

A POSSIBLE ALTERNATIVE TO ILLEGAL MIGRATION IN SOUTH WOLLO (ETHIOPIA)

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Abstract

Il paper condivide, partendo da un'analisi del fenomeno migratorio in Etiopia, le lezioni apprese da un progetto di sviluppo sulla migrazione realizzato in Etiopia tra il 2016 e il 2017 dall'ONG Cifa e cofinanziato dall'AICS. Il progetto, basato su una partnership con l'Università di Torino e il Master in Teatro Sociale e di Comunità, e attori locali quali l'Università di Wollo, autorità ed ONG locali, ha affrontato il problema migratorio, con tutte le sue tragiche conseguenze ed alto livello di sofferenza, attraverso un approccio multisettoriale.

Abstract

The paper, starting from an analysis of migrations in Ethiopia, shares the lessons learned from a development project implemented on migration in central Ethiopia. The project “A possible alternative to illegal migration”, implemented in 2016/2017 by the Italian NGO CIFA and co-financed by the Italian Development Cooperation Agency, was based on the partnership the University of Turin and the Master of Social and Community Theater and local actors like the Wollo University, local authorities and NGOs, which allowed tackling the phenomenon of illegal migration, with all its tragic consequences and high level of suffering, through a multi-sector approach.

Keywords

Migration, Ethiopia, Job creation, Innovative teaching methodologies, Social and Community Theater

Migration in Ethiopia

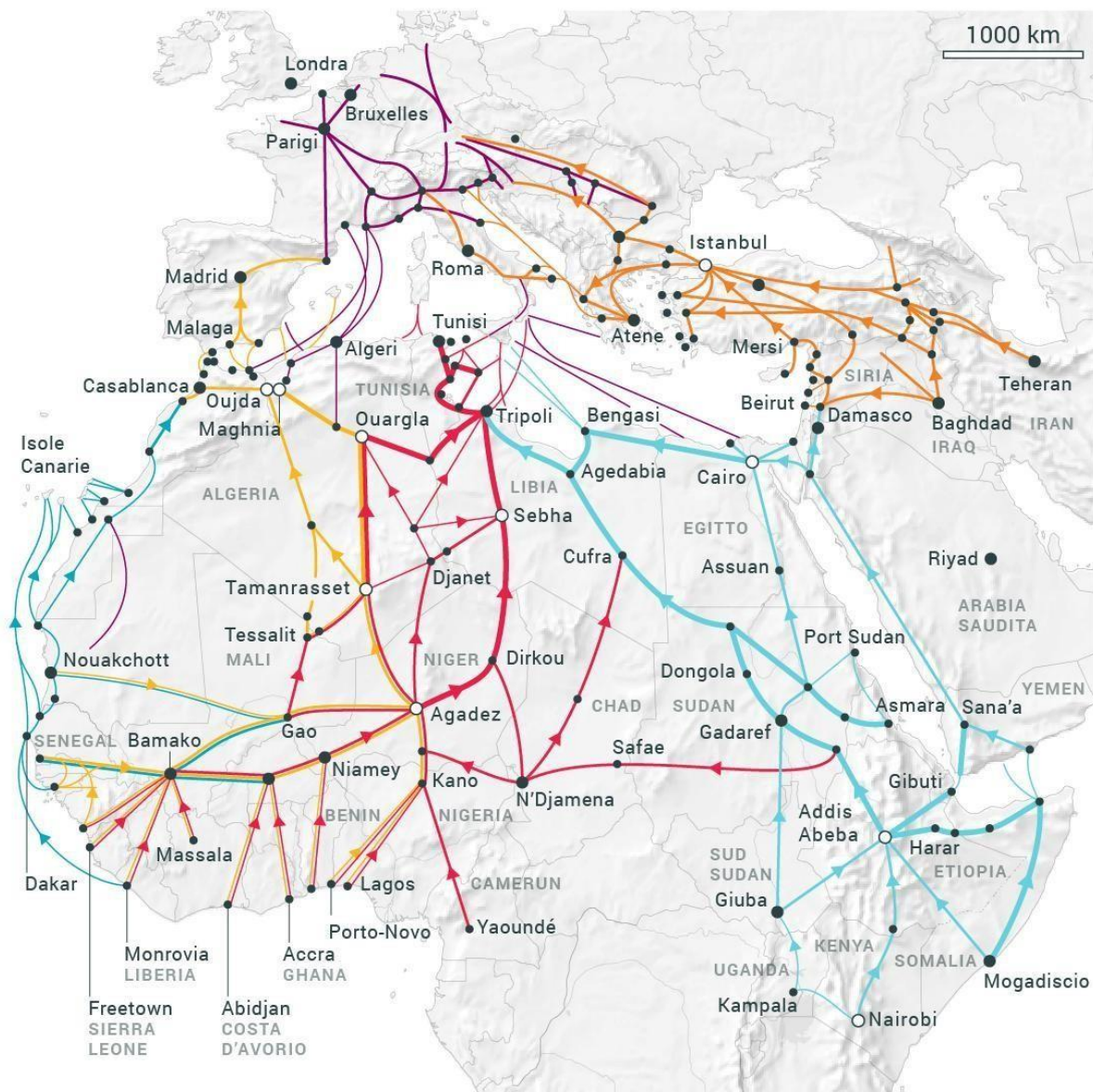
The Horn of Africa and more specifically Ethiopia are historically characterized by human migrations. Conflicts, drought, famine are the main causes¹, however, in the last years, economic reasons are prevailing on others². Ethiopia is simultaneously a country of origin, destination and transit for migrants. Migrations of Ethiopians towards other countries represent a complex phenomenon and concern regular and irregular migrants as well as human traffic victims.

