



**FROM ILLEGAL MIGRATION TO HUMAN
TRAFFICKING: DANGEROUS JOURNEYS
ACROSS THE HORN OF AFRICA AND
THE ARABIAN PENINSULA**

OCTOBER 2023

Free the Slaves (FTS) was founded in 2000 and has since committed itself to the mission of ending modern slavery. Today, FTS is widely recognized as a leader and a pioneer in the modern abolitionist movement. Through its work, FTS has assisted individuals in situation of slavery to regain their freedom, has helped officials to bring traffickers to justice, and has supported survivors to rebuild their lives and reclaim their future. To advance its mission further, FTS has developed a multi-dimensional strategy that rests on four main pillars: policy and advocacy, which sees FTS advocating for the reform of laws and regulations; engagement of local communities, whereby FTS provides training and resources to vulnerable communities; movement building, as FTS encourages collaboration, knowledge-sharing, and collective action within the anti-slavery movement; and continuous learning, whereby FTS actively engages in research projects that aim to inform responses and enhance understanding.

The report was authored by Dr Marta Furlan, Free the Slaves' Research Program Officer.

Table of Contents

Introduction	5
From the Horn of Africa to the Arabian Peninsula: Numbers, drivers, and patterns	7
From illegal migration to human trafficking	7
Human trafficking upon disembarking in Yemen	8
Human trafficking after reaching the Gulf monarchies.....	11
Conclusion	12
Recommendations	14
Bibliography	18

Glossary

Country of destination - The country that is a destination for migratory flows, either regular or irregular. [IOM, Glossary on Migration, 2019]

Country of origin - The country that is a source of migratory flows, either regular or irregular. [IOM, Glossary on Migration, 2019]

Country of transit - The country through which migratory flows, either regular or irregular, move. [IOM, Glossary on Migration, 2019]

Forced migration - A migratory movement in which an element of coercion exists, including threats to life and livelihood, whether arising from natural or man-made causes. [IOM, Glossary on Migration, 2019]

Horn of Africa – The region in Eastern Africa that comprises Somalia, Djibouti, Ethiopia, and Eritrea. It is also possible to refer to a Greater Horn of Africa, which extends to Kenya, Sudan, and South Sudan. For the purpose of this report, "Horn of Africa" refers to Somalia, Djibouti, Ethiopia, and Eritrea.

International migration - The movement of persons away from their place of usual residence and across an international border to a country of which they are not nationals. [IOM, Glossary on Migration, 2019]

Irregular (or illegal) migration – The movement of persons that takes place outside the laws, regulations, or international agreements governing the entry into or exit from the State of origin, transit or destination. [IOM, Glossary on Migration, 2019]

Migration - The movement of persons away from their place of usual residence, either across an international border or within a State. [IOM, Glossary on Migration, 2019]

Smuggling - 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. [Protocol Against the Smuggling of Migrants by Land, Sea and Air 2000]

Trafficking in persons - 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. [Palermo Protocol, 2000]

Introduction

Human migration and human trafficking have a long history in Eastern Africa. As early as the twelfth century, the Horn of Africa was connected to the Middle East, the Arab Gulf, and South Asia by trade networks. Those trade routes soon became migratory routes as well, with peoples and goods moving across the Arabian Sea and the Red Sea. However, under Arab and European domination, the Horn was also connected with the rest of the world by the East Africa slave trade.¹

The gradual illegalization of slave trading in the late 19th and early 20th century temporarily halted those movements of people. However, during the wars of colonial occupation in the 1930s (such as Italy's occupation of Ethiopia) and during the conflicts between Axis Powers and Alliance Powers in the 1940s (such as the British-Italian war in Ethiopia, Somalia, and Eritrea), many from the Horn of Africa embarked on migratory journeys to escape the violence of those struggles.

As the establishment of independent states in the Horn of Africa was often followed by instability, poverty, and ethnic violence, migration from Somalia, Ethiopia, Eritrea, and Djibouti continued well after the end of colonial rule. In more recent times, this has been further encouraged by the oil-driven economic growth of the neighboring Gulf monarchies, which have become an attractive destination for cheap and unskilled laborers from East Africa.² It is on this background

that an increasing number of East African nationals have decided to embark on migratory journeys that, passing through Yemen, have in the rich Gulf monarchies their proposed destination.

However, many of those migratory flows between the Horn of Africa and the Arabian Peninsula are illegal in character, taking place beyond the routes and mechanisms allowed by countries of destination and countries of origin. The reasons why many migrants have been choosing irregular channels of migration are mainly connected to the limited options for regular migration as well as the administrative challenges associated with those few options (e.g., strict exit control procedures and limited issuance of passports).³

As East African nationals embark on illegal channels of migration and resort to migrant smuggling to reach the Arabian Peninsula, they become significantly exposed to the risk of human trafficking. In fact, if migrants are already among the most vulnerable members of society in their countries of transit and countries of destination, illegal migrants suffer from a double vulnerability – that coming from their condition as migrants and that coming from their illegal status. Affected by these intersecting vulnerabilities, illegal migrants from East Africa often find themselves exploited by ruthless human traffickers along their journeys towards the Gulf monarchies. It is on this reality of exploitation that the present report will focus.

