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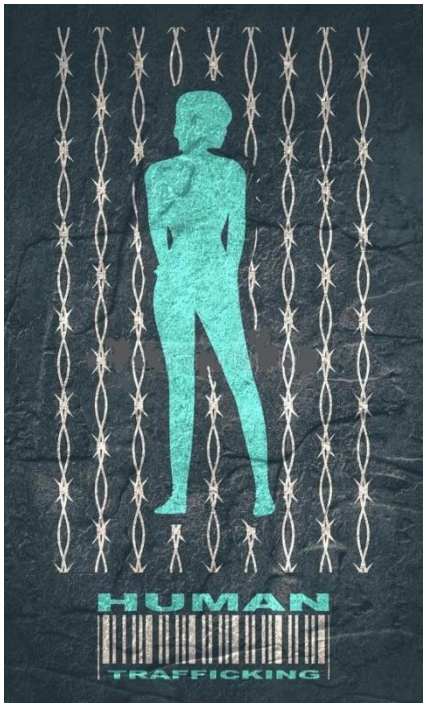
Women Trafficking in Ethiopia and its Mitigation: The Case of Arsi Zone, Oromiya



Lemma Megerssa Wako

Women Trafficking in Ethiopia and its Mitigation: The Case of Arsi Zone, Oromiya

Lemma Megerssa Wako

Women Trafficking in Ethiopia and its Mitigation:

The Case of Arsi Zone, Oromiya

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Dedication

For those victims of human trafficking, particularly women and children, who lost their lives.

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Acronyms and Abbreviations

AAZ	Arsi Administrative Zone
ACCORD	Austrian Centre for Country of Origin and Asylum Research and Documentation
AU	African Union
AWAZ	Administrative Zone
AZ	Administrative Zone
CSA	Central Statistics Authority
EPRDF	Ethiopian People Revolutionary Democratic Front
EU	European Union
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
FDRE	Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
HRW	Human Rights Watch
HT	Human Trafficking
HoA	Horn of Africa
IGAD	International Organization for Development
IOM	International Organization for Migration
ILO	International Organization for Migration
LRP	Land Reform Proclamation
MoFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
MoLSA	Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs
PIDC	Pacific Immigration Director's Conference
RMPF	Regional Migration Policy Framework
OAU	Organization for African Unity
OCHA	United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
OHCHR	High Commissioner for Human Rights
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development

ONRS	Oromiya National Regional State
PEA	Private Employment Agency
PTSD	Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNGA	United Nations General Assembly
UNHCR	United Nations Human Rights Commission
UNIAP	United Nations Inter Agency Project on Human Trafficking
UNODC	United Nations office of Drug and Crimes
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
USDS	United States Department of State (USDS)
WB	World Bank

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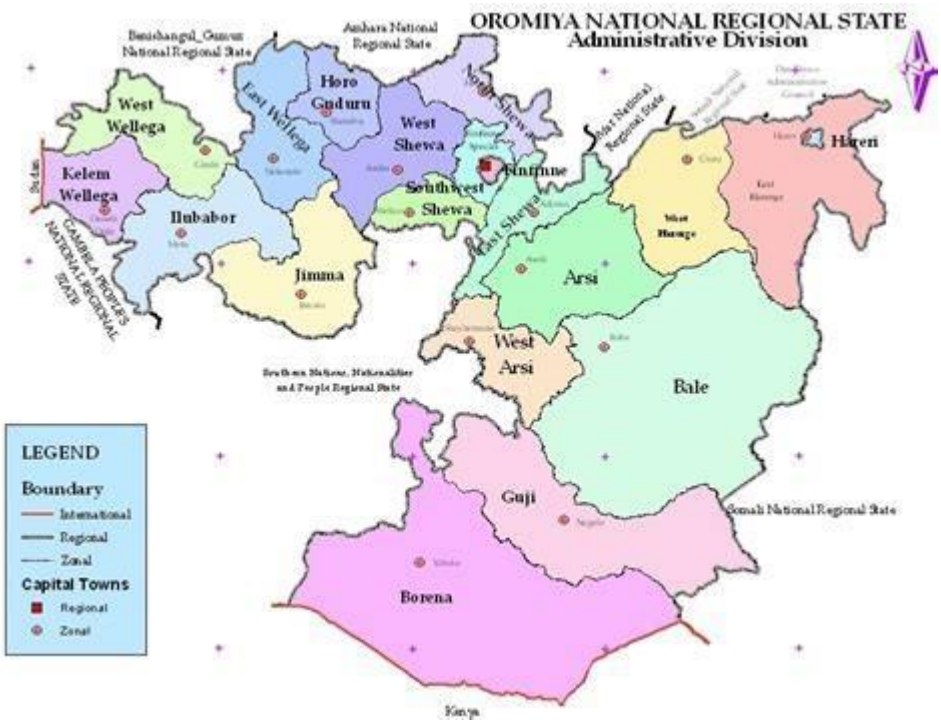
Map 1: Map of Oromiya National Regional State



Source: Oromiya National Regional State

(available at: https%3A%2F%2Fwww.Oromiyatourism.gov.et%2Fimages%2Farticle_pictures%2FOro_Admin.jpg&exph=623&expw=823&q=administrative+map+of+Oromiya+region&selectedindex=4&ajaxhist=0&vt=0&eim=0,1,2,3,4,6,8,10 (accessed 20 December 2019)

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Background

Human trafficking is a world-wide phenomenon, experienced in all continents. According to the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC 2004), human trafficking is:
"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". I take this definition as a starting point to indicate the organized exploitation of dependent, irregular migrants in search of jobs outside their home area/country, a phenomenon that has taken criminal shape.

Human trafficking in this sense is recognized as a growing problem and has become so endemic so that the United Nations has promulgated a Special Protocol do deal specifically with the trafficking of women and children.[1] Human trafficking is transnational but is propelled by specific socio-economic factors and actors in various countries that traverse the local, regional and national boundaries. The International Labor Organization (ILO) estimates that in recent years there are about 12.3 million people in forced labor, bonded labor, forced child labor, and sexual servitude at any given time. The US Department of State (USDS) approximates that 600,000-800,000 people are annually trafficked across national borders, which does not include millions trafficked within their own countries. Trafficking is the third most lucrative illicit business in the world after arms and drug trafficking and is thus a major source of organized crime revenue. The initial 'sale' of trafficked persons generates an

[1] *Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children* (UN 2000c); this belongs to a much broader *Convention against Transnational Organized Crime*. This broad and all-encompassing definition is legal and therefore requires legal and regulatory instruments to prevent, suppress and punish those practicing or harboring human trafficking.

estimated US$ 7 to $12 billion annually, with subsequent sales generating an additional US$ 32 billion a year (Gekht 2007: 11-27).

As part of international organized crime, human trafficking involves globally distributed criminal networks, and its victims are drawn from local, national and regional sources. Similarly, human trafficking traverses age (its victims are children, youths and adults) and gender (both men and women fall prey to organized traffickers). On the gender-age spectrum, recent literature has shown that most victims of human trafficking are women and children. Globally, trend analysis shows that in 2016 about 40% more victims of human trafficking were detected compared to 2011. In the same year, it is reported that 21% of the persons trafficked are men, 49% women, 23% girls and 7% boys.[2] In other words, during this period, women and girls comprised 72% of the total number of persons trafficked globally.

As recent as 2018 it was reported that: "… most of the victims detected across the world are females; mainly adult women, but also increasingly girls. Most of the detected victims of trafficking for sexual exploitation are females, and 35 per cent of the victims trafficked for forced labor are also females, both women and girls. At the same time, more than half of the victims of trafficking for forced labor are men".[3]

In Africa, over the past few years, there has been an increase in all kinds of human trafficking to and from, as well as within the continent.[4] Yet, a lack of public awareness about the problems of human trafficking and the extent to which organized criminal groups are involved is common in Africa.

The insight into the phenomenon came not from statistical data but from the alarms raised by activists, the media, and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in Nigeria, Togo, and Benin in the late 1990s.[5] Indeed, in Africa in recent years, trafficking of women and children, as commercial sex workers or as exploited domestic servants, has assumed such an alarming proportion that African leaders are breaking the normal culture of silence to address the issue with the urgency it deserves.

Over the past decade, the number of trafficked Africans has increased both internally (within the continent) and externally (to other parts of the world), particularly the Middle East and Europe (Thipanyane 2015). In 2016, it was estimated that child victims accounted for the

[2] UNODC, Global Report on Trafficking in Persons 2018: 25.
[3] *Ibid.*: 9.
[4] Thipanyane 2015, online journal, no pagination.
[5] See details in A. Adepoju (2005), 'Review of research and data on human trafficking in sub-Saharan Africa', in: F. Laczko and E. Gozdziak (eds), *Data and Research on Human Trafficking: A Global Survey*. Geneva: I.O.M.

majority (about 55 per cent) and were detected in sub-Saharan Africa, with girls and boys almost equally distributed.[6]

Having noted that human trafficking is transnational and traverses several regions and countries, Ethiopia is not an exception in that many Ethiopians have fallen victim to human trafficking. Ethiopian women working in domestic service in the Middle East were trafficked and are often subjected to severe abuse, including physical and sexual assault, denial of salary, sleep deprivation, passport confiscation, and confinement. Ethiopian women who migrate for work or flee abusive employers in the Middle East are also vulnerable to sex trafficking. Ethiopian men and boys migrate to the Gulf states and other African nations, where some are subjected to forced labor. Ethiopian women and children bear the brunt of many negative physical abuse outcomes. In a study of women trafficked to the Sweden and the Netherlands, it was observed that 95% of victims had been "violently assaulted or coerced into a sexual act," and over 60% of victims reported "fatigue, neurological symptoms, back pain, vaginal discharges, and gynecological infections."[7] Women and girls are vulnerable to reproductive and other gender-specific health problems because they often have little or no access to reproductive healthcare. According to Hughes (2000), the consequences of trafficking also include lack of access to birth control, rape, forced abortions and contraceptive use, , and other health issues. It has also been observed that female trafficking victims in domestic servitude are frequently subjected to rape and other physical abuse, while trafficking victims in forced prostitution[8] suffer increased risk of sexually transmitted infections.

But not all women face harsh repercussions like these. Regarding the specific focus of this thesis on women involuntarily trafficked, beyond their will, or losing any control of the process, I note that there is an ambivalent line between those trafficked this sense and those that initiate or submit to the process for purposes of (unregulated and risky) labour migration, where women initially exercise choice and agency. The trajectories of such women are often better described as being involved in 'irregular migration' (More on the terms in Chapter 3). Women who become entangled in trafficking often had initial agency and 'chose' to move for purposes of gaining employment outside their country of origin. Some succeed and brave the adverse conditions they meet; almost all are confronted with deep challenges and problems. But the point to emphasize is that not all women everywhere in vulnerable labour conditions are by definition 'trafficked victims', and I will give examples of this in the thesis. The main

[6] UNODC, Global Report on Trafficking 2018: 25.
[7] See Davidson; Perry and Roby 2010.
[8] For a Thailand case study, see Taylor 2005.

focus here, however, is on the problem of trafficked (Ethiopian) women who lose control over their migration process and become mire in problems and serious abuse; thus being victimized by criminal agents and exploited (See for instance Nisrane *et al.* 2020 on this category of women).

Due to the secrecy that shrouds a criminal activity such as human trafficking, the real magnitude of internally and externally trafficked persons is based on estimates rather than actual, reliable figures. However, there are indications of the alarming number of persons trafficked worldwide. In 2016, the government of Ethiopia intercepted more than 30,000 individuals vulnerable to trafficking and convicted 640 traffickers, an increase from 69 convicted in 2015.[9] For 2018, it was estimated that the Ethiopian government intercepted more than 10,000 individuals vulnerable to trafficking and convicted more than 180 traffickers.[10] Saudi Arabia remains the primary destination for irregular migrants; reportedly over 500,000 Ethiopians were residing there in 2019. In 2018 the Ethiopian government lifted its October 2013 ban on Ethiopian domestic worker employment in the Gulf states, acknowledging that the ban had contributed to irregular migration and trafficking. In 2017 Saudi Arabia deported more than 100,000 Ethiopians back to Ethiopia, which created considerable hardships to those deported, particularly those who claimed to have lost all their life-time savings.[11]

Besides various negative physical consequences[12] it can be noted that survivors of trafficking frequently suffer from social and physical damage caused by captivity and fear of reprisals if escape is contemplated, and brainwashing. Survivors may also suffer from anxiety, panic disorder, and major depression, intense feelings of shame, substance abuse, and eating disorders. Many survivors also suffer from Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD), as in the case of the Eritrean refugees in Ethiopia (van Reisen 2017). These include following symptoms: intrusive re-experiencing of trauma (such as flashbacks and nightmares); avoidance or numbing of trauma-related or trauma-triggering stimuli; and hyper-arousal (heightened startle response and inability to concentrate). Among the recent publications in publications For adults and children, PTSD is typically chronic and debilitating when left unchecked (See Feeney, Foa, Treadwell and March 2005).

[9] United States Department of State, 2018 Trafficking in Persons Report, Ethiopia.
[10] United States Department of State, 2017. Trafficking in Persons Report, Ethiopia.
[11] See United States Department of State 2017, De Regt and Tafesse 2017, and Kubai 2016.
[12] See Peter Landesman, 'The girls next door,' *New York Times,* 25 January 2004 (Available at http://www.nytimes.com/2004/01/25/magazine/25SEXTRAFFIC.html?pagewanted=all, accessed 5 February 2019).

Generally, the literature on women trafficking has addressed at least six major thematic debates: first, domestic workers' experiences, focusing on labour rights and sexual abuse and bondage labour, among others (Fernandez, 2001 and 2011; de Regt, 2010; Anteneh, 2011; Abbebe 2012; Asefach, 2017; Asefaw, 2018; Boris 2018, Lim 1998). Second, the theme of female-specific vulnerability, relating to gender roles and Middle Eastern societies' negative image on domestic work, which is in some cases associated with ownership of the labour and labour providers. Third, the trafficking of adolescent girls (Grabska, de Regt and del Franco, 2019; Fernandez, 2019), where migration is considered part of the transition to adulthood or for sex trafficking. This aspect is relatively well-studied for Asian countries but not yet for Northeast Africa. Fourth, experiences of returnee women and their integration into the sending communities (Minaye, 2012a, 2012b; Gezie *et al.* 2019a; Gezie *et al.* 2019b). Fifth, physical and psychological suffering (Sanchez 2011, van Reisen 2017, Gerassi *et al.* 2018). Sixth, human trafficking as a mode of 'modern slavery' (Nevison 1906, Taran and Geronimi, 2003, Tomich 2004, James, 2005, Obokota 2006, Parrenas *et al.* 2012, Bales, 2012, Chibba 2014 and van Reisen and Rijken 2015; Winterdyk and Reichel 2010) and its critics (Agustin, 2005; Aronowitz 2009; Bales, Trodd and Kent 2009, Davidson; 2010; Winterdyk and Reichel, 2010; Jansson, 2015; Brace and Davidson, 2018), which like other themes and debates dealt with in this thesis with varying degree of details.

Moreover, these debates are neither Ethiopia-specific nor exhaustive, due to the global nature of women/human trafficking and the huge volume of global literature on human trafficking. Still, they reflect some of the issues grappled with in this thesis, which focuses on Arsi Zone and not on the whole of Ethiopia. There are several regional differences, e.g., between South-eastern, North-western and Central Ethiopia, according to religious and cultural divergence, the nature of labour markets and employment structures, and reach of government authority. The contribution of an Arsi Region-directed study is to reflect on the specific local economy and local culture in south central Ethiopia, and area with widespread poverty but not as marginalized in comparison with, say, the Gambela, Somali, or Beni Shangul Regions. A case study here can also throw light on some of the causes of human outflow in a largely Oromo peasant/small trader society where the medium-sized towns cannot absorb young people (male and female) in the labour market, and where the outflow of youths abroad is largely going in one direction: towards the Red Sea coast and to richer Arab/Middle Eastern countries across

it.[13] Ethiopia-specific literature has been consulted, noting that similarities or differences of research-based findings make an important contribution to the comparative study of the trafficking problem in the country, and so far relatively little is known on the Arsi Zone area.

However, Ethiopia-specific research on irregular migration and human trafficking has also attempted to elucidate the continuum between the processes of trafficking in countries of origin and host countries. Such studies on trafficked women abroad were conducted by Beydoun (2006), Mesfin (2011), Asefach (2012), Hailemichael (2014 and 2017), Elias (2016), Fernandez (2013 and 2019) and Tefera (2019), Gezie *et al*. (2019a); focusing on the problems that Ethiopian domestic workers face in the destination countries. Some few researchers focused on in-country human trafficking, like Temesgen (2010), Fojo (2018), Anteneh (2011), Muluken *et al.* (2014), Hagose 2014, Gudetu (2014), Hailu (2015), Reda (2017), Mehari (2017) and Kebede (2018), Lemma (2019), Shewit (2013) and Tekalign (2018).

In Ethiopia, the research conducted on the continuum between country of origin and host country, often associated with the study of human trafficking and smuggling networks, is largely dominated by international and inter-governmental organizations, such as IOM and IGAD (2015), SAHAN and IGAD 2016; OECD (2016), ILO (2015), UNHCR (2019), Human Rights Watch (2011, 2014), and others. This could be explained in respect to the broad nature of policy research and where the transnational mandates and huge human and financial resources of the multilateral organizations offer better opportunities to access the full-range of the human trafficking cycle from the sending to the host country and return.

The above brief overview of the literature shows that the subject of trafficking of Ethiopian women to the Middle East is becoming prominent both in academic work and in multilateral organizations' activities. The high prevalence of literature on women is explainable due to the large numbers of trafficked women in general, and specifically for Ethiopia on the growing numbers of those moving within the country as well as from there moving to the Middle East in particular, as will be elaborated in subsequent chapters. However, studies focusing on the continuum between internal and external as well as on returnees are rather scarce. One of the aims of this study, therefore, is to bridge this gap.

Despite anticipated physical and psychological suffering, many people are enticed every year by the hope for a better life, and decide, plan, prepare to move from Ethiopia to the Middle East, Sudan, South Africa and elsewhere, via traffickers or brokers. Relatives,

[13] Other areas in Ethiopia show different patterns, e.g., in Gondar (northwest Ethiopia) the outflow goes to Sudan and the Mediterranean, and in Hadiya-Kambata (Southern Region), most migrants go to Kenya hoping to reach South Africa.

neighbors, friends and families even facilitate the process by selling their property to pay for the fees required for the brokers, as heard from public discussions made at different times about the issue (Beck *et al*. 2016). As this thesis was completed just as the COVID-19 pandemic reached Africa's shores, the effects of it could not be studied. It is reasonable to expect a significant slowing down of outmigration due to travel restrictions, reduced flights, quarantine rules, and an economic slow-down reducing demand for (domestic) labour. In addition it can be noted that (trafficked) Ethiopian women and other foreigners presently working in the Middle East have entered into an even more vulnerable situation, with reports emerging in media and via international organizations that many domestic servants and workers are dismissed or 'dumped' by their employers[14] due to lack of funds because of rapidly rising unemployment in the wake of the economic downturn caused by the pandemic, or because of fear of infection.

As noted above, to the best of my knowledge, the literature reveals that human trafficking and its risk factors in Arsi, Oromiya National Regional State,[15] have not been much studied. This was a motivating factor to further examine the specific situation in two zones of this region in central Ethiopia, where the problem is serious. Reliable official data on trafficking and women trafficking particularly from the Oromiya Region is hard to obtain, which also determined the need for conducting elaborate questionnaires.

The rationale behind using the questionnaire method is that it offers the opportunity to canvas a broad array of perceptions on some of the controversial issues in human trafficking. For instance, it gives much room for asking question about the wider society's attitudes about women irregular migration and trafficking, its legality, perceived causes, and the effect of education and related issue in the process. See Annex 1 and 2 for the range and width of the questions asked and chapter 6, where the data is analyzed and presented. By its very nature, the questionnaire method is less subjective than for example, participant observation for a researcher who belongs to the community he or she studies. Also compared to participant observation, if done well it takes less time both in terms of data collection and analysis. I am also aware of the shortcoming of questionnaire as a method of data collection, such as the inability of some respondents to fully remember past events, hide their true attitudes or feelings or not explaining the context of their answers. Some respondents may deliberately refrain from

[14] See BBC, 'Ethiopian maids dumped outside Beirut embassy', 21 June 2020 (https://www.bbc.com/news/av/world-53031803/ethiopian-maids-dumped-outside-beirut-embassy, accessed 25 June 2020). See also: https://www.pri.org/stories/2020-06-26/lebanon-s-financial-crisis-worsens-migrant-workers-are-being-dumped-streets-trash (26 June 2020).
[15] Here below: Oromiya, or Oromiya State.

giving answers that may put them in a disadvantaged position vis-à-vis family members or government officers responsible for implementing anti-trafficking policies. However, on the whole, as a method of data collection, the questionnaire positive attributes overweigh the negative ones, especially when combined with interviews

The study focus on women trafficking was conceived during preliminary fieldwork, where it became apparent that it was a social problem insufficiently recognized, raising questions on when the phenomenon started, why, what the factors were that contributed to its emergence, and what its consequences were, both for the wider population and for the trafficked and returnee women. For this purpose, it became mandatory that new data were to be collected from trafficked women themselves and from their families in order to obtain a fuller understanding of the consequences of trafficking. Another important aspect of this study is that it investigates the trafficking *process*, i.e. how those trafficked within Ethiopia and host Middle Eastern countries are recruited and how they travel. The role of the *returnees* from being trafficked and the information given by their families are significant because they are no longer fearful of reprisals by traffickers in the host countries and therefore would be more disposed to describe their experiences.

As noted, regardless of the growing attention to the problem of human trafficking, its magnitude has been proven hard to estimate. However, there is some material which we attempted to put to good use in this study. A number of reports have documented the difficulty in obtaining accurate statistics on the number of trafficked victims. Certain is that trafficking in persons has increased drastically and is escalating at a fast pace (Avellino 2012: 22; Gekht 2008: 31-32).

Commonly, those trafficked come from marginalized backgrounds - they may be socio-economically disadvantaged, of lower education, and unemployed, often from (ethnic) minorities, and often youngsters and women. Their status as marginalized people places them in a diminished, often dependent state, more vulnerable and less capable or established than the mainstream classes of the employed, property/business owners, let alone social and political elites. In human trafficking, (young) women and adolescents easily make up the largest category proportion. They are most vulnerable .

As the research proceeded it became apparent that the problem of women trafficking in the Arsi area was substantial and undocumented. However, most of the real data of trafficked women could only be obtained if the women themselves or their family reported that they were *returnees* from the Arab destination countries. The reporting was done only if the returnees or the families felt that they would receive some kind of support from the

government. Consequently, the exact number of the trafficking victims in the area is still hard to obtain.

1.2. Scope

This study focuses on women trafficked from Arsi administrative zone of Ethiopia to the Middle East, with scant references to trafficked women from Ethiopia and elsewhere, and relates the description of the empirical case to national and international anti-trafficking concepts and to legal and administrative instruments. This focus was in part determined by the scarcity of studies on women trafficked from Arsi zone of Oromiya State. Although theoretical issues related to gender-studies are sparsely discussed, in the analysis it becomes clear that women are particularly vulnerable to trafficking due to a structurally weaker position in African (and Ethiopian) society, but the study focuses on the trafficking phenomenon in general as the primary problem, with women as a case study. The intermediaries and traffickers are almost all men. While I do not follow a systematic gender analysis, there is thus a clear gender dimension in the phenomenon, with females in a less powerful position vis-à-vis males, showing a mixture of initiative or willingness (to move out and find gainful employment) and dependency (relying on male networks of intermediaries and traffickers).

1.3. Purpose of the Research

This study aims to explore the nature, prevalence, several root causes, and societal consequences of (female) human trafficking in the two Arsi zones: 'Arsi' and 'Arsi West', in Oromiya State, and also to assess intervention and prevention measures. The overarching question is why (female) human trafficking persists despite the myriad of legal and policy frameworks and institutions established to mitigate it.

1.4. Objectives

The specific research objectives of the study are to:

1. identify some of the root causes/determinants that induce individuals to be trafficked, and explore the consequences of human trafficking in the two Arsi zones and explore its gender dimensions;

2. explore the attitudes, perceptions and awareness of the trafficked, traffickers and the community at large towards human trafficking, notably the returnees (often former victims or survivors);
3. examine how the Oromiya State and the Federal Government anti-human trafficking policy framework is articulated and implemented; and
4. scrutinize possible prevention and mitigating strategies to combat female human trafficking by combing the policy oriented and legally codified freedom and emancipation and the material needs or more politically economy oriented responses to human trafficking, in general, and women trafficking in particular.

The empirical findings of the study will be a basis for answering the research questions above, and seek socio-economic explanations of human trafficking rather than to reducing it to being an act of criminality for mere profit, without explaining its causes.

1.5. Research Design and Methodology

One of the issues that became clearer as the research proceeded was the fact that human trafficking research provides unique challenges. As it is principally a concealed enterprise, developing the right research design for accessing the relevant subjects presented an uphill task. Researchers have at best restricted access to the immediate subject matter of their enquiries, namely the 'hidden' populations that include victims, traffickers and criminal networks. Even those who reported to the local authorities that they were victims of human trafficking are less willing to respond to requests from a researcher mainly because they fear the consequences of exposing the (criminal) practices. This means that the size and boundaries of the pool of potential research subjects are unknown, resulting in the lack of a 'sampling frame' (See Goździak and Bump 2008; Laczko 2005), despite the importance of enquiries that either comprise, or rely heavily on, original primary evidence (See Kelly 2002; Tyldum *et al*. 2005). In other words, abstracting victims of trafficking in numbers does not tell much of the real life ordeals they go through and the variety of factors which contributed to them being part of this inhumane practice.

Moreover, researchers on trafficking find themselves writing on an issue that has often been sensationalized, misrepresented, and politicized (see Gregoriou 2018). With the bulk of media treatment only sensationalizing trafficking, especially in stories of sexual exploitation, social scientists must, in contrast, provide carefully researched, on-the-ground accounts of life

in and after trafficking. There are many pressures on trafficked persons to maintain silence about their status (cf. Goździak and Bump 2008, Laczko 2005).

Despite all the difficulties involved, the research is based on data obtained by using both qualitative and quantitative approaches. Basically, as Berg (1989) noted, no single approach, either qualitative or quantitative, can be perfectly effective, and so the validity of each method can be improved significantly through triangulation of data from various sources (see Flick, 1992; Yin, 2003). Simply put, rather than relying on a single data source, the use of several sources of evidence, such as questionnaire, interviews, focus group discussions, observations, and field notes, helped the researcher construct the study's validity (cf. Yin 2009: 98-99) and to assess their family data, education, work situation, income, etc. but also can reveal attitudes, values, beliefs or opinions (Bouma 2000: 20). House (1994) suggests that questionnaires in quantitative research give a more precise, explicit and predetermined measure and identification of relevant variables regarding the root causes and consequences of human trafficking.

Mixed methods were the best design for this study because the inquiry involved collecting both quantitative and qualitative data, which reveal both basic facts and subjective knowledge and opinions. So, a concurrent mixed method approach involving a combination of such qualitative data generated from semi-structured interviews and focus group meetings was matched with the data obtained via a five-point Likert-type survey questionnaire.

The interviews were face-to-face carried out by myself, assisted by an experienced informant/assistant, who transcribed the interview questions (prepared in English) into the language of most of the interviewees (in Afan Oromo), under my supervision. Some interviews and questionnaires (Annexes 1 and 2), were translated from English to Amharic, as not all government employees are fluent in English. And, in both cases, the responses of the interviewees were again transcribed back to English for the purpose of writing the thesis.

1.5.1. The Research Site

The main field research was conducted in short intervals between late February and June 2019, commencing with short exploratory visits for piloting the questionnaire. The interview process and the administration of the questionnaire and interviews took place simultaneously between February and June 2019. However, the bulk of the interviews with returnee trafficked women were conducted in April and only five interviews were conducted in June 2019. The writing was made easier because the background chapters (two, three and four) were written before the

data collection which offered some time for reflection and improvements of the data analysis and writing.

The research site is located in the two Arsi administrative zones (Arsi and Arsi West West), two of the twenty administrative zones of the Oromiya State. According to the 2007 census - the last one taken and conducted by the Central Statistical Agency of Ethiopia - Arsi zone had a total population of 2,637,657 (1,323,424 men and 1,314,233 women). In the zone the population is almost entirely rural and in majority Muslim (58.1%) The second largest group of inhabitants are Orthodox Christians (40.1%).[16]

Approximately 12% of the zone' population live in urban areas. With a total of 541,959 households reported, there are about 5 persons per household on average. The two largest ethnic groups inhabiting this zone are Oromo and Amhara, accounting for roughly 84% and 14% of the total population.

Arsi West Zone had a total population of 1,964,038 (973,743 men and 990,295 women). A total of 387,143 households were counted in the zone, which results in an average of 5 persons per household. Also, here, the two largest ethnic groups are Oromo and Amhara, accounting almost 89% and 4% of the total population of the zone. Approximately 14% of the population are urban inhabitants. The majority of the inhabitants in Arsi West zone are also Muslim; with 80.34% of the population, while 11.04% of the population professed Ethiopian Orthodox Christianity and 7.02% were Protestant.[17]

The research was specifically undertaken in four *woreda*s (districts) from the two zones (two from each zone), selected on the basis of the relatively higher prevalence of women trafficking reported. These *woreda*s are Adabba and Gadab-Asasa from Arsi West zone, and Robe and Sude from Arsi zone.

1.5.2. Rationale

Although considerable studies on human trafficking to the Middle East were published, Arsi zone has not featured as major migration/human trafficking areas (as, for example, Addis Ababa, Amhara and Tigray National Regional States have). During the fieldwork, it became apparent that human trafficking from Arsi Zone is an underestimated and significant social problem .

[16] Central Statistical Authority (2007). These data are old because they were gathered more than a decade ago. Much has changed since then. However, because of any other reliable data, these figures were used.

[17] *Ibid*. 2007: 9. Table 2.1.

The rationale behind choosing *women* as a focus of this study is not because men are not trafficked. However, migrant and trafficked women are more visible than men, and are often seen in Addis Ababa's Bole Airport in large numbers, on their way to or returning from the Middle East and other destinations. They also seem more vulnerable. The focus of this study on young women only is mainly because these women are the largest trafficked group in Ethiopia. Second, although the study not specifically takes a theoretical gender perspective, the filed material is reasonably disaggregated according to gender. It also relates to the different socio-economic and cultural factors in the country and region of origin contributing to women and men being trafficked. The questionnaire materials also included valuable information on the perceptions of government officials and non-officials views about women trafficking compared to men.

1.5.3 Research Design

The design employed an explanatory cross-sectional descriptive questionnaire-based 'descripto-explanatory' studies (see Lewis, Saunders & Thornhill 2009). Descriptive studies are used to examine the existing situation of human trafficking (causes, pervasiveness and consequences) in Arsi and Arsi West zones of Oromiya. Explanatory research is a valuable means of finding out "what is happening; to seek new insights; to ask questions and to assess phenomena in a new light" (Robson 2002: 58) The 'explanatory' approach looks more at causes, and will be addressed in chapters following data presentation.

1.5.4 Population, Sample and Sampling Procedures

The 'target' populations of this study are the trafficked/migrants, traffickers/brokers, experts working at the Ministry of Labor and Emigration Office, and the community of origin at large. Though it has limitations, snowball or respondent-driven sampling has been used to study vulnerable and hard-to-reach populations as diverse as HIV patients, drug users, street-based individuals and sex workers (Salganik and Heckathorn 2004: 194). Therefore, traffickers and victims are sampled using the snowball sampling technique. Snowball sampling, also called 'referral sampling', is a non-probability sampling in which existing study subjects identified the participants (respondents) from among their acquaintances. This sampling technique was selected because, by its very nature, human trafficking is mostly invisible to outsiders, and can better be understood through referrals by insiders. As those involved in the activity in one way or the other know each other, potential respondents are better identified by the help of the

preceding respondents. Potential sampling bias is one of the limitations of snowball sampling because the respondents refer only to those whom they know and whom they think to serve the research purpose. As a result, others could be excluded. Besides, representativeness of the sample cannot be fully guaranteed. Nevertheless, compared with other sampling methods, snowball sampling has been selected with all its limitations because of its effectiveness in this kind of research.

Focus-group discussants and key interviewees were selected on the basis of snowballing method, as those involved in the activity in one way or the other know each other, potential respondents are better identified with the help of the other respondents. Two Focus Group Discussions were conducted in each of the four selected woredas. And, the Participants were victims and families of victims. The number of participants range from 8 to 12. In sum, a total of 80 participants were included in the Focus Group Discussions. A total of two focus group discussions were held: with the intermediaries. Focus group discussions were held twice per each group. The number of respondents who participated in each focus group discussion ranged from seven to 12 based on practical situations and availability. Therefore, a total of eight Focus Group Discussions were held.

In this study the key informants were selected on the bases of their knowledge, proximity to the issue, experience and willingness to participate. These key informants were government officials, family members of victims, local knowledgeable persons, victims, and local brokers.

A total of 78 key informants were interviewed, which included representatives of government institutions, law enforcement, victims, traffickers, and victims' families. Next to these key informants, we gathered information from dozens of other persons met in in the field or in offices and other locations in informal conversations.

1.5.5 Data Collection Instruments

Besides the above methods, the study adopted document analysis to determine how well the human trafficking policy addresses and accounted for the different types, causes and combating strategies of trafficking.

Autobiographic accounts of study participants are a basis to analyze the person's whole life history or life story (biography). Both the narrative and the interpretive dimensions are relevant to take into account (cf. Corbally and O'Neill 2014: 34), although I do not use an in-

depth biographical narrative analysis. The autobiographic stories of victims of human trafficking/(in)voluntary migrants before their departure and of those who escaped or returned were recorded so as to better understand the motivations of the migrants, the 'choices' made, the trafficking process, and the experiences in the country of destination.

The questionnaire had three parts. Part one was on demographic characteristics of the respondents, and part two on the pre-and post-migration situation of the migrants in the perspective of themselves and of the community. For instance, how did they travel to the destination country, how did they obtain jobs, what were the living conditions and problems, and to what extent were they satisfied with their jobs abroad. Part three consisted of open-ended questions which allowed respondents to say freely what they perceived and felt. In addition, the survey questionnaire was used to gather data on issues related to attitudes, the awareness/knowledge level as well as the mitigation measures.

The informants who administered the questionnaire and joined me during the interviews were from within and outside the research site. They were administered under my supervision and complemented with interviews with the respondents involved directly or indirectly in the human trafficking process. Obviously, the use of the questionnaire method alone in human trafficking research can be problematic. However, in this study, mix research methods are used as described earlier, with the questionnaire method providing large amounts of information from a large sample of respondents than if an interview-only method is used. It is also true that the questionnaire method involves issues of privacy and the problem of aggregation of diverse voices in a single figure.

As to privacy, the respondents had consented to participate in the research. On the other hand, I made sure that the names of those who participated in the study are kept anonymous, and to protect their identity, the names shown in the trafficked women cases are not their real names. I have elaborated this in the following Section on ethics and research limitations. The aggregated information is cross-checked with information collected through the use of other methods, as explained herein.

1.5.6 Field data analysis

The data is analyzed according to the method used. Below is a short note on how the data is analyzed for each set of data:

Questionnaire: To analyze the quantitative data obtained through questionnaire Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS) has been employed. The SPSS software provided

a means by which frequencies of the scales under each theme in the questionnaire was computed. Depending on the output from the software simple descriptive technique (mainly percentages and averages) has been utilized to present the results.

Key Informant Interviews: Thematic content analysis has been used to analyze the Interview data. First, based on the guiding questions for the interviews, the responses of the interviewees were carefully recorded. Then, the responses were reviewed and put into major themes and patterns. Finally, the emerging patterns and their meanings were interpreted and integrated with the results generated from questionnaire and Focus Group Discussions.

Focus Group Discussions: Similar with the Key Informant Interviews, Thematic Content Analysis has been employed in analyzing the data from Focus Group Discussions. As Focus Group Discussion aimed to see responses of the research participants in a group setting, it is different from one-to-one interview mainly due to its focus on generating some of the themes that emerge from interaction of the individuals in the group. The responses to the guiding questions for the discussants were recorded and put into patterns and themes. Finally, the results of FGDs and their meanings were integrated to those generated from questionnaires and Key Informant Interviews.

1.5.6 Limitations and ethical considerations

The main limitations of researching human trafficking in general and women trafficking, are personal and ethical. Personally, the researcher is of Oromo background. The subject of the study is a socially sensitive issue, where self-esteem, cultural values and social considerations often stand between the researcher and victims of trafficking talking about their experiences or ordeals. Being a victim of trafficking is often blamed by outsiders on the victim and not the perpetrators and therefore, carries a stigma or a sense of social shame. A researcher who conducts research among his/her own people is also confronted with dilemmas that foreign researchers may not confront due to what could be describes as relative lack of social proximity and subjectivity.

Another and more crucial limitation on my part was my social and political position in the Oromo society and Ethiopian society and politics. Being a well-known politician and a public figure who held high positions in government unfortunately made access to the victims of trafficking difficult and in some cases, almost impossible. During a significant part of this project my official position in government, the very institution entrusted with combating human trafficking, in some sense could be viewed as an initial barrier. I attempted to overcome

this and other barriers through patience and humility, assuring the respondents and informants of my belief in the principles and practice of ethical research, in listening to their views and experiences, and slowly building trust; and it helped that I did the research work together with an assistant. I followed the standards on researching trafficking published by the UN Inter-Agency Project on Human Trafficking (UNIAP 2008: 34):

- "Do no harm": be compassionate but neutral;
- Prioritize personal safety and security: identify and minimize risks;
- Get informed consent, with no coercion;
- Ensure anonymity and confidentiality to the greatest extent possible;
- Adequately select and prepare interpreters and field teams;
- Prepare referral information, and be prepared for emergency intervention;
- Do not hesitate to help others: put your information to good use.

