

Anti-Human Trafficking Measures in Tigray, Ethiopia: A Human Rights-Based Perspective

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This document represents part of the author's study programme while at the institute of social studies. The views stated therein are those of the author and not necessarily those of the institute.

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List of Acronyms

CSA	- Central statistical Agency
EBC	-Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation
FDRE	- Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
HRBA	- Human Rights-Based Approach
ICCPR	- International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
ICMPD	- International Centre for Migration Policy Development
ILO	- International Labour Organization
IMF	- International Monetary Fund
IOM	- International Organization for Migration
MoFA	- Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Ethiopia)
MoLSA	- Minister of Labour and Social Affairs (Ethiopia)
NGO	- Non-Governmental Organization
OHCHR	- Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (UN)
TRG	- Tigray Regional Government (Ethiopia)
UN	- United Nations
UNCJN	- United Nations Criminal Justice Information Network
UNODC	- United Nations Organization for Drugs and Crime
US	- United States of America
WB	- World Bank

Abstract

Human trafficking is the cause and consequence of human rights violation. This paper deals with measures of human trafficking undertaken in Sase'a Tsaedaemba and Atsibi Wonberta woredas in Tigray region, Ethiopia. These woredas are more affected by human trafficking than the other woredas of the region. The measures undertaken by the duty bearers to prevent human trafficking were analysed in light of the human rights-based perspective. The human rights-based principles empowerment, accountability and rule of law, non-discrimination and participation have been used as both a theoretical framework and a methodology in this paper. Most of the participants in the study agreed that peer pressure and unemployment are major causes of human trafficking in the studied woredas. Consequently, many young people are flooding into the Middle East and Gulf States where they face human rights violations such as torture, forced labour, imprisonment, disappearance, death and psychological and physical injury. A human rights-based perspective on measures against human trafficking recognizes victims of human trafficking as right holders who require support and assistance from the relevant duty bearers. In the case of Sase'a Tsaedaemba and Atsibi Wonberta woredas, the state fails to implement the international human rights principles and values relevant to victims of human trafficking. This is due to lack of capacity, commitment and good quality governance. The study results reveal that a human rights-based perspective against human trafficking is not well developed and practiced in Ethiopia. This research explains that a human rights-based perspective to human trafficking is required to address the major causes and consequences of human trafficking and to protect and empower victims and vulnerable groups.

Relevance to Development Studies

The main focus of 'development' efforts is to realize equitable and balanced all-inclusive development that enhances the well-being of the society. Understanding how poverty, inequality and power imbalances could be eradicated is the chief concern of development studies. Trafficked persons are victims of discriminatory policies, poverty and unemployment. A Human Rights-Based Approach (HRBA) is essential to solve discrimination, inequality, abject poverty and power imbalance through establishing transparent and accountable leadership, all-inclusive policies and developing partnerships between duty bearers and rights holders. In Ethiopia, human trafficking is a problem in almost all parts of the country. Young women, children and men are trafficked mainly to the Middle East and Gulf states. This results in human rights abuses of the trafficked persons. It is therefore very important to scrutinize anti-human trafficking measures and interventions from a human rights-based perspective so as to identify structural solutions and successfully address the problem.

Keywords

Human Trafficking, Human Rights-Based Perspective, Empowerment, Participation, Nondiscrimination, Accountability, Rule of Law and Prosecution

Chapter One: Introduction

1.1. Rationale for this Research

This research mainly deals with the trafficking of persons from Ethiopia to the Middle East and the Gulf states. Human trafficking in Ethiopia is rising at an alarming rate (MoFA 2014:104, Bahar 2014:213). In parallel with the growing number of migrants to the Middle East and Gulf states, the horrific and degrading treatment of the Ethiopian migrants involved is becoming a common hurdle. It is heart-breaking for the Ethiopian people and government when different media report the death, murder, torture and abuse of Ethiopians on a daily basis in the major transits and destination countries (Aljazeera 2013 and 2015, Ethiopian Broad Casting Corporation 2015, Sudan Tribune 2015). Hence, the main motive for writing this research paper is the escalation of trafficking in women, children, and men from Ethiopia over time. Ethiopian citizens are flooding predominantly into the Middle East and Gulf states, dreaming of a better life and job opportunities. These are also the convincing mechanisms used by human traffickers. Mostly youth falls in the hands of the traffickers who help them to go to the aforementioned countries. The youth involved feels pushed towards the Middle East and/or the Gulf States due to the widening income disparity between rich and poor families, lack of entitlement to land, lack of hope and unemployment in Ethiopia (Bahar 2014:229).

Human trafficking, like environmental pollution, touches every part of the world. However, its effects are particularly harsh in developing countries and satisfactory solutions and prevention are not easy. It is a human rights concern since it is taking away the human rights of millions of people. In the literature human trafficking is sometimes qualified as 'modern day slavery'- i.e. the buying and selling of human beings like a commodity (OHCHR 2011:19). Article 8 (1) of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights states that "no one shall be held in slavery; slavery and the slave-trade in all their forms shall be prohibited" (UN 1966:178). Ethiopia ratified the Covenant and stated in Art. 18 (2) of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia's (FDRE) Constitution that "no one shall be held in slavery or servitude and trafficking in human beings for whatever purpose is prohibited" (FDRE Constitution 1995:5). The practice of human trafficking is thus contrary to certain human rights norms that are established at the international and national level to safeguard the fundamental human rights of peoples. To mention some, it endangers the: "[r]ight to life, liberty and security, the right to freedom from slavery, servitude, forced labour, or bonded labour, right not to be sold, traded, promised or forced into marriage, right not to be subjected to torture, cruel, inhumane, and degrading treatment or punishment etc." (OHCHR et al 2011:23) of

the trafficked person. While doing this research, my standpoint was that human trafficking erodes human safety and human rights and that it involves criminal activities that endanger the peaceful survival and safety of the society. For this reason, in my view, the government and other relevant duty holders should give serious attention to human trafficking through designing practicable policies and laws that are shaped by human rights and human rights principles, to counter human trafficking and thereby control human suffering and exploitation.

The major purpose of my research was therefore to analyse human trafficking responses from relevant stakeholders in selected woredas¹ in the Tigray region in Ethiopia. Moreover, my research has explored anti-human trafficking measures and interventions in the Tigray region in Ethiopia in line with a Human Rights-Based Approach (HRBA). HRBA is very important for fighting inequality, disempowerment and discrimination of people in different settings. This approach consolidates the capacity of duty bearers to fulfil their obligation(s) and of rights holders to claim their right(s) in different contexts through incorporating human rights principles in a holistic manner. Moreover, it seeks to find solutions for tackling the major causes of human trafficking (UNHCHR 2006:15). According to Obokata (2006:35), the added value of HRBA in relation to human trafficking is that it applies relevant human right norms and principles. Accordingly, states are subject to the legal obligation to address the human rights issues pertinent to human trafficking and should do so through deepening participation, striving for equal service delivery, strengthening the accountability of all stakeholders and drawing special attention to marginalized and poor populations.

The main assumption underlying this paper is that, if the relevant actors apply HRBA to tackling the trafficking of persons, they can identify the major causes and consequences of human trafficking; establish comprehensive policies and strategies against human trafficking; identify victims of human trafficking; accept or establish legislative actions for protecting and empowering victims; design and implement programs that can support the reintegration and livelihood of victims of human trafficking; and establishing appropriate punishment for traffickers. In turn, this will promote structural solutions to the problem of human trafficking.

1.2. Background of the Study

Human trafficking is tremendously present throughout the world and affects millions of people every year (ILO cited in Bahar 2014:1 and Patti 2011:79). At the expense of the life and dignity of

¹ The third-level administrative divisions of Ethiopia

millions of people, trafficking in persons nowadays is a very profitable business. It ranks as the third biggest crime alongside drug trafficking and the illegal arms trade (Bahar 2014:1, Endeshaw et al 2006:8 and UNODC 2009:1). Not only is human trafficking a crime, as indicated above, it also results in human rights violations (OHCHR, 2002:2) as it violates the freedom, security, equality and dignity of trafficked persons.

At the European Union level, the European Commission and the Council of Ministers have suggested a comprehensive and integrated approach, which respects human rights, to appropriately address trafficking of human beings. However, their approach is not applied sufficiently. Instead, the human rights of victims' – such as protection and assistance – are underemphasized, while criminalization and prosecution of human traffickers get a lot of emphasis (ibid). For instance, at this moment, European countries are very worried about the current migration crisis, with large numbers of people, mainly from Africa, the Middle East and South Asia being on the move and seeking to establish a new home in Europe. The European Union recently took the position that the present approach of strengthening tight border restriction rather than protection of the migrants cannot halt the influx of migrants (The Wall Street Journal 2015).

To address the problem of human trafficking in an effective manner, an integrated and peoplecentered approach is very significant. Through conducting this research in the Tigray region in Ethiopia, interventions in trafficking in persons have been analysed vis-à-vis the approaches of counter trafficking that are practiced across the world. Viable ideas which can strengthen the responses and interventions of the Ethiopian government against human trafficking were discovered on the basis of encounters with the research participants.

1.3. The Research Problem

Human trafficking is an issue in most of the countries of the world and Ethiopia is no exception. Ethiopia is a country of both source and transit for men, women, and children who are vulnerable to forced labour and sex trafficking to the Middle East and Gulf States (US Department of State 2014:1 and International Centre for Migration Policy Development 2008:35). Human trafficking has grown at a fast rate and has been creating an effect on the economy and social safety of the society (MoFA 2014:104). Most of the trafficked victims' families sent their children to Arab countries at the pretext of better job opportunities and salary. Such families finance the journey by borrowing money from financial institutions, their neighbours and relatives and by selling their property (ILO 2014:27). For my information, money is gathered by selling basic properties (for

instance, leasing of their land, selling of cattle, predatory lending, jewellery, home, etc.) that are essential for the very survival of the families involved.

The widespread existence of trafficking is reinforced by poverty, unemployment due to low infrastructural development and false promises which leave many people with no (perceived) alternative than to migrate abroad for getting a job through traffickers or illegal employment agencies (Anteneh 2011:21, Selamawit 2013:1, Asefach 2012:23). According to the findings of the research done by the European Commission on victims of trafficking in Ethiopia, around 64% participants replied they travelled to the Middle East and Gulf States are seeking a job, 32% were migrated seeking a better life and salary. A study carried out by the World Bank indicated that in 2011 around 30% of the population of Ethiopia lived below the poverty line and 31% lived on less than US\$1. 25 purchasing power parity a day (World Bank 2015:1). Around 25% of Ethiopia's economically active population is only marginally involved in income generating economic sectors (IMF 2013:10). In spite of the fact that Ethiopia achieved sustained economic growth in the last decade, unemployment is high and finding work is very challenging due to the lack of job creation in labour driven sectors (World Bank 2015:15). Consequently, in the name of good job opportunities in the Middle East, thousands of Ethiopians transferred to work in the construction and domestic sector there, even if they faced horrible working conditions and forced labour and exploitation incomparable to what was expected (Walk Free Foundation 2014:50). According to the United Nations Crime and Justice Information Network, cited in Gudetu (2014:234), human trafficking in Ethiopia can be largely characterized by harbouring of people by cheating, intimidation, fraud and other coercive mechanisms provoked by family members, local brokers and/or illegal private employment agencies.

Many youth are forced into exodus without sufficient protection from violence and maltreatment (ILO 2014:29). The common types of abuse that trafficked persons have to face are overburdened with work, sexual harassment and gang rape, refutation of wages, hitting, and other disturbing abuses which may lead to suicide, physical disability and long-lasting health problems and imprisonment (Endeshaw et al 2006:6).

In 2013, the Saudi Arabian government has expelled more than 163,000 Ethiopian citizens without a residence permit, most of whom were very likely trafficking victims. Out of this total number of Ethiopians who were deported within this single year, 36% were women and 62% were men (Youth and Sport Affairs Bureau: 2014). According to the findings of research conducted by the ILO (2011:3) also, the largest number of trafficked people (53.6%) is between the ages of 19 up to 25 years. Around 30.3% of them are between 26 and 30 years old, and around 13.5% are above 30

years old. In 2012, in the Tigray region, around 14,982 youths were identified as victims of human trafficking and around 101 traffickers participated in this operation. In the same year, around 323 people died and around 1017 people were arrested in the destination and transit countries. Also a lot of people encountered mental disturbance, psychological disorder and others had to face not knowing their whereabouts (Ethiopian Federal Police Commission and IOM: 2013).

To solve the grave violation of rights of Ethiopian citizens by human traffickers at home, in transit countries and by the employers in the destination countries, the government of Ethiopia and more particularly the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs concluded bilateral agreements with some of the destination countries (Endeshaw et al 2006: 79). On top of this, the Ethiopian government launched an awareness raising campaigns which were undertaken by the media, police and the Ministry of Information (ICMPD 2008: 39). The government is criticized for its weak treatment of the matter, including the resettlement program of victims of trafficking, its weak examination and remedial action for victims of trafficking, its ineffective integration and coordination network, and the poor design and accomplishment of awareness raising promotions and trainings (Anteneh 2011:12). While the undertaken efforts failed to achieve the intended purpose, the government of Ethiopia also closed the private employment agencies who put citizens into miserable situations through using illegal ways of sending people abroad. Consequently, sending people to any of the Middle East country has been banned (Aljazeera 2013). The ban has not yet been lifted, although it contradicts with article 32 of the FDRE Constitution that clearly stipulates that any Ethiopian citizen has the right to move wherever (s) he needs to within the country's territory, to freely choose his/her place of residence and to leave his/her country (FDRE Constitution 1995, art. 32 (1): 10). My informal discussions with some people even revealed that the ban on labour migration to the Middle East and the closing of private employment agency aggravated the trafficking of people by human traffickers. Thus, my stand is that, banning of labour migration is not be the best way to deal with human trafficking. Hence, a reformed labour laws which enhances the rights and life condition of workers is utmost essential. For instance, after labour migration to the Middle East was formally outlawed, around 55,000 Ethiopian people were still trafficked to Lebanon; 200,000 to Kuwait; 100,000 to Yemen; 36,000 to United Arab Emirates; and 37,000 to Qatar (Ethiopian Federal Police commission and IOM:2013).

