abuse them sexually. This exposes female migrants to sexually transmitted diseases as well as unwanted pregnancy¹⁹².

The above accounts of the perils encountered by female migrants' in their migratory journey indicate they are exposed to a violation of a number of their human rights at every route. Sexual harassment and abuse as well as trafficking of women for sexual exploitation are explicitly prohibited in a number of international, regional, and national human rights instruments. The Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court prohibits rape, sexual slavery and enforced prostitution while the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women obliges states to take measures to curb all forms of trafficking in women and exploitation of prostitution of women. On the other hand, the Anti-trafficking Protocol aims to prevent and combat trafficking in persons and especially women, by including in its definition of trafficking "exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation..."¹⁹³ The Prevention and Suppression of Trafficking in Persons and Smuggling of Persons Proclamation (2020) in Ethiopia also includes sexual exploitation in its definition of trafficking in persons and bans all activities related to it.

Two Female migrants were interviewed for this study to gain a better perspective on their experiences. They chose to undertake illegal migration because they thought they would get better-paying jobs abroad. They only focused on the money they thought they would get and not on the possible hardships they could face along the way. The female migrants explained that the smuggler they contacted in Shire filled them with hope and possibilities and deceived them about the realities of the journey they were about to embark on. They started their journey from Shire, traveled to Mekelle, and thereafter went to Addis Ababa. Then they traveled to Harar and to Jigjiga from where they boarded a small wooden boat with more than 250 passengers placed on top of each other, traveling for 37 hours without food or water. Once the female migrants arrived in Yemen, they were taken to the desert and put in an underground camp where they were forced to strip down to their underwear. They were then put with several other people in a filthy, reeking, and dark basement and forced to stay there for three months. The

¹⁹² Interview with Fisseha, Shire Endasilasse; 16.10.2019

¹⁹³ Protocol to Prevent, Suppress, and Punish Trafficking in Persons Especially Women and Children, supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime (adopted 15 November 2000, entered into force 25 December 2003)

people held in the basement were allowed outside only during the night and were fed only biscuits once every two or three days¹⁹⁴.

The smugglers as well as other men would come into the basement and take female migrants that were kept there. Some of the women who were taken would come back after being sexually assaulted and raped, and some of them never returned. Interviewed female returnee migrants explained that after being kept underground for twenty days, they were let out and started their journey during the night. After traveling on a vehicle for three days, they reached the city of Rago where a different smuggler received them. In Rago, the female migrants were kept in an over-crowded house made of tin which made the heat difficult to bear. The migrants were given nothing to eat or drink and if they asked for water they were mercilessly beaten. The smugglers would repeatedly ask the migrants for more money and make them call their families to transfer the money. The smugglers would beat migrants daily until they received the money they asked for¹⁹⁵.

These female migrants' experience on every route of their travel to Saudi Arabia shows a number of violations of their human rights. They are exposed to kidnapping, captivity, hunger, sexual assault, and beatings. The Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa prohibits all forms of exploitation, cruel, inhuman or degrading punishment and treatment of women. The Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women (1993) also recognizes the rights of women not to be subjected to torture, or cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment. Furthermore, the beatings and torture smugglers inflict on female migrants are explicitly prohibited under the Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (1984) and Article 4 of this Convention obliges State Parties to criminalize all acts of torture and make these offences punishable by penalties.

From Rago, the female migrants traveled to Saudi Arabia where the situation remained the same. The smugglers completely denied them food and water and continued the beatings. This resulted in some of the migrants developing mental health problems which rendered them unable to continue the journey. The smugglers would abandon those migrants and leave them to die on the road. One of the female interviewees recounted;

¹⁹⁴ Interview with Lemlem and Birkti, Shire Endasilasse; 09.09.2019

¹⁹⁵ Interview with Lemlem and Birkti, Shire Endasilasse; 09.09.2019

“When we reached Saudi Arabia, we were taken to a house where we began to work as maids for a married couple. The wife abused us physically and verbally and threatened to call the police if we tried to leave. We worked in that household for over three months without being paid. This, along with the physical and emotional abuse we suffered, prompted us to escape from the house and surrender at the police station. Thereafter, we were sent to a prison where we stayed for over a month in brutal conditions.” (Interview with Lemlem, Shire; 09.09.2019)

