

Ethiopia

MIGRATION PROFILE

*Study on Migration Routes
in the East and Horn of Africa*

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Maastricht Graduate School of Governance (MGSoG)



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1. Introduction

The Federal Republic of Ethiopia is a country in the Horn of Africa with its capital Addis Ababa located in the centre of the country. It borders Eritrea to the north and north-east, Djibouti to the east, Somalia to the east and south-east, Kenya to the south and Sudan and South Sudan to the west. Ethiopia's estimated population is close to 100 million, which makes it the most populated landlocked country in the world and the second most populated country in Africa following Nigeria. More than 80 per cent of the Ethiopian population live in rural areas. The population is also comprised of several distinct ethnic groups, including



Source: CIA, 2017.

ethnic Oromos (34%), Amharas (27%), Somalis (6%) and Tigrays (6%) (CIA, 2017). Ethiopia is classified as a country with low human development (0.448) and ranks as 174th out of 188 countries (UNDP, 2016). Close to 30 per cent of the population live below the national poverty line according to estimates based on data from 2014 (CIA, 2017).

Table 1: Ethiopia Key Demographic and Development Indicators

Indicator	Ethiopia
Total area, in sq km ^a	1,104,300
Population (2015), in million ^b	99.39
Urban Population (2015), % of total ^c	19.5
Population Growth Rate, annual % ^d	2.5
Ethnic Groups ^a	Oromo 34.4% Amhara 27% Somali 6.2% Other 32.4%
Human Development Index (2015), country rank out of 188 ^e	0.448 174
GDP Based on PPP per Capita, current international dollars per capita ^f	1945.89
Life Expectancy at Birth (2015), years ^e	64.6
Unemployment (2015), % of labour force ^e	5.5
Youth Unemployment (2015), % ages 15-24 ^e	7.6
Multidimensional Poverty Headcount (2011), % ^e	88.2
Gini Coefficient (2010-2015) ^e	33.2
Foreign Direct Investment (net inflows, 2015), current USD millions ^d	2,167.60
Net Official Development Assistance Received (13), current USD millions ^d	3233.99
Personal Remittances Received (2015), current USD millions ^d	624.37

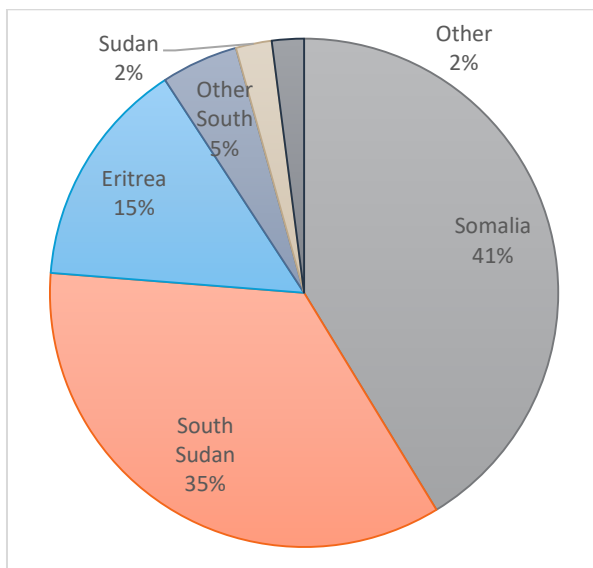
^a CIA, 2017; ^b UN DESA, 2015b; ^c UN DESA, 2014; ^d World Bank, 2017; ^e UNDP, 2016; ^f IMF, 2017.

Migration flows in Ethiopia are diverse. The country can be characterized as a country of origin and of destination as well as a transit country of mixed migration flows (RMMS, 2016). In terms of migration of Ethiopians, the evidence shows that they make up the largest share of migrants on the move both within and out of the region (RMMS, 2014a). Herein, Ethiopians are generally seen as economic migrants rather than forced migrants and therefore face difficulties claiming asylum in other countries in the region (Horwood, 2015). Some of the main identified drivers of migration from Ethiopia are:

- The socio-economic situation of the country and the associated lack of economic opportunities. Specific factors that have been identified relate to population density, inflation and reported high levels of taxation.
- A “culture of migration” that has developed in the country, where children and young adults are expected to go abroad in order to provide income for their families in Ethiopia through remittances.
- Political insecurity and oppression as “the ruling Ethiopian People’s Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) is reported to have remained repressive since the 2005 elections, with critics or ‘banned organisations’ of the regime facing arrest, detention, and even killing by members of the regime’s security apparatus”(RMMS, 2014b: 25).
- Feared political persecution particularly by members of the Oromo Liberation Front.
- Ethnic tensions that lead to persecution of Ethiopians of Somali descent and localised conflicts particularly in the Ogaden region.
- Pressures to join the military in the context of the intervention in Somalia.
- Environmental factors and change such as droughts and soil degradation, particularly in the Amhara and Tigray regions (Altai Consulting & UNHCR, 2013; Amnesty International, 2013; Horwood, 2015; Human Rights Watch, 2013; ILO, 2011; Marchand, Roosen, Reinold & Siegel, 2016; RMMS, 2014a; RMMS, 2014b).