From the Horn of Africa to the Arabian Peninsula: Numbers, drivers, and patterns

Due to its location in the South-Western corner of the Arabian Peninsula and its proximity to the Horn of Africa, Yemen is regarded by most East African migrants as the preferred location to migrate to. As noted above, however, most of them intend to move onward to the richer Gulf monarchies.

The journey from the Horn of Africa through Yemen accounts for 40% of all migratory movements worldwide and has seen a constant increase over the past few years.⁴ Between 2021 and 2022, the number of migrants hailing from the Horn and crossing the Gulf of Aden into Yemen nearly tripled, from 27,700 to 73,200. Those numbers grew even further in 2023, with 86,630 people migrating to Yemen from the beginning of January to the end of July.⁵ The peak, however, was registered in March, when 20,020 arrivals were recorded, marking the highest figure ever.⁶

Most of the migrants who follow the Eastern route⁷ pass through Djibouti and Somalia, from where they cross the sea to reach the Yemeni coast. According to the latest data, in July 2023 9,500 migrants arrived in Yemen, mostly from Djibouti's coastal town of Obock (82%) and from Somalia's coastal town of Bossaso (18%).⁸ Of those migrants, 98% were Ethiopians and 2% Somalis.⁹

Interestingly, these patterns of migration have continued even in the context of the civil war that has engulfed Yemen over the past nine years. In fact, the deterioration of

state authority in Yemen and the collapse of central government institutions, including border control agencies and the police, have led migrants to believe that it has become easier to pass through Yemen undetected and undisturbed.¹⁰

As per the reasons why East African migrants seek to reach the Arabian Peninsula, the main driver is economic need. Coming from countries in which decades of conflict and political instability have negatively affected economic wealth and development rates, the rich Gulf monarchies seem to offer opportunities for a dignified life that do not exist back home. By reaching Yemen and continuing onwards to Saudi Arabia, Eastern African migrants hope to find job opportunities that will allow them to make a living for themselves and send remittances back home.¹¹

However, economic reasons are not the only factor driving East African migrants towards the shores of Yemen. Other factors include climate change, climate-related natural hazards, violence, and conflict (especially against certain ethnic groups).¹² According to data released by the International Organization for Migration (IOM) for the period January-June 2023, 3 million people throughout the Horn of Africa were displaced by droughts.¹³ In Ethiopia alone, 27% of migrants who left the country came from drought-affected areas. Over the same period, 1.4 million people throughout the Horn were displaced by floods.¹⁴

In Ethiopia, for instance, a dramatic combination of ethnic violence and repeated droughts has had an adverse impact on the livelihoods of many, pushing a higher number of Ethiopians to seek opportunities elsewhere.¹⁵ Between the beginning of the conflict in northern Ethiopia in November 2020 and the signing of the Cessation of Hostilities Agreement (COHA) between the government in Addis Ababa and the Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF) in November 2022, it was especially Ethiopians of Tigrayan ethnicity that made their way out of the country. In Somalia, the ongoing

civil war between the government and the armed group al-Shabaab, as well as climatic events such as droughts and floods, have also driven increasing numbers of people to embark on migratory journeys.

Finally, another factor that is important to consider in the context of migration from the Horn of Africa – and that is related to the climate emergency and the continuous cycles of conflict – is food and water insecurity, which has been especially affecting rural populations.¹⁶

From illegal migration to human trafficking

Illegal migrants from the Horn of Africa typically rely on smugglers to make their journey towards the Arabian Peninsula. As they do so, they become particularly vulnerable to human trafficking.

Last July, on the occasion of the International Day Against Trafficking in Persons, the IOM remarked that “an estimated 36.6 million people across Ethiopia, Somalia, Kenya, and Djibouti have been affected [by human trafficking]. Many migrants fall victim and prey to traffickers.”¹⁷ Among those, women

and girls are the most vulnerable group, making up more than 70% of trafficking victims.¹⁸

Significantly, exposure to the risk of trafficking is observed at three distinct moments along the journey – when transiting through Djibouti and Somalia before crossing the Gulf of Aden, when transiting through Yemen upon disembarking in the Arabian Peninsula, when arriving in the rich Gulf monarchies, especially Saudi Arabia.

Human trafficking upon transiting in Djibouti and Somalia

In Djibouti, which is one of the preferred transit routes for illegal migrants on the way to the Arabian Peninsula, traffickers typically exploit migrants who come to the country from Ethiopia and Somalia. This is especially the case for those migrants who are undocumented and/or unaccompanied. A similar situation is reported in Somalia, which is also a common transit route for East African migrants.