The above account narrated by female migrants details a violation of their right to humane and dignified treatment as migrant workers which is stipulated in Article 10 of the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families. This Convention prohibits cruel or degrading treatment of migrant workers including slavery and servitude, and Article 16 puts obligation on States to protect migrant workers against threats, intimidation violence and physical injury. The treatment female migrants endured for over three months under their employer, including physical and emotional abuse, indicates a clear violation of their rights as migrant workers specified in the above Convention.

The conditions in prisons are harsher for female migrants as they are subjected to longer periods of imprisonment than the male prisoners, suffer psychological torture and breakdown in prisons, and some of them are taken out of prisons and sold into slavery. The physical, psychological, and emotional damage sustained by female migrants seems to be greater than that of male migrants. In addition to the same challenges faced by male migrants, females are at a greater risk of falling prey to kidnapping, captivity, and sexual assault. This usually leaves an emotional and physical scar they find hard to overcome.

The Body of Principles for the Protection of All Persons Under Any Form of Detention or Imprisonment (1988) defines detained person as “any person deprived of personal liberty except as a result of conviction for an offence.”¹⁹⁶ This definition applies to female migrants who are kept in prisons without being convicted of an offence or seeing a day in the court of law. This Body of Principles also dictates detainees to be treated in a

¹⁹⁶ Body of Principles for the Protection of All Persons Under Any Form of Detention or Imprisonment (adopted 09 December 1988)

humane manner and with respect for the inherent dignity of their person. Moreover, it emphasizes any detention or imprisonment should be carried out in accordance with the provisions of the law and that any derogation from any of the human rights of detainees or prisoners is not allowed. The conditions under which female migrant detainees are kept in Saudi Arabia prisons directly contradict the principles set forth in this Body of Principles. Furthermore, the Basic Principles for the Treatment of Prisoners adopted in 1990 state that all prisoners shall be treated with respect to their inherent dignity and value as human beings and retain the human rights and fundamental freedoms stipulated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights¹⁹⁷.

4.3. Measures taken by Different stakeholders

This sub-section first discusses the measures taken by the local government to tackle the smuggling of migrants and then the role of non-governmental organizations operating in the city.

Measures Taken by the Local Government to Tackle the Smuggling of Migrants in Shire Endasilasse city

Interviews with government officials of Shire Endasilasse city were carried out to gain a better understanding of what the local government in the city is doing to tackle the issue of smuggling of migrants. Three officials were interviewed; Ato Goitom Yesma who is the deputy head at Shire city's Youth and Sports Affairs Office, Ato Berihu Mekonnen the deputy head at Labor and Social Affairs, and Ato Elfios Tadesse who is the Social Affairs advisor of the North Western Zone of Tigray.

The Youth and Sports Affairs Office is a local government institution that is working on migration. Ato Goitom, who is the deputy head of the office, explained the young population in the city of Shire Endasilasse who take up illegal migration mostly travel through Sudan and Libya to Europe. According to him, before 2009 E.C. as many as 200 people a year used to migrate out of the city of Shire Endasilasse. However, from 2010 E.C. onwards, the number of people choosing to migrate out of the city has decreased. The key informant attributes this fall in number to the increase in awareness-raising

¹⁹⁷ Basic Principles for the Treatment of Prisoners (adopted 14 December 1990)

activities done by the city's administration such as the Youth and Sports Affairs office as well as various campaigns performed by youth associations in the city. In addition to awareness-raising activities, the young population's interest in illegal migration has declined due to their willingness to establish themselves in associations so they can start their own business¹⁹⁸. Furthermore, the conflict and unrest in Libya have deterred potential migrants from undertaking migration. According to the data gathered from *Kebeles*¹⁹⁹, zero people have migrated in the first half of 2011 E.C. However, it is worth noting that this figure may not be accurate as *Kebeles* may not have the exact information about the number of people who have migrated in that year.

