

Women's Experiences as Transit Migrants in Yemen

Risks, Coping Capacities and Structural Factors

By
Meraki Labs



MERAKI
— LABS

Table of Contents

Introduction	3
Context	3
The Feminisation of Migration	3
The Legal and Policy Framework	4
Migration Profiles and Routes	5
Analytical Framework	6
Smuggling and Trafficking: Dichotomy or Continuum?	6
Vulnerability: The Determinants of Vulnerability Framework	7
Approach	8
Analysis	9
Individual Factors	9
Reasons for Departure	9
Gender and Coping Capacities	11
Community Factors	12
Women’s First Contact with Smugglers	12
Social Networks as a Coping Mechanism	14
Structural Factors	16
Women’s Vulnerability to Protection Risks on the Route	17
Payment Mechanisms	17
Women’s Involvement in Smuggling Networks	19
Conclusion	19
Works Cited	20

Introduction

In 2019, women and girls formed 21% of migrants travelling irregularly from the Horn of Africa to Gulf countries; the majority of these women were from Ethiopia. Existing research provides anecdotal evidence that irregular migration journeys are gendered, highlighting that women face specific issues that are distinct from the overall risks of the journey. This study aimed to examine the risks faced by Ethiopian women on the irregular migration route to the Gulf, and the factors that affect their vulnerability to trafficking. It relied on quantitative data as well as sixteen semi-structured interviews that took place with female migrants in Yemen. The study found that, if the relationship between smuggling and trafficking can be characterised as a continuum, women are closer to trafficking along this continuum than men. Women are more vulnerable to exploitation due to individual factors and structural factors in the organization of the smuggling economy and route that have intentionally gendered dynamics, including the overwhelming use of post-payment for female journeys. The study provides programmatic recommendations regarding the integration of anti-trafficking measures into case management systems, the strong engagement of local communities in programming, and awareness raising in home countries targeted at prospective female migrants. The structure of the study is as follows: first, the context around female migration, in terms of both legal and policy framework and current profiles and routes, is reviewed. Then an analytical framework is outlined, in which the division between smuggling and trafficking is clarified, and the determinants of vulnerability are explored; this leads to a description of the methodology of the paper. In the Analysis section, individual factors affecting female migrants in Yemen are analysed, followed by community factors. Structural factors – notably the ways in which the organisation of smuggling networks affects women’s journeys – are then analysed. The paper concludes with programmatic recommendations.

Context

Women’s irregular migration experiences are influenced by three contextual factors: (1) the global and regional feminisation of migration, (2) the legal and policy framework both at home and at the countries of destination, and (3) the specificities of the irregular migration route from Ethiopia through Yemen into the Gulf.

The Feminisation of Migration

Globally, women comprise just under half – 47.9% - of registered, documented migrants (UNDESA 2019), and they are responsible for at least half of the remittances sent through official channels (IOM, 2005). Women have formed a significant share of the global migrant stock since 1990 (World Bank, 2018), but in recent years, the ways in which women migrate have shifted and changed. Increasingly, women form a higher share of migrants from low-income countries. In 2017, women comprised 50.2% of migrants from low-income countries are women, compared to 43.2% of upper-middle income countries (World Bank, 2018). Whereas traditionally women have migrated primarily for family reunification and marriage (Pillinger, 2007; Cerruti and Massey, 2001), they are now migrating as primary breadwinners for their families, or independently, to achieve greater agency and access resources (Marchetti and Salih, 2017; Oishi, 2002; Wilson, 2009).

As women’s migration experiences have changed and altered, the so-called ‘feminisation’ of migration has been given an increasing focus in research and policy (see, inter alia: Mullaley, 2015; Piper, 2008; Pillinger, 2007; Oso and Caterino, 2013; Gouws 2010; Tittensor and Mansouri, 2017; Coppola, 2018). Analysis has focused on documented and regular female migrants; the experiences of women who travel voluntarily, but without documentation, have been given less attention. Often, research into women irregular migrants who leave voluntarily has focused only on a particular context (Pickering and Powell, n.d.). The lack of focus on female

irregular migrants may be attributed to two factors. First, data available on the demographics of irregular migration flows indicates that women form only a small proportion of the irregular migration flow – women form only 5% of the flow of irregular migrants in the Middle East and North Africa (IOM DTM, accessed December 2020). Second, in recent years, there has been an extensive focus on women in literature around human trafficking – that is, irregular movement which takes place for the purposes of exploitation. The line between trafficking and migration can be vague, with some scholars (Mo, 2016; Lee 2004) clearly suggesting that drivers of migration and drivers of trafficking overlap to a large degree. Women’s movements appear to have been examined to a greater extent in the context of trafficking literature than in the context of migration literature, despite the practical overlap between the two topics.

The situation in Ethiopia is broadly consistent with the global picture: it is widely accepted that the feminisation of migration is taking place, but women’s voluntary irregular movement has received less attention in the research and policy arenas. Trafficking of women, on the other hand, has been widely publicised. Kuschminder and Seigel (2014), in a quantitative survey examining intentions within Ethiopia, found that 60% of Ethiopian (would-be) migrants are women. Ethiopia is a low-income country, with a per capita income of 850 USD (World Bank 2020); the high proportion of female migrants out of Ethiopia is thus consistent with global trends across low-income countries. In one sample, 75% of migrants were migrating specifically for employment opportunities with the Middle East being the most prominent intended destination (Kuschminder and Seigel, 2014). The Middle East represents a particularly important destination for women, given the relatively easy availability of domestic work opportunities (Kuschminder and Seigel, 2014; Schewel, 2018). Domestic work abroad provides a significantly higher return compared to domestic work at home: the wages for domestic labour in the Gulf are often 150 USD per month, but for similar work, women are often paid only 20 – 30 USD in Ethiopia (Katema, 2014). Individuals, including women, appear, according to the literature, to have agency over their own movement, with 44% of respondents making their own decision to migrate in one study (Kuschminder and Seigel, 2014)¹. Women form a minority of the migration flow from the Horn of Africa to the Gulf – they represented approximately 20% of the flow in 2019 (IOM DTM, 2019). Research and analysis of Ethiopian women who travel voluntarily but irregularly remains limited, and the research that does exist often focuses on the trafficking dynamic (see: Marchand et al, 2016; Ashene, 2013).

The Legal and Policy Framework

The situation of domestic migrant workers, including Ethiopians, in Gulf countries has been in the spotlight over recent years due to the human rights abuses perpetrated on domestic workers by employers (HRW, 2014). These abuses occur in a legal and policy framework that is characterised by gaps and changes, both in Ethiopia and in the Middle East.

In the Middle East, migration takes place in the context of tied visas known as *kafala*. The system relies on sponsorship relationships between local citizens or companies (*kafeel*) and foreign workers (MigrantRights.org, 2020; CFR, 2020). In most situations, workers need their sponsor’s permission to transfer jobs, end employment and enter or exit the host country (CFR, 2020). Employers can cancel a worker’s visa at any time, and workers who leave their jobs without consent can be punished with fines and deportations (HRW, 2016; Longva 2006, Mahdavi 2013). In the case of domestic workers, the situation is even more biased in favour of employers. In most contexts, domestic workers are explicitly excluded from all protections afforded by national labour laws (Mahdavi, 2013; CFR 2020). The existing legal framework, therefore, heavily favours employers and excludes domestic workers – who are primarily women – from even the most basic forms of protection.

