



International Organization for Migration (IOM)
The UN Migration Agency

ENABLING A BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF MIGRATION FLOWS (AND ITS ROOT-CAUSES) FROM ETHIOPIA TOWARDS EUROPE

DESK-REVIEW REPORT

DISPLACEMENT TRACKING MATRIX (DTM)

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Enable a better understanding of migration flows and its root causes from Ethiopia towards Europe

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I. INTRODUCTION

In the last years migration movements from Africa to Europe have gained increased and extensive attention. Through popular discourse and media coverage, a certain image of African migrants has been created, based on three main assumptions: migration from the African continent is steadily increasing, it is mainly directed towards Europe, and that its main drivers are poverty, lack of opportunities, and general violence. Images depicted in public often show only the most spectacular movements of a migrant's journey and therewith tend to reinforce the public perception of African migrants as 'desperate invaders' or 'poor victims of smuggling networks' (Castles, De Haas, & Miller, 2014; Schapendonk, 2012).

The main problem with those depictions is, that most of them are based on assumptions, selective cases or individuals' impressions instead of sound empirical evidence. Research and empirical studies on the movements of migrants from Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) have increased in recent years and have highlighted the diversity of migration from those countries, namely the fact that Europe is not the only destination. Nevertheless, the patterns of movements, migrant profiles as well as reasons and experiences of the journey still often lack evidence-based research (De Haas & Flahaux, 2016).

Therefore, this study, rolled out by DTM with support from various IOM country offices, aims to collect data to foster a better understanding of migration movements from Ethiopia to Europe. A comprehensive understanding of factors shaping migrants' decisions to leave their country, and to choose a particular route and destination can help to inform the debate on regular, irregular and forced migration. It would enable policy makers to better target interventions that address humanitarian needs and to mitigate root causes of mobility, particularly for forced migration. In order to better understand the dynamics and characteristics of mobility, IOM will implement surveys in a number of countries and will support efforts to foster a better understanding of how different factors come together in prompting a final decision to migrate, and how this may vary among different socio-demographic profiles of the mobile population. In order to understand which fields are understudied and might need greater attention in evidence-based research this phase of the project aims at establishing existing research gaps and at giving recommendations for further research. The study revolves around six main thematic areas:

1	2	3	4	5	6
Migrant profiles (socio-demographic)	Migration drivers and decision making	Vulnerability factors in origin, transit and destination countries	Role of intermediaries	Migrants' perceptions towards Europe	Migration choices and options

2. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK & METHODOLOGY

2.1 RAPID EVIDENCE ASSESSMENT

The increasing emigration from Western and Eastern African countries towards other parts of the world over the last few decades has been reflected in a corresponding abundance of literature on the topic. The more recent literature, especially that which focuses in particular on Europe as a final destination, has become increasingly valuable as organizations and scholars have started to show a growing interest in understanding the dynamics of these population movements. To get a better understanding of the literature - what information is available and what is missing, this desk review report uses the Rapid Evidence Assessment (REA) as a method to gather as well as to evaluate existing literature on the migrations flows of Ethiopian migrants towards Europe and the root-causes of these flows. As outlined in the introduction, the research focusses in particular on six main thematic areas. A preliminary literature review suggests that some of these thematic areas are relatively well covered, while others lack firmer empirical footing. Even though some of the thematic areas in the proposed study have already been covered, the combination of the different thematic areas, targeting different sample populations within one study adds to the distinctive features of this research. The REA is believed to be a useful approach for the first phase of the project. It will be used to evaluate the existing literature, taking into account the clearly defined research questions of the study and will also be used to identify existing data gaps. REA follows a clear protocol – clear research questions have to be identified and the literature search must be structured, following a clear pattern and rationale. Furthermore, indicators for the quality and relevance of the source have to be established.

Table 1 - Structure of REA

Search	IOM internal data (i.e. AVRR data, FMS etc. ¹) External data, i.e. databases (Google; Google Scholars), journals, organizations & governments websites Storing search strings
File & Coding	Assess type, design of study Screen Quality & Relevance against inclusion criteria Create Excel Spreadsheet Identify relevant thematic area
Literature Compilation	Reading and analysis of studies/data Writing phase Identifying research gaps
Review	Review of report by relevant stakeholders at headquarters, missions & donor Including feedback and finalizing report

¹ Assisted Voluntary Return and Reintegration (AVRR) and Flow Monitoring Survey (FMS)

2.1.1 Data Gathering

In the first phase, “search” data was collected using Google, Google Scholar as well as the search functions of organizations and government websites. The collection of the data was guided by the search strings displayed below in Table 2. Even though the “search string” approach is very useful to get a first impression of the available information about a specific topic and is also necessary to retrieve relevant data, it is sometimes also described as rigid if only the predefined strings are used. The desk review report therefore also made use of “snowballing” within the literature. Studies, reports, journals etc. of renowned scholars as well as of established organizations focusing on the different thematic areas were screened for the references they used on the topic. Those sources were then screened based on the same criteria as the initial sources. The literature is reviewed in line with the ten research questions identified for this study. Ideally the literature should not be older than 10 years, however, in some cases older sources were still included if they provided useful and still up-to-date information, for instance on theories or the historical context of Ethiopia. As a next step, all sources are screened for their relevance for this research study as well as their quality score.

Table 2 - Search Strings for Literature Review

1. Migrant profiles	2. Drivers of migration and decision making
Ethiopian migrants (refugees; asylum seekers) to (in) Europe	Destination choice migration Europe Ethiopian
Demographic profile Ethiopian migrants	Transit countries destination choice Europe Ethiopian
Socioeconomic profile Ethiopian migrant	Economic conditions migration Ethiopian
Ethiopian migrant ethnic/religious persecution/discrimination	Conditions destination country host country migration choice
(Unaccompanied) minors Ethiopian (+transit countries e.g. Turkey, Libya, Sudan etc.)	Drivers of migration push pull Ethiopian Europe
Ethiopian migrants/refugees profiles/profiling/arrivals	Migration motivations decision making factors Ethiopian to Europe/ EU
	Motives for migration Ethiopian
3. Vulnerability factors in origin, transit and destination countries	4. The role of intermediaries
Migrants abuse/exploitation/border guards/sexual abuse/rape/transit/Europe/Turkey/Libya/Sudan	Smugglers Europe EU Ethiopia
Europe camp conditions hot spots	Smugglers/Traffickers in Ethiopia/ Libya/Sudan
Europe stranded migrants	Smuggler destination choice
Libya migrants asylum seekers returned deported	Smuggler abuse exploitation Europe Ethiopian
Refugee/asylum seeker women/children Europe/EU	Smuggler protection network ethnic

Unaccompanied (minor/children) shelter asylum seeker protection risk	Smuggler/trafficker network Ethiopia/Libya/Sudan/Europe
Detention migrant asylum seeker	
5. Migrants' perceptions towards Europe	6. Migration choices and options
Migrant perception Europe	Legal/regular vs. illegal/irregular migration from Ethiopia towards Europe
Migrant knowledge asylum procedures policy Europe	Legal channels for Ethiopian migrants to Europe/EU
Expectations reality migrant perceptions Europe	Migration choices for Ethiopian migrants
Migration information campaigns	

2.1.2 Screening of Sources for Relevance

As already mentioned, in order to identify a source as relevant it is screened against the ten established research questions:

- 1) Does the source provide information on the contextual factors on the **national and regional level** which drive Ethiopian nationals to make a decision to migrate to Europe?
- 2) Does the source provide information on the contextual factors on **the European level** which drive Ethiopian nationals to make a decision to migrate to Europe?
- 3) Does the source provide information on particular **individual, household or community level "events"** and circumstances that **trigger** Ethiopian nationals to make a **decision to migrate** to Europe?
- 4) Does the source provide information on the **socio-demographic profiles** of (potential-) migrants to Europe from Ethiopia?
- 5) Does the source provide information on how migrants from Ethiopia **prepare for migration** to Europe?
- 6) Does the source provide information on **the role of "intermediaries" in facilitating (irregular) migration** to Europe for Ethiopian nationals?
- 7) Does the source provide information on the **challenges and vulnerabilities** Ethiopian nationals face **before and during migration** to Europe?
- 8) Does the source provide information on how migrants from Ethiopia select a **final destination country in Europe**, what **influences this decision** & why they select "that" particular destination country?
- 9) Does the source provide information on the **perceptions/ knowledge** migrants from Ethiopia have on **potential risks & vulnerabilities** migrants could face during migration to/ in Europe?
- 10) Does the source provide information on the **perceptions and/or knowledge** (potential) migrants from Ethiopia have of Europe and what their **sources of information** are? What is the **view** of Ethiopian (irregular) migrants **on socio-economic opportunities in Europe** and what knowledge do they have of European asylum procedures?

When screening for the relevance of the sources the criteria outlined in Table 3 were applied. Next to these criteria the publication date of the source also played a role in certain cases. Even though the review was only intended to include studies from the last 10 years, the date of the study may have been significant depending on the topic of interest. Therefore, the date was sometimes reflected in the relevance score.