To be sure and the best of my ability, I think I have complied with these research ethics standards of which I became increasingly aware during the fieldwork, where I attempted to strike a balance between being an active and a passive participant observer at the same time. Active observer because I am an Oromo and passive observer because I contrived to be as objective as possible while I cannot be an outsider. As has rightly been noted by Siegel and De Wildt (2016: 2-3): "In research on human trafficking, contact with pimps or traffickers and even more so with 'vulnerable victims' is often viewed as unethical, regardless of the willingness of the victims themselves to participate in the research".

I also used informants to assist me in collecting data and used my own encounters to cross-check the efficacy of the data I collected, therefore combining my personal research experience with that of the informants. Generally, I submit that my research experience is not unique to social science researchers who are often under scrutiny due to their quest for objectivity in situations where the researcher is part of the community yet should take subjectivity seriously. Obviously, my background as a research originating from Oromia invites questions about positionality.

Like other researchers, whether they research their own society or other, distant ones, positioning oneself includes at least five essential elements: gender, identity, reflexivity, subjectivity and objectivity (see Grbich 2012:71). I was aware of the fact that I'm a Christian man studying a society where the majority are Muslims. However, this challenge was not as acute as I had anticipated. Arsi Muslim women are found in every walk of life, as traders, migrants, workers, office people, tea-sellers, etc. My identity as an Oromo had in this particular case trumped my religious identity. After all, families, relatives and friends were directly or

indirectly involved in facilitating legal migration or trafficking, and it wasn't strange for them that a man not personally known to them would talk to them about their experiences.

Two familiar issues are related to identity and gender: subjectivity and objectivity. In other words, to what extent was I aware of my role as a person (man) who was head of the administration in Arsi Zone? My experience finds resonance in Grbich's (2012: 79), contention that:

> "The shift to other positions [*in my case from administrator to researcher*, LMW] is a useful way of changing the previous authority of the researcher's voice but is often a very time-consuming and emotionally complex process involving years of writing and rewriting in order to gain distance from or to get closer to the data".

To the extent that I cherished the opportunity to conduct the research, it was also not easy in the Ethiopian situation, where authority is revered. Positions of power contribute to one's estrangement in societies socialized to centuries of absolute monarchy and military socialism. In Ethiopia, as an example of such societies, the gulf between administrator and citizens is still big and citizens consider it being an anomaly to be approached by senior administrators.

What subjectivity or objectivity biases clarified or blurred my understanding and interpretation of issues such as sexual abuse and rape of trafficked women, involvement in prostitution and other activities that society generally do not approve? Objectively, I tried to understand and interpret objectively and hold open my interpretations to criticism. Subjectively, due to the often dramatic stories told, it is impossible to treat women victims of trafficking as mere subjects of research or just as 'çases'. Trust-building motivated by human interest in such circumstances, as well as their knowledge that I was a high government official, although not without its problems, enhanced the respondents to tell their story in detail.

Reflexivity, defined by Hertz (1997: viii), as "viewing the self and the processes of data collection and interpretation in a critical and detached manner through internal dialogue and constant (and intensive) scrutiny of what I know and how I know it". (see also Williamson-Kefu (2019: 9). I cannot claim that I have been able to satisfy the full remit of reflexivity, but I tried, to a large extent, to be sufficiently critical of the negative impact of the government policies and direct or indirect contributions to human trafficking.

1.4.6 Organization of the Study

This study is organized in eight chapters. The present Chapter 1 is an Introduction, outlining the magnitude of human trafficking, the research rationale, objectives, methods of data collection and the overall organization of the study.

Chapter 2 is about the research setting (Arsi and West Arsi), elucidating the history, geography, population and their socio-economic activities and characteristics, focusing on income and income distribution, poverty and migration. The chapter also offers an overview of the problem of women trafficking in Ethiopia in general and Arsi and Arsi West, in particular.

Chapter 3 is conceptual-theoretical and written with two objectives in mind: First, to explore the evolution of Ethiopia's human trafficking legal instruments within the context of international human trafficking. Second, to critically assess the relevance of human trafficking instruments to the liberal theory of freedom and emancipation. It focusses on whether a discourse on freedom and emancipation without interrogating the structural cases of human trafficking is sufficient solution to understand and address the problems of migration and trafficking

Chapter 4 is about the magnitude and patterns of human trafficking in Ethiopia, focusing on women trafficking to the Middle East. This is an exploratory chapter developed as a background to chapter 5 which deals specifically with human trafficking from Arsi and Arsi West Administrative zones.

Chapter 5 provides an overview of the whole array of legal instruments and frameworks in place - partly international and partly Ethiopian – intended to address and combat the problems of human trafficking and irregular migration.

Chapters 6 and 7 are empirical. They present field findings used for examining human trafficking and some of its root causes. Specifically, they go deeper into the nature and consequences of the internal and external trafficking from Arsi and Arsi West. Chapter 8, the final chapter, offers an interpretive synthesis of the thesis and reconsiders issues of people's 'free choice' to migrate and their aspirations to improve their own lives against the background of the socio-economic approach which focusses on the material factors and causes of human trafficking. It also presents the conclusions, policy recommendations and identifies some gaps for future human trafficking research to address.

Chapter 2

The Setting

This chapter introduces the overall political economy situation which gave rise to human trafficking, in general and women trafficking, in particular. It proceeds to describe and explain the environmental and socio-economic conditions under which human trafficking and particularly the trafficking of women from Arsi Administrative Zones (Arsi West and Arsi) takes place. It argues that human trafficking is not only a matter of law and order that involves victims and traffickers and therefore falls within the conceptual underpinning of anti-human trafficking within the remit of freedom and emancipation. Its root causes and the factors which propel it are social and economic as well as a result of environmental shocks which contribute to the vulnerability of the victims of human trafficking and undermines their ability to eke a living from an impoverished environment. In situations of impaired livelihood conditions, traffickers find an easy prey in the victims and in some cases their families.

2.1. Prelude

With about 109 million people (2018), Ethiopia is the second most populous nation in Africa after Nigeria, and the fastest growing economy in the region. However, it is also one of the poorest, with a per capita income of $790.[18] Agriculture is the mainstay of the Ethiopian economy. It employs 80% of the total population and generates about 90% of export earnings. Ethiopia's industrialization plans are heavily dependent on agriculture.. Most food and cash crops are cultivated in rain-fed subsistence farms, operated by small-scale farmers, who work on ca. 96% of the cultivated land. It does not come as a surprise that Ethiopia's accelerated economic growth has been fueled by agriculture and services -driven in the framework of the Agricultural Development-Led Industrialization (ADLI) initiative, perceived as the main contributor to growth and poverty reduction, coupled with infrastructure development. The effort was guided by two consecutive Growth and Transformation Plans (GTP1 and GTP2). Ethiopia has indeed witnessed phenomenal economic (GDP) growth relative to its humble beginning in 1991 after the change of regime. The broad-based growth averaged 9.9% a year

[18] World Bank 2020.

from 2007/08 to 2017/18, compared to an African average of 5.4%. But it's real GDP growth decelerated to 7.7% in 2017/18, with a per capita income of $790.[19]

However, despite the Ethiopian government's investment in the social sector (health, education and safety net programmes), which are reflected in its MDGs achievements[20], the country remains one of the least developed in the world. The share of the population living below the national poverty line did decrease from 30% in 2011 to 24% in 2016. However, during the last two years, several factors, like political disruptions associated with social unrest, decline of exports, lower foreign direct investment, and high debt service, have had a negative impact on overall growth. There are signs that the gains made in poverty reduction may gradually erode due to a stagnation, or some say even the shrinking, of the economy, which will aggravate due to the global COVID-19 pandemic, that reached Ethiopia in the second half of 2020. According to a World Bank report (April 2020), sustained rapid economic growth in Ethiopia in the 2000s translated into strong poverty reduction in urban areas, with the poverty rate tumbling by 11 percentage points, from 26% in 2010/11 to 15% in 2015/16 (the date of the most recent survey on poverty and living standards). In rural areas of Ethiopia, the reduction in poverty was relatively slow with the poverty rate decreasing by four percentage points from 30% in 2010/11 to 26 percent in 2015/16.

Economic inequality reflected in consumption and urban and rural areas has increased. Households in urban areas, that were already better-off in 2011, experienced strong consumption growth between 2011 and 2016, while households in rural areas experienced fairly weak consumption growth. As a result, the "between-share" of inequality -the part of inequality that is due to differences in average welfare levels between urban and rural areas- increased from 15 percent in 2011 to 29 percent in 2016 (World Bank 2020: 47).

Ethiopia's impressive economic growth has been described as "jobless", meaning that economic growth has not created sufficient employment opportunities, particularly for youth. According to Duguma and Tolcha (2019: 319):

> The problem is more severe in urban than in rural area. According to Ethiopian labour force survey report, the unemployment rate of urban youth at country level was 22.9 while it was only 3.1% in rural areas. It is special concern for Ethiopians and has a wider implication for the youth in addition to leading their life as expected to help parents and extended families. According to a survey in 55 urban areas, unemployment was estimated

[19] Lie et at 2018 and Bekele 2017.
[20] UNECA 2014, Assefa *et al*. 2017.

at 41.3% and the incidence of youth unemployment was 45.5% and 35.7% for females and males respectively".

The high incidence of women and youth unemployment and recent increases in poverty should be treated as among the factors which contributed to the relatively high level of migrant and trafficked women from Ethiopia.

Political unrest and conflicts involving youth and contending ethnic groups have created a large number of refugees and internally displaced people (IDPs) is estimated at approximately 3.1, making it the country with the highest number of IDPs in the world. The ongoing conflicts in West and Central Gondar, Benishangul-Gumuz regional state, West Wellega and West Guji zones of Oromia, the Gedeo, Amaro and Basketo zones in SNNPR, and continued violence in the Afar-Somali border area contributed to the total of the mentioned numbers of IDPs.[21] These conflicts have destabilizing effects of farmers ability to cultivate their farms and eke living.

Lastly, it should not be forgotten that in Ethiopia traditions or 'cultures' of migration exist. Across its history, Ethiopia has seen frequent population movements, due to religious reasons (missions), armed conquest, new land settlement, labour shortages and climatic or epidemic events (see Bausi 2014; Gascon, *et al.* 2010). One example of the later 19th century was the Gurage people's exodus to the growing capital Addis Ababa: a foreboding of larger processes of labour migration induced by economic problems (cf. Baker 1992). Recent work by Schewel (2018: 346) and Grabska *et al.* (2019) refer to such 'cultures of migration' as they exist today (e.g., also in Sudan and Eritrea).

Put together, the prevailing economic and political situation in Ethiopia is conducive to migration and human trafficking both within Ethiopia and internationally, but alone it cannot explain the complexity of the internal factors specific to each region and zonal administration. The following sections of this chapter explore those factors in respect to Arsi Zone, the focus of this study.

2.2 State-Society-Land Relations

In order to understand the setting in which human trafficking takes place, it is important to understand the relationship between people and land (land tenure or ownership) in a brief historical background most of the inhabitants of Arsi are subsistence farmers, practice agriculture and livestock husbandry which comprise the main sources of livelihood. Generally,

[21] IFRC 2019: 1.

it is acceptable to divide the history of land tenure into at least four major phases. Any discourse on land tenure in today's Ethiopia should take into consideration at least three historical periods since the mid-19th century with profound consequences for land tenure in Southern Ethiopia, responsible of the current state-Oromo-land relations. First, the epoch of Menelik II, emperor of Ethiopia (r. 1889-1913), who forcefully integrated the people and territories of the South. During this phase, the southern territories were appropriated and all so-called communal land was converted into state property (cf. Abbas 2014). It should also be considered the first era of mass appropriation and dispossession of communal land. This system largely continued under emperor Haile Sellassie's rule (from 1930 to 1974), where land privatization, expanded mechanized farming and wildlife parks were initiated, often at the expense of local people's rights and access to the land.[22]

Following the revolution of 1974, the Land Reform Proclamation of 1975, implemented by the Provisional Military Administrative Council (known as the *Derg*), nationalized and transformed all land to public property, owned by the state.[23] It prohibited land transfers, restored nominal collective land ownership rights and land management authority to the peoples of the South. One major feature of the *Derg* regime's land reform was the resettlement of large numbers of people from other (famine-stricken) provinces in lands that originally belonged to the Oromo and other southern peoples (see for example Dessalegn 1985). Some of the current land conflicts and displacement can be attributed to these policies.

The Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) government (in power from May 1991 to November 2019[24]) enshrined the state and public land tenure policy and allowed Regional States to legislate land policies.[25] In the case of Oromiya, a Rural Land Use and Land Administration Proclamation was enacted in 2000.[26] However, the Federal Government has taken by the left hand what it has given by the right hand, particularly in the area of foreign direct investment and private agricultural development deemed necessary for national economic growth. In retrospect, the government has given sway to the allocation of vast stretches of lands in Oromiya and elsewhere for development purposes to the private sector

[22] Cohen and Weintraub 1975, Pausewang 1983, and Crummey 2000.
[23] Proclamation No. 31 of 1975, entitled 'Public Ownership of Rural Lands Proclamation'.
[24] When it was reorganized into the 'Prosperity Party' (although one of the core parties of EPRDF, the TPLF, did not join).
[25] Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia. 1997. *Rural Land Administration Proclamation of the Federal Government of Ethiopia*. Proclamation No. 89/1997. Addis Ababa: Federal Negarit Gazet'a.
[26] Regional Government of Oromia. 2002. *Oromia Rural Land Use and Land Administration Proclamation*. Proclamation No. 56/2002. Addis Ababa/Finfinne: Regional Government of Oromia.

- national and especially foreign -. These new land policies reignited the land question, which became a major source of conflict between state and society.

Although these social, economic and environmental conditions are local and specific to Arsi, like other parts of rural Southern Ethiopia, they are connected to Ethiopian history and to the development of the state, from the imperial regime (to 1974) to the Marxist-Leninist (1974-1991) and the EPRDF government (after 1991). Each state system left its mark on state-society-land relations, and despite their ideological and political differences, they kept land and land-based resources firmly under the control of the state. Small and fragmented land holdings are now expected to sustain the livelihood of a rapidly growing population in the rural and urban areas, provide employment, and supply the raw materials necessary for agro-business and industry simultaneously. Arsi and other rural areas also found themselves under increasing pressure from the expansion of private agriculture for the production of export crops, and due to their numbers increasing while their land holdings are shrinking. The following section shows the centrality of land for sustenance and sketch the socio-economic conditions and demographic pressure that is mounting on people. They impel people, particularly the youth, to look for alternative employment opportunities, including migration to the urban centers or abroad, often via human traffickers.

2.3 People and Geography

According to the Central Statistical Agency (CSA) 2015 report, Arsi Negelle has a total population of 303,223 of which 150,245 are male and 152,978 are females.[27] Its Administrative Zones are located in the central part of the Oromiya State, between 60 45 N to 80 58'N and 380 32 E to 400 50' E. It borders the Regional State of Nations, Nationalities and People of Southern Ethiopia (NNPSE), East Shewa, Bale and West Hararghe Zones. Asella, the capital and administrative hub of Arsi.[28] The total area of Arsi land mass is 23881 km^2 and accounts for about 7 percent of the total area of the Regional State of Oromiya (284,538 km^2).

For most of Arsi, the rainy season starts in March and extends to October, with the highest concentration in June, July and August. The number of rainy days varies from 145 to 200 in the highland zone and this number slightly decreases as one goes down to the south. Based on the climatological data available, the mean annual rainfall varies from 633.7 to 1059.3 mms which shows that Arsi Zone receives sufficient and well-distributed rainfall both

[27] For longitudinal comparative insights, see the CSA reports of 2007 and 2012.
[28] See Regional State of Oromiya 2011: 2.

in amount and seasonal distribution, which makes it conducive for agricultural and livestock production.

A land survey conducted for the Oromiya Regional State (2011) showed that that 41.65% of the land is arable, 16.78% covered with water bodies and only 5.76% forest. Grazing lands, essential for livestock raising, cover 35.81% of the land mass. Among the major food crops produced in the Arsi Zone are cereals, pulses, and oil seeds. Among cereals, t'eff, barley and wheat are the pre-dominant, and among pulses horse beans and field peas are grown widely. Other crops include vegetables, fruits, root crops and the stimulant *khat* are also grown. The area under cereals covers the largest part of the total area of the Zone.[29] A number of modern, mostly foreign-owned, flower and horticultural farms have expanded throughout Arsi zone during the last 20 years.

Favorable rain and soil conditions in Arsi should not be mistaken for prosperity and high per capita land size. Bedada *et al.* (2018: 6) found that the mean family size of Arsi farmers is 7.3 persons., The overall average farmland size 1.99 hectares., which is above the national average land holding of 1.02 hectare.[30] A difference of 0.97 hectares more than the mean national land holding per household would seem to imply that Arsi farmers are better off, but not the extent that they lead a more prosperous life than the average Ethiopia farming household.

With reference to women's ownership of land, official land policy and the Constitution grant women equal rights to men in land tenure,[31] but in reality, legal provisions and policy frameworks are not fully implemented. Jemma (2010: 66) observed that for traditional reasons, only husbands were recognized as head of the family and were allowed to join the PAs and receive land on behalf of households. Hence, only widows and a few of the polygamous women (usually the older ones) whose husbands sought more land joined the Peasant Associations and obtained land. Furthermore, divorced women among the Arsi Oromo, as in Arsi Negele and Hetossa, were not encouraged culturally to receive their 'share' of the family land. Jemma (2010) is not alone in making this observation, others too have provided qualified data (see Dessalegn 2004; Dejene 1999 and Tadesse and Amare 2000) to show that women are disadvantaged in respect to land ownership and property rights.

[29] Regional State of Oromiya 2015.
[30] The range was between 0.75 to 7 hectares.
[31] The Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia 1995 and the Rural Land Administration Proclamation of the Federal Government of Ethiopia, Proclamation No. 89/1997.

Uglla *et al.* (2018: 163) found that girls "… receive less education, which may reflect the higher risks and lower returns of female education. By sending girls to school, families may miss out on their domestic labour within the household; and there is a greater risk of premarital sex and abduction, which can negatively affect a girl's marriage prospects". Such practices clearly disadvantage girls, which is reflected in the national education statistics suggesting that there are more girl drop-outs from primary schools than boys. The long-term implication is that with lower education and no skills to enter the job market, girls from poor families tend to join either sex work, low-paying jobs in situations of-semi-servitude or be victims of human trafficking. This state of affairs leaves women to be disadvantaged and their livelihood security jeopardized in household conflict situations or divorce, as well as not having land which could be used as a collateral, and this undermines their chance to borrow capital and expand assets.

Arsi zone is ranked high in livestock population, having 2.5 million cattle, 1.66 million sheep, 0.74 million goats, 0.24 million horses, 0.02 million mules, 0.4 million donkeys, 0.03 million camels, 1.88 million poultry birds and 0.12 million beehives which shows that there is huge potential in the sector. In general, when considering the composition of cattle herds, each household has on average of 1.2 cattle per household.[32] However, there are great variations in livestock ownership per household and from *woreda* to *woreda*.

The livestock population is also subject to considerable pressure and cyclical reduction in numbers, due to occasional droughts or disease. Drinking water shortages for animals occur during the dry season and the decline of grasses and pasture affect livestock health and can lead to massive death. Gebiso (2018: 244), argues that: "In most cases, the (animal) feed during dry seasons is insufficient and the farmers/livestock keepers feed their animals only for survival. Because of this, the animals do not provide the intended milk output and the female ones do not conceive due to poor bodily condition. Drinking water for livestock is a serious production constraint in all farming systems of Arsi region".[33]

2.4 Vulnerability to Climate Change

Climate change aggravates farmers and livestock keepers' problems, increases vulnerability due to crop reduction or failure and contributes to the decimation of livestock, two of the main

[32] Central Statistics Agency 2015 (Table 3).

[33] The five farming systems refer to here are: lowland agro-pastoral, coffee &khat tree based, irrigation based, highland barley-root crop based, maize-sorghum based, mechanized wheat belt farm type, and non-mechanized wheat belt.

sources of livelihood in Arsi.[34] During the last two years, research has shown that also Oromiya Regional State has been plagued by recurrent erratic precipitation and drought, as well as by sudden unseasonal floods or heavy rains outside the farming season. For example, Zenebe *et al.* (2017), who analyzed climatic changes in Arsi Zone, showed that there was a high variability of rainfall for June-July-August (JJA) – the Ethiopian rainy ('summer') season – and for March-April-May (MAM) – the Ethiopian spring season - during the period 1983/84 to 2014/15. During this same period, rainfall declined by 2.198 mm, 4.541 mm, 1.814 mm and 1.608 mm per annum for JJA, MAM, September-October-November (SON) the Ethiopian autumn season - and December-January-February (DJF) - the Ethiopian 'winter' season - respectively. They concluded that the total rainfall declined by 10.16 mm per annum (*ibid.* 2017: 6).

Other researchers [35] also found that climatic uncertainty, severe weather extremes and the incidence of floods and drought have become more frequent in the Arsi Zone, affecting crop and livestock production and inducing food insecurity (see Belay 1999). Floods damaging houses and property close to major water courses and foothills also occur more regularly. Drought conditions which affected only small pockets of Arsi Zone in 2000 (OCHA 2003) developed into a widespread phenomenon during the 2015 drought.

Arsi is now in a similar category as other drought-prone regions: in a special country report on Ethiopia (FEWSNet 2015). we read that poor crop conditions or crop failures are evident in Jijiga zone (Somali region), parts of East and West Hararghe, Arsi, Arsi West, and North Shewa (Oromiya region), North Wollo, South Wollo, and North Shewa (Amhara Region), and in four of the five zones of Tigray. Sorghum, wheat, beans, and barley production declined, exhibiting a similar pattern of crop conditions (*ibid.*).

Increasing incidences of climate change combined with relatively small landholdings and unregulated population growth are conducive to livelihood vulnerability and to the search for coping mechanisms within Arsi and Ethiopia, and to a search for better living conditions. Decline in livestock and livestock production due to climate change and its association with

[34] This situation is similar to what described in Kenya and elsewhere, pertaining to the fact that, "In places where the local population engages in livelihoods that heavily rely on weather patterns, with little available alternatives, the effects of drought are likely to be profound and hence lead to increased vulnerability to human trafficking. This could be because the affected population will be forced to engage in negative coping mechanisms such as child marriage, child labor or commercial sex work for survival purposes. While it is possible that criminal organizations see a chance to exploit the vulnerability of the affected population and recruit them into exploitative situations, trafficking in this context is likely to occur in a local vacuum" (Malinowski and Schulze 2017:37).

[35] Biazen 2014, Mekonen 2017, Bikila 2013, Funk *et al.* 2016 and Belay *et al.* 2013.

changes in occupational patterns and/or migration, including vulnerability to human trafficking, cannot be treated as unrelated events.[36]

2.5 Poverty and Unemployment

Most data on rural poverty is aggregated for the whole of Ethiopia or at the National Regional States' level, such as the case of Oromiya. Using the Ethiopian Rural Household Survey (ERHS) panel data, a multi-topic national representative survey on rural households conducted, Goshu (2013) undertook a study on rural poverty covering the four major regional states (Amhara, Oromiya, Tigray, and the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Regional State or SNNPRS) for the period 1989-2009. He found that with the exception of Oromiya Regional State, the regional mean household real consumption per capita exhibited deteriorating trends in all regions (*ibid*. 2013: 12). The decline was more severe in Tigray and Amhara regional states. This is evidence of regional differences and this is relevant to capture the spatial distribution of poverty dynamics. The differences are considerably dependent on the regions' resource endowments or livelihoods (physical, natural, social, and even human and financial capital) in the base year. Despite the fact that the incidence of poverty[37] was reduced from 88.9% in 2004 to 39.2% in 2009, and further to c. 24% in 2016, rural Ethiopia in general is still relatively poor (Goshu 2013, consistent with FDRE 2012 and UNDP 2016, World Bank 2020).[38] In a 2019 report by the World Bank it was reported that especially the bottom 40% of households in the population still have very low monetary standards, and that the rural areas fare much less well than the urban areas.[39]

In the specific case of Arsi, Geleto *et al.* (2014) studied 'education poverty' among rural households in Arsi zone, and they found that 82% of the households had at least one member dropped out of school permanently. They also found that the household literacy rate decreased with the age of the household head, but increased with livestock asset size, which is a proxy of wealth. In a nutshell, considering the positive correlation between school dropout rates and the incidence of poverty, the large number of the pupils dropped out from school is indicative of intra-generational poverty.

[36] For a study on this emerging link, see the case study on Kenya (Malinowski & Schulze 2017).
[37] According to the 2001 World Bank measures, 'poverty' refers to people living on or less than $2 a day, and 'extreme poverty' to those living on or less than US $1 a day.
[38] Extreme poverty (see previous note) went down from 3.6% to 0.7%.
[39] See https://www.worldbank.org/en/news/press-release/2019/05/16/ethiopia-new-world-bank-report-shows-mixed-outlook-as-growth-leads-to-overall-poverty-reduction (Accessed 15 January 2020).

Unemployment is observed by Van Blerk (2007) as one of the circumstances that can result in teenage girls engaging in sex work. She explores the ways in which poverty and migration can form the context for girls' transition to adulthood as they move into the city from rural areas in search of employment. First, there is a lack of available employment for girls with low levels of education (generally a by-product of growing up in poverty), resulting in options such as domestic service, petty trading or shop work. The attractiveness of securing a job in the city has resulted in girls being enticed to urban areas by images of glamorous lifestyles or stories of employment, particularly in cafés and restaurants. Migration represents moving away or moving independently from their families, particularly in the context of sex workers in Ethiopia. Only by moving away from the family home they are able to engage in this type of work. Migration within or outside Ethiopia, as the case studies will illustrate, becomes the first step in the human trafficking chain.

Similarly, escaping poverty and unemployment are motivating factors for youths in general to migrate to the urban centers, including to the regional capitals or the national capital Addis Ababa in search of work opportunities. No traveler familiar with the towns along the road from Addis Ababa and other regional capitals or in Arsi can forget the hundreds of unemployed young men waiting by the road side for contractors to commission them for jobs in the agricultural and construction sectors or for any other employment opportunities, including human trafficking. For many young men, poverty and unemployment are certainly contributing factors to migration as a first step towards becoming victims of human trafficking.

2.6. Conclusion

In this chapter, I attempted to explain some of the material and social factors which work as a push factor in the case of human trafficking generally, and women trafficking in particular. These factors are related to the overall national economic challenges facing Ethiopia such as relative high levels of poverty and unemployment, coupled with vulnerability to climate change and environmental shocks such as drought and floods. There are social and cultural factors that impact women more than men relating to Arsi societal preference for the education of the boy child at the expense of the girl child and early marriages. These factors increase women vulnerability unemployment and poverty, hence their susceptibility to human trafficking.

The Setting gives credence to an alternative conceptualization of an anti-human trafficking approach. It recognizes the necessity of combining the dominant conventional freedom and emancipation approach with an approach that equally addresses the structural or

material conditions. To be sure, the chapter addresses people and history, environment, demography, education, employment and poverty to explore some of the structural factors that contributed to the prevalence of trafficking in humans in the Arsi region.

Chapter 3

Human Trafficking: Conceptual Framework

This chapter deals with the concepts and theories informing human trafficking debate, the challenges of definition and implications for anti-trafficking policy and practice. In view of the policy-oriented nature of this study I will not offer a full-fledged 'theoretical framework for testing hypotheses but outline the key theoretical concept and insight with which I have worked. I call for rethinking the edifice of anti-human trafficking policy by proposing an integrative method, combining the liberal 'freedom and emancipation' perspective and the 'structural' perspective on human trafficking. The first approach privileges the intrinsic sanctity of human freedom and emancipation and the second explains human trafficking primarily as a result of material (poverty and basic human needs deficits) or structural contributary causes (structural inequality and unequal power relations) .

3.1 Conceptualization and definitional issues

There are issues of defining and conceptualizing HT, human smuggling, 'modern slavery' and related terms. We start with a few definitions of the terms by some key global organizations. The recognition of HT as a major global problem is evident from the *United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime* (UN 2000), also known as the Palermo Resolution, and coming into force in 2003. In the *Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons* (UN 2000c) which is part of this Convention, the 'trafficking in persons' is defined as:

> "the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring or receipt of persons, by 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" (*Ibid.*, 2010)

Two concepts are used to define problems of the victims of HT: *vulnerability* and *exploitation*. The vulnerability factor has to be addressed in all its complexity, taking also into consideration the following three main categories: personal (youth or old age, gender, belief, family

situation), situational (legal status in one given territory or social, cultural or linguistic isolation) and circumstantial (unemployment or economic situation) (Daniel-Wrabetz and Penedo 2015: 3). These considerations lead to defining vulnerability as "a situation in which the person concerned has no real or acceptable alternative but to submit to the abuse involved".[40] The double predicament of all persons trafficked, smuggled or forced to live under servitude or forced into exploitation, is that of vulnerability and exploitation. Unfortunately, with vulnerability and exploitation comes an opportunity for traffickers, whose knowledge and capacity to identify vulnerable individuals or groups make it easy for them to identify and prey on potential victims.

By making exploitation more explicit than the UN (2000), the EU (2011), in its 'Directive on Preventing and Combating Trafficking in Human Beings and Protecting its Victims' offered a broader definition of HT, which includes:

> "The recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring or reception of persons, including the exchange or transfer of control over those 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".[41]

Many of the features attributed to HT in this definition share several characteristics of human smuggling, modern slavery and forced labor which involve the control of persons in situations of vulnerability for exploitation or applying coercion and deception to lure vulnerable persons to situations where they can be controlled regardless of their will. In effect, although the comprehensive nature of this definition is a welcome contribution to identifying areas not fully covered by the UN (2000), it narrows the distinguishing points between HT and other forms of human exploitation such as modern slavery and forced labor. Concomitantly, it makes it too difficult if not impossible to define HT as distinctive for of exploitation with no relationship to other forms of human repression.

With these introductory remarks in mind, the rest of this chapter will focus on four major themes on conceptualizing HT: 1) an attempt to engage the debate on HT and how it can be distinguished from other forms of human exploitation (human smuggling, modern slavery/forced labor); 2) the challenges that the distinctions between different forms of human

[40] European Council Directive 2011/36/EU, Article 2.2:6.
[41] *Ibid.*, 2011.

exploitation pose to the theory of practice; 3) An attempt to elucidate the current polemic between the liberal discourse on freedom and emancipation and an alternative conception of HT and modern slavery as products of the development of capitalism and the ascendancy of neoliberal globalization; and 4) Outlining elements of the policy framework as present in Ethiopia.

3.2. Conceptual distinctions

Providing a precise definition that provides a clear distinction between HT, human smuggling, modern slavery/forced labor is difficult . Below, an attempt will be made to clarify some of the conceptual issues which traverses these definitions in an attempt to delimit the conceptual scope of this thesis.

3.2.1 HT and Human Smuggling

The difficulty of definition also arises from the seeming overlap and similarities of the term 'trafficking' with some other concepts, notably human smuggling, illegal immigration, or 'modern-day slavery'.[42] The latter term is often used to call attention to the dramatic cases of exploitation and abuse of dependent trafficked persons, and in some areas of the world patterns of bondage, labour abuse and economic exploitation of people amount to *de facto* conditions of 'slavery', although not in a legal sense. Strictly speaking the term is a metaphor and is to be seen critically in the case of human trafficking (see section 3.2.2). Agustin (2005) and Davidson (2010) already delivered important nuances and critiques on the use of the concept of slavery in the case of human trafficking.

Although smuggling and trafficking are perceived to be of similar meaning, the two are clearly different. *Trafficking* is a *legal* term that effectively encompasses non-traditional forms of enslavement but is not fully identical with it. Unlike smuggling, trafficking is a situation in which the subjects are often fully aware and *initially* not coerced or defrauded into migrating.[43] But the trafficked person cannot keep control of the process and is usually abused at various stages of the process – often ending up in another country or in another (undesired, exploitative) job. *Smuggling of migrants*, on the other hand, has been defined as the procurement to obtain, directly or indirectly, a financial or other material benefit, of illegal entry of a person into a state party of which the person is not a national or a permanent resident. Hereby the person

[42] See Parrenas *et al*. (2012); PIDC (2010); and UNODC 2009.
[43] PIDC 2010 and UNODC 2009.

who wants to be smuggled into a country keeps control of the process, as s/he is paying for (illegal) transportation services.

Salt (2002: 33-34) sharpens the distinction between human trafficking and human smuggling by arguing that:

> "The main basis for the dichotomy is linked to the purpose of trafficking and the concept of exploitation, suggesting that smuggling is clearly concerned with the manner in which a person enters a country, and with the involvement of third parties who assist him/her to achieve entry. On the other hand, trafficking is a more complicated concept, in that it requires consideration not only of the manner in which a migrant entered the country but also his/her working conditions and whether he/she consented to the irregular entry and/or those working conditions".

HT and smuggling therefore differ in three key elements: movement across borders, consent, and the purpose of exploitation.[44] Migrant smuggling necessarily involves the crossing of international borders. HT *may* involve the crossing of international borders but can also occur within the borders of one country, as internal HT. Second, migrant smuggling occurs with the consent of the person(s) being smuggled. The persons agree to cross the border illegally and often pay large sums of money to smugglers for the service. Upon arrival at their destination, they are free to go. In contrast, victims of HT may have agreed to migrate and work initially out of their own choice, but are prevented from leaving, often by physical or psychological coercion as well as legal and financial constraints. Whatever initial consent may have existed becomes irrelevant when any of the means (threat, force, coercion, fraud, and the like) are used to enslave the trafficked persons during the trafficking process. Finally, a key difference between smuggling and trafficking is the *purpose* for which a person is recruited. Migrant smuggling involves illegal entry of a person into a country for financial or other material benefit only, whereas trafficking occurs often legally, although for purposes of sexual or other labor exploitation, or even for excesses like the removal of organs for sale.[45]

3.2.2. Irregular and Regular Migration

The vast majority of the world's 258 million international migrants have regular immigration status. Irregular migrants constitute between 10% and 15% of the migrant populations are

[44] PIDC 2010 and UNODC (2009).
[45] PIDC 2010 and UNODC (2009).

irregular. An irregular migrant is a person who has entered or lived in a country of which he or she is not a citizen, in violation of its immigration laws and regulations (ILO 2010). According to Castles *et al.* (2012: 117), "irregular migrants are workers, but not all enter the labour market: people migrating members or for lifestyle reasons may become irregular. Rejected asylum seekers may also fall into irregularity. While irregular migration affects most of the statistics tend to be unreliable, due to the very nature of such movements". Overstaying ones work permit transforms the person, in the eyes of the law, from regular to irregular immigrant. In a sense irregularity occurs when compliance with the migration rules is breached but the person stays in the space between being legal and illegal.[46]

Echeverría (2020:12-13), goes further to defined irregular migration as "the outcome of the interaction between human mobility across social spaces and the enactment of policies within those very same spaces". He argues that the distinction that the term illegal is unable to capture is the one between what is considered legitimate by the state ("legal") and what is legitimate for people ("licit"). Many trans-border movements of people are illegal because they defy authority, but they are quite acceptable, "licit", in the eyes of participants (*Ibid.* 2020:12). However, whether the person who overstays his or her work permit are legal or illegal is a controversial issue which let the IOM to describe it as irregular. In other words, waiting for a work permit to be regularized, or while a person is expecting and extension of contract or while searching for new work opportunity but entered the country legally, can be defined as an irregular worker.

The term irregular migration is sought to tamper the negativity and stereotypes, with criminalizing effect associated with illegal migration. The link between irregular and legal migration is located by Broeders and Engbersen (2007: 3) within the domain of the nation state control of its sovereign borders and the challenges it poses to the liberal states. Most typologies of irregular migration are therefore set up around three main criteria. There is legal and illegal entry, legal and illegal residence, and legal and illegal employment (*Ibid*. 2007: 3). In a sense, such binary, tend to conflate irregular and illegal migrants, which is a harder definition than the IOM (2008), which define irregular migration as an activity straddling the space between regular and irregular migration.

[46] For more on regular and irregular migration refer to Jordan and Diiveli 2002, Castles 2007, IOM 2008, Mee 2016, Drammeh 2018, Echeverría, 2020.

Sheryazdanova (2015) is among the scholars who have no problem referring to migration as legal or illegal, for example, in the context of the European Union. She argues as follows:

> The concept 'illegal migration' applies to a number of distinct phenomena. The term designates primarily – actions of (groups of) – citizens stemming from third countries, who illegally enter the territory of a Member State of the European Union (hereinafter, also EU) by land, water, or air (the latter case includes the transit zones of airports, too.) In most situations, the act itself is carried out either using counterfeit travel documents, or facilitated by organized criminal networks involved in smuggling various merchandise or in human trafficking (Sheryazdanova, 2015: 89).

However, illegal migration in this mode of thought can in some way be facilitated by traffickers and therefore, in such a case illegal migration could share considerable characteristics of human trafficking. As this study shows, many aspirant as well as illegal migrants resort to traffickers to be smuggled, get contracts or some form of employment licit or illicit. The study also shows that human trafficking mage huge sums of money from migrants who are not able or do not have the right connections to migrate. In the muddy World of migration, developing a neat definition for each category has been fraught with difficulties and terms such as irregular and illegal migration overlap in so many ways. The possibility that a person starts as an illegal or irregular migrant and be trafficked to another country is a real possibility.

3.2.2 'Modern-day Slavery'

Slavery is defined in Article 1 of the Geneva Convention 1926, as a phenomenon consisting of two aspects: (1) *status or condition* of a person over whom any or all of the powers attaching to the right of ownership are exercised. (2) As *an act*, slavery is a form of trade known as slave trade which includes all acts involved 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 slave acquired with a view to being sold or exchanged, and, in general, every act of trade or transport in slaves.

