

**ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY**  
**SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES**  
**DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY**

**THE PREDICAMENTS OF ETHIOPIAN FORCED  
RETURN MIGRANTS FROM SAUDI ARABIA**

**BY**  
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**The Predicaments of Ethiopian Forced Return Migrants  
from Saudi Arabia**

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**A Thesis Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies of  
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This is to certify that the thesis presented by Medareshaw Tafesse, entitled: The Predicaments of Ethiopian Forced Return Migrants from Saudi Arabia and submitted in the partial fulfillment of the requirement for the Degree of Master of Arts complies with the regulation of the University and meets the accepted standards with respects to originality and quality.

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## List of Acronyms and Abbreviations

BOLSA	Addis Ababa Bureau of Labour and Social Affairs
ECHR	European Convention on Human Rights
ETB	Ethiopian Birr
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
GCC	Gulf Cooperation Council
HRW	Human Rights Watch
ILO	International Labour Organization
IOM	International Organization for Migration
MO FA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
MOLSA	Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
PEA	Private Employment Agency
RMMS	Regional Mixed Migration Secretariats
SPSS	Statistical Packages for Social Sciences
UNDESA	United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs
UNDP	United Nations Development Program

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## Abstract

*The large-scale return of Ethiopian migrants from Saudi Arabia is an example of a group of forced return migrants that were less prepared for their return. Most of the returnees had shown no desire to return to Ethiopia until the Saudi security forces began the crackdown. Thus, the absence of preparedness and readiness to return renders migrants to severe problems. This study was done with the purpose of understanding the expectations and experience of Ethiopian Deportees from Saudi Arabia with reference to returnees in Addis Ababa.*

*The study was based on a sequential mixed method research model, using both quantitative and qualitative methods. First a survey was carried out among 168 returnees who had registered at the city administration. The sample population comprised of deportees who were formerly residents of Addis Ababa and who arrived between November 4, 2013 and March 24, 2014. To acquire in-depth perspectives on the situation of returnees and to understand the various factors involved in the migration and the deportation process qualitative research methods were used. Thus, in-depth interviews, key informant interviews and FGDs were conducted.*

*The major driving forces behind the migration of respondents were the desire to be independent, poverty and the quest to improve personal and family living condition. Leaving employers without consent, unable to renew residence permits, using hajj visa to engage in paid work, irregular channels taken, hatred of Ethiopian migrants and the fear of the expansion of Christianity have been found as the reasons for deportation. Respondents had expected more assistance from the Ethiopian government to establish their lives back home economically. Lack of opportunities and facilities to realize their aspirations to work or set up a business affected their economic embeddedness. Many respondents were depending on their relatives. Their psychosocial embeddedness was closely related with the lack of preparedness for their return; they had not been able to mobilize resources and considered themselves failures. This also impacted on their social embeddedness as they were unable to build up a social network back home, and relied heavily on their relatives. Many returnees opt to migrate again, and in the absence of policies that protect migrants many will make use of irregular channels. They did not see a future in Ethiopia if they would not find a job or be assisted to establish their own business.*

*The combined effects of the aforementioned economic, psychosocial and social network frustrations stifled the returnees to install their livelihoods upon return. Therefore, government as principal guardian and other civil society institutions should work for enduring solutions to make the return sustainable.*

*Key words: Consent, Deportation, Embeddedness, Expectations, Experiences, Irregular Migrants Prepared*

## **Chapter One: Introduction**

### **1.1 Background to the Study**

Nowadays, the biggest challenge to governments and international community is the tremendous rise in migration patterns and the fortitude of migrants to pay any price necessary to better their lives. "From the perilous clandestine trips across borders, to the deadly confrontation with currents of Great Oceans and Seas, to questionable exploitative arrangements made with dubious migration tycoons, migration has indeed become for many what international trade was in the mid twentieth century" (Falola and Afolabi 2007:11).

Since the beginning of recorded history human beings have frequently migrated in search of food, lodging, freedom, and security. Global estimates shows that, in 2013 around 232 million individuals are international migrants, representing some 3.3 % of the world's population reaching an all-time high (UNDESA 2013; IOM 2013). Among this figure, going abroad for work is a livelihood strategy for an estimated 105 million persons worldwide (IOM 2013).

Migrant workers contribute to their own social and economic development, as well as that of their countries of origin and destination. Migration is a source of huge remittance, skill transfer, cultural exchange, job creation, means of satisfying labour demand, and enhancing fair distribution of wealth and resources. Yet, migrants frequently work in so-called "3d jobs" (i.e. dangerous, difficult and demeaning) in hazardous environments, which are often characterized by discrimination, lack of social protection and insecurity (Schenker 2010). In addition, they face multiple hardships and health risks (Schenker 2010). The process of migration involves multiple stages including return migration coupled with diverse and overwhelming situations which are usually very complex and dynamic (Sekhar 1993).

Acknowledging such complexities and dynamics, governments across the world incorporated safe return policies with a prior understanding of migration as a process which should be managed and reinforced (ACP Observatory 2013). In this fashion IOM and the governments of many migrant destinations mainly western countries consider Assisted Voluntary Return and Reintegration (AVRR) to be more beneficial than deportation, since it involves the migrant in the decision-making process and their livelihood after return (ACP Observatory 2013). In 2010, IOM ensured the return of over 34, 000 migrants in a dignified and human manner out of which approximately 50 per cent received reintegration assistance (IOM 2010). In the case of sub-Saharan Africa, in 2011, 3,658 migrants returned to their countries of origin through the AVRR programme, the majority returning from host countries within the region. Since 2007, IOM also assisted almost 19,000 Ethiopian migrants to voluntarily return home (RMMS 2014a).

On the contrary, for many nation states return is simply reduced to the processes of removal of unauthorized migrants and rejected asylum seekers (Cassarino 2008). Deportation, also known as *refoulement*, “is a statutory process by which non citizen is compelled to leave sovereign state to his or her country of origin or third country after refusal of admission or termination of permission to remain” (IOM 2011:27). States have sovereign rights to develop and enforce its migration and labour policy and even repatriate irregular migrants (Ellerman 2009 and IOM 2011), however, everyone believes that basic human rights should be respected in the process. Besides, if not treated amicably, today’s returnees will be tomorrow’s migrants and victims of trafficking. Ravensteine (as quoted in Gmelch 1980: 135) stressed the cyclical nature of migration by stating: “each main current of migration produces compensating counter currents.” Migration is a process which involves different phases and each phase produces another round of migration.

The large-scale return of Ethiopian migrants from Saudi Arabia is an example of a group of forced return migrants that were less prepared for their return. The way in which migrants are prepared for their return, and in particular the way in which they are able to mobilize resources, are crucial for a successful return home. As of November 2013, the government of Saudi Arabia carried out massive deportation of migrant workers who lacked proper visa and employment documents. Around 163,000 Ethiopians were deported and it was believed that the majority are victims of human trafficking. Many deportees reported they returned empty handed and not having repaid debts to those who smuggled them (RMMS 2014a; RMMS 2014b). Many, particularly female human trafficking victims, were referred to care and rehabilitation centers due to severe traumatization and physical abuses. This study was done with the purpose of understanding the expectations and experiences of these forced return migrants who faced severe problems. The study attempted to address four broad questions: what are the motivations for migration, route taken and preferences for such trajectories? How Ethiopian deportees experienced the expulsion and what were the specific reasons for their sudden deportation? What were returnee's expectation upon return and their future perspectives? Do they have the desire for remigration? How the government of Ethiopia treated return process and what are future plan on labour migration?

## 1.2 Statement of the Problem

Deportation of irregular migrants emanates from strong enforcement of immigration policies and it is the characteristics of contemporary immigration countries. However, as Ruben, van Houte and Davids (2009:909) indicated inconsiderate enforcement of such policies has counter effect. Due to the enormous emphasis given for travelling migrants to their home while “little is known about how these returnees manage to build up their lives again after return.” Studies (Ghanem 2003; Ruben, van Houte and Davids 2009) stressed that return migration is not always a process of merely departing to domicile particularly when return is not fully voluntarily, returnees face severe problems. Lack of agency and preparedness accounted to various economic and psychosocial challenges including early desire for re-migration. Further, the above studies underlined that the meaning of deportation from the returnees’ point of view is highly disregarded or at list overlooked by those constituent bodies.

Deportation have effects on those facing deportation, on their families and the receiving nation. From the perspective of origin countries, deportation raises multiple questions regarding how to preserve and protect the welfare of citizens working abroad on the one hand and how to reintegrate deportees in the homeland (Kibria 2004). From the perspective of individual migrants, deportation raises painstaking issues ranging from the material dimension of readjustment to dealing with emotional problems encountered in the process (Ghanem 2003).

In Ethiopia, various forms of population movement have been recorded in response to drought and famine, political turmoil, economic crisis and insecurity (Assefaw 1996; Solomon 2007). Yet, these issues characterized the entire Horn of Africa region. Due to this fact, Ethiopia has been both an origin and a destination country for either voluntary or involuntary migrants, and

many migrants have also used it as a transit area (Fransen and Kuschminder 2009; Assefaw 1996; Solomon 2007a, 2007b; US Department of State 2014).

A specific study on Ethiopian return migration in general and on deportation in particular is inadequate. Conversely, Ethiopia has witnessed forceful return of its nationals from different countries during various times. For example, after the independence of Eritrea in 1991 and the May 1998 war with Eritrea resulted in the expulsion of tens of thousands Ethiopian nationals. Immediate to the outbreak of war, in May 1998, more than 41 thousand Ethiopians were expelled (Guinand 1998). Similarly, Ethiopia also deported thousands of Eritreans from its territories.

During various times due to various reasons European, Middle Eastern and Southern and Eastern African countries also deported irregular Ethiopian migrants. Infringement of immigration policies of host nation is given as the manifest dominant cause for deportation. Having all these, specific studies related to the experiences of such deportees are rare if not non-existence. In general, inadequacy of studies on return migration and specifically on forced return migration can be attributed to among others: the research community's assumption of migration as unidirectional event, the real and perceived difficulty of obtaining satisfactory data and the problems of identifying return migrants (Sekhar 1993). Financial and time costs that would be incurred to locate whereabouts of returnees adds to the unavailability of specific studies focusing on deportees. Even the existing scant body of return literature in Ethiopia focused on, while deploying small samples, voluntary returnees from the USA, Europe, South Africa and the Middle Eastern countries (Adamnesh 2006; Mesfine 2011; Meskerem 2011; Selamawit 2013).

To the knowledge of the researcher, the following are among the research documents related to the issue raised: Adamnesh's (2006) study on "aspects of return migration from USA and

western Europe on returnees residing in Addis Ababa,” Mesfine’s (2011) thesis on “challenges female labour migrants encountered in the Middle East focusing on returnees in the town of Girana, North Wollo”, Meskerem’s (2011) thesis entitled “the psychosocial and economic experiences of Gulf State returnee Ethiopian domestic workers”, Selamawit(2013) thesis which identified the causes of plights on Ethiopian labour migrants, Elias(2013) thesis on features and causes of human trafficking and Abebaw’s (2012, 2013) article and dissertation entitled “trafficked to the Gulf States: the experiences of Ethiopian returnee women”

The above studies (Adamnesh 2006; Mesfine 2011; Meskerem 2011; Abebaw 2012, 2013; Ermias 2013; Selamawit 2013) examined the returnees’ subjective accounts while giving less regard for objective realities. Migrant deportation is rare phenomenon yet deportees face various challenges both during the expulsion and after returning home. Most researches focused on females labour migrants whereas this research included both male and female deportee’s experience and expectation. Methodologically, all of them are phenomenological and qualitative; investigated small number of respondents. Whereas, employing a sequential mixed method model, this study produced both subjective and objective realities from a substantial size of forcibly repatriated migrants. To bridge all the aforementioned gaps, I conducted a research focusing on forcibly repatriated migrants from Saudi Arabia those who based in Addis Ababa. I strongly believe that this research will add to the knowledge base on experiences and expectation of deported migrants. Thus, I strongly believe that it is justifiable and hence worth spending time, effort and resources on this research.

## **1.3 Objectives of the Research**

### **1.3.1 General objective**

The general objective of the research is to describe the predicaments of Ethiopian forced return migrants from Saudi Arabia to Ethiopia with reference to returnees in Addis Ababa.

### **1.3.2 Specific objectives**

Specifically the study aimed:

- ✓ To describe motivations, migration trajectories and preferences for such trajectories
- ✓ To look at the returnees experience of the expulsion and the reason for sudden deportation.
- ✓ To describe the returnees expectation upon return and future perspectives including desire for remigration.
- ✓ To assess Ethiopian government initiative in the return process and future plan on labour migration.

## **1.4 Definition of Concepts and Operationalization of Key Variables**

**Deportation:** “The act of a State in the exercise of its sovereignty in removing an alien from its territory to a certain place after refusal of admission or termination of permission to remain” (IOM 2011:27).

**Embeddedness :** “Embeddedness refers to the ways how individuals find and define their position in society, feel a sense of belonging and possibilities for participation in society” (Ruben van Houte and Davids2009: 910).

**Emigration:** The act departing or exiting from one State with a view to settling in another

**Immigration:** a process by which non-nationals move into a country for the purpose of settlement

**Voluntary return migration:** The assisted or independent return to the country of origin, transit or another third country based on the free will of the returnee.

**Involuntary return migration:** The return of refugees, prisoners or war and civil detainees to the territory of their State of origin induced by the creation of circumstances which do not leave any other alternative.

**Irregular migrant:** A person who, owing to unauthorized entry, breach of a condition of entry, or the expiry of his or her visa, lacks legal status in a transit or host country. The definition covers inter alia those persons who have entered a transit or host country lawfully but have stayed for a longer period than authorized or subsequently taken up unauthorized employment (also called clandestine/undocumented migrant or migrant in an irregular situation). The term “irregular” is preferable to “illegal” because the latter carries a criminal connotation and is seen as denying migrants’ humanity (IOM 2011:54)

**Forced return:** “The compulsory return of an individual to the country of origin, transit or third country, on the basis of an administrative or judicial act” (IOM 2011:40).

**Hajj:** The day of commemoration of the pilgrimage of the prophet Mohammed from Mecca to Medina. Many in Ethiopia including Christians use this opportunity to obtain a visit visa to Saudi Arabia and remain there without a work visa.

**Iqama:** resident permit for immigrants to Gulf Cooperation Countries which enables the immigrant to work and live in the destination

**Kafala** :- is a system of sponsorship in the Gulf States, which explains the relationship between employer and employee. *“The system allows the employer to have a master role while making the employee dependent on her/his employer”* (GTZ 2006: 11, 19).

**Push-pull factors:** Migration is often analyzed in terms of the “push-pull model”, which looks at the push factors, which drive people to leave their country (such as economic, social, or political problems) and the pull factors attracting them to the country of destination (IOM 2011).

**Repatriates** - are forcibly returned persons returning to their country of citizenship after having been international migrants.

**Repatriation:** refers to cases where return is not the initiative of the migrants themselves but of the political authorities.

**Run away status:** type of irregular stay occurs when a migrant worker takes up employment for a person other than the sponsor (RMMS 2014). It is common practice to use this term to refer to a live-in domestic worker who leaves the house of her employer. Reasons include bad treatment, non payment of salaries, wanting to earn more money as a freelancer, and not liking the job

Table1. Operationalization and Specification of Measurement

Variable	Categories	Definition
<i>The dependent variable</i>		
1. Desire for Re-migration	Those have desire(Yes I have =0 ) Those have no desire (No I have not=1	Classification of returnees based on desire to re-migrate
<i>Independent Variables</i>		
1. Sex	Female=0 Male=1	Biological attributes of being female and male
2. Marital Status	Single=1 Married=2 Previously married=3 ( Separated, Divorced ,widowed )	Demographic marital status of the respondents
3. Availability of financial support from family	Yes =0 No =1	Family financial support after returning to Ethiopia
4. Years of stay in Saudi Arabia	Continuous variable measured in number of years lived	Duration of continuous residence in abroad
5. Whether achieved migration goal	Yes= 0 No=1	Achievement of migration goal
6. Relation with the Employer	Bad=1 Moderate=2 Good=3	The nature of relationship with employer while abroad
7. Change in Family Life due to Remittances	No change =1 Changed in part=2 Yes Changed=3	The Power of the remittances to bring change in family
8. Emotional support from family	No=1 Yes= 0	The availability of emotional support (care love and empowerment)
9. Remittances to family	Yes=0 No=1	Remittance behavior of the respondents while abroad

### 1.5 Limitation of the Study

The major limitation of the study emanates from the sample size employed an questions on

representativeness. Originally it was intended to gather data from ten percent of Addis Ababa return population for the survey investigation. Yet, because of dearth of resources and various inconveniences (unresponded questionnaires) during the data collection stage survey respondents were reduced to 168, around 8.5 percent of the sample population. In order to enrich the validity of the finding more than 20 open ended items and 8 extended in-depth interviews were conducted with selected returnees. The study did not include interviews with the families of returnees, traffickers, sending agencies, brokers, smugglers, or others affected by or engaged in migration to Saudi Arabia. Thus, not including these participants hindered to understand their role in the expulsion and deportation. Yet, these actors may have affected the experiences and future expectations of the returnees and therefore issues related to these actors are included in the study. Since the study was conducted in Addis Ababa, it encompasses only to those return population of Addis Ababa. The participant may not feel comfortable and hence there was resistance to fill out some issues specifically sexual nature thus the study is limited by such experiences.

## **1.6 Organization of the Paper**

The thesis is structured as follows. The first chapter consists of background of the study, statement of the problem, objectives of the study, research methods and ethical considerations and definition and operationalization of concepts. The second chapter dwells on review of related literature including introduction of theoretical framework which is based on studies about forced return migration. The history of Ethiopian migration to the Middle East and to Saudi Arabia in particular was briefly described. In the third chapter, presentation of data, analysis and discussion was conducted. Finally, chapter four comprises the summary and conclusion part of the study.

## **Chapter Two: Literature Review**

### **2.1 Introduction**

This section is intended to review related literature to have a clear understanding of forced return migration. First, concepts, motives, effects and dualities of return migration are discussed. Then, understanding the forces of deportation and tighter migration control is followed. Theoretical framework of the study which is based on studies about forced return migration is explained next. Last, but not least, out migration from Ethiopia is examined. In the specific sub section historical overview, causes and studies on Ethiopian Emigration to the Middle East and the Condition of Migrants is given due consideration.

### **2.2 The Concept of Return Migration: Definition and Scope**

Return migration is conceived as a part of the migration cycle and can cause various changes and may be induced by many determinants (Gmelch 1993; Cassarino 2004). EU Return Directive(2012:) assumes return migration as “the movement of emigrants from the host country, either to their homeland to re-establish themselves or to a country of transit or another third country in which the individual will be accepted”. A more clarified definition given by IOM (2011:88) conceives return migration as “the movement of a person returning to his/her country of origin of habitual residence after spending at least one year in another country. The return may or may not be voluntary.”

Return migration is nowadays more broadly conceived as a stage within an ongoing migration cycle of spatial mobility (Gmelch 1980; Cessarino 2008). This is particularly true for involuntary returning migrants who did not have the intention to return in the first place and therefore cannot be expected to remain where they do not want to be (De Haas 2005). When migrants are obliged to return to their country of origin, and do so with or without being forcefully expelled, the

decision to repatriate is hardly based on a free and informed choice (Ruben, van Houte and Davids 2009).

