The Nexus between Migration and Human Security: The Case of Ethiopian Female Migration to Sudan

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Abstract—International labor migration is an integral part of the modern globalized world. However, the phenomenon has its roots in some earlier periods in human history. This paper discusses the relatively new phenomenon of female migration in Africa. In the past, African women migrants were only spouses or dependent family members. But as modernity swept most African societies, with rising unemployment rates, there is evidence everywhere in Africa that women labor migration is a growing phenomenon that deserves to be understood in the context of human security research. This work explores these issues further, focusing on the experience of Ethiopian women labor migrants to Sudan. The migration of Ethiopian people to Sudan is historical; nevertheless, labor migration mainly started since the discovery and subsequent exploration of oil in the Sudan. While the paper is concerned with the human security aspect of the migrant workers, we need to be certain that the migration process will provide with a decent wage, good working conditions, the necessary social security coverage, and labor protection as a whole. However, migration to Sudan is not always safe and female migrants become subject to violence at the hands of brokers, employers and migration officials. For this matter, the paper argued that identifying the vulnerable stages and major problem facing female migrant workers at various stages of migration is a prerequisite to combat the problem and secure the lives of the migrant workers. The major problems female migrants face include extra degrees of gender-based violence, underpayment, various forms of abuse like verbal, physical and sexual and other forms of torture which include beating and slaps. This peculiar situation could be attributed to the fact that most of these women are irregular migrants and fall under the category of unskilled and/or illiterate migrants.

Keywords—Labor migration, human security, trafficking, smuggling, Ethiopia, Sudan.

I. INTRODUCTION

INTERNATIONAL labor migration has emerged as a major global issue that affects most nations in the world and ranks high on the international, regional and national policy agendas. Like any other human activity, migration is a multi-dimensional phenomenon, having a lot to do with security, development, health, culture…etc. The link between migration and security is not new. As discussed in [1], migration has been much studied in international relations and political science, particularly from the perspective of the securitization agenda. Furthermore, the Political discourses often present migration as a threat to national sovereignty and state security. Threats to security primarily stem from internal conflicts, disease, hunger, environmental degradation, street crime and domestic violence. It is the recognition of these factors that underpins the fundamental tenets of the human security

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approach, namely "freedom from want" and "freedom from fear" [1]. Despite the demand for cheap labour in the countries of destination, most of migrant receiving countries have restrictive immigration policies, exposing migrant workers to a range of human rights abuses including labour exploitation, violence, trafficking, forms of torture, mistreatment in detention, and even killings [2]. According to the International Organization for Migration report [3], there is a link between gender and migration. Therefore, migration can contribute to the empowerment of women thereby helping to promote gender equalities. On the other hand, the particular migration situation can pose a challenge to gender equality.

As the research conducted in 2011 [4] disclosed, the migrants' dual vulnerability as women and illegal has been the main responsibility for the migrants' insecurity. Thus, the aims of this paper are to contextualize the migration of female Ethiopian's to Sudan, document their experiences, and establish the security implications for both Sudan and the migrants that arise from this large scale migration.

The paper is organized into three sections: An introduction is followed by a section provides the migration history and push factors to the Ethiopian female migrants. Section III will be engaged to analyze the nexus between migration and human security discourse. In this section, both issues of smuggling and trafficking and the stages and conditions of migrant vulnerabilities will be briefly discussed. Section IV will discuss the securitization of migration. A final section concludes by summarizing the main findings and pointing out future implications.

II. ETHIOPIAN MIGRATION TO SUDAN

Ethiopia has experienced migratory flows through-out its history and Sudan has been their destinations especially for labor migrants which arise following the oil explorations in the Sudan. Since the majority of the migrants have irregular immigration status due to their illegal entry or legal entry and illegal overstaying of a time limited visa, it is difficult to quantify the number who were/are living in the Sudan [4]. However, the flow of migration impacted after the separation of the South Sudan, which has influenced on the economy of the Sudan [5]. Ethiopian society is mostly patriarchal where gender-based division of labor is observed, this is particularly so in rural areas where most of Ethiopians live. According to Kebede, women and children make up to 75% of the population size, with a high birth rate and prevalent poverty country wide [6]. Due also to patriarchal culture, women have little access to education and training opportunities, in consequence, employment chances are limited. Other culture-