Table 3 - Assessing Relevance of Source

1	The data may contribute towards answering the question but is limited, incomplete or only a minor focus of the report
2	A significant proportion of the data is directly relevant to answering the question
3	Data has been gathered and analysed to specifically address the questions posed

2.1.3 Screening of Source for Quality

Next to the relevance of the source, it is also checked for quality. The desk review report distinguishes in its evaluation between primary² and secondary³ studies as there are different quality criteria necessary. The quality for primary studies should be evaluated on the following criteria:

Table 4 - Assessing Quality of Primary Studies⁴

Does the study have a conceptual framework and clear research question?	1 Yes/0 No
Does the study appear to draw conclusions based on its results rather than theory or policy?	1 Yes/0 No
Does the study explain its research design and data collection methods?	1 Yes/0 No
Does the study present or link to data sources?	1 Yes/0 No
Is the study internally valid? Or, are alternative causes of impact or the study's limitations considered?	1 Yes/0 No
Is the study externally valid? Or, can findings be generalised to other contexts and populations?	1 Yes/0 No

Based on these criteria a primary study can be evaluated and given a score between 0 and 6. In the case of secondary studies the criteria was slightly different:

² Primary research involves collecting data about a given subject directly or using the raw data to draw analysis or conclusions e.g. empirical journals (both qual. and quan. - in form of interviews, surveys, observations, censuses etc.)

³ Secondary research involves analyzing and interpreting primary research. The method of writing secondary research is to collect primary research that is relevant to a writing about a topic and interpreting what the primary research found (i.e. literature reviews, country profiles, newspaper articles etc.)

⁴ The initial criteria were taken from the study by Cummings, C., Pacitto, J., Lauro, D. & Foresti, M. (2015) but amended to the requirements of this desk-review report

Table 5 - Assessing Quality of Secondary Studies³

Does the study describe where and how studies/data were selected for inclusion?	1 Yes/0 No
Does the study assess the quality of the studies/data included?	1 Yes/0 No
Does the study draw conclusions based on the studies/data reviewed and consider alternative conclusions and/or limitations to the conclusions?	1 Yes/0 No

Evaluating a secondary study with these criteria a value between 0 and 3 can be ascribed to a source. For transparency purposes all the different scorings are entered into the excel spreadsheet.

In total, more than 100 articles, studies, papers etc. were reviewed and 46 articles were included in this literature review based on their importance for Ethiopia as well as the Horn of Africa region.

The table below shows the total number of sources used for each thematic area as well as the distribution between primary and secondary data in the case of empirical literature⁵.

Table 6 - Overview of Sources per Thematic Area

<i>Thematic Area</i>	<i>Number of total sources used</i>	<i>Average Relevance</i>	<i>Average Quality (Primary Data)</i>	<i>Average Quality (Secondary Data)</i>
<i>History/Current Trends</i>	11	2.4	2.5	4.5
<i>Profile</i>	12	2.6	2.6	4.6
<i>Decision-Making</i>	17	2.2	2.5	4.6
<i>Vulnerabilities</i>	14	2.2	2.3	4.6
<i>Intermediaries</i>	10	2.6	2.3	4.4
<i>Perceptions</i>	5	2.8	2.1	4.0
<i>Migration Options</i>	7	2.3	2.7	5.0

3. PAST & CONTEMPORARY MIGRATION PATTERNS

3.1 MIGRATION INSIDE & OUT OF ETHIOPIA

In order to better understand migration patterns and routes in contemporary times, the report will provide a brief overview of general country facts about Ethiopia and will summarize the main migration trends during the last century before moving on to current trends while looking at the different thematic areas.

³ The initial criteria were taken from the study by Cummings, C., Pacitto, J., Lauro, D. & Foresti, M. (2015) but amended to the requirements of this desk-review report

⁵ This list does not include sources that are primarily data compilations e.g. Eurostat data, Frontex etc.

3.1.1 Basic Country Facts on Ethiopia

Ethiopia is located in Eastern Africa and had an estimated population of 102,374,044 in 2016. It is the third largest and also poorest country in SSA (Kuschminder, Andersson, & Siegel, 2012). Being one of the most populous countries in the region, twenty-five million Ethiopians live below the national poverty line and Ethiopia ranks 173 out of 186 countries in the 2015 UNDP Human Development Index (Carter & Rohwerder, 2016). There are more than 78 ethnic groups in Ethiopia, the largest being Oromo 34.4%, Amhara (Amara) 27%, Somali (Somalie) 6.2% and Tigray (Tigrinya) 6.1% (Dessalegn, n.d). Ethiopia is a federal democratic republic and has nine ethnically based states and two self-governing administrations (Addis Ababa and Dire Dawa), with Addis Ababa being the capital (CIA- World Factbook, 2017b). The large majority of the population (close to 80%) lives in rural areas, as most Ethiopians are involved in the agricultural sector. Ethiopia is facing rapid population growth, putting increased pressure on land resources and contributing to environmental degradation, thus raising its vulnerability to food shortages (ibid). As Tagegne and Penker (2016) point out in their research, the rapid population growth is also causing increased rural to urban migration within the country.

Unique among African countries, Ethiopian maintained its freedom from colonial rule, the exception being a short-lived Italian occupation of five years from 1936 until 1941 (CIA, 2017b). Internal as well as external migration has been a reality in Ethiopia since the 1960s, triggered by poverty, drought, political repression and instability as well as forced government resettlement. Especially in the 1980/90s, the Horn of Africa (Eritrea, Sudan, Djibouti, Somalia, and Ethiopia) became the largest refugee-producing area in the world, Ethiopia being the largest contributor to these flows (Kuschminder & Fransen, 2009). As a result of these migration movements, Ethiopia currently has one of the largest African diaspora communities in the world, predominantly present in the US and the United Kingdom (UK) (ibid).

3.1.2 Past Migration Trends

During the last decades Ethiopia has experienced different forms of political instability – war, famine, and economic hardship. These issues are not unique to Ethiopia but are present in the entire Horn of Africa region. Due to these challenges, migration is not a new phenomenon within the region or in Ethiopia as a country. While being a major refugee-producing country until the 1990s, Ethiopia became the largest refugee-receiving country in the region especially in the early course of the 21 century (Carter & Rohwerder, 2016).

Ethiopia's migration history can, according to Kuschminder, Andersson & Siegel (2012), be characterized in four main waves:

First and Second Wave

The **first wave** pre-dates 1974 when the elite left the country to receive better education abroad and return afterwards. The **second wave** (1974 – 1982) is characterized by refugees fleeing the military Dergue regime, which took over from the previous ruling monarchy that had been in power since the 1930s. The so called “Ethiopian Revolution” led to a communist-style totalitarian regime. The Dergue regime was associated with the suppression of regime opponents – which were mainly people with a better education and the youth, expressing an interest in alternative forms of government than the regime. The oppression resulted in detentions, torture and even brutal killings. The conflict within the country caused many people to leave. In addition to this the conflict between Ethiopia and Somalia as well as Eritrea’s independence movements, which caused especially violent clashes in the North, particularly affecting the rural areas, added to the driving forces of migration (Kuschminder & Siegel, 2014; Kuschminder & Fransen, 2009).

Third and Fourth Wave

According to Tasse (2007) the **third wave** was comprised of people following those that had fled since 1974 in the hope of reuniting with family. Many people from this wave relocated to the neighboring countries as well as to the United States and certain countries in Europe, e.g. the UK or Ireland. Next to the movements for family reunifications, this migration wave is also closely linked to the catastrophic national famine of 1984/85, killing one million people and causing thousands to seek refuge (Kuschminder & Siegel, 2014). Besides migrants fleeing because of the famine, political instability also caused a large share of Ethiopian nationals to leave the country. Numbers show that the majority of those fleeing from the political and environmental challenges in Ethiopia did not emigrate beyond Africa’s borders but mainly settled in the other countries of the Horn of Africa. The **fourth wave** is associated with the overthrow of the Dergue regime by the Ethiopian People’s Revolutionary Democratic Party (EPRDP) in 1991 and the establishment of a transnational government in 1993 (Kuschminder, Andersson, & Siegel, 2012). With the transnational government also came Eritrea’s separation from Ethiopia. Between 1998 and 2000 the two countries were at war until a peace treaty was signed. Although this conflict also caused migration flows, these flows were much smaller in scale than the previous flows. The migration flows in the 1990s were also comprised of refugees returning to Ethiopia from neighboring countries (Kuschminder & Siegel, 2014).

Since 1991, excluding for the Ethiopian-Eritrean war of the late 1990s, Ethiopia has been largely a post-conflict state and has not experienced large out-flows of people seeking refuge in neighboring countries or overseas. However, there is still a relatively large share of Ethiopians that choose to leave their country and migrate abroad. As emigration continues, it is still both a mixture of high and low skilled labor seeking opportunities abroad (Kuschminder & Siegel, 2014).

3.1.3 Contemporary Migration Trends

As table 7 shows a large share of Ethiopians travel either within the region or to Asia. Research shows that Saudi Arabia and other Gulf States as well as Yemen are popular destination choices for Ethiopians (RMMS, 2016). A little more than 15% of all out-migrants (753,492) left to Europe and roughly one third to Northern America, especially the United States (see Table 7).