¹ Fransen and Kuschminder, 2009

² Rmms (Regional Mixed Migration Secretariat), 2014

The three main identified migration routes from Ethiopia are: 1) the “Eastern route” towards Saudi Arabia and other Middle East countries via Djibouti and Yemen; 2) the “Northern route” towards

Le rotte migratorie del Mediterraneo e altri collegamenti



Fonti: Thomson Reuters e IOM



Fig. 1 - Mediterranean Migration routes and other routes, Thomas Reuters and IOM, 2016

Europe via Libya; 3) the “Southern route” towards South-East Africa and South Africa via Kenya.³ The main destination is Saudi Arabia, but Ethiopians lead also towards Europe and South Africa. In 2012, 200,000 Ethiopians migrated legally to the Middle East for work reasons. This figure represents only 30-40% of the total in the same year. The remaining migrants (between 300,000 and 350,000 people) were human traffic victims or have been illegally brought in by traffickers.⁴ Migration of Ethiopians for work reasons prevail among the irregular migration flows towards Yemen representing 78% of all migrants coming from the Horn of Africa. Reports on trafficking by the U.S. Department of State count Ethiopia among the countries of origin of hard labor and sexual traffic victims (Rmms, 2013).

The freedom of movement within and outside the country are in principle constitutional rights of Ethiopians. Still, traveling abroad other than the ways stated by the law is illegal and punishable. Any employment agency or person without a license, or with a suspended or expired license found in sending Ethiopians abroad is punishable with imprisonment and fine. Trafficking in human beings for whatever purpose is prohibited and deemed to be illegal. Though, despite the existence of a legal framework, illegal migration is by far the most prevalent way to leave the country for working purposes in Ethiopia. People migrate to the Middle East countries through illegal means rather than through legalized ones, which also indicates low levels of law enforcement. US department report on human trafficking made clear that 60-70% Ethiopian migrants to Middle east made their journey through illegal means with the facilitation/services of traffickers.⁵ There were more than 400 legally registered private employment agencies and the great majority was reported to be involved in both legal and illegal recruitment of Ethiopians with the purpose of out-migration. Another report entitled “Letter to Saudi” also mirrored the involvement of all except 20 private employment agencies in illegally sending of Ethiopians to abroad.⁶

As a result of the prevalence and alarmingly increasing of illegal migration, the Ethiopian Government felt the need of having a law exclusively focused on illegal human trafficking and to strengthen its law enforcement capacity. Accordingly, a new law on human trafficking was enacted in August, 2015. The law was called “A proclamation to provide for the prevention and suppression of trafficking in person and smuggling of migrates”.⁷ The law gave a clear definition of what human trafficking is, broadened the concept of trafficking, and tightened the penalty of people prosecuted and convicted. The creation of a binding bilateral agreement with the migrant receiving countries

³ Martín and Bonfanti, 2015

⁴ RMMS, 2013

⁵ Usa State Department, 2015

⁶ Rmms, 2014

⁷ Fdre, 2015

was another important action that the Government of Ethiopia made to address the problem of illegal migration and ensure the rights and benefits of its people migrating to abroad.