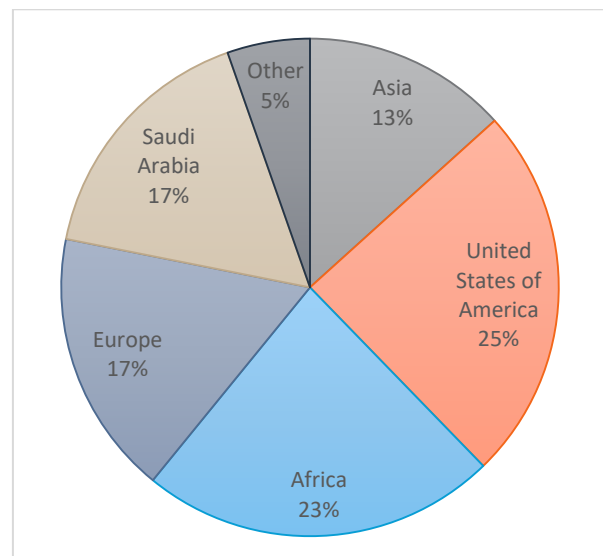
The United Nations Trends in International Migrant Stock indicates an emigrant stock of 753,492 Ethiopians in 2015. Relative to the total population of Ethiopia this is less than 1 per cent. Main countries of destination include the United States, European countries, particularly the United Kingdom, Italy and Germany, the United States, and Saudi Arabia, while about one fourth of Ethiopian emigrants is registered in another African country (see Table 2).

Figure 1: Origin of Migrants in Ethiopia, 2015



Source: UN DESA, 2015a.

Figure 2: Destination of Migrants from Ethiopia, 2015

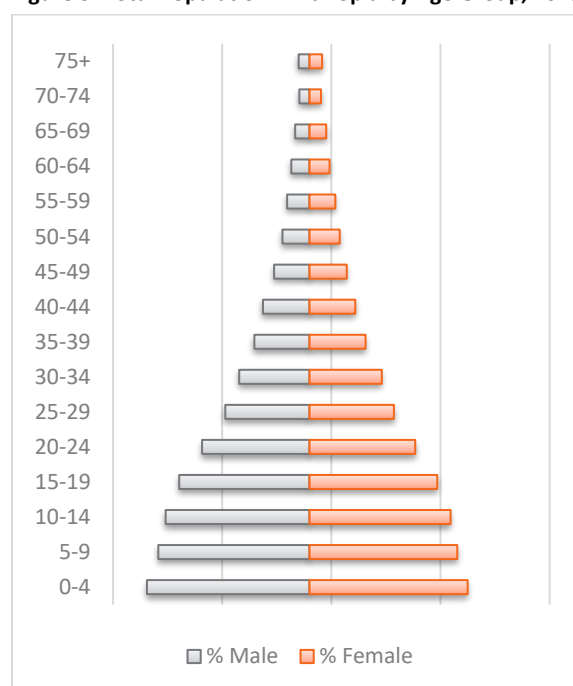


Source: UN DESA, 2015a.

In terms of immigration, Ethiopia receives by far the largest share of the migrant stock from neighbouring countries Somalia, South Sudan and Eritrea. These high numbers are largely driven by the fact that Ethiopia is the host to significant refugee populations from these countries. Relative to these three main countries of origin, others are negligible.

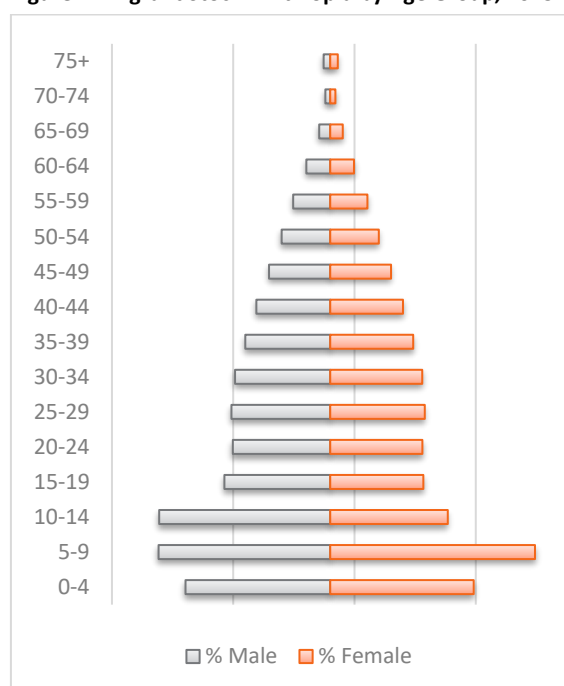
Looking at the composition of the population of Ethiopia, Figure 3 shows how young it is. Close to two thirds of the population is below the age of 25. In comparison, the registered migrant population in Ethiopia has a large share of children, but also includes a relatively larger share of older individuals. Considering that the vast majority of migrants in Ethiopia are refugees, this reflects that all generations are affected by the conflicts in the neighbouring countries and made the move to Ethiopia. In terms of gender, both the total and the migrant population are split almost equally between females and males.