Research carried out in Ethiopia predominantly focused on the trafficking of women, used the feminist paradigm and/or focused on child trafficking internally within Ethiopia. Previous research conducted in Ethiopia thus focused mainly on women and children and rarely included men, who

are the other victims of trafficking. Furthermore, most of the research on trafficking in Ethiopia was conducted without using a Human Rights-Based Approach wholly or partly.

This paper mainly focuses on generic anti-trafficking measures carried out by the government of Ethiopia, and particularly by the local government of Tigray region. It engages in a deep investigation of the counter-trafficking interventions that are practiced in Ethiopia and the region, in light of a Human Rights-Based Approach. A HRBA not only deals with the consequences and processes of human trafficking, but also addresses the main causes of trafficking in a very comprehensive manner. It also seeks to strengthen the relationship between duty bearers and rights holders (OHCHR 2002:3). Many countries with a growing number of victims of trafficking in persons employ a criminal justice approach to addressing the problem. However, this is criticized because it provides less adequate protection for such victims and solely focuses on the prosecution and detention of human traffickers (Rijken 2009:212). Conversely, HRBA considers persons who are trafficked outside of their countries as victims of crime who require support and protection rather than being considered as criminals. They are supposed to be given adequate human rights protection by the state, in spite of the fact that they crossed state borders and may have entered another state illegally (Yuko 2009:30).

According to Rijken (2008:12), the drawback of a criminal law perspective in tackling trafficking in human beings is that the assistance and protection against human trafficking end when the criminal procedures are completed and that after that stage victims lose their residence permit and the right to make use of the assistance and protection mechanisms, regardless of whether the victims are in need of this protection or not. However, when taking the human rights based approach seriously, the assistance and protection given to a victim should not depend on whether or not the victim is necessary for the criminal procedure.

Besides, the Palermo Protocol on anti-human trafficking approaches (prevention, prosecution and protection), in which Ethiopia is a party lately in 2012, has shed light on the efforts required by the government to address the problem of human trafficking. The main purposes of the Palermo Protocol are to prevent and combat trafficking in persons and to assist and protect victims of trafficking through promoting cooperation among states parties (UN 2000:2). The 2000 Palermo Protocol is the primary international legal instrument to adopt a more wide-ranging list of human rights values and norms and relate them to trafficking. My main approach in this paper is that, even though I predominantly used HRBA principles and values in relation to human trafficking, other mutually reinforcing approaches should not be neglected. By this logic, prevention, prosecution

and protection as a framework of analysis need to be used as well to ensure effective and comprehensive anti-trafficking responses.

1.4. Research Objectives

Human trafficking, which is both a crime and a cause and consequence of human rights violations, needs proper attention from both the government and non-governmental organizations in Ethiopia at both the international, regional, national and local levels. The main purposes of this study were: to get new insights about the interventions and responses by the Tigray Regional Government in Ethiopia to counter human trafficking in the woredas with a severe human trafficking problem; and to portray the major weakness of the anti-human trafficking interventions and responses undertaken by government and other relevant actors. Besides, through identifying the weaknesses of counter trafficking responses and interventions, the researcher discovered new ideas on how the measures are to be consolidated using human rights principles and values so as to bring their intended effect.

1.5. Research Questions

The central research questions of the study were:

- What efforts are being made to address human trafficking from Sasea Tsaeda Amba and Atsibi Wonberta woredas to the Middle East and Gulf states? And
- How could these efforts be strengthened and made (more) relevant to the human rights of trafficked persons?

In this connection, the study examined how policies and programs of intervention are established and what is their role in realizing the human rights of trafficked persons. Moreover, the extent to which how HRBA enhances anti-human trafficking measures have also investigated. To successfully address the main research question, the following sub-research questions were tackled:

- Which counter-trafficking measures and interventions are implemented in the Tigray region?
- Is the Tigray regional state able to protect its citizens from trafficking to Middle East and Gulf states?
- What would a HRBA to anti-human trafficking measures and interventions entail?
- How does the local government deal with victims of human trafficking?

• How could anti-trafficking measures and interventions be made more effective in addressing the problem of human trafficking?

Chapter Two: Theoretical Framework

2.1. The Discourses of Human Trafficking

Until the year 2000, no international legal approach was adopted which specifically dealt with human trafficking in general (Yuko 2009:63). For instance, the application of the 1949 Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and of the Exploitation of the Prostitution of others was specifically restricted to trafficking in women and minors (Gallagher 2001:983 Yuko 2009:57). This neglected that fact that men were also trafficked and that there are other purposes of trafficking alongside prostitution. Even though human rights provisions prevail in the 1949 Convention, they have proven to be very insufficient to provide protection for the victims of trafficking (Yuko 2009:59).

Anti-human trafficking efforts have grown greatly after the UN adopted the 2000 Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children (Ford et al:2011:1). Ethiopia has also become a member to this protocol in 2012. This Protocol defined trafficking as:

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 (UN 2000:42).

Even though the Palermo Protocol stated above is relatively more comprehensive than its predecessors, because it explains trafficking purposes other than sexual exploitation and it contains more prominent human right provisions, it has some shortcomings as well. For example, while the Palermo Protocol acknowledges the abuse of human rights of victims, it focuses predominantly on criminal law and migration control and most of the human rights provision are formulated rather softly.² (Krieg 2009:776).

² See full details in the protocol to prevent, suppress and punish trafficking in persons, especially women and children, supplementing the United Nations convention against transnational organized crime, 2000

2.2. A Human Rights-Based Approach (HRBA) to Human Trafficking

Starting in the 1990's, many policy approaches to human trafficking became disapproved by academics and policy-makers for giving too much attention to criminal justice responses in addressing the problem. In the case of criminal justice responses, the literature documents that countries became too strictly focussed on border control and punishment of human traffickers (Yuko 2009:23, Obokata 2006:4). In the case of Ethiopia, I observed the same. In Ethiopian media coverage, the emphasis usually is on the number of people caught and deported while crossing the Ethiopian border or on detention of human traffickers. Reference to support of victims of human trafficking, or persons vulnerable to trafficking, by government and other relevant actors, is much more difficult to find.

A Human Rights-Based Approach (HRBA) would plead for a multidisciplinary approach, sometimes called a 'victim centered approach', which gives equal attention to "migration law, labour law, criminal law, development cooperation, and equal opportunities" (Rijken 2008:8). As pointed out before, taking a HRBA to the problem of human trafficking is triggered by the fact that human rights violations are both the cause and consequences of trafficking in persons (OHCHR 2002:1). AHRBA is a methodology which is theoretically based on international human rights principles and practically promoting and protecting the human rights of trafficked victims in conformity with international and regional human rights conventions (Marks 2005:29 and Ziwa 2014:26). A HRBA also seek to ensure that counter-trafficking interventions and responses do not undermine or negatively affect the human rights of trafficked persons. Rather, they should put the human rights of trafficked persons at the center of all efforts and strive for safeguarding, supporting and affording a remedy to victims (UNHCHR et al 2011:4).

HRBA underpins the purposeful and logical integration of human rights and human rights principles on the issue of preventing human trafficking. Under a HRBA, states have an obligation to protect, respect and fulfil the rights of their citizens in general and the marginalized and the excluded ones in particular (Theis 2004:3). Therefore, in the context of trafficking, states should establish laws and policies that protect and combat trafficking and support victims of trafficking. This approach pushes duty bearers to strengthen their capacity and rights holders to claim their fundamental human rights (UNHCHR et al 2011:5). However, HRBA is not free from criticism. Shamir (2012:76) noted the paradigm shift from the current dominant human rights model to human trafficking to the labour approach that draws attention to the structure of labour markets as causing manipulative labour practices. Her major argument was that a HRBA fails to bring its intended effect because its purpose is to free individuals from dangerous working conditions and

providing aid without taking into account the interests of victims in the process of their "rescue, rehabilitation, and repatriation" (Shamir 2012:80). However, several other authors, refuting the wrong interpretation of Shamir, stated that a HRBA advocates exactly the participation of marginalized or victim groups in decision making. For instance, contrary to Shamir's idea that depicts HRBA as a dominant approach of anti-human trafficking, Yuko (2009:80) and Todres (2013:145) stated that the very dominant approach to human trafficking is a criminal law-based model and not a HRBA. A labour migration model deals with aspects of exploitative labour migration - such as limited freedom of movement, fake documents, bonded labour, deception, violence and abuse, poor working conditions and denial of wages - that regular migrants in destination countries are facing (Ford 2011:8). These elements of labour exploitation often occur in cases of human trafficking. The labour migration model is of paramount importance because it deals with the establishment and implementation of employment agreement, the conditions of work, payment of wages and closure of employment contract. These are all main factors to keep workers well and safe. A main point of this model is maintaining a relationship between the destination and source countries, even though it is not easy to achieve a binding employment contract between the receiving and source country. For instance, in 2011 the Ethiopian government concluded a bilateral labour agreement with the Governments of Jordan, Kuwait, Qatar, Saudi Arabia and United Arab Emirates. However, none of these agreements was implemented (US Department of State, 2013:5). The issues raised here are also concerns of HRBA. For instance, the rights to freedom of movement, to have decent work, to be protected against forced labour and the right not to be held in slavery are all at the core of HRBA too because they are clearly stipulated in international human rights instruments.

Hence, looking at human trafficking through a human rights angle is very essential because countertrafficking measures and interventions will have to take into account the rights and obligations established in international human rights law.

However, my concern is that HRBA needs high commitment, transparency and accountability of leadership. Thus, in countries which do not have a solid record of good governance and democracy, its implementation can perhaps be less practical if the relevant duty bearer failed to accept its responsibility. In addition, Obokata (2006:4) referred to the fact that a wide-ranging analysis of human trafficking in reference of international human rights laws and principles has not yet fully developed at the international level. An example of this may be that OHCHR adopted recommended guidelines and principles of human rights and human trafficking, but these are not legally binding (OHCHR 2002).

Any HRBA would include principles like accountability, empowerment, participation and nondiscrimination and attention to vulnerable groups (Rijken 2009:215). These principles are elaborated in detail in the next section.

2.2.1. Principles of Accountability and Rule of Law

A Human Rights-Based Approach intends to expand the level of accountability in development activities by articulating and identifying rights holders to be aware of, and claim, their rights and duty bearers to achieve their obligations. The latter includes both positive obligations to protect, promote and fulfil human rights of citizens, and negative obligations refrain from violations of human rights (Craissati 2007:11). Furthermore, a rights-based approach will often entail the establishment of legislation, policies and administrative procedures that guarantee the realization of rights and opportunities through translating international human rights standards in a local context for achieving progress and ensuring accountability (Bengtsson 2007:11).

2.2.2. Empowerment

Empowerment is the process by which people's awareness and capabilities to demand and claim their entitlements expand and grow. The main goal of empowerment is to enable people to build their capacities and agency to change their own fate, living standards and to improve their own communities. If people are empowered to determine their own destiny, they can claim their rights in time of the violation without awaiting policies, laws and provisions to safeguard their rights (Craissati 2007:11). HRBA makes people to develop their capabilities and agencies so that they can confront injustice and inequalities (Bengtsson 2007:12).

2.2.3. Participation

This principle envisages citizens not only to be consulted, but also to be engaged in an active and free participation process, in agenda-setting, decision-making and any activities of the state that help them to enjoy their social, economic and political entitlements in which human rights can be realized (Craissati 2007:11). Through participating the people, especially the victims in the rehabilitation and reintegration programs and awareness creation workshops, can make their voices heard and they can feel a sense of ownership about the programs and policies of the government. Besides, they can be an active agent in the implementation of the government plans and in suggesting solutions to problems that are out of the eye of the government.

2.2.4. Non-discrimination and Attention to Most Affected Groups

A rights-based approach focuses on solving discrimination and inequality through making the needs of the marginalized and victim groups to be included in development activities (Craissati 2007:11). The main focus of HRBA is on the worst violations of human rights and the most excluded people (Theis 2004:5 and Bengtsson 2007:13). All development policies and interventions exercised to empower local communities should consider the power imbalances that may prevail within a particular community (Craissati 2007:11). OHCHR (2011:5) noted that appropriate security and assistance should be provided to all victims of trafficking without any discrimination. The main assumption here is that human trafficking is not only the result of unemployment and poverty, but also the outcome of discrimination and political decisions of those in power.

2.3. International and National Laws and Policies of Human Trafficking

2.3.1. International Law of Human Trafficking2.3.1.1. The 2000 Palermo Protocol

This protocol mainly inhabits on the 3Ps which are prevention, protection and prosecution. Most of the prevention of human trafficking has to be achieved through "public awareness creation, comprehensive training, establishing comprehensive policies and strategies" (UN 2000:5). Hence, trainings made for awareness creation for both duty bearers and right holders at the local level has assessed. Moreover, the existing domestic policies and laws of Ethiopia relevant to deal with human trafficking has analysed their appropriateness and adequacy.

Moreover, assistance to and protection of victims of trafficking in person includes safeguarding the privacy and identity of victims, supporting the victims' views and concerns to be presented and considered in the criminal proceedings against perpetrators, reintegration of victims with the society through giving sufficient support and providing job, educational and training opportunities (ibid). In this case, the assistance and support given to human trafficking victims in the studied woredas has assessed. Furthermore, the continuity and effectiveness of reintegration and rehabilitation support to victims of trafficking was analysed.

The third approach which is prosecution also involves establishing suitable punishment for traffickers through enacting and enforcing legislation and administrative measures on trafficking, establishing strong intelligence activities and an effective punishment regime (UN 2000:3). Thus, to what extent the government is working to punish traffickers and identify victims is explored. Moreover, trafficking related trials and cases has also covered.

2.3.2. National Laws and Policies of Human Trafficking

The Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia's (FDRE) Constitution comprises provisions that deal with human trafficking. For example, article 18 (2) of the FDRE Constitution (1995: 5) notes that "No one shall be held in slavery or servitude. Trafficking in human beings for whatever purpose is prohibited". Article 635 (a) and (b) of the Criminal Code of Ethiopia (2005:370) reads, trafficking in women and children either persuading them to do or exporting and forcing them to involve in forced prostitution, even in their agreement is criminalized with both five years of detention and a fine of ten thousand Ethiopian Birr. Compared to the Palermo Protocol, article 635 of Ethiopia's Criminal Code outlaws trafficking of women and children for the sake prostitution only. Thus, it is very narrow in its scope and content and other victims of trafficking and trafficking purposes, such as men, are excluded. The other problem of Ethiopia's Criminal Code is that it excludes other purposes of trafficking, such as forced sexual exploitation and slavery and slavery like practices. Furthermore, Article 597 inter alia (1) of the criminal code of Ethiopia (2005:348) contends that by using of force or by giving of a benefit to a person who has a control over a woman or child and then imports or exports a woman or a minor for the sake of forced labour causes with a serious punishment of both 5 up 20 years and money not higher than 50,000 Ethiopian birr. Similar to article 635, this article lacks completeness in relation to the UN Palermo Protocol pertaining trafficking in persons. It outlaws trafficking of women and children for the purpose of forced labour only. Thus, it does not include other victims and purpose of trafficking.