The repatriation of more than 170,000 Ethiopians labor migrants from Saudi Arabia between the end of 2013 and beginning of 2014, the eruption of xenophobia movement in South Africa in 2014 and the killing of 30 Ethiopians in Libya in 2015, were amongst the big events that have exacerbated the public opinion and lead the government to adopt an “*unusual response*” to address the problem of illegal migration in the country. After these violent events, the Government of Ethiopia took various measures: the banning of labor migration to the Middle East, the suspension of permit of operation for the Private Employment Agencies, the enactment of law on human trafficking, the effort of raising awareness through different programs were amongst the responses given to the problem.

Despite all these efforts, the problem of illegal migration increased. Especially the ban on overseas migrant labor fueled in the last years the illegal migration because labor migration through legal mechanisms was no longer a viable option. It has been proven that Ethiopians are once again arriving in significant and increasing numbers along Yemen route despite the ban is still in place.⁸

Being aware that both Ethiopia represents a labour reserve for rich Arab Countries⁹ and that the illegal migration was increasing, the Ethiopian Government enacted in 2016 the law “Ethiopia’s Overseas Employment Proclamation 923/2016”, which designed a new framework of overseas employment. In this regard, the Government also finalized bilateral labor migration agreements especially with those countries where Ethiopian migrants flows are mainly addressed, such as Kuwait, Qatar, Jordan and, very recently (signed on 25th May 2017 in Jeddah), with Saudi Arabia.

Migration patterns in South Wollo, Amara Regional State, Ethiopia

South Wollo, in the Amhara Regional State, is among the areas which are mostly touched by the irregular migration phenomenon. The urbanization level is lower than the national one, which is 16%.¹⁰ The majority of people are Muslims (70.8%), followed by Orthodox Christians (28.70%). The literacy rate is 45.5% (51.8% for men and 39.3% for women). The official unemployment rate is 15.8%. Agriculture is the main economic sector. Data collected during the needs assessment phase on the ground by Cifa and its partner Ifso indicated that almost all the families of the area are involved in some way in the phenomenon of irregular migration. Testimonies agreed that migration

⁸ Rmms, 2013

⁹ Bisrat et al., 2017

¹⁰ World Bank, 2016

for work reasons was growing because it represents a strategy for family livelihood and survival. The dream to change one’s own life and that of their families, together with the lack of real work opportunities, lead young people to choose migration. People involved are among 18 and 30 years old. Migration concerns both men and women. Several data prove that women migrate more than men, but thanks to the ease in finding a job in The Gulf countries, till the ban to migrate for work reasons, they preferred the legal air transport, while men were used to illegal migration.