Youth and Sports Affairs Office also works with the returnee migrants to help them get back on their feet. There are returnee migrants in the city who have had the opportunity to engage in various income-generating activities such as poultry, cattle fattening, and establishing and running cafes. The office also works in collaboration with non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in awareness-raising and teaching activities.

The Shire Endasilasse Labor and Social Affairs Office is another local governmental institution actively working on migration. The head of the office interviewed during the study stated that his office also engages in awareness-raising activities by holding regular discussions with communities most affected by out-migration²⁰⁰. For instance, in 2009 - 2010 E.C. the Labor and Social Affairs office gathered around 364 migrants who returned from Saudi Arabia to hold discussions about their experiences and the realities of migration, over a coffee ceremony with the community. Ato Berihs further explained that the smuggling of migrants not only affects migrants but families of migrants as well, as they are forced to send payment to smugglers who have taken the migrants. For this reason, they hold regular and periodic discussions with the community to teach them about the realities of illegal migration.

An interview was also conducted with the Social Affairs Advisor for the North Western Zone of Tigray. Ato Elfios Tadesse mentioned that in the years 2009 - 2010 E.C. several smugglers were apprehended and sent to prison. Additionally, there has recently been an enhanced collaboration between the prosecutor's office, the police, and the court to bring

¹⁹⁸ Interview with At Goitom Yesma, Shire Endasilasse; 10.09.2019

¹⁹⁹ A Kebele is the smallest administrative unit of Ethiopia

²⁰⁰ Interview with Ato Berihs Mekonnen, Shire Endasilasse; 10.09.2019

smugglers to justice. This, in turn, has contributed to the decline in youth migration out of the city²⁰¹.

²⁰¹ Interview with Ato Elfios Tadesse, Shire Endasilasse; 11.09.2019

Table 1: A summary table of the number of migrants, returnee migrants, and migrants whose whereabouts are unknown – smuggled from Shire Endasilasse to Libya in the years 2006 – 2010 E.C.²⁰²

Year (In E.C.)	No. of People who Migrated		No. of Returnee Migrants		No. of Migrants whose whereabouts remain unknown	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
2006	292	243	202	244	0	0
	Total 535		Total 446		0	
2007	No. of People who Migrated		No. of Returnee Migrants		No. of Migrants who died	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
	19	1	6	0	2	0
Total 20		Total 6		Total 2		
2008	No. of People who Migrated		No. of Returnee Migrants		No. of Migrants whose whereabouts remain unknown	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
	39	1	27	1	12	0
Total 40		Total 28		Total 12		
2009	No. of People who Migrated		No. of Returnee Migrants		No. of Migrants whose whereabouts remain unknown	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
	22	5	17	5	5	
Total 27		Total 22		Total 5		
2010	No. of People who Migrated		No. of Returnee Migrants		No. of Migrants whose whereabouts remain unknown	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
	44	8	19	4	25	4
Total 52		Total 23		Total 29		

²⁰² Data collected from Youth and Sports Affairs Office of Shire Endasilasse city

Table 1 indicates that there is a fluctuation in the number of migrants in Shire Endasilasse who have undertaken illegal migration over the years. The year 2006 E.C. saw the highest recorded number of out-migrants. However, after 2006 E.C., there is a marked decrease in the total number of people who were smuggled out of the country. Furthermore, the above data shows male migrants have always been higher in number than female migrants in any given year. In addition, the data also shows most of the migrants who traveled during those years have returned. This indicates that illegal migration for most migrants turns out unsuccessful even after spending huge sums of money. On the other hand, the table also demonstrates several migrants get lost along the way and remain unaccounted for.