Figure 3: Total Population in Ethiopia by Age Group, 2015



Source: UN DESA, 2015a.

Figure 4: Migrant Stock in Ethiopia by Age Group, 2015



Source: UN DESA, 2015a.

2. Forced Migration/ Displacement

2.1. Refugees in Ethiopia

As of March 2017, the population of concern to UNHCR in Ethiopia was 929,925 individuals (UNHCR, 2017a). Between 2014 and 2016, Ethiopia surpassed Kenya and was host to the largest refugee population in the region (recently having been surpassed by Uganda) due to the onset of the conflict in South Sudan in December 2013. Since then South Sudan has been the main country of origin for newly arriving refugees in Ethiopia. After the conflict erupted, there was an influx of close to 200,000 South Sudanese refugees in 2014 alone (UNHCR, 2014). In 2016, the average monthly arrival rate was still at close to 4,000. The two other main countries of origin are Somalia and Eritrea and smaller

numbers arrived in the past year from Sudan and Yemen. In 2016, close to 18,500 refugees arrived in Ethiopia from Eritrea (UNHCR, 2017b).

In terms of integration of refugees, Ethiopia follows strict encampment policies. However, these are often unsuccessful, as camps tend to have weak infrastructures and ethnic tensions exist between refugees and host populations (Gidron, 2015). Refugees are mostly accommodated in 25 camps that are spread throughout the country and are under protection of the police. However, due to government regulations refugees in Ethiopia are restricted in their right to work and freedom of movement. In 2010, the government introduced the “Out of Camp Policy” allowing Eritrean refugees to live in urban centres, provided they had necessary means to financially support themselves. Some of these refugees claimed that the freedom of movement they then enjoyed deterred them from following onward movements to Europe. Still, there is limited information on integration strategies for these new groups in urban centres (RMMS, 2016).

Due to its geographical location, it is assumed that Ethiopia will continue to receive asylum seekers from neighbouring countries in the future. The Ethiopian Government will keep up an open door policy and provide protection to those seeking refuge in the country (UNHCR, 2017b).

2.2. Refugees from Ethiopia

Globally, there were 96,394 Ethiopian refugees and 107,047 asylum seekers registered as of 2016 (UNHCR, 2017c). This indicates an increase in forced migration from Ethiopia since 2015 when there were 85,749 Ethiopian refugees and 77,874 asylum seekers. Main countries of destination of Ethiopian refugees are Kenya, South Africa, European countries and the United States (Table 2).

Table 2: Ethiopian Refugees and Asylum Seekers in Country of Asylum, 2016

Country of Destination	Refugees	Asylum Seekers
Kenya	19,064	8,173
South Africa	17,776	3,784
Europe	25,350	48,654
United States	10,216	4,411
Yemen	5,877	7,539
South Sudan	4,691	242
Other African Country	4,607	1,487
Sudan	3,663	8,813
Somalia	3,060	12,400
Other	2,090	11,544
Total	96,394	107,047

Source: UNHCR, 2017c.

2.3. Internal Displacement in Ethiopia

Internal displacement in Ethiopia is not well documented, though many people are in protracted displacement situations due to inter-communal and cross-border violence. No IDPs are registered as

people of concern to UNHCR. However, the IDMC estimated that there were 413,400 IDPs in the country as of July 2015 (IDMC, 2015).

3. Regular/ Labour Migration

3.1. Immigration

Due to the dire conditions in the country, Ethiopia is not a popular destination country for regular labour migration, with the exception of those coming to do work related to the development of the country. By subtracting the estimated number of refugees in Ethiopia in 2015 to the number of the immigrant population reported by UNDESA (2015a) statistics, it stands out that the number of regular immigrants in the country was around 330 thousand in 2015 (UNHCR, 2017c). Accordingly, the immigrant population represented less than 0.5 per cent of the total migrant population, a figure which is considerably below the world average (UNDESA, 2015a).

3.2. Emigration

The Ethiopian state encourages labour migration, for example through labour exchange agreements with Gulf States and especially Saudi Arabia, where flows are one directional only (RMMS, 2016). Labour migration from Ethiopia to the Arabian Peninsula and Middle East started in the 1980s and has increased in volume significantly in recent years. Private Employment Agencies facilitated the migration of more than 160,000 Ethiopian domestic workers in the first half of 2012 alone, which was more than 10 times the number of the same flow in the previous year (RMMS, 2013). Migrants on this route have been found to be particularly vulnerable to trafficking and abuse (ILO, 2011) – an issue which will be discussed in more detail in section 5.2 below.