In the modern world, however, the Geneva Convention definition of 1926 does not reflect reality. Scholars such as Jansson (2015: 342) have acknowledged that: "Today, legal slavery is basically abolished worldwide and therefore, it is imperative that slavery, like all social and economic practices, is not constant but evolves over time. Thus, a definition that is

based on a historical form of slavery might not cover its new forms. The conclusion is that the understanding any definition of slavery must become as dynamic as the practice itself". In contemporary HT studies, the term modern-day slavery is coined and like the old definition, it nonetheless involves the business of 'trading' in people, which was and continues to be global in scope. However, even if there are similarities between slavery and HT, the two are rather different (Aronowitz 2009). Historically, slavery – as the sale of human beings, for various purposes, as commodity - was legal for a long time, until the mid-19th century in the West and until the early decades of the 20th century in Ethiopia, and was also accepted by many. These days, slavery is categorically rejected by all people (although as a practice it still exists), and those trafficked are *not* 'property' and strictly speaking not sold in any legal sense; nor would they see themselves as 'slaves'. But trafficked persons may fall into conditions of labor bondage or debt that reduce their status to deep dependency and lack of agency that effectively resembles aspects of slavery (see Habibi 2019, who speaks of contract slavery'). In recent years, the awareness of modern-day HT often inspires moral outrage against it, also among state authorities and policy makers.

So if the struggle during mid-19th century and early 20th century was against classic forms of slavery, late 20th century has produced what is metaphorically referred to as 'modern-day slavery'. For, example, an increase in the number of people trafficked due to improvement in transportation and the annexation of time and space through information communication technologies (ICTs) have opened new possibilities for HT. As Chibba (2014), and van Reisen and Rijken 2015) argue, the way we think about the HT phenomenon in the early years of 2000s has changed rapidly. From this perspective, trafficking has three dimensions, namely, 'actions', 'means' and purpose', but globalization and rapid and profound changes in national economies especially in the last two decades , coupled with the spread of new technologies and Internet access in particular (as mentioned by Chibba (2014), necessitate the inclusion of 'process' as an additional key element. Similarly, Obokota (2006: 6), argues that: "Trafficking in human beings is not 'just' a crime. It is a practice that affects entire societies or rather the very fabric of democratic societies. It undermines the very foundations of liberal democracies by violating principles of integrity and human dignity".

The two main influences which prompted the profound interest in HT and its denunciation stems from the dual impacts of globalization in terms of economic and technological integration. The other is the resurgence of democracy which heralded the ascendancy of liberal democratic and the respect of human rights, where modern-day slavery is treated an antithesis of freedom and emancipation.

Currently, four elements of the trafficking process can be summarized as follows: (1) the 'actions' refer to the recruitment, luring, transportation, and receipt or final processing of persons trafficked; (2) the 'means' are the use of deception, coercion, and threat or the use of force; (3) the 'process' is use of both the traditional and the new - which in part is driven by technology and Internet-facilitated HT procedures: the new process, for example, involves supporting cyber-sex exploitation; and (4) the 'purpose', which is exploitation – in one or more of the following ways: via pornography, cyber-sex, prostitution, forced labor, servitude, slavery, and even removal of organs for sale (Chibba 2014: 3-4). These four elements will be used in Figure 1 (section 3.4) on the conceptual framework as integrative aspects that link the freedom and emancipation perspective and the material or structural perspective on HT.

3.2.4 Forced Labor

The association between modern-day slavery and forced labor as forms of HT was coined by historians of forced labor to evaluate the incidence of new forms of slavery after its official abolishment. In his 1906 book *A Modern Slavery* Henry Nevison, he exposed that a slave trade was still in existence in Portuguese colonial Africa, despite the fact that it was supposed to have been abolished after the Brussels General Act of 1890.[47] For Nevison (*ibid*.), contract labor offered to the plantation laborers in Angola and in São Tomé and Principe represented forms of life-long servitude. Although wages were paid regularly, the amount was only about half that stipulated in the contract and could be spent only at the plantation store. In most cases, the laborers ended up highly indebted to the extent that they lost their free choice to leave the contractors and seek better contractual offers. These abject conditions of debt bondage were akin to slavery.

The study *A Modern Slavery* was followed by several publications echoing similar and more elaborate descriptions and explanations as well as more nuanced theoretical and conceptual frameworks.[48] Those writers who championed anti-slavery research and publications also belonged to strong modern anti-slavery movements, in most cases combining academic and civic activism. It is noteworthy that Bales, Trodd and Kent's 2009 book *Modern Slavery: The Secret World of 27 Million People* provided an analysis based both on statistical evidence and stories to persons freed from what amounts to modern slave labor, although not

[47] Brussels Act 1890. The General Act for the Repression of the African Slave Trade. It was the first comprehensive treaty negotiated by the Brussels Conference of 1889-1890 which provided the first international comprehensive treaty against the African slave trade.
[48] Tomich 2004, James, 2005, Scarpa 2008, Bales 2012, Jansson 2015, to mention but a few.

legally so. They were also amongst the first to offer a distinction between old and modern slavery by arguing that: 1) unlike pre-18th century slavery, where slave ownership was considered legal and practiced in the open, modern slavery takes place in the shadows and its practitioners and beneficiaries try to keep it hidden from public scrutiny; 2) modern slavery is divorced from race, color, religion and region. It exists at a global scale and closely linked to the global economy and value chains; 3) since legal ownership of slaves is no longer recognized, it now manifests itself in the violent control of individuals unable to leave their conditions of captivity and employment; they are forcibly held for the purpose of economic exploitation.

Anti-modern slavery proponents have a similar conceptualization of anti-HT in that the modern slaves and forced laborers are stripped of their freedom and denied justice. Modern slaves live in conditions of servitude which render them choiceless, exploited, oppressed and their human rights denied. Brace and Davidson (2018: 4), made the point that: "The discourse of 'new' or 'modern' slavery invokes the past to frame the present not just in the sense that it identifies certain contemporary forms of oppression as equivalent to historical practices of enslavement, but also as a means of stressing the urgency of the present problem".

Although the terms cannot be used simultaneously, trafficked persons can end up in a situation of forced labor or become identifiable with modern slavery as a form of human exploitation that thrives on vulnerability and exploitation. As the next section will show, there are two main anti-trafficking conceptual debates: one that privileges the effective enforcement of anti-trafficking legal frameworks and a second one opting for modifying the socio-economic conditions of the victims of trafficking as a priori condition for eliminating HT.

3.4. Two Competing Conceptual Frameworks

The objective of this section is to engage two main conceptual frameworks found in the anti-HT literature: the first strand of the debate treats HT as part of international criminal networks whereby the overall aim of anti-trafficking is to prevent, suppress and punish trafficking in persons as part of transnational organized crime (cf. UN 2000). Therefore, policies informed by this debate have drawn on international relations theories conceptualizing the state as a unitary, coherent and rational actor whose decisions to a large extent depend on the structure of the international system, irrespective of their internal, political composition (Schönhöfer 2017: 155). In other words, states signatories to the *Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons* (UN 2000c) should be true to their commitment and abide by the

international norms enshrined in the Protocol by implementing its provisions. Within this normative strand of thought lies the idea that anti-HT theorizing is victim-centered and should, therefore, draw on the theory of freedom and the universal commitment to respect the individuals' (human) right to self-determination. It echoes the contention that freedom is intrinsic value that every human being should enjoy because freedom defines the sanctity of human life. For example, Schuppert (2014: xvi) argues: "what makes human life particularly valuable is our capacity for free rational agency……it is our practical freedom, that is our ability to make choices according to reasons and our own conception of the good …… which makes humans somewhat unique". He added that "a society can only be just if its members face each other as free and equals", *ibid*. 2014: xiii). Therefore, HT is seen as an activity that undermines the very meaning of freedom and justice. Human traffickers make their victims commodities, and strip them of the capacity to be free agents, of the opportunity to be equal to their traffickers and of the capacity to determine freely the choices they may otherwise seek for their life and future destiny. Therefore, it could be inferred that the ultimate objective and deeper meaning of anti-HT policies and legal frameworks is to reinstate the freedom the victims of HT have lost. From this perspective, the deeper conceptual framework underpinning the *Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons* is to protect the victims and punish the traffickers and bring justice to the victims of trafficking (UN 2000c: 1) so that they regain their freedom. This contention appeals to first principles (of basic human rights) and falls well within the liberal freedoms and emancipation perspective and its quest for individual liberty as the essence of human existence, but it pays little attention to the human material-economic conditions which propel HT in the first place.

A different anti-trafficking perspective recognizes the importance of anti-trafficking legal frameworks and at the same time acknowledges their failure to prevent HT from happening. For example, the critics of this anti-trafficking perspective claim that HT is part of a global exploitative system which fails to meet the aspirations of to be orderly migrants who are 'forced' by poverty to be trafficked In Anne Gallagher's words (2012: 28): "The world's migration management systems are in crisis. They are failing to meet the needs of governments, business and, importantly, the migrants themselves. The growth in smuggling and trafficking is a direct consequence of the global failure to manage migration and deal with its root causes".

A counter-conceptual framework to the individual liberty, freedom and emancipation discourse is informed by the recognition that colonialism in different parts of the world

benefited from slavery as part and parcel of the development of capitalism.[49] Therefore, the current anti-HT academic and activist scholarship make the association between the struggle against old and new forms of slavery or modern-day slavery as a struggle for freedom and emancipation.

They say that poverty and the lack of decent employment opportunities are the root causes of HT. The counter argument, therefore, is that legal provisions alone cannot prevent HT, which is rooted in a social and economic production and reproduction systems created by capitalism and neoliberal globalization. According this perspective, which is developed by certain labor and economic historians of capitalism, globalization, modern slavery and forced labor are new manifestations associated with the development of global capitalism (Bales 2000 and 2005, James 2005, Quirk 2006, Aronowitz 2009, Liu 2010, Beckert 2014, and Jansson 2015). Beckert (2014: 2), in particular, asked the pertinent question: "If capitalism, as many believe, is about wage, labor, markets, contracts and the rule of law, and most important, if it is based on the idea that the market naturally tends toward maximizing of freedom, then how do we understand slavery's role within it". His answer to this question is that, "the relationship of slavery and capitalism is, in fact, one of the keys to understanding the modern world". There is also a cynical turn emanating from this system described by Taran and Geronimi (2003: 4), who argue that:

> "The practices of many states of tolerating the presence of migrant workers in irregular status to meet labour needs in certain sectors of the market constitutes a de facto employment policy in which part of the work force becomes a variable which can be reduced or even eliminated (in theory) in periods of economic downturn, through exercise by States of their prerogative to expel foreigners from their territory. In effect, by the same manner that migration policy can be utilized to satisfy labour market needs with foreign labour, deportation or expulsion can be utilized to regulate or even force the return to countries of origin of this temporary labour" (Taran and Geronimi 2003: 4).

The political economy of HT, whether in the form of human smuggling, modern slavery/forced labor, sex exploitation or sex tourism, is in this radical view 'necessitated' by a global capitalist

[49] For more on the relationship between slavery and capitalism, see, among others, Sven Beckert and Seth Rockman 2018. *Slavery's Capitalism: A New History of American Economic Development*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press; Eric Williams, 1994. *Capitalism and Slavery* Durham: University of North Carolina Press, and Martin Ruef, 2014. *Between Slavery and Capitalism: The Legacy of Emancipation in the American South*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

system in which productive and service labor are moved to where they are needed.

In short, the liberal perspective of freedom and emancipation recognizes that the problem of preventing HT is a matter of law and order and non-compliance with anti-trafficking and human rights legal frameworks and instruments. On the other hand, anti-modern slavery and forced labor academics and activists argue that freedom and emancipation without meeting the basic human needs of the victims of trafficking may increase rather than decrease the prevalence of HT. In the concrete situations in which (Ethiopian) women liable to irregular migration and trafficking find themselves it is of course to be recognized that for them there is a *social dynamic* that moves between these two paradigms: the choices of the women are determined by context and not by theoretical considerations, and the structurally problematic socio-economic situations that propel scores of women to migrate are ultimately to be addressed much more seriously.

In this thesis, it will be clear that I put emphasis (in Chapters 3 and 5) on the *legal* frameworks that interact with the problem of human trafficking of females from Ethiopia rather than on socio-economic contexts *per se*.[50] For now, I argue that these two anti-HT frameworks mentioned above should not be treated as contradictory but as complementary. Essentially, the victims of HT need both the legal protection to safeguard their human rights as well as the material protection and support to address issues such as poverty, economic hardship and want. An integrated anti-trafficking framework is presented below.

3.5 Reconciling Two Anti-HT Frameworks

The purpose of figure 1 is to illustrate the possibility of integrating the two divergent traditions -of human rights (the liberal tradition) and the materialist anti-human trafficking paradigms framework -, critically engaging the academic and policy debates which present these frameworks. In reality, the policy debate focuses mainly on the implementation of the legal and policy frameworks with meagre, if any, interventions in improving material conditions of production, labour market access and employment (see Chapter 6, which assesses the policy interventions of national and international organizations working on HT). As presented in Figure 1, the combined framework of the freedom and emancipation and the material or human need approaches, is based on two assumptions: 1) the overall objective of the two frameworks is to prevent, prosecute and protect the victims of HT and 2) none of the two conceptual frameworks can yield positive results without due recognition to each other's constituent

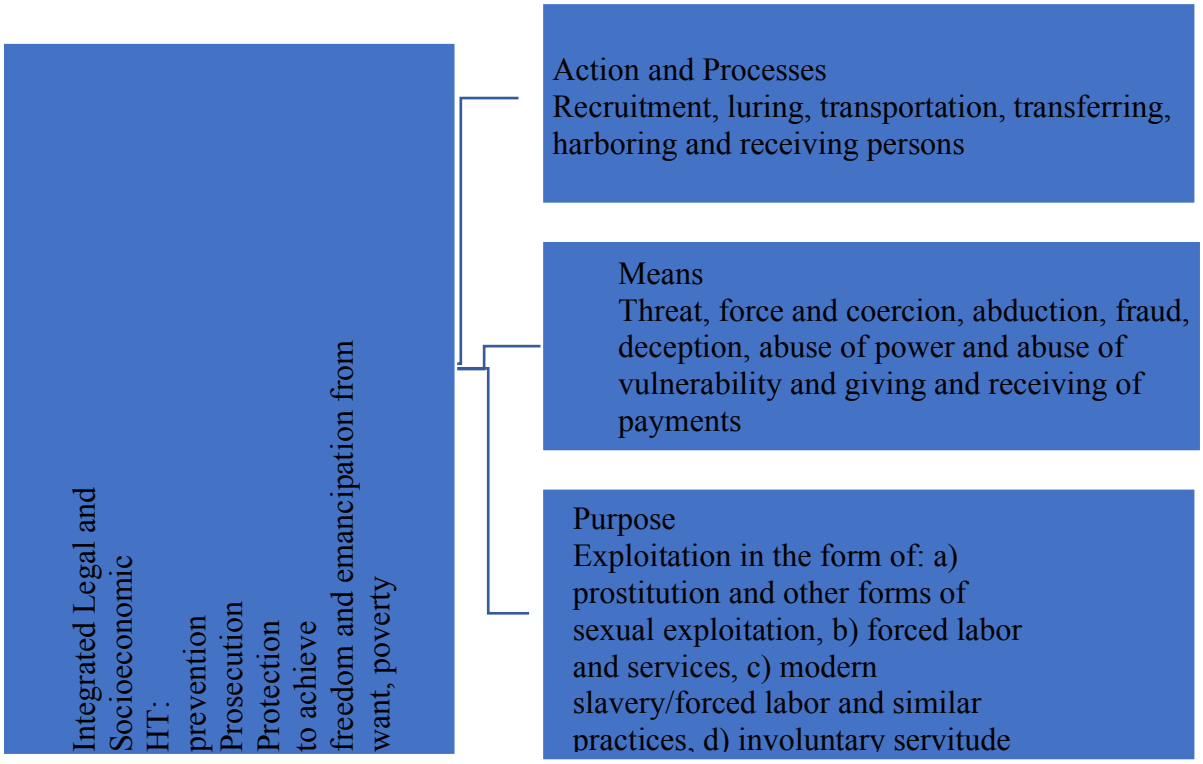
[50] In fact, one of my conclusions will be that the legal frameworks in place do not do a good job.

components. Unifying framework, therefore, reconciles the conventional freedom and emancipation and the human slavery/forced labor approaches and the latter quest for freedom from poverty and want.

In this descriptive framework, the four recurring elements of the HT industry are included:

1. the 'actions' – the recruitment, luring, transportation, and receipt or final processing of persons trafficked;
2. the 'means' – the use of deception, coercion, and threat or the use of force;
3. the 'process' – use of both the traditional and the new - which in part is driven by technology and Internet-facilitated HT process: the new process, for example, involves supporting cyber-sex exploitation; and the 'purpose', which is exploitation – in one or more of the following ways: via pornography, cyber-sex, prostitution, forced labor, slavery, servitude, and removal of organs for sale (Chibba 2014: 312). On the left-hand side of Figure 1 we see the outline of the policy framework developed to combat HT, reflecting the legal aspects of policy. The integrated framework introduces socio-economic interventions as part of anti-HT policy, which is a novelty compared with one-sided frameworks which project either the legal or the socio-economic framework. The nature of anti-HT policies as summarized on the left side of the diagram is elucidated in section 3.6 of this chapter.

Figure 1: An integrated anti-HT framework



Source: Designed by the author, based on Chibba 2014 and UN 2000.

Chapter 4 will elucidate HT from Ethiopia to the Middle East, focusing on the interplay of these salient elements of the conceptual framework and its application in the case of women trafficking. The chapter is a prelude to the field data chapters five and six.

3.6 Anti-Human Trafficking Policies

As explained in Chapter 1, anti-HT policies are informed by two major theoretical strands: the freedom and emancipation perspective which largely advocated by human rights lawyers and activists. The second is the material structural perspective which is advocated by political economists of HT. Figure 1 above shows that anti-human trafficking policies are conceived to with three main instruments informing the policy framework. These concepts refer to the principles and praxis (theory of practice) that informs the 1) the instruments to combat anti-trafficking elements (depicted in Figure 1 as action, means, process and purpose) and 2) the legal and administrative framework (understood as consisting of three elements: prevention, protection and prosecution). Because of the universal nature of anti-human trafficking policies

and practices, it is worth mentioning that in Chapter 6, we discuss the Ethiopian case, placing it within the wider global perspective of HT mitigation policies.

By way of introduction it can be said that anti-HT policies are a global concern. According to the UN, its interventions on HT are guided development processes[51] which are described as complex, typically caused by many factors and layers that are embedded deeply in the way society functions.[52] In other words, as described in chapter two, the setting in which human trafficking takes place in informed by the social structure of poverty, gender relations, unequal distribution of resources, environmental degradation and many other factors and layers of social functions.

Most studies on HT also discuss measures and policies to mitigate or terminate it. For example, Dean (2017) on the diffusion of human trafficking policies and their implications for comparative anti-trafficking measures. Similarly, Ivaschenko-Stadnik (2013), critiqued the inefficiency of the policy of combating trafficking in human beings in transitional economies, where a combination of corruption and creeping poverty made policy implication almost impossible. In the case of Ethiopia, for instance, Beck *et al*. (2016), human trafficking in Ethiopia with special focus on identifying gaps in service delivery, research, and policy and Woldemichael (2017) who interrogated Ethiopia legal and policy frameworks designed for the prevention of HT.

Generally, combating and managing HT activities require a comprehensive response, including measures to prevent it, protect victims, and prosecute traffickers (see Fukushima *et al*. 2012). We will treat this matter more in detail in chapter four, limiting ourselves here to a few remarks on the three Ps: prevention, protection and prosecution.

3.6.1 Prevention

Prevention mechanisms mainly focus on addressing root causes of vulnerability, often referred to as push/pull factors, usually identified as economic, social, cultural and political insecurities. More effective policies of development, awareness-raising programs through the media and education and research that provide accurate understanding of the dynamics of the problem could serve to inform in a better way. To prevent trafficking in persons, it is significant to

[51] For lack of better term, the UN referred to these development processes as part of a theory of change. Refer, for example, to the UN (2016: 16, 24 and 29) use of theory of change in HT domain. Other references to the use of theory of change in HT, include ADB 2011, Moosa 2012, Baumann 2014, among others.

[52] Wooditch (2012), 'Human Trafficking, Law and Social Structures', and Kangaspunta (2003), 'Mapping the inhuman trade: Preliminary findings of the database on trafficking in human beings'.

consider that specific groups can be targeted for prevention work beyond the conventional ones (cf. Gallagher 2010 and UN 2000) Empowering at-risk and vulnerable persons through leadership development to eliminate poverty, underdevelopment and lack of economic opportunities, discouraging the demand that fosters all forms of exploitation and raising the awareness to inform the public about the dangers of HT and provide potential victims with the possibilities for legal migration and enable them to make informed decisions are mandatory to prevent HT (OHCHR 2010). However, the conditions leading to vulnerability, combined with the persistent ideas and ideals of improving one's life in other locations than the home country will not be easily remedied.

3.6.2 Protection

Unlike prevention, which is a proactive strategy, protection focuses on the rights of the trafficked persons. Victim protection is aimed at the extension of government assistance, including service and rehabilitative facilities, to victims of HT. Although sometimes trafficked persons are blamed for getting involved in the trafficking activity, as victims they are entitled to human rights protection (Gallagher 2010). In this case, particularly state authorities have the first duty to protect and support those persons, as citizens. States should provide guidelines and procedures for relevant administrative authorities and officials, such as police, border guards, immigration officials and others involved in the detection, reception and processing issues of irregular migrants, to permit the rapid and accurate identification of trafficked persons. The absence of adequate legislation, fully functioning administrative structures and an efficient judiciary at all levels of the government machinery contribute to a failure to protect people from HT (UN 2000).

Indeed, providing protection for victims of HT is important not only from a human rights viewpoint, it also helps in preventing *re*-trafficking. Victims who are provided with proper assistance and support on their return are less likely to be re-trafficked, and less vulnerable to intimidation, retaliation, social isolation and stigmatization (OHCHR 2010). Since trafficked persons are treated as victims of a crime, proper assistance and support for reintegration is a right owed to them by virtue of their status as victims of criminal or human rights violations (UNCTOC 2000). Therefore, in principle states must establish appropriate procedures to provide access to compensate and re-integrate victims of HT (cf. UN 2000 and UNCTOC 2000).

3.6.3 Prosecution

This strategy has to do with enforcement of existing laws to counter HT, aimed at the traffickers. Even though having right laws in place is a prerequisite, prosecution is beyond enacting laws that help in combating HT. States have a responsibility under international law to act with due diligence to investigate, prosecute, and adjudicate HT (OHCHR 2000). To discharge such responsibility, states have to ensure the effectiveness of their criminal law and should prosecute if there is an allegation of violation by state officials and non-state actors and then compensate victims. An effective criminal justice response should strengthen training for law enforcement and other relevant officials. It also needs to be organized, empowered, and funded in a way that enables them to respond effectively and to discourage traffickers by increasing the risks and costs associated with their activities. A specialized investigatory capacity mandated to supervise as well as advice within a country is an essential component of effective criminal justice response. In the course of this study we will see that in view of the scale of, and interests involved in HT, the capacity of the state to prevent, protect and prosecute is limited.

3.7 Conclusion

The political economy of HT, whether in the form of human smuggling, modern slavery/forced labor, sex exploitation or sex tourism, is in this view necessitated by a global capitalist system in which productive and service labor are moved to where they are needed.

The liberal perspective of freedom and emancipation recognizes that the problem of preventing HT is a matter of law and order and non-compliance with anti-trafficking and human rights legal frameworks and instruments. On the other hand, anti-modern slavery and forced labor academics and activists argue that freedom and emancipation without meeting the basic material human needs of the victims of trafficking may increase rather than decrease the prevalence of HT.

In this chapter, it is argued that these two anti-HT frameworks, should not be treated as contradictory but as *complementary*. Essentially, the victims of HT need both the legal protection to safeguard their human rights as well as the material protection and support to address issues such as poverty, economic hardship and want. An integrated anti-trafficking framework is presented below.

Chapter 4

An outline of women trafficking from Arsi Zone to the Middle East

This chapter describes and analyses the process of women trafficking in Arsi. It explores three main issues: 1) Arsi-specific recruiters and agents involved in the women trafficking process such as extended family members, relatives, friends and neighbors. 2) The role of Arsi-based recruiters and their relationship to the trafficked women and agents (official and non-officials). 3) Addis Ababa-based agents and their classification and roles as mediators between the trafficked women and their "owners", supposedly employers, in the receiving country.[53]

As shown in Chapter One, the phenomenon of HT in Ethiopia is not new. Its history also dates back centuries, often linked to war and the expansive conquests which created modern Ethiopia since the mid-19th century.[54] The very ethnic mix of today's Ethiopia is a result of these migration which occurred either peacefully as people search for better cultivable land or forcibly through the expansion during the 19th century. Consider for example, the migration from the central highlands to the lowlands (adding Afar, Somalia, Oromo, the Southern Nations and Nationalities, Gambela, Benishangul and Gumuz) which followed.[55] However, it is important to recognize the differences between early forced migration and present-day HT, bondage labour and modern-day slavery, as highlighted earlier.

Today, women trafficking occurs across Ethiopia's national borders as well as within the country, from rural parts to large cities and towns. Although Ethiopian women are trafficked internationally every year, with as the main destinations are the Gulf States, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Sudan and Djibouti, to work as housemaids and, less typically, as commercial sex

[53] The materials used in this chapter were collected from Arsi zone over several field visits benefiting from commonly applied human trafficking methodologies and classification of agents, supplemented with data collected from. The latest field visit was conducted upon return from a write-up and study visit to the African Studies Centre of Leiden University, 19–25 May 2019.
[54] For more details refer to Tefera (2019: 97), who reported that, "the Great Ethnic Migrations" occurred starting from the first half of the sixteenth century to mid-seventeenth century that involved diverse tribal and ethnic groups". A counter-migration to the South began in the 19th century, mostly in the wake of the southward expansion by Emperor Menelik (see for example, Pankhurst 2001, Bahru 2002).
[55] For example, Donham and James 1986, Marcus 1994, and Hassan 1990.

workers (see Yoseph *et al*. 2006). Other migrants, mostly male, go to South Africa[56] after its liberation from the Apartheid regime in 1994. According to Zenebe *et al*. (2016: 55), "South Africa provides a greater economic opportunity particularly for unskilled labor so that it becomes preferable traditional destination point for migrants from Ethiopia". Some Arab countries such as Libya, Egypt, Morocco and Tunisia are increasingly used as transit countries for migrants smuggling to Europe. While Yemen (despite the civil war) is used by Human traffickers as a transit country to Saudi Arabia and the Gulf states.[57] Pankhurst (1985), has documented the history of famine and its contribution to forced migration due to environmental crises prompted by droughts, floods and locus. In respect to the Middle East, Ethiopia serves as a cradle for traffickers pursuing profit and stimulated by Middle East nationals seeking cheap labor. Those trafficked are mostly engaged in domestic services and prostitution are the two major reasons for which Ethiopian women are trafficked to the Middle East. From those who make their way to the Middle East, only few women take the legal channels. In other words, most women who migrate to these Arab countries have in one way or the other used the traffickers or illegal agents (See ILO 2011 and Aronowitz 2009).

4.1 The Human Trafficking Process

Human trafficking process can be defined as the interplay between trafficked persons, recruiters, agents and benefactors and the socio-economic and cultural context within which trafficking takes place. Expressed in the perception of the Ethiopians, the process of trafficking comprises three elements: recruitment, transportation, and exploitation. All three elements are evident in the trafficking process of women from Ethiopia to the Middle Eastern countries and the Arabian Peninsula in particular, which has a deep cultural and religious resonance. It is tantamount to how Massey *et al*. (1993) described the culture of migration in terms of the culmination of ideas, practices and cultural artifacts that reinforce the celebration of migration and migrants. In the case of Arsi Zone, as in other parts of Ethiopia, migration to the Arabian Peninsula is rooted in Ethiopian history. It is historically linked due to the large number of Ethiopian Muslims who travel to Mecca and Medina, Saudi Arabia, for the Muslim pilgrimage. Islamic dogma has it that pilgrimage is a duty that every financially capable Muslim man or women should perform at least once during his or

[56] For a study of Ethiopian labour migrants to South Africa and the Gulf, see the report by Asnake Kefale and Zerihun Mohammed (2015).
[57] For more on the patterns of trafficking to the Middle East see, for example, Fassil Demessie ed. 2017, Fernandez 2011, and Jureidini 2004.

her lifetime. Notes that as a historical practice, pilgrimage contributes to the emergence of cultural values and practices that favor migration to the Middle East. As stated by Massey *et al*. (1993: 448): "This long historical link with Arabia also facilitated the emergence of migrant networks, involving interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants and non-migrants in origin and destination areas through ties of kinship, friendship and shared community origins that would magnify the anticipated net profit of migration". In a similar vein, these cultural practices have been revered in societies where poverty exerts immense social pressure for migration, whether legal or illegal, to escape poverty and improve people's wellbeing, according to Asfaw (2018: 330). The prominence of these religious factors should not be understood to exclude other factors mentioned by other authors, such as Zenebe *et al.* (2016), who observed that youths view migration not only as a poverty exit mechanism but also as a thoroughfare to improve their socio-cultural status. For instance, Asfaw (2018: 131), laments that, "youths with better economic backgrounds also migrates to improve their socio-cultural status, feel a sense of pride and self-respect".

However, the outcomes of the pressure to migrate and attain the possibility of becoming "Migrant Hero", as proposed by Zenebe *et al.* (2016: 55) is not always the case. The urge and desperation to migrate often push youth the arms of traffickers and recruiters, in the hope that they can escape poverty and become part of the actors in the human trafficking process.

These sentiments about the cultural and religious aspects of migration are prevalent in Arsi Zone. Unfortunately, despite warnings of the trappings of human trafficking and illegal migrations, as the data presented in the following chapter shows, the numbers of those to be victims of human trafficking is rising. The data also reveals that even returnees have decided to return to where they were trafficked or migrated to fulfil an unfulfilled promise of becoming a "migrant hero".

Evidently, the linkages between the religious and cultural aspects of migrating or trafficked to the holy lands of Islam must have the added value to normalizing the trafficking process which invites the involvement of the closest of relatives and social relations as will be revealed in the following section.

4.1.1 Recruitment of Migrants and Victims of Trafficking in Arsi Zone

Recruitment is obviously the early phase of the trafficking process. The actors (traffickers) in the recruitment process and the specific techniques they use vary. The findings are drawn

from primary information provided by trafficking victims, families of the victims, the wider community in the research area and some key informants from institutional stakeholders.

Different categories of respondents have stated that recruitment of victims may be started and facilitated by relatives and their friends, neighbors, local brokers, returnees and visitors from destination countries; i.e., suggesting a measure of willingness and cooperation.

Table 4.1: The number of women trafficking recruiters

No.	Agents (recruiters)	Frequency	Percentage
1.	Relatives/friends from destination countries	9	22.5
2	Friends	15	37.5
3	Private Employment Agencies (PEAs)	5	12.5
4	Brokers	11	27.5
Total		40	100

Source: Human Trafficking Prevention Unit, Bureau of Labour and Social Affairs (Addis Ababa), 2018

From the above table, it is possible to observe that most of the victims were recruited by Friends while the least are by PEAs. When recruiters are friends, apparently it is easy for the potential victims to trust them, thereby making the recruitment process very simple. Perhaps, the brokers use intimate friends of potential victims so that they can easily be convinced. Although PEAs should have been the primary recruiters, the responses show that they are the least frequent primary actors in recruiting process. Typical of most those interviewed or responded to the questionnaire (see Chapter 6 for more information on interviews and questionnaires, as well as on the focus group discussions), Nafissa said:

An agent in Asella (I do not wish to mention the name in fear of retribution),

approached me on the way to sell vegetables under the shade near our house. He greeted me politely and asked me, would I go abroad and seek a better life where I earn hundreds rather than ten or twenty Birr or stay in the current miserable condition. I said, of course, I want a better life than the one I endure. In fact, I have no life, I said. He asked me to meet him tomorrow in a secluded place and he will arrange for me to go to Saudi Arabia and added but this cost money. I asked how much? He said, 100,000 Ethiopian *Birr*, but because he knew my relative, he would ask the broker to give me a discount. I got a discount of 10,000 Birr and paid 90,000 Birr which I borrowed from friends and family. After giving the agent part of the money, I thought that the rest of the process will go as smooth as the agent told me, but that was the beginning. I spent at least five weeks before he contacted me and asked me to meet him at Addis Ababa, bus station near Meskel where he will take me to the office of external employment agent.

When we asked whether she knew the name of the employment agent he said:

I did not know; because I trusted the agent who is after all known to the family. Unfortunately, I lost my money because the agent disappeared, and I got stuck in Addis Ababa only to join the "bad girls" (prostitution through old school friends), where I was able to make some money. After several tries, my attempt to go to Saudi Arabia was not successful and I returned to Asella after making money from shame (i.e., prostitution).

Indeed, according to the interviews with victims it has become clear that in many cases the trafficked people do not even know the names of PEAs that did send them to their destination. They only know the primary recruiters and the local brokers who often come on the scene via the primary (first) recruiters. Agents who made promises for better working and living conditions in the destination countries at recruitment may also inflict harm on the trafficked workers.[58] Although in varying degrees, brokers/agents, female employers (housewives), and other family members of the employer are responsible for many of the reported harms. The case we narrated is typical of people who wish to be 'trafficked' but failed. There are examples of people who were successful but not without enduring difficulties, such as the ones described in these cases. The case could also be one of victims

[58] Interview with expert 4, held in Addis Ababa at MoLSA, February 2019.

of trafficking held in ransom, and being so dependent on the brokers, that without their intervention no one could get out of the problems (see cases on ransom in the case of Eritrean refugees, for example, van Reisen, 2017: 4).

A case where 'trafficking' is a problematic label is that of Hussein (35), a university graduate and from a well to do family. He spoke good English and had had six years of experience when he worked as an accountant in Amigna *wereda* of Arsi administrative zone. Hesaid that he was fortunate to find a good agent. The agent accompanied him to Addis Ababa, introduced him to the employment agent where he paid the necessary fees, signed a contract and within a week travelled to Dubai. At Dubai airport he was met with an old friend who also accompanied his to where he was supposed to work as a junior accountant. Hussein eyes glittered as he was happy to say that his Dubai salary was several times higher than that in Ethiopia. He added that he paid his debt to relatives and friends who enabled him to leave Arsi within six months and made enough money to build a house and support his two brothers and sister's education.

Hussein case is that of a "migrant hero",who was served well by his good education (BA in accounting and knowledge of Arabic languages, and friend in Dubai who groomed him to know how to make good a reasonable income from being trafficked by consent. The two cases presented here are real life cases: a case of trafficking went horribly wrong (Nafissa) and a successful case (Hussein), that is more of voluntary irregular migration although with the help of an 'agent'. He would also not describe himself as 'trafficked'.

Three conclusions can be teased out of these two cases: 1) not all human trafficking cases are clear failures or success. A few women are somehow able to find better job opportunities and return home with resources that they can use to improve their lot. Others return empty handed and yet others return with a heavy debt burden. However, this statement should not be understood to justify human trafficking whether it is by consent or coercion, as it sometimes occurs. 2) The trafficked persons level of education and the extent to which his or her hills are in demand in the trafficking destination is an important factor in determining success. Where the trafficked persons education and work experience deem important in the host country, he or she stands better chances of success. 3) The trafficked persons social network in the host country can play an important role in supporting and become a buffer zone and an information resource that assists the new arrivals to understand better how to deal with their new employment environment.

4.1.2 Traffickers and Agents' Levels of Operation

The two stories of Nafissa and Hussein also provide examples of the levels of HT agents level of operations. Both have mentioned that they passed through an agent, a broker, employment agent and yet to say something about the receiving employer, host or in a more dramatic characterization, a slave owner", which is not the case. These elements of HT lead us to examine it from the prism of the embedded levels of operation.

The term trafficker has several meanings and distinction between the different levels of traffickers is not common in the literature and more unclear is how to distinguish the roles different types of traffickers play in the trafficking process (IOM 2011). One serious implication of this lack of clarity is that, it is difficult to know, for example, to identify traffickers because of the collaboration between legal agents and illegal operators or traffickers. According to interviews made with victims and institutional stakeholders, migrants employment agencies with licenses collaborate with illegal local brokers.[59]

In this section, as illustrated below, there are at least five types of traffickers differentiated according to the administrative levels they are involved in the trafficking process. Therefore, the form a chain of interconnected agents. These are divided into five levels, commencing from the place of origin of the victims of trafficking extending up to the country (national) or countries of destination (international). Thus, a local transnationally networked traffickers can be divided into First (from the village), Second (in Ethiopia but have contacts with agents in foreign countries), Third (unlicensed employment agencies), Fourth (national) and Fifth Level Agent (international). The following explains the role of the traffickers as agents in accordance with their level of operation.

First level agents: These are basically known village-level agents who are located at the lowest most echelon of the traffickers' chain. These are individual agents who by going around at the community level to identify and recruit potential local victims. As the starting (lowest level) actors, these individuals are known by community members as vital agents in providing them with initial information about opportunities abroad and about the trafficking process. Of course, they attract the potential victims by telling success stories of people they have already sent abroad. These people use different ways to actively spread information about the opportunities in destination countries, the basic routes they will take, and returns and benefits of migration. These people know where to focus. Particularly, they target the section of the society where rejecting their offer is less likely. In most cases, it is young girls

[59] Focus Group Discussion, held in Addis Ababa, 15 April 2019.

with dire economic, social, educational, and family problems often fall prey to these village level operators.[60]

The problem here is that even if these agents themselves in most of the cases have no adequate knowledge about the process of migration and the potential material gains for the victims, they do not hesitate to tell the potential victims about the attractive nature of the job that they are going to be offered. This is partly since the agents have made it a means of livelihood. As a result, often, they fill the potential victims or their families with deceptive information about issues like working and living conditions in the destination countries, and the payments and gifts from employers. They approach the clients having all explanations for them, in case they ask clarifications on issues related to their migration.