The Role of Non-Governmental Organizations

An interview was also conducted with the International Committee of the Red Cross's (ICRC) field office in Shire. The ICRC is one of the non-governmental organizations in Shire Endasilasse that is working with returnee migrants. Other NGOs actively working in Shire Endasilasse include the Danish Refugee Council (DRC) and the International Organization Migration (IOM). Ato Tewodros, who is the North-Western Zone head at ICRC, explained that the organization operates a branch in Shire and is implementing a project called "Assistance and Resilience for Vulnerable Returnees and Their Communities" that works with returnee migrants in the North-Western Zone of Tigray. This project is also being implemented in Gondar, Amhara Region, and Arsi, Oromia Region.

The project has been effective in helping returnee migrants from Saudi Arabia. The project has three components; livelihood support, psycho-social support, and capacity building training. Returnee migrants deal with various challenges after their return. They experience economic hardships as a result of having returned without any money, and social crises such as feelings of isolation and choosing to spend their days doing drugs and khat rather than working²⁰³.

The coordinator of "Assistance and Resilience for Vulnerable Returnees and Their Communities" project that aids returnee migrants from Saudi Arabia explained that the

²⁰³ Interview with Ato Tewodros, Shire Endasilasse; 12.09.2019

project has two goals: to provide returnee migrants with livelihood support through financial aid, and to offer psycho-social support²⁰⁴.

Ato Hagos Berhe stated beneficiaries of the livelihood support are recruited based on pre-determined criteria. The project enlists the help of Kebeles to recruit returnee migrants in the area. After beneficiaries are recruited, they are verified and given training. After the completion of the training, they are told to bring a guarantor and are given financial support to help them come up with income-generating activities. The previous year the project gave 13,750 birr to each beneficiary, however this year, the amount was increased to 14,000 birr per beneficiary. In the previous year, beneficiaries were given financial support individually, however, in the current year, they had to group themselves into associations to receive the financial aid. The financial support is delivered in two ways; in seed money and in kind. After participating in the training beneficiaries prepare and present business plans, based on which they are given materials and cash for their business. For instance, if an individual or association presents a business plan for cattle fattening, the project provides them with cattle and also cash so they can buy shelter and food for the cattle. Moreover, monitoring and support activities are provided throughout the project's implementation period²⁰⁵.

Returnee migrants also receive psycho-social support through the project. For instance, returnee migrants who have come back to the country empty-handed receive blankets, mats, and a hygiene kit to help them integrate into society with more ease. The project also offers a reception center where returnee migrants can participate in indoor and outdoor games to relieve the stress and emotional burden they may feel as a result of the arduous experience they had been through. Indoor activities include TV, movies, music, books, and coffee ceremony. Outdoor games include joteni game table, table tennis, dart, and Kirar (a traditional music instrument). Moreover, returnee migrants with severe mental illness are referred to councilors and psychiatrists in hospitals. For those returnees who prefer to receive religious treatments (such as Tsebel), they are given access or taken to their respective religious leaders²⁰⁶.

In addition, there is an outreach or home-visit program to reach out to those returnees who are unable to leave the house because of an illness or other difficulties. A locally

²⁰⁴ Interview with Ato Hagos Berhe, Shire; 12.09.2019

²⁰⁵ Interview with Ato Hagos Berhe, Shire; 12.09.2019

²⁰⁶ Interview with Ato Hagos Berhe, Shire; 12.09.2019

recruited voluntary group, along with a project officer, makes a visit to those houses and holds coffee and tea ceremony with returnees to help lift their spirits.

In selecting beneficiaries of the livelihood component of the project, criteria are first set out for the selection of a *Woreda*²⁰⁷ from the North Western Zone of Tigray. This year Asgede-Tsembla *Woreda* was selected which has 27 *Kebeles* under it. All returnee migrants available in those 27 *Kebeles* were registered which amounted to 2,429 returnees of whom 440 were women. Afterward, five *Kebeles* with the most returnee migrants were selected from which 75 individuals were recruited as beneficiaries of the project for the current year. On the other hand, beneficiaries of the psycho-social support either directly approach the organization's safe-space or are sent by their *Kebeles*. The project carries out awareness-raising activities about its safe-space program and reception centers so that returnee migrants are able to benefit from the project's initiatives. Ato Hagos also explained the project's rate of success. There were forty-nine beneficiaries from the previous year, of whom forty-five have already engaged in income-generating activities²⁰⁸.