Most research on return migration has focused on North–South (a return from highly developed to LDCs) and North–North (a return migration between highly developed countries) return; as it is a common assumption that South–North migration is more significant than mobility among the countries in the South. Still, South–South return migration is as important (Bastia 2011 cited in ACP Observatory 2013; De Regt 2010). Within the framework of South–South migration, clearly distinguishing between circular migration, re-emigration and return migration is a more complex process than in the case of South–North migration (African, Caribbean and Pacific Observatory on Migration 2013). The high degree of ‘border porosity’ allows greater circulation rendering the process of return more common but also more difficult to differentiate precisely between return migration and circular migration (ACP Observatory on Migration 2013). The massive expulsion of Ethiopians, Indians, Yemenis, Pakistanis from Saudi Arabia fall in the south-south category and devoid of ‘free and informed choice’.

### **2.3 Motives and Effects of Return Migration**

Human migration involves people’s economic calculations, their living conditions, their sociological situations and their geographic constraints, cultural and historical factors (Qian 1996). The main cause or motive for emigration is generally economic, yet, the reason for return are numerous, complex and sometimes contradictory both individual and societal factors play a role in effecting the home ward flow of migrants (Sekhar 1993). Depending on their original motivation for emigration, return migration may represent either success or failure from the perspectives of the migrants themselves (Gmelch 1980). Those who emigrated with a view to accumulating sufficient wealth to establish themselves more comfortably in their home societies

may see return migration as the desired outcome of the original emigration. For those who had hoped to build a better life abroad and had intended to settle permanently, return migration may be seen as failure to integrate or flourish in the host country (Cassarino 2004).

Generally return migration is usually driven by a complex mixture of economic, social, family and political factors. Economic stimuli for return migration may involve push factors in the country in which the migrant is living. According to Neoclassical Economists (Cassarino 2004:255), return is a “failed migration experience in which an individual’s choice to emigrate did not yield hoped financial benefits of higher earnings abroad.” For Neoclassical Economists return migration exclusively encompasses “labour migrants who miscalculated the cost of migration and who didn’t reap the benefits of higher earnings” (Cassarino 2004: 255). On the other hand, New Economics of Labour Migration(NELM) conceives return migration as “the logical outcome of a calculated strategy determined at the level of migrant’s household and resulting from the successful achievement of goals of target”(Cassarino 2004:255). Thus, NELM views return migration as the natural outcome of a successful experience abroad during which migrants met their goals.

Unlike the above conceptions, the Structural Approach to Return Migration, as refined by sociologists, anthropologists and social geographers, conceives return not only as personal issue but above all as social and contextual one affected by situational and structural factors (Cassarino 2004). Francesco Cerase(1974 cited in Cassarion 2004), structuralist and intellectual in the field of return migration, in article focused Italian returnees from the USA identifies four types of return emphasizing their aspirations expectations and needs. “Return of failure” includes migrants those who returned due to prejudices and stereotypes they encountered abroad (Cerase 1974 cited in Cessarino 2004). “Return of conservatism” comprises migrants those who returned

due their prior plan to return after fixed time and objectives. The other typology is “return of retirement” which denotes retired migrants who want own residence and to end their life in their homeland. The last typology in Cerase’s article is “return of innovation” includes those who left their home to acquire new skills and to reinvest back home. Cerase’s classification of returnees do not include forced return migrants and deportees but still gives insights. Structural conception of return migration is worth to discuss in relation to the issue under investigation.

Political pushes behind return may “range from limitations initiated by the host country (for example, non-renewal of visas from a given country), or even expulsion, to less direct restrictions, for example, on possibilities for changing jobs, for bringing one’s family, or for enjoying other citizenship benefits”(Haour-Knipe and Davis 2008:9). The expulsion of Ethiopian migrants from Saudi Arabia was politically and legally motivated. Social motives for return may involve the push factors of racism or xenophobia, or difficulties integrating in the destination country.

King (2000 cited in Haour-Knipe and Davis 2008:9) finds in his review that “pull factors generally have more influence in the decision to return than do push factors, and that non-economic factors generally weigh more heavily than do economic factors”. This is in contrast to the original decision to migrate, which is often strongly determined by economic motives, at least at the micro level. Concerning economic effects of return migration, King’s review points out that “a large-scale return of working-age migrants could act to depress wages in the home region by contributing to an over-supply of labour”(King 2000 cited in Haour-Knipe and Davis 2008:10). The two key economic variables associated with return are the human capital accumulated abroad through education, training and gain of on-the-job skills, and the financial capital channeled into the home region through remittances and savings. Overall, King (2000

cited in Haour-Knipe and Davis 2008) finds that the economic benefits of return migration are chimerical. Personal prosperity may be achieved by some, but this can make the distribution of income in the sending country more unequal.

In relation to the social effects the evidence is multifaceted. King's review of the literature concludes that "migration abroad does enable some upward mobility and fluidity in social structures, and also ensures upward mobility for the generations to come, since migrants are able to invest in the education of younger family members( Haour-Knipe and Davis 2008:10). Much depends on the occupations migrants have left and on those to which they return. There is some evidence that migration can contribute to changes in the social structure of the emigration region, but this will depend on such factors as the numbers of people migrating, the length of time they have been away, the nature of the training they have received, the work they have done while abroad, how the return is organized, and the extent of social and economic change in the societies of origin (Emerta et al 2011). Further, as Kibria(2004:6) noted, the benefits of return migration becomes significant "when the migrants are highly skilled, remain abroad for 10-15 years, remit while they are away, and return with financial and social capital." The early returnees fro Saudi Arabia hardly satisfies the above attributes so as to install themselves and to support the society at large.

Where as, in relation to the positive effects of return in Ethiopia, Adamnesh(2006) indicated how the return of diaspora from the West helped the individuals and the nation as whole. On the other hand, migration to the Middle East is dominated by unskilled people, which accounted for menial wage. These conditions highly hinder migrants to bring socioeconomic and political changes in their country.

## **2.4 Dualism in Return Migration: Voluntary and Forced Return**

A study by ACP Observatory on Migration (2013) stressed the difficulty of distinguishing return as a conscious choice or it is forced upon the migrants by either the specific circumstances, such as economic or humanitarian crises, or governmental regulations. Thus, the degree of voluntariness present in the decision to return and its underlying motivations is context dependent. Different classification can be found in different literatures (ACP Observatory on Migration 2013; King 1978). Acknowledging the difficulties, in this research, return migration is treated as voluntary or forced.

The European Council on Refugees and Exiles (ECRE) defines voluntary return as being only applicable to “an individual, who has a legal right to stay in the country and, based on free will, makes an informed choice to repatriate” (ECHE 2003: 76). It is the return of persons with a legal basis for remaining in the host state who have made an informed choice and have freely consented to repatriate. Voluntary return can take the form of individual independent choice upon accomplishment of goals set before emigration. It may happen by host governments and international organization through provisions of logistical and financial assistances (ACP Observatory on Migration 2013). While before return, social contexts in the origin are considered and individuals are given opportunities to make an informed decision to return home (ACP Observatory on Migration 2013). For example, according to ACP Observatory on Migration, as a result of provision of information about the social and political realities at home, Angolan citizens voluntarily returned after many years of exile because of the civil war.

On the other hand, forced return or deportation refers to “the return of individuals who have not consented to leave, but are required to do so by law and may be subject to forceful removal or other sanctions” (ECHE 2003: 34). Deportation entails a ban on returning, which means that

migrants with a deportation order cannot apply to re-enter the country for a determined period of time, ranging between three to ten years(Hasselberg 2012). Deportation, in comparison to other types of involuntary migrant return, is distinguished by its mandatory and states sponsored character, or the explicit involvement of the receiving society government in directing and organizing the return of the migrant(Kibria 2004). Generally speaking, the deportation of migrants takes place following the determination by receiving country government officials of the migrants' undocumented presence in the country. Deporting nations may choose to offer no, or only limited, reintegration assistance. Massive expulsion of Indians, Yemenis, Sudanese, Ethiopians and many other nationals from Saudi Arabia fall in this category. Overall, as stated by ACP Observatory (2013), it is conceived that any kind of return – other than a personal desire to do so – as involuntary.

## **2.5 Understanding the Forces of Deportation and Tighter Migration Control**

Studies revealed that deportation or forced expulsion of immigrants is rooted on a series of moral justifications that citizens and political dignitaries of host nations held with (Isbister 1996; Ellermann 2009). Thus, primarily, forced expulsion is rooted on societal conception of immigration and its adversaries. As Isbister (1996) proposes, certain societal moral justifications propels to enact laws which results to various maltreatments and finally in the removal of immigrants from territories. The following discourses were taken from Isbister's piece of work entitled 'Are Immigration Controls Ethical?' Although Isbister(1996) discussed the scenario within the context of immigration to the USA, but the reasoning has validity to a larger degree for the contemporary labour migration dynamics. Besides, Jureidini (2004) in his analysis of 'xenophobic practices of the Arab world towards aliens, specifically of Asians and Africans migrants', supportively indicated the moral and practical sentiments that deeply ingrained in the

Arab societies which attributed to various horrific and inhuman treatments. I am convinced to employ Isbister's proposition partly adapted in Dahan and Gill (2009) piece of work for the regulation of migration control. Thus, the following moral justifications are assumed to express the contexts of expulsion conducted by Saudi officials and the active involvement of citizens. In the first place, mostly in host nations, according to Isbister(1996 as cited in Dahan and Gill 2009: 7), "migrants are perceived as people wishing to attain a share of the economic wealth in the country without obtaining permission for this and without having been invited in by the country's citizens". Second, "the state's institutions and values are presented as also serving migrants already in the country, who ostensibly have an interest in a restrictive and controlled migration policy so that the rights that they enjoy will not be eroded by further waves of migration" (Isbister 1996 as cited in Dahan and Gill 2009:7). Third, "direct financial assistance to poor countries is a much more effective and just method for contributing to global justice than receiving migrants as individuals in developed nations" (Isbister 1996 as cited in Dahan and Gill 2009:7).

Fourth, "migration clearly operates to the detriment of citizens in need of employment and economic welfare relief" (Isbister 1996 as cited in Dahan and Gill 2009:7). Therefore, the state has a moral duty to satisfy the needs of its own citizens before providing assistance to the disadvantaged of the Third World, even if this detracts from the rights of foreigners. Moreover, Isbister exposes the moral sentiments that the duty to provide assistance is not absolute and, even under Good Samaritan laws, a person is not expected to act altruistically if this is liable to place him in danger. A broad and "open" migration policy, according to this view, is deemed altruistic – and even heroic – and may cause economic and social harm to the nation's own citizens (Isbister 1996 as cited in Dahan and Gill 2009:7). Lastly, migration widens social gaps by

providing a cheap workforce that competes for jobs and wages with the weaker populations in a society (Isbister 1996 as cited in Dahan and Gill 2009:7).

As scholars stipulated, these moral justifications are expressed in most societies coping with the problem of migration (Isbister 1996; Juredini 2004 and Ellermann 2009). They are frequently used to justify tighter control and monitoring of labor migration including detention and deportation. The following expressive themes are emanated from the above moral justification explaining the practices of migrant deportation. Saudi Arabia conduct of deportation and involvement of Saudis in the expulsion process vis-a-vis the above moral justifications was given due consideration. Other backgrounds and systems that accounted for the conduct of deportation are also discussed.

#### **2.5.1 Deportation as a National Practice and Measure of Coercive Social Regulation**

Deportation involves the official, state-initiated repatriation of the migrant by the destination country to his or her country of origin. From the perspective of the migrant-receiving state “the problem of the deported migrant worker highlights the challenges of maintaining and policing the integrity of national borders and interests” (Kibria 2004:5). Currently, labour driven migration posed a pervasive challenge to migrant magnet countries (Ellerman 2009). Thus, to preserve their sovereignty and the sense of its collective “we” nation-states conduct deportation (Dahan and Gill 2009). As Ellermann indicated work migration poses threatening questions concerning the most sensitive issues facing the nation, among them “the traditional overlap between political and cultural boundaries and the existence of an ethnic collective that shares a common language, history, leaders, and sense of belonging within a sovereign political framework”(2009:14). Further, Ellerman(2009) stipulated that throughout history preventing the entry of immigrants has served as one of the central means for preserving the national identity of

the state. Some scholars (Ellerman 2009; Juredini 2004) believe that, even in the global age, the nation-state continues to enjoy much control in determining the composition of its population and over the addition of new members. Saudi Arabia hardly entertains differences of religion, gender, ethnicity and race (Juredini 2004). Due to such fact, citizenship rights are not allowed, marriage with aliens not permitted, practicing faiths rather than Islam is forbidden and discriminatory practices based on gender is widespread (Juredini 2004). Labour migrants work under strict contract terms and those who infringe such contracts labeled as 'illegal's' and faced arrest and deportation.

Social regulation emanates from societal value system and it is inherently moral in nature (Isbister 1996 and Ellermann, 2009) The use of physical force against individuals is an integral part of a wide range of law enforcement practices that span the areas of criminal justice, national security, drug control, and migration control (Ellermann 2009). Thus, as Ellerman stipulated "deportation is an expression of the basic policing powers of the state" (2009:4). State representatives utilize this tool to enforce laws that regulate entry across and residence within its borders, and to exclude individuals who may pose a threat to the public order (Ellermann 2009). And yet, the use of deportation as a measure of coercive social regulation is an intensely political and problematic undertaking (Ellermann 2009). The porous border, corruptible security forces and the enormous demand for cheap undocumented migrant workers overwhelmed Saudi Arabia with 'illegal's'. To fix such feebleness and to send deterrence message massive deportation was conducted.

### **2.5.2 Deportation as Response to treat of 'Arab Spring' and Its Ramifications**

As noted by Dahan and Gill (2006) the policy of immigration control fluctuates between good and bad times. During good periods of economic, political and social situations host states take

relatively lenient and positive approaches towards labour migration and its dynamics. While during bad times of unemployment, economic downturn and criminality migrants are considered scapegoats (Dhan and Gill 2006; Juredeni 2004). In such periods, migrants are considered as a source of increasing unemployment and socioeconomic injustice. Although, for example, Saudi Arabia national unemployment stood 12% in 2013 (De Bel-Air 2014), it was the migrants who were blamed (rather than the State or market forces) for the unemployment of nationals (De Bel-Air 2014 and RMMS 2014) and lately resulted in deportation of labour migrants.

The protests which started across the Middle East and Northern Africa in 2011 are famously known as “Arab Spring” (De Bel-Air 2014). The “Arab Spring” focused ostensibly on protesting unemployment as well as corruption and discriminatory practices rampant in the region (De Bel-Air 2014). Having seen the destructive nature of the movement, Saudi Arabia government proactively involved to address issues that resulted in chaos and upheavals in other Arab countries (RMMS 2014). Accordingly, job creation strategies were designed which included “Saudisation” of the workforce and crackdown operations against undocumented migrants (De Bel-Air 2014).

Dual Labour Market theory assumes that “local workers are unwilling to take certain jobs with a low social status because such positions demand hard work with low pay, and because they entail a limited basket of rights” (Dahan and Gill 2009:5). During various times, Saudi officials have launched a policy deemed for the “Saudisation” or “indigenization” of the work force to reduce foreign labour in favor of Saudi nationals (Jureidini 2004; De Bel-Air 2014). However, as De Bel-Air (2013) noted, the policy of changing the expat workers with indigenous citizens failed to bring the expected outcomes. The reason for such is due to Saudi nationals’ unwillingness to

engage in low-skilled tasks, besides, their expectation of high salaries and lacking of the skills and training required for private sector and domestic work.

Because of the failure of the first structural techniques the government resorted on migrant crackdown and deportation as a pain killer (De Bel-Air 2014). Juredini (2004:50) revealed that xenophobic sentiments and its manifestations directed towards migrants are multifaceted and rooted partly on “fear of foreigners for taking away jobs and partly the perceived fear of cultural and genetic integrity with migrants”. Juredini (2003) further expound that, institutionalized and societal xenophobic sentiments inherent within Gulf societies can be more verified by three explanatory indicators. “First, unlike the other world, only temporary labour contracts are allowed. Second, in all walks of life including in the workplace regardless of qualification, nationals receive preferential treatment to the disadvantage of non-nationals. Third, legal prescription of endogamy in which nationals are not allowed to marry foreigners to keep the purity of the blood.” (Juredini 2003:3)

In oil rich Gulf countries, migrant domestic workers are described as being part of an ‘unspoken “bargain” between the state and the society’ by which “the state provides a leisured life, funded by enormous oil revenues, in exchange for complete political control” (RMMS 2014:15). In GCCs, foreign domestic workers are a status symbol of a luxurious life, and are ordered in a hierarchy, with Filipina women at the top, followed by Indonesian and Sri Lankan women and African women at the bottom (RMMS 2014). This hierarchy is translated in the fees to be paid to mediating agencies. These depend on nationality and experience, ranging (albeit in the Emirates) from a one-time fee of USD 340 for an inexperienced Ethiopian to USD 1,370 for an experienced Indonesian (RMMS 2014).

### 2.5.3 Deportation as a Product of *Kafala* System

Labour workers from Africa and Asia are not allowed to arrange working permits without the involvement of local nationals, particularly of recruitment agencies in the Middle East (Jureidini 2004; Abebaw 2012; RMMS 2014). The most important feature of Saudi Arabia labour law is the kafala (sponsorship) system. The Kafala system of sponsorship (which is the standard in most Arab countries) renders the foreign workers both legally and financially dependent on their local employer (Jureidini 2004; RMMS 2014).

According to the kafala sponsorship system, migrant workers are expected to live in their employers house and not to leave and change place of work without their employer consent, even to return back home unless the contract is over (Jureidini 2003, 2004; Fernandez 2010). As they also indicated, those who do so without permission are considered undocumented or illegal's and liable for imprisonment and deportation. The system also set obligation on domestic workers for unusual treatment and protection of foreign guest like the slave serves his lord (Jureidini 2003, 2004). Thus, the system puts the ground to lesser payment for exploitative labour duties. This condition contributes, specifically for domestic workers, to leave their *Kaffil* (sponsor) in order to achieve two objectives; one to get rid of the exploitative human trafficking practices and to earn better salary for their labour. Most of the migrants including Ethiopians those who were arrested during the Saudi government's crackdown and deportation of undocumented migrants were women who had ran away from their sponsors. Widespread migration irregularity and deportation can be seen as a direct result of kafala\_system.

## 2.6 Deportation and Forced Return Migration: Theoretical Perspectives

In the past decade an emerging body of scholarship has appeared about forced return migration and deportation (see for example De Genova 2002; Peutz 2006; Ellerman 2009; Ruben, van Houte and Davids 2009; De Genova and Peutz 2010). Whereas migration studies focused for a long time on the experiences of migrants in the countries of migration, since the 1980s more attention is being paid to return migration. However, the focus in these studies was largely on voluntary return migration; forced return migration and deportation were often neglected (see Gmelch 1980; Cassarino 2004). In his theoretical overview of perspectives on return migration Cassarino (2004) also pays little attention to forced return. His notion of preparedness is however very useful when we look at forced return migration. Cassarino (2004) argues that the ways in which migrants are able to mobilize resources for their return back home and their preparedness are crucial for a successful return. "Preparedness pertains not only to the willingness of migrants to return home, but also to their *readiness* to return. In other words, the returnee's preparedness refers to a voluntary act that must be supported by the gathering of sufficient resources and information about post-return conditions at home." (Cassarino 2004: 271). He distinguishes three groups of returnees based on their preparedness to return, one of which are returnees whose level of preparedness is non-existent (Cassarino 2004:275). "These returnees neither contemplated return nor did they provide for the preparation of return. Circumstances in host countries prompted them to leave, for example as a result of a rejected application for asylum or following forced repatriation."