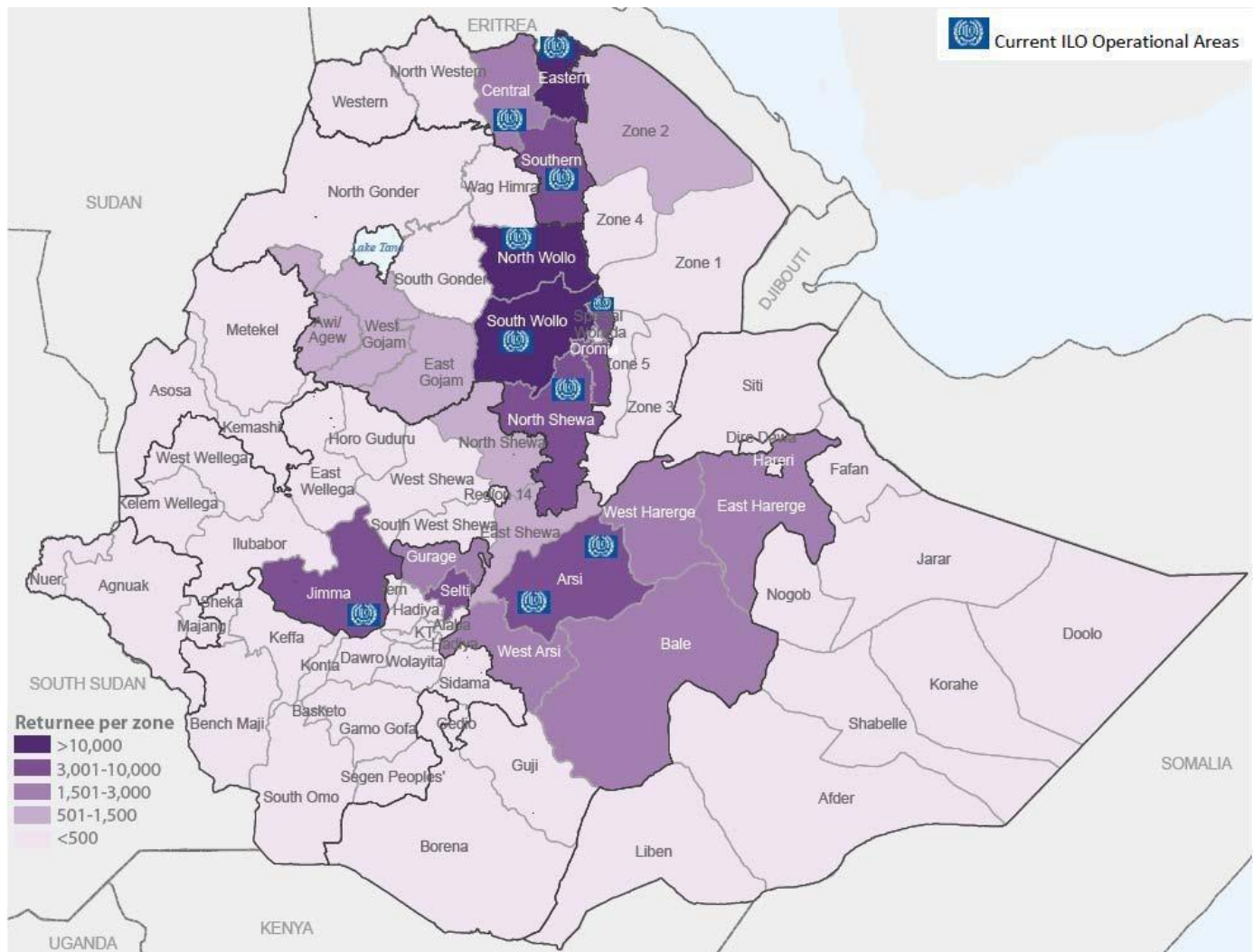


Fig. 2 - Unocha Map of returnee locations and Ilo operational areas in the action ‘Support to the reintegration of returnees in Ethiopia’, 2015.

The phenomenon of irregular migration in the Zone of South Wollo, Amhara Region, was investigated by the research “*Magnitude, Determinants and Effects of Illegal Out-Migration from South Wollo Zone, with a particular Emphasis on selected Woredas*” conducted by the Wollo University in the framework of the Cifa’s project “A possible alternative to illegal migration”. The

research focused on the three target woredas (administrative districts), namely Ambasel, Tehuledere and Worebabo, where projects activities were implemented. Applying a mixed approach of qualitative and quantitative methods, 160 people (returnees, members of migrants' families, and community leaders including public officials, religious leaders and elders) were directly involved in the research through questionnaires, interviews and focus group discussions. Data were thus collected, analyzed and described by the researchers of the Wollo University.

According to the opinion of respondents out-migration, especially of low-skilled illegal migrants, is a growing phenomenon in South Wollo. An estimation of the out-migration trends can be provided by the number of people from the target who requested a passport: the data provided by the North East Immigration Office in Dessie refer of a three-fold increase in 2016 compared to 2014 figures. The same office reports a number of licensed travelers (mainly holding a tourist visa) which increased from 1329 in 2014/2015 to 4072 in 2015/2016.

Poverty is among the root causes of illegal migration in the area. Impoverishment is linked to various factors such as population growth, food shortages, indebtedness in rural areas and inability to repay the debt, and lack of job opportunities for graduated students. 96% of interviewed returnees stated that an “impoverished life” was the key factor for their illegal migration. This is linked to the particular morphology and topography of the land characterized by gorges and slopes, which leads to problems of accessibility to the land. Interviewees stated that plots of land available to families are not sufficient to guarantee sustainable productivity. Most of plots are used in fact for auto-production while “production for export is insignificant”.¹¹ Further challenges to farmers' self-sufficiency stem by the increase of local population, drought and decline of productivity of arable farmland, factors that exacerbate the vulnerability of local rural population. Beside the push factors listed above, the research mentions re-enforcing factors such as low expectations towards local job market (generally there is a negative expectation towards jobs that can be found locally compared to the jobs offered in Arab countries, this despite the many risks of the journey) and pull factors such as the examples given by successful returnees or contacts held with traffickers.