Chapter Three: Methodology of the Study

In carrying out the research, I used qualitative and quantitative data. First-hand, mainly qualitative, information was collected from the families of victims of trafficking and from trafficked victims themselves. Quantitative data were obtained from governmental bodies such as the Bureau of Justice, the High Court, and the Youth and Sport Affairs Office. This chapter will address the key methodological choices made. These are: the issue of how to operationalize HRBA, the core theoretical framework, methodologically; the geographical location of the research project; research strategy and design; data collection and processing; and research ethics.

3.1. Operationalization HRBA in this field

This section discusses the operationalization of HRBA to measures of human trafficking undertaken by the government and other relevant actors. To operationalize HRBA in this study, I employed the main values, principles and logics of HRBA from various literatures. In this condition, I assessed the measures taken by the government in woredas where human trafficking is very severe. Thus, I discussed how I have operationalized HRBA in my study.

For this purpose, I examined to what extent the principles of human rights mentioned in the theoretical presentation of HRBA in chapter 2, such as equality and non-discrimination, participation, accountability and rule of law and empowerment have implemented by the government to battle human trafficking. I articulated the extent to which the participation of rights holders (trafficking victims) is realized and promoted in policies and programs that affect them, the relationship between right holders and duty bearers, the voice of right holders in decision making and challenges that deter the participation of rights holders which affect their lives. The attention of the government to most vulnerable and trafficking groups, the type of support made to help the livelihood of trafficking victims, the efforts of the government to minimize inequality and discrimination of any type and the view of right holders on the distribution of benefits for all have also discovered to the extent possible.

Moreover, the awareness of both duty bearers and right holders on human trafficking, trainings conducted to strength the knowledge and information of both the right holders and duty bearers, the level of understanding both right holders and duty bearers on their rights and responsibilities, causes for the failure of duty bearers not to fully commit their obligation have explored from the participants of the study. I also addressed about the rights holders' capacity, knowledge and awareness to claim their rights from the duty bearers. Besides, the victims' awareness about fundamental human rights that can be violated during trafficking and the strategies designed to aware victims about their rights have assessed.

Furthermore, the degree of accountability of duty bearers to right holders, the ways how right holders made accountable the duty bearers, how rights holders are empowered to hold duty bearers accountable, the practicability of rule of law and mechanisms used to hold service providers accountable have assessed and analysed. A HRBA also operationalized in my research on human trafficking through analysing the interventions and responses undertaken by the duty bearer to tackle the root causes of trafficking, the government effort to control human traffickers and to safeguard the right of vulnerable groups etc.

3.2. Description and Justification of the Study Area

The study has mainly been conducted in Tigray, in the north of Ethiopia and woredas were selected as the particular location: Atsibi Wonberta and Sase'a Tsaedaemba. These two woredas are located in the eastern zone of Tigray. Atsibi Wonberta is located in the Eastern Zone of Tigray at the Eastern edge of the Ethiopian highlands. Atsibi Wonberta is administratively divided into 18 Tabiyas. According to information from the Office of Finance and Economic Development of the woreda (2011), this woreda has a total population of 101,197 within an area of 1,137.74 square kilometres. Atsibi Wonberta has a population density of 63.90, which is greater than the Zone average of 56.93 persons per square kilometre.

The Woreda Tsaesea Tsaedaemba is located in the eastern zone of Tigray. Administratively the woreda is divided into 27 Tabiyas. According to the Central Statistical Agency (2007), the total population of this woreda is estimated to be 139,191.

The study was conducted in the Tigray region in Ethiopia. The reason for selecting Tigray as my study area is because of the following factors. First, based on the data from Youth and Sports Affairs Office on 2014, the highest number of migration returns in 2013 were from Tigray region. Second, the geographical proximity of the region to the routes of the Middle East and Gulf States plays a part. Third, it is because of my personal experience and familiarity with the language and culture of the region.

The focus on Atsibi Wonberta and Sase'a Tsaedaemba woredas is because of the occurrence of a higher level of trafficking in persons than in the other woredas of the region. For instance, from

the 2013 deportees from Saudi Arabia, the highest numbers trafficking victims were found in Saesie Tsaeda-Emba and Atsibi-Womberta (4,338 and 6,194 respectively) (Youth and Sport Affairs Bureau 2015).

3.3. Research Strategy

I have employed mainly a qualitative approach in order to analyse and identify measures undertaken against human trafficking at the local level in depth. In this way a deep understanding of the issue of human trafficking and its intervention mechanisms could be acquired. This was done by directly contacting or interviewing the people in the study area about ordinary events and circumstances, while using multiple source of evidence (Roor 2008:1602). It is important to explore how the counter trafficking measures and interventions have been judged from the point of view of the participants and to compare them with the main purposes of a Human Rights-Based Approach. Besides, my qualitative approach helped me to understand the individuals' experiences and attitudes in relation to trafficking.

3.4. The Sampling

Purposive sampling is used to select participants or specific sites for the study intentionally by the researcher (Kothari 2004:59 and Singh 2006:91). Accordingly, participants in the study were purposefully selected by the researcher in relation to specified criteria that were assumed important for a particular research question (Kothari 2004:59). Police officers, victims of trafficking and their families, officials from the labour and social affairs offices and representatives of the youth and sport affairs, representatives of the Ethiopia Human Rights Commission and court judges have selected by purposive sampling technique.

Snowball sampling, which is part of purposive sampling was used to get a larger number of trafficking victims. The main strategy of snowball sampling involves identifying people with relevant attributes and asking them to pinpoint other people who have similar characteristics (Bruce 2001:33). The researcher also used purposive sampling in choosing informants for interviews. During the selection of participants for an interview, the researcher took into consideration their age, expertise, social and educational status, and gender.

The total number of respondents in this research was 21. Out of the 21 respondents, 9 were rights holders who were victims of trafficking and the family of victims. 2 of the participants from the victims of trafficking group were females who came back from Saudi Arabia and Beirut. The majority of the respondents from the rights holder was at the age of 20 up to 28. The remaining 12

respondents were from the relevant duty bearers. 3 respondents out of the 12 duty bearers were females.

3.5. Data Sources and Data Collection Techniques

Both primary and secondary data sources have been used while conducting this study. To collect the primary data, international and national laws and policies in relation to human trafficking were assessed. From domestic laws relevant to human trafficking, the Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia 1995, the Criminal Code of Ethiopia 2005, the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children, and various directives issued by the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs were assessed.

Moreover, primary data were collected through in-depth and key informant interviews. To do this, semi structured interview have administered.

In-depth interviews

The in-depth interview is a strategy used to evoke a clear picture of the interviewee's experience in the research area. The interviewee is considered as an expert whereas the researcher is viewed as a student who desires to learn anything the research participant can say about the research area (Mack et al 2005:29). In this case, I conducted intensive interviews with the victims of human trafficking to dig out their experiences before, during and after their trafficking. Likewise, the interviews were of paramount importance to portray the knowhow of trafficked persons about their human rights, the causes and consequences of human trafficking, and the relation that they have with the duty bearers. This was successfully practiced through the developing of relationships with the participants in the study. With each interviewee, I spent a minimum of 42 minutes and a maximum of 50 minutes for the interview.

Key informant interviews

This type of interview is used for acquiring information from a person who is presumed to be experienced and knowledgeable about the topic under investigation (Mack et al 2005:20). Based on this logic, I held intensive interviews with relevant duty bearers. Each interview took between 30 and 50 minutes.

Secondary Data

Secondary data were collected from governmental and non-governmental reports, media coverage, published and unpublished documents, document analysis, training manuals, magazines, pamphlets and bulletins.

3.6. Data Processing and Analysis

The collected data have been analysed using a comparative qualitative data analysis technique. Thus, data from different people was compared and contrasted. The process continued until the researcher had assured that no new issues were arising. Comparative analyses were also often used by the researcher when moving backwards and forwards between transcripts, memos, notes and the research literature (Dawson 2007:121). For instance, the available documents, such as field notes, were given a name and code first and the document codes could then be compared to find out similarities and differences.

3.7. Ethical Considerations

The research is not intended to do any harm to the subjects of this research by making wrong implications and putting them at risk in any way. I am aware that the subject of trafficking is very sensitive and that the safety and privacy of the research participants need serious consideration. Therefore, the following factors were taken into account, starting from the data collection throughout the entire process of the research. These were:

- The purposes and significance of the research for the researcher and the community were explained in a brief and clear manner to the research participants. Likewise, I introduced myself to my research participants, shared my motivation for conducting a research in this specific area and the purpose for which I was conducting the research (i.e. my M.A. thesis) I also conveyed to my participants that, without their unreserved support through providing maximum information, the main purpose of this research could not be fully realized. I was very delighted by the support that I found. And, I did not judge any of the information provided by the research participants as good or bad. Thus, I did not interfere with/comment on the points of view of my research participants.
- The informed consent of the interviewees was obtained in an oral form before the interview or discussion started. For doing this, I developed a relationship with my participants. We were chatting on tea and coffee for a few hours. After that, they gave me the phone number of other key informants who were important to my study. Sometimes we were meeting at the weekend and enjoying together, sharing our experiences. I also

informed my participants that I could not carry out any type of action in my research outside of their consent.

- Sufficient information was given to all participants about the main purpose and significance of the study and I agreed to send the findings of study to those who expressed interested in that. The chairman of the Youth and Sports Affairs Office in Sase'a Tsaedaemba asked me to send my research after finishing and I agreed to do that. Furthermore, participants were informed of the number of participants that were selected, the process of selection, the amount of time that their participation would take.
- All participants were notified of the confidentiality of the information they provided, to be effectuated through using fake names or codes. They understood that the researcher can be liable not only for the confidentiality of all information, but also for bringing out information that could harm the privacy and dignity of the participant. Therefore, during the consent process, the researcher explained the way of using the information and actual risks due to infringement of confidentiality to the researcher.
- Even though the initial plan of the research was to conduct focus group discussions with victims of human trafficking, in the end I did not use these. The reason is that confidentiality was extremely important to the interviewed victims. Some of them clearly told me that I should keep their information absolutely confidential and even not share it with other participants in the research.
- Participants in the study were also notified that participation was voluntary and they could decide not to take part at any time and stage, without any hesitation. And they were informed that they would not lose any benefit because of not participating in the research. Participation could be facilitated through establishing rapport between the researcher and the participant. This helped participants take part in this research with full confidence and to explain their opinion openly.
- Some of the potential research participants refused to participate, assuming that the researcher is from the government and administrative area. They said that many people from the administrative area, come, ask and see their problems, but that they did not do anything to solve those problems. Moreover, under these conditions participants were not willing to agree to recording interviews. Therefore, only note taking was left as a means of data recording.

• Before undertaking the interviews, I analysed the risks associated with human trafficking and this helped me not to ask questions that evoked emotional responses from the participants of the study.

Chapter Four: Human Rights Perspective to Counter Trafficking Measures: From the View Point of Duty Bearers and Victims of Human Trafficking

4.1. The Views of the Respondents on the Causes of Trafficking and the Links between Human Rights and Human Trafficking

Almost all of the victims who participated in this research were aware of the consequences of migrating to the Middle East and Gulf states. This was due to previous trafficking experiences, and they had no any plan to migrate again. They reported that human trafficking violates the fundamental human rights of citizens. A 22 year old female rights holder, explained the link between human rights and human trafficking like this:

... I remembered the words of my brother, but I was unable to look for another option. My brother told me about human rights violations that others faced in the process and the destination country. My brother was very correct. You cannot be considered as human. Your life is determined by the traffickers. If you are getting tired in the journey, harsh punishment can be given to you by the traffickers. Females faced a lot of problems in the duration of their journey... (Right holder: Informant 2).³

This female participant had a lot of bad stories about the transits and destination countries. However, she was unwilling to explain all, because she did not feel well when trying to remember. Another informant, from youth and sport affairs office in Sase'a Tsaedaemba stated, around 26 people who were mentally affected, physically and/or mentally paralyzed coming back after having been trafficked to Saudi Arabia (Duty bearer: Informant 12).

A father of a deceased son shared this:

I lost my son in Saudi Arabia. I received his coffin after two years. I am lucky because of the burial of my son in his birthplace. I know many people that do not know their whereabouts; some of them were thrown into the sea from the boat and others were eaten by animals. He was my first son. He did not pass the grade 10 entrance examination. We send him by borrowing money from the credit institutions. After arriving at the border of the country, the person who took him asked additional money and I gave that money to his family. In Yemen my son was kidnapped by traffickers, but he was released when his uncle from Saudi Arabia sent them money. My boy died for a reason that we do not know.

³ For further details on this (and other) interviewees of victims of trafficking, see Appendix 5.

It was very shocking when his body arrived home after six months (Right Holder: Informant 17).

This implies that, due to unsafe journey, the tricky made by human traffickers and inhuman treatment in the destination countries, all victims of human trafficking faced untold violation of human rights.

The educational level of the majority of the victims of human trafficking is grade 10. Most of them did not score pass marks in national examinations. This can be seen as an immediate cause for migration to the Middle East and Gulf countries. Anteneh (2011:26) also reported that the majority of victims of human trafficking are those who failed to score a passing mark in the national examinations. He also discovered that grade 10 was a common obstacle for female students in particular. It is true that human traffickers in Ethiopia especially target young boys and girls who drop out of school as they might not have clear alternatives.

According to the interviewed victims, the major causes of human trafficking in their area are in fact peer pressure, poverty and unemployment. However, peer pressure and the desire to have money in a short period of time were the most frequently mentioned causes of human trafficking among the interviewed victims. According to the European Commission as well (2014:3), societal factors have a decisive role in people's decision to migrate. Pressure from family and elders on youth is indeed common, particularly in the countryside that has seen a great deal of trafficking.