The fact that attention for the consequences of forced return migration has increased over the past decade is a result of the tightening of borders worldwide. The governments of Western countries in particular, but also those in other parts of the world, are becoming more and more

reluctant to accept refugees and asylum seekers. In addition, border controls have increased in order to prevent undocumented migrants from entering the country. These restrictive immigration and asylum policies have created a new interest in the most suitable conditions of return (Ruben, van Houte and Davids 2009: 909).

Governments and international organizations are concerned with the question how refugees, asylum seekers and migrants whose applications for residence permits were rejected can be assisted so that their return will become sustainable. Ruben, van Houte and Davids (2009) have developed a framework to understand the factors that influence the process of re-embeddedness of forced return migrants. "Embeddedness refers to the ways how individuals find and define their position in society, feel a sense of belonging and possibilities for participation in society" (Ruben, van Houte and Davids 2009:910). They distinguish three dimensions of embeddedness: economic embeddedness, social network embeddedness and psychosocial embeddedness (Ruben van Houte and Davids 2009: 910).

*Embeddedness consists of three interrelated dimensions: (1) economic embeddedness, referring to the material conditions for building sustainable livelihoods, (2) social network embeddedness, which supports access to and information on social contacts and relations, and (3) psycho social embeddedness, which is important to construct one's identity, to feel at home, safe, and psychologically well. (Ruben, van Houte and Davids 2009: 910)*

The study of Ruben, van Houte and Davids (2009) is based on surveys and interviews with 178 return migrants and stakeholders in six countries: Afghanistan, Armenia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Sierra Leone, Togo and Vietnam. While they focus on forced return migration from the North to the South, their framework is also very useful to understand similar processes in the South, such as the forced return of Ethiopians from Saudi Arabia.

According to Ruben, van Houte and Davids (2009) a sustainable embeddedness of return migrants is affected by three factors. First, the individual characteristics of migrants such as age, gender, education, religion etc. affect the ways in which migrants experiences their return. Second, the migration cycle the migrant went through affects his or her experiences, such as the reason for leaving the home country, the situation in the host country, the length of stay abroad and the conditions of return. Third, the pre-and post-return forms of assistance delivered by the state, private or civic organizations are important for the ways in which forced return migrants will be re-embedded in their home societies (Ruben, van Houte and Davids 2009: 914). On the basis of the collected data Ruben et al (Ruben, van Houte and Davids 2009: 914) conclude that most returnees were economically still highly vulnerable and lacked future prospects. Socially, many returnees depended on family and close friends and had difficulties building up social networks that would increase their sense of belonging. The psychosocial status of the forced return migrants depended very much on personal and contextual factors (Ruben, van Houte and Davids 2009:931-932). Traumatic experiences before migration, feelings of unsafety upon return and frustrating migration experiences abroad affect the notion of belonging back home (Ruben et al, 2009: 931-932). The assistance returnees receive is often limited to temporary financial support (Ruben, van Houte and Davids 2009: 931-932). A considerable number of returnees mentioned that they would leave again if they had the chance to do so (Ruben, van Houte and Davids 2009:924). The following diagram depicts the three dimensions of embeddedness and factors affecting such dimensions.

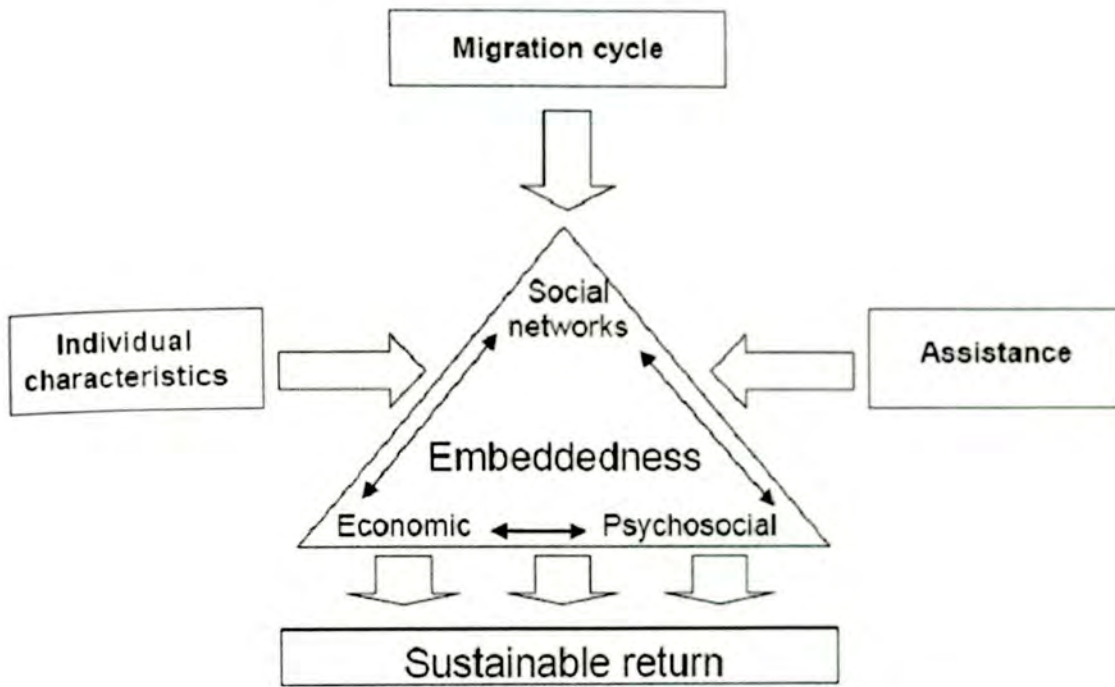


Figure1: Factors that Affect Embeddedness thereby Sustainable Return: A Conceptual Framework taken from Ruben, van Houte and Davids (2009) and Whyte and Hirsland (2013)

Ruben, van Houte and Davids's (2009) conclusions are based on the experiences of migrants who had been back in their home countries for a much longer time than the Ethiopian migrants that returned from Saudi Arabia. Yet, the focus on economic, social and psychosocial embeddedness is also relevant for this study. A number of conclusions were particularly relevant such as the fact that single return migrants and female migrants had more difficulties to become embedded again socially. Also the fact that most return migrants had difficulties to find embed themselves economically corresponds with our findings in Ethiopia. Ruben, van Houte and Davids (2009) conclude that return migrants with children were more successful economically than single and female return migrants (Ruben, van Houte and Davids 2009:928). Migrants who had sent remittances were also able to improve their economic situation upon return ( Ruben, van

Houte and Davids 2009:928). With regard to psychosocial embeddedness female migrants, especially those who were not married had a lower psychosocial wellbeing. In addition, migrants who had been able to live in independent housing in the country of migration had maintained their self-esteem in contrast with those who had lived in shelters and reception centers. In the following sections I used the theoretical framework as developed by Ruben, van Houte and Davids(2009) to analyze the data on returnees from Saudi Arabia.

## **2.7 Out Migration from Ethiopia: History, Causes and Studies**

### **2.7.1 Historical Overview of Out Migration from Ethiopia**

Over the course of its history, Ethiopia has experienced various humanitarian crisis which developed from political instability, war, famine, and economic hardship (Fransen and Kuschminder 2009). As a result, Ethiopia has known many types of migration over the years. It has been both an origin and a destination country for either voluntary or involuntary migrants, and many migrants have also used it as a transit area (Solomon 2007; Fransen and Kuschminder 2009). In its entirety, the driving forces behind Ethiopians out migration can be subsumed under the umbrella of push –pull scenarios. These factors are complex and interlocked but effort was made to categorize historical and contemporary forces behind out migration from the nation.

According to Berhanu, Kassahun, Seid & Zekarias(2004, as cited Fransen and Kuschminder 2009) and Solomon(2007a) the movement of Ethiopians became substantially greater in the late 1960s and 1970s. Prior to 1974 revolution, Ethiopians who went abroad mainly for advanced education and always return ‘home’ to take up positions with better opportunities (Solomon 2007a). Thus, as Solomon (2007a:3) revealed, before the revolution, “permanent migration was virtually unknown among Ethiopians.” Specifically, the aftermath of 1974

revolution created large migration flows which can be considered the beginning of Ethiopian refugee abroad (Solomon 2007b).

In its history, most of the migrants from Ethiopia were refugees, escaping political conflict, famine, and plights of poverty (Assfaw 1997; Solomon 2000b). One of the political factors that have generated large refugee flows from Ethiopia relate to the period of Red Terror, a violent political campaign of the Ethiopian government( the *Derg*) which took place between 1976 and 1979(De Waal 1991 as cited in Franssen and Kuschminder 2009), and, in the 1980s, the opposition of armed groups to the Mengistu regime. Apart from war and political violence, ecological degradation, famine, and poverty are historically among the major causes of migration in Ethiopia. Migration as a result of low opportunities or poor living conditions is often seen as a form of household income diversification (Ellis 2000). Some household members migrate to areas with better opportunities while other household members stay at their original location and benefit from, for example, remittances. This has also been the case for some Ethiopian households in drought prone areas (UNDP 2009).

Since the largest share of Ethiopia's economy is based on agriculture, the country is highly vulnerable to ecological factors such as droughts. One major drought took place between 1964 and 1965, and in the period 1973-1974, a large famine, also caused by low rainfall, affected the whole country. Over the years many people responded to these ecological changes through migration. This dislocation was not always voluntary, however. Between 1984 and 1985, for example, another famine took place that led the government to resettle around 600,000 rural citizens from Central and Northern Ethiopia to Southern and Western Ethiopia (Desalegn 1989).

As noted in Fransen and Kuschminder(2009), motives of Ethiopians to flee have changed over time from politico-conflict and climatic oriented to necessity drives. Migrants initially fled for political reasons and to escape conflict but in later years the motives of Ethiopian migrants to flee their country shifted to more economic motives. In the last two decades economic drives led many Ethiopians to migrate, mainly to the Middle East and South Africa.

Historically, Ethiopia and the Middle East have been closely related (Erlich 1994; 2007). The movements of slaves, soldiers, merchants, traders, labourers, tourists, pilgrims, priests and scholars have been accompanied by the circulations of commodities, money, language, ideas, religion, etc. (Abbink 1998). Most recently, labour migration from Ethiopia to the Middle East has been prominent. The large majority of regular migrants to the Middle East are women. In the past two decades particularly young women, often with only primary education, have migrated to the Middle East (Fernandez 2010; de Regt 2010; Kebede 2001; Abebaw 2012). They respond to the demand for paid domestic labour among middle and upper middle class families in Lebanon, Kuwait, the United Arab Emirates, Saudi Arabia where Asian domestic workers are increasingly replaced by African women due to cheaper wages for the later (RMMS 2013: 81).

### **2.7.2 Causes of Out-Migration from Ethiopia to the Middle East**

The available evidence points towards three major pull factors across destination countries of Middle East which attracts Ethiopian and other developing countries economically desperate people. According to Play Therapy Africa (2011: 24), these are: “rapid changes in the local and regional economies, weak protection regimes for migrant workers, and the role of traffickers in artificially expanding demand”.

Since the discovery of oil, Gulf countries experienced relatively favorable economic conditions that have enhanced the living standard of their nationals. Consequently, this situation in turn created shortage in low paying, informal and dangerous sectors such as domestic work, construction, agriculture and sex work (Play Therapy Africa 2011). To fill these gaps most GCCs resorted looking for developing countries man power which is cheap and easily exploitative in addition to a significant comparative advantage in terms of better payment offers and living conditions (Play Therapy Africa 2011; RMMS 2014a). Thus both skilled and unskilled young people in developing countries such as Ethiopia find these work and living conditions very attractive to improve their life. On other hand, porous boundaries, corruptible security forces, lack of adequate and timely response to irregular migration encouraged unscrupulous 'opportunity seekers' traffickers and smugglers to achieve their dreams(Play Therapy Africa 2011).

Unlike countries of origin, destination places are economically rich with better employment opportunities, good salaries/wage rate and civilized way of living. Thus, traffickers, smugglers brokers and even some legal PEAs use this image and made promises of better economic features to entice people into accepting employment offers (Play Therapy Africa 2011). In this study, the role of demand pull factors that attracted subjects of the study to migrate, specifically the role of porous border and unavailability of educational requirements in attracting migrants are given emphasis.

Push factors are always responsible in initiating the migrant's interests towards migrating abroad. Supply-push factors in Ethiopia are chiefly represented by the lack of economic opportunities, jobs, and economic downturns. Largely, Ethiopians migratory tendency has been tightly charged by the desperate needs of people to escape from the whip of poverty prevailing in

the local areas (Biniam 2012). A research conducted by Play Therapy Africa (2011) indicated that, the desire to improve personal and family living standard, the search for better life and better paying job are among the leading factors that force Ethiopian men and women to migrate. While equally, failure to succeed in educational endeavors most commonly after completion of junior secondary level (10<sup>th</sup> grade), failed marriage, lack of access for initial capital to start a business and unemployment were the prominent factors that pushed many Ethiopians to migrate. Even if there are opportunities to continue tertiary education, pessimism about the possibility of succeeding in education at all and in getting employment after graduation in particular is a critical factor. Dwindling land access is a critical issue for 80 percent of the population who make a living as small farmers. As life expectancy increases, the potential for subdividing farm plots reduces, leaving many of Ethiopia's youth food insecure and unemployed.

The purpose of discussing motivational factors in this study may raise the question of relevancy since other studies also dwelled on causal factors for migration. Yet, to understand the experiences respondents went through and to stipulate their future perspective asking driving factors is paramount. Thus, motivational factors that derived out respondents were numerically discussed. Emerging motivational factors, such as school failure, family pressure for pecuniary success and the desire to be independents, are given weight and discussed qualitatively.

In between push and pull forces, there exist mediating factors that accelerate out-migration which may include the existence or prevalence of opportunities available to human smugglers, traffickers, registered recruitment agencies operating within the legal system and government policies encouraging/incentivizing citizens to migrate (Play Therapy Africa 2011). Underscoring the impact of mediating forces, Adepoju (2005) stressed that while exploiting the hopes and aspirations of poor innocent vulnerable people in poverty stricken nations, unscrupulous

traffickers recruit people and sell them abroad with virtually no risk of being prosecuted. In addition, traffickers being opportunity seekers by nature, take any advantages which might result in deteriorating migrants' safety to profit out of the risky voyage. In these regard, subjects of this study were asked to state the role of mediating agents in their migratory decision including on their choice of route and destination.

Social network factors such as the existence of relatives, friends and acquaintances in host countries, available opportunities for family unifications in host countries, and success stories of Diaspora migrants can be accounted for out migration. With out knowing the full nature and circumstances of work abroad, families in desperate need of money in Ethiopia send their sons, daughters and relatives abroad. Studies (Yitna 2006; Play Therapy 2011) partially revealed that family, relatives and returnee migrants have been playing indispensable role in initiating, pressuring, facilitating and even recruiting people for out migration of any sort with available means and route. Cognizant of the above, from the perspective of deportees, this analyzed the role of family, returnee migrants and relatives in the migratory decision.

To conclude, the major factors driving Ethiopian migrants over the years were economic, political, and environmental, factors that were all heavily interlinked and intertwined with regional issues. This mixture of causes, and the magnitude of the refugee crisis that it generated, is what makes the Horn of Africa and Ethiopia in particular such a complex case in terms of migration. The purpose of pinpointing the causal factors to emigrate or the reasons why Ethiopian migrated has their effects on the possibilities and constraints upon return. And it was in these significance that describing causal factors given due consideration.

### 2.7.3 Studies on Ethiopian Emigration to the Middle East and the Condition of Migrants

Many in Ethiopia opt to consider out migration as a means of achieving better living opportunities while in many cases make them vulnerable to different kinds of exploitative conditions. Many Ethiopian citizens are trying to reach Saudi Arabia and other Middle East countries via Yemen, while thousands of others head for South Africa, Israel and Europe, crossing deserts and seas and placing their lives in the hands of smugglers who often have little regard for their well-being. Due to such fact, most of the migration from Ethiopia is undocumented, so accurate numbers are hard to come by (US Department of state 2014; MOLSA 2013).

The Ethiopian Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs (MOLSA) reported that licensed Ethiopian overseas recruitment agencies received 198,000 and 182,000 applications for work in 2012 and 2013 respectively, more than double the amount received in 2011 and slight fall from 2012 correspondingly. Yet, MOLSA also estimated that this represents only 30 to 40 percent of all Ethiopians migrating to the Middle East. The remaining 60 to 70 percent are either trafficked or smuggled with the facilitation of illegal brokers. A recent data I got from a senior expert on employment exchange services(MOLSA) indicate that from July 2008 to October 29, 2013 (after the official ban of legal and unskilled migration to the Middle East) 480,480 people migrated legally (unofficial data). With similar time frame Saudi Arabia alone received 380,076 work migrants. Yet, before the onset of the expulsion, official report by Saudi Arabia government estimate shows that, the number of immigrant Ethiopians ranges from 150,000 to 700,000(De Bel-Air 2014). The number of out migrants from Addis Ababa estimated to exceed 80 thousand (unofficial report from MOLSA) which comprises around 17 % of the total legal migrant

workers to the Middle East within the last four years. This figure puts Addis Ababa third next to Oromia and Amhara regional state.

Saudi Arabia is one of the main destination countries for Ethiopian migrants. In 2011 around 100,000 regular Ethiopian labor migrants moved to Saudi Arabia (RMMS 2014, 17) while in the first half of 2012 over 160,000 domestic workers migrated to Saudi Arabia, which was ten times more than the year before. The large majority (96 per cent) were women. Irregular migration to Saudi Arabia, via Djibouti and Yemen, consists mainly of men (RMMS 2012). Most Ethiopian women that migrate to Saudi Arabia are unmarried Muslim women who have finished at least some years of secondary education (RMMS 2014). They are often coming from rural areas and intend to help their families back home by sending remittances. They often have a very heavy workload and no day off, they face emotional, physical and sexual abuse, their passports are withheld as part of the kafala-system and sometimes are denied their salaries. In Ethiopia the human rights violations against migrant domestic workers are well-known, yet women migrants always hope that they will not be victims of abuse and exploitation but be able to earn good money and improve their own living conditions and those of their families.

There are sufficient evidences (Anchinesh 2006; Yossph, Mebratu and Belete 2006 play therapy Africa, 2011; Abebaw 2012) that indicate Ethiopian men and women in the Middle East are the subject of serious violence and human rights violations. Their journey in the majority of the cases is turning from legally recognized labour migration into a clear case of trafficking. In the last few years, several media outlets and reports highlighted Ethiopian women in the Middle East for being subjected to forced labour and servitude, rape, sexual and physical abuse, murder, suicide, kidnapping, and various other crimes (Reuters December 18, 2013; Ipsnews.net 2013; All African.com December 2, 2013; RMMS 14a, 14b).

