



Pushed and Pulled in Two Directions

An analysis of the bi-directional refugee and migrant flow between the Horn of Africa and Yemen

This series produced by RMMS showcases key issues in mixed migration, highlights new research and discusses emerging trends.

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Abstract: *The ongoing conflict in Yemen created a unique and remarkable mixed migration dynamic between the Horn of Africa and Yemen. While over 86,000 people fled Yemen to the Horn of Africa, the flow of Somali and (primarily) Ethiopian migrants and refugees travelling from the Horn of Africa in the exact opposite direction, towards the conflict in Yemen, continued unabated, with one of the highest recorded numbers arriving in Yemen in recent years. This RMMS briefing paper examines this situation, by describing the recent trends and developments in these bi-directional mixed migration flows. The paper explores the situation of Yemeni refugees in Djibouti and their future intentions, IDPs in Yemen, the influx of returning Somalis into Somalia and the ongoing migration flow of Ethiopians to Yemen who hope to transit through Yemen to reach the Gulf States.*

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Introduction

In early 2015, conflict in Yemen escalated, when Houthi rebels and forces loyal to former President Ali Abdullah Saleh started fighting forces loyal to the government. On 25 March 2015, a Saudi Arabia-led coalition launched airstrikes against the Houthi forces, in a bid to restore the former Yemeni government. The outbreak of this conflict led to returnee and refugee flows between Yemen and the Horn of Africa. In total, over 177,000 (as of 30 April) people have fled Yemen to other countries, mainly to Oman (51,000, of which 5,000 Yemenis), Saudi Arabia (39,880 of which 30,000 Yemenis), Djibouti (35,562, of which 19,636 Yemenis), Somalia (32,120, almost exclusively returning Somalis), Ethiopia (12,768, mainly Ethiopian returnees) and Sudan (6,288, of which over half Sudanese returnees). Moreover, according to the Yemen’s Taskforce on Population Movement there were 2,755,916 internally displaced persons (IDPs) in the country at the end of March 2016. This is more than one in ten of the total Yemeni population.²

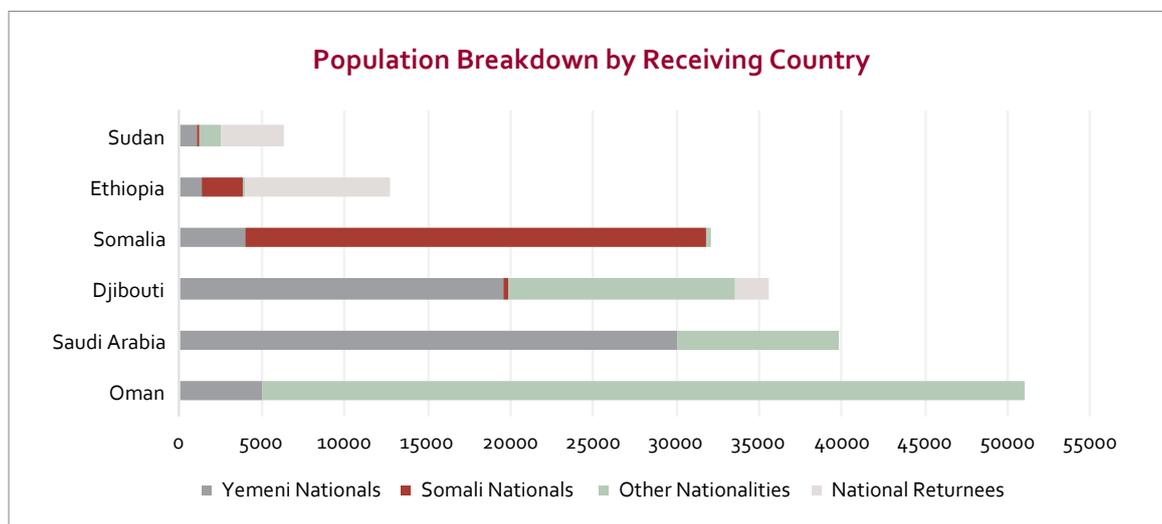


Figure 1: Population Breakdown by Receiving Country
Data source: UNHCR

A substantial part of the movements from have taken place spontaneously by sea across the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden to Djibouti and Somalia.³ As of April 2016, 86,738 persons fled Yemen to the Horn of Africa, almost half of the total population who have fled Yemen.

Yemeni refugees especially fled to Djibouti, which as of 30 April 2016 had received 19,636 Yemeni nationals. Of this number, 6,272 are registered as refugees with UNHCR and ONARS (*the Office National d'Assistance aux Réfugiés et Sinistrés*; the government refugee agency) and most of them stay in the Markazi refugee camp near Obock, while the remaining registered refugees live in Obock town or Djibouti city. Thousands of other Yemenis have either left Djibouti or live in Djibouti city, but are not registered as refugees. A total of 1,278 urban refugees were registered in Djibouti city as of 17 April.

"I owned a house in Yemen, life was good. Then came the war. My wife died in the war. All my property has been destroyed. Nothing is left." Yemeni refugee in Djibouti city.

Although the number of arrivals (Yemeni, Somali, Ethiopian) from Yemen into the Horn of Africa has slowed down – from 7-8,000 a month in Djibouti and Somalia in the first few months of the conflict to hundreds per month later on – people are still fleeing Yemen on a monthly basis. However, while over 86,000 people fled from Yemen to the Horn of Africa since the start of the conflict, even more travelled in the opposite direction, from the Horn of Africa to Yemen. Between March 2015 and April 2016, 114,093 Ethiopians and Somalis travelled from the Horn of Africa to Yemen, one of the highest numbers in recent years.

These movements are not a new phenomenon. The region has historically witnessed large-scale mixed flows by sea of migrants, asylum-seekers and refugees from the Horn of Africa to Yemen and, in many cases, by land to Gulf countries. Between January 2006 and April 2016, at least 736,538 persons reportedly crossed from the Horn of Africa to Yemen, with Somalis mostly staying in Yemen as refugees and Ethiopians travelling onwards to Saudi Arabia and other Gulf countries. What is remarkable though, is that these flows continued unabated, despite the ongoing armed conflict in Yemen, the deteriorating security and humanitarian situation in Yemen and border security and enforcement measures

² Protection Cluster Yemen, 2016. "Task Force on Population Movement 8th Report", April 2016. Available at: <http://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/task_force_on_population_movement_8th_report_-_apr_2016.pdf> (last accessed 17/05/16).

³ UNHCR and IOM, 2015. *The Gulf of Aden and the Red Sea, with a special focus on the Yemen situation. IOM and UNHCR proposals for Strategic Action, October 2015.* Available at: <http://www.refworld.org/docid/56a07b884.html> (last accessed: 17/05/16).