Duty bearers suggested that the main causes of human trafficking in their region as well as in the respective woredas (Sase'a Tsaedaemba and Atsibi Wonberta) are attitudinal problems and lack of reasonably paid jobs. According to many of the duty bearers, the most dominant cause of human trafficking is the problem with the mentality of youth and other trafficking victims. People fall in the hands of traffickers to realize their dream which is a short cut to accumulation of wealth. This is mostly seen among youth victims of trafficking. An informant from the police commission of the region and Youth and Sport Affairs Office of Sase'a Tsaedaemba woreda mentioned the common language of youths who have a desire to migrate. I.e. " $\mbox{DP} \mbox{Ph} \mbox{DP} \mbox{Pq} \mbox{Ph} \mbox{P} \mbox{Pq} \mbox{Ph} \mbox{Pq} \mbox{Pq}$

of the society. According to Anteneh (2012:12), in societies where irregular and other types of migration become a culture, the pressure to migrate is developed notwithstanding of the risks occurred. However, another informant from the Social and Labour Affairs Office said that Sometimes blaming the youth without understanding the underlying cause of their migration is very incorrect. Government is less active in producing equal opportunity for its respective citizens (Duty bearer: informant 15).

Hence, human trafficking in the studied woredas is caused possibly due to unemployment, peer pressure, poverty, lack of good salary jobs and educational opportunity as stated by right holders and some duty bearers above. Some duty bearers who presented their woreda as a place of heaven for all and blaming the vulnerable and victim groups is not convincing.

4.2. Analysis of Anti-Human Trafficking Measures in the Study Woredas

4.2.1. Legislative Measures

A. Prosecution of Trafficking Cases

As indicated in chapter 2 already, HRBA often offers the establishment of satisfactory laws, policies, mechanisms as well as effective institutions and administration that adequately respond to the violation of basic human rights (Kapur and Duvvury 2006:8). The Office of High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) (2002:2) also recommends that states should establish appropriate laws and other instruments for providing effective and proportionate punishments and responses for human traffickers. Moreover, OHCHR recommended that the state should confiscate the properties and assets of the offenders to compensate and support the victims of trafficking. However, as was explained in chapter 2, according to the criminal law of Ethiopia (2005:348-370), only human trafficking for the purposes of forced labour and prostitution is punishable. To amend this legislation, the government is currently drafting a new law that deals with human trafficking which has not yet been released. According to Solomon Tesfaye, who is the Federal Anti-Human Trafficking Task Force Chairman, Ethiopia is establishing a new blueprint of a law to harden punishments for people who are involved in such activities (Meskerem 2015).

However, based on the existing legislation, many human traffickers have already been arrested in the country. For instance, in 2014, in Tigray region, around 282 males and 159 females were made cases about trafficking (i.e. 441 in total). Around 422 males and 14 females (436 in total) people were accused for human trafficking case (Justice Bureau 2015). In 2015, no less than around 880 males and 86 females (966 in total) brought their complaint on human trafficking cases. On this

basis, around 330 male and 9 female suspected human traffickers had their cases investigated in the court (ibid).

The High Court of the Regional Government of Tigray region provided a trial on 75 human traffickers in 2012, 32 human traffickers in 2013, 31 human traffickers in 2014 and 10 human traffickers in 2015 (High Court Registrar 2015). As the files regarding trafficking trial in the High Court indicate, reaching a decision on human traffickers takes a maximum of three years and a minimum of one year. The multiplicity of tasks on the court and a shortage of skilled human power in the court and the federal police has negatively affected the pursuit of criminal cases in the realm of human trafficking. After the lapse of three years, both the accused and the witness will often have either changed their address or travelled abroad (Emebet 2002:20). Probably, the absence of specialized agencies and a multiplicity of tasks due to lack of skilled human power can be the major factors for the delay of justice regarding human trafficking cases. This may cause, 'justice delayed is justice denied' argument.

4.2.2. Policy Measures

A. Prevention of Human Trafficking

Human trafficking is a serious problem which affects a wide range of issues such as human rights, gender, health, education, employment, migration and culture. For this reason a feasible policies and strategies requires to stop and manage human trafficking at the community, regional and national level. In 2010, MoFA and MoLSA organized a "National Conference on Human Trafficking and Illegal Migration" and adopted a draft of the national action plan (US Department of State 2010:145). After some years, a national council has established that consists of high ranking federal and regional government officials to control trafficking in person through adopting "National Action Plan on Human Trafficking and Illegal Migration". The council mainly comprises member committee from federal, regional and local government. The federal police in coordination with the Minister of Justice and Federal Court (MoJFC) together have organized, rigorous workshops to train the security forces in places where the crime of trafficking is pervasive (MoFA 2014:105). A dramatic play called "Dana" produced by East African Film Production has been also transmitted through the national television (EBC), which conveys the consequences of human trafficking, human rights violations due to human trafficking, the behaviour and tactic of human traffickers and failure of the government to manage human trafficking. Its major motive is mainly to create an awareness about the consequence of trafficking in the community.

Besides, a steering committee that investigates the efforts against human trafficking established at the regional level. The structure of this steering committee reaches up to the lowest level of administration. The committee consists of members from relevant government sectors. Furthermore, religious leaders, community leaders and human trafficking victims are members of the committee. Many of the informants from both the region and woreda level of the duty bearer agreed that there is no fruitful strategy and action that accomplished by the established steering committee. Especially in the woreda level, there were some offices which are members of the committee but do not have any information about the existence of such a task force. European commission (2014:5) report also indicates that the committees that were established at all levels to facilitate reintegration of trafficking. This implies that, the national and regional governments have not established a good channel of accountability that uphold the local governments. That is why, the task force established against human trafficking at the woreda level has ceased to function its responsibilities

A finding of a research by Endeshaw et al (2006:57) indicates, the absence of immigration and labour policy which are very essential to address trafficking. Other policies like "National Women's Policy, the National Education and Training Policy, the Developmental Social Welfare Policy and the Social Policy," also found not adequate enough to deal with human trafficking. Thus, implementing the international legal obligations which a country is a party through developing wide-ranging policies and programs that assist victims of human trafficking and to deal with the causes of human trafficking sated earlier is very essential to avert the problem in the studied woredas.

B. Protection of Human Trafficking Victims

In this section the measures undertaken by the relevant actors to protect and fulfil the interests of victims, not to be re-trafficked are assessed. Victims of human trafficking deserve proper assistance to fully guard themselves against the risk of re-trafficking. The Palermo protocol under section II stipulates that state parties obliged to deliver "medical, psychological and material assistance, counselling and information, employment, educational and training opportunities" (UN 2000:4). As stated in the US Department of State Trafficking in Persons Report (2015:154) report, the government of Ethiopia did not deliver sufficient support for human trafficking victims, and relies on international organizations to provide assistance without allocating budget to these

organizations. A key informant of the study who was working as intelligence and information officer stated:

If the government is not exerting its force and capacity to protect its citizens from trafficking, it implies that it is encouraging human trafficking and irregular migration. The government says a lot in the media and other programs, saying it is carrying out a great deal of activities to prevent human trafficking and assist citizens who are vulnerable and at risk of trafficking. However, what is said in principle is not turned into action. That is why many youths have been trafficked for more than two times losing hope from their government. Remittance should not be prioritized above the life and safety of one's own citizen (Duty bearer: informant four).

A relevant bureau from the region reported, the problem of human trafficking in the Atsibi Wonberta and Sase'a Tsaedaemba woreda is still high even though efforts have been done by the local government to rehabilitate and support victims of human trafficking (Youth and Sport Affairs Bureau 2013).

However, I did not aware some promising efforts which made to support victims, rather, the victims complain about the neglect of the government to support victims of human trafficking is the right idea. Without developing and establishing feasible rehabilitating and reintegration projects, it is very difficult to stop human trafficking in the studied woredas.

4.3. Measures Taken by the Local Government in the Studied Woredas

To alleviate the problem of human trafficking, governments of all layers of administration should work together in an integrated way. Especially, local governments, which have the highest level of closeness to the people should be diligent enough in identifying and fulfilling the interest and the expectation of local people. According to an informant from Youth and Sports Affairs Office:

Local governments have been working to provide significant measures relating to the employment challenges of vulnerable people and victims of trafficking by empowering them to access market-oriented vocational preparations and creating employment opportunities. Moreover, other measures such as vocational skill training and community based saving and loan mechanisms have been introduced that can strengthen their economic capacity to be engaged in business generating activities. We also created around 8000 jobs. However, after a lot of investments have been made to empower and strengthen the capacity and knowledge of the vulnerable people and victims of human trafficking, they still did not stop migration to the Middle East and Gulf States. Thus, I can say that

influencing the attitude of the people who are seeking employment and better payment should be the main focus of the government measures and interventions (Duty Bearer: Informant 12).

To cross check the view of duty bearers and rights holders, I travelled to the human trafficking affected areas. In my stay, I did not observe projects that employ many victims of trafficking, except some which employed non victims of trafficking. Thus, it seems, local governments have used exaggerated data solely for the sake of reporting.

An informant from woreda Youth and Sport Affairs Office, argued that their woreda have made some awareness raising campaigns in the communities having the highest prevalence of human trafficking (Duty bearer: Informant 18). However, this idea was totally refuted by the right holders. Possibly, these programs and campaigns have made in less participatory and organized manner.

According to another key informant, from the Youth and Sport Affairs Office of Sase'a Tsaedaemba woreda, even though the major task of their administration is to rehabilitate and protect victims of human trafficking, there are some challenges which hinder the effective functioning and implementation of the established programs and projects. Human trafficking victims are very dependent on the help of the government for training, psycho-social support, job opportunities, and access to credit, getting productive and low risk employment sectors and lack of interest to work (Duty Bearer: Informant 12). This duty bearer is making the burden of responsibility to lie with the victims of human trafficking, though they were identified by both the regional and national government for rehabilitation and reintegration support.

There is also a report of the regional government that puts the perception of local governments towards human trafficking in to question. In the region, many local government leaders, local militias and police officers themselves send their children to Saudi Arabia and other Middle East countries in an illegal way (Youth and Sport Affairs Bureau 2013). If that is so, how these people can cooperate with the regional and national government, if they engaged in sending of their own children abroad in an unpredictable manner? This is possibly, duty bearers at the local level have influenced by peer pressure and lack of better paying jobs in their woredas. Their awareness towards human rights can also be limited.

According to a human trafficking victim:

I become very hopeless. Many people who travelled from this woreda have died. I do not know what the government is doing. It does not make sense when 90% are dying and

insignificant numbers are getting rich. After returning, no support is given by the government. There is no discussion with the government officials on how to solve the problem. The woreda does not give us land for investment. There is discrimination, and a problem of accountability and transparency. They are not committed enough (Rights Holder: Informant 14).

4.4. Analysis of the Application of HRBA Principles in Anti-Trafficking Measures

Principle One: Empowerment

In the context of measures taken by the Ethiopian government against human trafficking, HRBA requires to develop the capacity of both the duty bearers and rights holders. According to Hollander et al. (2014:65), HRBA enables communities and individuals to understand, own and protect their rights and be aware of their responsibilities. Participants in the study have also asked about the activities carried out so far that can enhance and strengthen their abilities and understanding of the phenomenon. As 28 years old, interview participant argued:

There is no education about the consequences of human trafficking on human rights. Let me tell you one thing. Everybody, even underage children are aware of HIV/AIDS because of the various awareness creation programs carried out by both government and nongovernmental organizations in an intensive and extensive manner. The same program should be carried out for human trafficking. It is as bad as HIV/AIDS. A lot of trainings and consultations were conducted with the community, family, schools and religious institutions about HIV/AIDS. But, why not for human trafficking? (Rights holder: Informant 14).

Almost all of the victims of trafficking are very critical of the efforts of both the local and regional government to teach people about rights, the dark side of migration and the grave violations of human rights that come with human trafficking. The relevant duty bearer from the woreda Youth and Sport Affairs Office also argued that training has to be given at least two times per year for the duty bearers who are engaged in the local level administration regarding human trafficking (Duty bearer: informant 12).

The research findings indicate that the awareness of victims of human trafficking bout their human rights is very limited, especially among victims from the rural areas. An informant, which is a victim of trafficking in Atsibi Wonberta said:

I sometimes challenge the local government officials because I know what my rights are and because I am a teacher by profession. Others did not challenge the government like me. They did not understand that they have the right to do so. The local government has also forgotten its duty. It did not provide training about human rights. The service providers did not provide prompt responses to their customers. This is what I observed in this woreda (Rights holder: informant 7).

Besides, another informant from the woreda court of Atsibi Wonberta stated, they did not conduct a training and an awareness creation campaign which mainly concerns about human trafficking. They never teach the people at the grass root level about the nature of human trafficking because they do not have sufficient qualified staffs and budgets (Duty bearer: Informant 22). Many of duty bearers and right holders agreed that the attitude of the migrants as a cause for human trafficking, however, activities done to solve this problem through awareness creation and other capacity empowering activities was not satisfactory in the study woredas. It seems like that human trafficking in the woredas is becoming beyond the capacity of the local governments.

Principle Two: Participation

In a HRBA, participation refers to making people aware of their entitlements to participate in and having information relating to decision-making process which affect their lives (Cornwall & Musembi 2004:1420). Based on this premise, when asked the victims of trafficking, they expressed their view about their degree of engagement and interaction with the government officials, and their involvement in and contributions to making decisions that affect their own destiny. The chairman of a small scale business from Atsibi Wonberta woreda argued:

After returning, I established a union with my friends. Our union got financial support from a non-governmental organization very recently (six months ago). However, the government intervened in this and it refused us the opportunity to get the support in cash. The government does not have a confidence in us because we are victims of trafficking. Rather, we should get support in kind. The government bought us cows for milk production. For the other unions it bought chickens, sheep and bees. This was done by the sole decision of the local government. We were never consulted by them. Some members of the other unions sold the animals without the knowledge of the government and engaged in other business (Rights holder: Informant 7).