3.3. Return Migration

Ethiopian returnees face many challenges regarding reintegration, especially female migrants. The government and society face great difficulty in assisting the large number of returnees to Ethiopia, especially with matters such as finances, housing, employment and health (Carter & Rohwerder, 2016). Migrants therefore struggle to reintegrate especially in the economic and social-cultural sphere (Koser & Kuschminder, 2015). Problems highlighted by returnees are access to credit services, provision of working sheds and trade licenses (de Regt & Tafesse, 2015).

Research has also shown that many returnees had little knowledge of the challenges of migration before starting their journey and that it proved to be much more challenging than previously thought. This translates to 25 per cent of returnees considering their migration a mistake (Kuschminder & Siegel, 2014). These challenges are particularly present for women who worked in the Middle East, and face social discrimination upon return based on the assumption that they have been exploited and sexually abused making them *“not suitable marriage partners”* (de Regt & Tafesse, 2015; p.12).

On a social level, research has also shown a certain dissonance between the returnees and their host community. Locals often do not consider returnees to be truly Ethiopian and perceive themselves to

be superior. Again, this provides a challenge for women to reintegrate as they generally do not fit the societal status quo (Kuschminder, 2014). Finally, returnees also demonstrated that if their reintegration was not successful they would be willing to migrate again, possibly leading to migration cycles (Carter & Rohwerder, 2016; Minaye & Zeleke, 2015).

4. Internal Migration

Internal migration flows in Ethiopia are likely much larger than external flows, but the exact number of people who migrate internally is not known. Internal migration occurs in the form of rural-urban migration, rural-rural migration, as well as resettlement, which are all substantial in Ethiopia. Traditionally, internal migration occurs at the time of marriage when the wife moves to live in the husband's community. In addition, urbanization is a growing trend that puts pressure on urban infrastructure and resources (De Waal, 1991; Ezra & Kiros, 2001; Fransen & Kuschminder, 2009).

5. Irregular Migration

Irregular emigration from Ethiopia is characterized by movements of young adults between the ages of 18 and 25. While official labour migration statistics show a feminization of Ethiopian migration, particularly to the Middle East, irregular migration flows are reportedly dominated by males (Kuschminder & Siegel, 2014; RMMS, 2014a). While there is not much evidence on the characteristics of irregular Ethiopian migrants, it does appear that they differ by (potential) destination. For example, while survey data shows a tendency of migrants being more educated than non-migrants, this difference was not significant for those moving eastwards (Kuschminder & Siegel, 2014). Muslims also seem to be more likely to travel east, while Christians are more commonly found on the other routes (RMMS, 2014a). Looking at ethnic groups, Oromos seems to be the largest group among Ethiopian migrants, particularly those in Yemen (IOM, 2014; RMMS, 2014a). Ethiopian migrants mainly come from Jimma, Arsi, Bale, Eastern Haraghe of Oromia, Mekele and Raya Azebo of Tigray, Amhara-Oromia and Northern Wollo of Amhara as well as Dire Dawa (RMMS, 2015).

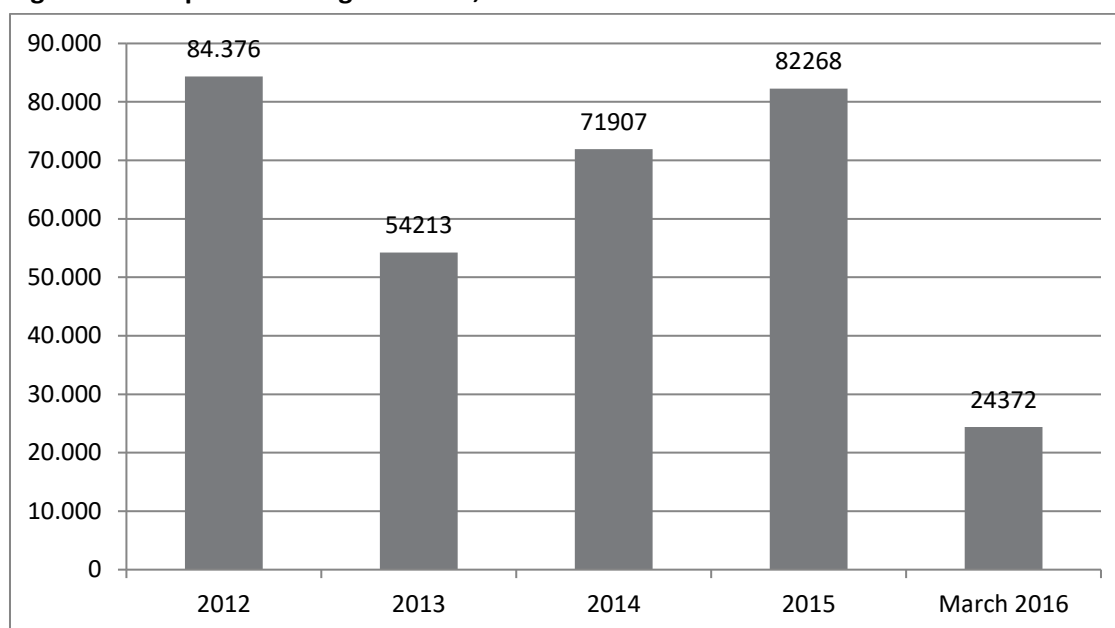
The most significant irregular movement is that of Ethiopians to Yemen and beyond to Saudi Arabia and other Gulf States or even further into the Middle East, Turkey or Europe (RMMS, 2016). Ethiopians tend not to register with the government or UNHCR in Yemen, as their chances of being recognized as refugees are low and the majority aspire to move onwards anyway. Before the conflict in Yemen, there was evidence that a small number of Ethiopians did stay and work in Yemen, mostly on khat plantations or as herders in rural areas of the country (Marchand et al., 2016).