Some of the most common forms of trafficking observed in Djibouti City, Obock, and Bossaso are sex trafficking (in which substances are often used as a means of coercion) and forced labor, particularly domestic servitude, forced begging, and peddling.¹⁹ Migrant men are also victims of hazardous forced labor in construction sites, in manual jobs in the Port of Djibouti, and in other informal sectors of the local economy.²⁰

Migrant girls and women are especially vulnerable to commercial sexual exploitation.²¹ In Djibouti, they are predominantly exploited in bars, hotels, and nightclubs frequented by Djiboutian nationals as well as by foreigners who work in the shipping industry, in foreign military bases, and in transportation.²²

Migrant children, for their part, are most commonly exploited in the worst forms of child labor, including forced street begging. According to a study by the Djibouti Ministry for Women and Families conducted in 2022 on 1,000 children forced to beg in Djibouti City, over 90% of them were from Ethiopia and Somalia.²³ Besides begging, migrant children are exploited in agriculture, construction, commercial sex, and domestic work.²⁴ In Somalia, Ethiopian children of the Oromia ethnicity have also been exploited in forced bagging and petty trade.²⁵

These patterns of exploitation are facilitated by the weakness of the governments in Somalia and Djibouti. Somalia is also one of the most corrupted countries worldwide; government officers lack professionalism, training, and resources; and the State's law enforcement capacity is very much limited,²⁶ which is unsurprising if one considers that large swaths of central and southern Somalia are de facto controlled by al-Shabaab. In Djibouti, corruption is also widespread, with the secret police and security forces believed to be directly involved in human trafficking crimes.²⁷ In addition to that, a lack of resources and know-how also hinders the country's capacity to adequately address human trafficking.²⁸

Human trafficking upon disembarking in Yemen

East African migrants who manage to transit through Somalia or Djibouti and make their way to Yemen via boat easily find themselves subjected to human trafficking upon disembarking in the country. As the nine-year-long conflict has led to the collapse of State authority in most of Yemen, very little mechanisms exist to support migrants upon arrival. On the contrary, on Yemen's shores, migrants are met and captured by traffickers, who pay a fee to the smugglers to "buy" them and later exploit them for their own economic return. Significantly, this reveals the extent to which migrant smugglers and human traffickers coordinate with each other and sheds light on the dynamics whereby migrant smuggling can rapidly turn into human trafficking.

Once Yemen's traffickers get their hands on migrants – alone, scared, vulnerable, and fatigued by the journey behind – they load them into trucks and drive them to ramshackle compounds, often in isolated and remote areas or on the outskirts of villages. As state authorities are absent and corruption is ripe, trucks filled with migrants often make their way through military checkpoints, where a bribe is enough for the trip to proceed undisturbed.

This illustrates that the collapse of the government in Yemen has encouraged illegal

migration and human trafficking in multiple ways. On the one hand, and as argued above, it has encouraged migrants to embark on the illegal journey, as they believe (or hope) that no State authority will be able to halt their movement. On the other hand, it has encouraged traffickers to expand their criminal enterprise, as they know that the enforcement of law and order is absent and that money can easily buy the authorities' collusion.



In the compounds managed by traffickers, migrants are forced to call home in Somalia or Ethiopia and ask their families for ransom payments.²⁹ While waiting for the payment to arrive – which can take months, as families might need to ask for the support of neighbors and friends or even sell their belongings such as land and cattle – migrants are exploited in multiple ways.

Men and women are typically exploited in forced labor, as domestic workers, in construction sites, in khat plantations,³⁰ and in ports. In many of those instances, traffickers reportedly collect the migrant's wages, subjecting them to debt bondage.³¹ Migrants are also forced into criminality, including transporting weapons and drugs within Yemen. Women, moreover, are exploited in sex trafficking and in sexual slavery, with wealthy Yemeni men as

clients.³² Physical violence is also commonly reported among African migrants captured by traffickers in Yemen, and is often used to urge families back home to rapidly send their payment.³³

Interestingly, and perhaps surprisingly, migrants reported that Yemeni smuggling and trafficking groups always included Ethiopians, who were responsible for beating and torturing migrants, extort payments, and manage communications (both with the victims of trafficking themselves and with their families back home).³⁴

This shows that, in recent years, traffickers have evolved into well-organized and highly efficient inter-regional networks, whereby Yemeni traffickers employ Ethiopian interpreters and intermediaries to run their operations more effectively.

Human trafficking after reaching the Gulf monarchies

Those who manage to escape Yemen's traffickers, eventually make their way north to the Saudi-Yemen border, where they attempt to cross into Saudi Arabia. It is here that a new ordeal begins for most of them.

Saudi border guards, in fact, have been systematically shooting and killing East African migrants who try to cross the border that divides Yemen and the Saudi kingdom. According to the available figures, Saudi border guards have killed at least hundreds of East African migrants (mostly Ethiopians) who tried to enter the kingdom between March 2022 and June 2023.³⁵

For those who cross the border undetected by Saudi border guards, prospects are not as positive as it might have seemed from back home. Their status as illegal migrants, in fact, condemns them to a situation of vulnerability in which they are forced to accept any job available, no matter what the conditions. Most men find themselves working as laborers in construction sites in which they are not given protective gear,³⁶ they earn a below-minimum wage, engage in hazardous tasks,³⁷ are denied the protection that a contract affords, and are forced to work long hours, up to 60-70 hours per week.³⁸

Most women, for their part, end up working as domestic servants,³⁹ where they are often underpaid or unpaid and are forced to work on average 115 hours per week. In many cases, employers also subject migrant domestic

workers to verbal and physical abuses, withhold their documents, and threaten of reporting them to the police, which will imprison and deport them. Moreover, it has been reported that when migrants enter the kingdom with the help of smugglers, the latter often make arrangements with Saudi employers to receive the salaries of migrants directly, especially in the domestic work sector.⁴⁰