Information regarding routes is available from the *South Wollo Labour and Employee Affairs 2015 human trafficking plan*, confirming the routes reported by international and national researches (the North route via Metema, the Eastern route via Bati- Afar and Somalia, and the Southern route via Kenya). Many respondents agree with information provided by other written and oral sources who describe the journey towards Saudi Arabia – by far the main destination for illegal out-migration from South Wollo. Three routes are mentioned: 1) Dessie – Kombolcha – Besheftu – Hayo – Djibuti

¹¹ Kassagne and Gashaw, 2017

– Jeza (Yemen) Saudi border, 2) Addis Ababa – Harar – Jijiga – Besseso (Somalia) – Yemen – Saudi border, and 3) Addis Ababa – Adama – Deshitu – Hayu (Djibuti) – Yemen – Saudi border. Once they have reached the coast they are kept in a “fenced but unofficial and hidden concentration camp” (Kassegne and Gashaw, 2017, also in IADC, 2017) held by Yemeni brokers. Overall migrants meet four groups of brokers: (i) on the border between Ethiopia and Djibuti, (ii) between Djibuti and the coast, (iii) the Yemeni brokers who facilitate the crossing of the sea, and (iv) the Saudi brokers who organize the journey from the border to Jeddah and other destinations in the country. At each stop along the journey traffickers demand the payment of a new installment of the travel expenses, amount that was not included in the first payment done at the origin place. Each time the migrant is held, beaten and forced to give contact details of relatives in the destination country from whom to extort new amounts of money. Travel cost can be as high as 2,300 euro according to respondents, which is an enormous amount for local families.

Interesting is the analysis of risks related to the journey, which describes its several dimensions. Risks related to the journeys refer to several dimensions. The first is associated with the families of the migrants when the emigrants decide to go: beyond the pain caused by the separation that represents high emotional costs for both the mover and those left behind, in other occasions migrants need to face the refusal of their families which results in disruption of marriage, selling and distribution of properties between spouses, and serious conflicts among family members. Other risks refers to the route itself, with plundering of properties during the journey (46% of respondents who mentioned money raid, looting of glamorous ornaments, taking of watches, ravaging of cloths and other essential materials) and physical violence (36% of respondents) among main factors mentioned by respondents. Brokers torture migrants even to death (burns of parts of the body or damage of eyes as well as being beaten with sticks, electric wire, plastic rope, straps and thrust) until they give the phone number of relatives or other contact persons in Saudi Arabia, whom they ask additional money for continuing the journey. Other suffering comes from hunger and water thirst, bite by poisonous stakes, boat crush and sinking in the sea, lose of physical fitness, while rape is regular against women. The third area of risk is after the arrival of the emigrants in the destination country: here migrants denounce absence of right to change employer, being subject to physical violence, unbearable workload, long working hours per day, lack of freedom and denial of salary payment as common experiences of working as illegal workers in foreign countries like Saudi Arabia. Finally, the fourth area of risk is when emigrants are captured and then deported to their home country: due to the attempt to live and work without having a residential permit, the lack of political stability and other related factors in the host country most of the illegal migrants are exposed to arrest and deportation. Most of the interviewed illegal out migrants (returnees) stated that

returning home from the host countries was caused by deportation, end of contract, boredom from the general hard working and living conditions, health problems, home sickness and to grab the money they earn, were deportation (66%) and end of contract (19%) were the most frequent cases.”¹²