¹ The 44% refers to both male and female respondents; female respondents made up 60% of total respondents in the sample.

There are currently efforts underway to revise and replace the *kafala* system (CFR, 2020). Qatar, in anticipation of its hosting of the World Cup, made significant changes to the *kafala* system, including scrapping requirements for employers to consent to job changes and penalising employers who withhold wages. Saudi Arabia also announced reforms in November 2020, including allowing migrant workers to leave the country and change jobs without permission from employers. The UAE and Bahrain have developed “flexi-visas” for workers who have become undocumented.

While policy developments around the *kafala* system are positive, they are, to some degree, counteracted by nationalisation efforts, particularly in Saudi Arabia. Saudi Arabia’s nationalisation policy, *Nitaqat*, was enacted in 2011 and requires Saudi private sector firms to meet specific employment quotas for Saudi nationals and to ensure taxation of international workers. It also specifically encourages the deportation of irregular migrants and restrictions on visa issuance. It is the first nationalisation policy to have been enforced on a large-scale in the region (Peck, 2017). The result is that irregular migrants are increasingly working completely informally, eliminating even the minor protections that did exist.

In Ethiopia, there is a legal framework around both trafficking and migration. The *Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia* (1995) (FDRE Constitution) prohibits trafficking in human beings.² Similarly, *Proclamation No. 909* and *No. 923* contain provisions to prosecute persons involved in trafficking in human beings and protect victims of trafficking. In 2015, Ethiopia adopted a *National Action Plan of Action to Combat Trafficking in Person* (2015/6 – 2020/1). To a large extent, however, the government is still missing the financial and resources to operationalise the laws.

Ethiopia’s approach toward out-migration has not been consistent. In 2013, in response to abuses of Ethiopian domestic workers in foreign countries, Ethiopia banned overseas migration. However, *Proclamation No. 923/2016* revised the ban and effectively permitted migration once again while providing some modifications on existing practices to improve protection for labour migrants. It attempts to define and regulate the role and responsibilities of the government, public and private employment agencies and protect the rights of migrant workers. In formulating the 2016 national law and policies relating to the protection of migrant workers, the Ethiopian government relied on Migration for Employment Convention (Revised), 1949 (No. 97), the Migrant Workers (Supplementary Provisions) Convention, 1975 (No. 143) and accompanying Recommendations Nos. 86 and 1515. Coupled with these decisions, the Ethiopian government has also taken steps to invest in the diaspora.³ While the changes to the legal framework that took place over the last years have broadly been positive, and have put in place more security for women, they also put in place restrictions regarding who can migrate legally (migrants must be over 18 and have completed eight years of primary education). Women who do not meet these criteria often have fewer choices to migrate legally.

Migration Profiles and Routes

The migration flow from the Ethiopia to the Gulf via Yemen is long-standing, and consists primarily of Ethiopians and Somalis. Somalis formed a majority of the flow in the years following the start of the Somali civil war, and caused a significant increase in the overall scale of the flow starting in around 1994. In recent years, however, the flow has been dominated by Ethiopians. In 2019, Ethiopians formed 94% of the flow from the Horn of Africa to the Gulf, and Somalis formed 6%. Most Ethiopians (87%) were from Oromia, and a proportion (10%) originated in Amhara (Meraki Labs, 2019). There is no specific breakdown of areas of origin for women migrants, but it can be assumed that trends are similar for both women and men. The recorded flow consisted primarily of men and boys (72% men and 7% boys); only 21% of recorded migrants were women and girls (DTM 2019). The proportion

² Article 18.

³ International Labour Organisation (ILO). (2017). *The Ethiopian Overseas Employment Proclamation No923/2016: A Comprehensive Analysis*. Addis Ababa: ILO

of women and girls, however, may be systematically under-recorded. Qualitative research conducted in 2019 indicated that women are less likely to pass through flow monitoring checkpoints because they were better protected by smugglers (Meraki Labs, 2019).

Migrants from Ethiopia make the journey across the Red Sea from one of two major departure points: Obock, Djibouti or Bossasso, Somalia. They travel from their home to these departure points by either foot or vehicle. There is a significant smuggler presence at both Obock and Bossasso given the importance of these sea departure points. During the height of the COVID-19 pandemic, from April to June 2020, the Obock departure point was closed by the government of Djibouti, but the Bossaso border point remained open. Boats launching from Djibouti or Somalia to Yemen land in either Bab al Mendeb, a stretch of coast covering Lahj and Taizz Governorates, or further east in Shebawah Governorate. Migrants make the journey from the southern coast to the northern border with Saudi Arabia by foot or by vehicle. Major crossing points from Yemen into Saudi Arabia are located at Al Rawq, Al Gahr and Al Thabet towns, all of which are in Sa'ada governorate. Qualitative data indicates that women are more likely to make the journey via vehicle, which is associated with the perception that they are 'higher value' migrants amongst smugglers (Meraki 2020).

Analytical Framework

The movement of women from Ethiopia to the Gulf is a complex phenomenon in which vulnerable individuals move across a route that includes both smuggling and trafficking dynamics. This paper assumes, in line with Salt (2000), that, while a clear legal distinction has been made between smuggling and trafficking, in practice, there is a continuum between the two concepts. It assumes that the position of each journey on this smuggling-trafficking continuum is determined by vulnerability factors at the individual, household, community and structural level. These vulnerability factors can be analysed at the individual, household, community and structural levels using a Determinants of Vulnerability framework. These two concepts – that of a continuum between smuggling and trafficking and that of a socio-ecological approach to vulnerability – form the basis of the analytical framework used to explore Ethiopian women's journeys through Yemen to the Gulf.

Smuggling and Trafficking: Dichotomy or Continuum?

In 2000, the United Nations adopted two protocols: one on trafficking in human beings and another smuggling of migrants, both supplementing the *United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime* (2000). The fact that these protocols are separated, and that separate definitions have been drawn up for smuggling and trafficking, indicates that, for the international system, smuggling and trafficking are two distinct and separate phenomena (Campana and Varese, 2015).

Human trafficking is defined in *Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, supplementing the United Nations Convention Against Transnational Organised Crime* (2000), 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 is defined as requiring "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". Smuggling, in contrast, is defined by the *Protocol against the Smuggling of Migrants by Land, Sea and Air* (2000) as "the procurement, in order to obtain, directly or indirectly, a financial or other material benefit, of the illegal entry of a person into a State Party of which the person is not a national or a permanent resident."