According to data drawn from the informants, these village level actors are the ones clearly known to the victims and their families (Questionnaire 1, Annex 1). They are found to be the ones responsible for the first stage of recruitment of most victims of trafficking for the purpose of labour from Ethiopia to Middle Eastern countries. As a result, when things go wrong, these are the first people who are held accountable.[61] In this regard, the interview made with the "traffickers" who are behind bars for allegedly participating in illegal trafficking activities shows that the bigger fish are made less accountable mainly because of lack of awareness about the link with the other levels of traffickers in the chain. These immediate[62] recruiters are held responsible in most of the cases.[63] A typical story is that of a trafficker in Asella prison who relayed his personal experience as follows:

> Magarsa is a 40 years-old carpenter. After being informed by a fried, who knows a relative who is in the Middle East, that women can easily migrate to the Middle East and improve the lives of their family, he decides to send his wife to one of the countries there. This relative of his gets him in contact with someone facilitating the process. This facilitator leaves in Addis Ababa. Magarsa then calls the facilitator and confirms that it is possible. The facilitator tells him to go to Addis Ababa to facilitate the process. The day he left home for Addis Ababa in order to get a passport for his wife, his wife's cousin insists to take her with him to the facilitator. In Addis Ababa, the facilitator is

[60] Interview with expert 1 in Addis Ababa at MoLSA, 20 February 2019.
[61] Interviews traffickers, 4, and 5 held, Shashamenne on 7 February 2019.
[62] Interviews with traffickers, 6, 7 and 8, held Shashamenne on 7 February 2019.
[63] Interview with expert 1 in Addis Ababa at MoLSA, 20 February 2019.

introduced to the other girl and promising her that she can travel in a short period of time. The passport was issued after some weeks. After two weeks, the facilitator told his wife that the visa from Kuwait has arrived and instructs her to prepare for the travel. She accepted and left for Kuwait. After a while, her cousin with another girl also left for the same destination. However, after months passed without getting in contact with the family back home, his wife called and told him that they are in Sudan. He could not believe it. After confirming that they have been left there without help, he facilitated for his wife to come back home. At that time the other girl refused to come back home together with his wife. However, the family of this other girl accused Megersa of human trafficking. A court then sentenced him to 17 years behind bars and a 300,000 ET Birr (approximately over US$10,000 fine. However, nothing has happened to the so-called facilitator in Addis Ababa. Megersa argued that the girl's family accused him not because was involved in the trafficking activity: "Rather, it was because we came in disagreement with her family on buying a house. Although they wanted to buy the house, I was able to buy it for my sister-in- law who is in Saudi Arabia. This was why they accused me of human trafficking.[64]

This story clearly demonstrates that the traffickers stationed in Addis Ababa often gets away scot-free while the local traffickers can easily be identified convicted and put behind bars. Interviews with trafficking victims revealed that most of them were recruited by these village level actors, whether they are friends, family members, neighbors or illegal brokers. These are the main entry points for the trafficked persons (more details will be presented in chapter five on the analysis of the field data).

These people are mostly regular residents and recognized by the community. However, village level recruiters may sometimes come from far away. It is these local village level recruiters who serve as key links in the process of trafficking, migration and routes for other brokers and traffickers within their network. They provide their clients with information about how they must prepare for the journey.

The exploitation of the potential victims by the first-level agents begins with asking payment for offering "guidance" to the potential victims through the process of the issuance

[64] Interview with traffickers 1, 2 and 3, held in Asella on 5 April 2019.

of passports. It then continues when they are introducing them to private employment agencies (PEAs) "facilitate" the process. After the completion of all the basic requirements, some petty issues like health checkups can also create reasons for further exploitation of the victims by the first-level agents.[65] In other words, village level agents maximize the monetary values of their services by alluding to several requirements such as health certificates, consent of family or permissions to travel abroad from local authorities. Even though some of these self-made requirements could be seen as providing extra security layer for the victims of trafficking, in fact they are in actual fact mean to facilitate extortion, which is in this case, akin to ransom.[66]

Second level agents: The second level traffickers have contacts with agents in foreign countries and claim to represent those people who after the completion of all the requirements, facilitate the travel process. They provide some the necessary services required during the preparation for travel period and involved all through transporting, protecting and smuggling after the victims leave the village and their journey commences.[67]

At this level there may or may not be one or more transfer steps (to anther agents) depending on whether there is a long chain (trafficked to the Middle East through Sudan, Djibouti, Kenya or any other country) or a short chain (directly from Ethiopia to the Middle East or any other country). In the case of long chain trafficking, the traffickers receive the victims from first level agents, usually in groups, and are likely to transfer them to another trafficker within the chain and outside the chain before they reach the destination country.

As the main responsibility of these individuals or groups include the transportation, protecting and smuggling of migrants across borders, they can put the victims at a risk for getting more payments from victims. For those who take the land route, such individuals are reported to be positioned on the desert and sea routes, as well as on the route to the Sudan. Most of these are people who have direct contact with people from across the border. They may have friends, family members or contrabandists who are based in the transit and/or destination countries. They could physically be based in Ethiopia, Djibouti and Yemen, or even in destination countries, such as in Saudi Arabia.[68]

If the trafficking victims are taking the land route, the transport occurs in phases. It

[65] Interview with Head of Labour and Social Welfare Office, held in Shashemene on 11 April 2019.
[66] Similar situations of extortion were documented in the case of trafficked Eritreans and minors in Sinai (Rijken,van Reisen, et al. 2019 and Van Reisen and Al-Qasim 2017).
[67] Focus Group Discussion, held in Addis Ababa, 12 February 2019.
[68] Interview with experts 1, 2, 3, and 4, from MoLSA, BoLSA and MoFA, respectively held in Addis Ababa, on 16 February 2019.

starts when the first-level traffickers have transferred an adequate number of migrants to form a manageable group to cross borders. The responsibility of this category of traffickers is to take the irregular migrants through arduous territories and smuggle them through non-patrolled sections of the border. In some cases, irregular migrants are transferred to other brokers responsible for the remaining section(s) of the route. Because of the secret and grueling nature of the journey, the victims are in a vulnerable and dependent position. The traffickers at this level often take advantage of such conditions. This usually involves abuse of the victims under their care to ensure compliance and/or take economic and/or sexual advantages.

Third level agents: These are agents who operate as unlicensed employment agencies. This kind of agencies are available both in the origin and destination countries. Such agencies in Ethiopia operate without having a valid license from an appropriate authority. This can happen if a license has expired, if the agency is holding a fake license, or if it is legally banned because of lack of relevant requirements.

Like the domestic ones, the overseas private employment agencies (PEAs) are of two types. Type one agents are those that have a license from the relevant authority to facilitate regular migration and employment of citizens in foreign countries, and the second are those which provide similar services without having the required license. In one way or the other, it is through such agencies that most of the irregular migration is facilitated in Ethiopia.

In addition, local employment agencies licensed to provide employment services for local domestic workers are blamed for also secretly facilitating overseas employment. Informants from MoLSA stated that some agencies which have license for the provision of local but not overseas employment services are found to have been doing the latter. Since these agencies are well-aware what they do is illegal, they take extra precaution not to be caught by the authorities.

One of the major problems in this scenario is the fact that potential victims do not usually make a distinction between unlicensed and licensed agencies or PEAs. Most of the interviewed victims stated that they did not know whether the agencies which sent them abroad were licensed or not. So, in most cases, there is confusion on the nature of the agencies. Usually, if an agent has an office or claims to have one, no one wants to go further to probe it for confirmation. It is only after harm has been done that the victims and parents find out the nature of the agency. According to data obtained from victims and their families, they usually believed that the process was 'legal' until such a condition happened. From among the factors misleading the parents and victims were the agent claiming to have an

office, the promise of travel by air, and issuance of the passport.[69]

Fourth level agents (or licensed employment agents): The research results also show that it is not only the unlicensed agencies that participate in the trafficking of women to the Middle East, but the licensed ones themselves often participate in these activities as well. The interview results show that licensed PEAs are also actors in the trafficking of human women. This fact is confirmed by interviews with several stakeholders, including the representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Oromiya Bureau of Labour and Social Affairs (BoLSA), and the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs (MoLSA). The PEAs mainly participate in such activities in order to make the process of sending the potential victims easier, quicker and less costly.[70] By operating outside the law and cooperating with unlicensed employment agents who recruit people through exploitation suggests that some PEA's primary purpose is to maximize their return regardless of where they are exploited or not.

According to the Ethiopian Overseas Employment Proclamation 923/2016, an overseas agency must have a business registration certificate and obtain a license from the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs.[71] Some of the other requirements are for the business owner to be an Ethiopian citizen, and the requirement for the owner to deposit a capital of 1 million ETB as collateral for the damages the employee may face, and not be prohibited from operating this kind of business. Also, any business organization interested in this service must clearly set as its only objective the operation of overseas employment exchange service. Until February 2019, 268 PEAs were legally registered by the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs under the terms of the Ethiopian Overseas Employment Proclamation.[72]

Fifth level agents are located at the trafficking victims' overseas destination. This last category of traffickers consists of individuals who use the vulnerability of the victims when they are outside their countries as opportunity to exploit them in destination countries. They put the victims in situations of vulnerability, abuse, and exploitation, using fraud, control, coercion, and threat. These traffickers are residents of the destination countries and have usually formed links with local and unlicensed agents or enticed friends and family members

[69] Interview with victims and families of victims, Adaba, Robe, Gadab, February 2019.
[70] Interview with expert 7, MoLSA, 20 February 2019.
[71] See: https://www.lawethiopia.com/images/federal_proclamation/proclamations_by_number/923.pdf. Accessed 14 May 2019.
[72] MoLSA website: http/ www.MoLSA.gov.et., accessed on 21 February 5, 2019.

to handle the local aspect while they handle the process at the destination end.

A sad example of the fifth level operation is that of Zegeye, an Ethiopian domestic worker under Lebanon's kafala sponsorship system, which binds the trafficked women to only one employer. These trafficked women are very dependent on the employer because they cannot contest the work conditions and move to another employer. If they are discovered to be attempting to move to another employer, they can be deported and without salary or compensation. Zegeye was shocked that the Lebanese authorities were not concerned or alarmed about the situation although they knew that physical and verbal abuse of domestic workers has sadly, become a norm. doing anything about it.

These fifth level agents can be divided in different sub-categories. One of the types of such traffickers is Ethiopians who migrated at one point in the past and who turned to trafficking. With strong links with relatives or friends who can facilitate the recruitment of the potential victims, these Ethiopians easily exploit the victims.[73]

The second sub-category is those who sponsor the victims, thinking that they can exploit them once they have arrived in the destination countries. These are usually based in major Arab countries such as Saudi Arabia and UAE, and have strong links with a chain of brokers and smugglers in Ethiopia, Djibouti, and Yemen, as well as with agents in the countries of destination. These categories of traffickers have regular communication with smugglers throughout their journey and will receive the victims upon arrival in the destination countries. Once they arrive, these traffickers provide them with shelter until they can find employers for them as domestic workers. The salaries of the victims will then be collected directly by the traffickers based on agreement with an employer thereby subjecting the victims to persistent exploitation. The most common forms of exploitation include prostitution (of all forms), child labour, bonded labour (whereby workers are forced to work to pay off loans often at interest rates which accrue faster than can be repaid), forced labour, and forced marriages. As a case story of an Ethiopian who turned to become a destination point trafficker, one of the victims interviewed narrated the following:

> Rosa, who migrated to Saudi Arabia from Shashemene ten years ago, was married to a Saudi man. She herself migrated to Jeddah when she was 19 through the sponsorship of another trafficker who himself was originally from Ethiopia. After working as a housemaid for some years she married a Saudi

[73] Interview with victims, February 2019

> man who was originally from Yemen. She then started working as a facilitator for other girls from around here to travel to Saudi Arabia and work as housemaids. Still now, she has a strong link with local brokers who orchestrated the migration process from the village level to Saudi Arabia.[74]

Some respondents also stated that traffickers at the destination points do not only benefit from sponsoring migrants, they also benefit from renting rooms to newly arriving migrants and escapees, and from facilitating their employment. For instance, one of the victims interviewed recounted the following:

> As we arrived in Saudi Arabia, a man who received us took us to a small room in which we lived together with other victims until he found us employer. He has rooms that can accommodate more than a hundred migrant workers. Then he took certain portion of our salary as a fee for using his room during our stay. The same man operates as an agent for our employment and provides us with transportation to and from the workplace to his place when we seek that service. Other migrant workers also use his rooms to rest and meet with each other. They also use it as accommodation when they are too sick to work and are out of a job.[75]

The third category of traffickers at destination point are those who act as representatives of agencies in Ethiopia or those with whom they are working in the destination countries. Many of the victims interviewed revealed that there are Ethiopians, Filipinos and Arabs who receive them upon their arrival and who then establish contact with employers or agencies. These individuals usually tell the victims that they are working with agencies at home and promise to assist them during emergencies. However, as employers rarely allow the victims to contact them, these individuals cannot be reached when needed. And since they have no power, they usually fail to support the victims even when they are contacted. They are more known for advising victims to bear the burden and sufferings involved.[76]

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[74] Interview with victim 1, held in Adaba on 18 February, 2019
[75] Interview with victim 2, held in Gadab on 18 February, 2019.
[76] Interview with victims 1 & 2, 19 February 2019, Robe, Adaba towns, respectively.

4.1.3. Transportation and Routes

Victims of human trafficking use two routes when they leave Ethiopia. One of these routes is the *air route*. In this case, migrants fly from Bole International Airport to the destination country. This is one which often appears legal to the victims and the observers alike. These victims mostly head directly to Saudi Arabia, UAE or Lebanon. Others often first travel to Kenya to avoid being intercepted at Bole International Airport by immigration officials. From there they travel to Dubai, UAE and then sometimes proceed to Beirut, Lebanon.[77]

Many also migrate through Bole airport by using the pretext of the Muslim pilgrimage, *Hajj* or *Oumra*, to migrate to Saudi Arabia and overstay their visa to seek employment there. In order to do this, non-Muslim women change their names into Muslim names. Those who have not reached the age of 25 years will also have to change their official documents to that effect.

It is important here to note that the traffickers can secure tourist visas from different countries that even the legal employment agencies are unable to do. For instance, many Ethiopian migrant workers who are going to UAE using the services of traffickers opted for them because they were able to secure them a tourist or business visa.[78]

The second option is a *land route* across the border to neighboring countries, or rather using the 'desert route'. Victims may take a bus up to a certain point and proceed on foot to cross part of the route. For those who cross the border, two options emerge. Some may stay in neighbouring countries, such as Sudan and Djibouti, and seek employment, while others proceed to other countries of destination, such as Saudi Arabia. For the traffickers, there are several such land route options from Ethiopia. One is travelling *to Arab countries through the port city of Bossaso* (in Puntland). Most of the migrants who take this route are young girls who migrate mainly to Saudi Arabia in search of employment as domestic servants. However, there are also some who take Saudi Arabia as a transit to pass to other Arab countries.[79] After crossing the border in Afar, Ethiopian migrants have for many years used Bossaso as a transit port town to migrate to Arab countries. Although many of the people who take this route come from Amhara and Tigray regions, some also come from the southern zones of Bale and Arsi in Oromiya Region. They use this route because it is difficult and costly to secure a visa and fly to Saudi Arabia. As these victims must cross the Gulf of Aden by boat, it is one of the more dangerous routes to take. Most of the victims who take

[77] MoLSA, 2017.
[78] Interview with expert 1, in MoLSA, February, 2019.
[79] Interview with expert 2, in MoLSA, February, 2019.

this route state that they heard of Saudi Arabia through family members, friends and neighbors who themselves migrated there and improved their lives and that of their families by sending money back home, and When they come back home, they bring a lot of clothes and jewelry.[80]

Potential migrants from any point of origin first go to Addis Ababa using local *public bus*. Brokers in Addis Ababa would make a deal with the potential victims. They promise them that they can get them to Bossaso and then safely to Saudi Arabia for a nominal fee. Once the deal is made, the brokers arrange for the transportation from Addis Ababa. Brokers in Addis Ababa transfer their clients to other brokers in Harar, who in turn hand them over to other brokers responsible to transport them the destination.[81]

Another bus route is *through Afar and Djibouti*. Although most of the ones who take this route also come from Tigray and Amhara regions, and to a lesser extent come from Oromiya and the Southern (SNNPR) region (IOM, 2016). The journey, in most of the cases, is managed by illegal brokers. However, friends and relatives are also involved in helping to connect to these brokers and convincing the victims to take the risk. In general, the journey by bus via Afar and Djibouti is reported to be terrible and difficult. Among the other things, travelers must travel at night, through the desert and without food and water; their money could also be snatched by illegal brokers; they may also beat or attack them; and women travelers may be sexually abused. Furthermore, illegal brokers may leave the migrants behind in the middle of the desert telling them that they have almost reached their destination. As commonly seen in the media, they may also overcrowd the boats that go to Yemen from Djibouti - putting the travelers at risk of drowning: they may force them to jump out of the boat in sight of coastguards. Travelers may also be intercepted by rebel groups and forced into going to Eritrea and may be shot at by border control officials when they attempt to cross. In extreme cases, travelers might die, and wild animals might attack and kill them.

The data collected from informants of this study disclosed that there is a well-established trafficking/smuggling route extending to Yemen and Saudi Arabia (Jeddah) via the Afar Region and Djibouti. This route opens in many locations of the hinterland sharing borders with or leading to Afar Region.[82]

The fourth major route is migration *to the Sudan through Metemma*. This route was

[80] Interview with expert 2 held in Addis Ababa at the MoLSA, 22 February 2019.
[81] Interview with expert, 2 held in Addis Ababa at MoLSA, 22 February 2019.
[82] Interview with expert 2, ibid., previous note.

used by Ethiopians and Somalis to reach Libya and then proceed to European countries, such as Italy and Malta, by crossing the Mediterranean Sea. Due to loose border controls it is estimated that about a hundred thousand Ethiopians illegally cross to Sudan annually. Sometimes victims use a one-month visa as they cross the border to Sudan. Then, through support of the traffickers/smugglers, they pass to Libya or other Arab countries. As they travel through harsh conditions, it is also an extremely dangerous route to take. Indeed, since recently, the same route was used to cross the Ethiopian border for the purpose of seeking employment in Sudan itself. Sudan has also become a destination country for Ethiopian migrant workers since a couple of years now (cf. IOM, 2017).

It has been confirmed that people from Kofele, Gadab, Asasa and Adada in Asella, the Head quarter of Arsi Zone, are commonly using this route. Most of the trafficked people who cross into Sudan are women. Informants have also stated that some of the victims from the area have found themselves in Sudan without their intention and without prior knowledge that they were travelling to this destination.[83]

There is no story that can exemplify the horror through which trafficked persons go through than the case of Ayoub who relied the following in an interview conducted in Shashemene, the capital of Arsi West:

> I was deprived of food for seven days and was asked by the traffickers to call my family to send them money to a bank account in Rome, while I was *en route* to Libya were I will be trafficked through the Mediterranean to Europe. When my family sent them US$ 5,000, they asked for another US$ 5000 or else they will dump me in the Sahara and will never see them again. My family sent the money, but I was dumped in Libya and had to pay again to be transported back to Ethiopia.

When I asked Ayoub whether he will try again, his answer was yes, but I must ask some of the successful returnees about how to make it next time. Ayoub's case is one of a combination of extortion and ransom, similar to what is experienced in the past couple of years by trafficked people from Eritrea and other countries. It is a relatively new form of trafficking and most prominently described in recent studies on Eritrea van Reisen and Al-

[83] Interviews with victims, traffickers and families, held in Adabba, Gadad Asasa, and Asella, on 5 to 17 February 2019.

Qasim 2017, and Rijken, an Reisen, et al. 2019). It is expanding and supported by a modus operandi depending on extortion through digital (ICT) means (van Reisen and Rijken 2015). Unfortunately, in the case of Ayoub, none of the extorted money was ever recovered. Victims of this scam and their families are left burdened with debt, and in the case of already poor families get more impoverished.

4.2. Conclusion

Despite the availability of a myriad of instruments and institutions, complex processes mar human trafficking and specially women trafficking continue to allude researchers and policy makers alike. In Arsi Zone, there is often a thin line separating human trafficking and legal migration as some presumably legal agents, knowingly or unknowingly, receive trafficking victims through unofficial agents. In situations where village level agents are part of society and where the victims of trafficking may establish relations of trust (husbands, friends, relatives and neighbours), it is difficult to distinguish between consent and social pressure. The Horn of Africa porous borders makes it difficult to trace all Ethiopians trafficked through her borders by land, with the presence of multiple agents within and between countries. Arsi Zone training programmes to equip prospective migrants with domestic work skills and awareness of legal rights have double edge outcomes. On one hand, it created a better educated and better suited workforce ready for migration, on the other hand, it is difficult to trace whether those trained will join the legal or illegal routes to migrate. In situations of deprivation and poverty, as the interviews show, can also be victims of human trafficking. The successful of stories who were able “to make it”, using the migrant hero metaphor, is stimulus that drives even more men and women to submit themselves to the trafficking industry despite their will. The following chapter describes and analyses the profiles of trafficked Arsi women. It is intended to explain the socio-economic factors and consequences of being a victim of trafficking.

Chapter 5

Women Trafficking from Ethiopia: The Legal, Institutional and Policy Frameworks to Deal with It

This chapter provides an overview of the relevant HT prevention laws and institutions, both governmental (at the level of the Labor and Social Affairs Bureau at Arsi Zone, Oromiya Regional State and the Federal Government of Ethiopia) and non-governmental as well as formal and informal. The Ethiopian human trafficking prevention architecture is based on a multitude of international, regional (AU and IGAD) and national legal and policy frameworks. The following four section elucidate the various levels and the coming together of these frameworks and measures foreseen to prevent human trafficking. They also apply to male victims of trafficking but, as noted above, the focus here is on women as a study population. In section 5.5 the situation on the level of at Arsi Zone, as emanating from such international, regional and national levels, will be discussed.

5.1 International Instruments Ratified by Ethiopia

The current FDRE Constitution explicitly states that ratified international treaties are integral parts of the constitution.[84] In addition, the fundamental rights enshrined in the Constitution are interpreted in a manner confirming to the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, international instruments adopted by Ethiopia.[85] Furthermore, states, including Ethiopia, that have ratified a particular UN instrument become responsible for observing the principles of the instrument. Therefore, states which have ratified UN instruments on anti-trafficking need to develop their own anti-human trafficking laws in line with their international commitments.

International Instruments Ratified

Ethiopia has ratified several international instruments that deal with human trafficking. Among these is the UN Convention against Transnational Organized Crime, and its

[84] Article 9(4) of the FDRE Constitution of 1995.
[85] Article 13(2) of the FDRE constitution of 1995.

supplementary protocols.[86] One of the most important international instruments to combat trafficking, and a supplement to the UN Convention against Transnational Organized Crime (2000), is the *Palermo Protocol*. Specifically, article 5 of the Protocol requires states to criminalize trafficking and any activity associated with it. This protocol commits ratifying states to prevent and combat human trafficking, protect and assist its victims, and promote international cooperation to meet these objectives. It also obligates ratifying states to introduce new human trafficking legislation.

As Ethiopia has ratified the agreement, the country is obviously put under international obligation to adopt anti-human trafficking legislation or other legal measures to combat human trafficking. Ethiopia has also ratified The United Nations Protocol against the smuggling of migrants by land, sea and air.[87] In addition, Ethiopia has ratified other UN as well as ILO conventions dealing with employment and labor issues, which are in one way or the other useful in combating human trafficking. These include the UN Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and the Exploitation of the Prostitution of others (1949); UN International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966); UN International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, (1966); UN Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) (1979); ILO, the Private Employment Agencies Convention (1997); UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) (1989); ILO, the Discrimination (Employment and Occupation) Convention (1958), and others.

However, since the Palermo Protocol is the first comprehensive international instrument devised to combat human trafficking, it appears to be crucial to focus on. This UN Trafficking Protocol indicates six important activities to be undertaken that help to prevent human trafficking. These activities include raising the awareness of the public about human trafficking through mechanisms such as training and media outlets; addressing social and economic conditions which cause human trafficking; protecting victims of trafficking in persons, especially women and children, from victimization; strengthening border control; properly regulating travel or identity documents; and discouraging the demand that fosters

[86] The two supplementary protocols of the UN Convention against Transnational Organized Crime are: the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, and The United Nations Protocol against the smuggling of migrants by land, sea and air. Ethiopia ratified these protocols back in 2012.

[87] FDRE Proclamations No. 737/2012 and 736/2012.

all forms of exploitation of persons, especially women and children, that leads to trafficking.[88]

In fact, activities like awareness raising trainings can play vital roles in preventing human trafficking as they may enable the public to understand human trafficking, including the methods employed by traffickers and the risks to victims.[89] The media is also expected to play a critical role in this regard. All relevant media outlets are to provide a balanced and clear explanation of the phenomena and a reliable portrayal of the victims. In such campaigns, women and children must be especially targeted as they are often the vulnerable sections of the society.

Under this UN Trafficking Protocol, protecting victims of human trafficking from re-victimization is also given a focus as an important strategy for preventing further trafficking. This is the case because the Protocol assumes that former victims are often more vulnerable later on, especially if they are repatriated to places where trafficking is common.[90] In this context, considering the impact of return and repatriation on the safety of the victims should be evaluated well beforehand in order for the return of all trafficking victims to be effective.[91]

Prevention of human trafficking demands addressing factors that underlie women trafficking. In other words, it is to say that effective prevention requires working on the basic causes of women trafficking. In international policy discourse, these factors are usually said to include poverty, under development, unemployment, and lack of equal opportunity (UN 2000.) As stated in OHCHR's. *Recommended Principles and Guidelines on Human Rights and Human Trafficking* (2010), gender inequality and gender-based violence, lack of education and other factors which bring about human rights violations likewise exacerbate vulnerability to human trafficking (OHCHR 2010). According to the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (*ibid*.) these factors generally make individuals susceptible to human trafficking by enhancing economic deprivation and social conditions that limit individual choice, thus making it easier for traffickers to operate (OHCHR 2010).

In addition, strong border control is said to be an essential tool to prevent human trafficking. Here States Parties are required to take measures that make the conventional means of transport more difficult for traffickers to use (UNOD 2004). Indeed, when taking

[88] UN 2000, Trafficking Protocol (the Palermo Protocol).
[89] United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime 2008.
[90] UNODC 2004. *Legislative Guides for the Implementation of the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime and The Protocols.*
[91] The Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific, 2003.

measures, it is important to keep the balance between border control and freedom of movement. Studies have indicated that a lack of legal rights to mobility compels marginal and vulnerable groups to lead underground lives, enhancing their vulnerability to trafficking (Touzenis 2010). That is why this Protocol explicitly warns that such border measures should not derogate States Parties' commitment in ensuring the right to free movement.[92]

Strictly monitoring the travel documents of people - passports and other travel or identification documents - will also discourage traffickers from easily transporting victims to other States and, hence, may help to prevent the trafficking. In this regard, this UN Trafficking Protocol demands States Parties to ensure that travel or identity documents issued by it are of such quality that they cannot easily be misused or cannot readily be falsified or unlawfully altered, replicated or issued; and also to ensure the integrity and security of travel or identity documents issued by or on behalf of the State Party so as to prevent their unlawful creation, issuance and use.

As this UN Trafficking Protocol notes, the endeavor to combat human trafficking will not bring meaningful outcomes unless the demand side is properly considered.[93] OHCHR underlines that demand may be generated by employers and consumers for the goods or services produced or provided by trafficked persons (OHCHR 2010). Demand may also come from exploiters and others involved in the trafficking process, such as recruiters, brokers and transporters, who rely on trafficking and victims of trafficking to generate income. Therefore, an effort to deal with demand side of the causes of women trafficking should analyze these sources.

In the UN Trafficking Protocol, it is clearly spelled out that measures aimed at raising the awareness of the public through research, mass media attention and other public information campaigns do not necessarily require legislative action for their implementation. States parties are required to establish comprehensive policies, programs and other measures to deal with prevention. [94]

Indeed, one of the challenges in translating the ratified conventions including the trafficking protocol into practice is the fact that they require states to treat trafficked people in a way that is not even affordable for nationals. Understood in this way, given the welfare states' nationals' protection as political priority, state intervention in favor of migrants is difficult to explain to the population and sometimes creates political dilemma.

[92] Art. 11 of the UN Trafficking Protocol 2000.
[93] UN Trafficking Protocol 2000.
[94] UN Trafficking Protocol Art. 9(1), 2000.

There are also major problems of form, content and application that make the conventions and their proposed measures less relevant to the actual situation in Ethiopia. For one thing, the official translation of international instruments into the working languages of the country is seldom undertaken. Although the instruments in question formally becomes part of the laws of the country upon official publication of ratification, the absence of official translation and publication makes it difficult to apply them in practice, particularly in the courts. The other is that the provisions of international instruments are inherently general in nature and focus on government obligations rather than giving a clear definition of rights and the establishment of implementing structures and procedures at the national level. Most of these provisions require the promulgation of subsidiary legislation by the national lawmaking body in order to be applicable (IOM 2011) – even apart from issues of funding and institutional capacity.

Moreover, as 'exporting' workers is economically vital to the source countries, there appears to exist a concern from the sending countries that implementation of such conventions will limit their chances of getting economic benefits. Obviously, if sending states express the political will of protecting their citizens abroad through the conventions, receiving states would hold a stronger position to dictate the terms and conditions of employment. To make matters even worse for the sending states, economic instability and high unemployment rates often leave governments without other options. This situation apparently reflects the reality in Ethiopia, which is in competition with other sending states and depends on the agreements signed by receiving countries in the Middle East.

Regional Instruments Ratified by Ethiopia

By 'regional' instruments are meant instruments that exist at the continental (African) and sub-continental level and which Ethiopia has ratified. One of such basic instruments is the *African Charter on Human and People's Rights*. This Charter was adopted in 1981 and came into force in 1986. As it has been ratified by Ethiopia in1998, the country is obliged to observe the provisions of the Charter. This Charter is the leading human rights document at the continent level with all the member states of the African Unity (AU) having ratified it. As clearly provided in article five of this Charter, every individual shall have the right to the respect of the dignity inherent in human being, and to the recognition of his legal status.

Though trafficking in persons is not explicitly mentioned, the Charter, under Article 5, condemns all forms of exploitation and degradation particularly slavery, slave trade,

torture, cruel, inhuman or degrading punishment and treatment.[95] All forms of exploitation and degradation of humans, particularly slavery, slave trade, torture, cruel, inhuman or degrading punishment and treatment were to be prohibited. Ethiopia also ratified the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child in September 2002.[96] As some other articles, including articles 27, 28 and 29, concern the prevention of the sexual exploitation, abduction and trafficking of children, they are the most relevant to this end. [97]

At the East Africa level, states are making efforts to combat women trafficking. The Eastern African bloc IGAD has developed a Regional Migration Policy Framework (IRMPF). This framework was developed as per the Migration Policy Framework for Africa, which was adopted in Banjul in 2006.[98] In the Policy Framework, six key thematic migration issues were identified, including human trafficking and recommendations for Member States outlined. The five-year IGAD Migration Action Plan beginning from 2015 was developed to operationalize the IGAD Regional Migration Policy Framework. Accordingly, strategic priorities, action areas and a list of activities to be carried out by IGAD Member States were established by the Migration Action Plan.

Another Greater Horn of African Initiative is the African Union-Horn of African Initiative (AU-HOAI), an African Union-led plan that brings together more than 15 African states (including Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia, South Sudan, and Sudan from the IGAD region). Countries such as Egypt also play a prominent role in the process. The initiative aims to combat human trafficking and smuggling from the Horn of Africa (HoA) to different destinations, mainly to Europe, the Middle East and Southern Africa. The African Union-Horn of Africa initiative's Strategy Action Plan has been adopted specific provisions of prevention, protection and prosecution (EU-HOAI, 2014).

Moreover, another Eastern African initiative is the Regional Committee on Mixed Migration (RMM), also to counter human trafficking. This was an IOM initiative created by the governments of Djibouti, Ethiopia, Puntland, Somaliland and Yemen at the conclusion of a Regional Consultation on mixed migration held in Djibouti in 2010. Its overall objective is enhancing collaboration to address and manage mixed migration flows in the region.[99]

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[95] African Charter on Human and People's Right 1981.
[96] African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child 1990.
[97] African Charter on Human and People's Rights 1981.
[98] IGAD Regional Migration Policy Framework, 2012.
[99] Regional Committee on Mixed Migration paper, 2010. 'Mixed migration' refers here to refers to complex population movements: people using the same routes and modes of transportation to travel, but moving for different reasons. These movements may include migrants, , refugees,

Similarly, the joint European Union and Horn of African (EU-Horn of Africa) initiative known as Migration Route Initiative (Khartoum Process) is also a recent development as an inter-regional platform between European countries and HoA states. Among other things, this Initiative has laid out member state commitments to ratify international conventions on smuggling of migrants and human trafficking. Of course, the overall objective this initiative is tackling human trafficking and smuggling of migrants from the Horn of Africa to Europe. In order to do so, some of its strategies are stated as working on the socio-economic causes of migration, protection of victims, strengthening law enforcement efforts, and fostering cooperation with international organizations.[100]

5.2 Ethiopia's National Legal and Policy Frameworks

The national level legal framework has to do with provisions that are made at the country level in order to counter women trafficking. This includes all trafficking issues covered under the domestic laws of various jurisdictions. Of course, a comprehensive national legal framework is usually required in order for human trafficking problem to be countered effectively. However, there are instances when states try to employ already existing criminal laws, labor laws, migration policies, refugee and asylum laws, as well as investigative and judicial procedures with more recent treaty obligations (UNHCR 2014). This was true for Ethiopia, as the country used the previously existing key provisions under the FDRE Constitution, the Criminal Code, and Employment Exchange Services Proclamations, and ratified international instruments. More recently, Ethiopia has introduced the new Proclamation for the Prevention and Suppression of Trafficking in Persons and Smuggling of Migrants.[101] However, contrary to the UN Trafficking Protocol, prevention methods are not clearly outlined under the Trafficking and Smuggling Proclamation of Ethiopia.

Moreover, very recently Ethiopia enacted a new overseas employment proclamation to protect the rights, safety and dignity of Ethiopians who take up overseas employment. The Overseas Employment Proclamation was adopted to protect Ethiopians working abroad from human rights violations and discourage those vulnerable to human trafficking. Accordingly, no deployment of overseas workers is allowed in the absence of a bilateral agreement with the recipient country. Moreover, the deployment of workers (i) under the age of 18, (ii)

unaccompanied and separated children, or victims of trafficking. Cp. http://www.mixedmigrationhub.org/member-agencies/what-mixed-migration-is/.

[100] EU-HoA Migration Route Initiative 2014.

[101] Proclamation No. 909/2015 of the FDRE 2015.

without the 8th grade of education, and (iii) without a certificate of occupational competence is strictly prohibited.[102]

To strengthen border control as per the requirements of the UN Trafficking Protocol highlighted above, the Ethiopian government also included some border-related provisions in the Proclamation. The Proclamation criminalized and imposed severe penalties on fraudulent use of travel and identity documents.[103] Next, some of the national legislative provisions that in one way or another help in countering women trafficking are discussed. Indeed, it is important to recognize that the legislation evolved over time.

5.2.1 The 1995 FDRE Constitution (1995)

As the current Constitution stipulates various human and democratic rights , the protection of the rights of individuals and groups is associated with protecting people from being trafficked. The Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (FDRE) Constitution guarantees fundamental human and democratic rights. Some of the provisions that are directly associated to trade in human beings include those under article 18, including the right to protection against cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment; prohibition of being held in slavery or servitude and human trafficking for whatever purpose; and a prohibition of performing forced or compulsory labour.[104] There are also other provisions relevant to the issue of human trafficking, including article 25, which deals with the equality of all individuals regardless of gender, religion, ethnicity and other identity markers, and article 32, which stipulates to guarantee the freedom of every Ethiopian to move and reside within the country and to leave the country .

Most importantly, the constitution is very clear that trafficking in persons for whatever purpose is prohibited. It is put in black and white. Besides, it declares a prohibition against inhuman treatment and makes clear that everyone has the right to protection against such cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

5.2.2 The 2004 Criminal Code

Although not providing a clear definition for human trafficking as a crime, the Criminal Code of Ethiopia sets down acts and omissions that are punishable by law as well as the form

[102] Proclamation No. 923/2016 of FDRE (2016).
[103] Article 7 of the Trafficking and Smuggling Proclamation 2015.
[104] FDRE 1995 Constitution.

and extent of punishment accorded a definitive as well as preventive role in addressing social problems, aimed to provide a sense of justice to the victim and the society. In many of its articles the Criminal Code addressed issues of trafficking of women and children.[105] As some of the acts supposedly entailing criminal liability may not be properly covered by the Proclamation, the Criminal Code contemplates the crimes of forgery, fraudulent misrepresentation and other similar crimes as punishable. For instance, the case of an agency engaging in services, workplace, or country not mentioned in the license is disciplined under article 598 of the Criminal Code

From among the most important articles in this Criminal Code, article 597, under the title of Trafficking in Women and Children, provides that whoever by violence, threat, deceit, fraud, kidnapping or by the giving of money or other advantage to the person having control over a woman or a child, recruits, receives, hides, transports, exports or imports a woman or a minor for the purpose of forced labour, is punishable with rigorous imprisonment 5 to 20 years, and fine not exceeding 50,000 *Birr*.

In addition the aforementioned article also provides that whoever knowingly carries off, or transports, whether by land, by sea or by air, the victim mentioned above, with the purpose stated therein, or conducts, or aids such traffic, is liable to the penalty as prescribed above.