related factors also contribute to the phenomena, which include early marriage, habitual abduction for marriage, sexual harassment…. Etc. All these factors lead to the phenomena of school drop-out of girls as they move up to higher grades. Therefore, with limited access to formal economy employment opportunities, coupled with inability to achieve success in informal economy, it is commonsense that many healthy women think to leave their country as migrant workers abroad. Indeed, this trend was supported by the current gender-sensitive culture which enables women to achieve equal participation in all public spheres of life, be it economic, social or cultural. Another culture-related issue concerns Muslim women among whom unemployment is relatively higher than their non-Muslim counterparts. One can understand that young Muslim women in traditional societies are not encouraged to take up paid work in public domains, where they necessarily mix with "foreign" unrelated men. According to the research conducted on 130 female migrant workers in Sudan, the majority were domestic workers (67%); 23,3% were selling tea in the street and 7% were employed in the cafeteria. Besides, 54% of the respondents were in their young and most productive stage [4].

III. Migration - Human Security Nexus

Although there are migrants from all over Africa in Sudan, Ethiopians are deemed to be one of the largest groups. Particular focus is directed at the vulnerabilities of and human security threats to the undocumented migrants who are typically rendered 'invisible' by the law. When large scale migration is studied from the human security perspective, it entails an analysis of the social, political and economic factors that act as push factors, as well as an analysis of the conditions of migrants in their new areas of settlement. Since the ending of the Cold War, the definition of security has become broadened and threats include unchecked population growth (particularly in the poorer regions of the world), disparities in economic opportunities both within and between states, excessive international migration, environmental degradation and drug trafficking, as well as international terrorism. However, rather than relying on democratic principles, many leaders in Africa exercise militaristic control over their populations, intimidating them to vote certain ways, or not holding elections at all. This indicates a lack of consolidation of democracy, which essentially results in an overall absence of good governance and accountability to populations. Lack of good governance itself continues to be an obstacle in addressing various issues of human security [7].

Paris [8] argued that human security discourse is a normative focus on individuals' lives and an insistence on basic rights for all; and an explanatory agenda that stresses the nexus between freedom from want and indignity and freedom from fear. Furthermore, the human security discourse repeats the basic human needs conception, and where it adds and shows the consistency of the human security, human needs and human rights languages [9]. In the case of large scale international migration, [10] receiving countries perceive it as a threat to their economic well-being, social order, cultural and

religious values and political stability. Relations between states are also affected as movements tend to create political tensions that can impact on bilateral relations. More generally migrants are often presented as a threat to the economic, social and cultural well-being of host populations, in turn generating feelings of insecurity which have the potential to undermine relationships between settled populations and new arrivals. By focusing on the individual, rather than the state, the notion of human security provides an opportunity to broaden our understanding of the economic, social and political challenges associated with migration, from the place of origin, to transit, arrival and (re)settlement in a new location. The decision to migrate can be understood as a strategy for countering human insecurities (both real and perceived) but it is also associated with insecurities of its own: during the journey, in countries of settlement and for those left behind. Due to the migrants' movement which is irregular and illegal, they face various problems. As a result, the paper engaged to identify the vulnerable stages of movement so that combating the problems of migrants and securing the lives of the migrant workers could be possible. Before, we look into the stage and condition of vulnerabilities of migrant workers, it is necessary to discuss the issues of "smuggling" and "trafficking".

A. Smuggling and Trafficking in Persons: An Issue of Human Security

It is important to recognize the distinction between trafficking in persons and migrant smuggling. As Clark [11] discussed, trafficking remains in large activity and the third largest source of income for organized crime groups. As a result, measuring the extent of trafficking is difficult. Another scholar Koser [12] argued that the distinction between migrant smuggling and human trafficking has created a set of confusion. Implementation of the new distinction between trafficked persons and smuggled migrants is likely to be both difficult and controversial. According to IOM, until about 2000, these terms were used more or less interchangeably [13]. As a result of two United Nations (UN) protocols, however, a clear distinction between the two processes has now been established. Trafficking of human beings is defined as: "the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring 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" [14]. The smuggling of migrants is defined as: "The procurement, in order to obtain, directly or indirectly a financial or other material benefit, of the illegal entry of a person into a state Party of which the person is not a national or a permanent resident" [15]. However, the way smugglers & traffickers making money will differentiate whether the process is smuggling or trafficking [4].