Smuggling and trafficking are distinct on several counts (UN, n.d.):

- Trafficking is a crime against a person, whereas smuggling is a crime against a state (violating national immigration and security laws). In instances of trafficking, the perpetrator aims to exploit an individual for financial or material gain derived from the exploitation, whereas smuggling is aimed at circumventing the laws of a state in exchange for payment by the smuggled person(s) to reach their desired destination.
- Based on the above definition, trafficking does not necessitate the crossing of international boundaries (exploitation for gain can occur anywhere) whereas smuggling does.
- Victims of trafficking do not consent to exploitation, whereas those who have been smuggled have voluntarily entered into a relationship with migrants. The issue of consent can be challenging in smuggling contexts, as will be discussed later in this paper.
- Victims of human trafficking are always accorded a number of assistance and protection rights, due to the fact that a crime has been committed explicitly against them as individuals. For migrants who have been smuggled, however, the rights to protection and assistance are linked to the circumstances endured by migrants in this context, including due to other crimes committed against them by abusive smugglers or other actors – though ultimately, they are viewed as complicit in breaking the law.

A variety of academics noted that, while the definitions provided by the protocols are clear and distinct, it may be challenging to map out the precise situations of migrants onto these definitions. In fact, some arguments have been made that there is little if any distinction between smuggling and trafficking. Kuschminder and Triandafyllidou (2019) argue that, for migrants passing through Libya into Europe the “definitions [of smuggling and trafficking] and the distinction that arises from them tend to become meaningless.” Specifically, they argue that (1) smuggling presupposes the legality of an agreed contract; this assumption is invalidated along certain migration routes where contracts cannot be enforced either formally or through social structures, (2) migrants who face the types of risks associated with extortion may do so with a degree of self deception, and (3) the UN Convention and its protocols are not adapted to contexts with little to no rule of law, such as Libya and Yemen (Kuschminder and Triandafyllidou, 2019).

Salt (2000) describes the relationship between smuggling and trafficking as more fluid and complex than the dichotomy outlined in the UN protocols. He suggests that “trafficking and more voluntary forms of undocumented migration are best thought of as a continuum.” (Salt, 2000:33). He points out that it is difficult to establish both whether deception and coercion did take place along the route, and whether incidents that took place were sufficient to elevate a situation from one of voluntary undocumented migration – that is smuggling – to trafficking.

This paper adopts Salt’s perspective on the relationship between smuggling and trafficking – that is, that there is a continuum between the two. It further suggests that the situation of an individual journey along the continuum is based on several factors, including gender. Women’s journeys and men’s journeys are situated at different points due to a range of situational and individual vulnerabilities.

Vulnerability: The Determinants of Vulnerability Framework

Vulnerability can be conceptualized on different levels and does not refer to any specific experiences; rather it is considered an overarching theme shaped through individual and institutional relationships (Butler 2016, Goodin 1985, Fineman 2019). On a practical level, it is challenging to establish definitions for vulnerability, particularly in the context of trafficking and smuggling: “While a definition of vulnerability may seem useful for determining who should access additional assistance, the need for clear definitional criteria must be balanced against the need for flexibly accommodating individual needs on a case-by-case basis.” (Paasche, Skilbrei and Plambech, 2018). To account for these competing priorities, international organisations have drawn up

definitions, principles and guidelines on migrants in vulnerable situations (OHCHR, n.d.; IOM, 2018; UNHCR, 2017).

IOM in particular has developed a Determinants of Vulnerability (DOV) model that aims, in practice, to close the protection gap between recognised categories of migrants (victims of trafficking, refugees) and migrants who experience violence, exploitation and abuse. The model takes a whole-of-society approach to migrant protection. It is a social-ecological model that recognises migrations' situation as individuals operating within larger structures, and it looks specifically at individual, household, community and structural aspects to vulnerability. The model defines 'migrants vulnerable to violence, exploitation and abuse' as "a migrant or group of migrants with limited capability to avoid, resist, cope with, or recover from risks or experiences of violence, exploitation, or abuse that they are exposed to or experience within a migration context. This limited capability is the result of the unique interaction of individual, household, community, and structural characteristics and conditions." (IOM, 2018)

- Individual factors affecting vulnerability refer to a migrant's physical and biological characteristics, status in society, beliefs, knowledge and attitudes, and health and wellbeing.
- Household factors refer to elements such as family size, family socio-economic status, family savings and income status and migration history.
- Community factors include economic, social, and cultural structures, and people's positions within these structures. Community factors include financial resources and social resources that permit access to services.
- Structural factors refer to historical, geographical, political, social and cultural conditions and institutions at the national, regional and international levels.

The DOV model "is a framework of analysis which can be applied at any stage of the migration process and in any context and which allows practitioners to determine if a migrant is vulnerable and if their vulnerabilities are a result of individual, household, community and/or structural factors" (IOM, 2018).

This paper adopts the DOV model as a starting point for examining the situation of women migrants passing through Yemen from Ethiopia to the Gulf, but tailors the model specifically to the context of Yemen as a transit country. Individual factors, in this context, are taken to include aspects such as gender, literacy, and capacity to speak Arabic. Community factors are taken to include social networks accessible by women aiming to travel or already en route. Structural factors, in this context, are interpreted as long-standing organisational and social factors, not only in terms of regular migration (ie the legal and policy context), but also in terms of irregular migration. As such, structural factors include organisation of smuggling networks, as well as payment mechanisms seen as acceptable for individual migrants and their communities.

Approach

The goal of this paper is **to explore the factors affecting Ethiopian women's positioning on the smuggling-trafficking continuum as they travel through Yemen to the Gulf**. The paper aims to produce conclusions and recommendations that inform country and regional level programming around migration through Yemen. It will use the DOV model to position migrants on the smuggling-trafficking continuum by considering vulnerability to exploitation.

The study adopts a mixed methodology consisting of both quantitative and qualitative components. Quantitative data was drawn from existing data sources. A small number of qualitative interviews were conducted. A questionnaire was developed on the basis of the research questions. 16 interviews took place with female

migrants between 1 August and 30 August 2020. Qualitative data collection was limited to adult women, rather than girls; this decision has been taken primarily for ethical reasons. The context in Yemen is characterised by insecurity and logistical challenges and data collection concerning migrants is even more complex than data collection for other groups, given the mobility of the migrant population. In this context, safeguarding measures that should be in place when collecting data with children will be hard to ensure.

Data collection was conducted in the migrant's language (either Oromo or Amharic), by a data collection team consisting of a facilitator and a note-taker. Data collectors were trained by the researchers on the specifics of the questionnaire. The training of data collection teams took place in two steps: as a first step, the consultants trained 'lead' data collectors who are fluent, not only in Arabic, Amhara and Oromo, but also in English. This training took place in English, and acted as a training of trainers. Then team leads trained their teams on the questionnaire in Arabic.

Informed consent was obtained prior to data collection taking place and respondents have been assigned numbers to maintain their confidentiality. Notes as well as contextual reflections by the interviewer were typed and provided to the researcher. 7 interviews were recorded, and subsequently transcribed word for word from Oromo into English. 9 interviewees refused to be recorded, so notes were taken of the interviews. Inductive coding was used to identify major themes and then frequency was used to identify trends. Qualitative analysis was then cross-checked for coherence against the results of the quantitative survey results.

Analysis

Data reviewed in this research indicate that women are positioned closer to trafficking along the smuggling-trafficking continuum when compared to men, due to a range of individual, community and structural vulnerability factors.