For those moving onward from Yemen, evidence from a study conducted in 2014 shows that between 60 and 70 percent of Ethiopians in the Middle East and Gulf countries had migrated through irregular channels, including incidences of smuggling and trafficking. Ethiopians indicate that irregular channels are often more attractive due to them being less bureaucratic, faster and cheaper (RMMS, 2014a). In addition, the Ethiopian government temporarily limited possibilities for labour migration through regular channels between October 2013 and mid-2015, which likely further increased the number of those migrating through irregular channels (RMMS, 2016).

The movements of Ethiopian migrants along the eastern route towards Yemen have seen interesting trends in the past years. One may expect these movements to have decreased significantly due to the conflict that arose in Yemen in March 2015. This has, however, not been observed. In fact, 2015 saw an increase in arrivals compared to the two years prior (Figure 5). While data is not available for the full year of 2016, it was expected that migration would continue at the same rate (RMMS, 2016). These numbers confirm a migration trend that has been going on at least since 2006. Estimates show that between 2006 until the end of 2014 a minimum of 410,000 Ethiopians arrived in Yemen (Horwood, 2015) and UNHCR reports that between 2006 and March 2016 more than 512,000 Ethiopians were registered as moving along the shores of the Red Sea, the Gulf of Aden and the Arabian Sea (RMMS, 2016). Within that, the numbers were steadily increasing between 2009 and 2012. In 2012 alone more than 84,000 Ethiopians were recorded as they arrived in Yemen (Figure 5). The number of newcomers then decreased significantly in 2013 to 54,213, where a particularly sharp decrease was observed in the last months of the year. One possible explanation for this trend is the implementation of stricter immigration controls in Saudi Arabia. Undocumented workers in Saudi Arabia, among which many Ethiopians, had a period of seven months between April and November 2013 during which they could regularize their stay to avoid facing deportation (Marchand et al., 2016). As a consequence, more than 160,000 irregular migrants were deported to Addis Ababa between November 2013 and February 2014 (Horwood, 2015). Some information on the characteristics of these deportees is available: The majority were males (more than 60 per cent), while around a quarter were female and around 10 per cent were children, including unaccompanied minors. The majority of the returnees (85 per cent) were in need of assistance when they arrived in Addis Ababa, where the usual procedure was that they would stay one night at a transit facility or, alternatively, be taken directly to a bus stop to travel to their home area from there. However, many of these returnees may in fact require psycho-social and livelihood support long after their return (Marchand et al., 2017).

In terms of the route taken, a shift has been observed regarding the departure point of Ethiopians (as well as Somalis) to get to Yemen. An increase in border controls by Djiboutian authorities has led to a shift of the main point of departure from Obock in Djibouti to Bossaso in Somalia. While in the period between 2009 and 2013, 69 per cent of movements to Yemen started from Djibouti, this changed rapidly, as in 2015 85 per cent of the crossing took off in Bossaso along the Arabian Sea (RMMS, 2016).

Figure 5: Ethiopians Arriving in Yemen, 2012-2016



Source: RMMS, 2016.

Data on Ethiopians moving via the northern and western route through Sudan or through the southern route through Kenya is not available. It is, however, estimated that many thousands take these routes also each year (Marchand et al., 2016; RMMS, 2016). In 2010, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ethiopia estimated that annually between 75,000 and 100,000 Ethiopians migrate to Libya, aiming to cross the Mediterranean from there (ILO, 2011). It is clear that the number of migrants, including Ethiopians, using the western route has decreased, but exact numbers are not available. In 2013, a study by Altai Consulting & UNHCR found that on average 50 to 100 Ethiopians cross the border into Sudan daily. This implies an annual flow between 18,000 and 37,000. The migrants' journey to Khartoum from Addis Ababa usually takes between three and six days and is undertaken largely with the help of smugglers (Altai Consulting & UNHCR, 2013; RMMS, 2014b).

