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Women trafficking in Ethiopia and its mitigation; The case of Arsi Zone, Oromiya

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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.