Table 7 - Migration Statistics Ethiopia in 2015/2016

Stock of emigrants (2015) ^a	753,492
To developed Regions	354,151
To developing Regions	399,341
To other Sub-Saharan African Countries	171,133
To Asia	224,658
To Europe	129,888
To Northern America	211,630
To Oceania	12,633
To other parts	3,550
Refugee population (incl. refugee like situations) ^b	83,894
Asylum seeker population ^b	78,017
Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) ^c	413,400
Refugees inside Ethiopia	733,644

^aUNDESA, International Migrant Stock 2015

^bUNHCR, Population Statistics 2016

^cIDMC & IOM (2015)

Ethiopia's migration flows are mixed in nature because it is a source, transit as well as destination country for migrants (Carter & Rohwerder, 2016). In the latest official figures of 2015 the Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre and IOM estimated that the number of IDPs was close to 413,400 individuals (IDMC, 2017). In terms of the nature of the external movements, the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs (MoLSA) published figures indicating that between mid-2008 and mid-2013, 460,000 individuals migrated legally out of Ethiopia. Based on figures from 2012, it is also estimated that of all the Ethiopian nationals that leave the country, approximately 60 per cent migrate irregularly, either being trafficked or smuggled generally to countries in the Middle East or the Gulf States (Carter & Rohwerder, 2016)s.

Current trends, especially with regard to internal movements, show that there is an increased out-migration from the rural areas (Tegegne & Penker, 2016). The traditionally agricultural population is increasingly moving to urban areas, particularly to Addis Ababa, which is estimated to have a population between 3.2 and 6 million depending on the source (Van Heelsum, 2016). Furthermore, various organizations highlight the situation of IDPs in light of reoccurring floods and droughts, especially in the

El Niño region as well as conflict situations in the last years. Increased food insecurity and malnutrition in the regions affected by the drought threatens 10 million people in Ethiopia, including an estimated 5.75 million children being at the risk of hunger (UNOCHA, 2017; DTM Ethiopia, 2016).

4. THEMATIC AREAS

4.1 THEMATIC AREA I – MIGRANTS’ PROFILES

Before investigating in more depth, the movements of migrants towards Europe this reports aims to establish a general profile of Ethiopian migrants. In order to do so, the report takes literature into account that analyses the profiles of Ethiopian migrants that leave their home country. As a complementary method, DTM Flow Monitoring Surveys (FMS), which are collected in various countries around the globe are used in order to generate a more complete migrant profile including data on migrants in transit.

This research does not distinguish between the different migrants’ classifications but focusses on mixed migration as a whole. Therefore, when establishing the profiles of Ethiopian nationals migrating to Europe all migrant groups are taken into account.

4.1.1 Profile Ethiopian Nationals leaving their Home-Country

In the case of Ethiopian outward migration, different patterns are visible depending on whether migrants go south or north/west. Within Africa the largest share of Ethiopian migrants appear to go to either Sudan or South Africa, mostly for seasonal employment, however in absolute terms most outward migration is directed towards the Middle East. Current data suggests that emigration from Ethiopia is consistently shifting from refugee driven migration to different forms of labor migration (Kuschminder, Andersson, & Siegel, 2012).

Within a study by Kuschminder, Andersson and Siegel (2012) using the *IS Academy: A world in motion Ethiopia* data, 1,286 households across Ethiopia were interviewed. Within the dataset 30 per cent of the respondents went towards Europe. The study on Ethiopian migrants’ profiles has shown that the share that moves towards European countries is often better educated and from a “better-off background” as well as coming predominantly from the urban areas (77%) (ibid). In general, it seems that the migrants are fairly young, single, and primarily children of heads of households, meaning it is often not the heads of household themselves that migrate. Tegegne & Penker (2016) emphasize in their quantitative research that 82 per cent of their sample population were single and young with an average age of 20 years. In addition to this 76.5 per cent were considered educated in the sense that they had completed

primary or some form of higher education prior to their migration. This perception is challenged by Addis (2014) and Frouws (2014) who claim that for those crossing illegally through Sudan and Libya to reach Europe, there is often no clear pattern of education levels. As explained in the next section, Ethiopia also faces feminization of migration as Kuschminder et al (2012) discovered in their analysis of the IS Academy dataset. Accordingly, 67 per cent of those migrants that went north (towards the U.S and Europe) were female.

The drivers of Ethiopian migration will be elaborated on in more detail in the next chapter, however to understand who migrates it is also important to understand why. While migration within Africa and to the Middle East seems to be primarily driven by employment opportunities, drivers to the north are not as one-sided. Kuschminder and Siegel (2014) point out that migration towards Europe is rather dominated by a mix of motives, for instance education opportunities, security reasons and family reunification. Another distinct feature of northbound migration is that Ethiopians who migrate towards Europe appear to be more likely to have a network in the country of destination (Carter & Rohwerder, 2016). Tegegne and Penker (2016) also found out that there is assumed to be a positive relationship between larger household sizes and the likelihood of migration. More household member increases household consumption and might therefore be a trigger for migration.

To better understand migrants' profiles and to accurately link these profiles to the drivers and decision making processes of migration, the socio-economic backgrounds of the migrants becomes relevant. While there is extensive and detailed data missing on Ethiopian migrants' socio-economic profiles, scholars have attempted to explain the role of socio-economic factors within the SSA region. De Haas and Flahaux (2016) suggest in their study that there is a correlation between high proportions of extra-continental emigration and comparatively higher levels of economic development. More specifically, it appears that poorer/landlocked countries with less capacities in SSA seem to have both lower absolute as well as relative levels of extra-continental migration and rather tend to move shorter distances either within the country or the continent. Even though this statement seems to be accurate for many SSA countries, Ethiopia is a notable exception. Ethiopia has quite a low emigrant intensity with 0.4, however emigration was -until the early 2000s- mainly directed towards North America and Europe. According to Bakewell and Bonfiglio (2013) this can, to a large extent, be ascribed to the refugee settlements in Europe and North America that took place in the 1990s (De Haas & Flahaux, 2016).

Feminization of Migration

The term 'feminization of migration' puts emphasis on the fact that women are increasingly becoming active participants in the process of migration. Current estimates indicate that women make up almost half of all international migrants. Furthermore, women's reasons for migration have changed over time,

and it is now recognized that more and more women are independently deciding to become active in the global labour market. Unfortunately, even though the trend is moving towards more independence for women in the migration process, long-established and exploitative female-specific forms of migration persist, including the trafficking of women for sexual exploitation, the commercialization of domestic workers, and the organization and transportation of women for marriage (Carling, 2005; Kuschminder, Andersson, & Siegel, 2012).

In the case of Ethiopia, the feminization of migration is also highly evident as Siegel's, Andersson's and Kuschminder's (2012) study on the IS Academy data showed. Sixty per cent of all Ethiopian migrants are female and 43 per cent make the decision to migrate without consulting others. Those findings contradict previous trends where women seemed to be passive reactors to migration movements (ibid). As previously explained, the profile of migrants from Ethiopia varies by destination, however, in general female migrants are young and single, and many are Oromo and Amhara people (Carter & Rohwerder, 2016). Research on the IS-Academy data also shows that many women make their choice based on payment, opportunities to find employment, working conditions as well as findings suggest that Ethiopian women predominantly finance their migration through informal loans from family and friends (Kuschminder, Andersson, & Siegel, 2012). The Regional Mixed Migration Secretary found in their report on Ethiopian migrants to/from Yemen and Saudi Arabia that women and girls seem to feel an increased sense of responsibility to migrate in order to sustain and to support their families (RMMS, 2016). Those findings are also linked to the assumption that women and girls in Ethiopia face pressure due to the patriarchal culture. Tegegne and Penker (2016) quote a World Bank report, emphasizing that for women and girls especially early marriage, divorce and sexual abuse are drivers of rural-urban migration. Many Ethiopian women also fall in to the hands of traffickers and smugglers. In particular, women on their way to and through the Middle East are at risk to become victims of fraud, forced labor, and physical, sexual, and psychological abuse by employers or traffickers (Carter & Rohwerder, 2016).

4.1.2 Profile of Ethiopian Nationals in Transit

In a 2013 UNHCR report it was estimated that between 50 and 100 Ethiopians cross daily into Sudan. This adds up to between 18,000 and 37,000 Ethiopians starting their journey to western/northern places per year. However, it is assumed that a large share may end up staying in Sudan or Libya rather than travelling onwards to Europe (Frouws, 2014a; Kuschminder & Fransen, 2009).

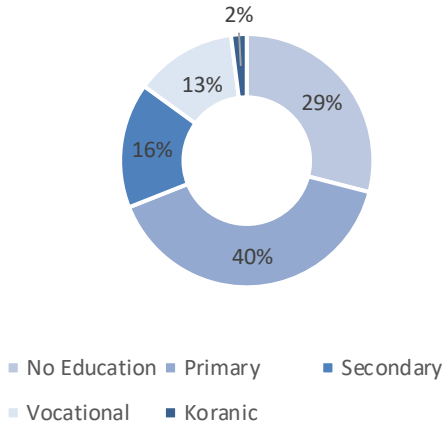
Libya

Since Ethiopian migrants predominately make use of the Central Mediterranean route, a lot of them transit subsequently through Libya. As the general number of Ethiopian migrants into Europe is relatively low, the FMS for Libya in 2016 captured only 38 Ethiopians (out of 8268 individuals surveyed).