In the case of other victims of trafficking from Sase'a Tsaeda Amba woreda, neither the government nor non-governmental organizations provided them any support that can back up their life. Victims of trafficking from both woredas agreed that they never received the amount of money they requested to borrow from the credit /financial institutions. They said that they have

been given a very inadequate amount of money, which cannot bring the desirable change in their life or help them to start a business. Some of the duty bearers of the woredas shared this idea of the victims of trafficking. According to one duty bearer:

The problem of the government is that it does not lend enough money to vulnerable people and victims. This was the primary question that was raised in the one day discussion with some of the affected and vulnerable people, and they are right (Informant 15: duty bearer).

Some of the duty bearers also complained about the actions and the behaviour of trafficked persons who received money from financial institutions. They said that, after borrowing money from the financial institutions, the persons involved either used it to go back to the Middle East or wasted the money in an inappropriate manner. Credit institutions lack confidence to lend money to people with such type of behaviour and they ask them a collateral. Some of the victims also argued that the amount of money they received from the lending institutions is only enough to go to Saudi Arabia or other Middle East countries rather than allowing you to start a business. The money cannot be enough to pay a house rent for three months, let alone to buy trading materials essential for business. Similar to the above idea, the European Commission report (2014:5) also indicated that the majority of the participants reported that they were unable to deposit the compulsory 20% in order to get credit from lending institutions.

This infers, not only the amount of money borrowed to victims are under the expectation of right holders but also the efforts made to integrate victims to work through making constant supervision is hardly practiced. Moreover, the victims were not involved and consulted on the type service they need to get from the government. This may be due to an assumption that victims lack capacity and knowledge to address their problem, hence, imposition on them is preferable. Therefore, standing from all the above premises, participation is rarely operationalized in the study woredas.

Principle Three: The Principle of Non-discrimination and Attention to Most Affected Groups

A HRBA requires addressing the underlying roots of discrimination through applying additional measures to benefit disadvantaged groups (Hollander 2014:64). According to this principle, trafficking victims thus should get equal opportunities to other peoples of the country.

Instead of providing victims with additional support and treatment, the community in Sase'a Tsaedaemba woreda has been using discriminatory terminologies that directly attack the victims of human trafficking. They called them "shiro feses" which literally means the cheapest stew which is used for food in Ethiopia. Pertaining this issue, a police officer in the woreda affirmed:

I know many people around Edagahamus who called victims of trafficking "shiro feses". This has a lot of interpretations. Victims of trafficking do not know how to save money. They are very extravagant. This indirectly means that they are mentally affected and they cannot think for the future. But we informed the people not to use such type of name since it affects the personality of victims (Duty Bearer: Informant).

A female participant from Sase'a Tsaedaemba woreda stated that many people cannot consider victims of trafficking as healthy. After returning, getting a husband and establishing a family is very difficult. Another female participant explained the cause for this that they are conceived as they were working as prostitute when they were abroad. What was common in the culture of the society is that women carried out domestic works and men organized other activities. However, at the moment, females are going outside of their country which was uncommon before. They also said that the community perceived them as not being eligible for being an eyewitness and making reasonable decisions.

Interviews with the rights holders indicated that there is also a problem of discrimination on the side of the duty bearers. Most of the victims of trafficking argued that they did not get special support and assistance because of being victims. They said that, after arrival in Addis Ababa, the federal government promised to give them special attention. The government media disseminated information that regional government and local government can provide assistance to victims of trafficking. According to the victims of trafficking, the government preferred silence. The government only gave temporary assistance and travel allowance from Addis Ababa to their homes. Outside of this support, they did not get any assistance.

One victim of human trafficking stated:

When the Saudi Arabian government decided to expel Ethiopian migrants to their country, I was the one that I arrived first in my country. My government made us a colourful welcome and propagated a lot of promises on things to be done for victims of trafficking in cooperation with regional and local government. However, nothing happened. No one knows where we are. Some unions were established to rehabilitate victims of trafficking. However, the members are local officials and their families (Informant three: rights holder).

Another interviewed rights holder reaffirmed that:

Government's maltreatment of the returnees can be a cause for the exodus of huge numbers of people to the Middle East and Gulf states again, including me (informant 11). Almost all of the victims of trafficking from all woredas agreed that there are no established programs aimed at improving the livelihood of trafficking victims, nor reintegration assistance. However, the response of the woreda and regional officials contradicts with the view of the victims of trafficking. In 2013, around 4344 trafficking victims from Saudi Arabia were from Sase'a Tsaeda amba woreda. The male and female ratio of the victims was 3500 to 749. Of the total trafficking victims, around 2180 were made to work in Ethiopia through the creation of job opportunities. However, around 2,368 in which 468 female and 1900 male was victimized again in 2014/2015 (Youth and Sport Affairs Office 2015). In the woreda stated above, the majority of the victims were re-trafficked and the reality of the support in the above report for such number of victims seems unrealistic understanding the situation of victims on the ground.

According to the chairman of the youth and sport affairs office, in 2013, there were around 6394 trafficked persons, 4881 male and 1513 female, from Atsibi Wonberta woreda. It is this woreda that has the highest level of victims who were trafficked to Saudi Arabia. From the total of these trafficked victims, around 1328 people have been integrated to work in Ethiopia through the creation job opportunities. Around 1231 trafficking victims went back to Saudi Arabia within the same year. The woreda does not know the whereabouts of the people who neither integrated in work nor migrated again. In 2015, around 27 males and 8 females, or 35 in total, died (duty bearer: informant 18). Hence, the problem of not knowing the whereabouts of many trafficked victims and the trafficking of significant number of victims implies how much the local government becomes negligent to the life of the victims of trafficking.

A female human trafficking victim argued that:

If my health is fully recovered, I will continue my education in colleges if my brother is willing to finance my education. I do not have any hope from the government. When I came back my expectation from the government was very high but now it is almost none. I did not see any victim who is supported by the government (Rights Holder: Informant 2).

In the studied woredas, according to the idea of several duty bearers, although they did not have exact data, trafficking victims are more numerous in rural areas than in urban areas (Duty bearer: informant 17). This is also true simply because the majority of the people has been living in the countryside. Victims of trafficking from the rural areas perceive that they have never been treated the same as the urban victims of trafficking. The discrimination between rural and urban victims, communities out looking towards victims and local government's negligence to support trafficking

victims implies that the implementation of non-discrimination and equality are lacking in the studied woredas.

Principle 4: Accountability and Rule of Law

A HRBA requires that states and other relevant duty bearers should be answerable for the observance human rights enshrined in applicable national and international standards (UNDP 2007:15). Many informants from the rights holders, and some from the duty bearers, reported that court personnel should act according to Ethiopia's Constitution. They should not be stand for their selfish interest. They should be accountable and transparent to their stakeholders. The "Itch my back and I will itch yours" practice that is observed in the court should be destroyed so as to wipe out human traffickers in this woreda. This used explain the bond that exist between public prosecutor and the traffickers. This implies, there is a deficiency of accountability and rule of law in the study woredas.

Most right holders expressed their resentment on the local government officials.

Officials only think about accumulating their personal wealth while we are suffering from poor governance and a weak justice system. We know all this is the result of lack of accountability and transparency, particularly due to the rent seeking tendency at each level of administration (Rights holder: Informant 3).

An informant from the rights holders demonstrated the difficulty of holding local governments accountable and achieving transparency:

We were complaining so many times, but local governments gave us a deaf ear. I do not know if their mind is working. The victims are giving up hope on the local government. At the moment we have an abnormal relationship. If we get an opportunity to participate in a conference organized by the regional government, I do not know for others, but I will express my resentment to the local government at that time. If you ask the local governments about service delivery in a group, they can arrest you and your question can be diverted into politics. They only think about how to stay in power for a long time, but they are negligent about our sufferings (Rights holder: Informant 7).

From what I know, challenging any government official for any vivid case can result a problem such as unreasonable denial of service and imprisonment. The room for democracy and good governance is almost closed in the region as well as the study woredas. There is no a better system that can hold the local governments accountable. Hence, it seems, collective action is very unthinkable due to fear and terror of victims to government officials. And, the victim awareness towards human rights is very minimal because of low educational background and other feeling of insecurities.

4.5. Challenges for the Local Government in Fighting Human Trafficking

The research findings indicate that the following factors are major causes for the poor management and prevention of human trafficking in the studied woredas.

Lack of Awareness

A participant in the study, who is an expert in the Office of Youth and Sport Affairs, argued that the problem with most of the Ethiopian victims of trafficking is their inability to understand the dark side of migration. They go outside their country without calculating what would happen after that. They only consider the dozens of bright futures that are propagated by human traffickers. Traffickers brainwash the poor and vulnerable groups by referring to the amount of money that they can receive in the destination country, the change they can achieve in a short period of time, and the support they can provide for their family (Duty bearer: Informant 12). From the personal experience of the researcher, the public and other media in Ethiopia are more reactive rather than proactive. Instead of disseminating information beforehand, they air the problem after it happened and caused the loss of the life of a lot of people.

A right holder also argued

...In Saudi Arabia, except the human rights abuses starting from the journey up to the destination, there is good work. But it does not give me a sense. Because I am treated as animal not human. I awared now, human trafficking is the clear violation of human rights. I do not want to go back because I need to be very respected and dignified human being like others. You can see a lot of bad and inhuman acts. You cannot do anything when your rights and another person's rights are violated.... (Rights holder: informant 3).

This above informant has a clear awareness about the consequence of human trafficking on human rights because he already faced the problem. However, youth who do not have migration experience may not have the full picture of the consequences of human trafficking if the government is not making every information related to human trafficking problems accessible to

the public through different means. I am awared that awareness creation activities against human trafficking are not only limited, but also they are ineffective in the studied woredas. Hence, awareness creation and attitudinal change should come first side by side the creation of job opportunities to the youth.

Lack of Accessibility of Formal Education and Training

In Ethiopia, most of the people who were trafficked to the Middle East and Gulf States are in the lower socioeconomic and educational level of society (Addis Ababa University 2015). Providing a better opportunity for education can reduce the vulnerability of citizens to migration and human trafficking. The profile of my research participants confirms these remarks as most of them are high school dropouts and do not have the required skills and knowledge that help them to create jobs or to be competitive in the labour market.

Many of the trafficked victims argued that they started to consider to migrate in an irregular way after they had not scored the pass mark to universities or colleges. Once they failed, there were no vocational training schools that could accommodate them. To my knowledge, the government is unable to create jobs that match the skills and knowledge of these citizens. A female human trafficking victim illustrated the above as follows:

Most people mocked at grade 10 by saying that it is the end chapter of education for many students, especially females. I was a hard working student, but I do not know why I scored such type of result. It was bad news for people who know me very well and for my family. After that, I immediately decided to travel to a country to which many of the unsuccessful students in education travelled, that is Saudi Arabia (Rights holder: Informant 2).

Research findings in Ethiopia have indicated that many of the victims of human trafficking are barely educated and that they have limited access to information on irregular migration, employment opportunities and the deployment channels that may lead them into exploitation by human traffickers (Anteneh 2011:12). Research by Endeshaw et al. (2006:30) also revealed that many trafficked persons failed in education and did not have possibilities to financially sustain themselves. This worked as a trigger to migrate to the Middle East or Gulf States.

The government has been doing to strength and develop micro and small scale enterprise supported by technical and vocational training and education programs aimed with producing job opportunities with a special focus on women and youths (ILO 2014:23). This is partially true because during my field work I observed that there were an attempt for the expansion of the

vocational and training colleges which are mainly established to train students who did not score pass mark to higher education. However, I observed that low attention was given to the micro and small scale enterprises which had been essential to create permanent and temporary job opportunity. Both vocational and training colleges and micro and small scale enterprises were not also at the level of the demand of people. In Atsibi Wonberta which was my case study woreda there was no well-developed technical and vocational training and education program. Moreover, in Sase'a Tsaedaemba Woreda, there is only one newly established vocational and technical training college, but it is inaccessible for all.

Capacity

A HRBA focuses on firming up the capacity of both rights holders and duty bearers to understand and claim their rights and to deliver on their obligations. On behalf of temporarily fulfilling the needs of disadvantaged groups, a HRBA articulates rights and duties , examine why they cannot be achieved, evaluate the " capacity gaps" and at the last works to close the capacity gaps of the state (Hollander 2014:59). Based on this logic, the capacity gap of both the right holders and duty bearers have analysed from the point of view of the participants of the study.

According to most interview participants from among the rights holder, most of their woreda leaders and staff lack skills and capacity. They said that there is no person working in his/her right place. The woreda leaders and staff do not have knowledge on how to identify the problem and interests of their people. Moreover, they are very weak in implementing the national programs and policies at the local level. A key informant from the duty bearers also argued that, in relation to public safety and security, sometimes he is making provisions from his own pocket such as transport fee and allowances. Since he was working in the intelligence unit he knows the brokers and victims very well. However, he did not have the capacity to control and detain traffickers because of the absence of budget allocated for this purpose. In this respect, he argued, the government should allocate the required budget and recruit specialized staff that mainly carried out on human trafficking issues and cases, unless the problem will aggravate in a new fashion (Duty bearer: Informant four). A European Commission report confirmed that the victim reintegration committees established at all levels have budget shortages, poor access to finance and an incapability to manage human traffickers (European commission 2014:5). A key informant who is from Social and Labour Affairs Office stated that his office provides training for the government officials about human trafficking but very limited. They did not provide special training for victims of human trafficking. Programs that allow for participation of citizens have been established, but are unable to achieve their objectives due to budget constraints (Duty bearer: informant 15). Some victims of human trafficking from the rural areas also conveyed that the relationship between the government and the people is very distant and that they have a lower level of expectation from the government. An informant from the International Organization for Migration argued that his organization is closely working with the government to protect and support victims of trafficking and irregular migrants. The IOM is supporting the duty bearers through capacity building training and awareness creation about human trafficking (Duty bearer: informant 21).

Corruption

Many rights holder participants claimed that getting an identity card as a legal citizen is very tricky unless you have a very close relationship with relevant bodies. This is a very common challenge for youths of both woredas. To get land, individually or collectively, for small scale work purposes (like metal work, wood work activities and bee production), and loans, being legal is not sufficient. One has to have money to pay on bribery or attachment to administrative bodies. This makes rights holders hopeless and pushes them to migrate to mysterious areas leaving the homeland. According to one duty bearer, the human traffickers have a huge amount of money that can help them to bribe the government officials. According to this interviewee, for every human trafficker, there is one or more government official who smoothens his/her operation (Duty bearer: Informant 6). According to this interviewee, public prosecutors are the one who is doing business by corruption. This implies that human trafficking a very a complex phenomenon in the study woredas because some government officials are involved in facilitation of trafficking practices and the backing of the traffickers.