Particularly young women most with only primary education are subjected to domestic servitude throughout the Middle East, as well as in Sudan and South Sudan. Many young women transit through Djibouti, Egypt, Somalia, Sudan, or Yemen as they emigrate seeking work. Some women become stranded and exploited in these transit countries, unable to reach their intended destinations. Many Ethiopian women working in domestic service in the Middle East face severe abuses, including physical and sexual assault, denial of salary, sleep deprivation, withholding of passports, confinement, and even murder. Although the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs (MOLSA) reported that licensed Ethiopian overseas recruitment agencies received 182,000 applications for work in 2012-2013, a small decrement from the amount received in 2011, the ministry estimated that this represents only 30 to 40 percent of all Ethiopians migrating to the Middle East. The remaining 60 to 70 percent are either trafficked or smuggled with the facilitation of illegal brokers (MOLSA 2013 and US Department of State 2013). The following table shows the influx of migrants to KSA, Kuwait and Dubai since July 2008 till October 19, 2013.

Table2. Compilation of aggregate legal labour migrants to KSA, Kuwait and Dubai.

	Legal labour emigrants		Total
	Female	Male	
July 2008 – July 2009	17,395	3,873	21,268
July 2009- July 2010	13,529	1,417	14,946
July 2010- July 2011	39,530	2,703	42,233
July 2011- July 2012	187,940	10,727	198,667
July 2012-july 2013	175,430	7,266	182,696
July2013-oct 19 2013*	20,262	480	20742
Total	454,086	26,466	480,552

Source: The Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs Public Employment Service section, 2014

\*October 19, 2013 marked ban of labour migration from Ethiopia to the Middle East thus the available statistic only reflects till the ban.

Ethiopian women are sometimes exploited in the sex trade after migrating for labor purposes—particularly in brothels, mining camps, and near oil fields in Sudan and South Sudan—or after fleeing abusive employers in the Middle East. Low-skilled Ethiopian men and boys migrate to Saudi Arabia, the Gulf States, and other African nations, where some are subjected to forced labor. During 2012, nine Ethiopian victims of sex and labor trafficking were also identified in the United States and seven in the United Kingdom (US Department of State 2013). The following scholarly endeavors are partially related to the issue under investigation and their major concerns which differentiate with this study given due consideration.

Abebaw (2012) using interpretive phenomenology of qualitative approach studied lived experiences of female trafficked returnees on those who qualified trafficking elements established by international legal instruments. Abebaw (2012) disclosed and concluded by

enlisting trafficking experiences and the way how they dealt with trafficking life in the destinations. Like the study by Abebaw, this study also observed trafficking experiences but not confined to 'trafficked' women returnees. Unlike Abebaw's study, this enquiry employed methodological triangulation and substantial size of samples. Using a theoretical framework applied in forced return migration, this study also given emphasis for future perspectives of deportees.

Adamnesh (2006) qualitatively studied return migrants from the West (USA and Western Europe) and conceived return migration as calculated choice; as her subjects were returned due to their aspirations to live and work back in Ethiopia and due to family ties. Mesfine(2011) and Meskerem(2011) focused on similar issues, psychosocial and economic effects of work migration on domestic workers from gulf countries. Meskerem(2011) mainly investigated on returnees taking medical treatment in mental hospital. Ending in mental hospital is the worst result of exploitation and abuse and doesn't happen on all migrants. Interestingly, inline to the theme and finding of this study, Selamawit (2013) using phenomenological framework revealed intersection of multiple identities of race, religion, class and gender as factors for the vulnerability of migrant domestic workers. Yet, Selamawit's study mainly focused on causal factors forced rural women to migrate and vulnerability contexts which lead them to face various atrocities in the destinations.

## **Chapter Three: Research Methods**

In this study, both qualitative and quantitative research methods are employed. The study used the quantitative research methods as a major source of data. However, valuable and rich data was also gathered through qualitative methods. In this sub-section, methodological description of the study was presented. Consequently, after precisely specifying and locating the place in which the study was situated, the chapter scrupulously illustrates the subjects of the study, the research design and approach, the methods and instruments of data collection, sampling techniques and data analysis and presentation.

### **3.1 Area and Subjects of the Study**

The study was conducted in Addis Ababa city administration, the capital of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia. The choice to focus on Addis Ababa was based on practical and financial reasons. The existence of known and accessible sample population and understandable shortage of budget and logistics was a cause for choosing the study site.

As it is difficult to capture all the realities of forced return migration in extensive and diverse manner from single perspective, so involving returnees and various actors worked on repatriation process and still working on post return assistance programs provided rich and multidimensional insights. Thus, the subjects of the study from which the required information was gathered include deportees (only deportees from Saudi Arabia with the time frame of November 12, 2013-March 24, 2014), experts from MoFA, MoLSA, Addis Ababa Bureau of labour and Social Affairs (BOLSA), IOM and private employment agencies. In doing this, the research benefited from manifold insights and reflection at multiple levels. As this research only focused on returnees, it cannot compare between deportees and those safely returned migrants.

### **3.2 Research Design**

The study followed a cross sectional design in which the information was gathered at a definite period of time. Since the experiences returnees went through while they were in Saudi matters to their current situation, subjects were asked about their past experiences to approximately maintain full understanding of the issue. Understandable shortage of time and financial resources also dictated a cross sectional design.

### **3.3 Research Approach: Mixed Method Approach**

Mixed methods research is formally defined as the “class of research where the researcher mixes or combines quantitative and qualitative research techniques, methods, approaches, concepts or language into a single study” (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie 2004:17). Hence, the inquirer collects and analyzes data, integrates the findings, and draws inferences using both qualitative and quantitative approaches in a single study or a program of study (Given 2008). Mixed method approach “encompasses perspectives that see it as a research method of data collection and analysis, a methodology that spans the process of research from philosophical assumptions to interpretations, a philosophy of research, and a set of procedures used within existing research designs” (Given 2008:526).

Among the advantages of mixed method is the potential for gaining a fuller, richer and more complete understanding of a research question by combining both quantitative and qualitative perspectives (Jupp 2006). Besides, the qualitative-quantitative continuum is strengthened scientifically by its self-correcting feedback loops (Creswell 2009). As Creswell(2009) stated, a mixed methods approach is one in which the researcher tends to base knowledge claims on pragmatic grounds (emphasis on practical approaches to research problems) such as on

consequence-oriented topics. While Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004) viewed knowledge as being both constructed and based on the reality of the world we experience and live in. In line with this, the researcher felt that there is a good ground to employ mixed method approach in studying forcibly repatriated migrants since the topic is multifaceted and needs perspectives from various directions. Besides, the researcher bases the inquiry on the assumption that collecting diverse types of data best provides on understanding of return migrants.

Thus, a sequential mixed method research model was utilized. First, questionnaire was administered to 168 returnees (with 84% response rate), building on the survey 8 in-depth interviews, 2 FGDs and key informant interviews were conducted. The key informants were from MOLSA, MOFA, BOLSA and IOM.

### **3.4 Sampling Procedure**

The population sampled for survey purpose only comprised those deportees formerly residents of Addis Ababa who arrived from November 4, 2013 – March 24, 2014 time frame. Overall, around 163 thousand Ethiopian citizens were repatriated (IOM 2014b). While, the share of Addis Ababa was not exceeding three thousand, it nearly comprises 2% of the total deported population (IOM 2014b). On a national level male deportees outnumber female deportees but three quarters of the capital's deportees are females. From this number, 2748 of them booked to access assistances from the city administration. According to the key informant from BOLSA some returnees were out of the support program either they are not in need of support or some other reasons. The step to provision of assistances was conducted in two phases which solely dependent on the returnees degree of requirement of need. In the first assistance and support program attendants numbered 1999 while the second round consists of 749 returnees. When the survey was conducted only the

first groups were known for the city administration and easily accessible for the researcher, thus 1999 deportees were taken as survey population and from were sample was taken.

This study used sampling techniques that depend on institutional means of identification of the deported migrants. Despite the availability of list of registered returnees in BOLSA, conducting random sampling was found challenging and very costly. Thus, with the advice and compassionate support of expert from BOLSA, the researcher was convinced to conduct stratified sampling. Five areas, where returnees met for various purposes<sup>1</sup> were selected randomly. From the selected places three of them were meeting compound (Yeka sub-city meeting hall, Bole sub-city meeting hall and Ethiopian cultural center meeting hall), the other was in Misrak Technical and Vocational College where returnees gathered for various purposes. The fifth place for administering the questionnaire was in returnees working places who started working with the support of the government reintegration assistances program.

In such places systematically every fifth of returnees were given the questionnaire to fill out. For illiterates and for those who found difficulty in writing two data collectors (MA students during that time) were employed. Due to cost barriers the minimum 10% of the population was assumed and 200 questionnaires were distributed. Yet, with the response rate of 84 percent, 168 questionnaires were completed. 12 of potential respondents didn't fill out all the items due to their own reasons, 14 candidates took the questionnaire with them, and the rest 6 returned the questionnaire blanked. This was the only, easiest and applicable way of tracing the respondents for the research.

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<sup>1</sup> For training purposes, to process papers for the businesses they intended to set up, for meetings with government officials to ask for support, for work and for study.

### **3.5 Methods of Data Collection**

Data was collected in March 2014. The major data collection methods and the justifications for using each method are separately depicted as follows.

#### **I. Survey**

Survey is a better method of data collection when the issue under investigation is consequence-oriented. Besides, the magnitude of abuse inflicted can be revealed and magnified through interviewing representative number returnees. Thus, to unleash the consequences of forced return migration survey was found a better fit. Previous studies on return migrants ostensibly employed qualitative methods of data collection. By this, they limited to interview a small size of subjects. Thus, to fill this methodological loop survey was given importance. Future desire for re-migration is a mixture of factors and it's associated with key relational, achievement and demographic variables. Thus, to achieve such objective various computations were made using both parametric and nonparametric statistics. Accordingly survey questionnaire was administered to 168 returnees.

#### **II. In-depth Interview**

According to Bernard (2011) in-depth interview allows the researcher digging into a certain issue until the required information is obtained from participants of a research. The method is helpful for the researcher to gather the thoughts, feelings and lived experiences of returnees throughout the migration phases. By allowing the returnees to be free in order to express their life world as they experienced, unstructured interview helps to get the informants open up and express themselves in their own words and ways during the interview. Enough time was assigned to let the informants disclose their personal feelings, thoughts and experiences without restrictions

nevertheless within the boundary of the topic under study. Accordingly, purposefully selected 8 (all categories of returnees were included; a male returnee whose money was stolen and assaulted badly during the expulsion; underage girl who migrated while she was 17; a 47 year old male returnee who earned greater wage; a female returnee traumatized by sexual abuses; a returnee raped in her first day of run away; a successful returnee who managed to buy apartment; a desperate returnee who was unable to pay debt which used for travel and a returnee who lost her husband and remitted money) returnees were interviewed. Interviews lasted from 40 minutes to 1:06 hour, the average being 50 minutes. Profile of the in-depth interview participants was brought in Table 1.

### **III. Key informants interview**

Key informants interview was conducted to dig into the very details of returnees experiences and knowledge of the issue. In key informants interview, as stated by Marvasti (2004), respondents are allowed to elaborate the issue on their own words and relate them with other matters of relevance, rather than simply choosing from available options provided by the researcher, so that the research will obtain multiple and thorough information from purposively informed individuals. Thus, based on this principle, the researcher asked informants a series of pre-planned but open-ended questions. The key informants included expert of IOM office in Addis Ababa, MoFA concerned official, MoLSA and Addis Ababa City Administration Labour Office expert. They were interviewed about respective roles in relation to repatriation process, assistance provided, measures to minimize costs of migration, and future plan of action in relation to repatriated migrants.

#### IV. Focus group discussion

Focus group discussions (FGDs) are extremely useful in providing qualitative data and insight into the attitude and perceptions difficult to obtain via other methods. Thereby, the researcher conducted FGDs with two different social categories: female returnees and male returnees. The first FGD was held with female returnees, consisting of 7 informants. This FGD brought unique migration experiences and challenges females went through while as a domestic worker, their condition amid crackdown and the situation while at home. Thus, the FGD among females brought an insight on how women returnees experiences and perceives labour migration and their future perspectives after return. The second FGD comprised 6 male returnees. Male FGD elucidated vital insights in relation to males' migration and work experiences. Both groups unleashed the government of Ethiopia initiative in helping and protecting migrant workers and its role in the return. In addition, the significance of assistance provided and the limitations of the support provided upon arrival is revealed through FGD. A single FGD is taken on average a duration of 46 minutes. The general profile of study participants, particularly for interview and FGD sessions are presented in the following table

**Table3. Socio-demographic profile of informants**

Type of informants	Frequency					
	Sex			Age Range		
	F	M	Total	20-30	31-40	41-50
Returnees interviewed	5	3	8	4	3	1
Key Informants	1	3	4	1	2	1
FGD Participants	7	6	13	8	4	1

Source: prepared by the author

### **3.6 Analysis and Interpretation**

The quantitative data generated through questionnaire was analyzed descriptively and presented using tables, percentiles and frequencies. To see interrelationship between intention for re-migration and various relational, achievement and demographic variables the research employed correlation, chi-square test, *Crammers V* and phi coefficient. In order to facilitate the analysis, the study utilized SPSS.16 software. The qualitative data generated through FGDs and interviews was carefully sorted and summarized and analyzed qualitatively in words. Then, words and numbers presented alongside in order to make sense out the entire information.

### **3.7 Ethical Considerations**

Adherence to strict ethical guidelines is essential to ensure that respondents are fully protected throughout the interview process. All ethical guidelines required of a particular research were followed in this study. First, the objective of the study was explained to the participants. Then, they were asked for verbal consent before the beginning of collecting information. All participants were allowed to quit the interviewe at any stage if they feel uncomfortable. All the information is kept with great care and remains very confidential. As a result, exact names are not used in the discussion and presentation of the findings. During in-depth interview sessions migrants were highly sensitive to reveal experiences of sexual contents thus caution was taken when interviewing on such issues.

## **Chapter Four: Analysis and Discussion**

### **4.1 Introduction**

In the previous chapters identifying the gaps the study is going to bridge and laying the fundamental building blocks have been conducted. The task of the remaining chapter is the systematic analysis and presentation of the data gathered from the survey and qualitative interviews. The section is began by providing a brief description of the socioeconomic and demographic profiles of sample respondents. Then, it presented motivations for migration and migration trajectories. Major destination experiences and the reasons for deportation are followed. The third subsection focused on presenting key expulsion and return experiences which followed by description of returnees expectation upon return and future perspectives including desire for re-migration. The last, but not least, subsection dwelled on government's initiative toward Ethiopian work migrants and the returnees in particular.

### **4.2 Background, motivations and Migration Trajectories**

#### **4.2.1 Profile of the Respondents**

Age, sex, socioeconomic and marital status of individuals influence how migrants experience their return (Ghanem 2003; Ruben van Houte and Davids 2009). In addition, the socioeconomic and demographic characteristics may help to understand the reason why people migrate, which also might have affected their possibility of employment and adjustment in the destination (Hammond 1999). In the case of Ethiopia, educational qualifications and gender are important variables affecting the type of work migrants are engaged in and their exposure to maltreatment and abuse.

With regards to the gender of the respondents, 69 percent of the 168 respondents were females and 31 percent males. In terms of age distribution, the majority (87.7percent) of the respondents were between the ages of 18-35; the number of respondents that were older was 13 per cent.

The educational level of the interviewed returnees ranged from illiterates to college degree holders. From the 168 respondents, 1.8 percent were illiterate, 5.4 per cent were able to read or write and 43.5 per cent had only achieved elementary level. Those who had attended senior secondary education (9-12 years) comprised of 22 percent and 29 per cent had finished secondary school (completed grade 10/12). Only 3 percent graduated from a college with diploma. The fact that the large majority had only limited educational status affected the type of work they were engaged in and the possibility of employment upon return to Ethiopia. In addition, the educational level of returnees determined to some extent their access for assistance after their return home. For example, thirty returnees were given the opportunity to join the Health College in Addis Ababa. Moreover, lower educational levels can also lead to lower capacity to demand one's rights and increased susceptibility to deception.

In terms of religion, 36.9 percent of the respondents were Muslim and 51.2 percent were Orthodox Christians. Protestants comprised 10.7 percent of the respondents and only 2 of the 168 respondent were Catholics. The two dominant religions in Ethiopia (Ethiopian Orthodox Christianity and Islam) collectively comprised 87 percent. In some cases labor migrants decide to change their religion (Fernandez 2010; Abebaw, 2013) in order to be accepted for migration, or convert after having worked in a Muslim majority country. The data on marital status of the respondents indicates that nearly 60 percent of the returnees were single, almost 30 percent were married and the remaining 10 percent were previously married (separated, divorced or widowed). Most of the single migrants were women (70 percent).

While lack of employment opportunities are often mentioned as the main reasons for migration there was a considerable number of people employed prior to migration (31 per cent) or they owned small businesses (22 per cent). Interestingly, 18.4 per cent were not yet part of the formal labor force (students and housewives). The remaining 28.6 per cent had been unemployed. Those who had a means of income prior to migration said that they earned on average between 500-1000ETB per month (25-50USD). The fact that a considerable number of return migrants were employed prior to migration can be explained by their residence in Addis Ababa, where job opportunities are better than in the rural areas.

**Table 4: Demographic profile of Respondents**

		Percentage(%) (n=)	Percentage(%) (n=)		
Gender	Female	68.5% (115)	Educational Status	Illiterate	1.8% (3)
	Male	31.5% (53)		Read and write	5.4% (9)
Age	18-23	16.7 % (28)		5-8 Grade	43.5% (73)
	24-29	38.7% (65)		9-12 Grade	22% (37)
	30-35	32.1% (54)		10/12 Complete	17.3 % (29)
	36-44	6% (10)		10/12+1,2	4.2% (7)
	42- 47-	4.2% (7)		Diploma	3% (5)
≥48	2.4% (7)	Degree		3% (5)	
Missing		Missing			
Marital Status	Single	59.5% (100)		Employment before Migration	Employed
	Married	29.8% (50)	Unemployed		28.6 % (48)
	Separated	4.2% (7)	Housewife		10.7 % (18)
	Divorced	4.2% (7)	Student		7.7% (13)
	Widowed	2.4% (4)	Operate own small business		21.4% (36)
	Missing		Missing		.6% (1)
Religion	Muslim	36.9% (62)			
	Orthodox Chr.	51.2% (86)			
	Protestant	10.7% (18)			
	Catholic	1.2% (2)			
	Missing				

#### 4.2.2 Motivations for Migration

The major driving forces behind the migration of respondents were failure in education endeavors, a strong desire for success or change, hearing success stories of others (often from

former friends or relatives who migrated from their locality to Saudi Arabia or the Gulf States), divorce, death of spouse or parents, the desire to be independent, underemployment, limited job opportunities and a low family income (see Table 5). Saudi Arabia was seen as an attractive destination for migration for a number of reasons, such as the relative easiness of accessing a residence permit (*iqama*), the minimum requirements of educational qualification and skills, the availability of free-visa or visa on demand (visa that can be collected with no other pre-condition) and the role of traffickers and smugglers in artificially creating demands. Economic transformations in Saudi Arabia created a shortage of labor in low paying, informal and dangerous sectors such as domestic work, construction, agriculture and sex work (Jureidini 2004; Fernandez 2010; Play Therapy Africa 2011; De Bel Air 2014). Millions of foreign workers fill this gap, and traffickers and smugglers use this opportunity to persuade potential migrants to migrate to Saudi Arabia.