Individual Factors

This section will discuss the ways in which women's reasons for departure differ from men's reasons, as well as the physical and social factors that support women to cope with shocks and stresses during the migration journey.

Reasons for Departure

The data from this research suggests that women undergo a more complex decision-making process when starting a migration journey, compared to men. The quantitative questionnaire asks respondents to state reasons for migration; it is possible to state up to five potential reasons. Only 15% of men stated more than one (2 to 5) reasons for leaving, whereas 24% of women stated more than one reason for leaving. Unemployment and limited income are likely to be driving migration factors for both men and women (92% and 85%, respectively)⁴ – but women also list social, cultural and protection factors when describing their decisions to migrate.

One of the most frequent non-economic reasons cited by women for migration in the quantitative survey was that 'everyone else is leaving': 15.1% of women stated that they were leaving because of their overall context, compared to only 7% of men. An analysis of the qualitative data collected reinforced the importance of culture in the decision-making process. Most interviewees stated that they engaged in migration because they wanted

⁴ These results broadly reflect the wider literature on the migration route and the region Adefrsew 2017; Mohammad YA, 2016; USAID 2018). IOM DTM data demonstrates that 85% of migrants moving along this route are driven by economic motives; academic research also indicated that households that are food insecure are four times more likely to send migrants (Tegegne and Penker, 2016).

to pursue a better life. Some respondents wanted to emulate family or community members who had achieved success through migration; even if the family member concerned provided negative feedback about the journey, the respondents wanted to achieve the social and economic success associated with migration that could be seen in the broader community.

“

“When my brother came home, or returned from Saudi, he built a building for the family since he came back with a lot of money. I left for Saudi. My brother told me to stay and I refused.”

– Respondent 5

”

A second significant non-economic reason for departure for women is associated with the protection environment at home. Two types of protection issues were stated when women described their reasons for migration: (1) direct experience of violations, including sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV), gender roles and stigma, and (2) lack of access to services associated with gender roles and norms at home. A small number of women interviewed as a part of the quantitative survey indicated that they had been pushed to migrate specifically due to sexual or gender-based violence (n=3, 0.5% of respondents); in addition, a small number of women indicated that they were forced to leave due to domestic violence, or to escape a forced marriage (n=3, 0.5% of respondents).

One interviewee, Respondent #12, stated that she was migrating for economic reasons, but, on further questioning, told a story of compounding vulnerabilities. Her parents died when she was a child, and as a result she had limited access to education. She was employed in selling qat; this form of employment can be considered a coping mechanism for women (Mackie et al, 2017). She had been married, but divorced; social stigma and additional poverty were associated with the divorce. She moved voluntarily. While she stated that her reason for moving was economic, a variety of protection issues at the household and social level underpinned her decision. Other respondents told stories which also indicated a multiplicity of underlying vulnerabilities at the household level. Death of parents was mentioned by several respondents, as were household level financial difficulties and household arrangements with which girls were uncomfortable (for example, living with a stepfather and step-siblings).

The finding that women migrate in part due to protection risks at home is consistent with the literature. Early marriage remains common in rural areas and is often absent consent (Kedir, 2016; Unicef, 2018). This exposes girls to increased risk of violence and may drive them to flee. Girls who are married early are often denied the ability to continue their education, limiting future opportunities due to illiteracy (Samela & Cochrane, 2019). Domestic and sexual violence is widespread in these circumstances (Kedir, 2016; Semahegn & Mengistie, 2015). The results of the qualitative and quantitative survey also indicate that women migrate, not only because of specific instances of violence or stigma, but also because of lack of access to services: 14% of women reported that lack of access to education was a factor in their departure, compared to only 9% of men. In qualitative

interviews, several respondents mentioned that they were interested in education, and that they migrated partially because education options were no longer open to them.

“

“I was interested in education and I have the passion to continue my study... I was a student, but the school had many problems [and I could not attend] regularly. That is why I decide to immigrate to another country.”

– Respondent 11

”

The data gathered on the Yemen route strongly corroborates existing literature about gender norms and migration decisions in Ethiopia. At a household level, research indicates that women experience significant barriers to economic participation, specifically through lack of access to education (Mohammad, 2016). There is also evidence that women migrate to solve economic disparities and escape gender roles and social norms (Zacharia et al, 2001; UNFPA, 2006). Ethiopia-based research also confirms that migration can help women to manage stigma associated with divorce (Fransen and Kuschminder, 2009).

Gender and Coping Capacities

Coping strategies are short-term responses to periodic stress or sudden shocks (Korf, 2003). In the context of populations who are migrating, coping strategies consist of ex-ante strategies that reduce risk or increase capacity, or ex-post strategies that permit an individual to respond to a shock after it has been realised (Ghorpade, Adhikari and De, n.d.). Qualitative and quantitative data indicates that women have fewer ex-ante coping capacities – that is, they have fewer resources and skills that would support them in responding to a shock.

Women have fewer basic skills compared to men. Only 45% of female migrants are literate, compared to 68% of men; similarly, 38% of women have no education, compared to only 21% of men. Women are also less likely to have skills specific to the migration journey. Only 6% can understand Arabic; in comparison, 16% of men. Lack of literacy, education and Arabic language skills all limit women’s capacity to respond in case of a shock, including the capacity to access services and support.

Not only are female migrants less likely to have the skills to cope with challenges along the route, they are also less likely to have ID. Lack of ID can prevent women from regularising their travel and accessing services. Only 6.5 % of women reported, having ID, compared to 8.6% of men. Men are significantly more likely than women to have passports: 7.2% of men have passports compared to 2.4% of women. Similarly, 79% of men have ID from their country of origin, compared to 64% of women. Lack of ID may be linked to trafficking and coercion, further discussed in the ‘Protection Risks’ section.

Women have lower coping capacities, not only because they are less likely to have skills, but also because they have engaged in lower levels of preparation for migration. Quantitative data indicates that both men and women do not prepare enough for the migration journey; both men and women report having engaged in, on average,

only 1 type of preparatory activity. In qualitative interviews, women state clearly that they do not engage in significant amounts of preparation. Preparatory activities used by women are generally limited to activities to earn money to migrate, such as selling land, property or assets, or saving money. Women generally do not take measures to mitigate against risks, such as requesting information from other migrants, researching migration or planning to reduce exposure to protection risks.

Only one woman interviewed reported taking preventive measures to mitigate protection risks. Respondent 5 reported receiving an injection to prevent pregnancy. She was not very aware of the specifics of the process, but birth control injections were available at a local hospital. She reported receiving the injection for free, and reporting to the hospital that she was planning to migrate. She did not report telling friends or family about her activities.

At the individual level, women participating the qualitative and quantitative components of this study appear to leave for a more complex set of reasons compared to men, including reasons that are specifically related to protection issues, stigma and discrimination at home. They have fewer skills compared to men, and engage in few preparatory activities for the migration journey.

Community Factors

This section will consider the ways in which women enter into contact with smugglers, as this occurs differently for women and men, and will analyse the ways in which social networks, both at home and along the route, can support women in coping with shocks and stresses.