Returnee migrants also face several problems in addition to the ones listed above, including the lack of an organized and systematic institution that receives them once they arrive back in the country, lack of a reception center and an integration program, prolonged waiting period to receive an identification card, and worsened the economic situation for the migrants and their families. Ato Hagos remembered a conversation he had with a mother of a returnee migrant about their current living condition. The mother explained;

“When my son migrated, he sold two of our cows to pay for his journey. However, he came back without having made any money. When he returned here, he had a debt to pay so he sold my only cow to pay back the debt. Now my son and I have nothing left. But I am not worried about the cows, I am just glad my son is not dead.”

The project aims to help returnees by helping them reintegrate into society, reuniting them with their parents if they are unable to find them when they return, providing them

²⁰⁷ Woredas are the third-level administrative divisions of Ethiopia

²⁰⁸ Interview with Ato Hagos Berhe, Shire; 12.09.2019

with training and financial support, and referring them to counseling services if they need one.

Chapter 5: Concluding Remarks and Recommendations

5.1 Concluding Remarks

Migration cannot be simply understood through economic analysis and a much broader examination is needed. The neoclassical theory's emphasis on push factors forcing people to leave their origin countries and pull factors attracting them to receiving countries is not adequate in itself to explain the process of migration. As stated in the new economics theory, factors such as chances for secure employment, availability of investment capital, and the need to manage risk over long periods also account for factors of migration. Additionally, according to the dual/segmented labor market theory, migration is caused by demand from advanced economies for highly skilled workers and lower-skilled manual workers. On the other hand, the historical structural approach demonstrates that advanced economies' need for an inflow of workers creates a structural incentive for migration to occur. Alternatively, the migration systems theory suggests that migration is a result of existing relationships between sending and receiving countries based on colonization, political influence, trade, investment, or cultural ties. These theories also look into whether the decision-making process is the result of the individual's lone role or if other groups also participate in the decision-making process (family, community, etc.).

On the other hand, the significance of the presence of smugglers and traffickers who persuade migrants has not been previously studied in migration theory which has mostly focused on push-pull theory. The migration process can also be considered as an exchange process in which traffickers convince the youth to buy a product that involves high risks and high costs. Smuggling and trafficking in persons in all migration routes put the lives of migrants at high risk by exposing them to kidnapping, detainment, and violation of their basic human rights²⁰⁹.

Thus, an examination of an all-encompassing historical and contemporary migration plays a major role in initiating, shaping, and controlling movements. Therefore, it is important to conceptualize migration as a complex process in which economic, political, social, and cultural factors all work together. Concentration on push or pull factors alone

²⁰⁹ Van Reisen, M., Mawere, M., Stokmans, M. & Gebre-Egziabher, K. A. (2019). *Roaming Africa: Migration, Resilience and Social Protection*. Bamenda, Cameroon: Langaa RPCIG, p.51

is simplistic and misleading. Migration decisions are influenced by a wide range of conditions in both sending and receiving countries. These conditions are linked both to global factors and to the way these interact with local historical and cultural patterns. Migrants are collective phenomena, which should be examined as subsystems of an increasingly global economic and political system²¹⁰.

There is a strong culture of migration in Ethiopia as evidenced by studies covered in the literature review section. Young people are oftentimes expected to go abroad and send remittances to help their families. The culture of migration can also result in high levels of smuggling and trafficking in the area. When cross-border migration is perceived as social and material success in a certain community, it creates wrong role-models for younger generations to follow²¹¹.