Regarding the analysis of the consequences and effects of migration on the lives of migrants’ families and communities, from the South Wollo research a negative impact seem to prevail on the possibility of a positive outcome (with a certain discrepancy from the other six researches conducted in the framework of the IADC programme, according to which migration improves the family’s standard of life¹³). Majority of respondents in South Wollo claimed that bankrupt was common among emigrants’ families, due to heavy interests on money loans (around 100% of original borrowed sum), as well as sale or loss of properties. Other consequences reported are: change of beliefs or radicalization of Islamic beliefs (including use of Arabic as lingua franca), school dropout with the aim to leave the country, disruption of families due to divorce, neglect of children abandoned by one of their parents. “*Migration caused divorce according to about 60% of returnees, 75% of migrants’ family members and 83% of community leaders*”.¹⁴ This, together with the drain of workforce, leads to the conclusion that migration generally takes a heavy toll on the socio-economical fabric of the origin communities. On the other hand remittances, when available, are most often used for consumption purposes (purchase of houses, domestic animals, house furniture or vehicles) rather than invested with a planned and aware strategy (buying a shop or a bar or investing in children’s education were among the few examples mentioned).

The Project

In the framework of the Italian policies on migration and its priorities for the development cooperation, in 2015 the Italian Agency for Development Cooperation (Iadc) implemented in Ethiopia in 2016 a pilot programme “Emergency Initiative targeting vulnerable people such as IDPs, migrants and refugees”. The programme funded five projects implemented by several Italian NGOs with the aim to address the root causes of migration with a strategy encompassing four sectors: support income generating activities and access to job opportunities, with special focus on young people and women; support to local communities’ resilience and living conditions also by improving the quantitative and the qualitative supply of basic services; information and awareness

¹² Kassegne and Gashaw, 2017, also in IADC, 2017

¹³ Iadc, 2017

¹⁴ Kassegne and Gashaw, 2017, also in Iadc, 2017

campaigns as well as realization of uptodate and field researches on migration.

With the aim to participating in such programme, Cifa conducted a needs assessment¹⁵, which, together with other existing relevant data obtained from government and Ngo sources, led to the identification of the real problems, needs and priorities of the intended target groups, especially potential migrants and returnees, including youth, women and men (impoverishment and lack of job opportunities, lack of awareness about the risks of irregular migration). The project was also in line with and it tried to contribute to the relevant policy frameworks including the Federal Constitution, the National Youth Policy, the National Women's Policy, the Cooperative law and the Cooperative development Strategy, the second Growth and Transformation Plan (Gtp II), and the like that promoted women and youth empowerment, employment and job creation, development of cooperatives as well as the participation of women and youth in social and economic spheres. Besides, the project activities were designed with a multi-sector approach as they involved various interventions that supplemented each other and thus attempted to address the multi-dimensional problems of the target groups that lead to illegal migration.

Cifa Onlus has been undertaking the 10-month pilot project entitled "*A possible alternative to illegal migration – Project for economic empowerment of potential migrants and awareness creation among the communities in South Wollo, Ethiopia*" from May 2016 to March 2017 in three districts/woredas, namely, Tehuledere, Worebabo and Ambassel woredas of South Wollo zone in Amhara region. The total project's cost implemented by CIFA was 284,362 Euro. The strategy on the one side aimed to create immediate job opportunities for potential migrants and to reinforce the local network for credit accessibility through the improvement of local system of savings and credit cooperatives (Sacco); on the other side a strong focus was given to contrasting the spread opinion that illegal migration represents a valid alternative to the lack of opportunities in the area of intervention. The project was therefore structured in four main components, i.e. (i) increasing employment/self-employment opportunities allowing potential migrants to be competitive in the labor market (with special attention to women and returnees) through access to specific trainings in the three target Woredas; (ii) strengthening the local network for credit accessibility through the improvement of Saccos in the project Woredas; (iii) raising the awareness on illegal migration risks and on the social impacts working with teachers and students of the second cycle of primary school and the first cycle of secondary school and community members in the targeted Woredas; and (iv) conducting the above mentioned research by Wollo University on illegal out-migration from South Wollo Zone.

¹⁵ Cifa, 2015

Projects on migration usually have a strong component related to job creation. Being poverty and lack of job opportunities among the root causes for leaving one's country, at least in Ethiopia, this is a pivotal component to be implemented. Vocational trainings activities were selected based on data received by a government training institute, the Development Logo Hayk Technical and Vocational Training College in Hayk (Tehuledere Woreda), located in one of the target areas. Based on available data (experience of employment rate after the trainings), 7 different kind of trainings were selected considering their high/very high appeal to the labor market. Trainings, held at the professional training centre, included both theory and practical sessions, provided a grant to start up a business activity at the end of the training (after development of a business plan) and provided an officially recognized certification issued by a public authority. With the aim to supporting the integration of the beneficiaries into the labour market, at the end of the vocational skills trainings, the school's coordination staff and project's socio-economical operators facilitated the matching of business start-ups with local market, helped with administrative requirements, and provided tutorship and follow up.