**Table: 5 Reason for migration**

	Frequency	Percent
- Unsuccessful School life	5	3
- Personal or Family Poverty	45	26.8
- To Improve Personal and Family Life Situation	61	36.3
- Divorce	15	8.9
- Death of family member	9	5.4
- Unemployment	14	8.3
- To get initial capital to start a business	9	5.4
Others	10	6
Total	168	100.0

Excessive pressure and expectation from families for pecuniary success have appeared as important risk factors that have been pushing people towards migration. Due to this fact some

had made their way simply to satisfy their families' desire. In this regard Alemtshehay's(22) indicated how pressure from her aunt and her destitute family forced her to migrate:

*I didn't have the desire to look for abroad rather I always contained my self in here (Ethiopia). After finishing 10<sup>th</sup> grade with poor results I searched for job and found in a Glove Company which paid me 700 birr per month. I knew this amount was nothing but still I hadn't lost faith to search for better paying job. Meanwhile, my aunt knew some friends and relative whom she acquainted with and who succeeded monetarily. My aunt began to narrate success stories of those she knew and since I was earning tiny she pushed me to Arab countries. My mother started to be convinced of what aunt suggested and she finally urged me to go abroad and to achieve what she dreamed off. As she cared for me being father and mother, I had no strength to negate her decision.*

Though family poverty is one important reason for citizens to migrate, some migrate even if there is average family income. The primary motive seems being independent and improving their lives by themselves. Mekdes's(23, age at migration was 17), both parents dead, indicated how the drive for independence triggered her to look for abroad:

*.....I was raised in my grand parent's home. It was our cousins (two engineers and one trader) who support us financially, in fact we live together. After finishing 10<sup>th</sup> grade with average points (GPA2.5 during the time it was required 2.8 to join preparatory class) I was at home for 6 months. All these time my cousins urged me to continue on private basis but I was less interested since they invested since I was thirteen years old all my desire was to be independent. Meanwhile, I heard rumor of successful returnees from*

*Saudi Arabia and I asked one of my cousins to fund me to go there. First all my cousins strongly opposed but when they understood my stand they let me go.*

#### 4.2.3 Family View of Migration

Family plays decisive and pivotal role in migration decision. The involvement of family in the pre-migration stage also matters when the migrant returns home. As this study has found the participation of family ranged from initiating to financing and from opposing to hardly known of the entire process. This study also learned as few returnees informed to their family after reaching in the destination. The following table highlights diverse involvement and reaction of family in the migration decision.

**Table 6 Family View of Migration**

Reaction to proposed leave	Frequency	Percent
- Positive response	51	30.4
- Initiated migration	14	8.4
- Opposed proposed leave	42	25.0
- Didn't know any thing	42	25.0
- No one bothers about	19	11.3
Total	168	100.0

Related to positive reaction, a returnee said *"When I discussed with my family about my desire to leave, they were willing to let me go because if I get money it is for all of them."* On the other hand, a returnee indicated how she insisted on her own desire and neglected her family's advice.

*It was my decision... I went on my own choice. My parents told me to continue my education and work here and not to go. I was eager to go since some of my friends went and since I did not see many of migration challenges.*

Some of the respondents didn't communicate their plan of migration because they felt that telling their desire to the family prevents them from going.

#### **4.2.4 Prior Knowledge of Working and Living Condition in Saudi Arabia**

Before migrating, 45.2 percent said that they were informed about the type of work and the living conditions in Saudi Arabia. In-depth interviews revealed that even those who obtained advice and warnings from their relatives and friends were not interested in changing their decision. A returnee who went through smuggling told how she was inconsiderate to the information before leaving.

*People talk about the pain but that time I saw my worrisome situation, just I said let me go and if I died let me die. And I also heard that anyone who left this country particularly by crossing the sea (getting smuggled) does not have peace.*

In many cases women want to test their chance though they had prior exposition and information about the destinations. "Unless you experience it, you don't believe it" is the common reaction from most migrants. However, a small majority (54.8 per cent) reported that they had no prior information about life and work in Saudi Arabia. In addition, those who had prior information were asked about the accuracy of the information. From the 75 respondents who claimed they had prior knowledge, 54.7 per cent said that the information they gained was misleading and deceptive. Working for multiple households and overwork (up to 24 hours), salary withholding, denial of food and rest, actual and attempted rape were things they had never been told about and they had never expected. Besides, most of those who followed legal routes were told that foreign recruitment agencies will follow up their condition and will protect their rights but in reality this never happened. Those who traveled through sea routes claimed that their voyage was painstaking and tedious, which was beyond their expectation. Some of the respondents regretted

that they were deceived of the mistaken understanding they had of Saudi Arabia. Likewise, some returnees said that their migration was a waste of time and now they believe that it is feasible to earn in Ethiopia what they were earning in Saudi Arabia.

#### 4.2.5 Ways of Migration and Raison D'etre for such Preferences

Ethiopian labor migrants use three main ways to go to Saudi Arabia: via a work contract arranged by a Private Employment Agency (PEA), being smuggled over land and sea, and by obtaining a visa to go on *hajj* (a religious pilgrimage to Mecca). Recently visa for *hajj* are only handed out to people older than 28 years. Hence, getting smuggled and going on a work contract basis are the two major means of migrating. Labor migration on the basis of a work contract is the major means to proceed to Saudi Arabia. A MOLSA report indicated that between July 2012 and July 2013, 161,787 Ethiopian migrant workers processed their migration to Saudi Arabia through Private Employment Agencies. The large majority (154,660 or 96 percent) are females; only 7127 were males (4 percent).

**Table 7 Ways for migration to Saudi Arabia**

Method of travel	Female	Male	Total
Legal agency(PEAs)	69	15	84
Through brokers and smugglers by sea	17	26	43
Through Hajj and Umrah pilgrimage	18	6	24
Through the status of tourist/ tourist visa	8	4	12
Other way	4	1	5
Total	116	52	168

The interviewed returnees were asked why they chose a particular migration channel. The advantages of irregular channels were the costs (it is cheaper than migrating via PEAs), the fact that irregular migrants receive higher salaries, and the fact that the level of abuse is less because

employers will also be hold accountable for employing undocumented migrants and are therefore more careful with their treatment. A female returnee indicated how she decided to leave by illegal route and the advantage of working without document

*When I asked them (others who went before) they said it is better to go by sea than by contract. There is freedom (going by sea, being smuggled). If it is not conducive you can change from one employer to the other...but it is not legal...the other reason is for the sake of the money we went by sea (better salary and less pay for smugglers).*

The availability of the services of local brokers who facilitate irregular migration was another reason mentioned. Some respondents mentioned that they did not have to do a health screening, which can be advantageous for people with HIV/AIDS. Emphasizing the effects of protective aspect and rewarding quality of irregular situation, a female returnee (age=31) indicated:

*Since our government is less concerned and hardly follow up us, there is no difference working under sponsor and with out document. Thus, running out on the early contract days is common and, besides, working under illegal status is rewarding in terms of money, and the employer is relatively less abusive; fearing that we will leave.*

The advantages of migrating via PEAs were that the pain of a long trip would be avoided (they would travel by air plane), the positive feeling of being documented, and the possibility of getting protection from the Ethiopian Embassy and from the PEA (though agencies and embassies were in general described as not so helpful). In relation to positive feeling of being considered legal, Sara (31) spoke:

*Life in Saudi without Iqama is terrible (የሰብአዊ ኑሮ) with constant fear of being caught and deported...even if the pay is good ... life is costly, no health insurance and the*

*chance of being infected with diseases including HIV/AIDS is high..... Mostly women face rape when they run away from the sponsor.*

Supporting Sara's claim, Letu (26) indicated devastating forced rape experience as: *It was in my first day of leaving my employer I faced rape, two rapists did what they want even before I settle somewhere.* Others regret for changing into irregular status because that decision was responsible for their deportation. When asked to justify choice of legal status a female respondent (age=29) replied as: 'ህጋዊ መሆን ይሻላል፤ ህጋዊ ብሆን ኖሮ አገራ አልመለስም ነበር' when literally translated "It is incomparable, staying with Iqama is much more preferred. If I had the Iqama, I wouldn't have been deported"

An in-depth interview with Mekdes (age=23, 6yrs in Saudi Arabia) disclosed an important insight pertaining to undocumented status: *In run away status the main treat of plight on us (women migrant workers) comes from fellow Habesha (synonym with Ethiopian national) men.*

Stressing with resentment Mekdes said:

*Habesha men know us better than Arabs. They take advantage of our loneliness, our illegality and fulfill their desire. I know friends allegedly raped by Ethiopian men...for me it is the Habesha men who are more cruel and inconsiderate than Arab men...Arabs will leave us if we are not willing (to have sex) but our fellow men force us.*

Most of those who went to Saudi Arabia for *hajj* were working as undocumented migrants (freelancers). Freelancing is described as better because migrants can change employers since their passport will not be held by the employer or agency. The risk is immediate deportation, which silences the migrants and gives them less power to negotiate with their employers.

#### 4.2.5 Sources and money spent to realize migration decision

The amount of money spent for work migration is highly determined by migrant's choice of mode of travel and partly the destination migrants prefer. According to Abebaw (2012, 2013), going by contract costs about 12,000ETB (7500 average pay for the agency) and including bureaucratic and accommodation costs. In contrary, going by smugglers requires migrants to pay on average 4000-5000ETB with less bureaucratic and accommodation costs. Hence, illegal border crossing through smuggling is increasing owing to the lower cost and the absence of bureaucracy.

In this study (n=164), on average respondents spent 10,065 ETB to accomplish migration with standard deviation of 8345 ETB. The maximum money spent was 50,000ETB while the minimum with full sponsorship without any expenses (as respondents indicated).

In relation to sources of fund to achieve migration decision, as indicated in Table 6, respondents enumerated various sources with varying frequency. The main source was borrowing (either as debt from agency, broker, or employer, or from family members) which accounted for 33.9 percent (n=57), own saving and family/relative assistance being the second and third sources comprising 26 and 25 percent respectively. Only 10 percent of respondents replied their expenses are covered by sponsors. In some cases fully sponsored migrants pay for relatives in the destination who contacted the employer. Ethiopians were more likely to sell their animals and material possessions to fund their journey. Thus, 7.7 per cent of respondents reported selling of valued property to pay costs.

**Table 7 Source of money to finance Migration**

Source of money	Frequency	Percent
Own saving	44	26.2
Borrowing	57	33.9
Selling of valued property	13	7.7
Family/relatives assistance	42	25.0
Sponsorship of employer	10	6.0
Other source	2	1.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>168</b>	<b>100.0</b>

### **4.3 Destination Experiences and Reasons for Deportation**

Most experiences of returnees are related with their relationship with employers (the sponsor and employer of irregular migrants), agents, fellow migrants and security officials of Saudi Arabia. Thus, the following description of returnees' experiences emanated from the relationship they had with the above participants of labour migration dynamics. Specifically this subsection canvases type of work engaged, duration overseas, relationship with the employer, connection with family while abroad, wage dynamics, returnees preferences for legal/illegal status, experiences of sexual and physical abuse, and finally factors that accounted for termination of living and working permit.

#### **4.3.1 Destination Experiences**

##### **4.3.1.1 Type of Work Engaged in Saudi Arabia**

With regard to the nature of work returnees engaged, whereas female respondents were hired as domestic workers (housemaid, cleaner, and nanny), sales person, and retailer, even some of them as office workers, men were hired as shepherds, daily laborers, drivers, alcohol sellers and menial construction workers. FGD held with female discussants revealed that a substantial number of female migrants (specifically migrants in Saudi Arabia city of Jeddah) were engaged

in commercial sex work (they call it “doing business”). The discussants also confirmed that it was those who were engaged in commercial sex that got back with better money. The key informant from MOFA also pointed out the above reality;

*Mostly females those who travelled through free visa engage in commercial sex work since they had access for free movement.... even those who run away from sponsors occasionally involve in commercial sex activities.*

With regard to salary, returnees claimed earning from 700 Saudi Riyal (approximately 3500 ETB) mostly for domestic work to 3500 Saudi Riyal (18000 ETB) for male truck drivers. Yet inferences can be made that men earn more than females.

#### **4.3.1.2 Length of Time Spent in Saudi Arabia**

The experiences of work migrants in abroad and after returning home partly depend on the time spent outside of their home country. In Gulf countries permanent residency and citizenship grants are hardly available thus migrant workers work on temporary basis. Those who finished the permit period are expected to renew or leave the country and those who breach such rule are liable for arrest and deportation. Those migrants who were unsuccessful to renew and desperate to return home find working under irregular status their enforced choice. But in many cases, as described in the forthcoming topic, because of diverse and interrelated factors migrants from Ethiopia want to work on irregular status. Along side with the total duration abroad, the researcher investigated respondents' length of stay with illegal status (duration with out *Iqama* or working permit). Specifically, asking duration abroad with illegal status (without document) can helps to understand the difficulty of working under conventional ways and the merits of working under run away status.

Sample respondent's length of stay in Saudi Arabia ranges from six months to thirty years. On average the sample respondents duration in Saudi Arabia was 5 years and 2 months with standard deviation of 4 years and 1 months. While, respondent's length of stay with illegal status ranges from 0 year to 23 years. Mean stay with illegal status is 4 years with Std. deviation of 3 years and 8 months. Comparison of duration abroad with legal and illegal status yields trivial differences, only 1 year and 2 months.

Duration abroad with document and without document reveal complex realities in relation to destination experiences of migrants. Pearson's correlation test was used to measure the relationship between the sample respondents' total duration abroad and length of stay with illegal status in order to understand the scenario in a better manner. There was a statistically significant direct relationship between total duration abroad and length of stay with illegal status ( $r=.803$ ,  $p<0.05$ ). The relationship is significant; returnee's total duration abroad and length of stay with illegal status (without the Iqama) co-varied 64.5% of the time ( $r^2$ ). This entails, partly, as duration abroad increases the possibility of falling under the illegal status also increases. The above correlation coefficient indirectly unveils the active propensity to divert into irregular situation. This may be related with emigration law of Saudi Arabia which is contractual and restrictive of citizenship rights as indicated by studies (Juredini 2004). This can be also taken as a coping strategy of migrants from exploitation and slavery. Mainly those who traveled through legal contract justified choice of irregular status because of excessive work load, withholding and denial of salary, food deprivation, sexual violence and lobbying of friends working with run away status to leave the sponsor. An FGD held with female returnees also supported the above assertion, a female discussant (28) indicated "*We Ethiopians are very fast than others to run away from the sponsor.*" The above quotation conveys different messages, Ethiopian maids are

more likely to face harsh conditions than other countries, they are susceptible for lobbying by fellow migrants to leave the sponsor, and are less likely to adapt the working and living conditions in the early days. According to Ruben, van Houte and Davids(2009) returnees those who stayed abroad for 10 to15 years are in a better position to re-embed themselves after returning home.

#### **4.3.1.3 Returnees Experiences of Wage Differential and Its Dynamics**

In addition to wage denial, withholding and procrastination, migrants from Ethiopia were badly treated with wages for similar tasks in the Middle Eastern countries. Previous research on work migrants (Emebet 2001; Abebaw 2013; RMMS 2014a) assertively stated lower wage of Ethiopian migrants when compared with expats from South-East Asian countries. Further, the above studies asserted that Ethiopians are paid less because the Ethiopian government did not work to change the situation.

Interestingly, this research found that in some circumstances Ethiopian work migrants earn greater. 19 percent of the respondents reported better payment when compared with co-workers from other countries, mainly from South East Asian countries. Some reported as they were paid better due to their hard work and from the satisfaction the employers with the work they did. Some get paid better in a freelancing status, since they can work for multiple houses. Freelancing is described as better because migrants can change employers since their passport will not be held by the employer or agency. The risk is immediate deportation, which silences the migrants and gives them less power to negotiate with their employers. These respondents are highly susceptible for arrest and deportation, prone to further trafficking and exploitation. According to the informant from MOFA, migrants in such status are the most vulnerable, even when they die transporting their corpse is difficult and costly.

#### 4.3.1.4 Experiences of Abuse and Exploitation

Economic abuses, over work and work overload, physical violence, sexual abuse, psychological and verbal abuses characterize experiences of Ethiopian migrant workers in Saudi Arabia and other Gulf countries. As studies point out (Abebaw 2012, 2013; Play therapy Africa 2011; Meskerem 2011 and Yoseph, Mebratu and Belete 2006) employers forbid the domestic worker from communicating with their family, restrict movement and free time, withhold their passport and personal documents, confine them to one room or in the home against their will, etc.

The above studies also noted employer's conduct of violating terms and conditions of work contracts such as not paying on time or paying less or not paying at all, not providing medical care and adequate accommodation, food etc., which clearly exhibits economic abuses (ILO 2009). Many of the women reported working up to 24 hours a day and seven days a week. In some cases they are required to work in the houses of relatives of their employers. Some women indicated that their employers do not want to see them resting even for a minute.

As revealed by studies, in Arab countries migrant workers were exposed to various physical viciousness, such as hitting, pinching, kicking, burning and diverse bodily maltreatments (Abebaw 2012; 2013). In addition, use of degrading words, insulting, humiliating, minimization, making fun of the worker's race, religion, clothes, communications and personal style, etc. were documented constantly (Yoseph, Mebratu and Belete 2006; Meskerem 2011; Selamawit 2013 and Abebaw 2012, 2013).

Female domestic workers were forced to have sex against their will and unwanted sexual advances towards them (Abeba 2012, 2013; Meskerem 2011). Owing to their vulnerable situation, migrant workers experience sexual abuse and harassment by male employers and male

family members of employers. Rape is followed by unwanted pregnancy and in some cases leads to HIV and others STIs. Female employers would further physically abuse the victim when they hear that their husband or another member of the family has sexual affair with the domestic worker. MOFA (2013) indicated that from Ethiopian domestic workers in the Middle East 43.7% face rape. Migrant worker who gave birth due to rape mostly not allowed to possess the child and bring the child back home, regardless of the biological father aware of his child.

It was found respondents reluctance to fill out actual physical and sexual abuse. Concealing sexual abuse might be the effect of closed culture about sexuality in Ethiopia (since reporting sexual abuse or rape is considered as disgraceful). Thus, such condition prevented the researcher from getting quantifiable data of sexual nature. For example, when I was distributing the questionnaires some returnees were afraid to be interviewed with their predetermined notion of research on returnees is all about sexual abuse. From the total respondents 32 percent of them reported physically and sexually abused. Yet, those who stated physical abuses over exceed respondents who reported sexual abuses.

When asked to state the physical attack exposed to, respondents replied threat to attack, actual physical attack or beating, spilling boiled water or oil, food poisoning and female employer slaps. Respondents also stated sexual jealousy of the wife and even few accounted sexual jealousy of female employer for their return. The women attack the servants for their husbands' infidelity because they cannot confront their husbands. As this research understood, female employers secretly install CCTV cameras in order to control the infidelity of their husbands and in order to scapegoat the servants. This is what happened to Alem(22):

*I was telling him (husband) that I am married but he refused my plea by saying 'you will reach to him latter too' then he raped me. I don't know how the female saw the sexual*

*relationship but from that moment on she disliked me and finally she handed me over to police.*

Many of the respondents and informants, specifically women returnees, reported working for many hours--up to 24 hours a day. They may be expected to serve several families and work in various households contrary to the contract or promise that states they will work in one household. Mekdes stated:

*They (employers) do not think you will get tired...not at all. They do not have such thing (sympathizing for others). I was cleaning a three floor building by my self. I remember a day worked 24 hours--from 7 am till next day 7 am and after that I fainted.*

The stories linked to workload reveal the commoditization of these women. It is servitude that qualifies as serious human rights violations, particularly labour rights. From female respondents (N=115), 50.4 percent of them reported working for two and above households per constant salary.