Women's First Contact with Smugglers

Very little information is available in the literature on how Ethiopian women enter into contact with smugglers, the factors that affect their negotiations, and the degree to which women's engagement with smugglers differs compared to men's. This survey provided some insights into the relationship between women and smugglers at the start of the journey.

Quantitative data demonstrates that women are more likely than men to start their journey in a group: 77% of women were travelling in a group upon departure, compared to 67% of men. Qualitative interviews provide more depth to this finding. Women appear to rely on community and family members to be put in touch with smugglers rather than making direct contact. Only one of the interviewed respondents indicated that she knew her agent, and this respondent said that she spoke to the agent, not just on her own behalf, but for a group of four girls (Respondent #2). All other respondents stated that they did not know the agent. Four interviewees (Respondent #1, Respondent #4 Respondent #5 and Respondent #6) provided some more detail about their initial contact with the agent. All four said that they did not contact the agent themselves. Instead, a family member or friend made the arrangements with the agent, and the women met the agent for the first time when they departed on the journey. One person (Respondent 1) also indicated that the family member took care, not only of the logistics, but also of the payment to the smuggler.

“

“My cousin called me and informed me that the agent will come and pick me. My cousin told the agent to take me to Sa'ada... he also paid 3,000 Riyal to take me to Djibouti.”

– Respondent 1

”

Perhaps linked to the limited contact between women and smugglers before departure, most respondents felt that they had not been given an accurate picture of the dangers associated with the trip. Two respondents suggested that they were being encouraged to travel, and told about the rewards of the journey, but not the risks. One of these respondents believed that smugglers were responsible for providing inaccurate stories about the benefits of travel. This respondent did not speak to a smuggler herself, so it can be assumed that she believed that the smuggler had misled the family member who acted as her representative.

“

“Agents encourage you to leave by fabricating stories. When we were leaving our country, we were told by these agents that there is a lot of cash or money in Yemen and Saudi Arabia. There are people who tell you lies and encourage you to travel.”

– Respondent 1

”

“

“Ooo! I cannot tell you now [how much I underestimated the danger], if I tell you now it does not seem to be true. Somebody was holding my shoulder and assisted me to travel.”

– Respondent 7

”

Both the qualitative and the quantitative data indicate that smugglers are willing to provide in-kind or financial incentives to encourage women to migrate. These incentives can be provided to the men who act as representatives, or directly to women.

In the qualitative interviews, two women (Respondent # 4 and Respondent #6) indicated that men are given incentives for recruiting women to migrate. Specifically, if one man recruits three or four women, he does not need to pay for his own migration journey, or receives a significant discount. These recruiters are from the same community as the women and make the journey with the women.

“

“If the men bring three or four women, they will discuss with the agent and will be exempted from paying.”

– Respondent 6

”

As a part of quantitative data collection, enumerators included comments and notes about the experiences of particularly vulnerable people. In three instances, women reported that smugglers enticed them into journeys by offering them cash incentives (500 Ethiopian Birr). No men reported having received such incentives. Few additional specifics were provided, and there was limited context, but these comments provide insight into the recruitment structure used by smugglers.

Qualitative and quantitative data from this research, therefore, indicate: (1) that women travel in groups, (2) that they do not engage with smugglers directly, but rather rely on friends and family, (3) that they feel they receive an inaccurate picture of the risks from the smugglers, (4) that men are incentivised to recruitment, and (5) that in some cases, women directly receive incentives to travel. If these factors take place in parallel – if family encourage women to migrate, find the smuggler, and barter women’s journeys in order to obtain free journeys for themselves – then the degree of autonomy women exercise when they migrate is severely limited. If women do not have sufficient information about the journey they are about to undertake, and cannot control or independently engage in discussions with smugglers, then the degree to which they consent to the journey can be questioned.

The finding that women enter into migration routes with very little agency deepens existing analysis about how women engage in migration journeys. This research indicates that it is possible for women to state that they are moving voluntarily, but for the logistical arrangements for their movement to be so limited as to afford them little agency. It helps to contextualise existing research on women’s migration (e.g., Kuschminder and Seigel, 2014), which states that women migrate voluntarily but does not examine the control they have over the decision and the logistics involved in movement.

The conclusion that women do not have enough information or agency to provide informed consent does, however, correspond to trafficking research; for instance, a scoping review indicated that a sizeable proportion of studies conducted on trafficking out of Ethiopia focus on women moving for the purposes of domestic labour, and find that these women do not have agency in the migration and employment process (Beck et al, 2016).

Social Networks as a Coping Mechanism

Social networks provide a form of ex-post coping mechanism for women travelling through Yemen. Although women can access resources through their social networks, they have very little control over the use, and potential misuse, of the resources. Women access two types of social networks as a coping mechanism: (1) social networks formed along the route, and (2) social networks at home who can transfer resources.

Social networks along the route support women to manage the challenges of the journey, specifically challenges associated with physical hardship and lack of food and water. In qualitative interviews, six women reported sharing food and resources with other members of their social group. They also mentioned their social groups when asked about where they received support. There were few mentions of support from other actors such as the Yemeni community, and humanitarian actors. In the translated interviews, respondents stated that, in general, women asked men in the group for food, suggesting that men had greater access to resources compared to women.

In severe cases of danger, including illness and disability associated with conflict, women survive on the basis of social networks; other people in social groups help women to continue to move, to return to a major town, or to access services. Respondent 3 is a woman from Tigray who lost her vision due to an accident along the route. Due either to her loss of vision or to an unrelated attack (the story is unclear), she lost consciousness in a town called Menab north of Sana'a. When she lost consciousness, the first people to respond were other migrants. The migrants transported her to Sana'a and found an international organisation willing to support her. Those who helped her were also Tigray, and it is likely that social networks were built on their common ethnicity. This, in turn, generated an environment in which Respondent #3's social network both rescued her from harm and supported her access to a wider network of resources.

Social networks at home are also a critical ex-post coping mechanism for women, because social networks at home allow women, or women's smugglers, to access cash. Cash was a type of assistance that was strongly needed, according to respondents of the quantitative survey: 45% of all respondents indicated that they needed cash, and 49% of female respondents requested cash assistance. Qualitative data indicated that cash can be used to purchase basic needs (food, water, clothes), overcome movement restrictions and avoid protection risks. Interviews conducted in the course of this research indicate that women use cash directly to mitigate risks.

“

“We have to pay money so that the government would not detain us and [that's how] we were able to cross the border. We actually paid money to government soldiers as well as to rebels so that they would not hijack us.”

– Respondent 4

”

Women generally do not carry cash on the trip, but in interviews, they indicated that their families transferred funds if they needed and requested it. Very few women (only 3.1% of respondents) indicated that they gave money to their families to mitigate the risk of extortion or issues along the route, so they relied on de-facto loans as a coping mechanism. The strength of women's social networks at home, therefore, are critical to their ability to access resources along the route. Social networks act effectively as a coping mechanism both when women have a wide network of family to access, and when this family has funds to loan to women along the route. Cash loaned to women through social networks is mentioned by women in interviews as a coping mechanism – but it is a coping mechanism over which women have little control. When women requested money transfers,

families made transfers, not directly to the migrant women, but to smugglers. The smugglers in turn used the money either to alleviate protection risks to meet basic needs. This method of money transfer led to appropriation of funds by smugglers.