4.6. Strategies for Making Anti-human Trafficking Measures Effective

The government of Ethiopia has not been reluctant to address the problem of human trafficking. However, due to the commitment and capacity problems, especially, at the region and local level, the government did not yet achieve a significant result. Based on the interview findings and literature review, this section will present some strategies that can strengthen the capacity and commitment of duty bearers as well as rights holders.

Awareness Creation through Rigorous Training and Education

A HRBA advocates people who are vulnerable to human trafficking and forced labour to get safer possibilities to improve their lives that include education and vocational training.

A duty bearer who is a police officer in the Tigray regional state argued that Government and nongovernmental media should disseminate clear and appealing information about the grave violations of human rights associated with human trafficking. According to this interviewee, not only the media, but also every relevant government sector should apply this as one of their governing principles (Duty bearer: informant 5).

Interviews with some victims of trafficking pinpointed that at present no efforts are made to influence the mentality of youth, and that the government as primary duty bearer should work on shaping the mind of its citizens.

An informant who is a police officer stated that talking and proposing different strategies for avoiding poverty and other gigantic social evils cannot be fruitful unless these wishes are turned into practice. He said that even those trained in a formal education did not get a job and this can be a factor that reinforces the brothers and sisters and even friends of those graduates to think boldly about migration of any type outside of their country. There are a lot of university graduates that do not have work within this year (Duty bearer: informant 6). A 27 years old male informant from the victims of trafficking also said:

I decided to go because most of my classmates and neighbours went there. Life and education without them becomes boring to me. Later on, I decided to go to a country in which my friends travelled for work which is Saudi Arabia. I convinced my family to borrow money from credit institutions and they did after some time of reluctance. I made contact with the local brokers and they connected me with the main brokers. I establish an intimacy with the brokers and we were chatting so many times and they told me to convince other students from the school. They mentioned me so many people who changed their life because of traveling to countries in the Middle East and they said Ethiopia is not a good place for educated people. I agree with them because I know many graduated people that do not have jobs. After that, I convinced two of my classmates to come with me and the traffickers promised me some bonus and deduction in payment, however, they did not carry out as what they said (Rights holder: Informant three).

From the above argument, it is clear that some of the participants in the study terminated their education under the influence of their friends and deception of human traffickers. Their decision also affected the interest of immature high school students and made them take similar action.

In terms of the role of the media in counter trafficking, the existing media are not accessible to all people of the country. The outreach of the print media to the local people is very limited. The accessibility of broadcasting media is somewhat better in the towns, but not in the countryside.

According to an informant from the family of victims of human trafficking, the government has outshining peoples who were getting rich as a result of migration to the Middle East and Gulf States. They used them as models of development and they called them "Development patriots" and gave them an award. However, the number of people who have been psychologically and physically injured are much higher than those who become rich due to migration to the Middle East and Gulf States (Right holder: informant 17).

A duty bearer from labour and social affairs office stated that government should work with the community. If the community is aware, no human traffickers will succeed. At present, according to this duty bearer, the efforts carried out by the government in fighting human trafficking are unsuccessful due to budget constraint and other problems. In addition, there are almost no non-governmental organizations who can work with the government (Duty bearer: Informant 15). This is probably due to the incumbent government policy which mainly adopted on NGOs in 2009. Compared with countries in Africa, the NGO sector is very small in Ethiopia and the majority of them are limited in Addis Ababa (Eman 2012:3).

Although fighting inequality, poverty and reducing unemployment are very essential to manage human trafficking in the study area, a well-organized and articulated public awareness campaign should be conducted in a very integrated and participatory manner to empower both right holders and duty bearers. Moreover, the issue human trafficking should be incorporated into some of the courses in the educational curriculum of the country to aware students about the causes and consequences of human trafficking and other related problems.

Redistribution of Land in Rural and Urban Areas in a Fair and Transparent Manner

A study conducted in Jima zone, Ethiopia, established that a majority of the victims of human trafficking are from rural areas because land for agricultural production is very limited (Gudina and Tariku: 2014:46). According to an informant from Social and Labour Affairs Office, it is important to be aware that it was almost fifteen years ago that redistribution of land took place in Tigray. Thus, an individual who was aged 17 years then (and 32 years now) does not have land. Land has

the highest economic, social and cultural value in the rural areas of Ethiopia, because the majority of the society is dependent on agriculture (Duty bearer: Informant 15).

An informant, who represents a duty bearer from Youth and Sport Affairs Office from Sase'a Tsaedaemba, argued that the main reason why the government is unable to manage human trafficking is its incapability to address the questions and demands of victims of human trafficking such as provision of interest free credits and equitable distribution of land which used for agriculture and other activities (Duty bearer: Informant 12).

Other informants from town also argued that after collecting money to do business, it is very difficult to get land that used to operate their activities. They said that in order to get the land you have to bribe the local leaders (Right Holder: informant 8).

Many of the right holders from the rural areas argued that landlessness is increasing from time to time and the possibility of getting land in the near future is very low. Some of the right holders also argued that not alone to get land through redistribution policy, the land in which their family possessed is too small, overexploited and fragmented. In any case, revisiting of the existing land policy is essential in the studied woredas to assure equal opportunity for the victims of human trafficking and other disadvantageous groups.

Chapter Five: Conclusion

My research on counter trafficking measures in Ethiopia's Tigray region, particularly in Atsibi Wonberta and Sase'a Tsaedaemba woredas, has identified the major anti-trafficking activities of the local government, analysed the drawbacks of efforts and interventions carried by the government and has pinpointed ways forward which can back up the government and other relevant actors when addressing the problem, to the extent possible. The measures and interventions were examined in light of key HRBA principles such as accountability and the rule of law, empowerment, participation and the principle of non-discrimination and attention to most affected groups. For doing this, the researcher carried out an in-depth qualitative investigation to explore the perceptions, experiences and attitudes of participants in the study area.

The government has enacted policy and legislative measures to stop the problem of human trafficking from Ethiopia to any of the destination countries, more particularly the Middle East and Gulf States. The FDRE Constitution clearly states that trafficking in human beings for whatever purpose is strictly prohibited. In Ethiopia the act of trafficking is a criminal offense that leads to a serious punishment as detailed in the FDRE Criminal Code of 2005. However, the Criminal Code only criminalizes trafficking of women and children/minors for the purpose of prostitution and forced labour. The other victims of trafficking, such as men, and other purposes of human trafficking that are stated in the Palermo Protocol have been omitted although Ethiopia ratified this protocol in 2012.

At this moment, the government is drafting new laws to repeal the less comprehensive existing laws for the controlling of human trafficking. Furthermore, a task force has been established at the national level for the purpose of supervising the major activities carried out to manage human trafficking. Every sector relevant to human trafficking is represented on the task force and it is led by the deputy prime minister of the country. Also, a steering committee has been established from the region up to the woreda level. This steering committee has a similar function as the task force holds at the national level. However, according to many of the research participants from right holders and duty bearers, both the task force and steering committee are dysfunctional. Although some duty bearers reported some functionality, I could not get any reports done by these councils pertaining their purpose of the establishment which is preventing human trafficking.

A HRBA constitutes an approach to battle human trafficking that is explicitly shaped by human rights and human rights principles. In a HRBA, empowerment is required to build the skills and knowledge of duty bearers for them to shoulder their obligations fully and of rights holders for them to understand and claim their rights and hold accountable the duty bearers. The findings of my study indicate that the role and efforts of the government to empower both the victims of trafficking and duty bearers is very small.

Due to lack of awareness and knowhow, victims of human trafficking go to the Middle East and Gulf states under the pressure of peers and human traffickers. Most of the trafficked people are low skilled and at a lower educational level. In line with this, duty bearers lack the relevant skills and capacity that can help them to take up their responsibility and implement the national policies and strategies in their woreda.

Moreover, participation is an essential principle of HRBA too, but is not well practiced in the study area. Participation is required to involve rights holders, especially the most excluded ones, so that they will have a say in decision making that directly affects them. The results of this study indicate that local government officials normally decide on behalf of rights holders rather than involving them. For instance, matters relating to getting money from the lending institutions and to the type of business that people might start, must be decided by victims themselves but constant follow up of the duty bearers is also necessary to ensure whether they are using the money properly or not. However, their participation in determining their own destiny and interest has been ignored by the local governments. Many of the interviewees from the rights holders and some of the duty bearers agreed that many efforts to support the excluded and victimized people has been incompatible with their interest. There is also hardly special type of support provided to the victims of human trafficking to support their livelihood. If there is any, it is the existed support that is given to the general community. As a result, many people who are trafficking victims deported from Saudi Arabia feel victimized again and give up hope on the government. Some interviewed victims said that during deportation the government promised a lot of things to them, but this did not materialize in any way.

The study also revealed that local governments have not committed enough to meet the interests of victim groups.

This study also clearly shows that the issue of human trafficking is becoming beyond the capacity of the local government. There are arguments behind this, as pointed out earlier, from both the perspective of rights holders and duty bearers in the studied woredas. Rights holders argued that local level officials lack knowledge, skills and capacity to effectively administer their woreda on the basis of the demands and the desire of their people. The main reason for this is that they are politically committed to the government in power. Participants from the local government rather argued that they are effectively administering their woreda without any difficulty, but that they have been faced with insufficient financial capacity to address the problem of human trafficking at the required level.

I support both arguments that are mentioned above because I am indeed doubtful on the commitment and knowledge of the local governments. If they are committed to stop human trafficking, for a start, they cannot send their own children, brothers and sisters as currently is the case. Lack of budget, which is repeatedly mentioned by duty bearers at the local level, is a big factor that has been challenging any type of efforts carried to support and rehabilitate victims of human trafficking. There is lack of budget means also there is a lack of prioritization to the problem of human trafficking in the studied woredas.

Generally it is clear that, as regards the prevention of human trafficking in the studied woredas, from a human rights perspective, the prevention and response efforts were not as effective as the seriousness of the issue requires. This is due to gaps in policies, capacity, commitment, legislation and information disseminating campaigns, the government of Ethiopia has a clear task of taking up these challenges. Hence, mainstreaming the principles and values of Human Rights- Based Approach is essential to address the problem of human trafficking in the studied woredas.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Background of Research participants (Victims and Family of Victims)

No	Name of informants	Age	Sex	woreda	Educational level	Country of destination
1	Informant 1	23	F	Sase'a Tsaedaemba	10	Beirut
2	Informant 2	22	F	Sase'a Tsaedaemba	10	Saudi Arabia
3	Informant 3	27	Male	Atsibi Wonberta	11	Saudi Arabia
4	Informant 7	28	Male	Atsibi Wonberta	Diploma	Saudi Arabia
5	Informant 8	27	Male	Atsibi Wonberta	10	Saudi Arabia
6	Informant 9	27	М	Atsibi Wonberta	8	Saudi Arabia
7	Informant 11	25	М	Sase'a Tsaedaemba	10	Saudi Arabia
8	Informant 14	28	М	Sase'a Tsaedaemba	6	Saudi Arabia
9	Informant 17	43	М	Sase'a Tsaedaemba	Non literate	Saudi Arabia

Appendix 2: B	ackground of R	esearch Participants	(Duty bearers in woreda)
	8		

No	Name of participant	Sex	Woreda	Position	Representing Institution
1	Informant Four	М	Atsibi Wonberta	Woreda information officer	Police
2	Informant 6	М	Sase'a Tsaedaemba	Police	Police
3	Informant 12	М	Sase'a Tsaedaemba	Chair man	Youth and Sport
4	Informant 13	М	Sase'a Tsaedaemba	Deputy chairman	Youth and Sport
5	Informant 15	М	Atsibi Wonberta	Expert	Labour and Social Affairs
6	Informant 18	F	Atsibi Wonberta	chairwoman	Youth and Sport Affairs
7	Informant 22	М	Atsibi Wonberta	Judge	Woreda Court

Appendix 3: Background of Research Participants (Duty Bearers in Regional State)

No	Name of informant	Sex	Representing Institution	Duty
1	Informant 5	М	Police Commission	Crime investigation officer
2	Informant 10	М	Justice	Legal prosecutor and expert of law
3	Informant 19	F	High Court	Judge
4	Informant 20	F	Human Rights Commission	Commissioner
5	Informant 21	М	IOM	Branch coordinator

Appendix 4: Interview Guidelines

The main purpose of this research is to assess and analyse the counter trafficking measures and interventions carried out in Tigray regional state especially in SaseaTsaedamba and Atsibi Wonberta

Woreda. The information obtained will help to discover solutions to solve challenges related to human trafficking and evaluate responses and interventions by relevant actors. So it is purely an academic project and will in no way affect your personal circumstances. It has no also relation with any religious or political stand. Your genuine views, frank opinions and timely responses are quite important in determining the success of this study and your view will be kept completely confidential.

You are kindly requested to extend your cooperation by providing relevant information. Your participation in this study is voluntary. Feel free to withdraw your participation without any fear at any time.

1. Background Information of Respondents

- 1.1. Name of participant(s) [Optional]
- 1.2. Sex: Male ____ Female ____
- 1.3. Age: _____
- 1.4. Educational Background:_____
- 1.5. Occupation
- 1.6. Represented organization and location:

2. Interview with Trafficking Victims

- 2.1. Could you please tell me what conditions you lived in before travelling to the Middle East and/or Gulf States?
- 2.2. How did you get information about working in the Middle East and/or Gulf States?
- 2.3. Which Middle East and/or Gulf States did you go to for work?
- 2.4. Did you attend a training /awareness raising program by the government or an NGO about the cost of trafficking?
- 2.5. How did you manage to come back to your country?
- 2.6. After return, did you get any type of support?
- 2.7. What type of support did you get from the government/NGOs?
- 2.8. Do you think the support is adequate?
- 2.9. Is there any project that mainly established to support you?
- 2.10. Is the support system available to all trafficked persons, irrespective of their willingness to cooperate with the criminal justice system?
- 2.11. Did you get training about your human rights that can be violated due the fact of human trafficking?