At this stage, it has to be acknowledged that numbers of Ethiopian nationals in both transit as well as destination countries are quite likely to be underrepresented due to the fact that Ethiopians often claim to be of Eritrean or Somali origin, however concrete evidence for this assumption is lacking. Of those captured in the DTM FMS, around 60 per cent intended to migrate onwards to Europe, 35 per cent reported intending to stay in Libya and the remaining 5 per cent wanted to go elsewhere, mainly to the U.S.

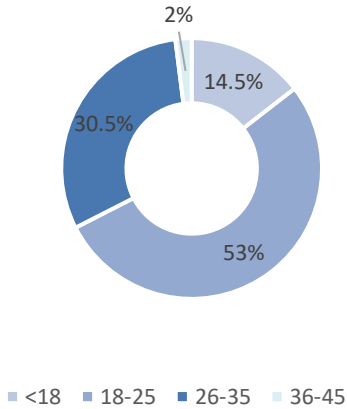
Within the FMS dataset for Libya the data shows that the gender distribution is 27 per cent female and 73 per cent males. All the observations fall between the two age groups, 18 to 25 (58%) and 26 to 35 (42%). Furthermore, the share of single and married Ethiopian migrants was equally distributed with 50 per cent in each category. The data also shows that 29 per cent of Ethiopian migrants have not completed any kind of formal education and 40 per cent have completed primary education.

Education Level of Ethiopian Migrants in Libya



Southern and Eastern Europe

Age Distribution of Ethiopian Migrants in Italy



The FMS in Italy captured 76 Ethiopian migrants of which 32 per cent are female. Looking at the age distribution, 53% per cent of the sample is between the age of 18 and 25 years old.

Within the sample population most migrants indicated being single (68%) and 32 per cent are married. The education level seems to be higher for the Ethiopian migrants in Italy in comparison to the Libya sample. Only 32 per cent have either completed no education or only have a primary level of education. The majority (57%) report to have completed secondary education and 12 per cent have completed vocational or tertiary education.

At this point it should be acknowledged that the dataset for Italy only captures those Ethiopian nationals that made the choice to move onward to Europe while the Libya dataset captures both, those moving on and those staying.

4.1.3 Profile of Ethiopian Nationals in Europe

Carter and Rohweder (2016) quote in their study that the seven estimated OECD countries with the largest Ethiopian-born populations in recent years were the United States (195,805); Israel (85,870); Italy (30,596); Canada (24,535); Sweden (15,494); the UK (12,000) and Australia (10,850). Since this research focuses on Ethiopian migrants towards and within Europe, the Eurostat asylum application statistic gives a general overview of the most popular destination countries.

Table 8 - European countries with the most received asylum applications from Ethiopia in 2016

Country	Total number of Ethiopian asylum applications
<i>Germany</i>	4,030
<i>Switzerland</i>	1,035
<i>Sweden</i>	525
<i>France</i>	405
<i>Italy</i>	360
<i>United Kingdom</i>	350
<i>Other</i>	840
Total	7,545

The overall gender distribution of Ethiopian migrants in Europe seems to be more male dominated since 65 per cent of the asylum applicants were male and 35 per cent were female applicants. The age distribution shows that 68 per cent of the applicants are between the age of 18 and 34. The second largest share (23%) was made up by the group of 14 to 18-year-old Ethiopians (Eurostat, 2017).

THEMATIC AREA I – DATA GAPS

More recently a limited number of quantitative operational studies have been developed in order to gain a better understanding of the profiles of Ethiopian migrants that are en-route towards Europe, such as DTM's Flow Monitoring Surveys (FMS) throughout the Mediterranean and North Africa and 4MI in North and Eastern Arica. Academic studies related to this thematic area are limited and mostly outdated, whilst most recent quantitative research mainly focussed on migration within the region or towards the Middle East. More in-depth (quantitative) data collection on socio-economic profiles of Ethiopian nationals that migrate to Europe could increase the knowledge base on the socio-economic background of potential and recently arrived Ethiopian migrants in Europe.

4.2 THEMATIC AREA 2 – DRIVERS OF MIGRATION & THE DECISION-MAKING PROCESS

Understanding the historical patterns and profiles of Ethiopian migrants from the previous sections allows to get a better picture of the factors that drive Ethiopian migrants to leave their place of origin and start their journey to Europe. Next to drivers, this part also summarizes existing data on decision-making and what role external factors play in the actual decision-making process.

While much of the literature regarding Ethiopia focuses on the decision-making process at a macro- and meso-level, research on the micro dimensions in this context remains scarce. De Haas (2011) suggests that analysing the decision-making processes and drivers of migration at the micro-level will provide a more complete picture, taking factors such as aspirations and capabilities into account. Furthermore, de Haas (2008) points out that migration is a conscious choice by the relatively better-off households as a mean to enhance their livelihoods (Collyer, 2006; De Haas, 2008).

4.2.1 Reasons for leaving Ethiopia

The reasons why Ethiopian nationals choose to leave their country of origin are diverse and cannot be generalized. There is not one specific reason that serves as a trigger for Ethiopian nationals to leave their country, but rather a number of different reasons. Even though reasons vary, most migration from Ethiopia is believed to be caused by livelihood opportunities, especially for the younger generations. Being one of the poorest countries globally as well as struggling with steady population growth, prosperous employment opportunities are rare in Ethiopia. Thus, migration is a strategy which many young Ethiopians in particular consider in order to achieve better living standards (Kuschminder & Siegel, 2014; Assaminew, Ahmed, Abera, & Makonnen, 2010). The second most common driver for migration appears to be the political context and the associated issues with insecurity.

Certain population groups, including Oromo people, other minority ethnic groups, Muslims, political opposition members, women and girls, as well as young persons in very large family compositions, are also facing bigger pressure for migration due to political and economic exclusion as well as marginalization. Khadiagala (2008) refers to Ethiopia as being at 'the centre of a fragile region', due to intrastate conflicts, wars, instability as well as political extremism, environmental degradation and resulting resource scarcities (Carter & Rohwerder, 2016).

The increasing risk for droughts, famines, heat waves, water stress and soil degradation as a result of higher temperatures and lower rainfall, which is according to most scholars caused by climate change, are additional 'push' factors for migration movements out of Ethiopia (Assaminew, Ahmed, Abera, & Makonnen, 2010; Black, et al., 2008). Resulting food insecurities, the death of livestock and increasing

unemployment in the region cause not only severe poverty conditions and the need for food assistance but also leave people often no other choice but to migrate (Black, et al., 2008; Niarchos, 2016).

4.2.2 Migration as a household strategy

In Ethiopia a 'culture of migration' exist in the sense that friends and family often expect young family members to migrate especially because migration is often associated with social, personal as well as material success. Staying at home and often not being able to contribute to the family's income due to unemployment is by many seen as failure (Carter & Rohwerder, 2016; Frouws, 2014a; Frouws, 2014b). Migration is also considered to be strategy to reduce the numbers of household members that have to be provided for (Hagen-Zanker, Siegel, & de Neubourg, 2009; Tegegne & Penker, 2016). In line with the theory of the new economics of labor migration (NELM) model, households consider migration as an income maximization strategy as well as an opportunity to diversify risks (Taylor and Martin, 2001). In Tegegne and Penker's (2016) research on Ethiopia's rural to urban migration, they observed that households who indicated having insufficient food seemed to be three times more likely to send migrants abroad, long-term. This can be explained by the theory that larger household sizes automatically also have greater household consumption, triggering migration as this leads to less people to feed (ibid).

4.2.3 The role of the diaspora and development

Ethiopia is known to have one of the largest African diaspora populations which is believed to influence sustainable development and reducing poverty (Assaminew, Ahmed, Aberra, & Makonnen, 2010). Carter and Rohwerder (2016) report in their study that Ethiopians are the second biggest SSA diaspora group in countries such as the U.S, after Nigeria, and that family reunification continues to be a main driver for outward migration from Ethiopia. The World Bank found in a survey conducted in 2010 that amongst 2,000 Ethiopian individuals approximately 40 per cent had, at that time, a family member or relatives living abroad (Kuschminder, Andersson, & Siegel, 2012). With an estimation of around 2 million Ethiopian diaspora members abroad, remittances⁶ naturally become an important force in Ethiopia's economy (Assaminew, Ahmed, Aberra, & Makonnen, 2010). As Kuschminder et al (2012, 2014) show in their studies on Ethiopian migrants, Ethiopian nationals migrating towards northern countries (Europe and the US) are more likely to have family in the destination countries (26%) than those migrating to other African countries (9%) or going towards the Middle East (7%). Within the same research study, it was also reported that migrants that went towards the United States or Europe were more likely to

⁶ In 2015 the inward remittance flow for Ethiopia was estimated to be around 635 Million (World Bank "Remittance Fact Book", 2016)

migrate because of family reunification. As further research in section 4 on the roles of the intermediaries will show, migrants that have already migrated also play an important role in the facilitation of an intermediary for the first part of the journey (Ethiopia to Sudan).