#### **4.3.2 Background of the Expulsion and Reason for Deportation**

In the Middle East, and in particular in the Gulf Cooperation Countries, labor migrants work under temporary contracts fixed for a particular period of time. Permanent settlement and citizenship rights are inaccessible for labor migrants. The expectation is that once the contract is finished labor migrants will leave the country unless their residence and work permits are extended or renewed (Jureidini 2004). Labor migrants those who leave their employers without consent ("run away") and those unable to renew their residence permits become undocumented and liable to arrest and deportation. Migrants who entered the country on the basis of a *hajj* visa are expected to practice their religious missions. They are not allowed to engage in paid work and those who take up jobs are also liable for arrest and deportation. Migrants who came via

irregular channels, are automatically devoid of residence and work permits unless they find a sponsor. From the information gathered, I learnt that besides these conventional rules there were also people deported because of “other reasons”. These other reasons statistically represent a small number but reveal xenophobic sentiments ingrained on the people and officials of Saudi Arabia (see Jureidini 2004). Table8 shows the reasons respondents were without documents.

**Table8. Causes for termination of living and working permit (*iqama*)**

Causes	Frequency	Percent
Traveled through irregular channels	45	26.5
Overstayed hajj visa	25	14.9
Ran away from employer/sponsor	68	40.5
Unwillingness of the employer to renew the contract	9	5.4
Others	21	12.5
Total	168	100.0

Returnees and key informants mentioned a number of other factors for the forceful expulsion. One of them was that employment agencies in Saudi Arabia asked a huge ransom to regularize the status of undocumented migrants. One returnee told me the following:

*I migrated to Saudi Arabia by buying a free visa. Before the tightening of the immigration rules I was paying 800 Saudi Riyal per nine months for a fake sponsor. After the tightening of the immigration rules the alleged sponsor asked me to offer him much more than what I used to pay to renew the visa. Since I was unable to pay that amount I stayed nine months without renewed visa till the expulsion.*

Other factors attributing to the termination of labor and work permits included hatred of Ethiopian migrants and the fear of the expansion of Christianity. Some said that even religious leaders were involved in the crackdown operations. A male returnee told me that a religious leader came to his house, stole his money and assaulted him badly. Returnees that encountered

racism and xenophobia said that they had not yet finished their contracts but felt forced to leave. Others said that they decided to leave when they saw the atrocities inflicted on fellow Ethiopians. Migrants that did not have documents were immediately deported but those that were working with false documents (for example those who had sponsors that they did not know) had to pay large sums of money in order to get released from their sponsors.

#### **4.4 Return Experiences: Back in Ethiopia**

The days of the crackdown and expulsion were tied to a variety of horrific experiences, which affected the psychosocial state of the returnees to a large extent. In addition, returning empty-handed was one of their main concerns. To picture the experiences of many returnees, Salam's story is significant. Salam had worked five years as a domestic worker in Saudi Arabia when she was deported to Ethiopia at the beginning of 2014. Hoping to help her parents and siblings back home she returned empty-handed. "We were deported before we could experience the good sides of migration", she said in an interview I had with her in March 2014. Many returnees share this reality.

Deportees had in most cases little to no time to prepare themselves for their return. As a result, they encountered many challenges which affected their return home. The survey results show that only 17.9 per cent of the respondents expected Saudi Arabia to implement the planned deportation measures. As respondents indicated during various times Saudi officials spoke about deportation irregular migrants but failed to do so. Thus, they conceived like wise, unenforceable warning. Some respondents waited for the day of the expulsion in order to save transportation costs to return back home. However, most of the deportees were planning to stay in Saudi Arabia. When they were suddenly arrested and deported they had no time to collect their belongings or to bring sufficient money home. Due to the sudden crackdown, many returnees

were forced to leave Saudi Arabia empty-handed. The survey showed that only 20.2 per cent brought their possessions and 24.4 per cent brought some of their belongings. Nearly third of the respondents indicated that their belongings were either confiscated and they were not given the opportunity to bring their belongings with them. Respondents revealed being robbed of their money (up to 15 thousands ETB) by Saudis during the crackdown. And 24.4 percent of the respondents replied that they had nothing to bring home.

Almost all of the returnees had horrific experiences between their arrest and their return home. They were imprisoned for a number of weeks, and treated very badly. They could not change their clothes, and sometimes barely had something to wear, they got very simple food and had to sleep outside in the heat. Saudi guards and policemen were sleeping next to them and female returnees told us that they were continuously on the alert fearing to be raped. Respondents indicated that their experiences during their imprisonment were worse than what they had ever experienced during their stay in Saudi Arabia. As a result, many deportees were traumatized when they returned to Ethiopia.

Hence, results from the study pertaining to difficulties returnees encountered after returning to Ethiopia can be looked from two dimensions: economic and psychosocial challenges.

#### **4.4.1. Economic Challenges**

According to the interviewees, the Ethiopian government officials in Saudi Arabia promised jobs and a cash to readjust but the key informant from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Addis Ababa declined the alleged promise. Upon arrival the returnees assumed that the government would start to fulfill the promises but as time passed the attention of the government declined and in some offices they were approached oddly.

The finding from the survey indicated that the major economic challenge to make a living after returning to Ethiopia was lack of employment opportunities or means of a living. When asked, 39.3 percent of the respondents pronounced inaccessibility of means of earning as major obstacle after return. Many returnees revealed how they are desperate to find means of a living. A female FGD participant indicated:

*Through the five months after the return we were going from office to office, yet nothing happened.... After we returned we are idle and use the money we brought from Saudi Arabia and are again dependent on our family.*

Showing frustration on how the governments focus is declined from the early days of return, Asnakech (24 and BA graduate) spoke:

*I was expecting the government will continue like what was done on our arrival. When day passes the government focus is dwindling still now (5 months after return) nothing to happen and show.*

A number of studies have discussed the impact of labor migration to the Middle East on marriage and family relationships (Abebaw 2012; Mesfine 2011). Women who have migrated to the Middle East are thought to be exploited and sexually abused and husbands may resort to divorce or decide to separate or have an affair with someone else. Upon arrival Hasena (39) was faced with her husband's betrayal as he had married another woman. Hasena said that she was not worried about her husband's infidelity and marrying someone else but rather on the money she remitted while she was in Saudi Arabia. She was expecting to set up a small business and be supported by her husband economically. Now she has the intention to re-migrate due to her husband's betrayal and failure to achieve her migration goal. Many of the young women we interviewed said that they preferred to migrate again as they had not been able to find jobs upon return and they thought that their chances to get married were minimal. To sum, the main economic problems returnees encountered after returning to Ethiopia were housing problem,

inaccessibility of job opportunity, betrayal of the transferred money, increment in price of goods and services and different barriers with government assistance (government assistance and its shortcoming discussed in the next sub sections). Table9. Presents survey respondents depiction of challenges encountered after returning to Ethiopia.

**Table 9 Challenges to make a living after a return**

	Frequency	Percent
Increment in the price of goods and services	27	16.1
Inaccessibility of finance to start up business	11	6.5
Health and psychosocial problem	11	6.5
Change in societal way of life	26	15.5
Inaccessibility of employment opportunity	66	39.3
Others	27	16.1
Total	168	100.0

#### 4.4.2 Psychosocial Challenges

Early deportees had shown no desire to return to Ethiopia until the Saudi Arabia security forces began the crackdown, yet, within the amnesty period only 5 thousand repatriated. Thus, according to Ghanem(2003) if returnees have no desire to return in the first place it cannot be expected that they will easily reintegrate and view their country of origin as their 'home'.

Table 9 indicated health and psychosocial problems as eminent problems facing migrants after returning to Ethiopia. The coordinator of the overall repatriation process described the situation upon arrival at the airport:

*Some of returnees were taking their clothes off and walked around naked. Some had mental problems but others hated the clothes they were wearing as the cloth reminded them of what they had gone through. Those with mental problems were sent to mental hospitals and the others got new cloths.*

A key informant from AABOLSA also reminds the first day when returnees called for reintegration training program:

*For me it was unusual, females chewing chat and smoking in public. They were disrespectful of us, talking louder and rude, leaving wastes everywhere. Some of them were looking odd in appearance (ንክ ይመስላሉ).*

In addition to the above experts' general observation, interview with Zenash (female, 28) reveals the psychological problems returnees struggling with. Zenash is currently struggling with traumatic experiences due to accidental rape she faced by her male employer.

*I was informed from others (others who went before) incident of sexual abuse... due to this I was curious. My employers didn't give me separate bedroom and I was sleeping in a room also used for other purposes, and always left open. Thus my caution continues even I was slept. My ear was standing by for door opening sound. The opportunist husband considering the absence of the wife and the coincidence of mine fell for sleep, he raped me. From that moment on when I hear the sound of door I feel mental illness (እራሴን ያመኛል). Even without any sound (ጭር ሲል) I sense the sound of a door in my mind.*

Some returnees indicated getting easily upset on a daily basis with interaction with members of the family. For example, when expressing change of behavior due to her experiences of different maltreatment and abuses, Mekdes spoke as:

*Before leaving for Arab country I was decent and respect order of my family but exposure for Arab way of life and experiences of bad things changed my conduct. After return, now even I do not have peace with my family. What they say, even if it is positive, to me it is negative. I am confronting and disagree with my families and I sense I got terrible behavior (ተነጫናጭ ሆኛለሁ).*

Few returnees also speak out on problems related with the attitude of the society towards their return. In addition, as this study observed, few returnees don't feel at home and they don't have peace of mind in Ethiopia, rather, as they claimed, they feel rest when they go back to Saudi Arabia. As they have no desire to return to Ethiopia in the first place, as this study noted, a small

number of returnees manifested antagonistic attitude towards their home country upon deportation. They feel alienated from their family, community and country. If not recognized and handled, they posed eminent treat both for themselves and to the country as a whole.

#### **4.5 Future Perspectives of Returnees: Expectations for Future Migration**

Research findings pointed that many Ethiopian migrants are engaged in a process of circular migration, where detection in and deportation from Gulf countries and Saudi Arabia is followed by another attempt to enter the Kingdom or other Gulf countries (Abebaw 2012; RMMS 2014).

After their return respondents in this research expressed diverse future plans like running their own small business and pursuing their education. Some are planning to go again to the Middle East. Some of the informants are desperate and do not have any clear plan, just waiting miracle from the government. Of the total sample respondents (N=168), a third of them (36.3%, n=61) have shown intention of re-migrating to Saudi Arabia or to some other Gulf countries. The remaining 63.7 percent (n= 105) of the respondents reported no intention or undecided for remigration. Those who didn't want to re-migrate expressed that government reintegration assistances may bring enduring means of a living.

The failure to achieve migration goals, returning with empty handed and the associated embarrassment, weak and unreliable government support and the weak economic opportunities at home, in addition to returnees allure for wealth all provoked returnees' desire for remigration. Desire for remigration is the product of multiple contexts both in the destinations and after returning. Thus, the researcher was convinced to see the association between key relational, achievement and demographic variables and intention for future migration. The role of government and other stakeholders assistances in relation to migrant's intention for re-migration is decisive yet it requires separate discussion because reintegration assistance was being

undertaking when the data collection is finalized. In the proceeding subsection of the chapter, intention for remigration was discussed with out including the undergoing government assistances.

Specifically, this sub-section relies on statistical synthesis computed from the survey data. Interview results were also included either to support or refute quantitative results. Since the variables are nominal and incases ordinal, chi square test was found the best fit. To see the strength of the association between the dependent variable (desire for remigration) and response variable phi coefficient and *Crammers V* was computed. The main response variable was intention for re-migration which measured as having desire (=0) and lacking desire for remigration (=1). Whereas, the independent variables are sex, marital status, achievement of migration goal, remittance behavior, change brought due to remittances, social relationship after return, emotional support after return, financial support from the family, and relationship with the employer ( see for more in chapter one) .

#### **4.5.1 Achievement of Migration Goal and Future Desire for Migration**

The moments (days) of crackdown and expulsion were tied with diverse horrific experiences. Different media outlets (Reuters 2013; Ipsnews.net.2013; IRIN 2013) and international human right watchdogs (HRW 2013; Amnesty International) heralded crises of Ethiopian work migrants. Stories of abuse and returning without any savings were more common experiences. This survey also found that failure to achieve migration goals was widespread. Out of 168 sample respondents only 31 percent of them replied achieving migration goal (achieved some of their goals and achieved most of their goals) while the majority (69 percent) did not achieve any of the goals by migrating. Even few returnees replied returned with debt they owed for travelling.

Having faced many problems during the expulsion, one would hardly expect returnees will show early desire for remigration. Yet, over third of sample respondents have expressed early desire for remigration. Desire for re-migration and achievement of migration goal are intricately related. 44 percent (n=23) of the respondents from those who reported achieved migration goal expressed early desire for remigration. On the other hand, 32.8 percent of the respondents of those who failed to achieve their migration dreams showed desire for re-migration. Thus, it is those who claimed achieved migration goals likely to re-migrate than those who reported achieved their goals.

A non parametric test (chi square test) conducted to see the relationship between migration goal achievement and desire for remigration resulted independence of the two variables,  $\chi^2(N=168) = 6.905$ ,  $df = 4$ ,  $p > 0.05$ . Accordingly, statistically speaking achieving or failing to achieve migration goal has nothing to do with respondents' desire for remigration.

Returnees that were coming from rural areas did not always return home. Some stayed in Addis Ababa because they did not want to go home empty-handed. They had borrowed money for their migration from family and friends and were unable to pay back that money, or they were embarrassed to return home with nothing in their hands. Thus, it is not odd to observe desire for remigration from such returnees. A desperate returnee who comes from the rural area revealed the following situation.

*I worked for 2 years and gain nothing; rather I get debt and even I didn't change a single cloth. I didn't want to come back if they do not deport me. I do not want to go see my family and relatives in my home town like this; with no money and nothing to show. That is really a shame for me. I want to migrate to another country; any country!*

Most commonly Ethiopians migrate to solve family poverty and destitution. Families also involve in financing and initiating the migration expecting future remittances. Thus, remittances

are mandatory. The later include early migrants or those unsatisfied with their remittances and felt ashamed to report remitted. The quality and quantity of remittances matters most (Ruben, van Houte and Davids 2009).

Most Ethiopians migrate to help their families out of poverty and destitution. Family members are often involved in initiating and financing the migration project, and expect that their financial investment will be returned. Thus, remittances are mandatory and most returnees evaluated their migration based on the impact of their remittances on the lives of their family. Out of 168 returnees involved in the survey 82 percent of them remitted and only 18 percent of them replied not remitted. Yet, a small percentage of returnees witnessed pervasive changes in the lives of their family (13.1 per cent from 138 respondents who reported remitted). 19.6 per cent reported a partial change while 23.8 per cent said that their remittances had only sustained family life, 25.6 per cent stated that their remittances had not made any difference.

Table 10. Returnee's evaluation of their remittance impact on family living

	Frequency	Percent
Brought change in their life	22	13.1
Partially changed their life	33	19.6
Only helped to sustain life	40	23.8
No change due to remittances	43	25.6
Missing*	30	17.9
Total	168	100.0

\* Returnees reported not remitted

The study also found direct significant association between remittance to families and respondents evaluation of achievement of migration goal,  $\chi^2(n=138) = 3.948, df = 1, p < 0.05, Phi$  value 0.169. This demonstrates that those who remitted likely to report achieved migration goals.

Further, from those who made remittances 35 percent of them achieved their goals. While, only 11 percent of the non remitters reported achieved migration goal. Or, those who achieved their migration goals 35% of the time are remitters than 11% of the time for those non remitters.

Remittances and changes brought on family living due to remittances have a significant impact on future migration decision of returnees. A non parametric test based only on remitters' evaluation of their remittances on family life and intention for remigration shows weak to moderate significant relationship,  $\chi^2(n=138) = 12.875, df=4, p < 0.05, V=0.176$ . Hence, intention for remigration is dependent on change in family life due to remittances sent. In contrary to the researcher's preconception of positive change due to remittances to deter re-migration, further calculation results indicated that those who replied that remittance produced change in their family life are more likely to re-migrate than those responded that remittance not brought change in family life.

When asked, those who rated positively to specify positive changes they brought on family due to their remittances, they replied in different manners. For example a male returnee reported building a house for his poor family; two female returnees stated buying land nearby Addis Ababa. Respondents' response to the inquiry ranges from helping their siblings to finish school to installing home water lines, from buying condominium to buying car for collective family needs. In addition to the above, diverse accomplishments were indicated by respondents because of their migration and remittances. Thus, returnees also have success stories to tell. Some others also indicated independence from family and starting their own life.

Yet, in relation to the above, few respondents indicated betrayal of transferred money to be used when they return. For example, Abay (34) who stayed for 11 years in Saudi reported facing betrayal from her husband.

*Working as chef in a restaurant, I was earning 10,000 Birr monthly, thus, managed to remit good amount of money for my husband. When I was in Saudi ...with my strong supervision..... We bought house and saved money. I trusted my husband and done everything without hesitation...the house bought and the money saved was in his name. When returning I thought things would be easy and hopeful to start my own life here...but things changed upside down. My husband already sold the house and most of the money was lost. The day of return was a dooms day for my entire life. Now I have nothing here...and I will leave as soon as possible.*

#### **4.5.2 The Role of Social Network: Emotional, Financial Support and Desire for Re- migration**

Access to extended social networks proved to be crucial for returnees, as Ruben, van Houte and Davids (2009: 23) noted, social networks “contribute to feelings of belonging and enhance returnees’ engagement in their home country”. Even though many returnees have established social relationships(as indicated bellow), often these do not mean that the relationship extend beyond family and close friends, and returnees may easily become a burden to the household budget.

##### **✓ Social relationships after return**

Post return social relations provide migrants with the feeling of being accepted and that social acceptance is crucial for migration success (van Houte and de Koning 2008). Further, social networks are important for acquiring information as well as sharing personal and intimate relations (Ruben, van Houte and Davids 2009). It is also important for migrants to have these intimate relations with co-cultural (in this case other returnees) to discuss their shared beliefs and values that may be under pressure in a situation where they are a minority. Traumatized returnees also get relief by uncovering their experiences to someone trusted. Yet social relation with family, relatives, former friends and neighbors also plays crucial role in restoring disordered and traumatized returnees into less harming situation. Have such advantages, only half of them

secured reliable relationship with families and friends. 52% of the sample respondents reported securing strong relationship (strong and very strong) with the family and neighborhoods after returning to Ethiopia. Whereas 30% of sample respondents indicated weak relationship they have with families and relatives. The remaining 18% stipulated no relationship at all. The researcher assumed that the availability of relationship and its quality partly determines returnees future perspective on migration.

A non parametric test conducted to see the association between intention for re-migration and returnees' current level of social relationship brought independence of the two,  $\chi^2(N=168)=2.324$ ,  $df=3$  and  $p>.05$ . Thus, returnees' desire for remigration and their level of involvement in the social milieu has negligible affiliation. This might be attributed to other factors and the mere existence of even excellent relationship after return cannot guarantee a means to live and to depend on the other.