- 2.12. Did the support and assistance process transparent to all beneficiaries without any distinction on various grounds?
- 2.13. Are reintegration and social inclusion measures done with direct consultation with victims of trafficking?
- 2.14. Had you participated in any program that directly affects you?
- 2.15. Do you have a plan to travel again? If yes, why and how?
- 2.16. What do you think should be done by the government and other relevant actors to prevent human trafficking?
- 2.17. Can you tell me the major problems you encountered during the process of travel to the destination country, during your stay in the destination country and upon your return to Ethiopia?
- 2.18. Did you participate in any activities that affect your needs?
- 2.19. How are your human rights protected by the duty bearers? For instance the right to free legal service etc.?
- 2.20. How accountable are government staffs to their beneficiary?
- 2.21. Is there any empowerment programs designed to benefit you?
- 2.22. Do you believe human trafficking is a violation of various human rights?

3. Interview with Representatives of the Labour and Social Affairs in both the Regional State and Woreda Level

- 3.1. What is your duty in this office?
- 3.2. What is the role of your organization in relation to human trafficking?
- 3.3. Who do you think is responsible to fight human trafficking?
- 3.4. How your office is working to stop human trafficking?
- 3.5. What is the extent of human trafficking in Tigray region?
- 3.6. What is the extent of human trafficking in woreda SaseaTsaedamba / Atsibi Wonberta?
- 3.7. Why do you think is human trafficking in woreda Sase'a Tsaedaemba / Atsibi Wonberta so severe?
- 3.8. Did your support and assistance pays attention to vulnerable and victims of human trafficking?
- 3.9. Do you think your counter trafficking measures are effective to curb human trafficking?
- 3.10. Can you tell me about any successful efforts you made against human trafficking?
- 3.11. What do you think is good to prevent human trafficking?
- 3.12. What are the major problems that victims of trafficking face?

- 3.13. What methods were used in your intervention into trafficking?
- 3.14. What do you think should be done by the government and other relevant actors to control human trafficking?
- 3.15. What measures did you use to empower the capacity of vulnerable groups and victims of human trafficking?
- 3.16. How accountable are your organization to your customers and stakeholders?
- 3.17. To what extent did you participate right holders in development programs, decision making and conferences etc.?
- 3.18. Does your service benefit all victims regardless of the difference on various grounds?

4. Police and Court Institutions

- 4.1. How can you identify victims of trafficking?
- 4.2. Are perpetrators being deterred from committing future crimes?
- 4.3. How can you ensure the right of victims to participate in legal proceedings against their traffickers?
- 4.4. Has there been an increase in the number of identified or assisted victims who are willing to cooperate in court proceedings?
- 4.5. Are cases of human trafficking being processed quickly?
- 4.6. Are there specialized units in the regional criminal justice system that work on preventing human trafficking?
- 4.7. What do you think should be done by the government and other relevant actors to prevent human trafficking?
- 4.8. What activities should be done to empower the capacity and knowhow of victims groups?
- 4.9. How accountable is your organizations to your customers and stakeholders
- 4.10. To what extent do you participate right holders in development programs or conferences
- 4.11. What measures did you use to empower the capacity of vulnerable and victim groups
- 4.12. Does your service benefit all victims regardless of the difference on various grounds?

5. Youth and Sport Affairs at both Regional and Woreda level

- 5.1. What are your duties in this office?
- 5.2. Do you think that youths are the major victims of human trafficking in your woreda?
- 5.3. What are the roles of your office in fighting human trafficking?
- 5.4. What measures are you taking to empower the capacity of youths who are vulnerable/victims of trafficking?

- 5.5. How did you work to avoid discriminatory practices?
- 5.6. What should be done to curb the problem of human trafficking in your woreda/Region?
- 5.7. What activities did you made to empower the capacity and knowhow of victims groups?
- 5.8. How accountable are your organizations to your customers and stakeholders
- 5.9. To what extent do you participate right holders in development programs, decision making or conferences
- 5.10. Does your service benefit all victims regardless of the difference on various grounds?

Appendix Five: Story of Victim of Human Trafficking

Informant 1: Female Victim Returned from Beirut

Background Information

I am at the age of 23. I am from the poor family background. After scoring unexpected result in grade 10, I convinced my family to send me to a country in which most of our neighbours, relatives and friends are living and working. My family cannot afford my education in private colleges. Then after, I travelled to Beirut in 2011 through the private employment agency.

Why you Migrate to Beirut?

I know many of my friends and relatives has been living there. When they come back home, they wear a nice cloth and built town style houses for their family. It is the only option in which my friends and relatives doing after failing in their education. However, after the process started, I changed my mind, but I already made the payment. I feel as I am selling myself. It is for my first time to go outside of my local town to Addis Ababa. If Addis is as such complex, how difficult is the country that I am travelling was my question. After two months, I finished all the Visa processes. After that I travelled Beirut and my documents and passport was submitted to my employer.

Life in Beirut

I hate my friends and my relatives after arrival. They never told me the human rights violations that happened in the destination country. My contract reveals that I agreed for domestic worker. Though I have travelled to be employed as a domestic worker the reality was another. They need to do what they like without my interest. Later, I decided to disappear from my employer. One day night I did it and travelled to the Ethiopian embassy in Beirut. My government embassy welcomed me and I told them the details of the behaviour of my employer and the private employment agency. I stayed there for three days and they contacted me with another employer. I stayed working for two years. My government also returned my passport from my former employer through the very difficult ups and down. Even though you are very innocent, they made you guilty through fabricating false information and eyewitness. The former employer reported to police by saying that our housemaid disappeared stealing jewellery from home. I was very crazy when accusing me saying like this. What can they get accused an innocent and poor person. My country and human rights organizations tried to defend this, but through presenting false testimony they defeated and they decided me to pay 5000 of their money. This was my reward because of being innocent. I do not need to remember what I faced in Beirut. It was very horrible life. After that I cannot rely people. I am not confident of what I plan to do. My interaction with people is very low.

Situation after Return Home

After backing home, I was planning to do business that can support my life. However, I do not have a courage for doing it. I am very hopeless. I am dependent on my family now. I do not know what to do in the future. If the government is not creating a job for people like us my life is will be at risk. I just leave everything to God. Community treat you as insane. They do not consider you as normal. Hence, establishing a family especially for females is difficult.

Informant Two: Female Victim Returned from Saudi Arabia

Background Information

MY age is 22. I went to Saudi Arabia to work. The reason why I decided to go Saudi Arabia was because of scoring very bad result in my grade 10 entrance national examination. Most people mocked for grade 10 by saying that the end chapter of education for many students especially females. I was a hard working student, but I do not know why I scored such type of result. It was bad news for people who knows me very well and to my family. After that I immediately decided to travel to a country in which many of unsuccessful students in education are travelled which is Saudi Arabia. I have my brother who went there before two years. I communicated to him first and he very annoyed with my decision. He told me like this. "I know the suffering I incurred starting from my home country up to the transits and the destination country. I am very sure that at this moment it is also aggravated by the

human traffickers. It is also very harsh for females. I do not need to see such type atrocity on my sister". It is the only option in which my friends and relatives doing after failing in their education. It is my sole decision to go abroad.

Situation in the Transits and Destination Country

However, after the process started, I changed my mind, but I already made the payment. I did not feel comfortable when the behaviour of brokers changed second by second. How your country people think and act like that. They cannot allow any type of question. They ask to provide them additional money after travelling some journey outside of the prior agreement. Later on, I remembered the words of my brother, but I am unable to look for another option. My brother told me human rights violations that happened in the process and the destination country. My brother is very correct. You cannot be considered as human. Your life is determined by the traffickers. If you are getting tired in the journey, harsh punishment can be given you by the traffickers. Females faced a lot of problems in the duration of their journey. I cannot tell you what females faced during the journey and after that (telling me angrily!). It is very terrible to explain it. The miserable life starts after handed over to the local brokers. You submit your life to the traffickers and employers only for money. I understand how much I am sinful after my arrival in Saudi Arabia. After a few weeks, I started work as domestic worker. My employer does not allow me to have telephone and make contact with my friends. I was locked in the apartment and never saw the outside environment. I ordered to work difficult and heavy tasks. I did not have scheduled time to sleep. I stayed five months in such type of situation. I received salary of the first month in which I have started work. I did not get the salary of the remaining four months for unknown reasons. When I told them about my salary they were unwilling to provide me sufficient reason. Every household member of my employer insults and abuses me. One day, I decided to disappear and I did, but I am not successful. I found me two people and they caught and threatened me to tell them where I was working. I told them the telephone number of my employer, and they told them about me for my employer. My employer also promised them to pay money if they take me to them and they discussed on the amount of payment. After that, they handed me to my employer and I have beaten for two days by my employers and decided to stay without food as punishment. Everything of my hope was dying. I did not have any plan. What I was waiting is the time of my death. Deep anxiety. I become crazy. I become sick. I do not know what to do. Especially Ethiopian are suffering. No one stands for you. We are illegal residents. Whatever abuses we faced we cannot report. There is no suitable environment to struggle for your right. God is great. It is God who saved my life.

Situation after Return Home

For more than two years, I am without any work. My brother promised me to start a job. He advised me to identify what type of business I should have to start. However, I do not need it. If my health is fully recovered, I will continue my education in colleges if my brother is willing to finance my education. I do not have any type of aspiration from the government. When come back my expectation from the government was very high but now it is almost none. I did not see any victim who is supported by the government. Our problem is not as such an issue to the local government. Especially females are psychologically damaged. People conceive us we were working as a prostitute.

Informant Three: Male Victim Returned from Saudi Arabia

Background Information

My age is 27. I was in Saudi Arabia before two years. I was grade eleven. I decided to go because most of my classmates and neighbours went there. Life and education without them becomes boring. Later on, I decided to go to a country in which my friends travelled for work. I convinced my family to borrow money from credit institutions and they made after some time of reluctance. I made contact with the local brokers and they connected me with the main brokers. I establish an intimacy with the brokers and we were chatting so many times and they told me to convince other students from the school. They mentioned me so many people who changed their life because of traveling to Middle East countries and they said Ethiopia is not a good place for educated people. I agree with them because I know many people who are college and university graduates that do not have job up until now. And their life is hand to mouth. If you see my high school and elementary teachers, their life is not that much satisfactory. I know many elementary school teachers who made the migration through terminating their work. After that, I convinced two of my classmates to come with me and the traffickers promised me some bonus and deduction in payment.

Situation in Transits and Destination Country

The human traffickers are not human like us. They are hungry of money. They did not have respect for us. My intimate relationship broken down after accomplishing their plan. Through the horrible journey which accompanied by intimidation and coercion, I arrived in Yemen, the country which is a transits to Saudi Arabia. In Yemen many of us fall under the hand of traffickers. They arrested us for more than a week and they asked us to pay a ransom. To do that we communicated with our families and I myself, for instance ordered my family to send me money unless I told them my life is at risk. My family worried about this and within a week I released and most of arrested people remained there until the money are collected from their family. After different up and downs within two months and a half, I arrived in Saudi Arabia and I found a job after a month. After six months the Saudi Arabia government announced to deport Ethiopian citizens who do not have a residence permit. I was voluntary to be deported to my country, but I did not have the money that can cover for my travel expenses that I used by borrowing from the credit institution. My employer was also unwilling to pay my two month salary by relying on the government's position to deport Ethiopian citizens to their country. I cannot report this case to anyone because I am illegal migrant. Finally, I decided to go home with no questions.

Situation after Return Home

My government also made us a colourful welcome and they told us dozens of promises to stop thinking again to go to such type of countries. Moreover, the Federal, Regional and local governments promised us to create a suitable work environment in our localities via different Media. However, this does not turn into action. No one knows where we are. They are some unions established for people like us. Nonetheless, the members are local officials and their families and no one who controls them. They misuse their position neglecting our voice. Thus, many returns go back to Saudi Arabia. Of course, no one did not want migration, but many people had it. We don't know what will happen there, but destiny matters.

I did not score nice result in grade 10. After that I attended my education in private college and graduated in the teaching profession. After my graduation from the private college, I worked as a community development worker and in telecommunication. Side by side, I also started my private work like shop and wood work through the borrowing of money from the credit institutions. After that, many people advised me to work in my profession which is in teaching. However, I decided to do that if I employed around my woreda. But due to the defeat of many people I applied to a vacant position and I successfully passed. Later, I transferred my previous work to my little brother. My brother was doing the work I transferred to him. My little brother asked me as he needs to go to Saudi Arabia. But, I refused not to think about it. Instead, I told him to go myself. Because I am married and born a child, but my brother is unmarried and he is deacon. Without consulting my wife and my

family I travelled to Saudi Arabia. The journey is very miserable. We travelled a long journey on foot and staying without food for many days. I had arrested in Yemen and they asked me a ransom and I did it through borrowing the money from my relatives in Saudi Arabia. My expectation was to get rich within one year. But the reality is that, not alone within one year, I did not realize my dream within two years. Because of this I get sick and I am unable to work. Later on, I decided to back home. The main problem to go there is because of my personal stupidity. Had I worked in my country, I am sure I can be very rich person in this town. My brother who was disturbing me regularly to go abroad has been changed and bought a nice house in this town. Look this nice house! It is my brother house. I waste my precious time. I was considered subhuman for two years in Saudi Arabia. No human rights protection there. They can consider you as a machine not a human being. After returning, government does not provide us support because of being victims. Non-governmental organization gave us financial support without identifying our interest. From the part of the government, I got capacity building training because I am the chairman of the union. However, it is very inadequate. The government also helped me to distribute my products through using its own transportation. But I understand that there was discrimination against us from the former woreda administration. We cannot get equal opportunity in using the public resources. The person who did such type of discrimination is arrested because of unknown problem. After that the situation which is itch my back and I will scratch yours is changed. It is not only enough government and non-governmental organizations to help us through the giving of money, but also through consulting and providing capacity building training. The mentality of the youth is not changed. The government should work on shaping the mind of its citizens. There are some problems from the government. One time we take a contract to dig a water dam from the woreda government, but they did not pay according to our agreement. We were complaining so many times but they gave us a deaf ear. Let alone to ask additional support, it is difficult to ask your own. I do not know if their mind is working. The victims are given up a hope from the local government. At the moment we have abnormal relationship. If we get an opportunity to participate in a conference which organized by the regional government, I do not know for others, but I will express my resentment to the local government during that time. If you ask the local governments about service delivery in group, they can arrest you and your question can be diverted politics. They only think how to stay in power for long time but the people are suffering. I sometimes challenge them because I know what accountability and transparency is. I am a teacher in profession. There is the distant of the citizens from the government. They did not ask support from the government. They did not understand as they have right to do so. The government is also forgotten its duty. The service providers did not provide prompt response to their customers. This is what I observed in this woreda. I do not have a plan to go again. If I do, I am abnormal.