Thee Criminal Code in its various articles also prohibits forced labor, enslavement, aggravation to the crime, prostitution, endangering the life of another, and the organization of traffic in women and minors. Furthermore, it criminalizes attempts to commit the of organizing others to commit trafficking.

However, one of the drawbacks of the Criminal Code is that none of its articles provide a clear definition of human trafficking and its difference from smuggling of migrants. And the Criminal Code is often blamed as being deficient, because contrary to the Palermo Protocol, the Code did not cover 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 (cf. Mehari 2017).

5.2.3 The Proclamation on Employment Exchange Services

This proclamation was formulated by repealing the 1998 Private Employment Agency Proclamation (Proclamation 104/1998) and some provisions of the 2003 Labour

[105] Proclamation No. 414/2004.

Proclamation (Proclamation No.377/2003). The Employment Exchange Services Proclamation (Proclamation no. 632/2009) came out with the overall objective of protecting the rights, safety and dignity of citizens to be sent and employed abroad.

Among other things, the proclamation defines the rights of work seekers, imposes different obligations on private employment agencies, and stipulates the responsibility of the government preventing human trafficking and protecting victims. Accordingly, those seeking work beginning right from recruitment have the right to get orientation, acquire the necessary skill, to an employment contract and a recruitment contract in Amharic before departure. It clearly puts that there must be a signed contract between the worker and the employer or its agent, and not to pay the fees for recruitment.

With regard to obligations of the employment agencies, the proclamation dictates that the agencies can employ only a worker who is above the age of 18; must ensure that the prospective migrant workers have acquired necessary skill for the intended employment; must deposit a money guarantee for the purpose of protecting the rights of workers in accordance with the number of workers a particular Private Employment Agency deployed abroad.[106] As stated in the proclamation, non-compliance to its provisions including involvement in unlawful activities like trafficking either by obtaining a working license for employment exchange service or brokering without a license would be punishable not less than 5 years and fines of 25000 *birr*.[107]

As part of the government's responsibility, proclamation also states that the government is responsible to facilitate the resettlement of citizens who come back after being deployed abroad. Moreover, the proclamation indicates that the government should through the National Committee conduct studies with a view to regarding possible bilateral agreements with receiving countries.

However, one of the problems with the proclamation is its lack of effective implementation (Anteneh, 2011; de Regt and Tafesse, 2015; Fernandez, 2013; Horwood, 2015). Moreover, some have observed that it fails to recognize the rights of migrant workers to freedom of association and the right to bargain collectively, which is vital to ensure their rights, collectively bargain their decent working conditions by setting their wage scales, working hours, training, health and safety, overtime and grievance mechanisms (Mehari 2017).

[106] FDRE 2009, Proclamation No. 632/2009.
[107] For instance, refer to article 40 of Proclamation No. 632/2009.

5.2.4 The Proclamation on the Prevention and Suppression of Trafficking in Persons and Smuggling of Migrants (Proclamation No. 909/2015)

It is stated in this proclamation that its general objective is to prevent human trafficking, to realize appropriate protection, support and rehabilitation of victims with special protection, care and assistance to the most vulnerable and to adequately prosecute traffickers. As stipulated in this proclamation, human trafficking, especially trafficking and smuggling women and children, is a very serious crime and leads to a vital punitive measure up to death penalty.

On the one hand, if trafficking happens by using threat or force or other means of coercion, abduction, fraud, deception, promise, abuse of power or by using vulnerability of a person, or if one recruits, transports, transfer, harbors or receives any person by giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, it shall be punishable with rigorous imprisonment from 15 years to 25 years and with fine from 150,000 to 300,000 birr ($5,515 to $11,030 at the 2016 rate).

On the other hand, the punishment is more severe for aggravated crimes. This happens if the crime of human trafficking is committed against a child, women or anyone with mental or physical impairment; resulted in physical or psychological harm on the victim; is committed by using drugs, medicine or weapons as a means; is committed by public official or civil servant in abusing of power; or is committed by a person who is parents, brother, sister, a guardian or a person having power on the victim. In such cases the punishment shall be rigorous imprisonment not less than 25 years or life imprisonment and with fine from 200,000 to 500,000 Birr ($7380 to $18,389, 2016 rate). The maximum penalty provided in the Proclamation is the death penalty. According to the Proclamation, the death penalty could be handed down to the criminal in cases where the victim suffers severe injury or death.[108]

The Proclamation has also provided more clarification on human trafficking as a term and identified it from related terms. For instance, it has clearly drawn the distinction between human trafficking and migrant smuggling.[109] Apart from direct involvement, it is stated in the Proclamation that assisting and facilitating human trafficking, including permitting a

[108] Article 6 of the Proclamation.
[109] Articles 2(1), 3, 4 and 2(8), as well as 5 of the Proclamation.

house for it, arranging transportation knowingly, importing or exporting any publication, financing or organizing recruitment agency, falsifying identity or travel documents, or holding people in debt bondage can result in 15 to 25 years imprisonment and a fine from 150,000 to 300,000 *birr*.[110]

With regard to victim protection, the victims of human trafficking have the right to rescue, release and return by their respected government. Victims shall be provided with information on the nature of protection, assistance and support as well as information on any legal proceedings related to them and accorded the available health and social services, medical care, counseling and psychological assistance, with care, on a confidential basis and with full respect of privacy.

The Proclamation also states that victims shall in no case be kept in police stations, and detention centers or prisons. And unless victims are required for testimony in the judicial process, they shall not stay in temporary shelter for a period exceeding three months.[111] It also guarantees protection of witnesses and victim's immunity from criminal liability.[112]

A fund for compensating the victims was also provided in the Proclamation. According to the Proclamation, its budget is allocated by Government, which proceeds from the sale of properties confiscated or fines imposed as per this proclamation, voluntary contributions from individual organizations, the private sector, and charities and societies, grants from different international organizations and donors, and other financial sources approved by the Ministry of Finance and Economic Cooperation. The fund was established to help prevent, control and rehabilitate victims of human trafficking and migrant smuggling.

5.2.5 The Proclamation for Overseas Employment (Proclamation No. 923/2016)

This Proclamation is the most recent legal provision dealing with human trafficking in Ethiopia. It introduced some additional requirements for the nationals who want to work in foreign countries. By introducing stricter mechanisms through which migrants have to pass, it is believed that this proclamation could help to better prevent human trafficking. It was a landmark decision that the Ethiopian government made to prevent human trafficking through regulating overseas employment relations (cf. Woldemichael 2017). Ethiopia's Overseas Employment Proclamation (Proclamation no. 923/2016) was thus adopted to protect

[110] Article 4 of the Proclamation.
[111] See Article 26 of the 909/2015 Proclamation.
[112] See Articles 29 and 30 of the proclamation.

Ethiopians working abroad from human rights violations and to discourage vulnerable people from human trafficking.

One of the newly introduced requirements is a bilateral agreement between the government of Ethiopia and the receiving country. This Proclamation emphasized that bilateral agreements with receiving countries would strengthen lawful employment opportunities for interested citizens who want to work abroad. Accordingly, deployment of workers for overseas employment is possible only if there is an agreed upon modality with the receiving countries.[113]

In addition, the Proclamation has put education level limit on the would-be recruits for working abroad. It explicitly states that a worker will be employed if he/she has completed grade eight and possess an occupational certificate for the work to be employed and the competence is issued by the appropriate assessment center.[114] And, a worker is exempted from payments including entry visa to the country of destination, round-trip transport cost, and work permit, residence permit, and insurance coverage, costs associated with visa and document authentication.

Moreover, the proclamation has incorporated major rights of the worker. These entitlements include regular working time, favorable wages for regular working hours and overtime pay, annual leave, weekly rest and other similar vacations; free transportation to and from the worksite or offsetting benefit; free medication, food and accommodation or offsetting benefits; insurance coverage for life or disability; and valid grounds for termination of contract of employment. To this end, the proclamation stipulates that labour attaché is to be assigned to ensure the rights, safety, and dignity of overseas workers.[115]

This proclamation has also laid out some responsibilities for the Private Employment Agencies which are engaged in overseas employment. One of these responsibilities is being able to deposit 100,000 USD or its equivalent in Birr in a blocked bank account for purposes of guaranteeing the protection of the rights of oversea workers. It also states that this business is restricted to Ethiopian citizens who have a capital of one million ETB (*birr*).

Overall, the proclamation can be appreciated in introducing some the important responsibilities of the workers, Private Employment Agencies, as well as the concerned government structures in ensuring the safety and security of Ethiopians working abroad. However, some gaps still be identified. One of the shortcomings of this proclamation is its

[113] Article 12 of the Proclamation.
[114] Article 7 of the Proclamation.
[115] See Article 14 of the Proclamation.

failure to require the receiving countries to ensure practical measures to guarantee the rights of oversea workers. Similarly, the criteria set by the Proclamation for the would-be workers to be qualified for working abroad may make the lawful migration even more difficult than before. In this context, against its very objective, the Proclamation may lead to increase in human trafficking.

As a precursor to explaining human trafficking process in Arsi Zone, this section describes the legal and administrative framework within which the trafficking process described in the following section is enacted.

5.4 National Institutions Mandated with Human Trafficking Prevention

The institutional framework within which the prevention of human trafficking is implemented are the responsibility of a multilayered institutions are in existence throughout Ethiopia and empowered to ensure the following respective duties at all levels of the federation. These institutions are present in Arsi Zone as the third layer in the structure of the Federal Democratic Government of Ethiopia, the two other levels are the Federal and Oromiya Regional State.

National Committee and the National Task Force: In the last couple of years, the increasing number of reports of abuses of Ethiopian Women in the Middle East countries coupled with weak responses from the government to those abuses has led to different institutional commitments. Instead of giving such responsibility to only one institution the government has preferred to form some set of relevant institutions in cooperation. One of the results of such efforts is the establishment of National Committee which monitors the implementation of the legal commitments.

This National Committee which was envisaged in Proclamation no. 909/2015 is chaired by the Deputy Prime Minister to coordinate anti-trafficking efforts. The institutions which are incorporated in this Committee include Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs, the former Ministry of Justice (now the Office of the Attorney General), Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the former Ministry of Federal Affairs, the former Ministry of Women, Children and Youth Affairs, Ministry of Education, Regional States, other governmental organizations, religious institutions, charities and societies, various structures and other respective organizations[116] And, the main objective of the Committee is to ensure proper

[116] According to article 39 of Proclamation 909/2015.

implementation of the Overseas Employment Services, conclude bilateral agreements with receiving countries and to establish favorable situations, cooperate with appropriate organs and ensure legal action against violations, facilitate the exchange of overseas employment information with concerned organs and to provide well-equipped data center.[117]

Another institutional arrangement is the 'Anti-human trafficking Task Force'. This was to be led by the Office of the Attorney General and was established according to Proclamation No. 909/2015. The objective of the Task Force is supporting and encouraging a collaborative effort among local law enforcement and victim services as well as to reinforce partnership with state and federal bodies. This is more of a professional arrangement with member institutions being the same as those of the National Committee. In other words, the Task Force is involved in discovering human trafficking crimes, increasing coordinated investigation and prosecutorial efforts against the perpetrator, and providing protection for the victims.[118]

Among other things, the Task Force was tasked with designing policies, strategies, action plans and measures that enables the protection and assistance of victims; designing the national plan of action for the prevention and control of the crime; taking appropriate actions for the rehabilitation, assistance and reintegration of victims with the society.

In August 2015, the National Committee adopted a five-year Strategic Plan which incorporated prevention strategies to raise the awareness of the public and address social and economic factors that cause human trafficking, designed to be implemented from 2015-2019.[119]

Nevertheless, even if the Task Force made a number of efforts including establishing branch offices in all the nine National Regional States of Ethiopia; conducting training workshops for high court judges, national labor bureau personnel and police commissioners; and making monitoring trips to regions of the country in order to realize its set objectives, it was not functioning as expected mainly due to weak coordination and financial limitations.[120]

The Justice System: The Federal Justice sector has a major role to play, especially in the area of criminal investigation. In this regard, the Federal Office of the Attorney General and the

[117] See Proclamation No. 923/2016,
[118] See article 40 of the proclamation No.909/2015.
[119] See National Council of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia on the Prevention of Human Trafficking. Strategic Plan, 2015-2019.
[120] See the Trafficking In Persons (TIP) Report of the US Department of State, 2016.

Federal Police are involved in investigating criminal cases associated with human trafficking. To this end, in 2009, a Human Trafficking and Narcotic section was established under the Organized Crime Investigation Unit of the Federal Police Commission. Subsequently, in 2010 Human Trafficking Division Unit was established by prosecutors and police officers at the federal level. The establishment of a special investigative unit can be appreciated as a step ahead to fight human trafficking. Moreover, anti-trafficking training was incorporated into the Federal Supreme Court's Justice Professionals Training Center routine training programs.[121]

In addition to its role as the chief advisor to the federal government on matters of law, the Federal Office of the Attorney General is also chair of the National Task Force discussed earlier. In collaboration with governmental and nongovernmental organizations, the Office designs action plan, develop broachers, modules, dramatic scenes, and other educational methodologies, and broadcast to public at large through mass Medias and other communication means to aware the public.

In a general sense, progress has been made over the past years on the area of law enforcement relating to human trafficking, as a result, a number of trafficking crimes were investigated and prosecuted in Ethiopia. Under the 2015 anti-trafficking proclamation the federal and regional justice officials convicted 69, 640 and 182 traffickers for calendar years 2015, 2016 and 2017 respectively. However, the number of convictions in relation to the range of human trafficking in Ethiopia is low.[122]

Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MoFA): As the issue of human trafficking involves problems to be addressed both in Ethiopia and the countries of destination, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has also a key role to play in combating external trafficking of Ethiopian women. The Ministry is responsible to protect the rights, safety and security of Ethiopian nationals abroad. It has the overall responsibility to ensure that the interests and the rights of Ethiopians residing abroad are protected, encourage and support associations formed by Ethiopian communities and friends of Ethiopia.[123] The Ministry, in collaboration with other stakeholders, shall initiate the process to rescue, release and return victim Ethiopians. In case a victim Ethiopian is compelled to stay in foreign country for any case the Ethiopian Diplomatic Mission shall take measures to provide legal counseling or assistance and follow

[122] Trafficking in Persons (TIP) Report of the US Department of States, 2019.
[123] Proclamation No. 691/2010, FDRE.

up holding up the victim and status of the case and periodically report to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.[124] However, the capacity of these diplomatic missions in terms of human and other resources has remained very limited in light of the magnitude of the problem. As a result, the Ministry was heavily criticized for its failure to protect its citizens in abroad (Mehari 2017).

Based on the proclamation No. 923/2016, through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ethiopia has completed bilateral labor agreements with Saudi Arabia, Jordan and Qatar, which means that workers can legally be sent to these countries. And, up until the writing of this paper, negotiations are going on for similar agreements with other Middle East countries. [125]

Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs (MoLSA): The Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs is basically a monitoring and regulatory institution of private employment agencies (PEAs) and contract standards, and also provides assistance to emigrants. Unless approved by the Ministry, employment contracts concluded between Ethiopian domestic workers and their employers will not have legal effect.[126] And, in order to facilitate contracts, the Ministry has produced a model employment contract in English, Amharic and Arabic languages for Ethiopians who migrate through private employment agencies. A model employment contract incorporates, inter alia, issues like regular working time, favorable wages for regular working hours, and overtime pay. In the recent Proclamation,[127] the Ministry is also empowered to assign labor attaché to ensure the rights, safety, and dignity of workers employed abroad.

The operations of PEAs are also subjected to the monitoring of the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs. By inspecting their activities, the Ministry can suspend or revoke their licensees if it they are involved in illegal activities. Therefore, Private Employment Agencies are required to report to the Ministry to help the latter follow up their activities closely.

Besides, the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs is the key institution engaged in preventive activities of trafficking. One major work in this regard is organizing public awareness raising campaigns through media and trainings.

[124] Article 27 of Proclamation No. 909/2015.
[125] Interview with an officer, held in Addis Ababa at MoLSA, 17 April 2019.
[126] Article 5 of the Ethiopian Overseas Employment Proclamation (Proclamation No. 923/2016.)
[127] Proclamation No. 923/2016.

Nonetheless, the Ministry is not sufficiently working to realize its mandate. It has largely been incapable to ensure the rights, safety and dignity of Ethiopian overseas workers. For one thing, the Ministry is not strong enough financially, and in human resources. And, as trafficking is a complex problem, it has challenged the mechanisms and laws that are to be applied in many cases. For instance, a number of legally registered and licensed Private Employment Agencies were found to have been involved in trafficking, and some might even be liable to prosecution, but this has rarely occurred.[128]

5.5 Arsi Zone-based Human Trafficking Prevention Institutions

At the Arsi Zone level, the large number of national-level institutions that can be marshalled to address human trafficking is partly reflected. We can enumerate the following central institutions which deal with human trafficking as part of the broader mandates regarding contract labor and migration in general. Consistent with the subject matter of this study, I explain below the role of the major governmental and non-governmental institutions involved in the prevention of human trafficking in Arsi Zone.

The Arsi Zone Bureau for Human Trafficking Prevention is a unit within the Regional Bureau of Labor and Social Affairs. It is responsible for the prevention and protection of those trafficked or in the danger of being trafficked as well as to improve the skills and safeguard the migrant workers interests. In pursuance of this goal the Arsi Bureau has developed working procedures to identify and support the victims of human trafficking. It also cooperates with concerned government and nongovernment organizations and other supportive mass organization in issues related to human trafficking as well as migration. One of its functions is to make sure that those interested in migrating comply with the age and education requirements for migrant workers, introduced pre-departure skills trainings into official migration processes. A pre-departure training manual is prepared in the Afan Oromo language. The provision of pre-departure training-of-trainers is provided for the Bureau of Labor and Social Affairs' officers at the regional, zonal and woreda levels.

According to interviews held at the Human Trafficking Prevention Unit of Arsi zone, in 2019 training is held in 26 Woreda to increase awareness of human trafficking.

A training programme developed by the International Organization of Migration (IOM) and Ethiopia Technical and Vocational Training Institute branch in Arsi Zone, offers skills development training to domestic women workers to improve their employability in

[128] See Anteneh, 2011; Bahar, 2014; ILO, 2014; RMMS, 2015.

the Middle East. The training module consist of the following subjects: 1) food and beverage services; 2) prepare hot and cold meals/food; 3) clean living, dining and bedrooms and toilets; 4) wash and iron clothes, linen and fabric; 5) Arabic language training for workplace communication; 6) develop business plans and practices; 7) standardize and sustain services, self-learning and subject content of the training.[129]

The Arsi Zone-based police as part of the justice system investigate and collect evidence on human trafficking crimes and the police may arrest the suspects in accordance with the provisions of the Criminal Procedure Code. Arrests of suspects are carried out if there is reasonable suspicion that the crimes of trafficking in persons and smuggling of migrants have been or most likely to be committed. The police also have authority to a) infiltrate the suspected criminals, criminal groups or organizations; b) conduct surveillance against the suspects; c) intercept private communication of the suspects by court order; d) create simulated legal relationship; or e) respecting human rights, use appropriate special investigative technique.

The justice system in Arsi Zone is operated through the court system which is responsible for prosecution of and adjudication in human trafficking crimes and smuggling of migrants. As to protection, the police upon credible information by any governmental or non-governmental organizations have the authority to a) take an appropriate measure by searching any house, vehicle, ship or air planes; b) conduct proper search in any areas or borders of the country to rescue victims, who are being trafficked or crossing border, and transporting them to care centers; and c) order any governmental and nongovernmental medical facility so as to avail proper medical treatment to victims who suffer serious injury.

In Arsi Zone, there are Community-based Committees (CBOs) which work closely with the zonal bureau of Labor and Social Affairs in monitoring trafficking, reporting, selection of trainees, including Whistle Blowers who report recruiters of victims of trafficking or those suspected of recruiting vulnerable individuals.

The Arsi Zone-based transnational non-governmental organizations working on international migration in general and on human trafficking prevention conduct considerable work on the prevention and protection of human trafficking victims. For example, one is the Consortium of Christian Relief and Development Associations (CCRDA), the largest NGO network within Ethiopia with over 400-member organizations. There is also the London-

[129] The training course consists of 5 cycles, each cycle trains 60 women i.e. it trains 360 women a year. The participants in the training must have completed at least the 8th grade of school education before enrollment and must be 18 years of old or above to avoid child labour or trafficking.

based Freedom Fund and the Global Alliance Against Trafficking in Women (GAATW), which are also active in fields such as training and awareness raising among potential migrants to the Middle East.

In accordance with the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs objectives, monthly reports are supposed to be collected at all administrative levels of government to be used for producing an annual report on the state of human trafficking at the federal government and regional states' level.

5.6. Conclusion

This chapter has shown that there is no lack of plans and policies in Ethiopia to legally contain and combat the excesses of human trafficking. There are ratified international treaties, UN protocols, regional African agreements (on the level of tha AU and IGAD), national laws, constitutional injunctions, and administrative instruments to deal with and suppress the practice. Despite this plethora of national and zonal institutions and organizations and normative commitments against it, the practice of combating, let alone preventing, irregular out-migration and human trafficking lacks force and effectiveness It may show that due to various reasons - such as lack of means and facilities, insufficient prioritization and manpower as well as tacit societal and support for women migrating irregularly, the regulatory frameworks do not do their job. Human trafficking is still widespread and is not seriously dented by law enforcement or protection efforts. The social and economic conditions in the Arsi area, among others in Ethiopia (see Chapter 2), seem also of such magnitude that the trafficking phenomenon is durable and resilient, fed by the economic needs and the ambitions of – often ill informed – potential victims, thus perpetuating a national problem of victimization of vulnerable people in the absence of real alternatives. The Ethiopian government, like many other governments in developing countries in Asia and Africa, has not been able to develop sufficient opportunities to provide for employment and inclusion for an ever-growing population, resulting in a constant flow of people moving out to try their luck elsewhere, undeterred by the (weak) regime of anti-trafficking law enforcement.

Chapter 6

Trafficked Arsi Women's Profiles, Experiences and Responses to the Anti-Trafficking, Legal and Policy Frameworks

This chapter is empirical and aims to present a number of main research findings so as to further elucidate the processes and contributary causes of human trafficking, as narrated by trafficked women who returned to Arsi Zone. It commences with presenting the socio-economic profiles of the women who participated in the study, before delving into the causal factors and consequences of their trafficking – thus moving from the general to the specific.

The sections which make up this chapter are divided according to three data collection method categories. The first set of sections and subsections presents data collected using the interview method (78 respondents) and is concerned mainly with individual perceptions, recruitment and transportation-to-destination experiences. The second set presents material collected using the (focus) group discussion method (80 respondents). The data resulting from using this method were collected by using virtually the same questions as those posed with the interview method. The third set of sections and subsections presents data collected via the questionnaire method (273 respondents). The chapter concludes with a section on the overall findings of all the data.

6.1 Presentation of First Results Using the Structured Interview and Focus Group Discussion Methods

6.1.1 Victims, Victims' Families, and Official Personnel Profiles

A total of 78 key informants were interviewed from different relevant sections of Arsi Zone. from women victims and families. Interviews were also conducted with law enforcement officers working for bodies such as the Office of the Attorney General, federal and regional institutions (Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Arsi Zone and Arsi West Bureau of Labour and Social Affairs, the Federal Police Commission and the Ministry of Women and Youth Affairs.) The interviewed officials worked in departments

related to women and/or human trafficking. The number of key informants interviewed from the population of women trafficking victims is 40. As the research focuses on trafficked women all the victims interviewed were females. Male informants were interviewed but were not trafficking victims and included key officials, law enforcement officers and individuals from women affairs-oriented institutions.

In order to get a deeper insight into causes of trafficking, 12 family members of female victims of trafficking were interviewed. Moreover, eight human trafficking law enforcement officials and 10 officials working in human trafficking institutions were also interviewed. During the fieldwork, 10 imprisoned traffickers and trafficking agents were interviewed.

With respect to age distribution, 95% (38 out of 40) of the victims interviewed were withinin the 'productive age' category[130] (their age was between 20 and 30 years). The other two respondents were 32 and 34. The age and sex distribution corresponded to the 2018 figures (US Department of State 2019: 194) which claims that "substantial numbers of those trafficked are under the age of 30".

Not only young unmarried females become victims of trafficking, as the interviews reveal that 13 women were married (32.5%), 25(62.2%) were unmarried and two (5%) were divorced. The relatively small number of divorcees among the victims of trafficking reveals that either other data sources have exaggerated their numbers or that there was sampling bias. However, in either case, the objective of our interviews in this study had no intention to come up with a totally representative sample from a population of over 100,000 trafficked persons the majority of whom are women.[131] The intention was, rather, to draw insights from the 40 women victims and their families.

Because the majority of the Arsi Zone populations are Muslim, it is not surprising that the majority of the trafficked women are Muslims (75%), followed by Orthodox Christianity (22%) and Protestants (3%).

Over two-thirds of the trafficked women (68%) completed between grades five to eight of secondary school (68%), while the rest 31% completed high school education (i.e. grade nine and ten). This education level is higher than the national average level of primary and high school education, which is to eb explained by the migration-cum-trafficking agencies' preference for educated women over illiterates. Chapter 4 showed that government

[130] I.e., working age: roughly from 15-64 years (the OECD definition, see; https://data.oecd.org/pop/working-age-population.htm, accessed 5 September 2020).
[131] United States Department of State 2019: 194.

and transnational organizations such as the IOM and ILO offer training to aspirant migrants who completed at least grade 8. As explained earlier, some of those trained in preparation of become victims of trafficking when they failed to find legal migration opportunities.
There is a general perception among all informants interviewed that there is a high magnitude of women trafficking: 84% claimed that the magnitude is 'very high' (84%) while the remaining (16%) described it as 'high'. None of the informants whether victims, families of government officials perceived the magnitude of human trafficking as low.

In interviews with those working in counter-trafficking institutions, most responded to the question whether human trafficking is prevalent in Arsi Zone and Ethiopia by stating that women trafficking is 'endemic' in Ethiopia and in Arsi Zone, and they know it is an offence against the law. A few expressed their view that women trafficking is unacceptable but should not be an offense in the absence of viable livelihood conditions and functioning legal protection, while others indicated that they felt there is no problem with women trafficking being seen as an offence but more with the reluctance in law enforcement.

6.1.2 Recruitment of Trafficked Women

In answering a question about how the recruitment process unfolded**,** the majority of the victim responded that they were first informed about what they referred to as an "opportunity" to work abroad by friends and/or neighbours (78%). Among the victims, about 12% responded that they were informed about the possibility to work in the Middle East by returnees, while 10% mentioned that they first came to know about 'the opportunity to work abroad' from families who had sent their children abroad.

After being informed about the so-called "opportunity" to be trafficked to one of the Middle East countries, most of the victim respondents were introduced to agents who in most of the cases were located in Addis Ababa. The agents then processed the visas, took them for medical check-up, and arranged the plane tickets for those who went to the Middle East through Bole International Airport. The officials from government institutions concurred with the victims' description of the process, which is also consistent with what the researcher gathered informants from institutions, who have also described similar recruitment processes.[132]

[132] These interviews took place in Addis Ababa, Asella and Shashemene towns in Arsi Zones in March 2018, and follow-up interviews to plug-in data gaps were conducted in the data in July and July 2019.

Three issues deserve some attention: 1) the victims' description of trafficking as an "opportunity" shows that they are not aware (or were plainly 'misled') of what awaits them once embarked in the pursuit of being trafficked; 2) The recruiters of the women victims of trafficking are very often family, relatives, neighbours and other acquaintance and not completely distant strangers; 3) Government officials are not unaware of the practices and although they are responsible for implementing anti-trafficking legal and policy instruments, a minority of them are not convinced that human trafficking is an offence against the law. The importance of these three observations is that they have serious practical implications for government responses to the women trafficking phenomena in Arsi Zone and elsewhere in Ethiopia. Although a large majority of trafficker respondents do consider human trafficking as objectionable, this does not prevent them from recruiting victims of trafficking, often using illicit means, as discussed earlier in Chapter 4.

6.1.3 Trafficked Women's Experiences at Destination

The material presented in this section is collected from trafficked women who returned to Arsi Zone and who described the situation at the destination where they were trafficked. Some of the victims saw the experience as 'very bad' (35%) while others mentioned that it was 'bad' (47%). They here generally meant insecurity, long working hours, and lack of freedom of movement, humiliation, and abuse. Still there were few (10%) of the victims who contended that the situation was 'not that bad'; even if they were abused, they considered it as suffering that 'comes with the opportunity'. The stories of those who thought that the trafficking experience was not that bad were often not told what mishaps they could expect, and the reasons they gave for the positive statement is that only "in rare cases" some ended up doing what they had to do to be accepted. Others claimed that their recruiters had ties with their families and feared reprisals or being reported to the police, should they hear about the abuse of those whom they recruited. From the interviews, it became clear that those who mentioned that the situation was 'very bad' have mostly lower levels of education, had no social network in the receiving country, and did not have sufficient Arabic communication skills.. In the latter case, such women were often mistreated by family members with whom they worked (See Chapter seven).

Officials working in anti-trafficking institutions stated that in most cases trafficked women experience severe physical and psychological abuses, while others were ill-treated and denied payment for their labour. They tend to generalize that verbal abuse and threats of

being thrown out of the house or asking the authorities to deport them to Ethiopia was frequent. Women victims of trafficking are illegally in the country of destination, and therefore feel that they are not entitled to any labour rights or cannot ask about them. As the following section shows, sadly, the fact that some trafficked women explain their experiences as "not that bad", stems from compelling causes for *accepting* to be trafficked.

6.1.4 Trafficked Women's Narration of the Causes of Consenting to be Trafficked

Trafficked women have their own views on the 'causes' and motivations that made them embark on irregular migration or become victim of trafficking. This is not to say that their views are to be taken at face value; usually in interviews they ignore or omit serious reference to their own choices and motives to 'try something' and 'get experience' in migration, often responding to a tradition of work-related mobility that exists in their own society, family or region of birth. This harks back to what was said above about the 'agency' of women: not all are 'victims' from beginning to end, although the focus of this study was on the group that came into problems and lost control over their migration destiny.

The interview questions about the causes behind accepting being trafficked, poverty was the answer of the overwhelming majority (72%). They mention that they were unemployed or had jobs that did not make ends meet and were to be performed under inhumane working conditions (long working days of almost 18 hours, verbal abuse, and no paid holidays to visit their relatives. Unfortunately, some of these working conditions were similar to those they experienced in the destination country.

Some of the victims mentioned that pressures from family, friend and neighbours made them consider the option. Some also indicated that the lure by the traffickers, which they *later* found false, influenced them to migrate.

Some officials working for anti-trafficking institutions mentioned that poverty is one of the major causes of women trafficking. Others tended to put more emphasis on the role of traffickers and the gaps in awareness creation and law enforcement. Ironically, these are the duties that these officers should be performing. When asked why they did not create more awareness and enforce the law, the answer always was lack of financial and skilled human resources. To assess whether these claims were justified is beyond the scope of this study.

6.1.5 Trafficked Women Assessing Anti-Trafficking Efforts: Preliminary Responses

Most of the victims (56%) indicated that the efforts that the Ethiopian government has been making in managing or reducing women trafficking were not satisfactory (low). Even though awareness creation trainings are provided for preventing women trafficking, their impact is very meagre and limited in scope and reach. This is partly due to lack of follow-up and monitoring the impacts of those trainings and the problem with how they are designed. These trainings need also to be followed by offering opportunities to stakeholders, notably potential victims, that can produce models for others, to stakeholders, notably potential victims, that can produce models for others, i.e. reduce the local incentives to move away and 'try their luck' elsewhere.

Officials working for anti-trafficking institutions stated that there are big deficiencies in key government institutions and in law enforcement in ensuring protection and prosecution of recruiters and traffickers. One of the reasons for not effectively dealing with the problem is faults and omissions in the laws themselves. For instance, an informant from the Federal Attorney General's office argued that the anti-trafficking proclamation did not clearly stipulate *who* the trafficker is. In addition, the subtle and intricate nature of the offence and difficulty of getting witnesses to testify against traffickers have made the work of law enforcement difficult.

In the first instance, as mentioned earlier, there are many people involved in the trafficking process, families, relatives, friends, recruiters, agents and brothers - a process similar to what has been described by Fernandez (2019). Families, relatives and friends involved in the trafficking process by encouraging or financing the trafficked persons do not accept to testify against traffickers, whom they consider "helpers" to fulfil the aim of migrating to find work, and subsequently to "fulfil their dreams". The long list of other people involved also blurs the picture, as, in a sense, all of them are part of the trafficking ring. But legally, as the federal Attorney General of Ethiopia has submitted,[133] the law does not punish them collectively but the person identified by the victims as the traffickers.

[133] Interview, Addis Ababa, 15 April 2019.

6.2 Results of Focus Group Discussions

6.2.1 Focus group discussions: participants profiles

A total of eight Focus Group Discussions were conducted. Four Focus Group meetings were conducted with (former) victims, whereas the other four were with relatives of victims. In each selected *woreda* in Arsi (Adabba, Gadab Asasa, Sude, and Robe), between eight and twelve individuals participated in every Focus Group Discussion. The total of 80 participants (35 from victims and 45 from families of victims), were involved in the discussions. The category, number and distribution of the Focus Group Discussions conducted are summarized in table 6.1.

Table 6.1: Victims and family of victims who participated in the focus groups discussions by woreda[134]

Participant Category/*Woreda*	**Adabba**	**Gadab Asasa**	**Sude**	**Robe**	**Total**
Families of victims	10	12	12	11	45
Victims	8	9	8	10	35
Total	18	21	20	21	80

The sex distribution of respondents who participated in the Focus Group Discussions show that 72% (44% are victims and 28% from families of victims) females while 28% of those were males. All the male participants are from families of victims. In other words, an equal number of female and males participated from the families of victims. This ratio is the result of the fact that all the victims included are the women victims.

[134] The source for and all subsequent table is fieldwork by the author between June and July 2019.

6.2.2. Trafficked Women's Perception of the Causes of Consenting to be Trafficked

The overall result of the Focus Group Discussions indicates that there are only slight differences in the understanding of levels, feelings and causes of women trafficking across the groups in different *woreda*s. Across all the Focus Group Discussions, the perception is that the number of women trafficking is between 'very high' and 'high'. By these terms is meant that it is a problem that society at large talks about as having a major impact on the trafficked women. However, it is observed also that there were differences in the understanding as to whether women trafficking was legal or illegal. Some Focus Group Discussion participants insisted that in practice it cannot be considered illegal, as it occurs with the participation and support of officially recognized agencies. Moreover, there were heated debates on whether human trafficking is acceptable. Although respondents tend to agree that the harms inflicted on the trafficked women are unacceptable, a significant number feels that whether trafficking is acceptable or not depends on the availability and affordability of other, *legal* migration arrangements.

There were also differences across *woreda*s and family members of victims on whether human trafficking is a crime (an offence). Even if some know that women trafficking is officially a crime, others question why many traffickers and agents of traffickers are walking free, with the knowledge of government officials. They asked: "How can women trafficking be a crime when people openly seek the assistance of trafficking agents and operators to help them to find employment outside the country?" Obviously, these views run counter to the already cited UN *Protocol to Prevent, Suppress And Punish Trafficking in Persons* (see UN 2000c), where Article 3(b) stipulates that: "The consent of a victim of trafficking in persons to the intended exploitation set forth in subparagraph (a) of this article shall be irrelevant where any of the means set forth in subparagraph (a) have been used".[135]

[135] The reader is reminded that supra paragraph (a) reads as follows: "Trafficking in persons" shall mean the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring 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 labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs".

6.2.3 Experience at Destination

The question about their feeling at their destination was posed to the victim Focus Group Discussions. Although there was a difference in terms of the level of feeling about the situation at the destination mainly depending on the specific destination country each of the victim went to and what some victims call their 'a chance' (i.e., the attitudes and behaviour of the employers). For instance, many of those who were in Saudi Arabia expressed that the situation was very bad while those who were in Dubai (UAE) and Kuwait mentioned that the situation was bad. Therefore, when it comes to how victims express their experiences at destination, it is observed that there are differences among victims across woredas depending specific country of destination and depending on the so-called their chance even within a single destination country.

6.2.4 FGDs on the Causes of Women Trafficking

The question on what caused the trafficking was posed to both categories of Focus Group Discussions (the family and victim Focus Group Discussants). All the victim members across all the Focus Group Discussions agreed that poverty, lack of livelihood opportunities, lack of the accurate understanding about the process, family and peer influence, and family disintegration, with varying degrees among the members, have caused their being exposed to trafficking and being susceptible to being recruited.

Similarly, the Focus Group Discussion members from families of the victims agree on most of the causes identified by the victim Focus Group Discussion members. However, they tend to emphasize some of the factors more than others. For instance, the factors most raised were: the influence from friends; lack of accurate knowledge about the process; deception by people who work with traffickers about the process, the route and the job; and failure in education.

6.3. Presentation of the Questionnaire Results

6.3.1 Questionnaire Respondents' Profiles

A questionnaire (Annex 3), was issued to 270 victims and their families in Arsi Zones (both Arsi and Arsi West), of which 60% were females and 40% were males. This ratio (of more females than males) is because the study purposely focused on women, while the male sample was included for comparative purposes.

The majority of the respondents (56%), belong in the age range from 20 to 30 years, followed by the age group ranging between 36 to 55 years, which is 23%, and the age group ranging between 31 to 35 years (21%). The majority of the respondents fall in the 30-or-less age category. If one adds the first age categories it shows that the overwhelming majority (77%) – especially the trafficking victims - fall in the productive age category.

According to the survey results, the majority of those who participated are married (56%). The second largest number of the respondents reported that they are single (26%) while some (12%) responded separated (i.e., previously married and no longer together, although not formally divorced). The smallest category (6%) reported that they have divorced or that their relationship is 'complicated'.