Especially in the SSA-context the relationship between migration and development is widely discussed especially by authors like de Haas. According to de Haas (2011) migration becomes more attractive when development and therewith income increases. This phenomenon which was originally put forward by Zelinski in 1971, is linked to the fact that when development increases the aspirations of individuals increase as people become more familiar with the living standards of wealthier countries. Closely linked to aspirations are capabilities which naturally also increase with more development and the subsequent increase in economic revenue. This makes it possible for people to actually afford travelling and fulfill their aspirations especially in places and communities where so called pioneers have already migrated (Van Heelsum, 2016). This is then linked again to the network of the diaspora which make it easier for Ethiopian nationals to follow. Ethiopia is also a country that is slowly increasing its development, this should be kept in mind when talking about drivers of migration out of Ethiopia (De Haas & Flahaux, 2016).

THEMATIC AREA 2 – DATA GAPS

Literature on drivers for Ethiopian out-migration and the decision-making processes is extensive and well-studied, the largest share of information consists of qualitative studies that focus on migration drivers from Ethiopia on macro-level. However, as the main migration routes from Ethiopia are not directed towards Europe, a comparatively small proportion of the literature focuses on the drivers and decision making factors of Ethiopian migrants that leave for Europe. As for thematic area 1, most of the existing literature under this thematic area focuses on migration within the region and to the Middle East which leaves significant (quantitative) data-gaps on drivers and decision making processes on both micro and macro level regarding Ethiopian migration towards Europe.

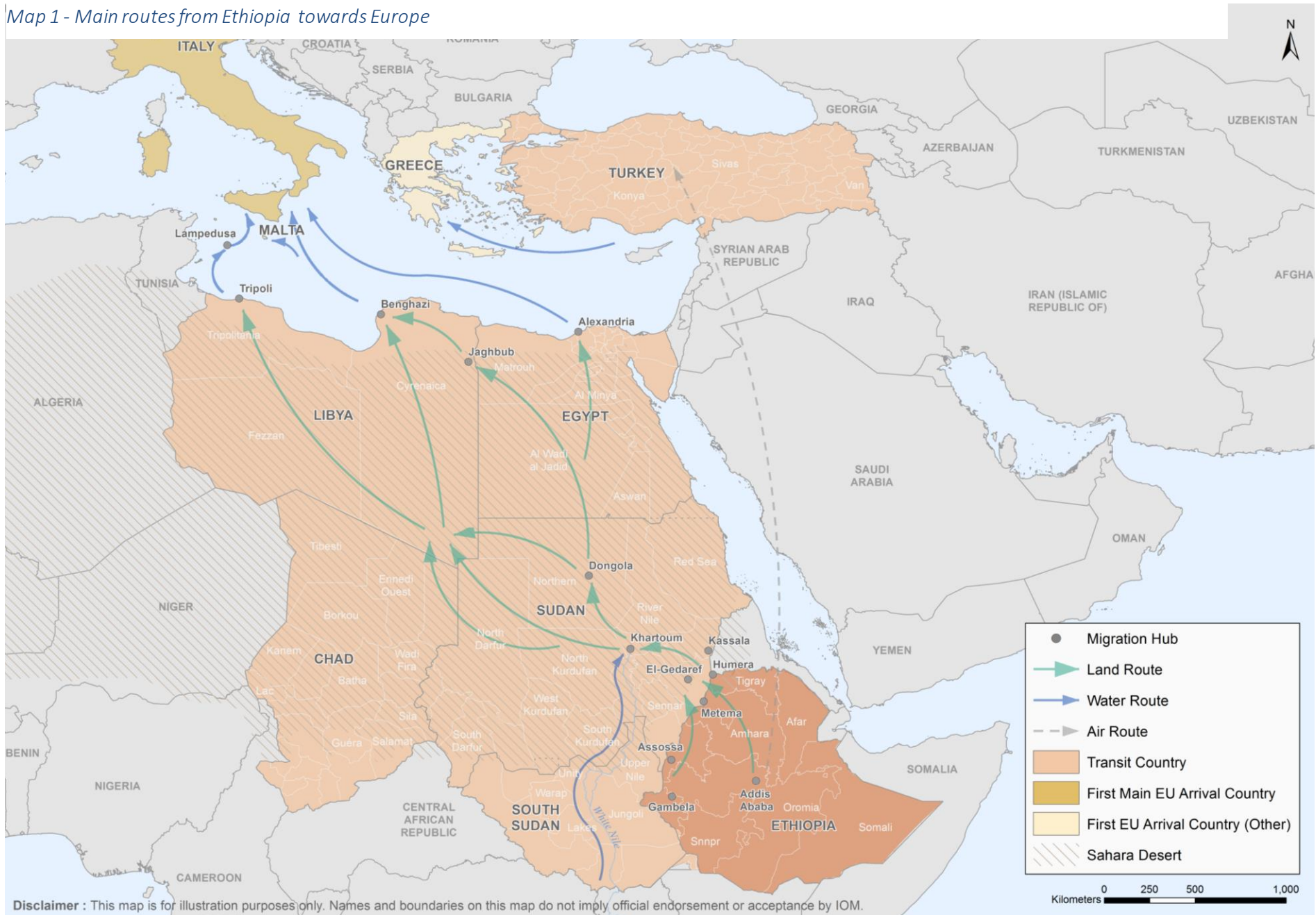
4.3 THEMATIC AREA 3 – RISKS AND VULNERABILITIES IN ORIGIN, TRANSIT AND DESTINATION COUNTRIES

Before explaining the different challenges and risks Ethiopian migrants face along their journey towards Europe, the routes will first be explained. This will facilitate a better understanding of where migrants can potentially encounter risks and vulnerabilities.

In the case of Ethiopia, the main migration routes towards Europe are the Eastern route within Africa towards Libya and the Central Mediterranean route from Libya towards Europe. While Banulescu-Bogdan & Fratzke (2015) claim that the use of the Central Mediterranean route has diminished, in part because of the rising instability in Libya, making the Eastern Mediterranean route the primary maritime route in 2015, it has nevertheless persisted as the most commonly used route for migrants from the SSA region due to the geographical proximity. Contrary to what is often suggested in previous literature, migration movements, especially from parts of the world like the SSA-region, are not linear, uninterrupted journeys. Particularly, for those moving by land, the journey consist of many different stages. As the MEDMIG study of 2015 showed, the first part of the journey, the East African route, which is mainly used by migrants from the Horn of Africa, is fragmented in nature with many stops before reaching Libya. The second part of the journey, the Central Mediterranean route, is however rather straight forward as 96 per cent of those who participated in the study that had arrived in Italy in 2015 came from Libya (Crawley, Düvell, Jones, McMahon, & Sigona, 2016; Lutterbeck, et al., 2015).

Ethiopian migrants are exposed to risks and vulnerabilities throughout all parts of their journeys. Even though routes differ and cannot always be generalized, this research focuses on the main route taken by the majority of Ethiopians—from Ethiopia into Sudan, onwards to Libya and into Italy. Nevertheless, this report does not ignore the existence of other routes and makes references to these as much as possible and whenever considered relevant.

Map 1 - Main routes from Ethiopia towards Europe



4.3.1 Risks and Vulnerabilities faced in Ethiopia/ Horn of Africa region

Routes out of Ethiopia

The main routes originating in Ethiopia go through Somalia, Djibouti and Kenya, however when looking at the movement towards Europe, significant movements are made into Sudan before crossing the desert to reach Libya. The estimated number of Ethiopians going through Sudan each year ranges from 18,000 to 100,000 (Lutterbeck, et al., 2015; Carter & Rohwerder, 2016). The most commonly used border crossing point into Sudan is at Metema or Humera in the north of Ethiopia. Another common route, used in order to avoid authorities and check points, is through the province of Wollega and the towns of Gambela or Assossa. The journey to Khartoum in Sudan is estimated to take between three and six days from Addis Ababa and supposedly cost around 500 to 800 USD. Ethiopians need a visa to cross legally to Sudan, since most migrants intending to go to Europe by land do not possess a visa, they make use of smugglers to facilitate the border crossing. Alongside Ethiopians, many Somalis as well as Eritrean migrants that are hosted in Ethiopian refugee camps are crossing into Sudan (Lutterbeck, et al., 2015; Frouws, 2014a; Carter & Rohwerder, 2016).

Risks and Vulnerabilities at origin

The literature does not seem to report on risks migrants face travelling through Ethiopia to reach Sudan. The reports about exploitation and violence towards migrants from the Horn of Africa seem to start once the border to Sudan is reached and in particular once migrants are in Sudan, trying to cross the country through the desert to Libya.

4.3.2 Risks and Vulnerabilities faced en route (Sudan and Libya)

Routes through Sudan/ Libya and Egypt

The crossings at the border points between Ethiopia and Sudan can be made either regularly or irregularly. In cases when migrants can afford and are granted a visa, the journey from Addis Ababa to Khartoum takes around three days and can be done without a smuggler. In those cases where Ethiopian migrants do not have a visa, most migrants rely on smugglers to bring them across the border, however there were also cases reported where Ethiopian migrants crossed on their own without the help of facilitators. In Metema migrants arrange the crossing with their smugglers, the cheapest option being by foot (Lutterbeck, et al., 2015). Once in Sudan there are three main routes that lead to Libya: the most commonly used one leads through Darfur, the second one goes through Dongola in northern Sudan, and the third one passes through Chad before reaching Libya, where the border between Sudan and Libya can be avoided. The cities of El-Gedaref and Kassala in Sudan are the main hubs where Ethiopian migrants make contact with smugglers. These hubs are also locations where migrants seeking a smuggler might fall prey to criminals or traffickers. The journey from Khartoum to Kufra takes about

four to ten days and can cost anywhere between 600 and 1,600 USD (Frouws, 2014a; Hamood, 2006; Lutterbeck, et al., 2015). The journey to Libya is primarily over land, through the desert in trucks, however some migrants that had arrived in Europe mentioned boat travel along the White Nile River from South Sudan to Sudan to avoid major conflict zones (Lutterbeck, et al., 2015).