“

“Whenever I face financial problem., my cousin will transfer me money. The only problem that I faced was that the agent will not give it to me when my cousin transfers me cash.”

– Respondent 1

”

Interview respondents did not elaborate on the reasons why transfers were made to smugglers, rather than directly to women. However, given the generally low literacy rates and Arabic knowledge among women migrants discussed previously, it may be assumed that women would have challenges accessing money transfer facilities. Women’s lack of ownership of and possession of their money may, however, generate situations in which they may be exploited. As Respondent 1 mentioned, it is possible for families to transfer money to smugglers, but for smugglers not to give the money to women. The overall situation, in which women are dependent on smugglers for access to resources, also demonstrates the extremely low level of control women have over their journeys.

At the community level, women’s migration is initiated, not by direct contact between women and smugglers, but instead through family or community members. Women often do not meet the smuggler until departure. Women’s lack of direct contact with actors making decisions on their behalf reduces their agency in the migration journey and opens them up to exploitation. Women can use social networks, both at home and within their migration group, as a coping mechanism, but for some specific coping mechanisms, notably transfer of cash, women have very low agency, due to the fact that smugglers retain control of resources.

Structural Factors

Structural factors, in this paper, are considered to be, not the international, regional and national legal and policy frameworks, but instead the commonly accepted norms for transactions and engagements on irregular migration routes. These norms form a framework within which women’s migration takes place, thus acting as a structure for irregular routes. Gender acts both as a factor that exacerbates risk and as a mitigation measure along irregular migration routes. It is commonly accepted that women will pay for their journey through sweat equity – or working for no salary upon arrival for a given period of time. This form of work exposes women to threats including abuse, deprivation of documentation and deprivation of rights. However, due to cultural norms along the route, women are less likely than men to be detained, and more likely than men to be provided with food along the route. This study identified, for the first time, that women may take part in the facilitation of irregular migration on the route from Ethiopia to the Gulf, but more research is required on this dynamic.

Women's Vulnerability to Protection Risks on the Route

Existing research shows that a variety of protection violations take place in Yemen, ranging from theft to physical assault and detention. This study reviewed quantitative data to identify the degree to which these risks affect men and women differently. It found that women are more likely to experience SGBV compared to men, but less likely to experience physical abuse and detention. Women are also likely to benefit from two protective aspects: (1) they are transported more quickly than men through Yemen, and (2) they are more likely to receive support from the local community.

Women are more likely to experience SGBV compared to men. 6.3% of women interviewed as a part of the quantitative survey experienced sexual abuse, compared to 0.4% of men. Two percent of men reported directly witnessing sexual abuse. Women, as well as male witnesses, reported that smugglers were the most frequent perpetrators of sexual abuse. None of the women interviewed for the qualitative portion of the research reported sexual abuse; this may be due to the stigma associated with SGBV.

During quantitative data collection, enumerators made a range of notes regarding the types of SGBV perpetrated against female migrants. These notes indicate that when women experience violations, they experience several types of violations together. Specifically, women often experience physical abuse and sexual abuse simultaneously, and they are often forced to watch smugglers commit acts of SGBV on others. The abuse often takes place as the smugglers are trying to extort money from family members in Ethiopia. These abuses generally take place in smuggling dens or detention centres located on Yemeni coast or at the border between Yemen and Saudi Arabia.

Women are less likely to be exposed to physical abuse and detention compared to men. 11% of women experienced physical abuse compared to 15% of men; 2% of women experienced detention compared to 8% of men. If women are abused, however, it is more likely that they will experience multiple abuses. 24% of women experience multiple abuses compared to 21% of men; although this difference is small, it is statistically significant. This is likely to be associated with women's susceptibility to GBV. If women are detained or abducted, then they appear to be likely to also experience physical or sexual abuse.

Women are more likely to complete their journey quickly compared to men. Quantitative data shows that 33% of women travelled for 1 – 3 days to reach Yemen; in contrast, 19% of men had travelled for such a short period of time. The quantitative data is confirmed by existing research, which indicates that women and girls are more likely to be transported by vehicle compared to men. The quick journey may take place because women are perceived as more valuable. Data from previous research indicates that women pay more than men to migrate (Meraki 2019), and qualitative interviews conducted for this study demonstrate that women have value to smugglers upon their arrival.

Women are more likely to receive aid compared to men. On average, women interviewed reported receiving 2.9 forms of aid each, whereas men reported receiving 2.4 forms of aid (where forms of aid include receiving food, water, shelter, clothing, bedding, etc.). Women were specifically more likely to receive clothes and bedding, legal assistance and medical assistance compared to male migrants.

In terms of aid requested, women are more likely to request safe spaces (16% of women wanted this assistance, compared to 3% of men) and psychosocial support (5% of women wanted this assistance, compared to 3% of men). Women's desire to have access to safe spaces indicates that social structures and networks are important to them throughout the migration route.

Payment Mechanisms

The market for irregular labour from Ethiopia in Gulf countries has been formed over several generations (Mahdavi, 2013; Ashene, 2013; Koser, 2000). The legal framework in Gulf countries heavily favours employers, and excludes domestic workers from basic protections. As such, it poses a protection risk for female migrants

aiming to enter the domestic work sector. In addition, the way in which the market is structured, wherein women pay for the services of a smuggler through 'sweat capital' or providing unpaid work, also poses protection risks. Respondents to the qualitative portion of this study exhibited very little knowledge about employment conditions in Gulf countries. Respondents were asked what they knew about their destination countries. The respondents to this survey had very little information regarding conditions in Gulf countries, how to find jobs, or labour market rates. Where respondents did have information about wages, they receive this information from smugglers.

Respondent 6 heard from others that there were jobs that paid well in Saudi Arabia. She joined a group of women who were interested in travelling. She did not directly make any arrangements, speak to an agent or participate in the planning of the journey. Instead, she relied on the group for information. When she was asked about what job she would do in Saudi, she answered that she did not know. When she was asked how much she would be paid, she responded again that she did not know. This particular respondent was fully reliant on her travel companions to identify job opportunities and to negotiate fair labour conditions.

Respondent 1 had information regarding the type of employment she would be searching for, as well as labour market rates. However, her only source of information about migration was the smuggler who was transporting her, and as such, she was fully reliant on the smuggler. She expressed elsewhere in the interview that she did not trust her agent to provide reliable information.

Partially due to the fact that women have little knowledge about labour market conditions in Gulf countries, they often rely on smugglers to find them employment. Payment mechanisms for the trip appear to be formed around the employment that the smuggler finds for the migrant. Two women interviewed in the qualitative surveys reported that it is common practice for women to work without pay. Both received information about working conditions from their agents. They were informed that they needed to work for between 9 months and 12 months without salary in order to pay for their trip. If a woman's smuggling route stops in Sana'a, then she is still forced to work without pay, but for a shorter time. Women who are smuggled to Sana'a work for 2 months without salary.