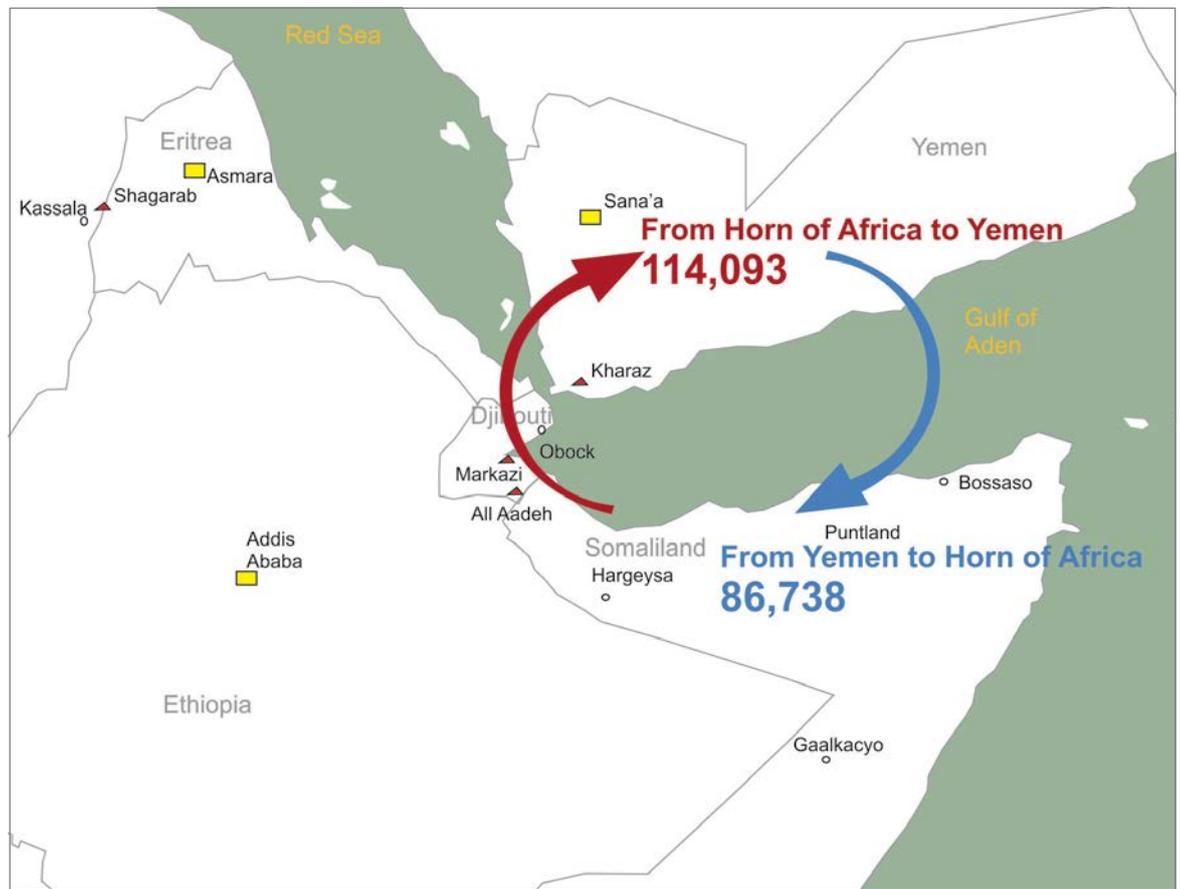


Figure 2: Bi-directional flows between the Horn of Africa and Yemen, March 2015 - April 2016
Data source: UNHCR

put in place by some states.⁴ According to the former Chief of Mission of the International Organization for Migration (IOM) in Djibouti, "Obock is one of the few places in the world that sees migrants passing through in both directions: a steady movement of people towards war-torn Yemen continues without pause, while at the same time people fleeing the war arrive, seeking safety."⁵

This paper, the first in a series exploring emerging issues in mixed migration, examines these unique mixed migration dynamics between the Horn of Africa and Yemen. This paper first explores the situation of Yemeni refugees in Djibouti and their future intentions. Next it studies the influx of Somalis and other nationalities (Ethiopians, Yemenis) from Yemen into Somalia. Finally, it considers the ongoing flow, and the changing patterns in these flows, of Ethiopians and Somalis, who are still leaving the Horn of Africa, many of whom are crossing to Yemen and hoping to transit through Yemen to reach the Gulf States.

The research is based on a desk review of available data and information, field visits to Djibouti city, Obock and Puntland for interviews with Yemeni, Somali and Ethiopian refugees, migrants and returnees and partner organizations, and additional information received from sources in Yemen. RMMS is grateful to all respondents, especially the migrants and refugees who shared their stories.

⁴ UNHCR and IOM, 2015. *The Gulf of Aden and the Red Sea, with a special focus on the Yemen situation. IOM and UNHCR proposals for Strategic Action, October 2015.* Available at: <http://www.refworld.org/docid/56a07b884.html> (last accessed: 17/05/16).

⁵ OCHA, 2016. "Dangerous crossings: migrant search for a better life in Yemen", Obock 25 March 2016. Available at: <http://www.unocha.org/top-stories/all-stories/dangerous-crossings-migrants-search-better-life-yemen> (last accessed: 17/05/16).

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The influx from Yemen into the Horn of Africa

According to UNHCR, the current movement of refugees, returnees and migrants fleeing Yemen is one of the few instances in history of such movement towards the East and Horn of Africa. In its Yemen Regional Refugee and Migrant Response Plan, UNHCR also noted that, unless protection, assistance and information are provided, a further onward movement towards the northern countries, including Europe and the Gulf Countries cannot be ignored. Smuggling and trafficking networks could encourage onward movement along already established North African and Eastern Mediterranean routes.⁶ Some Yemenis and Somalis arriving in Sudan and Ethiopia came through Djibouti or Somalia, hoping to find better opportunities in these two countries, showing that onward movement is a possibility.⁷

While it is possible that Somalis and Ethiopians returning from Yemen have already joined onward migration flows from the Horn of Africa to Europe, as of April 2016, the number of Yemenis arriving in Europe since the start of the conflict is less than 100. So far, most Yemenis fleeing their country have stayed in the region, including the Horn of Africa.

Yemeni refugees in Djibouti

As shown in the figures above, after Saudi Arabia, the largest group of Yemeni refugees fled to Djibouti, which for many refugees, especially those from around Aden, Taiz or Bab el Mandeb, was the closest country to flee to. Moreover, they did not require a visa and were allowed to stay in Djibouti for 30 days, after which they should have either renewed their visa, applied for refugee status or leave the country. However, after the 30 days, many stayed in Djibouti, without registering as a refugee with UNHCR and ONARS. Many Yemeni refugees also came to Djibouti because of the close historical ties between the two countries and the longstanding Yemeni community in Djibouti. In many cases, refugees had relatives in Djibouti who could host and support them, at least initially. Yemeni fishermen from the Bab el Mandeb area already had close ties to the communities around Obock.

All Yemeni refugees interviewed in Djibouti indicated they travelled from Yemen by boat and chose to come to Djibouti because it was nearest country. Almost all came with their families, including parents and children.

"The boat journey was very difficult. There were more than 250 people on board of a small Yemeni boat. I had to hold my children, we couldn't move and the boat journey took 36 hours". Yemeni father in Djibouti city, who fled Yemen with his 4 children, his wife died in the war.

Another reason influencing the decision by Yemeni refugees to travel to Djibouti, was a feeling that other Arab countries, like Oman, closed their doors to refugees from Yemen. All interviewed Yemenis were grateful that Djibouti welcomed them as refugees and continues to host them. They also highlighted the friendly and hospitable nature of the Djiboutian people, even though life as a refugee in Djibouti has been difficult and there is very limited support, especially for urban refugees (see below).

The profile of the Yemeni refugee arriving in Djibouti differs, which also relates to their situation in Djibouti and their intentions as well as opportunities for onward movement from Djibouti.

The first group of Yemeni refugees who arrived in Djibouti were mostly fishermen from Bab el Mandeb, who used to visit Obock on a regular basis before the war. Most were not very wealthy and most ended up as registered refugees in the Markazi refugee camp in Obock. The second group of refugees included people from more urban locations such as the Aden area, including businessmen, teachers, doctors and engineers, who were generally wealthier. Particularly in the early months after the start of the conflict, many stayed in hotels or were renting apartments in Djibouti city, and at one point it was reported all the hotels in Djibouti were full.⁸

However, even within the group of urban-based Yemeni refugees there are clear differences. While there is a group of relatively wealthy Yemeni refugees in Djibouti city who are able to take care of themselves, there is also a group of less wealthy urban refugees, who are receiving hardly any assistance in Djibouti city.

Initially, the Djiboutian government did not want to register refugees in urban areas, adopting a policy of encampment. UNHCR advocated for registration of urban refugees and from the end of September 2015, registration of Yemeni refugees in Djibouti city has been authorized by the Djiboutian government.⁹ However, assistance to refugees is only provided in the refugee camps (Markazi refugee camp for Yemeni refugees and the Ali Addeh and Holl Holl refugee camps in the south for Somali, Ethiopian and Eritrean refugees). Even though refugees are allowed to leave the camps and documented refugees are permitted to work in Djibouti, scarce resources and employment opportunities, in a

⁶ UNHCR, 2015. *Yemen Situation Regional Refugee and Migrant Response Plan, January-December 2016*.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ IOM, 2015. "Over 20,000 migrants and refugees arrive in Horn of Africa and Yemen", May 2015. Available at: <<http://www.iom.int/news/over-20000-migrants-and-refugees-arrive-horn-of-africa-yemen>> (last accessed: 17/05/2016).

⁹ UNHCR, December 2015. *Yemen Situation. Regional Refugee and Migrant Response Plan Update. December 2015 – Update 1*.

country with unemployment rates estimated at 60% and high prices for food and water¹⁰, limit the opportunities for the local integration of refugees.¹¹

A total of 1,278 Yemenis had been registered in Djibouti city as of 17 April 2016. Moreover, it is assumed by agencies in Djibouti that most of the approximately 13,000 non-registered Yemenis who fled to Djibouti are living in Djibouti city. Whether registered as refugees or not, urban refugees in Djibouti city receive very limited assistance, with only a small number of NGOs providing assistance, such as the Lutheran World Federation (LWF) on education, the African Humanitarian Action (AHA) on health and Action Contre La Faim (ACF) providing assistance in the Balbala slum of Djibouti city, which also hosts Yemeni, Ethiopian and Somali migrant and refugee communities. As such, agencies in Djibouti city pointed to the need for more assistance to urban refugees, including the many Yemeni refugees who are not able to take care of themselves.