Children crossing the border illegally are exposed to the risk of exploitation in forced begging, into which they are recruited by traffickers who run organized begging rings. This form of exploitation, while observed throughout the year, becomes especially prevalent during the holy month of Ramadan and the Muslim pilgrimages of Hajj and Umrah, when great numbers of people visit the kingdom from abroad.⁴¹ The risk for children of falling victim of forced begging is especially acute when they enter Saudi Arabia unaccompanied.⁴²

As the Saudi government does not consistently screen vulnerable populations (e.g., illegal migrants arrested for violating the country's migration rules) for trafficking indicators, many trafficking crimes affecting illegal migrants in the kingdom go unreported and unaddressed. Moreover, the Saudi government's failure to adequately prosecute trafficking crimes and seek appropriate penalties for convicted traffickers certainly do not act as a deterrent.

Conclusion

Countries in the Horn of Africa are greatly affected by migration, posing especially as countries of origin and countries of transit for migrants. Many factors shape the migratory movements out of the region, including low levels of economic development, lack of job opportunities, conflicts and ethnic violence, climate change and the related loss of livelihoods, as well as food and water insecurity.

Due to limited channels for regular migration, movements from the region are largely irregular. As such, they are associated with many risks for the migrants that set on those journeys, including the risk of human trafficking. This mostly takes the form of forced labor, including hazardous labor, sex trafficking and sexual exploitation, domestic servitude, and child labor, including hazardous child labor and the worst forms of child labor, such as commercial sexual exploitation, forced begging, and involvement in illicit activities.

Considering the reality of human trafficking to which illegal migrants crossing the Gulf of Aden are exposed, there is an urgent need to address the multiple conditions that lie behind their decision to migrate. Countries of origin in the Horn of Africa (i.e., Ethiopia, and Somalia) will need to address the climate crisis, designing interventions

aimed at strengthening the climate resilience of local communities and enhancing access to alternative and sustainable livelihood opportunities. They will also need to invest greater resources in development initiatives capable of boosting economic growth and creating job opportunities for their young populations. Healthcare, education, and infrastructure will also need to receive a greater proportion of the governments' annual spending. Finally, diplomatic and political efforts will need to be devoted to address protracted situations of conflict and political instability. Here, the support of the international community will be crucial, both to set realistic and achievable targets as well as to mobilize and manage the human and financial resources needed to reach them.

However, responses should not only come from the countries and regions of origin. Specifically, countries of transit (i.e., Somalia, Djibouti, and Yemen) and countries of destination (i.e., Saudi Arabia and other Gulf monarchies) should strengthen their commitments to fight human trafficking and should comply with their responsibilities towards migrants under international human rights law. They should also fight corruption among police officials, who are often part of the problem rather than the solution, and improve border control with particular attention devoted to migrant protection.

As countries of destination are typically in need of low-skilled migrants to sustain their economic growth and fill those jobs that their nationals are unwilling to do, they should introduce more regular options for migration in order to decrease migrants' dependency on smugglers and their risk of becoming victims of trafficking. In this regard, bilateral agreements between countries of origin and countries of destination have proved to be a first step in the right direction.

For its part, the international community needs to give greater consideration to the Eastern Route, which has largely been neglected among other global crises and,

especially, vis-à-vis the Northern migratory route running from Africa to Europe. Moreover, the international community should exert greater pressure on the Gulf monarchies. As wealthy Gulf countries are investing great efforts to improve their international image and enhance their position in the international system, the necessity of placing the protection of human rights at the heart of relations with those governments can no longer be overlooked. In addition, it is important to inform migrants about the risks of irregular migration across the Gulf of Aden and raise awareness on regular migration channels, where those are available.



Recommendations

→ For countries of origin in the Horn of Africa

- **Address the climate crisis promptly and adequately**, designing interventions aimed at strengthening the climate resilience of local communities and enhancing access to alternative and sustainable livelihood opportunities (e.g., offer trainings in climate smart agriculture, provide education on livelihood diversification, prepare people to occupations in non-climate-sensitive sectors).
- **Invest more resources in development initiatives** to encourage and sustain economic growth, create more job opportunities for the Horn's young populations, and ultimately increase living standards. Existing initiatives of regional economic integration, such as the Horn of Africa Initiative (HoAI) are encouraging. Regional governments should continue to support, and participate in, this and future initiatives.
- **Increase expenditure on health** (e.g., affordable and equitable healthcare systems), **education** (e.g., free primary and secondary schooling), **and rural development** (e.g., expansion of infrastructure in rural areas), devoting to these sectors a greater percentage of the total annual expenditure than is currently being done.

- **Devote diplomatic and political efforts to addressing persistent situations of conflict.** Greater security at the national level will also attract more foreign investments, encourage economic activities, and facilitate sustainable development strategies. In Ethiopia, the government should use the peace agreement with the TPLF as an opportunity to engage local communities, strengthen civil society, and renegotiate the distribution of power between the centre and ethnically defined regions. In Somalia, the government should abandon counter-insurgency military approaches that have proved ineffective. It should seek a political solution to the conflict and embark on a cautious, yet resolute, process of negotiation with al-Shabaab.