IV. Ethiopian Female Migration to Sudan

A. Stage and Conditions of Vulnerability

Women migrants are more vulnerable to deprivation, hardship, discrimination and physical, sexual, and verbal abuse when traveling and more likely to fall prey to human trafficking and exploitation. Most of the migration process to Sudan falls under smuggling; however, once they arrived in Khartoum, there had been a case in which some migrants were trafficked to the different cities of Sudan. Unlike the women migrant to the Middle East countries, who mostly use the formal migration channel involving visa and passports; and they use the services of agencies and brokers as facilitators of their migration, the common trend for women migrants to Sudan is rather the "desert route", using the services of smugglers. Thus, women constitute the majority of those victimized by traffickers. i.e. they might be abused during travelling to Sudan and/or further trafficked to third countries. Being both female and illegal, the Ethiopian female migrants have faced/are facing different problems at various stages of migration: At the point of entry, on transit (crossing the Sudanese border), during travelling, at the destination stage, place of work and stays and at deportation stage [16]. As concluded in the research conducted in 2011 [4], migrations to Sudan seems safe but it ends to trafficking on transit or after arriving in the destination country. Though most of the gender based violence occurs in the place of work, the following different stages have been identified as vulnerable places.

■ Leaving Ethiopia, at the Point of Entry and During Traveling

After the smugglers and/or traffickers convincing the migrant women, they combined and directed to 'Matama-Galabat' migration route and a hotel is to be rented where those women migrants are waiting until a deal is concluded between brokers from both sending and receiving countries. However, until the migrants reach 'Doka' (on Sudanese Soil and 80 km far from the border) where Sudanese brokers take responsibility to arrange transport to 'Khartoum', they need first to cross the Ethio-Sudan border and then move at night and on their foot for 3-4 days. Accordingly, the women need to stay for a week and they faced a lack of food, forced to exploitation (sexual abuse). To reach Doka -they travel at night, day and travelling during both day and night. Being forest and thorny and having small biting animals like snakes, its vulnerability is unequivocal. To conclude, during travelling the migrants faced the following problems: Rape & sexual abuse, torture & beating; health; shortage of water & food.

■ At the Destination Stage

Though it is difficult to quantify the occurrence of smuggling and trafficking, we showed both processes were existed. The female labor migrants differently arrive in the destination areas depending on their legality. For those illegal migrants who do not have recipients, the Sudanese and Ethiopian broker house has been their destinations. In this stage of migration process, migrants fall under the control of smugglers and then trafficked to different cities of Sudan. i.e.

the way smugglers & traffickers making money will differentiate whether the process is smuggling or trafficking. If migrants paid before migration, their relation with the smuggler will end after she arrives at destination. If they did not pay all/part of the fees, brokers will not leave them and be under their control. At this stage, they forced to work as illegal workers /as if enslaved. This is the place and time whereby women become trafficked and forced to various abuses and gender violence. For those who do not have a recipient, some brokers might look job for migrants but they will take her salary for an unknown period of time.

■ Place of Work and Stay

According to [4], the majority of female migrants were domestic workers; some of them were selling tea in the street and very few of them were employed in the cafeteria. Evidently, compared to the women who employed in contract base (very few), illegal migrants face severe problems. Regardless of the migrant status, their close proximity to and complete dependency on their employer leads to the gender based violence incident at work place.

■ At the Deportation Stage

Before deportation, the Ethiopian migrants should have to finish their punishments for accusation (false/genuine) made and they should have to pay money or need to stay in detention center. However, the options for most migrant women were staying in detention centers. Detention center is one of the vulnerable places for women right violations and as [4] disclosed, the condition in the detention center was inhuman. Under this stage, migrants forced to stay for an extra couple of days and faced discrimination based on nationality (Ethiopians from Eritreans). Since both migration and deportation are held by land, the Sudanese immigration officers are facilitating for further illegal migration. That is to say, the immigration officials facilitate for the deported ones to re-enter illegally to Sudan. Accordingly, the chance of being abused (economically) will be unequivocal and the process continues as far as the migrant is not a legal resident.