"How can we live in Djibouti? We don't have anything. Even my children don't have security. They have no education. We receive no food. We just sleep and stay at home". Yemeni refugee, father of 6 children, in Djibouti city.

To receive assistance, Yemeni refugees are urged by the government to go to the Markazi refugee camp. However, the Yemeni refugees interviewed in Djibouti city do not want to go to the camp, as the livelihood opportunities in Northern Djibouti are very limited. Moreover, the environmental conditions in the camp are harsh, with temperatures rising to highs of 51 degrees in the summer coupled with violent sand storms. Many Yemeni refugees refused to register in the early months after the start of the conflict, after learning of these conditions from other refugees in the camp.

"We are not living here. We have many rights, but we are not getting them. There is no food, no education. Many things to complain about. But we escaped war, and we also thank God we are here. Djibouti welcomed us and the people are very nice. But we are not living a human life here". Yemeni refugee in Markazi refugee camp, Djibouti.

Refugees interviewed in the camp in April 2016, say there is often a lack of clean water and they noted that people were leaving the camp, especially with the summer approaching. There are no trees and no shade in the camp, and the shelters become extremely hot.

"I live in peace, but it is not a human life." Yemeni refugee in Markazi refugee camp, Djibouti.

According to the Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC), there were lengthy and drawn-out discussions about potentially moving the Markazi camp to another location, which hampered more substantial investments in the camp infrastructure. Now that it is likely the camp will stay where it is, more investments could be made in terms of Water, Sanitation and Hygiene and Shelter.

Onward movement of Yemenis from Djibouti

The situation laid out above, both in the refugee camp as well as for the urban based Yemeni refugees, could fuel onward movement of refugees, who are perceiving a lack of opportunities and lack of hope in Djibouti. Moreover, the more wealthy Yemeni refugees in Djibouti city might also be looking at opportunities to move on. Taking also into account the substantial mixed migration flows of, mainly Eritreans, Somalis and Ethiopians, from the Horn of Africa, through Sudan and Libya, to Europe, the current research explored the intentions for onward movement of Yemeni refugees in Djibouti.

As earlier described, until April 2016 and based on arrival figures in Italy and Greece, Yemeni refugees have not joined the mixed migration flows to Europe. Nevertheless, many Yemeni refugees who arrived in Djibouti, especially shortly after the conflict started, were planning to leave Djibouti soon. According to agencies in Djibouti city, many arrived with a visa already acquired for other countries, or had a dual nationality and used Djibouti as a transit point, or travelled through Djibouti to countries for which they did not need a visa, like Malaysia and Jordan.¹² Others were staying longer in Djibouti city, trying to get a visa through one of the foreign embassies. There is however, no data available on how many of the Yemenis that arrived in Djibouti left again.

Most of the interviewed Yemeni refugees have heard about other Yemenis leaving for countries like Malaysia, Saudi Arabia, Sudan or India, but all in a regular manner through flights from Djibouti. Again, the Yemeni refugees who were able to travel onwards in such a way are the ones that are relatively wealthy.

"Those who left Djibouti, are the ones who had the choice to do so". Yemeni refugee in Djibouti city.

Other Yemenis remain in limbo, waiting and hoping to be assisted in Djibouti, or resettled in another country.¹³ Most of the Yemeni refugees interviewed, both in the camp and in Djibouti city, express a wish to leave Djibouti for a third country, like Canada, a European country, Saudi Arabia or Malaysia.

¹⁰ Action Contre La Faim. Available at: <<http://www.actioncontrelafaim.org/en/content/djibouti>> (last accessed: 17/05/16).

¹¹ United States Department of State, 2016. 2015 Country Reports on Human Rights Practices - Djibouti, 23 April 2016. Available at: <<http://www.refworld.org/docid/5716127715.html>> (last accessed: 17/05/16).

¹² Although Djiboutian nationals now require a visa to travel to Jordan. Reuters, 2016. "Yemen war generates widespread suffering, but few refugees, March 2016. Available at: <<http://www.reuters.com/article/us-yemen-security-cornered-idUSKCN0WB0IL>> (last accessed: 17/05/16).

¹³ UNHCR, 2015. "The fate of Yemeni refugees in Djibouti city", November 2015. Available at: <<http://data.unhcr.org/yemen/news.php?Country=o&Region=o&Settlement=o>> (last accessed: 17/05/16).

However, according to respondents in Djibouti, most are waiting for a visa or for resettlement through UNHCR and they do not intend to leave Djibouti irregularly. Many also came with their whole families, including many young children, which is not the typical profile of people in irregular mixed migration flows.

"Before we didn't think about Canada or Europe. Then the war started and we came here and heard other people talking about third countries. We want to live in a country in peace. Now we wish to leave. We dream, and from dreaming comes the truth. We want to live in a quiet country, until we find our death." Yemeni refugee in Markazi refugee camp, Djibouti.

The Yemeni refugees interviewed in the Markazi refugee camp and in Djibouti city are not aware of onward migration by land of other Yemeni refugees. None of the respondents has heard of other Yemenis joining the overland mixed migration flows through Ethiopia, Sudan and Libya to Europe or any of the other mixed migration flows out of the Horn of Africa.

Apart from a focus on other countries (Saudi Arabia, Malaysia) or a mind-set not geared towards irregular migration, several other reasons have been suggested by respondents to explain why Yemenis so far have not been joining these mixed migration flows. These include, a lack of diaspora networks in Europe, a lack resources to pay for expensive irregular migration to Europe (which could cost up to 10,000 USD from the Horn of Africa), strong ties to the region or the intention to return to Yemen once the conflict resolves. According to UNHCR, historically Yemenis have tended not to migrate for work much further than Saudi Arabia, are culturally reluctant to become refugees, and view getting to Europe as a very difficult option.¹⁴

Returning to Yemen from Djibouti

UNHCR reports that disillusioned Yemenis, unable to find to find work and sustain the lifestyles they were accustomed to in Yemen, are returning to their homeland, well aware of the uncertainty and risks ahead.¹⁵ Most of the Yemeni refugees interviewed, personally know or have heard of other refugees who returned home, even though most of those interviewed do not want to go home yet.

"If there is peace, I will go back to Yemen. As long as there is war, I have no choice and will stay in Djibouti. My only worry is how to get food and milk for my kids". Yemeni refugee, father of four children, in Djibouti city.

Despite the dire humanitarian situation in Yemen, with an estimated 21.1 million people in need of humanitarian assistance and 1 in 10 displaced¹⁶, Yemenis are increasingly returning from the Horn of Africa to Yemen. Although exact figures are not available, as many do not inform UNHCR before leaving Djibouti, UNHCR estimates that around 1,700 Yemenis have returned from Djibouti to Yemen. They are not returning in an irregular manner though. Most go through immigration at the port of Obock and travel to Yemen by boat from there. They are not using the same boats and smugglers as Ethiopians who are usually leaving from areas just north of Obock (see the next section).

According to UNHCR, Yemeni returnees mostly originate from Bab el Mandeb, and more specifically from Suwaida village, Mokha. Many of these returnees are now internally displaced in remote and isolated villages along the coast, where armed gangs and landmines also preside. The UNHCR team in Obock is raising the awareness of refugees willing to return on the security situation in their area of origin which remains very fragile. According to the information refugees receive from their families and contacts in Yemen, Bab el Mandeb would be safe and they are told assistance is amply provided to Internally Displaced People by different humanitarian actors. According to UNHCR, the refugees have stated that they are fully aware of the risks they might encounter during their return trip.¹⁷

According to agencies in Djibouti city, many other Yemeni refugees are still waiting in Djibouti until they deem it safe to return to Yemen and take care of their properties and businesses. UNHCR is planning to carry out a verification exercise to assess how many Yemenis have left.

Yemeni refugees in Somalia

At the end of April 2016, 3,980 Yemeni nationals had arrived from Yemen to Somalia (Somaliland, Puntland and South Central) since the outbreak of the conflict. Numbers reached a peak in July 2015, where 1,084 arrivals were recorded in the month. Since August 2015, arrival figures dwindled, averaging out at 136 persons per month between August and April 2016.

The government of Puntland government announced the grant of prima facie status for Yemeni nationals arriving in their territories almost immediately after the outbreak of conflict. As long as Yemeni nationals were able to provide some documentation (passport or other official government document such as a national I.D.) they were registered without any other formal due process.