Ruben, van Houte and Davids(2009) noted that migrants who were able to remit are in better position economically upon return. Among the interesting insight in relation post return adjustment is that, those who made remittances met with welcoming reception, care and support upon deportation. Zemzem (34 years old, stayed 14 years in Saudi Arabia) spoke how remittances she made and her current relation with her family and the consequences her non-remitter friend encountered while upon return.

*While I was in Saudi Arabia I used to remit often. After my return I was welcomed warmly by my family. I have a strong relationship with them and I believe this relationship happened partly because I was remitting. I know a friend who didn't remit and on return she was not received warmly by her family.*

### ✓ Emotional support from family

The majority of sample respondents (78%, n=131) agreed that their family and relatives provided them with good level of emotional support (love, care and empowerment) after returning. Only 22% (n=37) of them reported no emotional support after returning.

Sample respondents desire for remigration and emotional support received were significantly related,  $\chi^2(n=162) = 6.791$ ,  $df=1$ ,  $p < 0.05$  Cramer's  $V = -0.201$ . Respondents those who lacked emotional support after returning were more likely to migrate than those entertained love, care and pleased by families and relative after returning. Or, 64% of the time those who reported denied of emotional support more likely to migrate and 32.9% of the time those welcomed by good emotional support have probability to re-migrate.

### ✓ Financial assistance from kin and desire for remigration

The other dimension of social network is financial support received from families and relatives upon return. Asking the question might be odd having the prior family problems which resulted mainly to emigrate. Yet, families might have something to offer upon return decisive and more enduring which have the power to halt possible remigration.

Only 15.5% (n=26) of the sampled respondents replied for receiving financial assistance from family after return while the majority (84.5%, n=142) reported not receiving financial assistances. Chi square test found weak to moderate direct significant relationship between financial assistances and respondents current level of desire for remigration,  $\chi^2(N=168) = 6.082$ ,  $df=1$ ,  $p < 0.05$  Cramer's  $V = 0.189$ . Fifty eight percent of the time those received financial assistance from family after return shown positive desire for remigration. Thus, financial assistance has no power to deter intention for remigration.

#### 4.5.3 Experiences abroad and future intention for migration

Experiences migrants went through in the destination to certain extent determines their future desire for migration.

##### ✓ **Duration abroad and future desire for remigration**

Even if the relationship is weak, still duration abroad and intention for future re-migration have positive relationship. Desire for re-migration is most likely to be strong for those who stayed relatively longer period in Saudi Arabia. In other words, the more he/she stayed in Saudi the more he/she dares to migrate again to some Arab countries. This quantitative evidence can also be supported by using qualitative results obtained from in-depth interview with selected returnees. Rabia stayed 8 years in Saudi, within these years she was caught and deported twice before the November's mass expulsion but still she highly connects herself to Saudi Arabia.

Further, discussions held with FGD participants revealed once traveled, migrant workers develop recurrent desire for migration comparing the living condition and the earning here and over destination. According to the results, culture of migration develops as one migrant stays more and involve in a cyclical migration.

##### ✓ **Relationship with the employer and intention for remigration**

This specific analysis was developed during the pilot test and the informal discussion conducted with some of the returnees. Through the discussion, I learned the existence of successful and cherished relationship between the employer and the employee. In addition, when they express the relationship with the employers, they prioritize the relation they had in their irregular status (they call it the 'second employer'). Then, I came to doubt that this relationship may impact on returnees future migration perspectives and it will bring additional insight.

Respondents were asked to evaluate the relationship they had with their employers in 5 scale item (very good, good, moderate, bad and worst).

The survey asked respondents to evaluate their relationship with their employer in 5 scale item. To simplify the analysis and to suit for further synthesis, the scale changed into 3 scores (unpleasant, moderate and pleasant). Accordingly, as shown in table 13, 38.7 percent of the respondents reported unpleasant (very bad relationships with employers also included under this category) relationship they had with their employers. Nearly half of the sample respondents (47.6%) reported enjoying good relationship with their employers. Only 9.5% of the respondents reported moderate relationship they had with their employers.

From those who indicated having unpleasant relationship with their employers, nearly 50 % of them have shown intention for re-migration. Yet, only 34% from respondents reported having good relationships (n=80) with their employers showed desire for re-migration.

Table 11 Respondents Evaluation of their Relationship with their Employer\*

	Frequency	Percent
Unpleasant	65	38.7
Moderate	16	9.5
Pleasant	80	47.6
Missing	7	4.2
Total	168	100.0

\* originally 5 scale, to simplify changed in to three scale

Thus, the survey not indicated the correlation between good relationship with the employer and intention for re-migration. Further, non parametric test (chi square test) conducted found no relationship between respondents' desire for future migration and nature of relationship with the employers ( $\chi^2=2.486, ns$ ). From the above test statistic it could be inferred that, it was not the

goodness or badness of the relation they build but other forces. Job opportunities and the availability of durable assistance from the government can also impact on the returnee's decision to march again. Lack of desire might be the consequence of ban on legal work migration to the Middle East.

However, in-depth interview conducted with selected returnees revealed the existence of influence between returnees' desire for remigration and relationships they encountered while in Saudi Arabia. From the 8 in-depth interviews conducted with selected returnees 3 of them backed their intention for re-migration for the reason that of involvement in cherished relationship while in Saudi Arabia. Abay (Female, age=34) stayed 11 years in Saudi Arabia working as chef in restaurant. She was assertive when speaking about her link with the employer. She spoke partly the role of cherished relationship to her current level of desire for return:

*I was enjoying wonderful acquaintance with the employer and he (the employer) also admires my hard work. Here, I am not feeling good since my husband betrayed me and has nothing to depend on. Thus I will return to Saudi Arabia by sea soon.*

Haftay (24) also indicated his intention for return due to good relationship with the employer together with good salary (9000 ETB). Haftay spoke the allure for huge salary and cherished relationship as grounds for intention for return to migrant destination:

*....working as air conditioner technician in a company, I had reputable relationship and interaction with the employer as well as with the entire employees....Besides, it is unlikely to earn 9000ETB here, and thus, I will leave soon.*

Fre (32) spoke how intimate relationship has had with her employers: *During the crackdown my employers were worried about me, even they tried to hide me not to be caught by security forces.*

Thus, some of early returnees have enjoyable stories and good relationships to tell which even leave them to look for remigration.

The existence of labour migration ban was one of constraining factor to think of return to Saudi Arabia or to some other country. Some returnees whom I interviewed are expecting the lifting of the ban on legal labour migration to the Middle East even if it is not feasible to travel Saudi Arabia again.

*Since travelling by sea is risky, I and some of my friends are expecting the government to lift the ban on legal route to other Arab countries since it is impossible to enter to Saudi because we gave fingerprints upon deportation.*

#### ✓ Returnees knowledge of others remigration

Returnees were asked whether they know someone deportee who already marched or preparing to march. Third of the respondents, 35.7 percent (n=60), replied as they know some one who had already re-migrated or preparing to march. Sometimes returnees prefer not to tell their desire and experiences rather they opt to tell their stories and wishes when asked about some one else acquainted with. For example, Abebaw (2013) in his phenomenological study on trafficked women from the gulf state revealed that in stories like sexual and sensitive natures they switched to stories/painful experiences like rape/ of other women whom they knew. Like wise, in addition to switching in sensitive issues like the above, respondents in this research also switched on their desire for remigration, due to suspicion of blockage of support from the government and felt ashamed to express such desire within months after returning to Ethiopia facing harsh treatment during the expulsion and crackdown.

#### 4.6 The Ethiopian Government Initiative over Migrant Workers

Government, as the superior political body that stands to protect its citizens' interests, is the principal responsible institution which is legally entitled with the right to employ any possible instrument to prevent and control demises of both regular and irregular migration including

human trafficking. In this regard, the government of Ethiopia is greatly reproached for hardly shielding of its citizens rights particularly in the Middle East. Lack of labour agreement with Ethiopian work migrants favored destinations, lack of proper structure to entertain work migration on the one side and the destinations unwillingness to abide by international labour laws exacerbated migrants' exploitation and misery.

This subsection focused mainly on three themes: returnees view of government protective initiative, return assistances and reintegration projects, and finally travel ban and future plan of action on labour migration.

#### **4.6.1 Returnees View of Government Initiative on Migrant Workers: 'So far so indifferent'**

Returnees do not think that the Government is doing enough to assist the migrant workers in exploitative situations. Substantial amount of returnees preferred the illegal stay (see p.71) attributing the government of Ethiopia sluggish protection from abuses and exploitation. In terms of salary, as repeatedly described in various studies, Ethiopian work migrants earn the lowly when compared with South East Asian workers (Fernandez, 2010; Play Therapy Africa, 2011; RMMS, 2014). Returnees reported menial wages for similar tasks in contrast to Asian workers. Some of the respondents even indicated experiences of humiliation and inferiority when the employer facing pays incomparable wages for similar domestic duty.

Endless stories of sexual and physical abuses portray the experiences of Ethiopian migrant workers in the Middle Eastern and Gulf countries. Lack of fair trial, detention for several months and years without legal services depicts lives of Ethiopian expat workers and migrants.

As indicated in the previous discussions Ethiopian contract migrant workers are very fast to leave the sponsors. This can be taken to some extent as a coping tactic from mistreatment and

cruelty of employers. Still, this also entails the vulnerability of Ethiopian migrant workers than others. In addition, the above quotation discloses the Ethiopian government indifference towards its own citizens.

Respondents' accounts for the above injustices includes among others chiefly lack of attention of Ethiopian government to protect its citizen's entitlements as migrant worker, low pay contracts signed before going to Saudi Arabia; lenient government structure sending citizens with poor communication and work skills. Above all, indifference of Ethiopia government was seen in sending workers to destination where there is no embassy and consulates. As also confirmed by expert from MOFA, even in destination where embassy and consulate are there, separate department (Labor Attaché) overseeing migrant workers' condition was non existence. Lack of labour agreement even with Saudi Arabia also exacerbated the problems. Hence, many of them expressed the opinion that the Ethiopian government should have care more about the protection of its overseas citizens. Many respondents urged the government to create job opportunities in order to halt unsafe labor migration and the eminent trafficking

#### **4.6.2 Deportation and Return Assistances**

When the returnees arrived in Ethiopia they stayed for a short while at the receptions centers located around Bole area. This reception center consisted of a large area where tents were set up for the returnees, a few small buildings that functioned as offices, and a big hangar where luggage was kept. The returnees were registered and received a phone card to call their relatives and a small sum of money so that they could travel to their places of origin. Those with mental or physical problems were hospitalized in Addis Ababa. The only mental hospital in the city was full of returnees, and so were the shelters of NGOs working on return migrants.

#### 4.6.2.1 On arrival Return Assistance: Fire fighting

As stated, deportees from Saudi Arabia experienced serious abuses and mistreatment during the crackdown both psychological and physical, thus, welcoming support and care plays decisive role in minimizing the consequences of the crises. The Ethiopian government in collaboration with different local and international organizations worked to create a feeling of 'home' on returnees and to win their optimism. Above all, MOFA Minister Dr. Tewodros Adhanom's effort was humbling and down to earth.

Beginning from air port to temporary shelters (5 centers in the highs of crises) and transporting to localities, different organizations and personalities were engaged on arrival assistances provision. As key informants from MOFA consular directorate indicated the great responsibility was taken by IOM. IOM provided reception at the airport with medical and psychosocial support, onward transportation, temporary accommodation, family tracing and reunification for unaccompanied minors, reinsertion and onward transportation allowance and treatment and rehabilitation of victimized female returnees.

In addition to IOM, UNICEF, Ethiopian Red Crosse Association, Association for Women's Sanctuary and Development, Ministry of Labor and Social affairs, Ethiopian Federal Police Commission, Commercial Bank of Ethiopia, Ethio-Telecom, Ministry of Health, Ministry of Women, Children and Youth Affairs , Addis Ababa Bureau of Labour and Social Affair and other voluntary associations with each of the listed organizations has their own responsibilities and services in the process of assistance providing.

Since a significant proportion of predominantly of women returning from Saudi Arabia were mentally ill, those attributed were referred to mental hospital. The role of AGAR Ethiopia and

Good Samaritan charity organizations was acknowledged in providing various assistances to those psychosocially disturbed.

Overall, the expert from MOFA and MOLSA confirmed that the days of repatriation was successful and returnees were relived partially from the pain of crackdown and deportation. Returnees also acknowledged the arrival assistance provided by the government and stakeholders. A female respondent (age=38) praised the support from the government as: *To resettle, the support of the government was very important. On return starting from the air port the reception was humbling, I never expected such hospitality.*

#### 4.6.2.2 Re-integration Assistances

The type and timing of assistance provided to (return) migrants can substantially contribute to improving their life after return (Ruben van Houte and Davids 2009). Besides, if not treated amicably, today's returnees will be tomorrow's migrants and victim of trafficking. If returnees are not assisted to get training and find jobs upon their return, they will become a burden on their families and once again seek employment abroad. Hence, it should be in accordance to this principle that reintegration assistances should be provided. The following discussion was mainly informed from interview conducted with expert from AABOLSA and FGDs with returnees. Afterwards, attempt was made to disclose some of the success and impediments of reintegration assistances.

As a political and social hub of the nation, Addis Ababa city administration was more involved in the reintegration process and launched a two round skill training and reintegration assistances. As to Labour and Social Affair Bureau of Addis Ababa, returnees of Addis Ababa are estimated to reach 3000, yet 2748 of them are registered for support. In the first and second sessions, respectively 1999 and 749 returnees were booked for training and assistances. 74.6% of them are

females and the rest quarters of them are males. The support program was started by providing a six days psychosocial counseling and refreshment programs. Afterwards, returnees were offered to choose from various menus of skill training opportunities (such as food preparation, beauty salon, urban agriculture such as poultry raising, and producing construction material such as bricks) brought by the authority. Based on their choice of profession, returnees were given one and half month skill training in six Technical and Vocational Colleges. After finishing the training, evaluation was conducted by Addis Ababa Center of Competence (COC), afterwards returnees were certified on the profession they were trained. Returnees appear satisfied by the training packages and the hospitality of the authority in charge.

According to the expert, the major problem in the reintegration process happened when the task was given for Sub-City Administration. The main tasks expected from the sub- facilitating for trade licenses. Credit access and providing sheds became bottleneck for the city administration were providing access for credit services, arrangement of working sheds, and reintegration assistance provision. The credit institution in charge, Addis Credit and Saving Institution, is not prepared to provide flexible credit services for returnees. Returnees were anticipated to be entertained like others fulfilling the existing requirements. Returnees were asked to present as collateral of house blueprint or a person with good capital, which for many unfeasible.

Providing sheds or places for work is the other problem of the reintegration program. The scale of returns has been unprecedented, thus, lack of capacity on the part of the government to entertain such amount of sheds in specific time was the main problem. When the sheds were available, the problems with the credit facilities persisted, and returnees who managed to access credit or wanted to use their savings could not obtain sheds. Another problem was the lack of monitoring from the concerned bodies. Most sub city administration offices were not prepared

and interested in addressing the situation. A few sub cities like Yeka and Gulele did the maximum to achieve a successful reintegration, which was confirmed by the interviewed returnees, but most of them were very frustrated about the assistance they received.

Even if their number is handful, as the researcher witnessed, some returnees started to work in cooperatives. With the initiative of the Bureau, I witnessed a group of returnees who were engaged in providing fast foods and different food service for another round of trainees.

#### **4.6.3. Travel Ban and Ethiopian Government Future Plan on Labour Migration**

In late October 2013, following the intensification of exploitation and abuse on work migrants and partly due to Saudi Arabia's inevitable measure of deportation, the Ethiopian government decided to withdraw the licenses of all PEAs and banned unskilled migration to the Gulf States for at least 6 months. Expert from MOFA indicated that the main purpose is to allow the Ethiopian government to further develop its strategy to prevent human trafficking, deal with the expected large number of Ethiopian migrants who would be deported from Saudi Arabia and to create structures to manage future labour migration from Ethiopia to the Gulf States.

After a decade long exploitation and maltreatment of Ethiopian labour migrants, as the above Key informant claimed, now the government of Ethiopia boldly understood that exploitation and atrocities on citizens mainly emanates from lack of skills and absence of legal agreement with the destinations.

While emphasizing skill deficiencies and regretting for sending such deficient work migrants, MOLSA key informant asserted that:

*Most work migrants didn't deserve even for Addis Ababa living style let alone to fully work with electricity while keeping personal hygiene and ease of communication in Saudi Arabia.....we were sending citizens even who don't know to roast rice."*

The expert also attributes lack of skills and unpreparedness for the kind of work in destinations as an explanation for the levels of abuse against Ethiopian migrants.

Thus, to solve problems that emanates from lack of skill and education, key informant indicated that curriculum is under development which is highly trusted to equip those who want to work abroad. Afterwards, work migrants will be given extensive training until they fulfill the requirements. The curriculum also will set educational achievement as a pillar.

The other purpose of the ban is to correct the problems related with PEAs. The major responsibilities of PEAs in partnership with their agents abroad were, according to the key informant, to process the visa, to help attain workers to be hired, protecting migrant workers rights, and if the worker is uncomfortable with the employer to change to another. But according to MOLSA recent assessment, from 478 private employment agencies the number of PEAs fully discharging the above duties didn't reach a double digit. MOLSA expert further points out :

*PEA's had no physical as well as moral capability to discharge their responsibilities of protecting migrants' right. PEAs were impaired, even they claim they had working partners in the destination the relationship was very loose and it was only for gaining legal status here. Even some of the work partnership collapses few days after the establishment of working relationships.*

The expert asks the purpose of PEAs:

*How legal contract workers simultaneously return with smuggled persons for irregularity grounds? What is the raison d'être for PEAs? Our evaluation is that the PEAs were just doing legal smuggling. All 478 PEAs were just facilitating human trafficking.*

Then again, the key informant from MOFA underscored the contribution of weak government structure on perpetuating the crises of Ethiopian work migrants indirectly through diverse

administrative corruptions and legal loopholes. Further, the key informant indicated that adequate skilled and ethical labour force has been burning problem especially in MOLSA.

Lack of labour agreement with Ethiopians destinations, except the signed agreement with Kuwait, precipitated the crises of work migrants. While stressing, Consular Directorate of MOFA:

*We had no labor agreement even with the chief recipient of our labour force, 1500 contract workers per day, Saudi Arabia. Our embassies and consulates are devoid of labour attachés which follow ups the case of work migrants.*

According to the key informant, ban of contract and unskilled labour migration was meant to address the above administrative and legal loopholes. Thus, accordingly, before lifting the ban, government specifically is devoted to correct problems that expose for the exploitation of work migrants.

After all such disaster, pressured by external and internal forces the government declared ban on legal work contract migration. The key informant of MOFA outlined the following tasks that would be done before lifting the ban.

- Capacity building training for personnel's working in emigration sectors including personnel's in the MoLSA, MoFA, Federal police and Emigration Office.
- So far Ethiopia has labour agreement only with Kuwait even hardly with Saudi Arabia which had been the destination for 1500 labour migrants per day. Thus, among others, the crucial purpose of banning is to reach agreement with the destination of Ethiopian work migrants.
- The ban will be lifted after installing labour attaché in Middle Eastern countries where Ethiopian nationals make their destination and the ban is expected to be lifted in the coming

September. In addition, a separate department called 'Citizen's Affairs' in embassies and consulate situated in Middle Eastern countries will be established which solely engages in protecting labour migrants.