- **Offer more and better (i.e., safer and more straightforward) channels for regular migration.** Specifically, lift bans (if any) on overseas migration, establish regulations for recruitment agencies, set minimum age requirements for migration, educate migrant workers before departure on the risks of migration and avenues for receiving help, and cooperate with destination countries to ensure that workers are protected from exploitation when they arrive.

→ For countries of transit in the Horn of Africa and the Arabian Peninsula

- **Strengthen commitments to fight human trafficking.**

In Yemen and Somalia, for instance, the absence of a law criminalizing all forms of trafficking and the conflation of human trafficking with migrant smuggling continue to hinder the governments' efforts to investigate instances of trafficking and prosecute trafficking offenders. In Djibouti, judges continue to use outdated versions of the penal code that do not incorporate the provisions contained in the 2016 anti-trafficking law. In the countries of transit considered in this report, more should be done to effectively prosecute, protect, and prevent human trafficking.

- **Comply with responsibilities towards migrants under International Human Rights Law (IHRL).** According to IHRL, all migrants, regardless of their status, are entitled to the same international human rights as everyone else. States have an obligation towards migrants to respect

their human rights (i.e., refrain from human rights violations), protect their human rights (i.e., prevent human rights violations), and fulfill their human rights (i.e., take positive measures to ensure those rights).

- **Fight corruption among police officers and government officials,** who are often complicit with migrant smugglers and human traffickers and accept to ignore cases of human trafficking in exchange for payment. In Djibouti, Somalia, and Yemen, corruption and official complicity in trafficking crimes remain significant concerns that inhibit the government's law enforcement action.

- **Improve border controls,** with particular emphasis on migrant protection, and ensure border guards and police are adequately trained to proactively identify potential victims of trafficking. This is an especially acute need along Yemen's coast, where human traffickers typically wait for migrants to disembark and bring them under their forced control upon payment to, and coordination with, migrant smugglers.

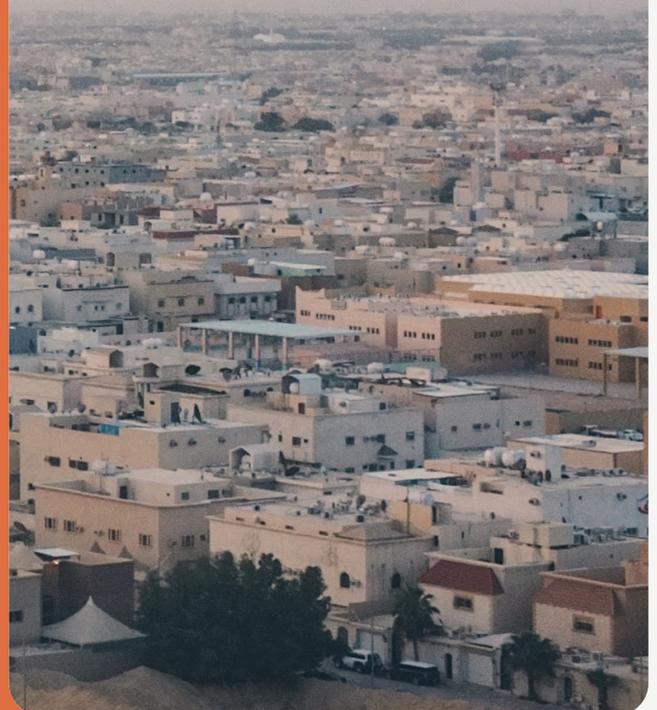
→ For countries of destination in the Arabian Peninsula

- **Strengthen commitments to fight human trafficking.** Saudi Arabia, for instance, has demonstrated increasing efforts to combat human trafficking. However, the government does not consistently screen vulnerable populations for trafficking indicators, does not sufficiently prosecute trafficking crimes, and does not seek adequate penalties for convicted traffickers. The kingdom should invest more efforts in prosecuting, protecting, and preventing human trafficking within its borders.

- **Comply with responsibilities towards migrants under IHRL.** As noted above, according to IHRL all migrants, regardless of their status, are entitled to the same international human rights as everyone else. States have an obligation towards migrants to respect, protect, and fulfill their human rights.

- Recognizing that migrant workers are necessary to sustain economic growth in that they are ready to fill in some of those jobs that the domestic population is unwilling to perform, **introduce more regular options for migration** in order to decrease migrants'

dependency on smugglers and their risk of becoming victims of trafficking. In this regard, bilateral agreements between countries of origin and countries of destination have proved to be an effective first step in the right direction.



→ For the international community

- **Offer support to countries in the Horn of Africa** when it comes to climate action, economic development, and conflict resolution. Specifically, support national governments to set realistic and achievable targets as well as to mobilize and manage the human and financial resources needed to achieve those. Examples in this regard include, but are not limited to, providing youth with training in business and entrepreneurship, civic leadership, and public management; planning interventions that aim to increase access to health, nutrition, water, sanitation, and hygiene services; and reducing current barriers to trans-regional and trans-national trade.