¹⁴ Reuters, 2016. "Yemen war generates widespread suffering, but few refugees, March 2016. Available at: <<http://www.reuters.com/article/us-yemen-security-cornered-idUSKCN0WB0L>> (last accessed: 17/05/16)

¹⁵ UNHCR, 2015. "The fate of Yemeni refugees in Djibouti city", November 2015. Available at: <<http://data.unhcr.org/yemen/news.php?Country=0&Region=0&Settlement=0>> (last accessed: 17/05/16)

¹⁶ OCHA, 2016. Humanitarian Bulletin. Issue 10. Issued on 4 April 2016. Available at: <http://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/Yemen%20HB%20Issue%2010%20Issued%20on%2004%20April%202016%20Eng.pdf> (last accessed 17/05/16).

¹⁷ UNHCR, 2016. Inter-agency update for the response to the Yemen situation #37", 20 March 2016. Available at: <<http://www.refworld.org/docid/56fcd62b4.html>> (last accessed: 17/05/16)

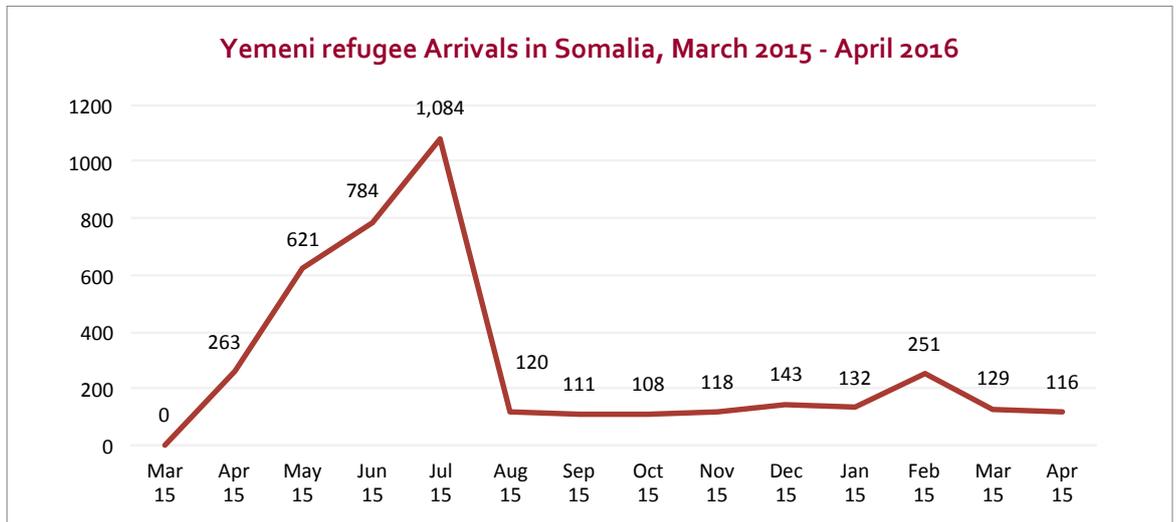


Figure 3: Yemeni Refugee Arrivals in Somalia, March 2015 - April 2016

All Yemeni refugees interviewed by RMMS in Bossaso had arrived in Puntland via boat from the coastal town of Mokollah in Yemen. The cost of the journey, usually around USD 100, was covered by charitable organisations and private organisations who chartered boats of various capacities to evacuate those fleeing free of charge. Interviewed refugees indicated that the journey from Yemen was without incident. None reported any abuses on route.

On arrival in the Bossaso port, refugees are transported to a reception centre established by UNHCR, the Danish Refugee Council and the Ministry of Interior in Bossaso town. Refugees are assisted with food and water, non-food items, temporary shelter and access to medical services, and unless particularly vulnerable, are permitted to stay in the centre for up to five days.

At the peak of the arrivals into Puntland, thousands of people were arriving into Bossaso on a monthly basis and the capacity of the reception centre struggled to cope with the scale of arrivals. Resources could not be mobilised quickly enough to respond to the needs of all of the people arriving.

"The journey from Yemen was difficult. I left with my wife who was heavily pregnant at the time. When we arrived at the reception centre it was crowded with hundreds of people and few services available. We opted to live with another refugee who had a house in Bossaso." Yemeni refugee in Bossaso.

UNHCR provides a monthly subsistence allowance to Yemeni refugees of USD 100 per single person. If the refugee is the head of a household, an additional USD 20 is provided for each person over 18 and USD 10 for each child. But many interviewed refugees stated that this was not enough to support their subsistence in Bossaso.

"My wife is Somali and so does not qualify for any allowance so we only get USD 100 per month. We cannot live on that. After rent, electricity and water, we only have USD 20 left. This is before we buy food or anything else. We have a small baby who needs medicine, my wife is also unwell. I am in debt at every shop in town. We cannot survive." Yemeni refugee in Bossaso town.

"I am breathing, eating and sleeping, but this is not life. I receive a monthly allowance from UNHCR but this does not give me enough. I have four children to look after and no husband and I have diabetes. The money I have is not enough to look after all of us." Female Yemeni refugee in Bossaso.

Some of the Yemeni refugees interviewed by RMMS indicated that they had an intention to return to Yemen when the situation was stable. They were in regular contact with family and friends still in Yemen, who were able to provide information on the situation on the ground. No concrete figures are available on the numbers that have gone back, but officials from the Ministry of Interior suggested that around 6-7 families go back every week.

"I am ready to go back tomorrow. Many want to return, but money is the problem." Female Yemeni refugee, mother of 3, interviewed at the Yemen Consulate in Bossaso.

According to the Yemen Consulate, which has an office near the port of Bossaso, the numbers of Yemenis intending to return to Yemen in the short term are low. However, difficult living conditions in Puntland are encouraging those who can return to go back to Yemen.

"We appreciate the support being given by humanitarian agencies to Yemeni refugees. But the situation in Puntland is poor. There is no shelter, education, limited food and water. The subsistence allowance provided is not enough to provide for the families here. People thought that when they came to Puntland they would receive help, but there is none." Official at the Yemen Consulate in Bossaso.

The consulate however also has a limited capacity to support its nationals. Its support is limited to the provision of passports and travel documentation and does not include any financial support for stay in Bossaso or for return to Yemen. There is no indication of whether these documents are being used to engage in onward movement from Puntland. The cost of return is USD 120 per person (USD 100 for the boat fee and USD 20 for port authority fees). The consulate relies on the goodwill of boat and ship owners to transport a few families back a month.

"We have no money to help those who want to go back. Our budget has been cut since the beginning of the war. For those that are willing to go back, we can only issue them with documentation. Many are requesting for resettlement." Official at the Yemen Consulate in Bossaso.

Interviews with partners suggest that the majority of the Yemeni refugees in Puntland either wish to go home, or to get resettled to a third country. However, resettlement is lengthy process and not an option for most; only 1% of the total global refugee population are referred for resettlement consideration every year.¹⁸ UNHCR confirm that no Yemeni refugees in Puntland have been resettled so far. Yemenis with the financial backing to do so, had already travelled to other countries (in Europe, Asia and the USA) where they have family links, but numbers are believed to be low.

Somali returnees in Somalia

At the end of April 2016, 27,872 Somali nationals had arrived from Yemen to Somalia. Numbers reached a peak in July 2015, where 8,786 arrivals were recorded in the month. As with the situation for Yemeni refugees arriving in Somalia, arrival figures dropped thereafter, averaging out at 266 persons per month between August and April 2016. Of all three zones in Somalia, Puntland has been the biggest recipient of Somali returnees, accounting for 70% of all Somali arrivals.