Before the crisis Libya was a major destination country for SSA-nationals as labor migrants. As the social and political climate in the country changed so did its purpose and now Libya primarily functions as a transit country. Nevertheless, the DTM FMS data from 2016 showed that for some migrants coming from SSA, Libya remains a destination. One explanation for this result is that DTM is assumed to be currently tracking what can be referred to as 'mobile and visible' migrants over the other group referred to as 'mobile and invisible'. Mobile and visible migrants are primarily using Libya as a destination country while the latter group is using Libya as a transit country (IOM Libya, 2017). The main migration hub in Libya is Tripoli where migrants can acquire various migration services for their onward migration (Lutterbeck, et al., 2015; Sahan, 2016). Libya has a 4,000 km long land border, connecting it to six countries on its southern, western and eastern border, all functioning as potential entry points into Libya (Frouws, 2014a). Routes to Libya are known to be quite dynamic and often change because of political circumstances. In the case of migration from the Horn, the district around Kufra, in the south-east of Libya is geographically and strategically an important hub. Most migrants stop in Kufra to find smugglers before moving on to other destination in the country such as Benghazi, Tripoli or other coastal cities from where they can start their journey to Europe by boat (Frouws, 2014a; Sahan, 2016).

Libya is the main transit country connecting Sudan with Europe, however with the political instability in Libya and the continuing (informal) reports about abuse and violence against migrants in Libya, some migrants also make use of alternative routes, such as through Egypt towards Europe. Egypt is used as both, a country from where migrants leave to Europe, as well as a transit country to avoid the dangerous route through the whole of Libya. Some migrants enter Egypt after Dongola, travelling north and then re-enter Libya near the border at Jaghbub (Frouws, 2014a). In a report written by Sahan (2016) it was stated that six per cent of the migrants arriving in Italy are coming from Egypt where the coastal town of Alexandria provides a port from which to leave for Italy.

Risks and Vulnerabilities en route in Sudan and Libya

The overland crossing through Sudan is known to be dangerous and some migrants do not survive the journey. Carter and Rohwerder (2016) claim in their research that migrants from rural Ethiopia are more vulnerable on their journey as they have rather limited networks and opportunities to collect sufficient information about smugglers. This does, however, not mean that urban migrants do not face risks and dangers en route. When crossing the border into Sudan, migrants face high chances of having to pay

extortionate bribes as well as facing the risk of being put into a detention center or being deported (Collyer, 2015). Various migrants that crossed through Sudan reported incidents of kidnapping, torture, extortion, as well as physical violence. Migrants also report that the military and border police seem to be involved in the smuggling and trafficking activities as well as in the kidnapping of migrants. Combined with the risks faced due to smugglers, traffickers, border officials and criminal gangs migrants also have to confront the challenges caused by the journey itself (ibid). The journey through Sudan is marked by passage through its long desert. This stage of the journey often leads to exhaustion, severe dehydration and starvation. Cases were reported of smugglers abandoning migrants in the middle of the desert or leaving them after they became sick or fell off the trucks. The pick-up trucks used by the smugglers are known to be overloaded, squeezing up to 50 people in the small open backs for journeys of up to 10 days (Hamood, 2006; Frouws, 2014a).

Furthermore, various scholars believe that exclusion of Ethiopian nationals under national refugee registration programs is further contributing to the vulnerable situation of Ethiopian nationals in Libya. As a result of this, many Ethiopians are believed to be claiming to be of Somali or Eritrean origin in order to gain better access to services. Ethiopians also reported that they fear their own government who is believed to be operating within Libya in order to find Ethiopians claiming to be refugees and facilitating their deportation back to Ethiopia. Once they take on the identity of a Somali or Eritrean they are assumed to maintain those identities when they cross in to Europe. Numbers of Ethiopian migrants and especially asylum applicants are therefore expected to be much higher in reality than actually reported (Frouws, 2014a).

Most cases of violence, abuse and exploitation are assumed to occur en route in Libya. The list of exploitive activities in Libya is long, including amongst others; violent detention, being held hostage for the payment of a ransom, bonded labor, sexual violence against women and in some cases even being sold into slavery (Malakooti A. , 2016). Many migrants reported to have been tricked into migration towards Europe, through initial agreements with smugglers that turned into conditions of human trafficking or simply by false promises of smugglers, and transiting therewith through Libya. Often facing lack of opportunities and financial troubles, traffickers take advantage of the situation, promising the migrants 'greener pasture' in Europe and offering to lend the money or even pay for the whole journey. When migrants arrive in Libya they are sold into bonded labor, and required to pay off their debts. Many migrants also report arbitrary arrests and detentions as they get often kidnapped upon their arrival and are required to pay a ransom. If they cannot pay they are put into a detention center and forced to work in slave like conditions. The majority of incidents are reported to have happened at the hands of smugglers, border officials or other country nationals (Malakooti A. , 2016; IOM, 2015). Migrants from the Horn are known to be living in a certain area of Tripoli. Most try to stay close to their homes as they

know the risk of being put in a detention centers is high, as is the risk of being robbed or beaten by gangs. The general treatment of migrants from the Horn and West Africa in Libya is assumed to be the most harsh and arbitrary in comparison to other nationalities (Frouws, 2014a; Sahan, 2016).

4.3.3 Risks and vulnerabilities faced in Europe

Routes to Europe

As mentioned previously, the most common route from Libya towards Europe is by boat, arriving at the shores in Italy, predominantly in Lampedusa. For 2014, Malakooti (2015b) reports that approximately 80 per cent of the arrivals in Italy departed from Libya. In 2015, Crawley et al. (2016) report that 96 per cent of the arrivals in Italy had crossed over from Libya.

Malta as a destination country is not as significant as Italy, since Malta is rarely a country to which migrants intended to travel. Most migrants who ended up in Malta were there by mistake or because they were rescued by the Maltese coastguard. Ethiopians and other nationalities from the Horn of Africa make up the largest share of migrants arriving in Malta. Even though the absolute number of migrants arriving in Malta is small (between 1,000 and 2,000 migrants a year since 2002), in relative terms, compared to Malta's population the number is significant (Lutterbeck, et al., 2015).

Risks and Vulnerabilities in Europe/at the destination countries

On the journey from Libya to Italy, the most dangerous part is the sea crossing (Fargues & Bonfanti, 2014). According to UNHCR data (2014), the deaths occurring in the Mediterranean make up 73 per cent of the total number of deaths at sea globally. The increase of sea crossings to Italy has been accompanied by a rising death toll. In 2013 around 600 migrants lost their lives, in 2014 an estimated 2,993 migrants died attempting to reach Europe and in early 2016 the annual number was estimated to be close to 4,000 migrants (Malakooti, 2015a; Malakooti & Davin, 2015b; Crawley, Düvell, Jones, McMahon, & Sigona, 2016a). According to the IOM "Missing Migrants Project", by the end of 2016 a total of 5,098 migrants were recorded to have lost their lives at sea while trying to cross the Mediterranean and reach Italy by boat (IOM, 2017). The conditions that migrants have to face while crossing the Mediterranean explains the large number of deaths every year. Smugglers in Libya are known to overload boats designed to carry 30-40 people with often up to 200 migrants. Food, water and fuel are often packed in insufficient quantities. Journeys should ideally last a day or two.

In contrast to commonly held assumptions, migrants continue to be vulnerable and face new risks on European soil. Malakooti (2016) reports in her study for IOM that once migrants arrive in Europe, the uncertainty about their future causes distress, which exacerbates the often occurring PTSD and other psychological problems. Apart from health problems of a psychological or physical nature, migrants can

also face abuse and exploitation within migrant communities. Lastly, indebtedness to the smugglers causes a potential risk in the country of destination. Migrants are often expected to pay back their debts as soon as they arrive in Europe. As most migrants are not allowed to work while they undergo the asylum process (if enrolled) or cannot find jobs, the indebtedness causes great distress to the migrants, especially, because smugglers often contact the families at home and threaten them as well (Malakooti, 2016).

THEMATIC AREA 3 – DATA GAPS

Literature and data related to migratory routes from Ethiopia to Europe and the associated vulnerabilities is increasing and covers the main itineraries and most important transit points. The main challenges and shortcomings in existing data on the vulnerabilities of Ethiopian migrants is the accountability for the occurring nationality swapping of Ethiopian nationals, identifying themselves as Eritrean or Somali nationals. Exclusion of this “hidden population” could impact the validity of information and result in an under-representation of vulnerabilities faced by Ethiopians en-route to Europe.

4.4 THEMATIC AREA 4 – THE ROLE OF INTERMEDIARIES

Understanding the routes migrants take from Ethiopia towards Europe is essential to get a clearer picture of the roles of the intermediaries and the services they provide to the migrants. This section proceeds by providing a general overview of smuggling activities in the SSA-region before elaborating upon the profiles and services of intermediaries for Ethiopian nationals and explaining the constellation of networks.