Earlier research by ICMPD (2008) evidenced another alternative route taken by Ethiopians to get to Europe by moving through Egypt, where they were able to cross from Alexandria or to move west towards Libya. It is not clear how utilized this route is nowadays, but there are reports by IOM and UNHCR that, increasingly, Ethiopians are held by Egyptian authorities, indicating that they still take this route (Horwood, 2015).

Ethiopians on the southern route mainly have South Africa as their intended destination, where until recently they had higher chances to receive asylum seeker status. A recent study found that Ethiopians are the major group among those from the Horn of Africa moving along this route, accounting for about 80 per cent (Frouws & Hoorwood, 2017; RMMS, 2014b).

5.1. Smuggling

There are extensive networks of agents and smugglers that facilitate border crossing by irregular migrants and asylum seekers into and out of Ethiopia. In addition, smugglers are also active within the country. Usually smuggled migrants partially walk and are taken in vehicles for other parts of the journey (RMMS, 2016).

Migrants on the eastern route are taken by smugglers to the departure points in Somalia and Djibouti, from where – sometimes the same – smugglers facilitate the onward journey to Yemen. These operations are well established and run smoothly and fast. Smugglers either hide the migrants at road blocks and border crossings or bribe the officials posted there. In this particular case, it is important to mention that it is in fact those migrants that travel without smugglers that are more vulnerable and often face problems such as lack of food and water, abuse or detention on their journey (Marchand et al., 2016; RMMS, 2016). Ethiopian migrants have reported paying between USD 450 and 600 for the whole journey from Ethiopia to Yemen and around USD 150 to 250 for just the sea crossing from Djibouti to Yemen (RMMS, 2016).

5.2. Trafficking in Human Beings

According to the US Department of State Ethiopia is mainly a source, but also transit and destination country for children, women and men who are subjected to sex trafficking and forced labour domestically and abroad. Examples for trafficking in Ethiopia are girls from rural areas being exploited as prostitutes or domestic servants, boys being “subjected to forced labour in traditional weaving, construction, agriculture and street vending” (US Department of State, 2016: 167) and Eritreans living in refugee camps in Ethiopia being trafficked to Sudan or Egypt. In addition, Ethiopian girls and boys are vulnerable to being forced into similar activities in neighbouring countries and the Middle East, often under false pretences of a better life. Officials are accused of facilitating irregular migration and work of minors in exchange for bribes (US Department of State, 2016).

Legal and irregular migrants to the Middle East and South Africa might fall victim to trafficking in transit countries, notably Djibouti, Egypt, Somalia, Sudan, or Kenya. Furthermore, Ethiopian women working as domestic servants in the Middle East are vulnerable to physical and sexual abuse, detention and withholding passports. If these women are able escape such situations, they may fall victim to sex trafficking (RMMS, 2014a; US Department of State, 2016).

6. Migrant’s Vulnerabilities and Protection Issues

The following main vulnerabilities and protection needs have been identified for migrants from and in Ethiopia (RMMS, 2016):

- Ethiopian migrants and asylum seekers as well as other nationals transiting through the country face significant protection risks throughout their journeys. This is particularly the case for those migrants on the Eastern route to Yemen and onwards to countries in the Middle East and the Gulf states. Many cases of abductions, robberies, extortion, physical and sexual assault have been reported to have happened during the sea crossings from Djibouti and Somalia to Yemen as well as upon arrival in Yemen. As Ethiopians are the main migrant group on this route, they are most affected by such crimes.
- In addition, migrants and asylum seekers traveling through Ethiopia are vulnerable to become victims of trafficking and face other protection risks along the routes to Europe as well as the Southern route to South Africa. Reports from countries along those routes, such as Sudan, Libya, Egypt, Kenya and Tanzania, indicate that there are incidences of arbitrary detention, extortion, deportation, physical and sexual abuse, as well as deportation of Ethiopian nationals.

- Within Ethiopia, it has been reported that young Ethiopians in rural areas of the country are recruited for migration to the Middle East and Gulf states by promises of a better life. Once migrating, Ethiopian men and boys are vulnerable to human trafficking and have been reported to be subjected to forced labour in transit (e.g. Djibouti) and destination countries. Ethiopian women who migrate to the Middle East under such pretences, for example as domestic workers, face severe abuses including physical and sexual abuse, denial of salary, withholding of passports, confinement, sex trafficking and even murder (US Department of State, 2016).