The literature reviewed in chapter two also indicates there is a strong culture of migration in Tigray region. Reasons attributed to this include the geographical proximity of the region to Sudan, the presence of refugee camps in the area, deception and false hopes propagated by smugglers, low income and lack of adequate employment opportunities, and the influence of those that have successfully made it to destination countries. The study has found the above reasons contribute to the high surge of migration from the city of Shire Endasilasse. In addition, the study has also found that the decision-making process is largely the result of the individual's choice as opposed to the pressure imposed by family members or the community.

The study has also found that migrants from Shire Endasilasse take either the eastern route to Saudi Arabia or the northern route to Libya and Europe. The common understanding that has prevailed in the study of migration is that female migrants predominantly take the eastern route as opposed to their male counterparts. However, the research done has demonstrated that is not always the case and that male migrants travel the eastern route just as much.

²¹⁰ Ibid., 25-26

²¹¹ Regional Mixed Migration Secretariat (RMMS). (2013). *"Migrant Smuggling in the Horn of Africa & Yemen: the social economy and protection risks."* Mixed Migration Research Series: explaining people on the move, p.33

Most migrants usually get in contact with smugglers in one of two ways. The first is by seeking them out either through mutual friends or people that know them. The second way is when smugglers themselves look for potential migrants and entice them through false hopes and promises. Furthermore, the study has revealed that migrants from Shire Endasilasse face numerous protection risks on their journey and are subjected to torture, exploitation, starvation and dehydration, kidnapping, sexual abuse, and sometimes even death. Moreover, migrants suffer beatings at the hands of smugglers which leave them injured, blind and disabled. In addition to physical injuries, migrants also suffer from psychological ails such as feelings of isolation, loss of confidence, and low self-esteem.

The study has also found that most migrants fund their journeys by money sent from their families. The payment, however, is an ever-increasing one as additional payments are demanded by smugglers at every junction of the journey. Nevertheless, since most families in the region are poverty-stricken, they must sell the small assets they own or, more likely, borrow money to pay the smugglers. This further subjects families of migrants to additional debt they will most likely be unable to repay, which takes a toll not only on families of migrants but on the community as a whole.

Furthermore, the smuggling of migrants robs the region of employable and working-age youth who are necessary for the growth of the country's economy and whose output could have contributed to the country's overall development. The young population is expected to take over from the aging population and propel forward the community's economic and social development. If, however, they are taken out of the country in masses and exposed to dangerous situations along the way that could result in their death, it not only affects them and their families but also robs the community of a better future.

In Ethiopia, and the Horn of Africa as a whole, smuggling and human trafficking is a very lucrative business that is run by an intricate network of criminals²¹². To better understand these dynamics and fully address the root causes of migration to prevent organized criminal groups from profiting off of vulnerable groups, a comprehensive

²¹² Van Reisen, M., Mawere, M., Stokmans, M. & Gebre-Egziabher, K. A. (2019). *Roaming Africa: Migration, Resilience and Social Protection*. Bamenda, Cameroon: Langaa RPCIG, p.51

response is required, one that involves examining the issues of migration and development²¹³.

5.2 Recommendations

1. Awareness-raising campaigns

Tackling the issue of smuggling of migrants before it even takes place is one of the primary ways to prevent atrocious treatments and terrible losses that happen afterward. By discouraging the youth from undertaking illegal migration in the first place, the need for smugglers would be reduced and the human exploitation smugglers and traffickers thrive off of would be eliminated. The main way this could be achieved is through wide, all-reaching, and well-organized campaigns in the community aimed towards raising awareness about the realities of illegal migration. By holding regular discussions with the young population of the city, the local government could expose the truth behind smugglers' appealing but dishonest stories and shade light on the reality of the journey across the desert and sea.

However, this study has also found that some migrants are aware of the peril and the danger awaiting them and still choose to be smuggled out of the country because they see no other way. Still, most of the returnee migrants interviewed stated they were unaware of the challenges and abuses and embarked on the journey without any idea of what truly awaited them. A key informant from Shire city's Youth and Sports Affairs Office had stated that awareness-raising activities carried out by the bureau has contributed to the decline in the number of smuggled migrants in the past two years. Therefore, organizing continuous awareness-raising campaigns about the harsh reality of the exploitation and suffering migrants will likely experience could go a long way into preventing the smuggling of migrants before it even starts.