The survey participants were Muslim and Ethiopian Orthodox, taking 65% and 25% respectively. A smaller group (8%) is Protestant-Evangelical, while the remaining selected the 'other' category. As to education level, the survey results showed that the largest number of the respondents belonged to the category from grade 5 to 8 (57%), while the second largest number (35%) had completed high school (grade 10). The remaining group of respondents (8%) reported that they joined preparatory classes.

6.3.2 Attitudes towards Women Trafficking

Attitudes toward the problem of women trafficking consisted of general statements designed to measure respondents' attitudes related to women trafficking. E.g.: "Do you think women trafficking is unacceptable"? Table 6.2, shows that out of the 273 study participants, for the statement, 'I think women trafficking is unacceptable', nearly 80% of the respondents (n=219) agreed or strongly agreed with the statement, 4.4% of respondents (n=12) responded undecided with the statement, and 14.3% of respondents (n=39) disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statement. Thus, the findings show that the vast majority of the respondents (80%) normatively think that woman trafficking is unacceptable. Still, more than 14% (strongly) disagrees and apparently find it entirely acceptable.

As there is a common popular belief is that women trafficking is unacceptable, it means that there is little or no doubt on the ethical categorization of the activity. Therefore, the prevalence of the trafficking activity is rather explained by other factors than this one.

Table 6.2: Respondents attitude towards women trafficking as ‘unacceptable’:

Respondents’ category	Frequency	Percent
Strongly Agree	162	59.3
Agree	57	20.9
Neutral	12	4.4
Disagree	9	3.3
Strongly Disagree	30	11.0

Table 6.3 is directed to family members of the communities from which the women were trafficked. The question is about whether in their communities women trafficking is ‘normal’ and therefore ‘cannot be prevented’. Of the 270 distributed questionnaires 267 (97.8%) were returned and 3 (1.1%) went missing or were not returned. From the table we see that 34.1% (n=93) strongly disagrees with the statement that women trafficking is normal and therefore cannot be prevented. When adding up those who disagree (14.3% (n=39), almost half of the respondents (48.4%), think that women trafficking is not normal and therefore, can be prevented. Those who agree with the notion that women trafficking is ‘normal’ are those who also support women family members to be trafficked and negotiate the amount of money demanded by the agents and the brokers.

Table 6.3: ‘Women trafficking has been normalized and cannot be prevented?

Respondents categories	Frequency	Percent
Strongly agree	39	14.3
Agree	54	19.8
Neutral	42	15.4
Disagree	39	14.3
Strongly disagree	93	34.1

Still, it is rather remarkable that 39.1 % (n=93) strongly *agree* that women trafficking is normal and cannot be prevented. There is a need find out the basic explanations for such an attitude. Data collected through unstructured interviews tend to show that some people believe that trafficking is about life choice, which implies that as long as people consider it as a means to make their "dreams" come true, it will be tried , in the absence of good alternatives. In the view of these 'relativists', women trafficking will continue to be part of an alternative way to gain sources of livelihood for some people. Therefore, as a norm or a phenomenon that has been normalized as part of daily life and ideals, it cannot be prevented.

It was mentioned in Chapter 1 and 2 that religion and traditional attitudes play a role in women's choice of the Middle East as a destination. As mentioned in Chapter two, being Muslims contributes to making the Middle East their destination of choice. Of 273 participants 255 (93.4%) responded and only 18 (6.6%) did not respond. Table 6.4 shows that 42 (15.4%) 'strongly agree' and 69 (25.3%) 'agree' that cultural factors, such the division of labour between men and women (where women attend to domestic activities such as cooking, cleaning, and washing, and raising children) make women 'more suitable' than men for being trafficked to serve as domestic workers. We also see that 48 (17.6%) who 'disagree' and 63 (23.1%), who 'strongly disagree' to the notion that women trafficking has anything to do with culture, although they still admit that in the conservative Islamic Middle Eastern societies, women are 'more suited' for domestic work, which is only one of several other types of work.

Table 6.4: 'Does 'culture' encourage women trafficking?'

Respondent's categories	**Frequency**	**Percent**
Strongly agree	42	15.4
Agree	69	25.3
Neutral	33	12.1
Disagree	48	17.6
Strongly disagree	63	23.1

Respondents mentioned, for example, that male laborers are needed as unskilled workers in construction, drivers, and street and company building cleaners. On the other hand, because

families give preference to education of males (see Chapter 2), the better educated men tend also to get office jobs or work in factories, construction, restaurants or agriculture. The fact that trafficked women are preferred to men as domestic workers has ptobably more to do with the social conservatism of the Middle East society than something that is inherently part of the society of origin or local Arsi culture. We see that opinions are divided 50-50 on this, but the respondents who (strongly) agree in majority tend to be Muslims, noting that, as was explained in Chapter 2, that being able to work in Saudi Arabia (the holy land of Islam) is considered a privilege. This is so despite the fact that women are mistreated, not only in Saudi Arabia but also in other Middle Eastern countries, as expressed by the women interviewed in Chapter 6. Hence, Chapter 2 showed that trafficked women from Arsi chose the Middle East as a preferred destination probably because the majority of the Arsi population are Muslims. Saudi Arabia is their preferred destination.[136] Working in Saudi Arabia offers the possibility to parents of visiting relatives and performing the *Hajj* – the pilgrimage, one of the five duties that a Muslim should perform once in his or her life time. There is also a preference for the wealthy Gulf States, in close geographical proximity to Saudi Arabia.

On the question of whether Islam *encourages* women trafficking or not, of 270 participants, 258 (94.5%) responded and only 15 (5.5%) did not d (Table 6.5) below reveals that 150 (55%) of the 270 respondents disagreed that religion (Islam) is a determining factor in trafficking, but 81 (29.7%) (strongly) agreed with the notion that the Muslim religion plays a role. While the majority of the respondents disagree with the notion that religion is 'a cause of human trafficking' this, nevertheless does not exclude the possibility that some individuals with strong religious beliefs are inclined to take opportunity of being at the holy places and perform the *Hajj* to Mecca. In more in-depth interviews we did not follow up the statement that "there are religious traditions which uphold women trafficking", but from this answer it seems that many people suggest that some religious attitudes or values, e.g. related to making the *Hajj* or obeying religious or familial authorities/leaders, may condone or stimulate out-migration in whatever form. A religious practice such as the Haj can also be used as a pretext by some to stay behind in Saudi Arabia illegally.

[136] Saudi Arabia is of course the birthplace of Islam and it hosts the two holy cities of Mecca and Medina. Mecca is the holy place towards which Muslims are supposed to pray to and to visit at least once in their lifetime for the *Hajj*.

Table 6.5: Does Islam discourage women trafficking?

Respondents' category	Frequency	Percent
Strongly agree	42	15.4
Agree	39	14.3
Neutral	27	9.9
Disagree	48	17.6
Strongly disagree	102	37.4

Field discussions revealed that most respondents either did not believe that exploitation could take place in the "holy places", or that when some have functions or a job, it is a price worth paying to improve one's life chances. The messages and meaning of such statements should be considered against the backdrop of the poverty and lack of opportunity in their home areas, and domestic workers' exploitation also takes place in Ethiopia and in the rest of the Middle East.[137] As explained by one respondent, "In Ethiopia, there is exploitation without good income, while in the Middle East there is sometimes the possibility of making ends meet and save a little money to send home".[138] In terms of whether Christians, Muslims, or believers in traditional religions are more prone to be recruited than others, it is clear that there is no difference.. Lebanon is the only Middle Eastern country with a large Christian population, and therefore recruiting Christian women for this destination is more acceptable.

6.3.3 Knowledge and Attitudes within the Anti-Trafficking Institutions

This subsection is devoted to gauging the attitudes and views of officials working institutions and agencies geared towards combating human/women trafficking commencing with the Federal Attorney General, who stated the official Ethiopian position in line with national and international legal instruments. In an interview he stated that: "Human trafficking is a

[137] Nisrane *et al*. 2020; Demissie 2018, Busza 2017, Frantz 2013, Minaye 2012a, De Regt 2010, Kedir *et al*. 2010, and Atnafu 1984.
[138] Statement by a returnee trafficked woman in Asella, Arsi Zone.

criminal activity that is understood as an act, means and purpose. The act component is about the recruitment, transportation and facilitation process involved in human trafficking whereas the means basically implies the coercion/deception of the trafficked. The purpose component is about whether the intent is for exploitation or not." According to the Federal Attorney General, the legal provisions provide the framework within which human-trafficking, particularly women trafficking is to be prevented.[139]

All other respondents from other government institutions stated the same and had similar knowledge of what human trafficking meant and expressed awareness of the role allotted to their institutions to combat the human trafficking. Knowledge levels, however, varied and some were more aware of the main components of human trafficking, while others could hardly articulate a definition of human trafficking. However, all respondents were aware that human trafficking involves deception by a chain of traffickers and that their mandated responsibility is to protect the trafficked persons along the chain. For instance, respondents from the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs said that human trafficking involves sending migrants to certain destinations without having a license or using the acquired license as a cover for illegal activities. Thus, traffickers are found among rogue agencies with legal licenses for migrants' recruitment to certain destinations, as well as those without licenses and involved in clandestine trafficking activities. It was found that there are a number of employment agencies that in principle have a license to legally prepare and send migrants abroad but who actually are engaged in trafficking human beings. In this way, the trafficking agencies create a smokescreen of willful confusion among potential victims of trafficking. The situation is made worse by the fact that the general public in Ethiopia is not aware of the procedures and processes that distinguish legal migration from illegal human trafficking activities.

Unfortunately, confusion also stems from the existence of multiple agencies, and to figure out what agency to use and which one has a license and which one does not, is difficult for individuals with little knowledge of how government and private sectors operate. While officials from the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs are aware of their responsibility, they found the web of private, illegal, semi-legal agencies and their role and support-base in Embassies, countries of destination, etc. difficult to grasp. For the Ministry personnel, disciplining these actors is not within their mandate and therefore they do not interact directly

[139] Interviewed at his office in Addis Ababa 15 April 2019.

with them.[140] These responses, therefore, demonstrate the complexity involved in human trafficking, such as the multiplicity of actors, and the secrecy and deceptive nature of the operations.

Adding to the above complexities, many officials found it difficult, from a purely legal understanding, to distinguish between the consequences of human trafficking and migrant smuggling. For them, answering this question is important because government officials who come in contact with smuggled and/or trafficked victims should identify whether the latter are smuggled or trafficked. They stated that they often let all smuggled and trafficked victims go free and arrest the smugglers and traffickers. Since ignorance of a law cannot be an excuse, smuggled/trafficked persons should be held responsible for illegally crossing borders and violating the immigration law. Needless to say, the trafficked/smuggled persons are made to walk free even though it is clear that they have committed a crime. This encourages the smuggled or trafficked persons to try again, knowing that they will be released if caught by the authorities.

6.4 Deception, Legality and Illegality of Human Trafficking

From the interviews with community leaders, the general public and key stakeholders' institutions, the understanding of human trafficking involves some common elements. Some of the elements usually associated with human trafficking include deception, suffering, abuse, secrecy and deportation.

Deception is about inspiring the potential victims for migrating by using misleading and fraudulent means. This sometimes involves the presentation by the traffickers of the process of migration as a simple practice and the rewards after migration as highly attractive. But in reality, from the day travel starts (especially for those who take the land route) the trafficking process is understood as very rough. What emerges from the interviews is that the migratory process is characterized by a lot of unforeseen problems, harsh conditions, suffering due to the physical harm and insecurity often inflicted by the traffickers, or because of the little or lack of experience of the trafficked for a long journey filled with uncertainties. The suffering includes lack of food, water, or other basic necessities. It can also be manifested in the form of beatings, sexual assault, intimidation and creation of an

[140] According to the Bureau of Labour and Social Affairs of Arsi Administrative Zone, coordination between anti-trafficking institutions at the lower level is rather lax.

environment of fear among the trafficked persons, sometimes leading to a process of dehumanizing the victims.

Hence, *abuse* is also considered to be one of the elements in human trafficking. Once the trafficked begin their journey, the traffickers would often exploit their vulnerability by manipulating the situation and ask for more money than what they had agreed and/or already charged. Traffickers often force the trafficked persons to let their parents or families send more money to get them out of their disparate situation.

Another common element associated with common understanding of human trafficking is certain degree of *secrecy* involved in the process. Many of the respondents in the research area indicated that the traffickers are in most cases invisible agents, and their activities are hidden from the common people. This, perhaps, is due to the traffickers' knowledge that once the people are aware of what is actually happens, it would be easy for them to recognize that it is illegal and risky activity - they just will not take chances

The trafficked persons are often deported without any sympathy on the part of the destination countries. The news of the *deportation* of trafficked persons has nowadays become a regular headline in major global media outlets. Watching the periodic unfolding of deportation of Ethiopians and others from major Arab countries (notably Saudi Arabia[141]) appears to have already created a sense of denial and deep anxiety among the population. That is why the respondents tend to associate human trafficking with deportation of trafficked persons to their home country, mostly with no or little accumulated wages to take home.

When asked about whether they have heard of human trafficking, 213 (78%) of the respondents answered that they have and 60 (22.0%) answered that they know about people who travelled for the Middle East for work but do not know the term human trafficking. Also, when asked whether they have read about human trafficking, 216 (79.1) respondents answered positively and 57 (20.9) answered that they did not.

Table 6.6 shows the answers to the question whether women trafficking is illegal or an offence against the law. The majority (171 strongly agree and 63 agree) or 62.86% and 31.1%, respectively. While it is often the case in groups discussions that fewer people

[141] See e.g. on an 2014 expulsion of Ethiopian migrants, in B. Muechler, 'Ethiopian migrants, expelled by Saudis, remain in limbo back home', *New York Times*, 8 January 2014, and 'Deported from Saudi Arabia, Ethiopian migrants find dilemma at home', Addis Ababa, 9 January 2014 (IRIN news message). More recently, in 2017: Elias Meseret, 'Ethiopians deported en masse by Saudi Arabia allege abuses', AP news message, 29 December 2017. See also: Tom Gardner, 'Ethiopians face beatings and bullets as Saudi 'deportation machine' cranks up', *The Guardian*, 16 August 2019.

express descending opinions, in the case of women trafficking, 12 (4.4%) agree that human trafficking is legal, and the same number of the respondents agree strongly that human trafficking is legal.

Table 6.6: 'Is women trafficking illegal?'

Respondents' category	Frequency	Percent
Strongly agree	171	62.6
Agree	63	23.1
Neutral	15	5.5
Disagree	12	4.4
Strongly disagree	12	4.4

6.5 Causes of Women Trafficking as Expressed in Group Discussions

The aim of this sub-section is to go beyond generic explanations of the causes of women trafficking (as in Chapter 1 and 2) to gauge the views of the returnees themselves. It is also meant to complement the materials collected by using the interview and group discussions method.

Two related questions on poverty are often advanced regarding causes of human trafficking with the first question being general and the second specific to the situation of the respondent. In the first instance, the respondents were asked, generally, whether poverty was the 'main cause of human trafficking. Table 6.7 shows that the majority (177 or 64%), strongly agrees that poverty is the no. 1 factor that makes people accept to be trafficked. Moreover, 39 or (14.3%) agree that poverty is one of the main causes of trafficking. Together the percentage of people who associated the phenomenon of human trafficking with poverty is 79.1%. Therefore, as also commonly perceived and argued by many researchers,[142] durable poverty being seen as the main cause of the problem of human trafficking also holds true for people in the Arsi Zones.

[142] See for instance: Gabriel 2014, Gacinya 2019, Russell 2014, Truong 2006; also, Alexis Aronowitz: http://www.endslavery.va/content/endslavery/en/publications/acta_20/aronowitz.html (accessed 14-2-2020).

However, a total of 14.3% of the respondents disagreed (4.4%) or strongly disagreed (9.9%) with the assertion that poverty is one of the main causes of poverty. Some argued that they knew the some of the trafficked people in person and they could testify that these people were not poor. They point to the fact that some people pay tens of thousands of US dollars or hundreds of thousands of Ethiopian *birr* to be trafficked, and when they fail, they return to their well-to-do families. Others sell their houses and property and leave: some succeed to repay their debt and others ruin their lives by making the wrong decisions. Some are lured by friends and families who were trafficked to join them and lead a better life than they did in Arsi.[143]

Table 6.7: 'Poverty as the main cause of women trafficking'[144]

Respondents' category	Frequency	Percent
Strongly agree	177	64.8
Agree	39	14.3
Neutral	9	3.3
Disagree	12	4.4
Strongly disagree	27	9.9

In answering the second, personal question, 117 victims of trafficking were asked whether poverty was one of the personal reasons for them to accept being trafficked Of the respondents, 111 (94.9%) mentioned poverty as indeed the prime reason they accepted to be trafficked, and only six (5.1%) mentioned that it was *not* a factor. The latter group of respondents mentioned that they decided to "embark on the journey" to seek a better future and live a "good life" where all the necessity of life would be much easier to obtain. Among other reasons given by those who claim poverty is not a factor for accepting being trafficked

[143] Interviews conducted in February 2019 in Adabba, Gadab Asasa and Robe.
[144] Of the participants of the study 264 (96.7%) responded and only 9 (3.3%) did not respond.

is peer influence, through emails and videos sent by relatives and friends who embarked on the journey.

Similarly, two questions were asked about unemployment: whether unemployment was a general cause of human trafficking, and whether the unemployment was a personal factor in deciding to seek the trafficking route. Table 6.8 shows that out of 273 respondents, 108 (39.6) strongly agreed and 81 (29.7%) agreed that unemployment was one of the main causes of human trafficking. Only 7.7% disagreed or strongly disagreed: unemployment was not a cause in human trafficking, arguing that some people leave their jobs in Arsi to simply seek better employment and income elsewhere. When asked on a personal level whether unemployment was the cause of a person's decision to consent to being trafficked, out 117 respondents, 98 (83%) replied in the affirmative, while 19 (16%) respondents disagrees that unemployment was a major factor in their decision to consent to being trafficked.

Table 6.8: 'Unemployment as the main causes of women trafficking'[145]

Respondents' category	**Frequency**	**Percent**
Strongly agree	108	39.6
Agree	81	29.7
Neutral	30	11.0
Disagree	15	5.5
Strongly disagree	6	2.2

The next Table 6.9 is an attempt to examine whether the "good life" or the promise of trafficking as a means to escape poverty and attain a "good life" in the country of destination was one of the factors that influenced the decision to accept being trafficked. [146]

[145] Of the total of 273 respondents 261 (95.6%) responded and only 12 (4.4%) did not respond.

[146] The 'good life' in the social science debate is summarized as follows: 'the good life' is not an ethical statement nor a value statement of any kind, and the primary interest is in individual personal viewpoints on what people think 'the good life' is for them (Pessi 2008: 62-63). Torbert (1994) described it (cross-culturally) as the image of conditions in which one has "good money, good work, good friends and good questions to answer", with money as a means, not intrinsically good but used to support the other three goods (*ibid.*, 65). Similar views were expressed by Brülde (2007: 8) on his work on happiness and the good life.

The table shows that out of 273 respondents, 108 (39.6%) strongly agreed and 81 (29.7%) agreed that the promise of a "good life" in the country of destination influenced their decision to accept to be trafficked. A much smaller number of 39 (14.3%) either disagreed (9.9%) or strongly disagreed (4.4%).

When asked the personal question whether they had personally been *promised* that trafficking would give them the opportunity to experience "the good life", 100 (85.5%) of 117 answered yes, and 17 (14.5%) of the respondents said they were not promised "the good life".

Table 6.9 Women are deceived by the promises of "the good life" in the country of destination [147]

Respondents' category	Frequency	Percent
Strongly agree	147	53.8
Agree	60	22.0
Neutral	15	5.5
Disagree	27	9.9
Strongly disagree	12	4.4

6.6 Trafficked Women's Views on Government Policy Responses

An important aim of this study was to give trafficked women an opportunity to express their views on the main factors which determined their attraction to and consent to be trafficked, as well as vis-à-vis government policy responses. As some trafficked women claimed the main problem is that seeking the legal orderly migration route is almost impossible because of the years spent on the waiting-list to eventually be called to sign a contract for a job abroad. Others complained that, in some cases, huge amounts of money are involved (between US$ 20 to 40,000), money which involves a whole package of payments to agents,

[147] Of the total respondents 240 (87.9%) responded and 33 (12.1%) did not respond.

tickets, contractors and other illicit purposes). Some women pay more or less the same amount to traffickers, but in this case, one can start the journey within weeks. The trafficked women claimed that the legal route is safer and more predictable but takes time and is even not without the risk that you hand your money over to the agents and they may disappear.

Table 6.10 shows that out of 273 respondents over two-thirds 189 (69.3%) either strongly agree (40.7%) or agree (28.6%) with the statement that the difficulty of migrating legally is a major cause of resorting to traffickers. When the same question was posed to 117 women who were trafficked, 82 (70.1%) claimed that the difficulty in migrating legally was a major cause of their consent to trafficking, while and 35 (29.9%) disagreed. The 16.5%neutral or with answers such as "we don't know" claimed that either they have not attempted the legal route because they know from others that it is practically impossible to take that route unless one has so much money or knows important people in the migration chain, both in Ethiopia and abroad. Others claimed that they had attempted the legal route and were successful, but it is expensive and they or their parents could afford to pay.

Table 6.10: 'The difficulty to migrate legally contributes to women trafficking'[148]

Respondents' category	Frequency	Percent
Strongly agree	111	40.7
Agree	78	28.6
Neutral	45	16.5
Disagree	33	12.1
Strongly disagree	6	2.2

The respondents' experiences of the difficulty to seek legal migration can be both a cause of resorting to trafficking but also an indication that the policies regulating legal migration do not work equally for the poor and the well-to-do, as well as that they 'lack the right connections' in the migration chain. The well-to-do are more likely to buy their way

[148] All respondents, 273 (100%), answered the questions.

through, while the less fortunate have to resort to illegal migration and put their fate in the hands of the traffickers.

Table 6.11 shows the answers to the question of whether Ethiopia has a good anti-human trafficking policy framework. As the trafficked women are not experts in government anti-trafficking policies and legal frameworks, their answers are of course expressions of perceptions and not based on deep knowledge or grounded policy analysis. Those who 'strongly disagree' or 'disagree' (113 or 45.1%) are relatively higher in number than those who 'strongly agree' or 'agree' (87 or 31.9%), while 48 (17.6) do not agree or disagree either because of lack of knowledge or not being prepared to criticize government policy.

Table 6.11: 'Ethiopia's anti-trafficking policy framework or laws are not functioning' [149]

Respondents' category	**Frequency**	**Percent**
Strongly agree	33	12.1
Agree	54	19.8
Neutral	48	17.6
Disagree	57	20.9
Strongly disagree	66	24.2

6.7 Cross-Stakeholders' Views on Government Policy

This section includes the results of answers to questions on government policy-about whether the current Ethiopian legal frameworks contain adequate anti-human trafficking policies and about what are the main factors hindering these policies from delivering results. Because the majority of respondents (except most government officials) are obviously not anti-human trafficking policy experts, what is provided here is more of a general public opinion or rather perceptions of the respondents. Only 10 government officials were included in the sample, but their views are given the same weight as those of the public. Naturally, the answers given here are not representative of the views of all those trafficked, the agents, or families but represents an attempt to capture the views of the 'stakeholders' that were interviewed.

[149] Of the 273 participants 258 (94.5%) responded and 15 (5.5%) did not respond.

Table 6.12 shows the answers to question of whether it is thought that Ethiopia has a comprehensive national legal framework to respond to the problems of human trafficking. A large number of the respondents (78 (28.6%) are neutral, due to their lack of knowledge of the framework or not being prepared to express an opinion or criticism of government policy, for personal considerations. 101 (37.4%) 'strongly agree' or 'agree' that Ethiopia has a comprehensive national legal framework to respond to the problems of human trafficking. Their justification of this positive view is that "the policies are good but the government did not put sufficient human and financial resources to resolve it". This view, however, is assessed in the next table 6.13.

On the other hand, 57 (20.9%) viewed the national legal framework as inadequate to respond to the problems of human trafficking, basing their answer on the view that if the policies would have been sufficiently comprehensive, they would have resolved not all but some important part of the problem. The fact that the problem is increasing instead of decreasing, in their view, is a sign that the policy framework is not comprehensive or adequate.

Table 6.12: 'The Ethiopia anti-human trafficking framework is not comprehensive enough' [150]

Respondents' category	**Frequency**	**Percent**
Strongly agree	33	12.1
Agree	69	25.3
Neutral	78	28.6
Disagree	36	13.2
Strongly disagree	21	7.7

Table 6.13 below deals with the question whether the national policies of anti-trafficking are (or are not) matched with adequate financial and human resources to implement them, with special reference to women trafficking. Of the respondents 189

[150] Of the participants 237 (86.8%) responded and only 36 (13.2%) did not respond.

(69.3%) agree with the view that the resources do not match the policy requirement to address women trafficking. 45 (16.5%) of the respondents 'strongly disagree' or 'disagree' that the resources availed to national anti-trafficking policies are not adequate. The number of those who abstained from answering the question 39 (14.3) expressed their lack of knowledge of how much resources the government has allocated for the implementation of anti-trafficking policies, particularly women trafficking.

Table 6.13: 'Ethiopia's anti-trafficking policies are not matched by resources to addressing women trafficking' [151]

Respondents' category	**Frequency**	**Percent**
Strongly agree	99	36.3
Agree	90	33.0
Neutral	39	14.3
Disagree	36	13.2
Strongly disagree	9	3.3

If the national policy and legal anti-trafficking frameworks would be comprehensive and if resources would have been allocated to match the policy ambitions, the failure to respond adequately could be attributed to *loopholes* in the existing legal and policy frameworks. Table 6.14 shows that in answering this question, 147 (53.9%) either 'strongly agree' or 'agree' that there are loopholes in the policy framework, while 57 (20.9%) 'strongly disagree' or 'disagree' that there are loopholes in the anti-human trafficking legal and policy frameworks. Table 6.15, also shows that 69, or just one quarter of the respondents, were neither agreeing or disagreeing.

[151] All 273 (100%) respondents responded.

Table 6.14: 'Are there loopholes in the existing anti-trafficking legal and policy frameworks?'[152]

Respondents' category	Frequency	Percentage
Strongly agree	69	25.3
Agree	78	28.6
Neutral	69	25.3
Disagree	36	13.2
Strongly disagree	21	7.7

During the fieldwork, we heard there were contradictory comments on the extent of cooperation between officials working in anti-women trafficking agencies and societal agents and organizations, and therefore, a question was posed to address this important aspect. Table 6.15 below shows that 156 (39.6%) of the respondents either 'strongly agree' or 'agree' that there is good cooperation, while 42 (15.4%) either 'strongly disagree' or 'disagree' that there is good cooperation between the officials and society. A relatively large number of the respondents (66 or 24%) are neutral, claiming that they do not have personal encounters with the officials or that for personal reasons they cannot answer either way.

Table 6.15:'Society (i.e., people in general) do not cooperate with the authorities in preventing the trafficking of women'[153]

Respondents' category	Frequency	Percentage
Strongly agree	75	27.5
Agree	81	29.7
Neutral	66	24.2
Disagree	36	13.2
Strongly disagree	6	2.2

[152] All participants responded (100%).
[153] Of the 273 respondents 264 (96.7%) responded and 9 (3.3%) did not respond.

In discussions with officials working in the anti-trafficking units of the two Arsi Zones they claimed that some families encourage their family members to embark on the trafficking journey and therefore are not prepared to cooperate or report them to the authorities. Eager to embark on the journey, some women prepare for trafficking in secrecy, including not informing their families of their plans. As Section one has shown, because the majority of agents who recruit women from Arsi Zones are family, relatives, husbands and friends, they do not cooperate with the authorities in fear that they themselves become accused or subject of prosecution for human trafficking.

6.4. Conclusion

At least six important findings relevant to method and theory can be teased out here to be further examine in the next chapter so as to examine the efficacy of the analytical framework presented in Chapter3. Where these findings resonate with or challenge previous research findings will also be elucidated.

First, the *profiles* of women victims of human trafficking are in the productive age category (between 20 and 34 years) and most are under the age of 30. Not only unmarried, but also married women are trafficked and most cases with the consent of their husbands. However, the claim by some researchers that divorce is a major cause for women to decide to vanish from the community is not found to be significant. Trafficked women, who were separated from partners after a long-term relationship or divorcees are too few to merit designating divorce as a major factor. Similarly, the contention that religious and cultural factors do play almost an equal role as motivators for consenting to trafficking as a justification for elder family members to visit the holy places in Saudi Arabia. However, religion and culture cannot be totally dismissed as factors.

Second, an overwhelming number of the respondents agree that *poverty* is seen as one of the main causes of people seeking to work overseas, including consenting to go along with being trafficked. The trafficked women's aspiration to pursue 'the good life' is pronounced in both. There are the poor who define the good life as having money, a better job and a good standard of living, and the better-off, who define the good life' as being part of another world with opportunities and connections because they have the financial resources to be part of it. Paying thousands of US dollars to join the promises of the "good life' denotes that the trafficked women are socially highly stratified along the poor and well-

to-do scale. The discourse that poverty is not a major motivation for human trafficking is true only for a very small number of trafficked people, as the answers to this particular question have revealed.

Third, the respondents are divided in their assessment of the *legality or illegality* of women trafficking. Even a few government officials question the illegality of human trafficking, in contravention to legal provisions in Ethiopia national policy and legal frameworks, which are consistent with the UN Protocol against the trafficking in persons. One implication of such a view is that such officials could be considered a risk in anti-trafficking policy implementation. Similarly, a large number of the families of victims do not consent to the legal provisions that consider consent to trafficking a crime and therefore end up *not cooperating* with the authorities. The respondents' answers to questions about societal cooperation with the authorities show that people who seek to be trafficked and their families often do not cooperate with the authorities. Such a finding highlights the fact that human trafficking is *socially embedded*, despite the fact that a large number of people think that it is not a norm but born by necessity.

Fourth, a worrying finding with respect to the difficulties involved in fighting trafficking is that the victims *are treated as criminals*. But therefore, they are released immediately after being intercepted by the authorities. Two serious implications emanate from releasing the victims: there is no support for them to make them more aware of the dangers of trafficking and how it could ruin their life. The other implication is that the victims are left with the impression that they can try again and again, and will just be released without charge or even a reprimand, should they try again. No wonder that the victims of trafficking who fail to make it to their final destination keep trying hoping that one day they can be successful.

Fifth, the area where legal migration begins and human trafficking ends is fraught with confusion, as both anti-trafficking officials, victims and families of trafficked women find that there is a zone of subtle, *secretive dealings* that align the traffickers and licit licensed overseas employment agents. Women who intend to pursue legal migration routes and cannot distinguish between traffickers and legally licensed agents can easily be exploited by both. Therefore, it is not difficult to disagree with the majority of the respondents who perceive the national anti-trafficking policies and legal frameworks as not sufficiently comprehensive and inadequately sourced in terms of financial and human resources.

Sixth, and last but not least, government and multilateral *training programmes* for aspirant immigrants such as those described in chapter four, *cannot determine the destination*

of the trainees (see section 3, Chapter 3, section 3.3 on the training programmes designed as part of the activities of the national institutions mandated with the task to implement human trafficking prevention programmes). Although not intended, those who complete programmes informing potential migrants of domestic work are found to be an attractive target both for legal migration agents and traffickers alike. To be sure, the problem here is not training, but training in the absence of placement policies by responsible migration agents. This also reflects as to what some of the anti-human trafficking officials referred to as the lack of coordination at the regional and woreda levels.

After the next Chapter (7), illustrating personal experiences of trafficked/irregular migrant women to enliven and substantiate the problems discussed in the current chapter, I will summarize the major methodological and theoretical considerations of this study on the basis of the empirical data, and particularly, on the tension between the 'freedom and emancipation' paradigm and its efficacy if not integrated with the structural-material paradigm. This debate will be concluded with reference to the findings of Chapters 4 and 5, which provided the core argument raised here.

Chapter 7

Mixed Experiences: Arsi Women Domestic Workers Trafficked to the Middle East

This chapter presents personal experiences of Arsi women domestic workers trafficked to the Middle East. It commences with defining briefly what is meant by domestic work and proceeds to present their experiences through their own voices. It is intended to complement previous chapters and shed more light on the human consequences of trafficking on the trafficked women's lives. The aim is to argue that, while survey data and statistical analysis (as presented in Chapter 6) is most useful in explaining the larger synthesis picture of trafficked women aggregated experiences, it does not substitute for exploring in-depth individual experiences which offer in-depth details of individual predicaments. In a sense, the chapter attempts to shift the focus from the traffickers and the legal, policy and institutional instruments and mechanisms to trafficking victims and survivors. It applies a victim-centered approach where the trafficked women and their stories and experiences take the center-stage. depicting and explaining their ordeals as well as showing what occupational patterns they engaged in when they returned to Ethiopia (Arsi). While a majority of women are vulnerable and trafficked, some can keep a measure of control over their destiny, and not all of these female migrants have negative experiences, not even the trafficked ones. Yes, they encountered deception, abuse and exploitation at the places of destination, but that does not mean categorically that all are 'victims' of trafficking and abused. The story of Nebiat (below) confirms this.

7.1 Domestic Work and the *Kafala* System

Domestic work constitutes a significant proportion of employment in many countries and contributes significantly to the global economy. Currently there are at least 67 million domestic workers worldwide, not including child domestic workers and this number is increasing steadily in both developed and developing countries. Even though a substantial number of men work in the sector – often as gardeners, drivers or butlers – it remains a highly

feminized sector: 80 per cent of all domestic workers are women.[154] It is also estimated by the ILO (2019) that: one in 25 women workers in the world are domestic workers, and in the Middle East, the region of concern to this study, one in three female wage workers ae domestic workers.[155]

In 2018 the ILO offered a new definition of what constitutes domestic work and how to classify it for statistical purposes. Itis more elaborate than the definition provided in the 2011 Convention on Domestic Work:[156]

> "Domestic work is defined for statistical purposes as "all work performed in or for a household or households to provide services mainly for consumption by household members". (ILO 2018: 32).

The ILO 2018 definition of domestic work made a distinction between two broad categories of domestic work: paid and unpaid. First, unpaid domestic work includes:

> (all) people who perform some domestic work without pay, such as household cleaning and maintenance, preparation of meals for the consumption of household and family members, household budgeting, caring for family members and a variety of other tasks for the consumption of members of their family or household, including themselves. Domestic work may also be performed without pay informally by friends and neighbors as informal direct volunteering, or more formally as organization-based volunteering (ILO 2018: 4).

Unpaid domestic work – usually on a family basis, or by neighbours or volunteers (ILO 2018: 32) - is common in almost all countries in the world, and often relates to a basic division of labor between men and women. In some societies such a gender division of labor is questioned by feminist analysts, who view it as an element of inequality between men and

[154] ILO 2019, Who are the Domestic Workers? Available at: https://www.ilo.org/global/topics/domestic-workers/who/lang--en/index.htm.
[155] *Ibid*., 2019.
[156] There was already a definition for domestic workers in the ILO Domestic Workers Convention, 2011 (No. 189), which calls for national policies to promote fair treatment and decent working conditions for domestic workers. It defines domestic work and domestic worker for legal and policy purposes as follows: (a) the term domestic work means work performed in or for a household or households; (b) the term domestic worker means any person engaged in domestic work within an employment relationship; (c) a person who performs domestic work only occasionally or sporadically and not on an occupational basis is not a domestic worker.

women.[157] However, the feminist debate on unpaid women work is not part of the questions raised in this thesis, and this section does not dwell further on it, as it deals only with trafficked women, working as domestic workers.

Second, *paid domestic workers* are defined simply as: "(workers) who perform domestic work for pay." These are workers who work in the homes of others for pay, providing a range of domestic services: they sweep, clean, wash clothes and dishes, shop, cook, care for children or the elderly, sick and disabled, and/or provide such services as gardening, driving and security (ILO 2018: 4).

The materials are organized in two broad sub-themes to provide a coherent analysis consistent with the most reported consequences of human trafficking. The first section deals with violence against women domestic workers and bondage labor. The second section deals with sexual exploitation and physical abuse.

In the Middle East, domestic labor recruitment is handled through the *kafala* system., where kafala is an Arabic word which means 'guardianship'. It is meant to enable the employers to control the movement of foreign domestic workers. According to this system a document also called 'kafala' enables the domestic workers to obtain a visa to enter, live, and work legally. It states that the worker must have one single employer who also serves as the worker's visa 'sponsor', called *kafeel* in Arabic (or guardian). It stipulates that domestic workers are not allowed to work for another employer until their current kafeel has ended the sponsorship. Domestic workers who wish to leave an abusive kafeel before the end of their contract may not transfer to another kafeel without their current kafeel's permission. The following sections of this chapter shed light on the kafala system in practice and on how it institutionalizes the exploitation of women domestic workers.

7.2 Violence and Bondage Labor

This section refers to the problems encountered by women who belong to the category of paid workers performing the type of household work as described in the ILO definition. In this sub-theme, six women will narrate their experiences in two Middle Eastern countries. The first case, from Saudi Arabia, is that of interviewee Hafssa, who was trafficked in 2013. She returned from Saudi Arabia in 2018. The interviews with Hafssa took place in Shashemene, the capital of Arsi West, on 9 January 2020. The second case is interviewee Khamisa, who

[157] Refer for example to Jonson 2018, Sahraoui and Amrith 2018, Fernandez 2013, Shapiro 2013, Harroff-Tavel and Nasri 2013, and Boris and Nadaesen 2008.

was trafficked to Lebanon and returned to Ethiopia in 2017. She also lives and works in Shashemene. The third case is Nebiat, who was trafficked to Bahrain in 2010 and returned to Ethiopia in 2013, with much more pleasant experiences than interviewee 21 and Khamisa.