This type of agreement, in which migrants pay for the cost of the journey through provision of labour upon arrival, is known as sweat equity. Such sweat equity payments have not been documented on the Eastern route in existing literature, but have been researched along Southern routes (Estifanos, 2019). The study conducted on sweat equity in South Africa indicates that this method of payment "point[s] to relations of exploitation in the extraction of the migration debt. [It] also indicate[s] the restrictive options for migrants to participate in the ... economy"

Female migrants who move to the Gulf have very little knowledge about labour market conditions in their country of destination. They also are operating in a market in which the cost of a journey is paid back in terms of time, or unpaid labour. This dynamic exposes women to potential abuses in the country of destination – during their first months in country women lack both the information to navigate their context and the wages with which to exercise independence.

The dynamic described by respondents to this survey is not widely examined in the literature around migration, but does correspond to trafficking literature. The US TIP report states that "Government officials and international organizations estimate traffickers exploit 70 percent of the approximately five million Ethiopians transported to Saudi Arabia". The report further states that "Ethiopian women who migrate for work or flee abusive employers in the Middle East are also vulnerable to sex trafficking." The TIP report draws on both government and international organisation reports and academic analysis of trafficking in the Ethiopian context. The data collected in the course of this research provides details regarding the type of relationship that exists between women, their smugglers, and their employers in the destination country, the (lack of) capacity of women to access their wages and the degree to which women are aware of the conditions in which they will be placed in the Gulf.

Women's Involvement in Smuggling Networks

Women are perpetrators of smuggling, though the degree of their involvement is unclear. To date, information regarding smuggler networks in Ethiopia and Yemen continues to be relatively weak. It is known that smuggling networks generally are consolidated along ethnic lines, with Tigray and Amhara groups working together, and Oromo and Somali groups working together. The network is extensive, with recruiters in local villages, and to maintain this network, smugglers are known to recruit repeat migrants. All the data that does exist also indicates that participants in the smuggling networks are predominantly men.

The qualitative interviews conducted for this paper indicate that women may be involved in the networks as well. The circumstances of their involvement, however, are not clearly understood. Three women (Respondent 2, Respondent 5, Respondent 12) indicated that, while in Yemen, they were in contact, not with the male agent, but with his wife. Both of these respondents indicated that they never met or saw the male agent responsible for their travel, but only the smuggler's wife. The smugglers' wives provided details about where the female migrants would go, who their employers would be and what their duties were. The smugglers' wives were the sole point of contact for female migrants.

These two interviews give rise to many questions: Are the smugglers' wives legitimate, or have they been coerced into working for the smugglers? Do the smugglers' wives participate actively in the process of transporting people? Given that smugglers have indicated that the transport of women generates more profit than the transport of men, are they working with networks of women?

Literature from other smuggling routes indicates that women are involved in migrant smuggling and human trafficking, and that "their role is not confined to the margins and peripheral status" (UNODC 2020). The limited global evidence of women's involvement in smuggling networks indicates that there is a gender division of roles, with women providing room, board, clothes and cleaning, as well as taking care of vulnerable migrants (Sanchez 2016). Men, on the other hand, generally are involved in transport, guiding and driving. Women are generally less visible in smuggling networks (Sanchez 2016).

Conclusion

This study draws on primary data, both qualitative and quantitative, collected in Yemen among women migrating from Ethiopia to Gulf countries to analyse women's experiences in transit. At the individual level, women are driven by a wider number of issues, including gender-related protection factors, to migrate, despite their lower literacy and coping skills. At the community level, women appear to have low levels of agency in their journey. Qualitative data indicates that women communicate with facilitators about their journeys through male counterparts, who sometimes 'barter' women for reduced price or free trips. When women are sent cash from home, they have little direct access to the resources, which are controlled by the smuggler. The structural factors around the trip are also gendered, with women likely to pay for the trip using sweat equity. Gender does, however, provide some mitigation against certain protection risks, including the risk of detention, and some advantages with regard to receiving aid from local communities.

Works Cited

- Admassie, Assefa; Seid Nuru; Tadele Ferede (2017). Migration and Forced Labour: An Analysis on Ethiopian Workers. ILO: Addis Ababa.
- A dugna, Girmachew (2019). Migration patterns and emigrants' transnational activities: comparative findings from two migrant origin areas in Ethiopia. *Comparative Migration Studies*, 7 (5).
- Agustín, Laura. (2005). Migrants in the Mistress's House: Other Voices in the "Trafficking" Debate. *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society*. 12. 96-117. 10.1093/sp/jxi003.
- Anbesse, B., Hanlon, C., Alem, A., Packer, S. & Whitley, R. (2009). Migration and mental health: a study of low-income Ethiopian women working in Middle Eastern countries. *International Journal of Social Psychiatry*, 55(6), 557-568.
- Ashene, Elias. (2013). Trafficking of Ethiopian Women and Girls to the Middle East. Budapest: Central European University.
- Askola, H. (2007), Violence against Women, Trafficking, and Migration in the European Union. *European Law Journal*, 13: 204-217. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-0386.2007.00364.x>
- Beck, Dana & Choi, Kristen & Munro-Kramer, Michelle & Lori, Jody. (2016). Human Trafficking in Ethiopia: A Scoping Review to Identify Gaps in Service Delivery, Research, and Policy. *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse*. 18. 10.1177/1524838016641670.
- Beydoun, Khalid Ali (2006). 'The trafficking of Ethiopian domestic workers into Lebanon: Navigating through a novel passage of the international maid trade', *Berkeley Journal of International Law*, 24 (3).
- Box, Heidi, "Human Trafficking and Minorities: Vulnerability Compounded by Discrimination", pp. 28-38 in *Human Rights and Human Welfare*, online journal available at www.du.edu/korbel/hrhw/researchdigest/minority/
- Butler, J., Gambetti, Z., & Sabsay, L. (Eds.). (2016). *Vulnerability in Resistance*. Durham; London: Duke University Press. doi:10.2307/j.ctv11vc78r
- Campana, P., & Varese, F. (2015). Exploitation in Human Trafficking and Smuggling. *European Journal on Criminal Policy and Research*, 22 89-105. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10610-015-9286-6>
- Clark, Michele Anne (2003). Trafficking in Persons: An issue of human security, *Journal of Human Development*, 4:2, 247-263, DOI: 10.1080/1464988032000087578
- Coppola, Nicolamaria (2018) "Gendering Migration: Women, Migratory Routes and Trafficking," *New England Journal of Public Policy*: Vol. 30 : Iss. 2 , Article 6. Available at: <https://scholarworks.umb.edu/nejpp/vol30/iss2/6>
- Fouladvand, S., & Ward, T. (2019). Human Trafficking, Vulnerability and the State. *The Journal of Criminal Law*, 83(1), 39–54. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022018318814373>
- Heyzer, Noeleen. (2002). *Combatting Trafficking in Women and children: A Gender and human rights framework*. Honolulu: UNIFEM
- Human Rights Watch (2005). *Suppressing Dissent: Human Rights Abuses and Political Repression in Ethiopia's Oromo Region*. May 2005, 17 (7).
- Human Rights Watch (2009). *Hostile Shores: Abuse and Refoulement of Asylum Seekers and Refugees in Yemen*. New York: Human Rights Watch.
- Human Rights Watch (2014). 'I already bought you': Abuse and Exploitation of Female Migrant Domestic Workers in the United Arab Emirates. New York: HRW.
- Human Rights Watch (2017). *Why Saudi Arabia Must Halt the Deportation of Half a Million Ethiopians*. New York: Human Rights Watch.
- Human Rights Watch (2018). *Yemen: Detained African Migrants Tortured, Raped*. New York: Human Rights Watch.