2. Creating better employment opportunities

The most frequently cited reason most returnee migrants attribute to their decision to leave the country is in search of better-paying jobs. Most of the interviewees had at least completed secondary education and were employed at a certain (albeit low-paying) jobs

²¹³ United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime. (2004). *“United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime and the Protocols Thereto.”* United Nations General Assembly resolution 55/25

before deciding to migrate. Therefore, the study has found that most migrants have acquired some degree of education and were employed in different sectors and that low-income level prompts most of the youth in the city to undertake illegal migration. This points to the supposition that migrants' decision to illegally migrate out of the country is influenced by relative deprivation as opposed to absolute deprivation. Thus, by creating better employment opportunities for the youth, the Zonal and City administrations could curb the high demand for migration in the area.

3. Facilitating financial loan to the youth

Moreover, encouraging Microfinance Institutions to give out loans for the youth so they can organize themselves into groups and create small businesses will greatly increase their chances of securing a steady livelihood opportunity. The facilitation of adequate financial loans by the local administration will encourage the young population in the city to develop entrepreneurship skills and help them come up with various income-generating activities. This will help the youth earn a higher standard of living and reduce their desire to take up illegal migration.

4. Measures Towards Smugglers

Directing focus on the criminalization of smuggling and heavy punishment for those involved in the business of smuggling and trafficking should also be one of the ways to fight the atrocious business of human exploitation. Smuggling of migrants and trafficking in persons should be explicitly outlawed and included in regional, zonal, and local legal frameworks. According to the interviews carried out with returnee migrants, they are not confident enough about revealing the identity of the smugglers because they have seen most of the smugglers pay their way out of prison after being apprehended. Thus, even if smugglers are arrested and taken in jail, there is a repeated occurrence of them being released soon after. Therefore, a stronger enforcement policy is needed to ensure the capture and conviction of perpetrators and making sure they remain in prison and receive the obligatory punishment. This will also help prevent the released smugglers from continuing their business and finding new potential migrants to exploit.

5. Victim Re-habilitation

One of the things that could be done on the side of the local government as well as non-governmental organizations in the way of helping returnee migrants who have been through arduous and life-threatening situations is opening up rehabilitation centers that

will provide economic, financial, and psychological support. The study has found that the International Committee of the Red Cross's (ICRC) field office in Shire has a similar project that implements this. The Youth and Sports Affairs Office also helps returnee migrants make a living by providing various livelihood generating activities. Therefore, a strengthened collaboration between governmental and non-governmental organizations is of a paramount importance to help returnees reintegrate into society, help with finances and livelihood generating activities, offer psychological service for those in need, and provide all-round support to those who need it.

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Appendix A

Semi-structured interview/Focus Group Discussion Guide with Key Informants returnee migrants, representatives of local government and non-government organizations

I- *Questions related to background/contextual information on patterns and trends of youth migration from the study area*

1. We would be interested in issues of migration in your community, please tell us about your experience. Points we intend to capture include;

A. How common is migration of youth from your community?

B. Since when did the phenomenon grow and what brought about that change?

C. Is the out-migration more common among males or females or both? If there is more migration of one group why do you think this group is migrating more?