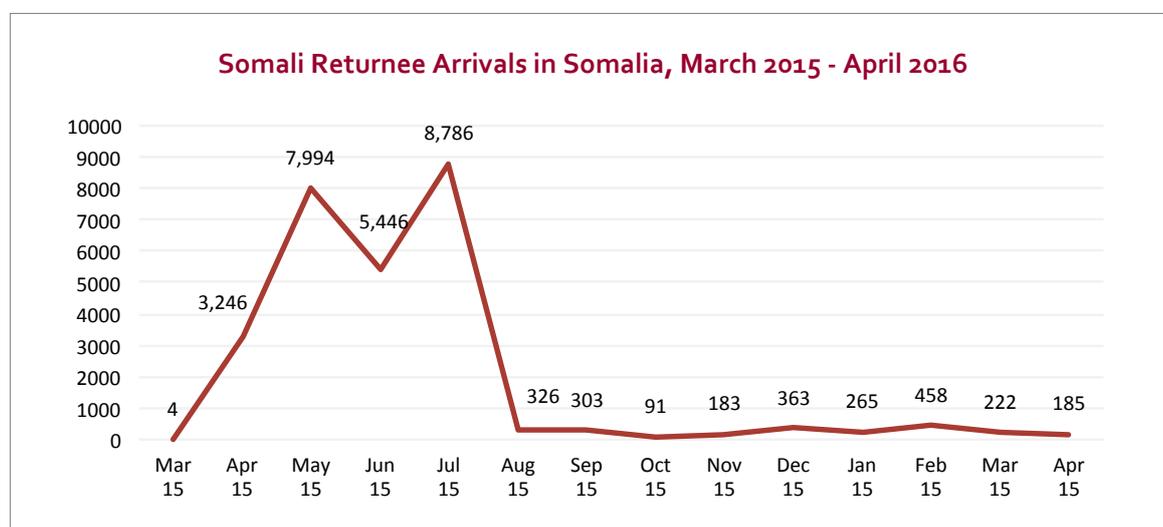


Figure 4: Somali Returnee Arrivals in Somalia, March 2015-April 2016

As with Yemeni refugees, all Somali returnees interviewed by RMMS indicated that they had travelled to Bossaso by boat or ship that was provided free of charge by charitable organisations. All journeys between locations of origin and the departure point in Yemen were self-sponsored. On arrival in Bossaso port, returnees were relocated to the reception centre in Bossaso town where they received food and water, non-food items and medical assistance.

"I left everything. I only came with my wife and two children. The situation at the start of the conflict was not so bad. We waited in Aden for two months hoping it would improve, but we realised it was getting worse. I contacted my brother in Puntland to send us money. We left in the night and travelled for one night and one day." Somali returnee in an IDP settlement in Bossaso.

Despite the large numbers of returnees arriving in Puntland, UNHCR figures indicate that only 14% of Somali returnees arriving indicated an intention to remain within locations in the zone (Bossaso, Garowe, Qardho and Gaalkayo). A large proportion (53%) indicated an intention to travel onwards to Mogadishu specifically. Other locations in South and Central Somalia were also popular destinations within the country. For those indicating that they intended to move on from Bossaso, an Onward Transportation Allowance was provided by UNHCR; USD 50 for those travelling within Puntland, USD 70 for those planning to travel to Somaliland; and USD 120 for travel to South and Central Somalia. All allowances were issued per person, for a maximum family size of 6 persons. A further reinstallation grant of USD 100 per person for up to 6 persons was also provided once they arrived in their place of origin.

¹⁸ UNHCR, 2016. "Resettlement". Available at: <<http://www.unhcr.org/pages/4a16b1676.html>> (last accessed: 17/05/16).

Some Somali returnees interviewed by RMMS did however indicate a desire to return to Yemen. There are no conclusive estimations on the numbers of Somali returnees that have engaged in return movements back to Yemen, but anecdotal evidence suggests that a sizeable number of Somalis have either returned permanently or are engaged in frequent travel between the two countries to check on businesses and property remaining in Yemen.

"I am in contact with my family and friends in Yemen all the time. They say the situation is OK and they want me to go back. I am looking for a better life and life was better in Yemen. If I can get the money I will go back. Many people want to return but they can't afford the fees." Kaltumo, Somali returnee in Al-Kheyrad IDP settlement on the outskirts of Bossaso.

IDPs in Yemen

According to the Yemen's Taskforce on Population Movement there were 2,755,916 internally displaced persons (IDPs) in the country at the end of March 2016. This is more than one in ten of the total Yemeni population.¹⁹ Taking into account these numbers, the number of Yemenis fleeing their country over the course of 13 months of conflict (approximately 60,000) is relatively low. At the onset of the refugee influx, in April 2015, UNHCR was planning for an influx into Djibouti of 30,000 refugees over the next six months, and for 100,000 people fleeing from Yemen to Somalia (Somaliland, Puntland, South Central).²⁰ This has not happened, and UNHCR in Djibouti now expects that, unless there will be a sudden escalation of the violence in Yemen, the influx from Yemen will remain relatively stable.

Could we expect more Yemenis coming to the Horn of Africa, given the large number of internally displaced and the humanitarian situation? Could the Yemeni displacement situation follow a path similar to Syria, where at one point in the conflict people lose hope and start leaving their country, as well as the neighbouring countries in the region and engage in onward movement (for example directed towards Europe), in larger numbers? This is difficult to predict, but based on conversations with sources in Yemen, several factors point to the opposite, showing that Yemenis might be more inclined to stay in Yemen.

Until now, Yemenis tended to move to nearest safe place when displaced. This is one of the reasons many of Yemeni refugees in Djibouti are from Bal el Mandeb and Taiz areas. For them, Djibouti, just across the Red Sea, was the nearest safe place to flee to. Within Yemen, in many cases, Yemenis moved to stay with relatives in the countryside, escaping the airstrikes and/or heavy fighting on the ground. Many of the internally displaced Yemenis sought refuge in a neighbouring governorate. As soon as the situation in their place of origin became more stable, they moved back. Conflict in Yemen has been relatively localized, which means that when there are intense airstrikes and fighting in one location, it could still be relatively quiet in another location, allowing populations to move to safety nearby. One reason in favour of staying close by, is an interest to protect property that has been left behind. There are many land disputes in Yemen, which means that leaving one's place for too long, could mean losing that property.

According to some sources, Yemenis might have become accustomed to hardship. As the least developed country in the region, Yemenis are used to a certain level of deprivation and are more prepared to cope with shocks. Syrians on the other hand are likely to experience a bigger shock when suddenly deprived of everything they were used to, which might have forced more Syrians to leave their country, as well as the refugee camps in the region.

Another reason for the limited outward movement of Yemenis is that there is no established migration pattern of Yemenis moving in long and often risky mixed migration flows to, for example, Europe. By comparison, such a migration pattern is much more established in the Somali culture. Even though there is a relatively sizeable Yemeni diaspora, estimated at 6-7 million²¹, most of them have not been asylum seekers and they migrated regularly to their countries of destination. While it is possible that an onward migration pattern of Yemeni IDPs and refugees will develop in the future, it often takes time before such a pattern of 'chain migration' develops.

Observers expect that only if the conflict in Yemen will spread all over the country and will simultaneously affect many different parts of the country (including the South/West, the East and the North West) will more people flee Yemen, as it will become more difficult to find safe places with relatives nearby.

¹⁹ UNHCR, Yemen Regional Refugee and Migrant Response Plan portal. Available at: <<http://data.unhcr.org/yemen/regional.php>> (last accessed: 17/05/16)

²⁰ UNHCR, 2015. "UNHCR braces for refugees fleeing Yemen by boat to Africa", April 2015. Available at: <<http://www.unhcr.org/5527c16a9.html>> (last accessed: 17/05/16)

²¹ UNDP, 2015. "Yemen our home, innovative online platform connects Yemeni Diaspora with local communities in need", December 2015. Available at: <<http://www.ye.undp.org/content/yemen/en/home/presscenter/pressreleases/2015/12/21/yemen-our-home-innovative-online-platform-connects-yemeni-diaspora-with-local-communities-in-need.html>> (last accessed: 17/05/2016)

2.

The continuous flow of Horn of Africa migrants and refugees going to Yemen

Migrants leaving from Djibouti

"The Ethiopians are gambling with their lives. We cannot believe they are still going". Yemeni refugee in Markazi refugee camp, Djibouti.

Despite the situation in Yemen, and despite the fact that Yemenis and other nationalities are fleeing from Yemen to the Horn of Africa, record numbers of Ethiopians are still crossing from Djibouti and Somalia to Yemen. In an area just north of Obock, hundreds of (mainly) young Ethiopian men are congregating before making the crossing to Yemen. This area is around 2 kilometres away from the Markazi refugee camp which hosts a few thousand Yemeni refugees and from the Migration Response Centre (MRC) where IOM regularly receives hundreds of Ethiopian migrants repatriated from Yemen.

Migrants usually stay in and around Obock for a number of days or sometimes weeks, before they make the crossing to Yemen. In March 2016, new arrivals in Yemen consistently reported that there are large numbers of migrants stationed in Obock preparing to make the journey to Yemen.²² Reasons for waiting could be the price of the crossing, the availability of smugglers or the sea conditions. Ethiopian migrants usually leave from the coast further north of Obock, out of sight of authorities.