For migrants from the SSA-region it is believed that for 80 per cent of the cases, a smuggler and/or criminal groups are involved, which provide a range of different services, ranging from transportation and fraudulent documents to the bribing of border officials and settlement services (Reitano, Adal, & Shaw, 2014). In particular for migrants coming from SSA the concept of smuggling can often overlap with trafficking, as trafficking practices from the Horn of Africa are no rarity. In general, but also for the purpose of this study, smuggling refers only to the facilitation of migration related services, especially the irregular entry of a foreign national into a third country in exchange for payments.⁷ While smuggling

⁷ In line with the Palermo Protocol of 2000 – Article 3(a) “Smuggling of migrants’ shall mean 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”

can occur without exploitation, human trafficking implies that people are forced, threatened or tricked into exploitative activities. The exploitation can be financial, sexual or in the form of forced labour (Carling, 2006). Reitano, Adal and Shaw (2014) distinguish in their research between three different kinds of services:

1. Ad hoc smuggling services: The migrant travels on his or her own, occasionally using smuggling services, for example, to cross a border.
2. Migrant smuggling through misuse or abuse of documents: Migrants who can afford to use this type of smuggling often have sufficient financial resources to purchase visas and other necessary papers.
3. Pre-organized stage-to-stage smuggling: The whole journey is organized and migrants are accompanied for most of it by smugglers.

The services are also often defined as either 'full-package service' or 'pay-as-you-go' services (De Haas H., 2011; Reitano & Tinti, 2015). It is believed that as migrants cross different countries and territories they might be 'passed on' from one facilitator to the next as guides are often locals from the region with the necessary knowledge, networks and skills (ibid).

4.4.1 Role of Networks

For smuggling activities from the Horn of Africa, networks are believed to be rather loose and sporadic. Although, smugglers that work in one country have contact with smugglers from the neighboring countries, they have not been identified as being from the same network. The step by step approach most migrants from the SSA-region pursue underlines this assumption as in most cases they use a different smuggler for each of the different stages of the journey. Those all-inclusive trips from the place of origin to the destination do not seem to exist along this route. The network structures for the route from SSA to Europe seem to rely on both smugglers as well as brokers, so called connection men. The brokers and connection men -who are usually of the same nationality as the migrants- establish the initial contact between the migrant and the smuggler, the individuals who usually own the safe houses, the vehicles, the boats etc. While brokers are commonly referred to as 'connection men' the smugglers are known as 'pushing men' (Lutterbeck, 2013; Sahan, 2016). Both the smugglers as well as the brokers usually have connections to other brokers and smugglers in the other countries, i.e. Ethiopian smugglers know Sudanese smugglers and they again have connections to smugglers from Libya. Although, those linkages exist there is no identified coherent smuggling network and migrants must deal with several independent smugglers along their journey, which is believed to be to a disadvantage to the migrants. The more smugglers a migrant needs to use along the route the higher the chances are for exploitation.

For each smuggler, the migrant must 'start from scratch' negotiating new terms while each time putting him/herself in a vulnerable position (Lutterbeck, 2013).

4.4.2 Facilitators' Services & Profiles

Ethiopia

Intermediaries in the Ethiopian country context can range from official private employment agencies (PEAs), to unlicensed brokers, to social networks such as relatives and friends. Facilitators that are organized through informal social networks arrange the migration of many Ethiopian nationals. Ethiopian migrants that were interviewed within the scope of Fernandez' (2013) study, reported that they had left Ethiopia through irregular channels organized with the help of family members and friends, that knew facilitators or had experiences themselves. In 2011 the Ethiopian Ministry of Foreign Affairs estimated that there were more than 1,000 unlicensed brokers in Addis Ababa alone. This number is however hard to verify as unlicensed facilitators are dispersed as well as socially embedded. It is believed that within the different neighborhoods people are aware who the local broker, called "dalala", is. Dalalas are often former migrants that have returned to Ethiopia (ibid). This shows that for the first leg of the journey a fellow national will help Ethiopian migrants to cross into Sudan from where a Sudanese broker will then take over.

Sudan

The trip from Khartoum through the Sahara is invariably facilitated by smugglers. Research shows that migrants look for a broker in Khartoum that will then arrange the trip across the Sahara. In the case of smuggling businesses in Sudan, migrants are usually held in some form of 'safe house' until they start their journey through the desert. Regarding the smuggler's profiles, the first part of the route is believed to be driven by Sudanese nationals until somewhere in the middle of the desert. There, migrants are commonly transferred to other cars or trucks that belong to Libyan nationals. Those practices clearly indicate that there is some form of collaboration between the different parts of the journeys (Lutterbeck, 2013).

Libya

The smuggling networks in Libya are identified as individuals or small groups of people and referred to as 'loosely cast networks' who only cooperate for mutual financial interest. Each of them provides a different service at a different part of the journey, i.e. initial transportation in Libya, the border crossing, or the sea crossing to Italy. For the largest part, there is believed to be no or only little cooperation between the smugglers, although contact may exist between the smuggler in Libya and the previous Sudanese/Libyan smugglers that were involved with the desert crossing. One example of the separation of services between different smugglers are the Tebu groups (a non-Arab African minority in Libya) that

are known to operate the smuggling networks in and around Sabha, however the boat journeys out of Libya are then facilitated by Libyans (Frouws, 2014a). At all stages during the journey, migrants are referred to members of their own nationality or ethnic/tribal community 'the connection man' who then works for a smuggler that belongs to the nationality of the current country, e.g. Libya or Sudan. Regarding the brokers profiles, one common type are individuals that were travelling irregularly themselves aiming to reach Europe but were held up in Libya because they had run out of money. The other type are brokers who have lived in Libya for a long time and do not intend to migrate onwards (Lutterbeck, 2013). Brokers in Libya confirm the assumption of loose smuggling networks as the relationship between the broker (connection man) and the smuggler does not seem to be exclusive. Brokers can work for several and different smugglers, meaning they do not form a cooperation with a strong internal structure (ibid).

THEAMTIC AREA 4 – DATA GAPS

Literature is available and recently increasing regarding Ethiopian nationals that are migrating within the region and through the eastern routes. However, when focusing on Ethiopian migration routes towards Europe it became apparent that information on what role intermediaries play before and during the journey to Europe has recently not been studied widely. Information on the role of smuggling networks and profiles of intermediaries in both Ethiopia and transit countries en-route to Europe is also limited and scattered. Resulting in (quantitative) data gaps for this thematic area.

4.5 THEMATIC AREA 5 – MIGRANTS PERCEPTION TOWARDS EUROPE

Research activities for the fifth thematic area focuses on data related to migrants' perceptions of life in Europe and knowledge of procedures for obtaining refugee status, humanitarian protection or permission to stay in various European countries.

There has been no specific research done on this thematic area for Ethiopian nationals. Nevertheless, certain studies that focus on migration towards Europe highlight some general perceptions which migrants have. The general perception and a commonly held assumption is that most migrants leave SSA because they are seeking employment. The motivation to flee because of conflict or security issues in their country of origin is often ignored. Migrants from the SSA region frequently say that they 'seek a better life' and migration is their way of achieving this (Crawley, Düvell, Jones, McMahon, & Sigona, 2016a).

Kuschminder, Andersson and Siegel (2012) analyze in their quantitative research about the different characteristics of Ethiopian nationals migrating to different parts of the world, the main reasons why Ethiopians reported traveling to northern countries (USA and Europe). In comparison to migrants that went to the Middle East or to other African countries, Ethiopian migrants that went north were more likely to migrate for education (15%) as well as for family reunification (11%) and for refugee/security/political reasons (9%). Living conditions were also perceived to be better in the north than in Ethiopia, the Middle East or any other African country. In a later report by Kuschminder and Siegel (2014) based on the same dataset, the authors indicate that more than half of the returned migrants they interviewed did not have information or a specific perception on the country of destination before they left. For those that did receive information beforehand, the main information sources were family and friends in the destination country (40%).

Similar results are reported on the 4Mi website, a data collection platform established by the Regional Mixed Migration Secretariat, looking at the movements of migrants from the Horn of Africa. Particularly for Ethiopian migrants, 36 per cent indicated that they intend to go to Europe. Results show that 94 per cent of the respondents from Ethiopia believed that they would find work upon arrival in the destination country. The most commonly cited reasons for the choice of the destination countries were: “the best security standards”, economic opportunities, protection offered, friends and family in the same country as well as education opportunities and the influence of smugglers and brokers. Furthermore, the data also shows that 74 per cent reported that they intend to stay in the destination country once they had reached it. Of the Ethiopian sample population, only 46 per cent indicated that they would still migrate knowing what they know now, while 21 per cent said no, 10 per cent did not know and 24 per cent reported maybe (RMMS, 2017).

There has been no specific research done on the perception towards asylum applications and the chances of success, however the behavior of many Ethiopians along the route give an indication that they are most likely aware of their limited chances to receive an asylum status. Research has shown many Ethiopians swap nationalities before they leave, en route or at the latest when they have arrived at the destination because they seem to believe the chances to receive asylum are better for Eritrean or Somali nationals.