Hafssa, Khamisa and Nebiat[158] have different education backgrounds: Interviewee 21 holds Ethiopia National School-leaving Certificate and Khamisa completed Grade four, and both explained the discontinuation of their education to their parents in ability to cater for the education of their siblings. Both interviewees 21 and 22, felt the urge to improve their own living conditions and that of their parents before settling down and have their own families. Interviewee 21's case is different from Khamisa and Nebiat, as she completed her education and has a BA and an advanced diploma in marketing, and also because she was fortunate to be sponsored by a family that treated her well. Her kafeel allowed his house to be used by a couple of her trafficked women friends who were abused and fled the house of their kafeels.

Haffsa[159]

In 2013, Hafssa cousin who was at the time working as a driver in Saudi Arabia alerted a Saudi Arabian agent looking for six domestic workers to work for Saudi families. The agent contacted Hafssa whom she met in Addis Ababa. She paid the agent ETB 50,000 (out of ETB 250,000 she borrowed), to arrange her visa. She purchased her own plane ticket to Riyadh, the capital of Saudi Arabia. The agent gave her a name of another Saudi agent whom was awaiting her arrival at Riyadh and took her to a detention-type camp where she waited until the Saudi woman arrived. Hafssa's name was announced, and she came forward to be collected by the Saudi woman, who took her the house where she would spend the following five years.

Hafssa had no formal contract through the Labor and Social Welfare Ministry in Addis Ababa (which is supposed to process legal labour migrants). All what she had was a kafala sent to her through the Saudi agent, where her status was legally bound to the Saudi individual employer or sponsor for the contract period. In this case, the Saudi woman became her kafeel. She could not leave or re-enter the country, or transfer to other employment for any reason without first obtaining explicit written permission from the Saudi woman kafeel. Hafssa's passport was confiscated and returned to her only when the period of the kafala had expired.

[158] All the names of informants presenting their story here are pseudonyms.
[159] Interview conducted in Shashemene on 25 April 2019.

Hafssa said:

> The Saudi family for whom I worked, considered themselves my owners and I was their 'slave'. As their 'slave', I should do whatever they asked of me in terms of household work 24 hours a day. They often woke me at mid-night to make them tea or bring water. I was often slapped, and my head banged to the wall or I was dragged by the head for no reason. When I decided to leave after the end of my contract, the Saudi woman, my kafeel, locked me in a room for three days and said she would not release me until she had an alternative domestic worker. It hurts me to remember that I received only a fraction of the salary I was promised (an equivalent of about ETB 3000, instead of ETB 14,000). When I was released, the kafeel handed me over to an agent who was instructed not to leave me alone until he was sure that I boarded the flight. She was afraid that I might come back and work with other people.

When Hafssa returned to Ethiopia in 2018, she started a small business selling tea and coffee in a location close to a government office. She earns ETB 150 to 200 a day (ETB 4,500 to 6,000 per month), which is more than her monthly payment in Saudi Arabia. She noted: "But it is like living from hand to mouth; I cover my siblings' education, and food, medicine, clothing etc. are expensive and the prices go up every day. She continued,

> I will return to work in Saudi Arabia, if I found a better kafeel', at least, there, I do not have to struggle or respond to so many immediate financial demands from so many family members and relatives.

The reason given by Hafssa as to why she would return to Saudi Arabia after what she had gone through is that no matter how little the money she earned was, it helped her to cover her siblings' education and pay for their basic needs. Clearly, she had a 'cost-benefit' understanding of living in poverty without an income in Ethiopia, and earning just enough to allow her and her family to hang on to survival.

Khamisa[160]

The second case is that of Khamisa, who was born in Ambo. She moved to Shashemene after returning from Lebanon in 2017 where she had worked for three years and six months. She does not wish to talk about how she earned the money which she paid to the agent and for the plane ticket to Beirut. Khamisa said the following:

> A friend asked me to join her to work in Lebanon because she was afraid of taking the journey alone. She also told me that we first go to work in Addis Ababa, saying "I have a male friend who will help us to find jobs because he had connections. When we arrived in Addis Ababa, he allowed us to stay in his small room while he stayed with another friend. He invited us to meet with a circle of young women and women who introduced to us to some friend. From one friend to new friends and other new friends, we began to circulate among these people. I feel ashamed to tell you what we did with them'. We spent two years before we made enough money for the journey out of Ethiopia.

Khamisa earned enough money to pay for an Ethiopian agent who promised to help her and her friend to travel and work in Lebanon. The first agent, whom they came to know via some friends to whom they were introduced, disappeared with the ETB 10,000 advance they gave him to start the process. The tried for the second time and found another agent to whom they decided to talk to only if there were at least two people as witnesses. 'The second agent seemed to know what he was doing', said Khamisa. The kafala system which Hafssa experienced in Saudi Arabia is also prevalent in Beirut. The Ethiopian agent found Khamisa and her friend two Lebanese families who were looking for domestic workers, sent the kafala documents for her and her friend. She said:

> The Ethiopian agent arranged our visa and every required official document at the cost of ETB 100,000 each. We paid our own tickets to Beirut through Cairo, Egypt. To be able to catch our transit flight, we had to bribe some Egyptian officials who offered to usher us through Customs. Not one kafeel received us at Beirut Airport, we collected our passports and we went our separate ways".

[160] Interview conducted in Shashemene on 25 April 2019.

> The day we landed at Beirut Airport I separated from my friend who worked with a different family in Beirut, and this was the last time I saw her, until today. I was kept inside the house of the kafeel and was never allowed to leave the house for three years and six months. I worked every day from 6:00 in the morning to 12:00 mid-night. This meant that I was left with no time to go out. The only time I left the house was when I went shopping with the head of the household. I was often beaten because I felt tired and sat to rest or when I had done all the housework. Although kafala is considered a legal document, it is not binding. I had no official residence which the kafeel should have organized. Without residence permit and passport with visa stamp, I could not go to complain to the police because I would be arrested for not having registered upon arrival from Ethiopia.

At least, Khamisa was paid half of what she was promised (an equivalent of ETB 4500 per month) and because she did not pay for rent or for food, she was able to save almost all the money. Upon arrival in Ethiopia, she opened a boutique shop selling imported fashion clothes and accessories. Khamisa said:

> I will never leave to a foreign country for work again but regretted that I did not renew my employment for one more year, because my business would have been much bigger". When asked about violence committed against her by almost all adult family members and being in captivity for that long, she said, "it is a price I had to pay to be where I'm today. But I will never go to work in another country again, no matter how much money they pay me.

Generally, most women return to Arsi. Among the interviewed women who told their stories, only two did not return to Arsi because of the stigma associated with returning empty-handed or the family knowledge of their engagement in activities (such as prostitution) which they do not approve of.

Nebiat[161]

The third case is that of Nebiat who after completing her university studies with a BA and an advanced diploma in marketing decided to travel abroad for employment as domestic worker,

[161] Interview conducted in Bekoji on 28 April 2019.

despite the negative advice she received from family and friends. Nebiat's family is neither rich nor poor but after looking for a job for two years she decided to leave Ethiopia for another country to make some money and start something new upon return. Nebiat's story of how she left Ethiopia to Bahrain was not different from that of Hafssa and Khamisa; the only difference is that one of her elder brothers who graduated from Addis Ababa University and a university friend of hers also lived in Bahrain. She said:

> An Ethiopian agent with knowledge of and connections with officials in the system, asked for ETB 100,00 to be paid in advance for completing all the procedures (visa and official documents). I purchased my ticket and left for Manama, capital of Bahrain. I left without any problem, was received at the airport by my friend and brother in Manama, and because both are university graduates and work with good companies, they had no problem finding a job. My kafeel was a Bahraini friend who was looking for a domestic worker with a command of English to help their children to improve their English language and homework. The Bahraini family treated me well, I got ETB 6000 salary, worked from 6:00 AM to 20:00 PM and I was free to visit my brother every few weeks, although my passport was held by the kafeel's wife.
>
> I saved almost all the money I earned. I lived in the family house, I got free food and drinks and can move in and out of the house. I was shocked to know that some people were treated badly and worked like slaves. I had good fortunes because I was lucky to have close relatives in Bahrain and a very kind kafeel to work for.

Nebiat's case reveals that even if an aspirant has all the connections needed in the country of destination, the trafficking agents (sometimes doubling as legal migration agents). They amass huge sums of money using their accumulated knowledge of the procedure and their contacts with corrupt officials to facilitate exit. The level of education and the host kafeel attitude and treatment of the trafficked person plays an important role in the quality of the trafficked women's life and experiences in the host country. In Nebiat's case, we can ask whether she was 'trafficked'. Although the procedure of exit and resorting to an agent that she followed was the same as in the preceding cases, she was more like a legal, voluntary labour migrant who made the decision to leave in full freedom and kept control of the process. Despite this, she was structurally in a vulnerable position and escaped abuse only because of a local

family/friend connection and a kind *kafeel*. This shows that there may only be a thin line between voluntary labour migration and being a victim of trafficking.

At least four general observations can be made. First, the kafala system in the Middle East represents an institutionalized system that offers fake legality and security: it is likely to deny those trafficked their rights and access to justice when physically abused or not fully paid the wages agreed upon. Second, ushering trafficked women to the houses of the kafeel, confiscating their passports and locking them up for years is common in Saudi Arabia and Lebanon. Such incidents of abuse are not only common, but also go unpunished. Third, the two cases narrated by Khamisa and Nebiat, clear victims of human trafficking, show that the consequences are almost identical, including abuse of human rights and experience of violence. However, upon return the abused have different attitudes towards their ordeal: Nebiat is willing to give it another try due to her poor social background and low educational level, while Nebiat with her better education and investment in fashion, was able to lead a better life. She tries her best to leave the past behind and vows never again to travel abroad for employment, legally or by being trafficked. The case of Nebiat reveals what may be tantamount to a class division between trafficked women. Those with a better education background, better-off family, and family members or social network in the country of destination, fare better than those with poor family background and no social network and contacts to settle and take or threated to take their cases to the authorities.

During the time of the research, Hafssa worked as marketing agent, importing goods from abroad and selling them for what she described as a good profit margin. She decided never to leave Bekoji and spend the rest of her life with her family and two children.

7.3 Sexual Exploitation and Physical Abuse

Finding women domestic workers readily available to narrate sexual exploitation and experiences is difficult. There is a sense of shame attached to talking about being sexually abused through physical abuse even in some societies that are relatively more open about sex than others. The stigma attached to being raped or sexually exploited during or after the trafficking process, makes the victim a pariah and reduces women chances of marriage.

Among ten women approached for an interview on these aspects, eight refused to respond to questions about sexual abuse, although they were eager to talk about violence, extortion and refusal to pay their wages. Only two women agreed to talk, under condition that

no mention should be made of their name or identify where they were born and where their families live(d).[162]

In order to gauge more experiences, these two cases of sexual exploitation and physical abuse are used to compensate for the difficulty of obtaining information through a primary source such as face-to-face interviews.

Meseret[163]

The first face-to-face interview was with Meseret. She was 28 year old when she left for Dubai as a domestic worker using the kafala system. Although it is mentioned in her kafala contract that she would be a domestic worker, upon arrival she was met at the airport by her kafeel, who took her to his house. To her surprise she found that there was no family. She told the rest of her story:

> The kafeel told me that his family was on holiday in the London and would return in a month. He demanded to have sex with me and when I refused, he raped me and after that promised to increase my salary if I did not resist having sex with him in the future and that I should not tell his wife and if I did tell his wife he would kill me because I would ruin his marriage and family life.
>
> When the family returned from holiday, he told his wife that I arrived from Ethiopia the same day they had arrived. I thought that the sexual encounters with the kafeel might give me some sympathy and that I could have more freedom than other domestic workers in my situation. Unfortunately, there was no change: like other domestic workers, I was denied freedom of movement, locked inside, forbidden to leave the home without the wife who insisted that I should not leave her sight. Several times, I thought of escaping or tell the police. But I heard from other domestic workers that if I escaped the kafeel will report me to the police because escaping is considered illegal no matter what the reasons are. If I go to the police, the police will call the kafeel and there is no way that the police believe me against an UAE citizen. The reality of the matter was that I could not run away because my passport was confiscated by the kafeel upon arrival; therefore, I had no legal documents to prove that I was in the UAE legally.

[162] In fact, this approach was applied in all cases of the women interviewed, as part of the ethical considerations mentioned in Chapter 1.
[163] Names are again pseudonyms. Interview conducted in Shashemene on 28 April 2019.

When the husband and wife go out and lock me in the house, the other male adults also raped me and I sometimes ended up being raped by two men, including the Kafeel during the absence of his wife. After one year, I told the kafeel I want to return to Ethiopia. He informed me that he will deduct all the costs he paid to the brokers and agents, will not purchase my ticket and pay me only half of the salary that I accumulated during the year. I had to stay in servitude, sexually abused overworked and with no simple human rights such as freedom of movement, or work rights such as limited working hours and holiday. I thought of how I could pay the kafeel and the ETB 100,000, which I accumulated to be able to get the Kafala.

I stayed under these abusive work conditions and sexual exploitation for three years. The day I was leaving, the kafeel introduced me to the new domestic worker and said to me that there are many women who love to have my job. I left with tears on my eyes.

I worked long hours: clearing, washing, cooking, looking after the children and often carrying the small child on my back while working. Usually, I work for 16 hours and when there was a family occasion (birthdays and marriage anniversaries) which were attended by their extended family, I worked for about 20 hours every day.

When Meseret returned to Ambo, she could not face herself and live with her family and relatives pretending that everything was normal. She decided to move on to another town. Shashemene was her destination because she knew friends in the town. She opened a small bar and kitchen where she serves drinks and traditional food. Gradually, she attracted customers. She said, "I came from the UAE with money, but lost my soul and innocence, now, at least I do whatever I do for my own money, when I want and with whom I want".

Hassina[164]

Hassina, a 24-year old woman, followed the same procedure as in the other cases described in the stories of the domestic workers above. She secured a kafala through an Ethiopian agent who worked for a kafeel from Dubai. Hassina's kafala was for working as a waitress in a restaurant for a monthly salary equivalent to ETB 4000. Upon arrival, the kafeel took her to his house and told her that he asked the Ethiopia agent to send him a domestic worker and not

[164] Interview conducted in Addis Ababa on 28 April 2019.

a waitress because he had no restaurant. He also denied that the kafala in her possession was not the one he sent to the Ethiopian agent. Meseret relayed the rest of her story:

> I found that the kafeel had no family in the house he took me to. there were two other African women in his house: one from Nigeria and the other from Kenya. The other two women never greeted or welcomed me. Later they told me that they were in a worse situation than me. No family wanted to employ them 'because they are too black'.
>
> He threatened to send me back to Ethiopia if I did not accept to work as a domestic worker. When I insisted in being employed according to the kafala I agreed to or I would report my case to the police, he slapped me, pulled my hair and locked me in a separate room for over 24 hours without food. At night he came to my room and promised to change my job if I had sex with him. The kafeel then slapped me again, insulted me, tied my hands and raped me. I sustained injuries and could not wake in the morning. After several days of regular kicking, beating, slapping and raping, I succumbed to my fate.
>
> The kafeel used his connections with the authorities to sell my kafala to another family for a salary of an equivalent of ETB 3000 and the other ETB 1000 was paid to him every month. Fortunately, I had only one-year kafala, was able to collect my passport through Ethiopian brokers whom I paid almost 20% of my total earnings (ETB 7,200). When I returned to Ethiopia, I was not able to repay all the debt (ETB 50,000) which I paid to the agent who trafficked me to Dubai.

Hassina arrived back in Ethiopia broke, indebted and demoralized. She decided to disappear in Addis Ababa because she was ashamed to return to her family and whether or how to explain to them why she returned. She stayed with the friends whom she left behind and was fortunate to be given back the job which she had left more than a year ago and for the same salary. Her biggest problem was how to survive while using half of her salary to repay her debt. Hassina vowed never to allow herself to be trafficked, humiliated or go through such experience in her life. "It isn't worth it", she said.

These three stories of domestic workers, victims and survivors of human trafficking, bear the hallmark of sexual exploitation and physical abuse and the last two are similar to each other. The kafala represents an institutionalized system of human and labor rights abuse, where domestic workers' passports are surrendered to the kafeel, their mobility

restricted and confined and sometime locked in the kafeel's house. The women cannot change their employer regardless of how abusive the employer is and if they decide to do so they are forced to pay the kafeel excessive amounts of money.

As the case of other women who have gone through similar experiences as domestic workers in the Middle East[165], the women described above were not paid the full salaries mentioned in the kafala document, and as a result they incurred substantial debts to the trafficking agents. Although Middle Eastern governments have repeatedly expressed intentions to reform the system, to date it is still intact, even in more open Middle Eastern countries such as Lebanon and Jordan.[166]

In five out of the six cases presented in this chapter, abusive kafeels effectively stripped the domestic workers of their human dignity and rights. Even some of those who were able to make some savings, returned home only as half survivors. The sense of being stigmatized in a society suspicious of their real jobs when they were in the Middle East which has an image of engrained abuse of foreign women; and Ethiopian women upon return are therefore forced to migrate to other parts of Ethiopia with a new identity, in order to avoid living in shame.

In essence, the few individual case studies presented in this chapters show in detail that the classification of women victims of human trafficking in the category of domestic workers protected by 'labour contracts' (such as kafala) is erroneous. More often than not they are victims of sexual exploitation, prostitution, labor bondage, slave labor, violence, and physical abuse. Kafala is an institutionalized system of domestic labor recruitment practiced in many countries of the Middle East, whereby women domestic workers are not protected from abuse.[167]

The abuse is not a single but multiple and belongs to several categories. For example, to argue that one category of women is sexually abused, another physically abused, and third experiencing bondage labor is incorrect and incomplete. The cases presented in this chapter show that women domestic workers who experienced sexual abuse, often also experienced physical abuse, bondage labor and violence. Sexual exploitation itself is a form of violence and physical abuse.

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[165] Refer for example to: Human Rights Watch 2014 and 2016, Habibi 2019 and Jureidini 2010.
[166] For Lebanon, refer to Jureidini 2002 and 2003 and Pande 2014. For Jordan, refer to Human Rights Watch 2011 and Harroff-Tavel and Nasri 2013.
[167] Refer to Briggs 2014, "Women migrant domestic workers in the Arab States" and Nisrane *et al.* 2020.

The importance of the individual voices expressed in this chapter is not about the number of those who relayed their experiences and whether these experiences are representative or not, but rather it is about revealing the complexity of abuse and how these different categories are related. For, example, it would have been possible to merge sections 7.2 and 7.3 because, the categories overlap; physical abuse and sexual exploitation are evident in the cases of Khamisa, Meseret and Hassina, who took the step to be trafficked for domestic work only to find that domestic work involved inhumane treatment and abuse.

The stories of women about how they were trafficked or the ill-treatment by their employers and their families may give the reader the impression that they have no agency or that all of them are losers. As individuals, trafficked women are not completely powerless in the face of the structures or institutions (family members, relatives, friends, brokers, governments officers, etc.) within which they act. Cases of women who left their families with or without permission to find a living in neighbouring towns, the capital or other regional states are numerous[168].

Before they embark on their journey to find a job, As Chapter five has shown, women are often attending training programmes organized by the Labor and Social Affairs Offices on their legal rights as migrants, as well as trainings to be able to perform domestic work. Trafficked women often also acquired knowledge about the country where they aspired to work, language skills, and travel documents (which is not an easy process).

Not all trafficked women depend on their families to raise money to pay traffickers or purchase tickets to travel abroad. Educated women saved and used their own financial means to travel. Similarly, not all returned women gave up on life and buried themselves in their misery. The case studies, show that they get themselves together and start a new life. This is shown in cases of those who open small businesses, e.g., for selling street food, tea and coffee, or become involved in petty trade, while others insist or reembarking on the journey and try their luck again.

7.4. Conclusion

Arsi women as domestic workers going to Muslim Middle Eastern countries are not helped by religion (Islam) and knowledge of Arabic, as alluded to in some studies (Chapter two and three). There are widespread practices of labor abuse facilitated by the kafala system and the faulty legal regimes in Middle Eastern countries. The lack of coordination between Ethiopian

[168] See Sari and Khairunnis 2014 and Grabska *et al*. 2019.

authorities (e.g. due to cumbersome diplomatic channels, non-observance of international treaties, or specifically anti-human rights trafficking authorities)[169] and the Middle Eastern countries receiving foreign workers exacerbate the plight of the women domestic workers. However, despite the myriad of difficulties that trafficked women go through, a few of those represented in this chapter were able to start a new life and engage in several income-generating activities. But the majority are not prepared to reembark on the journey, no matter what means the traffickers may use to lure them. But the socio-economic and environmental conditions in which Ethiopian women, including those in Arsi, live in are harsh and produce new generations that feel forced to leave and, with a belief in higher powers, 'try their luck', , despite the dangers involved in human trafficking. This idea of 'luck' that will come to them is characteristic of many potential migrants (male and female), regardless of the, often incomplete information that they have on conditions and risks (cf. Abbebe 2012; Fernandez 2019).

[169] As described in Chapters 4 and 7.

Chapter 8

Concluding Summary, Implications for Knowledge-Policy, and Recommendations

8.1 Summary

This study commenced with introducing the history, geography, and socio-economic circumstances in the region of study which gave rise to the emergence and reproduction of persistent patterns of human trafficking, focusing on women trafficking to the Middle East from Arsi and Arsi West, Oromiya Regional State, Ethiopia. The exploration of the evolution of Ethiopia's human trafficking policies and legal instruments revealed that these are closely associated with and inspired by the *international* human trafficking conventions and protocols. The existence of domestic or national similarities (i.e., the presence of elements common both to national and international human trafficking policy and legal instruments) is not surprising given the *global* nature of the human trafficking phenomena and their spread across countries and regions across the world. In the first instance, this study responded to the need for understanding human trafficking within this context but also reveals the gaps between the principles enshrined in the policy, administrative and legal frameworks and practice aimed to control and tackle human trafficking. The preceding chapters revealed that there is a common awareness of the complexity of the issues surrounding human trafficking, which should not be treated as only local, regional, national, or global. The interconnectedness of these multiple levels of interaction is obvious.

The study shows that human trafficking policies and legal administrative instruments are largely reflections of and inspired by 'liberal' theory (see Sections 3.3 and 3.4 above), which privileges freedom and emancipation as unalienable rights that every human person should enjoy. From this perspective, human trafficking undermines the individual freedom of mobility of persons once trafficked and handed over to their new 'benefactors', often being of insecure legal status, denied payment for the work they have done, and prone to being abused physically and sexually. The study argues that, while the emphasis on freedom

and emancipation for (labour) migrants is welcome, the allowing and attainment of personal freedom and emancipation without addressing socio-economic and material causes of human trafficking via appropriate (inter)national policies, it is difficult, almost impossible, to eliminate human trafficking and its drivers.

As stated earlier, the dominant anti-human trafficking policy reflects an assumption that the legal and policy instruments are central to combating human trafficking and ensuring freedom of movement. On the other hand, the liberal-inclined anti-human trafficking framework of analysis considers the socio-economic (rights) or material needs as if they are only supplementary additions. The *integrated* framework introduced in this study aims to give equal weight to both and purports that socio-economic interventions to support the victims of trafficking *before* (for prevention) and *after* trafficking (for rehabilitation), should be part and parcel of anti-human trafficking efforts.

To be sure, this study argues that human trafficking is not only a matter of law and order that involves victims and traffickers and easily lends itself to conceptualizing anti-human trafficking efforts only on this level. Human trafficking is also a product of combined social, economic, and environmental factors, including poverty, unemployment, gender inequality, land degradation, and alienation, as well as the shrinking of the environmental spaces from which people eke out a living.[170] These factors contribute to the 'production' and vulnerability of victims of human trafficking, and undermine their ability to resist the temptations of consenting to be trafficked: they see it as an escape route out of misery, poverty or lack of prospects, and as an alternative to socio-economic problems that gave rise to human trafficking in the first place.

As the case of the Arsi Zones reveals, in situations of impaired livelihood conditions or unmet aspirations for a better life, to join what the better-off victims of trafficking refer to as the "good life," traffickers find the victims and in some cases their families and relatives an easy prey. Therefore, it is not difficult to draw the relationship between the socio-economic and environmental settings of human trafficking and the need for an alternative conceptualization of an anti-human trafficking approach that combines the legally-based dominant freedom and emancipation approach with one that addresses the structural or material conditions which sustain human trafficking, knowing that if only addressed separately, each approach has its limitations.

[170] Likely, environmental factors, as epitomized by, e.g., the El Niño effect, floods, frequent droughts and locust plagues, will continue to create problems for livelihood systems.

Combating each of the four main elements of human trafficking - action, means, process, and purpose (see Fig. 1 in Section 3,4) - is beset by challenges that require the use of both policy and legal instruments as well as financial and human resources. For example, to combat 'actions' (a), i.e., the recruiting, luring, transporting, and receiving of persons trafficked, requires functioning and well-resourced prevention institutions. These institutions should also have the commitment and integrity to curb the lucrative 'means' (b), i.e., the use of deception, coercion, and the threat of the use of force, without allowing their personnel to be corrupted by the traffickers. With the accelerating development of the information and communication technology (ICT), the human trafficking 'process' (c), i.e., the use of both the traditional and the new communication is a double edge. In part, it drives Internet-facilitated human trafficking. In part, this requires the use of more advanced technologies to combat human trafficking. Last but not least, the 'purpose' of human trafficking (d) is exploitation (servitude, forced labor, modern slavery, and even removal of organs for sale, pornography, and sexual exploitation) (cf. Chibba 2014: 312) Combating the trafficker's extortion of the victims of human trafficking is a function of robust policy and legal administrative instruments and making available financial and human resources.

Essentially, if the purpose of combating human trafficking is to grant its victims freedom and emancipation, it should also be mindful of freedom and emancipation from want, poverty and unemployment, and other socio-economic and material causes of trafficking. For this, the study proposed an integrated human trafficking theory of change, where the legal and socio-economic approaches to human trafficking are integrated. It is clear that the prevailing financial and human resources deficits so far have negatively impacted on the potential positive outcomes of the policy and legal instruments promogulated to combat human trafficking.

This study has focused on women trafficking from Arsi and Arsi West Zones. Defining human trafficking in a broader rubric within which women are trafficked is daunting because of women's several vulnerabilities in their society of origin. As to women's vulnerability in the area of study, often also related to social values and attitudes (see Chapter two), there is no neat distinction between human trafficking, illegal migration, and the so-called modern slavery, bondage labor, or migrant smuggling.

Specifically in the case of the Arsi Zones, it was observed that there is a close relationship between human traffickers and some overseas employment agencies which target those seeking migration to work abroad. For the legal employment agencies to maximize their profits, they cooperate with human trafficking agents. Although not directly

responsible for the conditions under which trafficked or legally migrated women are recruited and put to work, bondage labor and semi-slavery conditions are common to both. The definitional distinction is particularly difficult in cases of illegal migrants who work in the productive sector, such as construction and agriculture, as people can move from one sector to the other and vice versa.

Women trafficking is not always forced upon the victims by personal or family circumstances and socio-economic and environmental resources available to them. The migrant "hero or heroine" narratives celebrate the financial successes of the returning migrants and human trafficking survivors. The few successes presented in this study (see Chapters 5, 6 and 7), such successes always occur to those who have well-established networks in the destination country, including family, relatives, and friends, while those who make the journey to the unknown are, in most cases, subject to deep insecurity and inhumane treatment. The contention that legal frameworks can potentially protect the rights of migrants or those trafficked by consent is not true for the Ethiopian women who were subjected to the abuse of the Middle Eastern custom or 'law' known as *kafala* (or guardianship), as shown in Chapter 7. As this study has shown, kafala renders migrant women and those trafficked in a situation of servitude and insecurity, with no access to justice, particularly after their passports are confiscated by their employers who often perceive themselves as their 'owners' (and are indicated as such by the women). It leaves deep wounds and broken spirits among its victims, and understandably, the majority of those who narrated their ordeals are not amenable to the idea of migrating or consenting again to work as domestic laborers in the Middle East, although this does not inhibit the continuing outflow.

8.2 Analysis

Anti-trafficking ideas and practices emerged during the height of the campaigns for ensuring human rights and the rule of law and their focus on the freedom of the individual person, notably after World War II via the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights (adopted in 1948).. Therefore, as a result most policy initiatives on human trafficking evoke a linear legal and policy frameworks focusing on regulating or preventing recruitment, transportation, transfer, and harboring or receiving trafficked persons. As the means used in human trafficking involve fraud, deception, coercion, and the threat or use of force, , as discussed in this thesis. As I asserted, this legalistic definition falls short of fully recognizing the material bases which compel people to engage in irregular migration or to be trafficked

with consent, or be made involuntary victim. The bad socio-economic and environmental conditions within which human trafficking occurs are often divorced from policy plans and official considerations.

An alternative and more comprehensive analysis of human trafficking should explore two concepts: a) vulnerability as a situation, where the trafficked persons often do not have enough resources or resource access, skills or opportunities to earn a living which forces such vulnerable persons to consent to being trafficked; b) the second is exploitation itself, which has its roots in the unequal power relationship between the trafficked and the trafficker. Once the trafficked person pays his or her life savings or huge sums of borrowed money, they are vulnerable and subject to exploitation twice: by the traffickers and by the employers who become masters (as in the case of women trafficked under the kafala system).

The legal and policy frameworks and institutions often failed to produce effective results. This is exemplified by the increase rather than a decrease in the numbers of trafficked persons in recent decades. The failure to protect the trafficked persons links policy failure to a conceptual failure emanating from the difficulty and complexity of defining who are the 'traffickers' (the recruiter, the broker, the agent, the transporter, etc.) and of disentangling their roles. However, beyond the elusive definitional issues lies the state's incapacity to use legal and policy instruments to resolve the long-term root causes of trafficking - which are the result of the combination of problematic environmental conditions, climate change, shrinking landholdings, rampant unemployment. Such conditions, fueled by high population growth, continue to create conditions favorable for traffickers making a living from exploiting the vulnerability of their potential victims.

Implementing the myriad of legal and policy frameworks developed by the Ethiopian authorities and aligned with the international instruments has not been made easier by the Arsi population, large sections of which look for any opportunity to work elsewhere. In addition, some policy makers see human trafficking as a 'blessing' and a cure, giving relief to local socio-economic problems, and as providing room for some to make it and pursue their ambitions. This position, should be understood within the socio-economic and environmental conditions prevalent in Arsi region. As some of the policy-makers themselves came from a poor background, the reservation they made about whether human trafficking is legal or illegal should not be taken lightly, both for their impact on policy, i.e., the possibility of their giving a blind eye to human trafficking, or at worst, using their power position to gain personal benefit from an association with human trafficking.

Obviously, defying – or not even being aware of - the socio-political norms of freedom and emancipation is often a conscious decision by those trafficked and their families, whereby they refrain from disclosing the names or identity of the recruiters: some of whom are family members, relatives or friends. This attitude hinders the detection and prevention of human trafficking at the source, i.e. in Arsi region itself, where people intercepted during the process of being trafficked try the journey again and again. This fact exposes the weakness in the freedom and emancipation conception compared with a wider focus on the material conditions which produce such a negative attitude towards it. Arsi people complain less about the lack of individual freedoms and the need for liberation from traffickers or the possibility of being trafficked, than about the poor livelihood conditions, poverty, unemployment and shrinking environmental space.

In this thesis, conceptually and theoretically rather than empirically, there is an implicit position which explains human trafficking against the backdrop of the 'needs' of global capitalism for cheap, unregulated and illegal and unskilled labour force to conduct some of the more arduous jobs such as farm labour, factory work, or domestic work. In this respect, the association between modern-day slavery and forced labor as forms of human trafficking are new manifestations associated with the development of global capitalism. For example, many developed industrialized countries, indirectly tolerate certain numbers of 'irregular workers usually recruited/ brought by private companies, to meet seasonal labour needs to harvest farm produce. Such irregular workers can be disposed of during periods of economic downturn. In this thesis, the closest case exemplifying this practice is Saudi Arabia, with in 2019 a deportation rate of c. 10,000 Ethiopian irregular workers and what some described as illegally trafficked and migrant laborers per month[171], following the up and downs of the oil prices and the deterioration of the standards of living of the country as well as the emergence of a Saudi underclass ready to replace the Ethiopians and other non-Saudis.

In sum, human trafficking as a global phenomenon is propelled by local, national and global economic conditions and policies, means and outcomes that disadvantage the vulnerable poor as well as those who have the means and the resources to migrate and aspire

[171] According to Tom Gardner, 'Ethiopians face beatings and bullets as Saudi 'deportation machine' cranks up', *The Guardian*, 16 August 2019 (at: https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2019/aug/16/ethiopians-face-beatings-and-bullets-as-saudi-deportation-machine-cranks-up, accessed 15 March 2020). See also the Human Rights Watch report of August 2019, 'Ethiopians Abused on Gulf Migration Route' (at: https://www.hrw.org/news/2019/08/15/ethiopians-abused-gulf-migration-route, accessed 20 March 2020).

to join what they refer to as the 'good life '(see Section 6.5 above). These often vaguely expressed general ideals and ambitions that underlie the business of trafficking make it difficult to mitigate the abuses, despite the existence of integrated national, regional and international legal and policy frameworks intended to regulate or combat the trafficking phenomenon. In this particular case, it is clear that the desired 'freedom from want' and ambitions to escape stagnation and poverty in the home situation seem to trump the conceptions of personal liberal freedom and emancipation that are supposed to be underlying a just, equitable and democratic political order. As the recommendations below will reveal, both aspects are, however, necessary and complementary and become contradictory only if one is treated separately from the other.

8.3 Conclusions

The review of the literature on human trafficking in Ethiopia for this study has confirmed the pre-research claim that women trafficking in Arsi region is understudied. In this sense, this thesis plugs in a knowledge gap both in the academic and policy debate, notably in Ethiopia. Similarly, the integration of the 'freedom and emancipation' debate and the 'material needs' perspectives has proven useful because none of the two can be effective without the other. Cases of women who experience maltreatment, bondage labour experiences, confinement and quasi-captivity and are still ready to return to host countries shows that the they have decided to forsake freedom and emancipation to escape poverty, unemployment and mounting economic pressures at the home front so as to gain money and means to build a better future.

Despite the availability of a myriad of instruments and institutions, complex processes directly or indirectly related to anti-human trafficking and women trafficking especially, the successful combating of this abusive and usually criminal activity continues to elude researchers and policymakers alike. As the documented statistics on human trafficking show, it is on the increase, and hopes for abating it in the short-term future are illusive (cf. UNODC 2018: 7). The mismatch between the plethora of legal and policy frameworks and the very disappointing results obtained in suppressing the trade on the ground, in the places of recruitment, point to several enduring challenges.

The major theoretical orientation of this study is geared towards expounding the tension between the freedom and emancipation paradigm and the structural-material paradigm. The concluding reflections here will be based on the findings of Chapters 4 and

5, which provided the core data and arguments raised here. There are two main conceptual debates regarding anti-trafficking, one that privileges the effective enforcement of anti-trafficking legal frameworks, and the second opting for modifying or eliminating the dismal socio-economic conditions in which potential victims of trafficking live so as to reduce the need for seeking of subjecting oneself to take the risks in being trafficked.

Below are some conclusions relevant to addressing the research objectives and the efficacy of the methods used and theoretical considerations that inform this thesis.

The root causes of women trafficking are multifaceted, interlinked, and dynamic and therefore cannot be reduced to one single factor such as poverty, or unemployment, or land alienation, or environmental degradation, or to culture and religion. Each trafficked woman is compelled by more than one, while some factors cannot be explained without reference to other factors. The study shows that in rural Arsi, poverty and land alienation are closely associated with women trafficking, but so are unemployment, lack of opportunities, and environmental degradation reducing the possibility to find sufficient farm land or other livelihood resources. However, it must be recognized that trafficked women are socially stratified, and not all of them are poor. Although poverty is one of the main causes of their seeking work overseas, including consenting to being trafficked, the wealthy or well-to-do also seek to migrate, legally or illegally. Well-to-do or wealthy trafficked women's aspirations to join “the good life” is as overwhelming as those of poor women. While poor women define the “good life” as having more money, getting a better job, and raising their standard of living, wealthy or well-to-do or women define it as being part of a world where they can enjoy the full potential of their financial resources. However, it is important not to generalize the discourse that poverty is not a major motivation for human trafficking, which is true only for a very small minority of trafficked women.

Most women victims of human trafficking are in the productive age (between 20 and 34 years), and most are under the age of 30, both married and unmarried and in most cases they even migrate with the consent of their families, husbands, or relatives. In most cases, the traffickers and those who lure women to consent to be trafficked are known to the community, and in some cases they are known relatives or friends to the trafficked women and their families. The fact that such a closed social network of relatives is involved makes it exceedingly difficult to identify the traffickers or depend on the community to reveal their identity. In this context, the study has shown that some of the respondents do not consider woman trafficking as an illegal act and focus only on the perceived benefits while denying the negative consequences of trafficking, such as physical abuse and exploitation.

Even some government officials question the illegality of human trafficking - in contravention with legal provisions in Ethiopian national policy and legal frameworks, which are consistent with the UN Protocol against the trafficking in persons. One implication of such a fact is that such officials can be considered a risk in anti-trafficking policy implementation. Similarly, a large number of the family members of the victims do not consent to the legal provisions that consider the engaging in trafficking a crime, and therefore end up not cooperating with the authorities. Study shows that the society at large cooperates with and supports the people who seek to migrate irregularly or be trafficked, and their families often do not cooperate with the authorities. Such a finding highlights the fact that human trafficking is deeply *socially embedded,* even though a large number of people think that it is not a norm but born by necessity.

To be sure, human trafficking is complex, typically caused by many factors and layers that are embedded deeply in the way society functions. In other words, as described in chapter two, the setting in which human trafficking takes place in informed by the social structure of poverty, gender relations, unequal distribution of resources, environmental degradation and many other factors and layers of social functions.