- **Give greater consideration to the Eastern Route**, which has largely been neglected among other global crises. While Euro-centric narratives in the media are certainly a reason why less attention is given to the Eastern Route vis-à-vis the Northern Route bound for the European Union, the continuation of this pattern is unjustifiable and unsustainable.

- **Exert greater pressures on the Gulf monarchies** with respect to the protection of human rights in their territories. As wealthy Gulf countries, such as Saudi Arabia, the Arab Emirates, and Qatar are investing great efforts and resources to improve their international image and enhance their position in the international system, the protection of human rights should be placed as a condition for relations with those governments.

- **Inform migrants about the risks of irregular migration across the Gulf of Aden** and raise awareness on regular migration channels, where those are available. Together with national governments in the countries of origin, launch awareness-raising initiatives and campaigns on migration from the Horn to the Arabian Peninsula. Cooperating with influential local leaders, including youth representatives, women's groups, teachers, and religious leaders, can be very useful to disseminate messages that resonate with local communities.

Endnotes

1. R.A. Austen, "The 19th Century Islamic Slave Trade from East Africa (Swahili and Red Sea Coasts): A Tentative Census", *Slavery & Abolition: A Journal of Slave and Post-Slave Studies*, Vol., 9, No.3 (1988): 21-44.
2. M.J. Ramos, "'Sponsorshipped': Reflections on temporary female migration from the Horn of Africa to the Gulf and Lebanon", In: I. Walker, M.J. Ramos, P. Kaarshoim, *Fluid Networks and Hegemonic Powers in the Western Indian Ocean* (Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Internacionais, 2017).
3. K. Marchand et al., "Irregular Migration from and in the East and Horn of Africa", Maastricht University, May 2016.
4. UN OCHA, Humanitarian Action, Horn of Africa and Yemen, <https://humanitarianaction.info/article/horn-africa-and-yemen-mrp>
5. IOM, "Migration Along the Eastern Corridor", July 31, 2023, https://eastandhornofafrica.iom.int/sites/g/files/tmzbd701/files/documents/2023-09/iom_eastern-corridor-migrant-situation_31072023-1.pdf.
6. IOM, "Migration Along the Eastern Corridor", March 31, 2023, https://eastandhornofafrica.iom.int/sites/g/files/tmzbd701/files/documents/2023-05/iom_eastern-corridor-migrant-situation_31032023.pdf.
7. Historically, migrants from the Horn of Africa looking for safety and prosperity abroad have primarily moved along three routes: the Eastern route that passes through Yemen, and proceeds towards the Arabian Peninsula and the Middle East; the Northern route that passes through Sudan, and either proceeds to Libya and on to Europe (Central Mediterranean Route) or to Egypt and Israel (Sinai Route); and the Southern route that passes through Kenya, Tanzania and further onwards to South Africa.
8. IOM, "Migration Along the Eastern Corridor", July 31, 2023.
9. Ibid.
10. Expertise France, "Yemen Country Statement", September 2017, <https://www.expertisefrance.fr/documents/20182/234347/AMMi+-+Country+Report+-+Yemen.pdf/754f6a54-ac81-4adb-964c-f566e0ff8f4c>.
11. IOM, *A Region on the Move* (IOM: Nairobi, 2020).
12. US Department of State, 2023 Trafficking in Persons Report, Eritrea, <https://www.state.gov/reports/2023-trafficking-in-persons-report/eritrea/>; Migration Data Portal, https://migrationdataportal.org/themes/environmental_migration.
13. IOM, "Horn of Africa Drought: Human Mobility Snapshot", June 2023, https://eastandhornofafrica.iom.int/sites/g/files/tmzbd701/files/documents/2023-07/iom_dtm_ehoa_drought_snapshot_jan_jun_2023.pdf.

14. IOM, "East and Horn of Africa Flood Snapshot", June 2023, https://eastandhornofafrica.iom.int/sites/g/files/tmzbdl701/files/documents/2023-08/iom_dtm_ehoa_flood_snapshot_jan_jun_2023.pdf.pdf.
15. K. Roth, "Ethiopia's Invisible Ethnic Cleansing", Human Rights Watch, June 16, 2022 <https://www.hrw.org/news/2022/06/16/ethiopias-invisible-ethnic-cleansing>; D. Endeshaw, "In southern Ethiopia, drought kills livestock amid fears of what comes next", Reuters, April 6, 2023, <https://www.reuters.com/world/africa/southern-ethiopia-drought-kills-livestock-amid-fears-what-comes-next-2023-04-06/>.
16. UN News, "Horn of Africa: Around 60 million in urgent humanitarian need", June 26, 2023, <https://news.un.org/en/story/2023/06/1138087#:~:text=The%2060%20million%20severely%20food,to%201.1%20million%20pregnant%20women>.
17. "IOM calls for joint efforts to end trafficking in persons from Horn of Africa", Xinhua, July 27, 2023, <https://english.news.cn/africa/20230726/b2d829ccb0da4990a727718e83ac94a3/c.html>.
18. Ibid.
19. US Department of State, 2023 Trafficking in Persons Report, Djibouti, <https://www.state.gov/reports/2023-trafficking-in-persons-report/djibouti/>; Verité, "Djibouti", <https://verite.org/africa/explore-by-country/djibouti/>.
20. Verité, "Djibouti".
21. US Department of Labor, Child Labor and Forced Labor Updates, Djibouti, 2022, <https://www.dol.gov/agencies/ilab/resources/reports/child-labor/djibouti>; Global Organized Crime Index, "Somalia", <https://ocindex.net/2023/country/somalia>.
22. Expertise France, "Djibouti Country Statement", September 2017, <https://www.expertisefrance.fr/documents/20182/234347/AMMi+-+Country+Report+-+Djibouti.pdf/5a8a7d16-1fb1-44a3-a680-e18ffb7bcc44>.
23. US Department of Labor, Child Labor and Forced Labor Updates, Djibouti, 2022.
24. Ibid
25. "Human Trafficking on the Increase", The New Humanitarian, April 2, 2010, <https://www.thenewhumanitarian.org/report/88668/somalia-human-trafficking-increase>.
26. Global Organized Crime Index, "Somalia", <https://ocindex.net/2023/country/somalia>; M. Proffer, "Human Trafficking in Somalia, The Borgen Project, July 15, 2021, <https://borgenproject.org/human-trafficking-in-somalia/>.
27. Global Organized Crime Index, "Djibouti", <https://ocindex.net/2023/country/djibouti>.
28. Ibid.