According to IOM, most of the Ethiopian migrants arriving in Obock, a small minority of whom present themselves at the MRC for assistance, are aware of the ongoing conflict, but think it will not affect them. Some think the ongoing conflict and resulting lack of rule of law, will allow them to disembark in and transit through Yemen, more easily and undetected. Other Ethiopian migrants, however, are unaware of the ongoing conflict in Yemen until they reach Obock. When finding out, a minority indicate a willingness to return to Ethiopia, at which point IOM might provide return assistance.

Changing patterns in departures to Yemen

Historically, movements to Yemen have occurred along two main routes: one out of Obock, Djibouti (Red Sea), and another from Bossaso in Puntland, Somalia (Arabian Sea). UNHCR monitoring missions along the Yemen strait have been measuring the movements along the two distinct routes since 2008. Between 2009 and 2013 the Red Sea route had consistent popularity, averaging at 69 percent of recorded movements in that period.

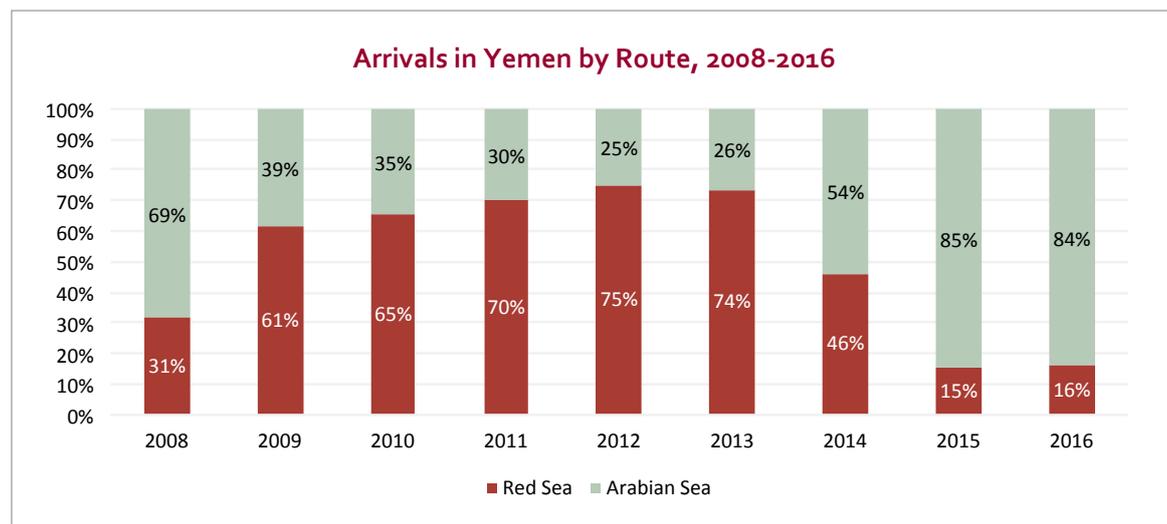


Figure 5: Arrivals in Yemen by Route, 2008-2016
Data source: UNHCR

²² RMMS Monthly Summary, March 2016. Available at: <<http://www.regionalmms.org/fileadmin/content/monthly%20summaries/RMMSMonthlySummaryMarch%202016.pdf>> (last accessed: 17/05/16)

In the course of 2014 however, figures began to show a gradual shift indicating an increased preference by migrants and refugees to travel to Yemen using the Arabian Sea. By the end of 2014 this had resulted in an inversion in the routes' popularity, with the Arabian Sea arrivals accounting for 54 percent of movements. In 2015, this changing trend had firmly entrenched itself with 85 percent of migrants and refugees opting to use this route. Statistics in first quarter of 2016 also confirm this new trend, at 84 percent, which pending any major changes in the context in the region, is expected to continue throughout the year. Nonetheless, new arrivals continue to land along the Red Sea coast even though some of the most intense fighting has been in Ta'iz governorate. The statistics provided may not be fully representative of how many more may have landed as the area is inaccessible to UNHCR and its partners.

According to UNHCR, the main reason behind this shift are the various protection risks²³ faced by migrants and refugees travelling along the Red Sea route. Migrants and refugees travelling to Yemen from the Horn of Africa face numerous risks that are widely documented.²⁴ These risks are faced at all steps of the journey – at origin, while in transit on land, during the sea journey, and on arrival in Yemen. RMMS' reports *Desperate Choices*²⁵, *Blinded by Hope*²⁶, and *Abused and Abducted*²⁷ have observed the risks faced by people on the move including, physical and sexual violence, abduction and kidnapping, extortion, and torture. In *Blinded by Hope* 70 percent of interviewed Ethiopian migrants that had returned from Yemen had either witnessed or experienced 'extreme physical abuse, including burning, gunshot wounds and suspension of food for days'.

Data received from UNHCR monitoring missions show that these abuses are more pronounced along the Red Sea route from Obock, Djibouti, and in particular kidnap for ransom. No cases of abduction have ever been reported along the Arabian Sea route.

The threat of abduction and kidnapping for ransom remains a significant threat for those moving, and particularly Ethiopian nationals who are perceived to be able to pay ransoms more readily than their Somali counterparts. RMMS monthly summaries continue to include reports on the abduction of migrants/refugees arriving via the Red Sea coasts. In March 2016, migrants reported 218 cases of abduction and 29 cases of trafficking, amounting to 77 percent and 10 percent respectively of all protection incidents reported in that month.²⁸ It is believed that the shift in migrant and refugee departure points from Djibouti to Bossaso in 2014 (and to date) can be directly attributed, at least in part, to the extent of the abuses witnessed and experienced on the Red Sea route. Anecdotal and unconfirmed evidence received from migrants and refugees suggests that smugglers and boat crews moving from Bossaso to Yemen treat them better than those in Djibouti. Interviews with humanitarian actors in Bossaso also suggest that migrants and refugees face little harassment from local communities, police and authorities, which may encourage them to use the Arabian Sea route.

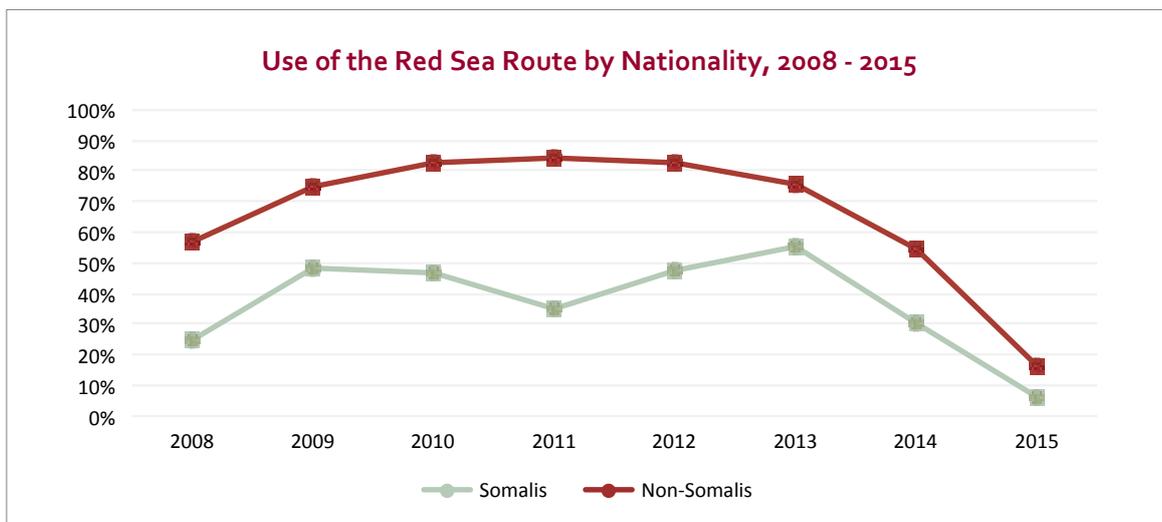


Figure 6: Use of the Red Sea Route by Nationality, 2008-2015
Data source: UNHCR

²³ RMMS, 2014. *Blinded by Hope*, June 2014. Available at: http://regionalmms.org/fileadmin/content/rmms_publications/Blinded_by_Hope.pdf (last accessed: 17/05/2016).

²⁴ Human Rights Watch, 2014. *Yemen's Torture Camps*, May 2014. Available at: <https://www.hrw.org/report/2014/05/25/yemens-torture-camps/abuse-migrants-human-traffickers-climate-impunity> (last accessed: 17/05/2016).

²⁵ RMMS, 2012. *Desperate Choices*, October 2012. Available at: <http://regionalmms.org/fileadmin/content/featured%20articles/RMMSbooklet.pdf> (last accessed: 17/05/2016).