II- *Question about the Multifaceted Factors; Push and Pull Factors and decision-making processes*

Would you tell us why the young population migrates from the community? Points we intend to capture include;

A. Why do migrants leave the study area?

B. What are the conditions that force them to leave?

C. Why do migrants view migration as a viable life opportunity?

D. Who are migrants with their migration projects (parents, peers, others? please, specify)?

E. How do migrants pay for their journey?

III- *Question on the different destinations, sources of information, and routes used by migrants.*

Where do migrants often migrate to and why do they prefer those destinations and routes and, how do they get to know about it? Points we intend to capture include;

A. What are the different destinations migrants from your area often travel to?

B. What are the routes they travel through to get to their destinations?

C. How do they get to know about the destination and the routes? (Source of Information)

IV- *Question on Challenges Faced by migrants En-route and at Destination*

What are the different types of challenges migrants face in their migration trajectories? Points we intend to capture include;

- A. What major problems do they face en-route? What major problems do they face at their destinations?
- B. Are the problems that females face in any way different from those of males? If yes in what ways?

V- *Question-related to existing psychosocial economic support systems in place for returnee migrants*

What are the different supports they receive upon arrival? (Psychosocial and economic support) Points we intend to capture include;

- A. What are the different economic support systems provided to returnee migrants?
- B. What are the different psychosocial supports provided to returnee migrants?
- C. Who are the actors providing the support?

Appendix B

Semi-structured Interview/Focus Group Discussion Guide with Key Informants – Returnee Migrants

Personal background

A. Age B. Sex C. Educational background D. Marital Status

Pre- Departure

1. Reasons to decide to go abroad
 - A. When did you migrate, and which country did you go to?
 - B. Explain the reasons that made you leave
2. Sources of Information
 - A. Who informed you about the possibility of migrating (family members, friends, neighbors, brokers, agencies)?
3. Decision making
 - A. Whom did you share your plans for migration with?
 - B. Did you make the final decision alone or with family members/partners?
4. Financial arrangement for traveling

- A. How much did you spend for your migration project? And what are the cost breakdowns and the items of expenditure?
- B. Did you pay any advance money to recruiters or smugglers? If no, what arrangements were made for paying back the cost of travel and arrangements?
- C. How did you pay for the journey?

Post- Departure

1. Lived experiences en-route/transiting;
 - A. Can you explain how your journey was? Who you traveled with and the type of transportation used?
 - B. Which route did you take? And how long did the journey last for?
 - C. Did you have prior information about the route, the duration of the journey, the expenses to be incurred?
 - D. What were the main challenges you encountered en-route?
 - E. Were you or any of your acquaintances ever threatened with violence or subjected to violence during the transportation process? If so, please describe it.
2. Arrival
 - A. Were you welcomed by someone upon arrival? If yes by whom? If not, where did you stay upon arrival?
3. Lived experience at the destination country
 - A. How did you survive or make a living there?
 - B. Was there any discrepancy between what you were told (the prior information you had) and the reality when you arrived (living conditions, work, etc.)? If yes in what regards?
 - C. How was your communication with the family members, who were you in touch with how often?
 - D. What are the major challenges migrants faces? Are the challenges female migrants face different or similar to the one's male migrants face?
 - E. Have you faced any injury while you were abroad? If yes, please tell us more about it.
 - F. Are the problems that girls face in any way different from those of boys? If yes in what ways?

Return and Post-Return Reintegration Experiences

1. Return process
 - A. What was your reason to come back home? And when?
 - B. Who facilitated your return trip?

Appendix C

Semi-structured Interview with Key Informants - Representatives of relevant governmental and non-governmental institutions

1. Would you please tell us about the predominance of migration in your community (how common it is, and which type of people are often migrating out (age, sex, and socioeconomic profile)?
2. What are the different push and pull factors for migration in the area?
3. How do migrants make the decision to migrate (do family members, peers, and others affect the decision making in any way? And do they provide support for their migration project)?
4. How do migrants in the locality get information about where to migrate to (destination) and the different routes they take?
5. What are the major destinations for migrants from the area?
6. What are the multifaceted challenges migrants face?
7. What are the main challenges that returnee migrants face upon returning home?
8. What are the different psychosocial and economic reintegration support programs in the area? Who provides what?
9. What are the main tasks (programs or projects) done by your institution in relation to returnee migrants?
10. What is your opinion on; A) what should be done to protect migrants? B) To support the successful reintegration of returnee migrants to protect them from remigration?