7. Relevant National Policies and Stakeholders

Migration legislation and policies seem more advanced and comprehensive in Ethiopia compared to most of the other focus countries (see Table 3). Existing legislation regulates entry, stay, employment, naturalisation and departure (including deportation) as well as the rules, procedures, and responsible authorities for issuing travel documents, visas, and work permits for regular migrants, refugees and asylum seekers in Ethiopia. The Refugee Proclamation provides for rules regarding asylum applications and procedures and defines rights and obligations of refugees and asylum seekers. There are also possibilities for irregular migrants to become legal residents and special rights and privileges exist for foreign nationals of Ethiopian origin to contribute to Ethiopia's development.

Table 3: Ethiopia's Key Migration Policy Responses

Policy	Content
Proclamation to Regulate the Issuance of Travel Documents and Visas, and Registration of Foreigners in Ethiopia (No. 271/1969).	"Regulates the entry to and departure from Ethiopia by foreigners. Requires, inter alia, that foreigners be issued with entry visas, transit visas or tourist visas and provides for the appointment of immigration officers"
Issuance of Travel Documents and Visas Regulations 1971 (No. 395/1971).	"Provides requirements for obtaining travel documents including emergency travel documents and documents for refugees."
Security, Immigration and Refugee Affairs Authority Establishment Proclamation (No.6/1995)	"Provides for the organization of the Authority as well as the powers and duties of the head of the Authority."
Providing Foreign Nationals of Ethiopian Origin with certain Rights to be Exercised in their Country of Origin Proclamation (No. 270/2002)	Provides for various rights and privileges for foreign nationals of Ethiopian origin to enable them to contribute to Ethiopia's development and prosperity.
Labour Proclamation (No.691/2003)	Defines employment of Ethiopian and foreign nationals.
Immigration Proclamation (No. 354/2003)	Defines conditions for entry into and departure (including deportation) from Ethiopia as well as requirements regarding travel documents, visas, registration and residence permits.

Proclamation on Ethiopian Nationality (No. 378 of 2003)	Defines how Ethiopian nationality is acquired and lost as well as rights of nationality.
Directive Issued to Determine the Residence Status of Eritrean Nationals Residing in Ethiopia	"The objective of this Directive is to provide the means to any person of Eritrean origin who was a resident in Ethiopia when Eritrea became an independent State and has continued maintaining permanent residence in Ethiopia up until this Directive is issued to confirm whether he or she has acquired Eritrean nationality, and to determine his or her status of residence in Ethiopia."
Refugee Proclamation (No. 409 of 2004)	Provides for rules regarding asylum application and procedure and defines rights and obligations of refugees and asylum seekers.
Employment Exchange Services Proclamation (No. 632/2009)	Strengthens labour migration management, expands oversight of private employment agencies and provides for placement of labour attachés in Ethiopian embassies abroad.
Work Permit and Private Employment Agency Licence Fees Council of Ministers Regulation No. 282/2013.	Defines work permit fees and private employment agency license fees.
Prevention and Suppression of Trafficking in Persons and Smuggling of Migrants Proclamation (No.909/2015)	Defines human trafficking and smuggling, penalties for the offences to strengthen the existing penal code (fines of up to 19,500 USD; severe cases: death penalty) and procedures for investigations; Provides for the assistance, protection and rehabilitation of VoTs and establishes a fund to combat trafficking and smuggling as well as a national committee to monitor the implementation of the law
Overseas Employment Proclamation (No. 923/2016)	Defines recruitment and placement procedures, conditions and costs through governmental organisations and agencies in countries with bilateral labour agreement and prohibits direct recruitment; it introduces pre-departure awareness raising through the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs; includes provisions on how to solve disputes, welfare services and assistance to workers as well as conciliation and repatriation
2012 Law Requiring Registration of All Births Nationwide	- Continuous efforts to implement a uniform national identity card
Criminal Code	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Art. 596 prohibits slavery - Art. 597 and 653 prohibit Trafficking of women and children
National Plan of Action to Combat Trafficking in Persons	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 5 year plan - Drafted in cooperation with IOM

Sources: Marchand et al., 2016; ILO, 2017; RMMS, 2016; US Department of State, 2016.

According to the US Department of State (2016), the Ethiopian government is also making significant efforts to combat human trafficking. Ethiopian law prohibits human smuggling and trafficking, defines high penalties for non-compliance (fines of up to USD 19,500 and even the death penalty in severe cases where VoTs died) and provides for assistance to VoTs. The Government of Ethiopia, in

cooperation with IOM, actively tries to prevent irregular migration including human trafficking and smuggling through awareness raising campaigns (IOM, 2017). In 2009, Ethiopia signed MoUs with Djibouti and Sudan to fight irregular migration including human trafficking and smuggling. There are furthermore various legal instruments not directly related to migration which include provisions for the protection of migrants and the fight on human trafficking, such as the Criminal Justice Policy and the National Human Rights Action Plan (IOM, 2015; Marchand et al., 2016). Emergency Migrant Response Centers along main migration routes have been established successfully “to provide lifesaving assistance to vulnerable (intercepted or abandoned) migrants” (IOM, 2015, p.32).