²⁶ RMMS, 2014. *Blinded by Hope*, June 2014. http://regionalmms.org/fileadmin/content/rmms_publications/Blinded_by_Hope.pdf (last accessed: 17/05/2016).

²⁷ RMMS, 2014. *Abused & Abducted*, October 2014. Available at: http://regionalmms.org/fileadmin/content/rmms_publications/Abused_Abducted_RMMS.pdf (last accessed: 17/05/2016).

²⁸ RMMS, 2016. *Mixed migration Monthly Summary*, March 2016. Available at: <http://regionalmms.org/fileadmin/content/monthly%20summaries/RMMSMonthlySummaryMarch%202016.pdf> (last accessed: 17/05/2016).

Based on the available information it appears that the risk of abduction and abuse on the Red Sea route is the major cause for the shifting nature of mixed migration movements from the Horn of Africa to Yemen. Consistent reports by migrants and refugees arriving in Yemen appear to have channelled back to those contemplating moving in places of origin, pushing more to depart from Bossaso. The shift may also in part be attributed to the increased chances of detention of new arrivals for irregular entry into the country along the Red Sea where the military patrol coastal areas, and to the intensified fighting in Ta'iz governorate, where a lot of the arrivals land. Moreover, monitoring reports show that new arrivals have been hit by air strikes and more recently forcibly disembarked before reaching the coast to avoid detection by the Yemeni military or Saudi-led coalition forces, resulting in more migrants and refugees opting to use the Arabian Sea.²⁹

New sea routes between the Horn of Africa and Yemen

Interviews with local and international actors in Bossaso revealed the emergence of a new mixed migration route to Europe that crosses through Yemen. The route, which emerged at the end of 2015, is growing in popularity. The route's trajectory is as follows: 1) migrants and refugees depart from remote coastal towns near Bossaso by sea and arrive in Mukallah in Yemen; 2) migrants and refugees travel by land from Mukallah to Mokha, a coastal town in western Yemen; 3) migrants and refugees depart from Mokha by sea for Sudan; 4) migrants and refugees arrive in Sudan and continue their journey through Sudan overland and into Libya; 5) migrants and refugees board sea vessels and finally cross the Mediterranean Sea to Europe.

According to local partners, the route is currently being exclusively used by Somali youth aged 15-25 years old. There is no indication that Yemeni nationals are using this route, although it is possible (but unconfirmed) that Ethiopian migrants may also be joining the flows, but in much smaller numbers. The use of the new passage came to light at the end of 2015 when a large number of Somali youth from the local communities were reported as missing. An inquiry by officials revealed that they had travelled to Yemen in the hopes of travelling to Sudan and eventually to Europe.

Youth are recruited through smuggler networks, which operate through mobilisers in villages and towns targeting youth in secondary schools and universities. The youth are assured that they will not have to pay anything for the journey. This promise is honoured while the youth are moved from Bossaso and through Yemen to Sudan or further to Libya. On arrival in Sudan or Libya, however, the youth are held in smuggling dens until they pay a ransom fee of anything upwards of USD 5,000 for their release. Having travelled with little to no money, the now-captives are forced to contact family members and friends back in Somalia to provide the money required, forcing many to dispose of assets to cover the costs.

Some partners also indicated that a significant proportion of the youth are aware that smugglers will demand for payment further down the route and that they will be held until payment is made, but choose to make the journey anyway, blurring the line between smuggling and trafficking activities.³⁰

The numbers of youth on the move are unclear, but estimates from a local NGO suggest that about 100-150 people are leaving every month. Another estimate given suggests that the boats used can carry between 200-300 per trip and that 2-3 boats depart every month, taking the numbers from anywhere between 400 people and 900 people per month.

According to IOM the emergence of the new route has been spurred by the smugglers who fear a disruption in their activities following a crackdown by Ethiopian border forces on Ethiopian-Somali border and the Ethiopia-Sudan border. Increased patrols are said to have coincided with an operation by government forces to quell anti-government demonstrations by members of the Oromo ethnic group that began in November 2015.³¹ Ethiopian Oromos make up the majority of Ethiopian migrants on the move in and through the Horn of Africa.

Upon arrival in Yemen: where do the Ethiopian migrants go?

Around 10,000 migrants and refugees from the Horn of Africa (of which 90% are Ethiopians) arrive every month in Yemen, mostly (in the case of Ethiopians) with the intention of transiting through Yemen to Saudi Arabia. With the ongoing conflict, not much is known about their fate in Yemen: are they stranded somewhere in Yemen or are they still succeeding in crossing the border to Saudi Arabia?

There are a limited number returns from Yemen to Ethiopia with IOM assistance. In 2015 and 2016, IOM evacuated a total of 5,453 migrants (including 3,345 male, 1,014 female and 1,094 children) by air and sea from Yemen to Djibouti, Ethiopia, Sudan and Somalia. Comparing the monthly arrivals with these evacuation figures, a large number of Ethiopian migrants is still in Yemen or crossed into Saudi Arabia.

Sources inside Yemen confirm that many are still in Yemen, mostly working in agricultural areas, making their way north. During 2015, crossing into Saudi Arabia became increasingly difficult because of heavy fighting in and around Sadah and Hajjah, two important transit points. As a result, Al Hudaydah on Yemen's west coast, became a real bottle neck, with

²⁹ RMMS, 2016. *Mixed migration Monthly Summary, February 2016*. Available at: <http://www.regionalmms.org/fileadmin/content/monthly%20summaries/MonthlySummaryFebruary2016.pdf> (last accessed: 17/05/2016).

³⁰ RMMS, 2015. *Beyond Definitions, November 2015*. Available at: http://regionalmms.org/fileadmin/content/rmms_publications/RMMS_discussion_paper2-_Beyond_DefinitionsNov_2015.pdf (last accessed: 17/05/2016).

³¹ Human Rights Watch, 2016. "Ethiopia: No let up in crackdown on protests", February 2016. Available at: <https://www.hrw.org/news/2016/02/21/ethiopia-no-let-crackdown-protests> (last accessed: 17/05/2016).

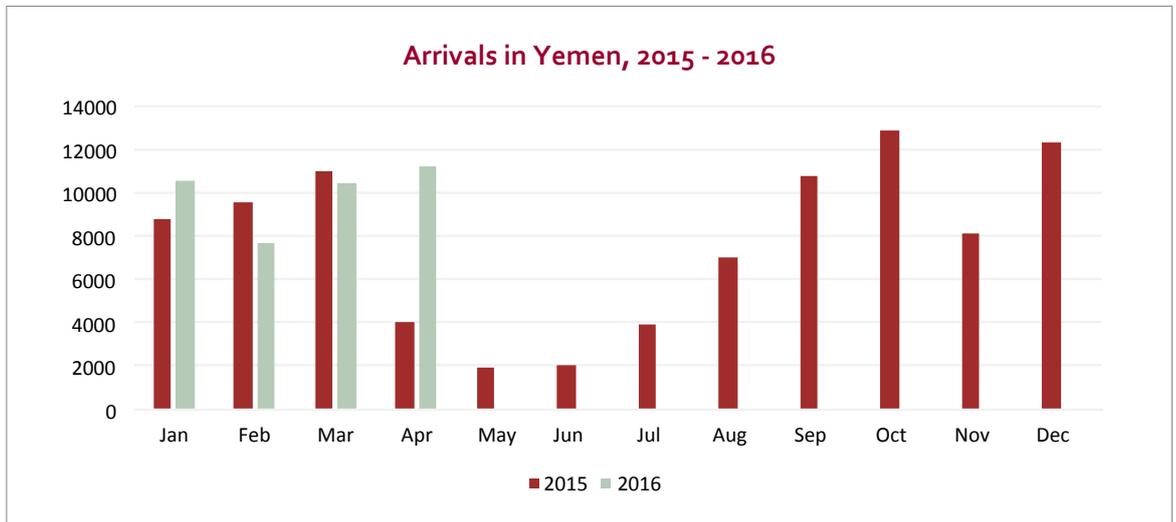


Figure 7: Arrivals in Yemen, 2015-2016
Data source: UNHCR

many migrants who got stuck further north coming back. Some tried to move north through the Al Jawf governorate, more to the east of Sadah. To cross into Saudi Arabia, migrants require the help of a smuggler who provides transport and water, or they would have to walk for days without water. However, fighting around Hajjah was so intense many of the smugglers assisting migrants to get into Saudi left and supplies were hard to come by.