B. Major Problems Facing Women Migrant Workers: A Human Security Analysis

In this section, the paper highlights three conceptual topics that have emerged in the process of the review, which would have worth in the human security analysis of female labor migrants. These include: 1) Socio-cultural and economic vulnerability 2) Vulnerabilities at the institutional level i.e. state and household 3) Vulnerability due to personal preferences and identity.

a. Socio-Cultural & Economic Vulnerability

As discussed, the gender roles, relations and inequalities, which affect who migrates and how the decision is made, has an impact on the migrants themselves both on sending and receiving areas. Therefore, according to [17], the socio-cultural level provides a macro-level of analysis. Violence is examined in light of socially structured variables such as inequality, patriarchy, or cultural norms and attitudes about

violence and family relations. Apart from gender based violence, it is usual to observe more economical abuse by law enforcement in the Street and in the detention center. The main reason for this is to earn money by forcing and abusing the weak, illegal women in the street. Unlike the female, the male ones mostly run and escape. As a result, economic exploitation, holding of wages and denying grants is common [4].

As Gimenez [18] argued, Marxist theory illuminates the common location of most women in the mode of production, as the most oppressed and exploited members of the world's working classes. At the same time, it illuminates the structures of power and domination and hierarchical relations that underlie the cultural, religious, ideological, national, and ethnic differences among women. Gimenez argues at the level of social formations and in the context of everyday social interactions, such common interests are obscured by conflicting, oppressive relations between men and women, rooted in the historical articulation between production and reproduction. These relations affect their relative power and access to key economic, political, social and cultural resources. Including Ethiopia and Sudan, in the patriarchal culture and society, gender based division of labor became a push factor for migration whereby men and masculinity placed women and femininity in a subordinate position. That is to say, cultural ideologies favored men, that social institutions reflected these ideologies. Though comparing the level of patriarchy in Sudan and Ethiopia might be difficult, due to the cultural and gender division of labor in the societies of the two countries, migration can challenge or entrench traditional gender roles. Some migrants may get economically independent, but due to religious affiliation their cultural freedom may be restricted. For example, when we see women who are employed as domestic workers, their economic class and gender has a profound impact on their daily existence.

As [4] noted, in the migrants' workplace, gender based violence and other related problems were observed. These include verbal abuse, rape, torture, psychological abuse, threat of deportation, holding of wages and denying grants. These attacks/assaults were used as punishment for the work considered slow or sloppy. Therefore, the Ethiopian women domestic workers' situation remarkably justified those who are in subordinate positions and who are neglected as a result of their bundle of identities, that is being female and of a particular economic class. Their status has resulted in their treatment as sub-human where their rights are violated in beyond the opaque setting of the informal domestic labor market (e.g. migrants who sell tea in the street) which does not clearly spell out their entitlements as employees. To sum up, both economic class and their sexuality intersect and justifies as a way of framing the various interactions of class and gender in the context of violence against women of migrant workers.

b. Vulnerabilities at Institutional Level: State and Household

Gender institutions include social institutions that control resources (e.g. state and household) and men and women receive or are denied support, status, resource or protection [19]. Among others, the Ethiopian female domestic workers had experienced a struggle during the attempt of rape by domestic employers or their relatives (teenage son), the burden of work, fear of deportation and fear of reporting to police. What was/is familiar in Sudan is abusing migrants by the law enforcement on the street, in a detention center, sex harassment, deception to marriage by luring to have residence permit and other benefits [4]. This type of compliant needs to be reported to a legally reliable institution to take necessary actions against the perpetrator/s; however, due to their status (illegality) such last resort is not existent for domestic migrants. In fact, domestic workers were not allowed free movement without the permission of their employers. As there is no bilateral agreement between Ethiopia and Sudan on labor migration affairs, most migrant women in Sudan suffer unfavorable work conditions. All the way long from unclear work contracts where a domestic worker stays with her employer at home, out of protection umbrella of labor laws, instead they fall under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Interior. Nonexistence of labor attaches among Ethiopian diplomatic mission in Sudan is an added vulnerability of the poor and unskilled illiterate female migrants in Sudan. Sudan, believed to have a constitution that Islam and Sharia Law are the main sources of legislation, freedom of religion is secured by law and it does not allow other nation's migrant workers to be free, dress and behave differently. The contract for migrant foreign worker is mostly in verbal, but both are of very limited value in the light of the Sudanese employment system. Those helpless workers - as has been earlier indicated - have no reliable and effective institution to report their complaints to who may be the source of their problems. They seldom report these complaints to the Embassy or Police. In fact, conflicts between domestic workers and their employers are considered as private family disputes under the jurisdiction of the security or police, rather than as labor conflicts to be resolved in courts of law. Therefore, in the case of conflict with their employers, domestic workers will only hope that their dispute terminates their employment and send them home. At the state level, the two countries have bilateral military arrangements, but do not have labor exchange agreement, which shows the politicization of the migration in the two countries.