29. M. Al-Zirky, M. Michael, "African migrants face torture, blackmail amid Yemen chaos", Associated Press, January 28, 2017, <https://apnews.com/article/dea101e26e894bd2b7941875b5b07ceb>.

30. Khat is a plant with stimulant effects whose leaves are widely chewed (almost exclusively by men) throughout East Africa and Southern Arabia.

31. US State Department, 2023 Trafficking in Persons Report, Yemen, <https://www.state.gov/reports/2023-trafficking-in-persons-report/yemen/>; Expertise France, "Yemen Country Statement".

32. N. Osman, "Yemen: Houthis and STC accused of forcing Ethiopian women into 'sexual slavery'", Middle East Eye, September 7, 2023, <https://www.middleeasteye.net/news/yemen-ethiopia-women-forced-houthis-stc-sexual-slavery>.

33. Human Rights Watch, "Ethiopians Abused on Gulf migration route", August 15, 2019, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2019/08/15/ethiopians-abused-gulf-migration-route>.

34. Ibid.

35. Human Rights Watch, "Saudi Arabia: Mass Killing of Migrants at Yemen Border", August 21, 2023, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2023/08/21/saudi-arabia-mass-killings-migrants-yemen-border>.

36. Agenzia Fides, "Asia/Saudi Arabia: African migrants in detention centers", March 27, 2021, http://www.fides.org/en/news/69856-ASIA_SAUDI_ARABIA_African_migrants_in_detention_centers_victims_of_exploitation_and_exposed_to_Covid.

37. W. Brown, "Investigation: Africans migrants left to die in Saudi Arabia's hellish Covid detention centers", The Telegraph, August 30, 2020, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/global-health/climate-and-people/investigation-african-migrants-left-die-saudi-arabias-hellish/>.

38. Agenzia Fides, "Asia/Saudi Arabia: African migrants in detention centers".

39. M. Ayalew et al., "Women's Labor Migration on the Africa-Middle East Corridor", GAATW, https://gaatw.org/publications/Ehhiopia_Country_Report.pdf

40. US State Department, 2023 Trafficking in Persons Report, Saudi Arabia, <https://www.state.gov/reports/2023-trafficking-in-persons-report/saudi-arabia/>.

41. Ibid.

42. Ibid.

Bibliography

Agenzia Fides, "Asia/Saudi Arabia: African migrants in detention centers", March 27, 2021, http://www.fides.org/en/news/69856-ASIA_SAUDI_ARABIA_African_migrants_in_detention_centers_victims_of_exploitation_and_exposed_to_Covid.

Al-Zirky, M., M. Michael, "African migrants face torture, blackmail amid Yemen chaos", Associated Press, January 28, 2017, <https://apnews.com/article/dea101e26e894bd2b7941875b5b07ceb>.

Austen, R.A., "The 19th Century Islamic Slave Trade from East Africa (Swahili and Red Sea Coasts): A Tentative Census", *Slavery & Abolition: A Journal of Slave and Post-Slave Studies*, Vol., 9, No.3 (1988): 21-44.

Ayalew, M. et al., "Women's Labor Migration on the Africa-Middle East Corridor", GAATW, https://gaatw.org/publications/Ehhiopia_Country_Report.pdf.

Brown, W., "Investigation: Africans migrants left to die in Saudi Arabia's hellish Covid detention centers", *The Telegraph*, August 30, 2020, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/global-health/climate-and-people/investigation-african-migrants-left-die-saudi-arabias-hellish/>.

Endeshaw, D., "In southern Ethiopia, drought kills livestock amid fears of what comes next", *Reuters*, April 6, 2023, <https://www.reuters.com/world/africa/southern-ethiopia-drought-kills-livestock-amid-fears-what-comes-next-2023-04-06/>.

Expertise France, "Djibouti Country Statement", September 2017, <https://www.expertisefrance.fr/documents/20182/234347/AMMi+-+Country+Report+-+Djibouti.pdf/5a8a7d16-1fb1-44a3-a680-e18ffb7bcc44>.