As a result, even though actual border points on both sides of the border have been destroyed – which might make it easier to enter Saudi Arabia undetected – the conflict made it more difficult to cross into Saudi Arabia, because of the lack of smugglers offering their services and the heavy fighting in and around important transit points.

As of May 2016, it became quieter around Hajjah and Sadah, and it remains to be seen to what extent the flows into Saudi Arabia will catch up as a result. It is likely that thousands of Ethiopians will use the opportunity to continue their journey into Saudi Arabia.

In addition to those in transit and working on khat plantations in rural areas, thousands of Ethiopian migrants are in detention in Yemen. Although exact figures are unavailable, it is estimated at least 2-3,000 migrants are in detention in Yemen at any given point in time in at least 10 different prisons all over the country.

Although there are rumours of African migrants being recruited to fight in the conflict, this has not been confirmed by any reliable sources.

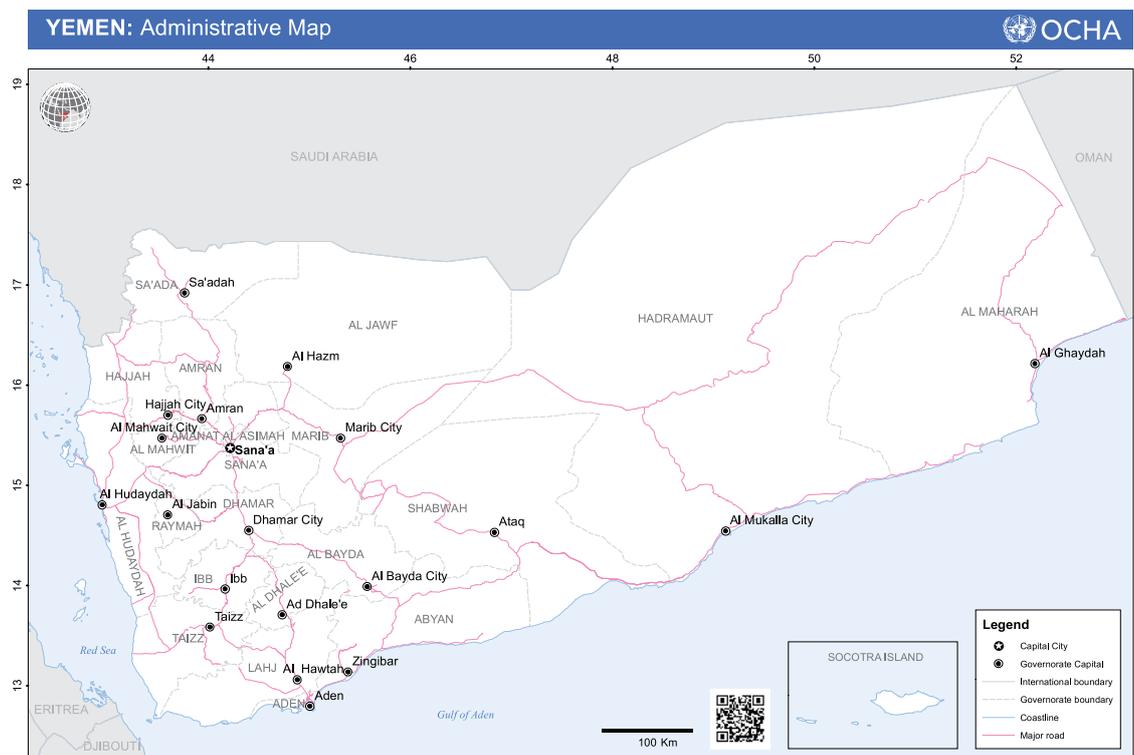


Figure 8: Administrative Map of Yemen
Source: OCHA

Conclusion

The ongoing conflict in Yemen created a unique and remarkable mixed migration dynamic between the Horn of Africa and Yemen. While over 86,000 people fled Yemen to the Horn of Africa, the flow of Somali and (primarily) Ethiopian migrants and refugees travelling from the Horn of Africa in the exact opposite direction, towards the conflict in Yemen, continued unabated. Between March 2015 and April 2016, 114,093 Ethiopians and Somalis travelled from the Horn of Africa to Yemen, one of the highest numbers in recent years.

However, there are some notable changes. Somali migrants started using a new migration route since the end of 2015, which involves a double sea crossing. From Puntland, young Somalis cross the Gulf of Aden to Yemen's south coast, transit through Yemen to the West coast, from where they cross the Red Sea to Sudan to travel onwards through Sudan and into Egypt or Libya before crossing the Mediterranean to Italy. Moreover, there has been a complete reversal in the preferred point of departure for migrants and refugees crossing from the Horn of Africa to Yemen. This trend started in 2014 and continued into 2015 and 2016. Between 2009 and 2013 the Red Sea route, leaving from Obock in Djibouti had consistent popularity, with on average 69 percent of recorded arrivals in Yemen leaving from there. In 2015 and 2016, however, around 85 percent of migrants and refugees used the Arabian Sea route, leaving from Bossaso, Puntland. This is primarily attributed to the high number of kidnappings upon arrival along Yemen's Red Sea coast, while no cases of abduction have ever been recorded along the Arabian Sea route.

Limited information is available on the fate of the Ethiopian migrants who crossed to Yemen. Comparing the relatively low number of Ethiopians who were evacuated from Yemen (5,453 in 2015 and 2016) with monthly arrivals averaging around 10,000, it is clear that most are either still in Yemen or have succeeded in crossing into Saudi Arabia, the intended destination country for most Ethiopians. The conflict in Yemen has made it difficult to enter Saudi Arabia though, but since the situation quietened in and around some major transit points in Yemen (such as Sadah and Hajjah) as of April/May 2016, it is expected the flow of Ethiopians heading north towards Saudi Arabia will catch up again. Many of them were likely working in rural areas in Yemen.

At the same time, the outflow of refugees and returnees from Yemen to the Horn of Africa has slowed down since the early months of the conflict, but is still ongoing. Given the large number IDPs in Yemen, 2.7 million at the end of March 2016 or one in ten of the total Yemeni population and the deteriorating humanitarian situation in Yemen, the number of Yemenis fleeing their country as refugees (60,000, mainly to Djibouti and Saudi Arabia) is relatively low. Thirteen months into the conflict, Yemenis are still more inclined to flee to the nearest safe place inside Yemen, usually with relatives in the country side close to their homes or just across the sea to Djibouti. Several reasons have been discussed, including: localized fighting, which makes it possible to find a safe place nearby; the hope to return; a lack of resources for onward migration; a lack of established mixed migration patterns out of Yemen; and a capability of coping with a certain level of hardship and deprivation.

Those who did flee Yemen to neighbouring countries, have not showed a tendency to engage in onward movement out of the region, like so many Syrian refugees did in 2015 and 2016. Even though circumstances in the refugee camp in Djibouti are harsh, and a large number of Yemeni urban refugees in Djibouti city are living in poverty with hardly any assistance, there are no indications yet that Yemeni refugees are joining Somalis, Eritreans and Ethiopians in mixed migration flows from the Horn of Africa to Europe.

When the conflict in Yemen started, many observers expected that the number of Ethiopians and Somalis travelling to Yemen would decrease and that they would opt to use other routes out of the Horn of Africa, but the recorded number of arrivals turned out to be one of the highest in years. Similarly, agencies were planning for large numbers of refugees and returnees from Yemen to arrive in the Horn of Africa, while the actual numbers turned out much lower than expected, even though the war in Yemen continued to displace thousands of people on a weekly basis. This points to the importance of continuous monitoring and analysis of mixed migration flows, as new routes and trends develop, often this occurs in ways that were difficult to predict in advance.

RMMS Briefing Paper 1: Pushed and Pulled in Two Directions



The Regional Mixed Migration Secretariat (RMMS): Formed in 2011 and based in Nairobi, the overall objective of the RMMS is to support agencies, institutions and fora in the Horn of Africa and Yemen sub-region to improve the management of protection and assistance to people in mixed migration flows in the Horn of Africa and across the Gulf of Aden and Red Sea in Yemen. The Steering Committee members for the RMMS include UNHCR, IOM, Danish Refugee Council (DRC), INTERSOS, the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation, IGAD and the European Union. The RMMS is a regional hub aiming to provide information and data management; analysis and research; support and coordination; and support to policy development and dialogue. It acts as an independent agency, hosted by the DRC, to stimulate forward thinking and policy development in relation to mixed migration. Its overarching focus and emphasis is on human rights, protection and assistance.

See our websites www.regionalmms.org and <http://4mi.regionalmms.org> or follow RMMS on Twitter @Mixed_Migration

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