c. Vulnerabilities Due to Personal Preferences and Identity

Identity can be seen at two levels, one being the subjectivity or personhood of an individual and the other being the issue of institutional or ideological identification. Institutional identification is when women identify themselves as belonging to a certain institution (religion, club, party, group, etc.) and internalizes the values of such institutions as their own. Gender roles are the daily activities which men and women are expected carry out within their households or communities [19]. These roles are normally set by the

traditions of society, but are not the choice of men or women. Since the culture of Sudan and Ethiopia is different, women in the Sudan are not working in areas where males are the majority. Besides, the Sudanese society has traditional values of their women's which prohibit them not to work in outside like in informal economic sectors (selling tea in the street). Instead, the Ethiopian migrants have engaged in such type of informal jobs. However, this gender role set by the traditions of the Sudanese society is not immune from gender violations. Gender is dependent on sex and sex is dependent on male force. Accordingly, such social practices as rape and prostitution institutionalize the sexuality of male supremacy, which fuses the eroticization of dominance and submission with the social construction of male and female, as in [20]. Similarly, those of Ethiopian migrant women engaged in selling tea, being sex segregated labor market, abused from verbal, physical and it creates an opportunity for Sudanese men to sit and talk in front of the women otherwise cannot get such free interaction from their Sudanese counterparts [4]. Due to the patriarchal society & culture (gender-based division of labor), both in Ethiopia and Sudan, early marriage, habitual abduction for marriage and sexual harassment has increased the rate of school dropout. Moreover, the vast majority of Ethiopian women live in rural areas, working in the low-income, labor intensive informal agricultural sector. Therefore, due to limited access to formal sector of the economy, it is understandable that women leave their country for economic reasoning and in search for better employment opportunities. These will push the migrants to accept and work in the informal labor market, low wages, and without legal procedures they easily lured by the Sudanese false propaganda which will be designed for sexual or marriage arrangement. Especially, the illiterate women who have no independent access to information will still be intimidated by such propagandas. Any power relations – of class, race, religion, ethnicity, sexuality, as well as gender – give a diversity of 'standpoint' or vantage points for both the oppressors and the oppressed. Among other examples, those migrants who are Muslim are in better condition of treatment which includes style of dressing styles and freedom of religious practices whereby Christian migrants had been deprived. Thus, non-Muslim migrants exposed to employment vulnerability. As far as false accusations are concerned, as Ethiopian women are non-Arabic speakers, they are never part of the bargaining with employers, they were made to be penalized. Therefore, as the experiences of Ethiopian women migrant workers justified when an individual recognizes and challenges cultural values and power relations, it contributes to subordination or the oppression of particular groups.

V. STATE AND HUMAN SECURITIZATION OF MIGRATION

A. State Securitization of Migration

In authoritarian regime, including Ethiopia and Sudan, the argument will be on the idea that 'national' security provided by the state in a domestic sense is not only compatible with the protection of people, but it is the best way to achieve long term stability in weak countries. Due to the high politics of securing the state through military means at the expense of the welfare, the civil society organizations (NGOs) and international organizations, including UNHCR and IOM, are not effectively accomplishing their mandate. Therefore, the paper suggests the role of state to be theoretically and practically prioritized in the human security framework. Deng [21] consolidated this argument by emphasizing the centrality of the state level which has a practical rationale and hence there are no reliable alternatives that could substitute the authority of the state and its organizational role. In the state organization, the current framework of democratic representation and legitimacy through which citizens exercise control over institutions [22]. While we discuss state securitization of migration, it includes the state interventions to combat illegal migration, i.e. human trafficking and smuggling. Therefore, the paper will discuss the responses of the governments towards this organized crime.