As an important component of the project, institutional building activities involved public officers and local saving and credit cooperatives. ToT training for public officials was implemented with the aim of strengthening the capacity of local institutions to facilitate local economic development. 18 public officers coming from the Departments of Women and Children Affairs, Cooperatives Promotion, Micro and Small Enterprise Development of each target Woredas were trained in areas such as Basic Business Skills, Life Skills and Cooperative Leadership. Trained officers at the end of the training, supported by expert trainers, delivered the training to the members of local savings and credit cooperatives. SACCOs are an institution first established in Ethiopia in the mid-1960s, whose number increased from 5,437 in 2006 to 14,453 in May 2014.¹⁶ In project's target areas, each Kebele (administrative unit below Woreda level) has one Sacco. 15 Saccos participated in the project. In order to access a Sacco, an applicant must provide a small capital but once they join they can also borrow a loan. The training for over 500 Sacco members, provided as mentioned by trained public officials, included topics such as conflict resolutions management, meetings management, and other more technical ones: book-keeping, financial services, budget drafting, auditing. Follow up and coaching was also provided to trainees along the project.

The need to strengthen the membership of Saccos was also among the desired results of the project, while, at the same time the needs assessment findings showed how girls and women represented the most vulnerable groups of potential migrants and the gender component was another identified

¹⁶ Tesfamariam, 2015

priority. So the project included a component of training for 300 poor working women (poor but active on the local labor market) who then became members of the Saccos. Training included topics such as entrepreneurship, development of competitive business ideas in the local market, planning (through business plan) and management of economic activities, financial language, self-esteem strengthening, efficient communication and the importance of information. Trainings' beneficiaries were encouraged to use part of their per diem to access the saving and credit cooperatives as a starting capital. Women represented over 60% of project's target beneficiaries.

Finally the project included a strong component of awareness raising, working with school children, teachers and community members through the methodology of social and community theater with the aim to strengthening the awareness about the risks of irregular migration, which were described above. Social and Community Theater (Sct) is a technique in which community members themselves are involved in theatrical and musical events to disseminate certain messages and sensitize communities on specific subjects. Returnees' descriptions about their journey were incorporated in the creation of the game "The path of life" which reproduced the entire experience step by step on a format similar to a *game of the goose*: the choice, the planning of the travel, the travel, the arrival in the new country, the new life, the return. The game board was created through ad hoc pictures produced by an artist and then taught to school teachers who played the game in their classes reaching out a total of over 3000 pupils. Furthermore community events were organized. To do so, one social worker and three facilitators (one for each woreda) have been trained by experts from Turin University, on Sct techniques and creation and implementation of the Game. In addition, 119 community representatives in the three target woredas were trained by Italian experts on Sct. The groups trained to Sct techniques organized in collaboration with local authorities final public events, last step of Sct intervention in each woreda, with a total audience of over 1000 people. This performance was created involving storytelling about the experience of a journey of an illegal migrant and art installations such as videos and pictures, using inter-active actions with the public.

Lessons learned

One first broad consideration refers to the relation between development projects and migrations. An analysis of the mandate of development Ngo projects will identify the fight to poverty as one of their core goals. "Development cooperation has the primary principle to fight poverty and not to manage migration flows".¹⁷ Also, taking into consideration the Eu treaties, Eu commitment towards

¹⁷ Stocchiero, in Iadc, 2017

development cooperation passes by poverty reduction and not by migration management (Funk, Mc Namara, Pardo, Rose, 2017). Ngo projects are chiefly accountable with the purpose of poverty reduction and their action should not be seen as a practice in contrast with the current migration policies, that are now focusing on the management of the flows, or with development trends, that show that development aid to lower-income countries generally leads to increase migration flows instead of decreasing it (the so called migration hump). Current reality is that migration control has become a priority of the Eu, where the management of the flows have taken over development arguments. This notwithstanding, in the long term development and poverty reduction should still remain the ultimate goal of Ngos' work and interventions, while current measures to contrast illegal migration should be seen as a mean to be used in the short term.