Expertise France, "Yemen Country Statement", September 2017, <https://www.expertisefrance.fr/documents/20182/234347/AMMi+-+Country+Report+-+Yemen.pdf/754f6a54-ac81-4adb-964c-f566e0ff8f4c>.

Global Organized Crime Index, "Djibouti", <https://ocindex.net/2023/country/djibouti>.

Global Organized Crime Index, "Somalia", <https://ocindex.net/2023/country/somalia>.

Human Rights Watch, "Ethiopians Abused on Gulf migration route", August 15, 2019, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2019/08/15/ethiopians-abused-gulf-migration-route>.

Human Rights Watch, "Saudi Arabia: Mass Killing of Migrants at Yemen Border", August 21, 2023, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2023/08/21/saudi-arabia-mass-killings-migrants-yemen-border>.

"Human Trafficking on the Increase", The New Humanitarian, April 2, 2010, <https://www.thenewhumanitarian.org/report/88668/somalia-human-trafficking-increase>.

IOM calls for joint efforts to end trafficking in persons from Horn of Africa", Xinhua, July 27, 2023, <https://english.news.cn/africa/20230726/b2d829ccb0da4990a727718e83ac94a3/c.html>.

IOM, "East and Horn of Africa Flood Snapshot", June 2023, https://eastandhornofafrica.iom.int/sites/g/files/tmzbd701/files/documents/2023-08/iom_dtm_ehoa_flood_snapshot_jan_jun_2023.pdf.pdf.

IOM, "Horn of Africa Drought: Human Mobility Snapshot", June 2023, https://eastandhornofafrica.iom.int/sites/g/files/tmzbd701/files/documents/2023-07/iom_dtm_ehoa_drought_snapshot_jan_jun_2023.pdf.

IOM, "Migration Along the Eastern Corridor", July 31, 2023, https://eastandhornofafrica.iom.int/sites/g/files/tmzbd701/files/documents/2023-09/iom_eastern-corridor-migrant-situation_31072023-1.pdf.

IOM, "Migration Along the Eastern Corridor", March 31, 2023, https://eastandhornofafrica.iom.int/sites/g/files/tmzbd701/files/documents/2023-05/iom_eastern-corridor-migrant-situation_31032023.pdf.

IOM, A Region on the Move (IOM: Nairobi, 2020).

Marchand, K. et al., "Irregular Migration from and in the East and Horn of Africa", Maastricht University, May 2016.

Migration Data Portal, https://migrationdataportal.org/themes/environmental_migration.

Obadofin, O., "The Invisible Figures", Open Heroines, August 3, 2022, <https://openheroines.org/blog/the-invisible-figures-the-experiences-of-african-migrants-in-the-middle-east>.

Osman, O., "Yemen: Houthis and STC accused of forcing Ethiopian women into 'sexual slavery'", Middle East Eye, September 7, 2023, <https://www.middleeasteye.net/news/yemen-ethiopia-women-forced-houthis-stc-sexual-slavery>.

Proffer, M., "Human Trafficking in Somalia, The Borgen Project, July 15, 2021, <https://borgenproject.org/human-trafficking-in-somalia/>.

Ramos, M.J., "'Sponsorshipped': Reflections on temporary female migration from the Horn of Africa to the Gulf and Lebanon", In: I. Walker, M.J. Ramos, P. Kaarshoim, Fluid Networks and Hegemonic Powers in the Western Indian Ocean (Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Internacionais, 2017).

Roth, K., "Ethiopia's Invisible Ethnic Cleansing", Human Rights Watch, June 16, 2022 <https://www.hrw.org/news/2022/06/16/ethiopias-invisible-ethnic-cleansing>.

UN News, "Horn of Africa: Around 60 million in urgent humanitarian need", June 26, 2023, <https://news.un.org/en/story/2023/06/1138087#:~:text=The%2060%20million%20severely%20food,to%201.1%20million%20pregnant%20women>.

UN OCHA, Humanitarian Action, Horn of Africa and Yemen, <https://humanitarianaction.info/article/horn-africa-and-yemen-mrp>.

US Department of Labor, Child Labor and Forced Labor Updates, Djibouti, 2022, <https://www.dol.gov/agencies/ilab/resources/reports/child-labor/djibouti>.

US Department of Labor, Child Labor and Forced Labor Updates, Djibouti, 2022.

US Department of State, 2023 Trafficking in Persons Report, Djibouti, <https://www.state.gov/reports/2023-trafficking-in-persons-report/djibouti/>.

US Department of State, 2023 Trafficking in Persons Report, Eritrea, <https://www.state.gov/reports/2023-trafficking-in-persons-report/eritrea/>.

US State Department, 2023 Trafficking in Persons Report, Saudi Arabia, <https://www.state.gov/reports/2023-trafficking-in-persons-report/saudi-arabia/>.

US State Department, 2023 Trafficking in Persons Report, Yemen, <https://www.state.gov/reports/2023-trafficking-in-persons-report/yemen/>.

Verité, "Djibouti", <https://verite.org/africa/explore-by-country/djibouti/>.