1. Government Policies and Response to Illegal Migration

Considering that human trafficking is a complex problem, an effective response needs to adopt a coordinated, multi-level and multi-sectoral approach. Such a response should include prevention, protection, and prosecution measures. One of the areas of intervention identified to effectively combat trafficking in persons is the establishment of a clear and coherent migration policy. Accordingly, the Ethiopian immigration proclamation No. 354/2003 and regulation No. 114/2004 provides among other issues that a valid travel document for any person departing from Ethiopia, unless otherwise permitted, an entry visa will enable him to enter the country of destination. In the early 2005, the Ethiopian Criminal code was passed a trafficking law and become relevant provision on migration particularly for ant- trafficking efforts. Article 597 criminalizes trafficking in human and children [6]. Moreover, Ethiopia has legislations related to migration for employment. Ethiopian laws and directives relevant to migrant workers recruited for employment outside Ethiopia are: 1) The Ethiopian Labor Proclamation NO. 42/1993 2) Directive Issued to Determine the Manner of Employment of Ethiopian Nationals abroad, 1994; and 3) Private Employment Agency Proclamation No. 104/1998. Ethiopia has an institutional frame work for addressing the issues of trafficking and illegal migration. In terms of trafficking for forced labour, the MOLSA plays a central role and responsible for implementation of the private employment agency proclamation NO. 104/1998, which provides for licensing private employment employment agencies and the prosecution of illegal brokers. Consequently, the government of Ethiopia has created a number of departments with specific responsibility on migration issues [23]. These are: 1) The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ethiopian Mission Abroad, 2) The Main Department of Immigration and Nationality Authority, 3) Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs 4) Ministry of capacity Building, 5) Ministry of Finance and Economic Development. However, migration management in Ethiopia must contend with a number of particular challenges,

such as the mixed and composite character of migration flows, the enormous length and permeability of its land borders. According to ICMPD [24], the Ethiopian migration authorities do not have sufficient resources and specifically trained staff to adequately respond to these challenges. Deficiencies are most apparent in the areas of staff training, technical equipment and means of communication. Although the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs offers a number of services to potential migrants, returnees and their families, the majority of Ethiopians willing to work abroad prefer the quicker informal migration channels. Other preventive measures such as having effective integration and coordination network in place, running continuous public awareness programs, and signing bilateral labour agreements with destination countries are not being taken as intended. However, due to the failure by the Ethiopian government to issue the required travel documents is a strong contributing factor to illegal migration. Sudan is non signatory to the international convention on the protection of the rights of all migrant worker and members of their family. As a result, the rights of Ethiopian migrant works are mainly protected under the Sudanese Immigration and Labor Act.

2. The response of the Ethiopian Mission in Sudan

Some of the activities of the Ethiopian Mission in Sudan include visiting and ensuring the human condition in the detention, and assisting legal return of migrants and requesting insurance from the employers for their expulsion from work or any accidents on the migrants. The Ethiopian mission is providing temporary shelter to victims of trafficking and abused migrant workers in Sudan. However, the author argues that all the efforts are in aftermath of human right violations and reports. Due to the low politics given and politicization of migration issues, further prosecution of traffickers and bilateral arrangements could not be possible. Especially, if the alleged trafficker is a member of the government officials or being governmental agencies/institutions. Therefore, it is important to investigate whether the Sudanese and Ethiopian government is seriously considering the case irrespective of the traffickers' status. We found from [25] providing evidence by illustrating that human right abuses have a tendency to happen in weak states rather than in institutionally strong ones, thus challenging the common assumption in human rights' studies that the state is the first abuser. Accordingly, we agree with Englehart simply because rather than rely on democratic principles and rule of law; leaders in the authoritarian regime exercise militaristic control over their populations and put their citizens' security at risk.