Ethiopian legislation and policies are not only focused on administrative rules regarding immigration, but also regulate labour migration (management) and employment of Ethiopians abroad, mainly to protect them from human trafficking, forced labour, abuse and exploitation. Since 2016, Ethiopia only allows employment of Ethiopian nationals abroad if bilateral labour agreements with the destination country are in place, if labour migrants are recruited through governmental agencies. The Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs is responsible for pre-employment and pre-departure awareness raising. Ethiopia and Kenya have a bilateral agreement allowing their citizens to move between the two countries without visas (RMMS, 2016). Ethiopia has agreements related to labour migration, education and training with countries outside the region such as Algeria, Qatar and Spain. Ethiopia is also interested in signing bilateral MoUs with the main destination countries of Ethiopian labour migrants such as Saudi Arabia, Lebanon and the UAE. In October 2013, the Ethiopian government passed a ban on employment abroad by foreign private recruitment agencies to protect its citizens from human trafficking, abuse and human rights violations. The ban was lifted in 2016 to prevent an increase in irregular migration (Carter & Rohwerder, 2016; IOM, 2015).

The Ethiopian government actively tries to engage the diaspora in three ways: 1) politically - through the introduction of special rights; 2) economically – through investment policies; and 3) in terms of identity - through capacity-building that is creating a “communal belonging among expatriate members” (Kuschminder & Siegel, 2010, p.17). Examples of engagement policies are diaspora bonds and facilities for remittances, which are tied to development priorities of the country. In order to ease diaspora engagement, the Ethiopian government founded the Diaspora Engagement Affairs General Directorate, formerly known as the Ethiopian Expatriate Affairs General Directorate. It provides updated information on Ethiopia in Ethiopian embassies abroad, organises research on Ethiopian communities abroad, and informs diaspora members about their rights and privileges (Kuschminder & Hercog, 2016).

The government of Ethiopia works with IOM to facilitate the return of Ethiopian migrants, who are unable to remain in their country of destination or opt to return. In 2015, both parties evacuated 7,538 Ethiopian migrants fleeing the emergency crisis in Yemen. Most of these were assisted at IOM’s Assisted Voluntary Return and Reintegration Transit Centre in Addis Ababa and were provided with key resources. Recent developments in prominent destination countries for Ethiopian migrants, like Saudi Arabia, have significantly increased the number of returnees in the past years. In 2015, Ethiopia witnessed a 197 per cent increase in the number of returnees through Assisted Voluntary Return and Reintegration (AVRR) programmes (Hart, Graviano & Klink, 2015).

However, measures aiming at the reintegration of returnees do not seem sufficient. Research from 2015 demonstrates that only 22 per cent of returnees were reintegrated, with the main problem

being economic reintegration. Despite being aware of these problems, there seems to be a lack of political willingness to address them (Koser & Kuschminder, 2015).

Ethiopia's borders are open for refugees seeking protection, however, they are supposed to stay inside refugee camps and have extremely limited livelihood opportunities. Many refugees hence hope for resettlement. Chances for resettlement are not very high given the high number of refugees residing in Ethiopia, leading to disillusionment and aspirations to continue the migration process otherwise (Carter & Rohwerder, 2016; Mallett et al., 2017).

Key authorities in the field of migration in Ethiopia are the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, the Ministry of Justice, the Security, Immigration and Refugee Affairs Authority, the National Anti-Trafficking Council and Task Force, the Immigration Office, Diaspora Engagement Affairs General Directorate and the Ethiopian Federal Police (IOM, 2015; Ashine, 2017).

Gaps

While the Ethiopian government seems to have an advanced understanding of the challenges and potentials of migration, some gaps remain: The Ethiopian government seems rather dependent on civil society organisations and international organisations like IOM in providing assistance to VoTs and vulnerable return migrants. Accordingly, it is recommended that government capacities and enforcement mechanisms are improved (Ashine, 2017). Ethiopian authorities are for instance not aware of the crucial differences between human smuggling and trafficking (Carter & Rohwerder, 2016) and fail to address internal dimensions of human smuggling and trafficking in Ethiopia. In addition, existing policies and legislation do not consider gendered dimensions of migration (Kuschminder & Siegel, 2014). Regarding the protection of Ethiopian migrants abroad, existing laws do not seem sufficient, especially for domestic workers, which is why they should be strengthened, for instance through further negotiations of bilateral labour agreements (Ashine, 2017). Return migrants should receive enhanced support for reintegration (Carter & Rohwerder, 2016). Refugees living in Ethiopia have limited livelihood and employment opportunities which can cause onward mobility (Mallett et al., 2017). Therefore, it is recommended to improve local integration of refugees and to expand resettlement opportunities (Carter & Rohwerder, 2016).

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