- Human Rights Watch (2019). Ethiopians Abused on the Gulf Migration Route: Trafficking Exploitation, Torture, Abusive Prison Conditions. New York: HRW.
- International Organisation for Migration (2018). Reducing Vulnerabilities and Empowering Migrants: The Determinants of Migrant Vulnerability model as an analytical and programmatic tool for the East and Horn of Africa. Nairobi: IOM
- Julia O’Connell Davidson. (2013). Troubling freedom: Migration, debt, and modern slavery, *Migration Studies*, Volume 1, Issue 2, Pages 176–195, <https://doi.org/10.1093/migration/mns002>
- Kawar, M. (2004). Gender and Migration: Why are Women more Vulnerable?. In Reysoo, F., & Verschuur, C. (Eds.), *Femmes en mouvement: Genre, migrations et nouvelle division internationale du travail*. Graduate Institute Publications. doi:10.4000/books.iheid.6256
- Ketema, Naami Belihu (2014). *Female Ethiopia Migrant Domestic Workers: An Analysis of Migration, Return Migration, and Reintegration Experiences*. Eugene: University of Oregon.
- Koser, Khalid. (2002). Asylum Policies, Trafficking and Vulnerability. *International Migration*. 38. 91 - 111. 10.1111/1468-2435.00116.
- Kuschminder, K. and Triandafyllidou, A. (2020), Smuggling, Trafficking, and Extortion: New Conceptual and Policy Challenges on the Libyan Route to Europe. *Antipode*, 52: 206-226. <https://doi.org/10.1111/anti.12579>
- Kuschminder, Katie & Melissa Seigel. (2014). *Migration and Development: A World in Motion Ethiopia Country Report*. Maastricht: Maastricht University School of Governance.
- Kuschminder, Katie. (2013). *Female Return Migration and Reintegration Strategies in Ethiopia*. Maastricht: Maastricht University School of Governance.
- Kuschminder, Katie; Lisa Andersson & Melissa Seigel (2018). “Migration and multidimensional well-being in Ethiopia: investigating the role of migrants destinations”. *Migration and Development*, 7(3): 321-340.
- Mahdavi, Pardis. (2013). Gender, Labour and the Law: The Nexus of Domestic Work, Human Trafficking and the Informal Economy in the United Arab Emirates. *Global Networks* 13 (4): 425–40.
- Marchand, Karin; Inez Roosen; Julia Reinold & Melissa Siegel (2016). *Irregular Migration from and in the East and Horn of Africa*. Maastricht: University of Maastricht/GIZ.
- Marchand, Katrin; Julia Reinold; Raphael Dias e Silva (2017). *Study on Migration Routes in the East and Horn of Africa*. Maastricht: Maastricht University.
- McSherry, Bernadette & Kneebone, Susan. (2008). Trafficking in Women and Forced Migration: Moving Victims Across the Border of Crime into the Domain of Human Rights. *The International Journal of Human Rights*. 12. 67-87. 10.1080/13642980701725251.
- Meraki Labs. (2019). *Protection Context for Migrants Passing Through Yemen: A Baseline*. Website: Meraki Labs.
- Mo, Cecilia. (2018). Perceived Relative Deprivation and Risk: An Aspiration-Based Model of Human Trafficking Vulnerability. *Political Behavior*. 40. 10.1007/s11109-017-9401-0.
- Mullally, Siobhán. (2014). Migration, Gender, and the Limits of Rights. 10.1093/acprof:oso/9780198701170.003.0005.
- Paasche, E., Skilbrei, M.-L., & Plambech, S. (2018). Vulnerable Here or There? Examining the vulnerability of victims of human trafficking before and after return. *Anti-Trafficking Review*, (10). <https://doi.org/10.14197/atr.201218103>
- Piper, N. (2006). Gendering the Politics of Migration. *International Migration Review*, 40(1), 133–164. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1747-7379.2006.00006.x>
- Salt, J. and J. Stein. (1997) *Migration as a Business: The Case of Trafficking*. *International Migration*, 35(4): 467–494.
- Salt, John. (2000). Trafficking and Human Smuggling: A European Perspective. *International Migration*. 38. 31 - 56. 10.1111/1468-2435.00114.

Sanchez, Gabriella. (2016). Women's Participation in the Facilitation of Human Smuggling: The Case of the US Southwest. *Geopolitics*. 21. 1-20. 10.1080/14650045.2016.1140645.

Schewel, Kerilyn & Asmamaw Legass Bahir (2019). Migration and Social Transformation in Ethiopia, Working Paper 152. Oxford: International Migration Institute.

Schewel, Kerilyn. (2018). Why Ethiopian Women Go To the Middle East: An Aspiration-Capability Analysis of Migration Decision Making. Oxford: International Migration Institute Network Working Paper (148)

Schwarz, C., Alvord, D., Daley, D., Ramaswamy, M., Rauscher, E., & Britton, H. (2019). The Trafficking Continuum: Service Providers' Perspectives on Vulnerability, Exploitation, and Trafficking. *Affilia*, 34(1), 116–132. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0886109918803648>

Semela, Tesfaye & Logan Cochrane (2019). 'Education—Migration Nexus: Understanding Youth Migration in Southern Ethiopia'. *Education Science*, 9 (77).

Triandafyllidou, A. (2019), The Migration Archipelago: Social Navigation and Migrant Agency. *Int Migr*, 57: 5-19. <https://doi.org/10.1111/imig.12512>

Truong, Thanh Dam. (2006). Poverty, gender and human trafficking in Sub-Saharan Africa: rethinking best practices in migration management. Paris: UNESCO

UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). (2017). Migrants in vulnerable situations: UNHCR's perspective, available at: <https://www.refworld.org/docid/596787174.html> [accessed 22 December 2020]

United Nations (UN). (2000a). Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, Supplementing the United Nations Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime. 2237 UNTS 319, 15 November (entry into force 25 December 2003). Available from www.osce.org/odihr/19223?download=true

United Nations (UN). (2000b). Protocol Against the Smuggling of Migrants by Land, Sea and Air, Supplementing the United Nations Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime. 2241 UNTS 507, 15 November (entry into force 28 January 2004). Available from www.unodc.org/documents/middleeastandnorthafrica/smuggling-migrants/SoM_Protocol_English.pdf

United Nations. (n.d.). Issue Brief # 5: Smuggling of migrants, trafficking in persons and contemporary forms of slavery, including appropriate identification, protection and assistance to migrants and trafficking victims. New York: United Nations