B. The Human Securitization of Migration: Institutional Challenges

As we notice from the Commission on Human Security [26], human security has been said to 'complement state security' when 'state security' is intended as the protection of 'the state - its boundaries, people, institutions and values - from external attacks'. The reason for the need to integrate this vision of 'state security' in light of the idea of 'human security', was also dictated by the fact that only a minority of wars today are inter-state wars that require traditional security means. As Hough [27] argued, in the case of health issues, there is a clear inappropriateness of the high-low politics distinction in international relation. Similarly, the Ethiopian migrant situation justifies as one in which the human security aspect of migration seems to be under low politics. This explains the overemphasized of high politics of securing the state and governmental power at the expense of the welfare which in turn explain the politicization of migration. Ethiopia and Sudan has a strong military relation just after the 'EPRDF' (Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front) and 'NCP' (National Congress Party) of Sudan seized power in 1991 and 1989, respectively. However, until today, the two countries do not have any bilateral agreement on labor exchange. Though both ILO and UN conventions provide plenty of clauses to protect workers' rights, all of these international documents remain not binding for receiving states. Ethiopia ratified the Universal declaration of Human rights and ILO conventions NO. 29 and No. 111 [28]. However, Ethiopia has not ratified ILO conventions NO. 95, 97 and 143. There are also a series of legal instruments more specifically relevant to international migration – covering migrant smuggling (2000) and human trafficking (2000), of particular relevance for irregular migration is the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of their Families (1990), which extends to irregular as well as regular migrant workers; however, both migrant sending and receiving countries do not sign the convention. Non- state actors especially NGOs and elements of civil society are concerned with the various aspects of irregular migration [12]. Therefore, human securitization requires the recognizing of the active role of NGOs in the prevention of human trafficking and protection of victims is highly essential in the study area. Nevertheless, most international NGOs in Sudan are less concerned with the governance of irregular migration than with protection and the promotion of the rights of irregular migrant. Consequently, in the lack of political order, social and individual values are meaningless; they cannot be realized, nor can they be protected from assault, violence and chaos. Furthermore, the global system of states has been faced with the tremendous task of moving its collective focus away from a purely military definition of the term 'security', toward a more people- and human rights centered approach [7]. Security issues of sovereignty also manifest themselves in local politics in many African states. This indicates a lack of consolidation of democracy, which essentially results in an overall absence of good governance and accountability to populations. Lack of good governance itself continues to be an obstacle in addressing various issues of human security which favors international migration. Moreover, according to the 1996 HDR, jobless growth, voiceless growth, ruthless growth, rootless growth, futureless growth is not lead for poverty reduction and human development and hence most people do not want such growth [1]. To sum up, based on the debates on the traditional and human security approach, the paper agrees

with Siegle [29] who view that the connection between human security and state security should lead to the prioritization of state building and state stabilization as viable, long-term, approaches in those states that lack the capacity to protect their citizens.

VI. CONCLUSION

This paper attempts to look into the human security aspects on female labor migration focusing on the case of Ethiopian domestic workers in Sudan. Due to the lack of suitable job opportunities in Ethiopia, the cultural division of labor in women, the geographical closeness and wide open border, the Ethiopian people migrate increasingly to become paid workers in Sudan. However, the irregularity of their movement leads the female migrant workers to face various problems. For this matter, identifying the vulnerable stages and major problem facing migrants is a precondition to secure the lives of the migrant workers. Even if most of the violence on women migrant workers has not been reported, the paper discussed the major human insecurity aspects of female labor migrants. Besides, the government has constraints on human resource and lack of attention towards the issue, the problem remains as it is and increases day after day.

To control illegal migration and protect the rights of migrant workers, the government has reformed the labour laws and created a number of departments with specific responsibilities on migration issues. For protection, establishing a network among governmental and non-governmental organizations for the effective protection and recovery of victims of trafficking will be crucial. Thus, the government should be ready to effectively work towards the implementation of laws and policy applicable to migrant workers at various institutional levels. The diplomatic representation of Ethiopia in Sudan should encourage and assist the existing community which would deliver a lot of services to migrant workers who are living under difficult conditions. The push factor for many women to seek employment abroad is the lack of opportunities in Ethiopia. Therefore, the country should have to tackle the push factors through poverty reduction initiatives such as creation of more local employment opportunities. Though Ethiopia and Sudan have strong military and diplomatic relation, the paper suggests having bilateral agreement on labor exchange. For irregular migration, not only the government but the Ethiopian people should be responsible. Thus, the awareness campaign and advocacy through mass media and information are highly required for effective prosecuting of smugglers and traffickers to take place. Though practicing in the corrupted societies and authoritarian regimes is difficult, for the effective investigation, prosecution, and conviction of trafficking cases, establishing cooperation with countries of sending and destination will be significant. Accordingly, international bodies (IOM and UNHCR) should lobby both countries, to incorporate human rights and protection issues for migrant workers in national policies. Indeed, the receiving state has the power to regulate its national, admission of non- nationals and state security including border control, but there has been a case where by governmental officials, agencies /institutions are engaged in the smuggling and trafficking process. Therefore, there should be mechanism to criminalize the act of trafficking and prosecute the smuggler and traffickers by the concerned bodies. Since illegal migration follows networked path, to address the problems, it need a network and cooperation of sending and receiving countries.

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