Informant 8: Male Victim of trafficking

Background Information

My age is 27. I am working in union and individually. I travelled two times to Saudi Arabia. I was engaged as a tailor. I had much support from friends and relatives.

Why migrated to Saudi Arabia?

I migrated to Saudi Arabia like my friends. In Saudi Arabia, except the human rights abuses starting from the journey up to the destination, there is good work. However, it does not give me a sense. Because I am treated as animal not human. When I think now, human trafficking is the clear violation of human rights. I do not want to go back because I need to be very respected and dignified human being like others. You can see a lot of bad and inhuman acts. You cannot do anything when your rights and another person's rights are violated. There are problems that can observe in victims, including myself. We have a problem in thinking and understanding of things. Because we do not have the knowledge how to use money, how to manage and establish a family. This also the perception of the community.

Situation after Return Home?

There is no special support from the government because of being a returnee except for the nongovernmental organization which is called Adonay. The government is very reluctant. Many times the government officials take our name but they support us nothing. However, when the Saudi Arabia deported us to our country, our government promised us to support and arrange employment opportunities through communicating with the local government but in practice it is zero. The government only supports us in providing temporary shelter, which it stayed for three days and travel expenses from Addis Ababa to our place. After that I planned to start work and I asked the local government to provide me an investment area but not still solved. I did not find a house for rent. However, there are many areas that are prepared for unions and for people like us. Nevertheless, good governance and commitment matters. I have to bribe them to get it soon. My proposal was chicken production and I bought the chickens. Many chickens died because I do not get the area for chicken production at the right time.

I know many of my friends from the rural areas. The support is somewhat better in urban areas than in the countryside. Youths in rural areas do not know how to create a job, how to challenge the government and how to use the money that they have. After returning from Saudi Arabia, most of them make migration again. They are very hopeless. I am better than them. Training and awareness creation activities are almost non-existent.

There are discrimination and inequality in getting benefits. They did not treat us equally. Favouritism is a major problem in our woreda. However, I do not have a plan to travel again. I understand how to bring a change in my country. Government should invest in mind of its citizens. Your presence here as a researcher is very late. It is almost two years after being deported. We need advice and support. No transparency and accountability from the part of the government. I do not know what its solution is. It is a big issue with this woreda.

Informant 9: Male Victim of trafficking in Atsibi Wonberta

Background Information

My age is 27. My educational level is grade 8. I had my family's agricultural land. I went to Saudi Arabia in 2011. Before travelling to Saudi Arabia, I was working as tailor. I am head of household. My father was died. In 2010, I was engaged in milk production and it was very productive. I support my brothers who were attending their schools, in colleges and universities. It is not because of a serious problem that I travelled to Saudi Arabia. It is because of the influence of the environment in which I am living. From every household in the woreda, two-third of children's are migrated to Middle East and Gulf States. Thus, it is because of peer pressure I went to Saudi Arabia.

Situation during the Course of Migration and in Saudi Arabia

I was arrested in Yemen by my countries people. They were speaking the same language like me. In the prison center, I was escaped during night time. I was arrested again by other traffickers and my families paid those 20, 000 birr for my release. We know people who are changed because of going to Saudi Arabia. However, how much percent are these people? They are very insignificant number. They cannot be totally representative. Why do not see people who were abused, psychologically and physically injured? Those people are too many than those who get richer in the destination countries. The people treat you as an animal. They said as "humar" that means donkey.

Situation after Return Home

I deported in 2013. Now I have union and working my own business. Our union get financial support from one non-governmental organization. The government intervenes on this and it refused us to get the support in cash. But we get it in kind. The government bought us cows for milk production. For the other unions it bought them chickens, sheep's and bees. This is done by the sole decision of the local government. Some members of the other unions sold them without the knowledge of the government and engaged in other work. We never consulted by them. We never participated in conferences and meetings. There is a clear discrimination. They do not treat as people who have the knowledge and skill to do things. No training for capacity building. If you needed to be very productive you should have to get training. No strong supervision and support from the part of the government. We cannot borrow money as we need. No experience sharing. I do not have a plan to go again. I am working to compensate the time and money that wasted in Saudi Arabia. There is a good job opportunity in this country but needs tolerance. The country is in construction at this moment. A lot of investments that open job opportunity are underway.

Informant 11: Victim of Trafficking

Background Information

I am at the age of 25. I completed grade 10. I did not score good result in the entrance examination. I take re exam in 2012 but not passed. After that I was working in the Ethiopian electric power corporation as permanent worker. However, I decided to travel to Saudi Arabia terminating my work. It is because I observed some of my friends changed because of Saudi Arabia. Currency is good there. My salary was hand to mouth and it cannot help me to carry out business.

Situation During and After Migration

Through passing the dangerous journey, I arrived in Saudi Arabia. But I deported in 2013 by the Saudi Arabia government. I tried again, but I caught by the Saudi police and deported again. Whether you travelled legally or illegally to Saudi Arabia, you are not human rather slave and animal. You can see people who travelled to Saudi Arabia abused their rights because of being migrants. If that is so what

is the need to go Saudi legally by paying huge amount of money for Visa and other processes. Through passing of these ups and downs, I reached in Yemen and arrested by another traffickers and they coerced me to make call to my family to send money and I did. After that I arrived in Saudi Arabia. After reaching there, I started working, but you cannot feel safety because you are illegal resident. Every one of the citizen of the country can arrest and exploit you as he/she wants. You do not have time for leisure and to go hospital if you sick. The probability of death is very high. To do what you want in Saudi Arabia, you have to have a huge money to perform it through illegal brokers. It is a country that it do not have rule of law. Human being especially Ethiopian are very cheap and subhuman. I do not know what the reason is. But, I guess it is the weakness of our government. When the problem happened against Ethiopian citizens, they prefer silence and they do not investigate the case.

After Return Home

After returning we established a union with my friends. Still the union is functioning. There is no any person who changed because of working through establishing a union. It is difficult at this time to work with people you do not know their behaviour and capacity. If you have not formed a union you cannot get support from the government for instance, you cannot borrow money from the financial institutions. There is huge discrimination in the benefits that are provided by the government. The government officials are serving for their relatives. Although we are disadvantaged groups, they gave us a deaf ear. Those who are unable to persist and struggle the action of the government officials decide to travel to Saudi Arabia. We only get financial support from one non-governmental organization than the government. This organization donated us sheep, cows and bees that costs around 5000 Birr. Some unions sold the donated properties because it is incompatible with their interest. Our union is still working though we do not achieve the desired change. Government's maltreatment of the returnees can be the cause for the exodus of huge numbers of people in the Middle East countries again including me. I was angry at the ignorance of the government. The police control to human trafficking is very weak. At the second time of my journey, Ethiopian police caught us and they send us through a public bus without any police and we pleased the driver to drop us after travelling some kilometres. In samara which is the main center for human trafficking we arrested for two days and they told us to go back to our homeland if we can afford our travel expenses unless they arrest us until we get money.

In this woreda there is discrimination. There is no a person who is working in his/her right place. They have lack of skill and capacity. They do not know how they can identify the problem and interest of their people. We asked the government to help us what we need from it in line with its capacity. And its response is very nice in words, but very discouraging in practice. The bought chickens died because of the absence of an area to grow them. Most of the deportees going back again. The government do not very serious to investigate the problem of the victims. To tell you frankly, people who came from Saudi Arabia have problems like lack of confidence, disturbance, anxiety and thinking problem. Because they were always in prison. I do not need to go again. Because I have family and I am convinced not to sell my conscience and dignity for money. There is no adequate investment and NGOs. There is only one factory and NGOs. Really, there is unemployment problem. There is the highest number of trafficking victims in this woreda because it is the most neglected woreda. The government ignored this people.

Informant 14: Victim of Trafficking from Sase'a Tsaedaemba

Background Information

I completed grade 10. I am at the age of 28. I did not score pass result. After that I was unemployed. Later, I decided to go Saudi Arabia. There is no organization that can employ me. It is because of unemployment I went there. I went in 2012 and I deported in 2013. After that I went again and I got a lot of suffer. I did not like to live outside of my country, but there are triggering factors like peer pressure and unemployment.

Situation after Migration

The means of achieving money in Saudi Arabia are very terrible to speak. You can observe people scarifying their life for money. I did not go to Saudi Arabia because of poverty. I did not assess all job opportunities in my country. In my first return from Saudi Arabia, I bought a second-hand taxi. But because of serving so many years, it was not productive. It spent a lot of money for the service. And again I went to Saudi. I arrested for a months in Yemen by human traffickers until the required money will be send to them. I was beaten and injured by the traffickers. You can look my back of body and see the scar. Later I arrived in Saudi Arabia. However, the Saudi Arabia government deported so many Ethiopians and I am one of them. I brought some money, but I scarified so many things. It is

suffer for work, to travel, eat and to make business. It is imprinted in my mind what I had faced in Yemen. I cannot forget it. I paid around 40, 000 Ethiopian Birr to reach Saudi Arabia.

Situation after Return

After return there is no any support that is given by the government. I become very hopeless. I do not advise my friends to go there. I can advise them to be active and work hard in their education. Did I do that, I cannot be like that. Many people who travelled from this woreda have died. I do not know what the government is doing. What is its value when 90% are dying and insignificant number are getting rich. There is no discussion with the government officials. No one can say Middle East, especially Saudi Arabia is good for illegal and legal immigrants. The woreda does not give us land for investment. There is discrimination, problem of accountability and transparency. They are not committed enough. Government should make strong punishment for human traffickers. Police should be active in ensuring public safety and security. The government has the responsibility to create job opportunity for its citizens. But, we are not active to ask the government. Our relationship is not as such strong. We are only strong at influencing people for migration through the illegal brokers. Had we pressurized the government repeatedly, we can make it to wake up and to carry out its major responsibilities successfully. We do not only need money from the government, but also consultation and advice. The government should advise the family not to force their children to travel to Saudi Arabia. The family should not be governed by material things. Why family do not advise their children to be active in education? Education is the best instrument for desirable change. Even though you cannot get enough money, your mind will sharpen. The family appreciates for people who bought a car than who graduated with degree, masters etc. up until know, I never get training in awareness creation programs. No education about human rights and human trafficking. Let me tell you one thing. Everybody, even underage children are, aware about HIV/AIDS because of the various awareness creation programs carried out by both government and non-governmental organizations. The same program should carry out for human trafficking. It is as bad as HIV/AIDS. A lot of trainings and consultations done within the community, family, schools and religious institutions about HIV/AIDS. But why not for human trafficking? Once failed in grade 10, you can know that it is the end of education if you are unable to afford your education in private colleges. Some youths have opened a business through using their own money. However, most of them quit their business after working some months and years. It is because of losing hope and other bureaucracy red tapes. The government should train such type of people to be very productive. They should make experience

sharing with related productive youths of another area. Supervising and encouraging them to be industrious should be the task of the government. According to this interviewee, one cause for quitting their business is due to the imposition of higher tax rates.

Informant 17: Family of victim

Background Information

I lost my son in Saudi Arabia. I received his coffin before two years. I am lucky because of the burial of my son in his birthplace. I know many people that do not know their whereabouts; some of them thrown in to the sea from the boat and others eaten by animals. He was my first son. He did not pass the grade 10 entrance examination. After that, he worked as manager in public bus. He stayed in this work for about two years. He was helping us a lot while working on the bus. In the meantime, he decided to travel to Saudi Arabia. Most people from this area migrate to Saudi Arabia. Previously, there were men who migrate to Saudi Arabia. But the influx of women is highly increasing. They are taken as a manifestation of modernization. Those successful people come back to their country with a nice phone, cloth and other tangible property. My son is attracted by these type of things. I beg him not to think like that, but his mother was willing. It was very difficult to stop his decision. In our place it is normal such type of practices. Half of the money for the brokers is covered by himself and the rest of it is by selling property and by borrowing from the credit institutions. After arriving at the border of the country, the person who takes him asked additional money and I gave that money to his family. In Yemen he was kidnapped by the traffickers, but he released while his uncle from Saudi Arabia sent them money. He always makes a call after one month. He did not send us money. But later he did not call us for a maximum of four months. My neighbours heard the death of my son and they chitchat each other when they see me in a secret language. When they did like this I feel something. I worry about my boy. My boy died by the reason that we do not know. It was very shocking when his body arrived home after six months. I dismayed so much. I feel as I killed my son myself. Our heart is very broken. What I thank for God is my son's body is buried in his land, but there are so many people who were eaten by animals. The problem is the people cannot take a lesson from such type of horrible story. They are thinking still about it. It seems very difficult to change such type of mind. The youth's attitude towards education seems very negative. I say the government has very big assignment to solve this problem. Religious and community leaders are teaching about it in religious and public holidays. No one hears them. It is not well organized and articulated. The

government has been made many wrongs when it used unrepresentative and small number of people who were successful in the accumulation of money because of migration. They used them as models of development and they called them "Development patriots "and gave them an award. The people who were psychologically and physically retarded, abused and injured are too many than those who get success. The reality implies that the risk outweighs the benefit.

Map of Tigray Region

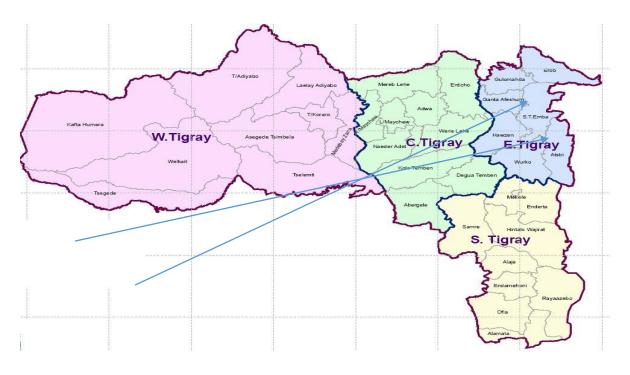


Fig.1: Map of the Study Area

Source: CSA 1994