THEMATIC AREA 5 – DATA GAPS

Recently increasing efforts are made to collect data on the perceptions that Ethiopian migrants have towards Europe. Although the importance of this topic is acknowledged within the international and academic community, only few studies do actually focus on this thematic area and very limited information is available.

To fill the significant data gap under this thematic area, further research related to migrants' perceptions of destination countries in Europe is crucial. In this regard, it is necessary to investigate what Ethiopian migrants know before migration and what sources of information they use before migrating to Europe, whilst studying if decisions/ perceptions are based upon this information. To further fill current gaps comprehensive data collection should also focus on what expectations migrants have about the route to Europe, general life in Europe and their potential new lives in Europe, whilst capturing key information sources that influence those views.

4.6 THEMATIC AREA 6 – MIGRATION CHOICES AND OPTIONS

Complementary to the perceptions migrants have about their arrival and life in Europe, the study aims at shedding light on the different migration choices and options Ethiopian migrants have within the region but also in Europe. Further, it will endeavour to identify the options that motivate the migrants to make the journey to Europe. In the report we aim to understand what legal options there are for migrants to migrate to Europe and if they are aware of these options. Furthermore, literature is searched in order to investigate whether or not potential migrants are aware of regional migration options and if so, why they prefer Europe.

4.6.1 Legal Options in Europe

For third-country nationals, not only explicitly for Ethiopian nationals, the EU has a number of measures and directives in place that would allow them to enter the EU legally. The Blue Card directive, for instance, allows highly-qualified immigrant workers to access the EU labour market. Family reunification provides already legally residing immigrants the chance to bring family members into the EU. The directive on the entry and stay of students, volunteers and interns establishes common rules for young immigrants' entry in to EU territory. Furthermore, the seasonal workers' directive ensures the rights of

third-country nationals and aims at preventing irregular immigration (Eurostat, 2015). As Addis (2014) describes, the legal route to Europe is predominantly reserved for the highly-skilled who are attracted by the policies in place and who have the means to navigate these legal channels.

4.6.2 Regular vs Irregular Migration from Ethiopia

A large number of Ethiopian nationals that migrate to Europe take an irregular route as the advantage of the irregular channels are believed to be higher. The cost of migration for instance was reported to be an influential factor in deciding to take an irregular route as many Ethiopian migrants believe it is cheaper to travel through irregular channels. In particular smugglers and brokers portray this image to Ethiopian nationals, leading them to believe that their journey would be less expensive when employing their services. Undocumented Ethiopians in Saudi Arabia for instance stated that they prefer to be irregular migrants as official channels often go through agencies who are known to confiscate passports, on the other hand they also report that the irregular status gives them less room for negotiations with the employers (Addis, 2014; Frouws, 2014a). Research on potential migrants found that most people intended to travel legally whenever this option existed, for instance to the Middle East through PEAs or to Western countries through scholarships, the Green Card (USA) or the Blue Card (EU), but were also willing to travel irregularly if regular channels were not possible (Addis, 2014). In addition, the perceived inefficiency of the legal system results in some migrants turning to irregular channels (Frouws, 2014a).

4.6.3 Choosing Europe over regional migration

As previous research has outlined, regional migration is much more common for Ethiopian nationals than migration towards Europe, nevertheless a proportion of the migrant population still chooses to travel long distances to reach Europe, commonly facing -as previously explained- horrendous conditions along the route. The question of why migrants move to Europe instead of maybe looking for opportunities in the region has already been partly explained in the previous section on perceptions towards Europe. In particular, the perception of better security and livelihood options is often associated mainly with western countries. Research on this thematic area however also shows that many migrants did not even intend to go to Europe when they travelled to the Middle East or to Libya but only decided en route to travel further. The worsening living conditions in Libya are named as one of those reasons why migrants who initially never planned to go to Europe end up eventually crossing the Mediterranean Sea (Crawley, Düvell, Jones, McMahon, & Sigona, 2016a).

Kuschminder, Andersson and Siegel (2012) found, in their quantitative research study on Ethiopian migrants, that for those who went to the north (Europe and USA), the reason for choosing a northern country was primarily due to network effects of having relatives or friends in the country of destination

(26%). This network effect was a more unlikely reason for a destination choice among the migrants that were migrating within Africa (9%) and towards the Middle East (7%). In further analysis on the same dataset Kuschminder and Siegel (2014) also established that a destination was most commonly chosen based on better employment opportunities as well as working conditions (32%). Furthermore, the perception of how easy it is to gain access of entry into a specific country also played an important role (25%). Of the overall migration population (to all destination regions) around 40 per cent had migrated without documents, the majority is believed to be in the northern part of the world, as it is easier for Ethiopians to gain access to work permits in the Middle East (ibid).

THEAMTIC AREA 6 – DATA GAPS

Although Ethiopian migration flows within the Horn of Africa and towards the Middle East is well-studied and detailed information exists on why Ethiopian nationals migrate within the region, research that draws linkages between (irregular) migration decision making towards Europe, the Middle East or the region is lacking. Limited information is available as to why Ethiopians prefer to migrate within the region or Middle East instead of Europe and (quantitative) data on the rationale behind this decision making is lacking.

5. SUMMARY OF KEY-FINDINGS

In line with the thematic areas and the research questions, information and data collected under the literature review reveal that various thematic areas have more significant data-gaps than others. The main data gaps for each of the thematic areas are outlined below. Gaps which are visible in almost all of the TAs is the **lack of comprehensive quantitative data as well as data that particularly focuses on the movements towards Europe** and not to the Middle East or within the African continent.

1	2	3	4	5	6
Migrant profiles (social-demographic)	Migration drivers and decision making	Vulnerability factors in origin transit and destination countries	Role of intermediaries	Migrant’s perceptions towards Europe	Migration choices and options

Thematic Area 1 – In recent years there has been a growing effort amongst international actors and researchers to increase a better understanding of the profiles of migrants that move to Europe. Although methods such as DTM’s flow monitoring surveys provide regular updates on the profiles of

Ethiopian migrants towards Europe, most information collected in the past on Ethiopian migrants has put greater emphasis on migration within the region or towards the Middle East than on the migrants' profiles of those Ethiopians that travel to Europe. **More in-depth (quantitative) data collection on socio-economic profiles** of Ethiopian nationals that migrate to Europe could **increase the knowledge base on the background of potential and recently arrived Ethiopian migrants in Europe.**

Thematic Area 2 – Literature on drivers for Ethiopian out-migration and the decision-making processes is extensive and well-studied, the largest share of information consists of qualitative studies that focus on migration drivers from Ethiopia on macro level. However, as the main migration routes from Ethiopia are not directed towards Europe, a comparatively small proportion of the literature focuses on the drivers and decision making factors of Ethiopian migrants that leave for Europe. Studies that focus on decision making processes of Ethiopians migrating to Europe mainly focussed on macro-level drivers and decision making and does not focus on micro-level indicators. **The core gap is a representative sample that focusses both on macro and micro level migration drivers and decision-making factors** of Ethiopians nationals that migrate towards Europe.

Thematic Area 3 – Research and data related to migratory routes from Ethiopia to Europe and the associated vulnerabilities is increasing and covers the main itineraries and most important transit points. The main challenges and shortcomings in existing data on the vulnerabilities of Ethiopian migrants is the accountability for the occurring nationality swapping of Ethiopian nationals, identifying themselves as Eritrean or Somali nationals. **Exclusion of this “hidden population”** could impact the validity of information and result in an **under-representation of vulnerabilities faced by Ethiopians en-route towards Europe.**

Thematic Area 4 – Research related to smuggling practices for Ethiopian migrants along the eastern routes and within the Horn of Africa is increasing, but data on routes towards Europe is limited. Information on what role intermediaries play in facilitating the journeys of Ethiopian migrants to Europe and how their networks operate (incl. their profiles) is scarce and often of anecdotal nature. **Structured (quantitative) data collection is needed to fill the current gaps and obtain insights on what role intermediaries play** and how smuggling networks are used by Ethiopian migrants to reach Europe.

Thematic Area 5 – This thematic area is understudied despite more recent initiatives to collect data on migrants' perceptions towards Europe. To obtain a better understanding of movements from Ethiopia to Europe, **further research related to migrants' perceptions of destination countries in Europe is crucial.** In this regard, it is necessary to investigate what Ethiopian migrants know before migration and the **sources of information** they use before migrating to Europe, whilst studying if decisions/ perceptions are based upon this information. To further fill the current data gaps, comprehensive data collection

should also focus on what **expectations migrants have** about the route to Europe, general life in Europe and their potential new lives in Europe, whilst capturing key information sources that influence those views.

Thematic Area 6 – Although Ethiopian migration flows within the Horn of Africa and towards the Middle East is well-studied and detailed information exists on why Ethiopian nationals migrate within the region, research that draws linkages between (irregular) migration decision making towards Europe, the Middle East or the region is lacking. Limited information is available as to why Ethiopians prefer to migrate within the region or the Middle East instead of Europe, especially quantitative data on the rationale behind this decision making is lacking. New studies of both qualitative as well as quantitative nature could help **fill the gaps** under this thematic area **and particularly shed light on the decision made by Ethiopians to migrate within the region versus Europe.**

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