In Arsi Zone, there is often a thin line separating human trafficking and legal migration, as some presumably legal agents, knowingly or unknowingly, receive and traffic their victims through unofficial agents. In situations where village-level agents are part of society and where the victims of trafficking may establish relations of trust (husbands, friends, relatives, and neighbors), it is difficult to distinguish between consent and social pressure. The Horn of Africa's porous borders make it difficult to trace all Ethiopians trafficked through its borders by land, with the presence of multiple agents within and between countries. Arsi Zone training programmes to equip prospective migrants with domestic work skills and awareness of legal rights have double-edge outcomes. On the one hand, the training programmes for aspirant migrants have created a better educated and better suited workforce reasonably prepared to migrate. On the other hand, it is difficult to trace whether the aspirant migrants who have been trained and prepared for migration will join the legal or illegal routes to migrate. As the interviews have shown, in situations of deprivation and poverty, it is almost impossible to resist the illegal route if the legal route has proven unattainable. This illegal migration trap is also true even for those who are financially well-off to pay the high cost of facilitated legal migration but too impatient and eager to join the "good life" so much so that they are ready undertake the illegal routes. As the study has shown, the amounts of money they pay the traffickers is excessive. Whether it

is right or wrong, the success stories relayed by some of those who were able "to make it", join the "good life" or use the migrant hero metaphor are a powerful stimulus that drives men and women to submit themselves to the trafficking industry regardless of their free will or measured decision.

When trafficked women are intercepted *en route* to their preferred destination by the authorities, they are treated as victims, and rightly so. The trafficked women from Ethiopia are released from the traffickers, and in some cases, assisted in returning to Ethiopia without being refunded the money they lost to the trafficker or compensation for suffering. The study has shown that the majority of the returnees who attempted to give it a chance are among those being released immediately after being intercepted by the authorities. The ease with which intercepted trafficked women try again to go could be attributed to the fact that they are left with the impression that they did nothing wrong and can try again and again without further questioning, charges, or even a reprimand should they intercepted by the authorities.

Unfortunately, it is difficult for some active members of the local community (who encourage their family members to migrate to improve their living conditions) to distinguish between coercion, extortion, or consent, as the line dividing legal migration from illegal human trafficking is very thin indeed. In some instances, the anti-trafficking officials are as confused about the distinction between incidents of women migrating legally and cases of women trafficked illegally. Although from the first instance, legal migration appears as if it is a straightforward activity governed by law, migrant women depend on agents who are no less exploitative that illegal traffickers. Both legal migration and human trafficking involve subtle and secretive deals that align the traffickers and licit licensed overseas employment agents. As noted earlier, women who intend to pursue a legal route to migration find it also difficult to distinguish between traffickers and legally licensed agents, as they are often exploited by both simultaneously.

Government and multilateral organizations training programmes meant to inform or empower aspirant immigrants are good in imparting important skills and awareness about migration, but unfortunately cannot determine whether they will seek legal migration or illegal women trafficking routes. Although these training and empowerment programmes are not intended to encourage human trafficking, those who complete the training programmes are an attractive target for recruitment by legal migration agents and illegal traffickers alike. As mentioned earlier, the problem is not training as such, but the lack of legal mechanisms whereby the trained women are registered with the responsible policy

implementation units of the regional and national Labor and Social Welfare Departments and the Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare, respectively.

8.4 Implications for Knowledge-based Policy and Recommendations

Given the policy orientation of this thesis, this final section is divided into two reinforcing sub-sections: the first sub-section delineates the implications of this thesis for knowledge-based policy and its role in offering recommendations based on the knowledge generated during the research from which the thesis emanated. The second sub-section provides my personal recommendations, which should be attributed to the Ethiopian Government. Being a government official, I do understand the difficulties involved in attempting to separate the narrative from the narrator, hoping that my colleagues in the institutions responsible for mitigating human trafficking will find my recommendations persuasive enough to adopt at least a few of them.

8.4.1 Implications for Knowledge-based Policy

In concluding this thesis, I hope that the knowledge generated from the field will provide an incentive for policy changes in the legal domain and in policy instruments as well as strengthen the notion that the application of these instruments alone is not sufficient in eliminating human trafficking. The two existing paradigms of a) freedom and emancipation as personal rights, and b) the primacy of the satisfaction of human material needs, on the other, are not necessarily contradictory. Put together they inform the policy makers of the importance of the compelling need for espousing a *comprehensive policy* that accommodates this need for freedom from human rights abuse as exemplified by human trafficking, and escape from poverty and the absence of the fulfilment of basic human needs.

In the case of Ethiopia, the study shows that both state and non-state actors are not at ease with the inadequate level of human and financial resources dedicated to alleviating the material conditions which give rise to human trafficking. It is because of this inadequacy that human trafficking victims who have been intercepted and freed from the traffickers soon retry to migrate illegally and yet again become victims of human trafficking. There is, therefore, an urgent need for more research into the major theoretical and policy shifts in the manner in which anti-human trafficking drive is conceived and implemented. Two major shifts are mandatory: First, theoretically, the current gap between the ideational freedom and

emancipation paradigm and the material social and economic emancipation paradigm should be eliminated by integrating the two, as this study has attempted to do. Second, the shift to an integrated approach needs to overcome challenges. In every instance of alterations due to new research findings, "every piece of information that enters the policy process highlights certain aspects about the scope and nature of a policy problem and ignores others. Competing expertise is, therefore, central to claims concerning the contours and classification of policy problems. This competition has direct implications for the way policy systems address problems and how they allocate authority over policy choices" (Daviter 2015: 496). In other words, issues such as old and new competing expertise and classification of policy problems, such as conventional technical training for migrants versus alternative training for improving livelihood conditions, in Arsi or Ethiopia at large, are contested by the old guard. Another case in point is that the intercepted female victims of trafficking are released back into the socio-economic and environmental conditions which precipitated their urge and consent to move out or be trafficked in the first place. There is need for alternatives policies, such reallocation of resources and authority over policy choices. However, according to the local communities from which the trafficked women originate, they argue that rewarding the returnees will encourage others to do the same. It could be that the rewards of an integrated policy framework such as the one described in Chapter three would outweigh a victim's rewards.

Therefore, conducting thorough research to assess the inner workings of state and non-state institutions' knowledge generation methods and capacity to support policy interventions is what this thesis attempted to grapple with. This research project has, I hope, examined practical issues that go beyond theoretical assertions, including reflecting voices of trafficked persons, and potentially the practical implications of a systematic, integrated approach combining perspective of the freedom and emancipation paradigm and the socio-economic-based paradigms are promising.

8.4.2 Recommendations

In this second subsection I present my personal recommendations, which should not be attributed to the Ethiopian Government. These recommendations are as follows:

1. The available evidence, presented in this study, shows that human trafficking is increasing rather than decreasing, despite the existence of a multitude of legal, policy

and institutional frameworks and instruments to mitigate it. Therefore, improving the socio-economic and environmental conditions, while pursuing the legal and policy options, should be considered in a more engaging and robust manner. In addition, the multiple routes that women in depressed areas take or get entangled in, from abusive human trafficking to personal choices to engage in irregular migration via family and friends' networks, should be recognized and addressed in policy approaches.

2. Gender inequality in areas such as schooling (as parents perceive that there is a higher premium in educating boys than girls), presence of social values which discriminate against women in land ownership and inheritance, and unequal job opportunities for women, are major contributors to women trafficking. It is difficult, almost impossible, to imagine that women trafficking can be stopped without addressing gender inequality.
3. While punishing the intercepted people while they are attempting to be trafficked is not an option, releasing them into the same conditions which forced them to consent to being trafficked also has serious problems. The need for victim protection both legally and in terms of safety net to cushion them against the push factors of trafficking are important (this is part of the integrative conceptual plan presented in chapter three). In other words, developing programmes to improve the skills and find job opportunities for those intercepted in the course of being trafficked, is not an option either, as it may encourage others to submit themselves to traffickers, hoping that they will be given similar opportunities. Those trafficked women who suffered sexual and financial exploitation, coercion and repression before and after being trafficked and are willing to relay their stories, should be given access to specialized media platforms and educational programs where they can try to deter others. Another option is to create trafficked women survivors' associations where they can assist and console each other.
4. Due to the large number of respondents – even among government functionaries - who have no clear idea about Ethiopian legal and policy instruments and institutions, they should be translated into all major Ethiopian languages. Easy to understand, popular versions should be published to increase people's awareness of the legal and policy instruments and institutions responsible for mitigating human trafficking in general and women trafficking in particular.
5. Human trafficking cannot be mitigated with the current level of human and financial resources made available by the Ethiopian government. While the socio-economic

and cultural factors propelling female (and also male) outmigration and human trafficking are to be understood in their entire spectrum and are to be addressed better in national development policy, institutional and personnel capacity to restrain the excesses must be reinforced. n zone after zone and *woreda* after *woreda*, the anti-human trafficking units are understaffed, poorly trained, and with meagre possibilities for promotion. Increasing and improving the level of human and financial resources is critical for mitigating human trafficking and therefore reducing the current high levels of women trafficked to the Middle East and elsewhere.

Annex 1

Interviews and Questionnaire Forms

A. Interview Guide for Trafficking Victims

1. Respondent Profile

1. Sex of the respondent
   a. Male
   b. Female
2. Age of the respondent
3. Marital status
   a. Single/Never married
   b. Married
   c. Separated
   d. Divorced
   e. widowed
4. Educational level
   a. None
   b. Pre primary
   c. Primary
   d. Secondary 1-4
   e. Secondary 5-8
   f. High school
   g. Preparatory
   h. College
   i. University graduate
   j. Above university graduate
5. Religion
   a. Muslim
   b. Orthodox
   c. Protestant
   d. Waqeffataa
   e. Atheist
6. Occupation of the respondent before trafficking
   a. Permanent employment-public
   b. Permanent employment-private
   c. Casual/temporary employment-public
   d. Casual employment-private
   e. Business person
   f. Other (pupil/student/housewife, etc.)
   g. None of the above

2. What is your general feeling about being trafficked?
   a. Very good
   b. Good
   c. Bad
   d. Any other term to use
3. Recruitment Practices
   a. Who recruited you to be trafficked?
      a. Relative

b. Friend
c. Neighbor
d. Any other

b. Who covered the costs of being smuggled?
a. Own
b. Family
c. Friend
d. Agency/brokers
e. Any other……

4. How do you describe your experiences during travel?
……
……
…….
5. Do you feel that you were exploited in the destination state?
a. Yes
b. No

If your answer for Q4 is 'yes', describe how:
……
……

6. Have you experienced corruption of government officials during the recruitment process?
a. Yes
b. No

If your answer for Q5 is 'yes', please describe when and how……
……..

7. Do you think the Ethiopian government is exerting enough effort to fight women trafficking?
a. Yes
b. No

If your answer for Q6 is 'No', what do you think should the government do more to address the problem?

.....
.....

8. Who else do you think should do more to address the problem, other than the government? And how?
……
……
……

B. Interview Guide for FGD (community leaders and traffickers)

1. How do you see human trafficking in general?

Unacceptable/bad	**Acceptable/ good**	**It depends**
☐	☐	☐

2. What do you think of the magnitude of human trafficking in this area?
____ Very high ____ Moderate _____Low ____Very low

3. Do you think there is voluntary external human trafficking in your area?
    a. Yes
    b. No
4. Do you think there is involuntary external human trafficking in your area?
    a. Yes
    b. No
5. Is the practice increasing or decreasing recently, and what are the factors for its decrease / increase?
    a. Decreasing
    b. Increasing

Why?……
…….

6. Do you know that human trafficking is illegal/crime? If yes, why do you think that it has continued?

……
…….

7. Who are the victims/risk and vulnerable groups, in terms of age, gender, ethnicity, living area, situation?
    a. Minors under 18 years of age
    b. Girls
    c. Women
    d. Male youth
    e. Old aged
8. What do you think is/are the root causes of human trafficking in this area?
    a. Poverty
    b. Pressure from friends
    c. Pressure from neighboring
    d. False promise of glorious life
    e. Lack of awareness on the recurrent channel
    f. Unemployment'
    g. Under employment
    h. Dishonest agents
    i. Inappropriate information from peer
    j. Political instability
9. Who are the persons involved in trafficking enterprise/who are traffickers? Profile of persons involved in trafficking.
    a. The unemployed
    b. Relatives
    c. Friends
    d. Any other ……
10. Are there any factors related to religion, culture and social obligation behind recruiting and trafficking of women? If yes, what are they?
    a. Obligation of women to help family
    b. Religious traditions that oblige women to be submissive to family
    c. Requirement for getting married (to get means of living for that purpose)
    d. Any other …….

11. Are you aware about the situation of trafficked persons at the place of origin, transit and destination?

a. Yes
b. No

12. How do you perceive the whole process from origin to the destination?
    a. Mostly Safe /smooth
    b. Moderately safe
    c. Mostly Unsafe
    d. Totally unsafe

13. What kind of solutions do you propose to address the problem at the place of origin and destination?
    a. Legal
    b. Political
    c. Family
    d. Economic
    e. Psychological
    f. Any other……

14. Who do you think has the main role in addressing the problem? You can choose more than one.
    a. The family
    b. Religious institutions
    c. Government
    d. Community leaders
    e. Any other…….

15. What kind of role do you think you can play to address the problem?
……
……
……

C. Interview and FGD guideline for Law enforcement/ judicial officials

This research aims to identify the major causes of women trafficking in two Arsi zones of Oromiya National Regional state. For the purpose of this research, human trafficking is understood as the recruitment and transportation 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 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. Put in this sense this questionnaire is intended to implore key information from institutional stakeholders engaged in the prevention of trafficking in women on the one hand, and provision of protection and assistance to victims, as well as networking and coordination on the other hand.

1. Respondent Profile

1.Sex of the respondents
    a. Male

b. Female

2. Age of the respondents
3. Marital status
    a. Single/Never married
    b. Married
    c. Separated
    d. Divorced
    e. widowed
4. Educational level
    a. None
    b. Pre primary
    c. Primary
    d. Secondary 1-4
    e. Secondary 5-8
    f. High school
    g. Preparatory
    h. College
    i. University graduate
    j. Above university graduate
5. Religion
    a. Muslim
    b. Orthodox
    c. Protestant
    d. Waqeffataa
    e. No religion

2. Understanding level of human trafficking

a. How do you understand the act of trafficking?

……
……..

b. What do you think are the most critical elements within the act of trafficking? ----------
-

c. Is it different from illegal/irregular migration? How?

3. The Nature and Magnitude of Trafficking Problem

1. How do you describe the prevalence of human trafficking from this area?
Very high: ___ High: ___ Medium: ___ Low: ___ Very low: ___

2. Which purpose of human trafficking do you believe is most prevalent (disaggregate by sex)?
Household employment: ___ Agricultural labour: ___ Transitory means:____ Commercial sex work: __ _ Begging:_____Any Other____

3. What are the factors that are considered as the root causes for trafficking? You can select as many as you can
    a. Poverty

b. Pressure from family
c. Pressure from friends
d. Pressure from neighboring
e. False promise of glorious life
f. Lack of awareness on the recurrent channel
g. Unemployment'
h. Under employment
i. Dishonest agents
j. Inappropriate information from peers
k. Political instability

4. Who are the victims/risk and vulnerable groups? In terms of age, gender, ethnicity, living area and income level, etc.

……
…….

4. The Knowledge and Enforcement of existing domestic and international Policy frameworks and legal provisions

1. Can you mention the relevant policies that guide and laws that apply to human trafficking?
   a. International……
   b. National…….

2. Do you think that there are problems associated with the policies and laws themselves? If yes, please state some of them

……
…….

1. Are suspected trafficking cases reported to the authorities, investigated and prosecuted?

Put the degree to which the three are done:

a. Reported : Very high: ___ High: ___ Medium: ___ Low: ___ Very low: ___
b. Investigated: Very high: ___ High: ___ Medium: ___ Low: ___ Very low: ___
c. Prosecuted: Very high: ___ High: ___ Medium: ___ Low: ___ Very low: ___

2. How many maximum trafficking cases are reported to your office per year in average?.....
3. Has there been follow up of the reported cases? If yes, what has been the outcome? If no, why not?

……
……..

4. Has the reporting rate been increasing during the past years?
   a. Yes
   b. No
5. What factors encourage or discourage the reporting, investigation and prosecution of trafficking cases?
   a. Family reluctance
   b. Gap in the law
   c. Judicial system's inability and incapacity
   d. Any other…….

6. What are the measures taken so far to improve reporting, investigation and prosecution of trafficking cases?

……

5. Performance and Capacity of Government Bodies to Address the Problem

1. Do you think relevant government bodies are playing their respective roles responding to the problem of human trafficking?

a. Yes
b. No

2. How do you assess the government's performance so far?

a. Very good b. Good c. Fair d. Low e. Very low

3. Are there any success stories in addressing the problem of trafficking?

a. Yes
b. No

4. What are the main challenges and limitations on law enforcement, judiciary and other government bodies in addressing the problem of human trafficking?

a. Lack of commitment
b. Gaps in legal provisions
a. Capacity problem
b. Any other……..

5. What do you think needs to be done to increase the capacity of law enforcement and other agencies to address the problem of human trafficking?

6. Any general recommendations to help manage the problem of human trafficking in the area?

.....
.....

D. Interview guide for Parents of trafficking victims

This research aims to identify the major causes of women trafficking in two Arsi zones of Oromiya National Regional state in order to help address the problem. Having this objective in mind, this questionnaire is designed to seek key information from institutional stakeholders engaged in the prevention of trafficking in women, provision of protection and assistance to victims, as well as networking and coordination. The researcher, therefore, for the success of the research, kindly requests you to complete the questionnaire honestly.

1. Respondent profile

1. Sex of the respondents
    1. Male
    2. Female
2. Age of the respondents
3. Marital status
    1. Single/Never married
    2. Married
    3. Separated
    4. Divorced
    5. Widowed

4. Educational level
    1. None
    2. Pre primary
    3. Primary
    4. Secondary 1-4
    5. Secondary 5-8
    6. High school
    7. Preparatory
    8. College
    9. University graduate
    10. Above university graduate
5. Religion
    1. Muslim
    2. Orthodox
    3. Protestant
    4. Waqeffataa

2. Information about Trafficking

1. Do you have offspring who are working abroad? Yes ____No__
2. If yes, where are they? ……..
3. How many are they (disaggregated by sex)?
4. How old were they when they left (disaggregated by sex)?
5. What kind of work you thought they were doing?
    a. Housemaid
    b. Agriculture
    c. Industrial
    d. Any other …….
6. Do you think you were deceived about the process and the work?
    a. Yes
    b. No
7. Who was responsible/who payed/ for their transportation?
    a. Own
    b. Relative
    c. Family
    d. Brokers
    e. Any other
8. If they were transported with your consent, what convinced you to send him/her?
    a. Misunderstanding
    b. Promises for good job
    c. Lack of any other option
    d. Any other……
9. What were the opinions of your children with regard to the whole process?
    a. Very good
    b. Good
    c. Fair
    d. Unfair
10. What do you think you know about the life and work conditions of your children at the place of destination? Access to basic social services including health and education, working conditions, a.o.
    1. Know all

2. Know something
3. Do not know

11. What is the source of information about the conditions of your children?
    1. Own children
    2. Brokers
    3. Children's friends
    4. Any other
12. How often do you communicate with your children?
    a. Once a month
    b. Once every four months
    c. Once every six months
    d. Once a year

13. Are you willing to send another child abroad?
    a. Yes
    b. No

14. Please justify your answer for Q. 12
    ……
    ……
15. How do you assess the prevalence of human trafficking from this area?
    Very high: ___ High: ___ Medium: ___ Low: ___ Very low: ___

16. What do you think are the root causes for trafficking/you to send your children that way? Select as many as you feel
    a. Poverty
    b. Pressure from family
    c. Pressure from friends
    d. Pressure from neighboring
    e. False promise of glorious life
    f. Lack of awareness on the recurrent channel
    g. Unemployment'
    h. Under employment
    i. Dishonest agents
    j. Inappropriate information from peers
    k. Political instability

17. What kind of measures do you think should be taken to address the problem (by Government, parents, children, the community, and any other body)?
    .....
    .....

E. Questionnaire for Key other key stakeholders

Dear respondents

This research aims to identify the major causes of women trafficking in Arsi zones of Oromiya National Regional state. And, this questionnaire is designed to request key information from major stakeholders engaged in the prevention of trafficking in women as well as provision of

protection and assistance to victims. The researcher, therefore, for the success of the research, kindly requests you to complete the questionnaire honestly.

1. Respondent profile

2. Sex of the respondents
    1. Male
    2. Female
3. Age of the respondents
4. Marital status
    1. Single/Never married
    2. Married
    3. Separated
    4. Divorced
    5. widowed
5. Educational level
    1. None
    2. Pre primary
    3. Primary
    4. Secondary 1-4
    5. Secondary 5-8
    6. High school
    7. Preparatory
    8. College
    9. University graduate
    10. Above university graduate
6. Religion
    1. Muslim
    2. Orthodox
    3. Protestant
    4. Waqeffataa

2. Institutional Information

1. Name of institution: _____
2. Sector/Status:

Governmental_____

Local NGO___ Inter-Governmental: ___

International NGO ___ Mass-Based Organization: ___ other ____

3. Coverage of operation:
    a. Global
    b. National
    c. Regional
    d. Local

4. Area of focus:

Trafficking ___ Women ___ Children ___ Other

5. Work area in trafficking

Prevention ___ Protection ___ Rehabilitation ___ Any other___

3. Knowledge of trafficking in women

a. Do you consider trafficking in women a major problem in your area/level of operation? Yes: ___ No: ___

If yes, why?

……

b. How would you rate the prevalence of trafficking in women in this area/level of operation in relation to recurrence of the problem, number of affected groups/persons, and impact?

Very high: ___ High: ___ Medium: ___ Low: ___ Very low: ___

c. Which purpose of trafficking in women and children do you believe is most prevalent in this area/level of operation?

Housemaid___ Agricultural labor: ___ transit to better conditions----
Commercial sex work: ___ Any other…….

4. Data on victims and perpetrators

1. Does your institution collect data on the incidence of trafficking in women and children in your area/level of operation?
   a. Yes
   b. No
2. If yes, does the data include time-series and disaggregated information on victims and perpetrators?
   a. Yes
   b. No
3. Do you have any information on the number and situation of women sent back home from Middle East or other destination countries?
   a. Yes
   b. No
4. If yes, please provide details

   ……
   ……

5. Root Causes of Women Trafficking

1. What do you think are the 'root causes' making women vulnerable to trafficking in your area/level of operation? Select as many as you feel apply

   a. Poverty
   b. Pressure from family
   c. Pressure from friends
   d. Pressure from neighboring
   e. False promise of glorious life
   f. Lack of awareness on the recurrent channel
   g. Unemployment'
   h. Under employment
   i. Dishonest agents
   j. Inappropriate information from peers
   k. Political instability
   l. Lack of education
   m. Early marriage

6. Prevention of trafficking in women and Protection of victims

1. Do you have interventions/programs/projects directed at preventing trafficking in women and protection of victims?
   a. Yes
   b. No

2. If yes, please describe it brifely……
……
…….
3. Have you ever faced challenges in the prevention of trafficking in women in your area/level of intervention?
   a. Yes
   b. No
4. If yes, what are the main challenges that you have encountered?
……
…….
5. What kind of measures do you recommend to address gaps and challenges?
……
…….

Annex 2: Likert Type Questionnaire

This research aims to identify the major causes of women trafficking in Arsi zones of Oromiya National Regional state. Although study is academic, it is hoped that the results can assist in understanding and responding human trafficking problem. Having this objective in mind, the following rating scale is designed to seek how much each of the given factor matters in trafficking in women. The researcher, therefore, for the success of the research, kindly requests you to respond honestly. Please put "√" sign just below the scale you select for each statement. For the sake of privacy, your name and details provided here will not be shared with any person or government authority.

STATEMENTS	**SCALES**				
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Attitudinal Statements					
I think women trafficking is unacceptable					
Women trafficking should be discouraged					
Women trafficking should be encouraged					
Women trafficking is normal and cannot be prevented					
Human trafficking is a serious problem in this area					
Women trafficking does not affect me directly					
Family bears main responsibility for curbing human trafficking					
Causes of Women Trafficking					
Poverty is the main cause of human trafficking					
Pressure from family often subjects women to trafficking					

Pressure from neighbours can lead to women trafficking					
False promise of glorious life is one of the main causes for women trafficking					
Lack of awareness about the risks involved is one of the major causes for women trafficking					
Unemployment is one of the main causes of women trafficking					
Underemployment is one of the major causes for women trafficking					
The role of dishonest agents is high in causing women trafficking					
Lack of education/illiteracy and inability to succeed in education is a major cause for women trafficking					
Early Marriage is one of the major causes of women trafficking					
The difficulty of getting the legal migration causes women trafficking					
Peer influence plays a major role in women trafficking					
Gender inequality at home is one of the causes for women trafficking					
Awareness and Understanding /Knowledge about Human Trafficking					

I have heard about women trafficking					
Trafficking has huge risks associated with it					
I have read about women trafficking					
I have heard and read about women trafficking					
I am very familiar with the term 'human trafficking'					
Women Trafficking is illegal/crime					
Trafficked women are often subjected to harm					
Trafficked Ethiopian Women are subjected to abuses especially in the Middle East countries					
Woman trafficking involves persuasion/ use of force					
Human trafficking is a form of human right abuse					
Factors Associated with Women Trafficking					
There are cultural elements which encourage women trafficking					
The social status of potential victim's family matters in women trafficking					
Failed Marriage is associated with women trafficking					
There are religious traditions which uphold women trafficking					

Existing Policy Framework					
Ethiopia has a good policy framework on human trafficking					
The FDRE constitution prohibits human trafficking in any of its form					
Ethiopia has a comprehensive national legal framework to respond to the problem of human trafficking					
Ethiopia has a clear and coherent migration policy					
Challenges in Addressing Women Trafficking					
Lack of sufficient commitment from government is one of the main challenges in addressing women trafficking					
Resource shortage /financial shortage/ is one of the challenges in fighting women trafficking					
Population Pressure has made the work of addressing women trafficking challenging					
There are cultural issues that encourage trafficking					
There is lack of cooperation from society in the efforts of preventing and prosecuting					
Difficulty of identifying criminals/traffickers is one of the main challenges in addressing women trafficking					

Corruption in the investigation process is has been making the fight against women trafficking challenging					
Destination states' reluctance to cooperate with the origin country is an evident challenge in the fight					
Less cooperation from victims with government bodies has been one of the main challenges					
Lack of common understanding among stakeholders is a challenge					
Loophole in the existing legal frameworks is a challenge					
Lack of clearly mandated institution to address women trafficking is one of the challenges					
Ethiopia not ratifying relevant international instruments for addressing human trafficking problem is one of the main challenges					
Possible Mitigation Approach					
Tougher border control to stop potential victims of trafficking					
Tougher law enforcement to tackle criminals Responsible for trafficking					
Provision of easy legal procedures for people who want to work abroad					
Reaching labour agreements with receiving states					

Strengthening institutions					
Encourage Family Planning					
Expanding domestic job opportunities					
Changing attitudes of women towards less-paying jobs					
More awareness raising campaigns					
Focus is needed more on Prevention than protection and prosecution					
Focus is needed more on Prosecution than Protection and prevention					

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Curriculum Vitae

Lemma Megerssa Wako was born on April 26, 1973, in Wollega, in Ethiopia's Oromia Region. Lemma studied economics in the period 1996-1999 and obtained a BA degree from Civil Service University, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. After serving in the Federal National Intelligence and Information Services, he moved to the Oromia Regional State government where he became head of the Oromia Police Force, from 2002 to 2005. He then joined Addis Ababa University in 2005 and studied International Relations and obtained an MA degree in 2008. In 2008-and 2019 Lemma worked in the higher Oromia regional and federal government public institutions, serving in key positions, including, head of the Oromia Security and Administration bureau, head of the Trade and Market Development bureau, speaker of the Oromia Regional Council, and as a Regional Government President and Chairman of the regional ruling party (OPDO, later ODP). From early 2019 to mid-2020 Lemma served as minister of defense of the federal government of Ethiopia. As of 2017, he undertook PhD research at African Studies Center of Leiden University, the Netherlands, on the topic of human trafficking and its mitigation strategies in Ethiopia, focusing on the Arsi Zone in Oromia Regional State, and resulting in the present thesis.

Summary

Human trafficking is a persistent global social and economic problem, and part of international organized crime, involving local regional, national, and global agents and networks, and victims whose social characteristics traverse age (as they can be children, youths, or adults) and gender (women and men). Ethiopia is not an exception in this regard, and many disadvantaged Ethiopians have fallen victim to human trafficking. This study focuses on the trafficking of Ethiopian women to the Middle East to work as domestic workers. It documents how some of these trafficked women are recruited and transported, and often subjected to severe abuse, including denial of salary, sleep deprivation, passport confiscation, confinement, and physical and sexual assault. It is recognized that some women actively aim for irregular migratjon and 'try their luck', i.e., not all are by definition 'trafficked'. They thereby aim to stay clear of trafficking agents and dependency but most become entangled in it. Only a few of the trafficked women can escape the above-mentioned abuses, depending on their 'employers' and family or other social networks they may build up or appeal to in the host country. Forms of abuse and inhumane practices, however, predominate against most trafficked Ethiopian women and take place within the ambiguous framework of the 'kafala' system, which is prevalent throughout the Middle Eastern countries.

This study was motivated by at least two main concerns, one personal and the other academic. Personally I was intrigued by this tenacious phenomenon causing multiple problems for young women, often marking their lives, and by a concern to see the abusive aspects of the trafficking addressed. Academically, although there is a myriad of studies on the trafficking of Ethiopian women to the Middle East, there are few if any major academic research inquiries undertaken on the Arsi Zone, which is however one of the primary sources of Ethiopian women trafficked to the Middle East. Second, beyond responding to the need to study the root causes of human trafficking, a perplexing question is why human trafficking, in general, and women trafficking, in particular, is still on the increase, despite the proliferation of international, regional and national policy and legal frameworks and institutions established with the central aim of mitigating human trafficking – through *prevention, protection, and prosecution*.

Therefore, this study aims to explore the nature, prevalence, root causes, and societal consequences of human trafficking in the two Arsi zones of 'Arsi' and 'Arsi West' of Oromiya National Regional State, so as to inquire why they have persisted. To realize this objective, the data and information used in this study were collected from trafficked women themselves, from

their families, and from middlemen and agents, and relevant government officials, using both qualitative and quantitative methods of data collection in a complementary manner. The study has investigated the trafficking *process*, i.e., how those trafficked within Ethiopia and to Middle Eastern host countries are recruited and how they travel, are treated, tried to retain agency over their life, and tried to cope. It also sheds light on the role of women *returnees* from being trafficked, their experiences and tribulations, and (very occasional) successes.

Theoretically, this study argues that although trafficking is a transnational phenomenon, its root causes are local, often determined by social and economic factors conducive to poverty, unemployment, gender inequality, and food insecurity, to mention the main ones. Therefore, mitigating women trafficking *cannot be treated only as a matter of law and order* in the liberal tradition of the individual-civic freedom and emancipation paradigm without giving due recognition to the persistent socio-economic factors which propelled trafficking in the first place. Integrating these two perspectives, which this study advocates, would have critical academic and policy implications for conceiving any credible and practicable interventions to mitigate human trafficking.

Samenvatting

Mensenhandel is een hardnekkig wereldwijd sociaal en economisch probleem en maakt deel uit van de internationale georganiseerde misdaad waarbij lokale regionale, nationale en mondiale agenten en netwerken betrokken zijn alsmede de slachtoffers, wier sociale kenmerken een breedte van leeftijd (kinderen, jongeren en volwassenen) en geslacht (vrouwen en mannen) omvat. Ethiopië is in dit opzicht geen uitzondering en veel arme en/of achtergestelde Ethiopiërs worden het slachtoffer van mensenhandel.

Deze studie richt zich op de handel in Ethiopische vrouwen die naar het Midden-Oosten trekken om voornamelijk als huishoudster te werken. De studie documenteert hoe sommige van deze verhandelde vrouwen worden gerekruteerd en vervoerd en vaak worden onderworpen aan ernstig misbruik, waaronder ontzegging van salaris, slaaptekort, confiscatie van paspoorten, opsluiting en fysieke en seksuele aanranding. Erkend moet worden dat vele vrouwen actief hun eigen ongereguleerde migratie in gang zetten en hun 'geluk beproeven'. Zij pogen daarbij afstand te houden van mensenhandelaren en hun netwerken om onafhankelijk te blijven, maar velen vallen toch ten prooi aan deze netwerken. Slechts een paar van de verhandelde vrouwen kunnen aan genoemde misstanden ontsnappen, afhankelijk van hun "werkgevers" en van familie- en sociale netwerken waarop ze in het gastland een beroep kunnen doen. Vormen van misbruik en onmenselijke praktijken overheersen echter het lot van de meeste verhandelde Ethiopische vrouwen en vinden plaats binnen het dubbelzinnige kader van het 'kafala'-systeem, dat overal in het Midden-Oosten voorkomt.
Deze studie werd ingegeven door ten minste twee hoofdpunten, het ene persoonlijk en het andere academisch. Academisch: hoewel er een groot aantal studies is over de handel in Ethiopische vrouwen naar het Midden-Oosten, zijn er weinig of geen grote wetenschappelijke onderzoeken naar de Arsi Zone, die echter een van de belangrijkste brongebieden is van Ethiopische vrouwen die naar het Midden-Oosten worden verhandeld. Ten tweede, afgezien van het beantwoorden van de noodzaak om de grondoorzaken van mensenhandel te bestuderen, is een moeilijke vraag waarom mensenhandel in het algemeen en vrouwenhandel in het bijzonder nog steeds toenemen, ondanks de uitbreiding van internationaal, regionaal en nationaal beleid en juridische kaders en instellingen die zijn opgericht met als centraal doel de bestrijding van mensenhandel - door middel van preventie, bescherming en vervolging. Daarom is deze studie bedoeld om de aard, prevalentie, grondoorzaken en maatschappelijke gevolgen van mensenhandel in de twee Arsi-zones, 'Arsi' en 'Arsi West', van de Oromiya

National Regional State te onderzoeken, om te achterhalen waarom deze handel is blijven bestaan. Om dit doel te bereiken werden de gegevens en informatie die in dit onderzoek werden gebruikt verzameld onder verhandelde vrouwen zelf, hun families, tussenpersonen en agenten, en relevante overheidsfunctionarissen, waarbij zowel kwalitatieve als kwantitatieve methoden van dataverzameling op complementaire wijze werden gebruikt. De studie heeft daarbij het proces van mensenhandel onderzocht, d.w.z. hoe mensenhandelaars in Ethiopië en naar de gastlanden in het Midden-Oosten worden gerekruteerd en hoe ze reizen, hoe ze worden behandeld en hoe ze proberen om problemen het hoofd te bieden. Het werpt ook licht op de rol van teruggekeerde vrouwen, hun ervaringen en beproevingen en (zeer incidentele) successen. Theoretisch stelt deze studie dat, hoewel mensenhandel een transnationaal fenomeen is, de hoofdoorzaken lokaal zijn, vaak bepaald door sociale en economische factoren die armoede, werkloosheid, genderongelijkheid en voedselonzekerheid, om de belangrijkste te noemen, in stand houden. Daarom kan de bestrijding van vrouwenhandel in de liberale traditie van het individuele - burgerlijke vrijheids- en emancipatieparadigma niet alleen als een kwestie van recht en orde worden behandeld, zonder de hardnekkige sociaal-economische factoren die mensenhandel in de eerste plaats hebben geproduceerd, te erkennen. Het integreren van deze twee perspectieven, iets dat deze studie voorstaat, zou cruciale academische en beleidsimplicaties hebben voor het bedenken van geloofwaardige en uitvoerbare interventies om mensenhandel te verminderen.

Lemma Megerssa Wako

Women Trafficking in Ethiopia and its Mitigation: The Case of Arsi Zone, Oromiya

Propositions

1. Although human trafficking is global, its root causes are local, and it is socio-economic and environmental crises which prevent the trafficked persons from pursuing other options for improving livelihood conditions.
2. Human trafficking in Ethiopia will likely continue to increase, regardless of the inhumane practices and suffering endured by the trafficked women and men.
3. Respecting the intrinsic value of freedom and emancipation of people engaged in (inter)national migration alone cannot compensate for the need for pro-poor policies that address the socio-economic and environmental problems which propel irregular migration and human trafficking and obviate free 'choice'.
4. The *kafala* ('guarantor') system in Middle Eastern countries legitimizes the abusive bondage relations between the host families and the trafficked women, even if they migrated legally.
5. In certain circumstances, criminalizing the victims of trafficking could be a deterrent for people to consent to being trafficked again and again, to end up being victimized by the traffickers and others in the 'value chain' in the destination countries.
6. Some developing country governments adhere to international policies and legal instruments designed to mitigate human trafficking either half-heartedly or to look good in the international world of diplomacy, while ending up doing little or nothing about it.
7. Human trafficking is so much entrenched in Arsi zone and large sways of other Ethiopian regions that it has become part of the local fabric of society, so that mitigating it is constrained both by social values and toothless policies.
8. The "migrant hero metaphor" is a motivating factor both for poor and rich young aspirants to change their living conditions to the better but for different reasons.

9. The current level of fines levied on traffickers and their collaborators in Ethiopia are too insignificant compared with the rewards that accrue to them.
10. In Ethiopia as is many other developing counties, those responsible for human trafficking mitigation are poorly trained and the technical and financial resources are too meagre, their will fail their responsibility to prevent, protect and prosecute traffickers.
11. The ratification and implementation of the African Continental Free Trade Agreement (AfCFTA), entered into force on 30 May 2019, will encourage more migration within Africa and may reduce the extent of human trafficking.
12. A substantial proportion of the resources of the Ethiopian Productive Safety Net Programme (PSNP) that supports poor people living in rural areas (who make up over 80% of the population), should be devoted to women trafficking mitigation policies.