Programmes should take into consideration the economical dimension of the migration phenomenon and of the migration business. Countries of origin and of transit find themselves between the incentives of programmes based on the principle of conditionality, used by Eu as a mean to ensure cooperation on migration management, and the important revenues of migrants' remittances (as high as 22.4% of Gambia's Gdp, but 1% of Ethiopia's¹⁸). At the same time the business of migrants' smuggling represents a meaningful source of income for entire communities along the routes who have become dependent on them. Corruption is another side effect of the phenomenon, where local authorities at grassroots level also benefit, as much as smugglers and money dealers, from the migration business. All these factors make it difficult for the Eu to establish an efficient cooperation with countries of transit and origin.

The cultural dimension of migrations is equally relevant since the phenomenon, as in the case of South Wollo, has become so widespread and common that almost every household is touched in a way or another by the departure of at least a relative or a friend. The lack of awareness about the risks of migration has shown not to be the core problem: prospective migrants are rather aware of the dangers of the journey, of possible violence, abuses and even death that they can meet on the way. However a mis-perception of the positive aspects of life in destination countries and a rather irrational overemphasis of success stories distort a sound evaluation of migration given by prospective migrants and their families, who often see migration as the only way to improve their livelihood. It is necessary therefore to build a new perception of migration contributing to change the current culture of migration. However awareness raising actions should go beyond the testimonies of the returnees about their challenging experiences and consider to include also other approaches such as work with school teachers and students as well as communities.

¹⁸ World Bank, 2016

Keeping in mind the multi-dimensional roots of migrations, it is crucial to maintain a multi-sector approach, which is encouraged by the Iadc and applied in many development programmes. Support to job creation and to income generating activities alone cannot contribute to the improvement of the socio-economic tissue and therefore ease the drive to migrate. Provision of social services, health services, education programmes and policies, are all tools that have an impact on households' livelihood and also have an impact on families' income. Considering that migration is a phenomenon that cannot be stopped in the short term, its management must necessarily include regular migration channels: local development policies, programmes and actions should go hand in hand with controlled but feasible migration measures implemented by destination countries. It is noteworthy - but it would also require some reasoning - that all legal migration channels disappeared recently from any EU migration policy.

Main constraints to an integrated approach and to effective results are also linked to the lack of coordination of different actors, where Eu is fragmented and strongly conditioned by the political impact of the migration "crisis", while fragile states like Ethiopia struggle to develop adequate internal measures and development policies or to implement those already existing. In the case of Ethiopia, and South Wollo in particular, legal and political framework to tackle migration issues is available but there is lack of serious political will to implement effective control over illegal migration or develop measures and policies to foster development and mitigate causes of migration. The Illegal Migration Task Force established by the government as a inter-department unit that should act at various levels of the administrative structure is not implemented. An adequate attention to law enforcement should therefore be given in project design and adequate actions implemented both at central and local level. Very important is therefore to ensure that programmes on migration include components aiming at promoting good governance with the aim of strengthening both government institutions and civil society.

It is worth here also to mention briefly some of the recommendations drawn by the Iadc research programme¹⁹ Migration should be managed through local policies that should: develop comprehensive migration and youth policies built with the aim to create decent work opportunities; encourage migrants' households to invest their earnings in a balanced way and diversify strategies to prevent the risks linked to low levels of sustainability; include negotiations for better integration of migrants in destination countries and for the protection of their rights; support the trend of Ethiopia as a labour exporting country with ad hoc labour and education policies that enhance vocational trainings; strengthen social services at local level, including reintegration of returnees and

¹⁹ Iadc, 2017

protection of left behinds, particularly children; include measures aiming at enhancing the positive impact of financial remittances of migrants on the local rural and urban communities, mainly by the financial inclusion of migrants and their families and better management of financial institutions.

Considering the demographic trend of sub-Saharan Africa, with a population that in 2050 is expected to double (passing from current 1.2 billion to 2.4 billion), the migration problem might go out of control and short term management measures might not be sufficient. Root causes of migration are very complex and profound, which stem from economic backwardness, are emphasized by fragile states' weaknesses and are hindered by the beneficiaries of the new huge business as well as by the lack of cooperation among actors. Only multi-sector programmes that respond to very long-term strategies can therefore lead to significant results.

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