In relation to private employment agencies, according to MOLSA expert, another round of licensing will be conducted which is much stronger and requires PEAs to satisfy different obligations in order to guarantee the safety and entitlements of work migrants.

On the part of the government, there have been administrative, working and legal framework problems. Adequate skilled labour force was pressing problem especially in MOLSA, thus equipping the ministry with proper labour force is prioritized. According to expert from MOFA, assessment also reveals that foreign employment law of Ethiopia have deficit thus during the ban period they will accomplish preparing a new law of foreign employment.

Stricter border controls and migration policies, including bans on migration, usually will not stop migration, but lead to shifting migration means, routes and destinations (RMMS, 2014). It will increase the demand for traffickers as people will still be inclined to leave the country in the coming months and will, to an even larger extent, have to use illegal means. The ban will thus not block irregular migration, only regular migration. MOFA hardly believe that the banning of legal route flourished smuggling and illegal migration rather it highly reduced irregular migration. The consular directorate from MOFA spoke:

*Before declaring the ban the government has done necessary preparations to curb illegal routes taking migrants to Saudi Arabia or any country. Tightening the common border outlets, criminalizing illegal brokers and smugglers, and mass awareness raising programs under the auspices of National Task Force to combat human trafficking were done before the decree. We have contact with countries where our citizen's pass through*

*accordingly their feedback is almost zero smuggling by sea. The only way to Saudi Arabia or any Arab countries is through Kenyan tourist status but still this mode of travel is stiff and hard to qualify.*

Even if the expert from MOFA denies the proliferation of illegal routes due to ban of legal routes, different media outlets and news agencies were exposing the re-influx of Ethiopians deported from Saudi Arabia.

## Chapter Five: Conclusion and Implication

Understanding experiences of deported migrants and their future expectation is significant for improved intervention and awareness raising endeavors of various stakeholders. The study commenced with appreciation of the major factors behind the migration of the respondents. Similar to the global trend, this study found that lack of employment opportunities and increasing poverty as the major factors behind out-migration. Yet, at least according to the finding of this research, those employed and those who had own small business also included under returnees portfolio. Thus, to some extent it is not the availability of employment opportunity but the amount earned which matters in cases. Easy of accessing living and working permit (*Iqama*), minimum requirement of educational qualification and skills in the destination, the availability of free-visa or visa on demand (visa that can be collected with no other pre-condition) and the role of traffickers and smugglers in artificially creating demands plays motivational role.

Principal subjects of the study were transported involuntarily without preparation and readiness. Thus, the return lacks agency which makes the 'home' ward journey unpredictable and complicated. Moreover, expulsion practices hardly involve the decision of the deportees and neither considers the situation in the origins, thus, it disregards suitable preparation for the return migrants. Many returnees were forced to leave empty handed and with nothing to show for many years of hard work abroad and many were extremely disappointed.

After deportation, returnees encountered various inconveniences including housing problem, lack of means of a living and different barriers with government assistance. Some female returnees indicated their husband's betrayal and marriage over marriage. Struggling with

traumatic experiences because of rape, getting easily upset and negative attitude of the community towards their return were the eminent challenges facing returnees.

Diverse research documents on labour migration to the Middle East revealed unfair treatment with wage for similar tasks among different countries worker. In contrary to these observations this particular study discovered few respondents earning greater than from other migrant expat workers. Returnees enjoyed better payment with run away and freelancer status in comparison to other migrant workers from Asia. It gives workers better position to negotiate and even lesser exposition for abuse and exploitation. Since they had the opportunity to work for many household on part time basis they earn much greater than the conventional salary.

Leaving the sponsor or employer with out permission and irregular route taken were the chief reasons for deportation. Overstaying Hajj time limit and unwillingness of employers to extend and renew the contract was the other cause for deportation as claimed by respondents. Among the latent reasons behind deportation were asking of huge ransom to normalize returnees' status in to the sponsorship system, hate of Ethiopian migrants and fear of expansion of Christianity were indicated by subjects. The failure to achieve migration goals, returning with empty handed and the associated embracement, weak and unreliable government support and the weak economic opportunities at home in addition to returnees allure for wealth all provoked returnees' desire for re-migration.

The large-scale return of Ethiopian migrants from Saudi Arabia is an example of a group of forced return migrants that were very badly prepared for their return. Cassarino (2004) stated that the way in which migrants are prepared for their return home, and in particular the way in which they are able to mobilize resources, are crucial for a successful return home. Most of the

returnees had shown no desire to return to Ethiopia until the Saudi Arabia security forces began the crackdown. Within the seven months of the amnesty period only five thousand Ethiopians repatriated. According to Ghanem (2003) if returnees have no desire to return in the first place it cannot be expected that they will easily reintegrate and view their country of origin as their 'home'. The results of this research subscribe these statements. While many of the respondents were happy to be home in the early days of their repatriation, because of the traumatic experiences during their arrest and imprisonment in Saudi Arabia, they were frustrated a few months later. They had expected more assistance from the Ethiopian government to establish their lives back home economically, yet they had only received attention in the first few months of their return. Almost all of them complained about the lack of opportunities and facilities to realize their aspirations to work or set up a business. Their economic embeddedness was thus very limited if not non-existent. Many respondents were depending on their relatives. This is in accordance with the findings of Ruben et al (2009) who also found that the returnees were economically not well-established, even years after their return. The psychosocial embeddedness of the Ethiopian returnees was also low. Many still struggled with what they had gone through in Saudi Arabia, and the fact that they returned almost empty-handed. Their psychosocial embeddedness was closely related with the lack of preparedness for their return; they had not been able to mobilize resources and considered themselves failures. This also impacted on their social embeddedness as they were unable to build up a social network back home, and relied heavily on their relatives. The fact that the Ethiopian government has not been able to improve the returnees' economic embeddedness has therefore wider implications than economically only. Many returnees may opt to migrate again, and in the absence of policies that protect migrants many Ethiopians will make use of irregular channels.

Many returnees said that they were happy to be home, but very disappointed that they returned empty-handed. Their economic situation affected their psychosocial well-being, and a considerable number of respondents thought of migrating again. They did not see a future in Ethiopia if they would not find a job or be assisted to establish their own business. They were disappointed in the assistance they had received from the government, and concerned about their future. As long as the national job market can not entertain unemployed citizens in the country, labor migration and the eminent trafficking can not be halted. Thus, respondents feel that, the Government should take measures to create job opportunities for citizens to get ride of the ceaseless consequences. Many returnees are struggling with traumatic experiences, thus, identifying those affected and treatment of such disorder helps the returnees to resettle again.

Based on the finding of this study the following recommendations and implications were derived. First, comprehensive migration policy should be put in place, not sporadic provisions here and there like in the penal code, or in the employment exchange service proclamation. Signing international instruments is also not enough. This is a national problem that seeks a national level full scale comprehensive policy like HIV policy, education policy, and health policy. Migration is a global phenomenon with many advantages and dynamic characteristics. Migration is a huge source of remittance for the country, a means of skill transfer and of sharing world resources, and it helps both the source and destination countries. Thus, the best alternative is to manage migration by making it safe. This requires having a full-fledged migration policy. The fact that we cannot stop migration is indicated in this study by the fact that some of the informants are planning to go again even after experiencing very difficult circumstances.

Provision of counseling and therapy to migrant women upon return to Ethiopia should given due emphasis. This helps to rehabilitate returnees before they integrate with family. This requires

establishing safe houses. As indicated in the findings, some informants experienced severe trauma and mental health problems. Migrants experience personal, social, economic, and political challenges that require coping, adjustment, and adaptation. These events can be experienced as traumatic or may exacerbate past traumas.

Absence of labour agreement with Ethiopian work migrants favored destinations, lack of proper structure to entertain work migration on the one side and the destinations unwillingness to abide by international labour laws exacerbated migrants' exploitation and misery. Respondents' accounts for the injustices chiefly emanates from indifference of Ethiopian government to protect its citizen's entitlements as migrant worker, low pay contracts signed before going to Saudi Arabia, lenient government structure in sending citizens with poor communication and work skills. Above all, indifference of Ethiopia government was seen in sending worker to destination where there is no embassy and consulates. Thus, effort should be made to strengthening Ethiopian embassies in the Middle East both in terms of personnel and finance including having labour attachés so that they will advocate for migrant rights in the destination.

The study did not included interviews with the families of returnees, traffickers, sending agencies, brokers, smugglers, or others affected by or engaged in migration to Saudi Arabia. Future researches can focus on the role of families, traffickers, sending agencies, brokers, and smugglers in the whole migration dynamics including their role in the deportation of migrants. Specifically, future research can investigate on families' consideration of migration as the only way out of poverty and their reaction to sudden deportation. Besides, future research can dwell on the following questions. What is the level of risk perception of potential migrants and families? Why did not potential migrants ignore advice from returnees? Qualitative studies with families of deportees may also contribute to better understand the situation.

Typically the Ethiopian literature on migrant workers meticulously concentrated on abuses of various sorts. Dominantly such abuses were inflicted by the employers and by their family members. However, responses from few female respondents have showed the involvement of Ethiopian men in abusing and taking advantage of female migrants. As indicated by female respondents, specifically on irregular status the main treat comes from Ethiopian male migrants. This raises gender issues and also needs further study.

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## Appendix I: Instruments for Data Collection

### Introduction

This questionnaire is designed to understand experiences and expectations of returnee's. In doing these, specifically the study dwell on investigating returnee's status before they left for abroad, conditions abroad, and the return and post return situations with particular emphasis on forcibly returned migrants from Saudi Arabia.

It was conducted in Addis Ababa city administration, by Medareshaw Tafesse from Addis Ababa University, College of Social Sciences and Department of Sociology in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in Sociology.

The finding of this study is meant for purely academic purpose and all the information you provide will be kept confidential. Your responses are kindly needed so that the study will be successful. If you feel any inconvenience, you have the right to withdraw from the interview.

Thank you for your willingness to participate in the study.

### 1. Survey Questionnaire

Date of interview \_\_\_\_\_ S. No of the questionnaire \_\_\_\_\_

Name/ of the interviewer \_\_\_\_\_ Name of the Subcity/Woreda \_\_\_\_/\_\_\_\_

#### I. Background of the respondents, motivations for migration and Migration Trajectories

Name or Pseudonym \_\_\_\_\_

1. Gender: Male  Female

2. Age: 18-25  26-35  36-45  above 45

3. Marital Status:

Single  Widowed  Engaged  Married  Divorced

4. What is your position within the household?

Household head  Housewife  Husband

Son  Daughter

Other [Please specify] \_\_\_\_\_

5. Religion: Orthodox  Muslim  Protestant  Catholic

Other [Please specify] \_\_\_\_\_

6. Educational level attained before you left for abroad:

Illiterate  First cycle primary (0-4)

First cycle secondary (5-8)  Second cycle primary (9-10)

Second cycle secondary (11-12)  12 complete

College and above

7. Employment status before migration:

Employed  Non labour force (housewife, student)

Unemployed  Operate own business

8. If you had source of income, how much was your monthly income just before you left?

[In Birr]

Below 500  1001-1500  2001-2500

501-1000  1501-2000  Above 2501

9. If you were dependent on family, please indicate monthly income of your family. [In birr]

Below 500  Between 1001-1500

Between 501-1000  Between 1501-2000

Above 2001  Don't know

10. What was the immediate and pressing cause for your labour migration?

Unsuccessful school life  Personal or family poverty

To improve personal and family life situation

(Living standard, search for better life and better paying job)  Family death

Divorce  To get initial capital to start a business  Unemployment

Due to political reasons  Health problems  Religious reasons

Others [please specify] \_\_\_\_\_

11. Which situation/s in Saudi Arabia attracted you to flee there?

Success stories of returnees

- Higher wage in Saudi Arabia
- Easily accessible visa and living permission
- Role of traffickers in artificially expanding demand
- Please specify any other reason \_\_\_\_\_

12. How do you evaluate the involvement of family/relatives in your migratory decision?

- Actively involved       Involved       They didn't know anything
- Opposed       Actively opposed

13. How did you raise money for migration?

- Own saving       Selling of valued property
- Borrowing       Family/relatives assistance
- Please specify any other sources \_\_\_\_\_

14. The Reason for choice of Saudi Arabia as a destination (more than one reason is possible)

- Better economic gains when compared with other Gulf Countries
- Easiest to reach
- The decision of brokers, smugglers, and traffickers
- The influence of families/ friends/relatives already in Saudi Arabia
- Success stories of returned migrants from Saudi Arabia
- Please specify any other reason \_\_\_\_\_

15. From whom did you get information concerning the working and living condition in Saudi Arabia?

- From agents       from returnees
- From illegal brokers and smugglers       from government office or PEAs
- Had no information at all
- If other, [please specify the source] \_\_\_\_\_

16. Which way did you use to organize your work migration?

- Public employment services       Legal private employment agencies
- Illegal private employment agencies,       Through brokers and smugglers
- Through Hajj and Umrah pilgrimage       Through the status of tourist/ tourist visa

Please specify any other ways you taken \_\_\_\_\_

17. How much money did you spend to reach Saudi Arabia? (In Birr)

- Below 3000       3001-5000       5001-7000   
7001-9000       above 9000

## II. Destination Experiences and Reason for Deportation

18. Type of work engaged in Saudi Arabia:

- Domestic work [Housemaid, nanny or any kind of domestic work]   
Service sector       Shop keeping       Driving   
Construction work       Shepherd       Gardening   
Other [please specify] \_\_\_\_\_

19. For question number 19 if your answer is 'Domestic work,' what was your working status?

- Freelancer [work under control but live on their own]   
'Lives in' [Working and living within the employer house]   
Run away [from the sponsors and agencies]

20. Was there a circumstance where you work for two households per one salary?

- No       Yes

21. How long did you work there? In years (months if less than a year) \_\_\_\_\_

22. How much did you earn per month? (In Riyal)

- Bellow 300       301-400       401-500   
501-600       601-700       above 701   
I was working without salary

23. Had you noticed differences in earning between you and other national workers?

- Yes       No

24. If 'yes' for the above and you earned less than others, what accounted for earning differences between you and other national workers? Please state the rationales \_\_\_\_\_

25. Did you remit to your family/relatives in Ethiopia?

- Yes       No

26. If yes how often did you remit?

Every month  Every six months  Occasionally   
Every three months  Every year

27. If 'yes' for question number 26, how do you evaluate the change in your family/relatives livelihood because of your remittances?

It changed their life a lot  It brought some change   
No significant change  No change at all

28. Did you save?

Yes  No

29. For question number 29 if 'yes', how much you saved? \_\_\_\_\_

30. Is there any education and skills learned while in Saudi Arabia?

Yes  No   
Language education only

31. How do you view your relationship with your employer?

Very good  Good  Bad  Very bad

32. If your answer is 'bad' or 'very bad' please tell me about the nature of your relationship with the employer. \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

33. If your answer for question 25 is domestic work (housemaid, nanny, etc.), which form or forms of exploitative working and living conditions had you met? Please mark within the box.

Physical abuse	<input type="checkbox"/>	Salary withholding	<input type="checkbox"/>
Denial of wages	<input type="checkbox"/>	Irregular payment of wages	<input type="checkbox"/>
Forced to work without salary	<input type="checkbox"/>	Emotional abuse/threat	<input type="checkbox"/>
Unable to change employer	<input type="checkbox"/>	Isolation	<input type="checkbox"/>
(Lack of freedom of movement)		Sexual abuse	<input type="checkbox"/>
Confiscation of documents	<input type="checkbox"/>	Long working hours	<input type="checkbox"/>
Denial of access to food	<input type="checkbox"/>		

Other [please specify] \_\_\_\_\_

34. What accounted for termination of your work and living permit?

Since headed through irregular means's

Hajj pilgrimage before 5 years

Changing jobs without the permission of the employer

Unwillingness of the employer to renew the contract

Unable to renew visas and permits within the amnesty period

Please specify is any other causal factor \_\_\_\_\_

35. Had you expected Saudi Arabia Government measures of deportation?

Yes  No

36. If you expected, why you didn't take your measures? \_\_\_\_\_

37. Have you faced harassment from security officials during the expulsion?

Yes  No

38. If your answer is 'yes' for question 36, please state forms of harassment and physical abuse inflicted on you. \_\_\_\_\_

### III. Return and post return assistances and future expectations

39. How do you rate the support of Ethiopian embassy in Saudi Arabia in facilitating the return process?

Very helpful  Helpful

Doesn't make much difference  Far less to help

40. Upon arrival, what kind of assistance have you received from the Government and other Non Governmental Organizations? Please exhaustively mark inside the box the kind of assistance received.

Monetary support  Travel expenses

Financial income-generating assistance  Medical assistance

Psychosocial counseling  Not received any assistance at all

If any other assistance received please specify \_\_\_\_\_

41. How do you evaluate the immediate assistance given by different governmental and non governmental organizations upon arrival?

Very Satisfactory  Satisfactory   
Doesn't make much difference  Far less to satisfactory

42. How do you scale the emotional support from the family/neighbors upon arrival from Saudi Arabia?

Very good  Good   
Bad  Very bad

43. Did you get financial or material assistance upon return from your families or/and relatives?

Yes  No

44. If 'yes' for 44, how do you evaluate the significance of the assistance received from families and relatives in building own livelihood?

Very crucial  Crucial   
Doesn't make a difference  I get no assistance at all

45. What challenge have you encountered after return to make a living?

Increment in the price of goods and services (inflation)   
Housing problem and increment in rent price   
Inaccessibility of finance to start up business   
Change in societal way of life   
Others [please specify any other encounter] \_\_\_\_\_

46. Are you entitled to assistance after the return by government structure?

Yes  No

47. If yes, please mark the kind of assistance/s you are given now.

Monetary support  Educational assistance  Medical assistance   
Financial support to start up business  Different life skill trainings   
Other [please specify] \_\_\_\_\_

48. If given assistance, do you think it will make a difference in your personal life?

Yes  No

49. If 'no' for the above, please tell me those limitations of the assistance while you given now.

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50. Current employment status:

Employed  unemployed

Non labour force (student, housewife)  run own business

51. If have own source of income ('employed' and 'run own business'), how much do you earn?

Below 500  501-1000  1001-1500

1501-2000  2001-2500  above 2500

52. Do you see that the possibility to earn in Ethiopia what you used to earn in Saudi Arabia?

Yes  No

53. If no, why it is impossible here in Ethiopia? Please tell me your rationales. \_\_\_\_\_

---

54. How do you evaluate your post return social relationship with neighbors and relatives whom you formerly acquainted with?

Very strong  Strong  No relationship at all

Normal  Weak and hostile

55. What is your future perspective on migration?

I have the desire to re-emigrate  Soon I will leave for abroad

Even if there are opportunities I have no desire to re-migrate again

Not certain to decide on now

56. If your answer is a desire to re-migrate what are your reasons please specify. \_\_\_\_\_

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57. Do you know a person who already re-migrated?

Yes  No

Please anything you want to tell which is necessary for this research.

**Thank you very much for your cooperation!!**

## 2. In-depth interview guide

### Interview Guide for forcibly repatriated migrants

Interviewee: \_\_\_\_\_ Date of Interview: \_\_\_\_\_

Place: \_\_\_\_\_ Time of Interview: \_\_\_\_\_

Duration of Interview: \_\_\_\_\_

1. Please tell me your age, religion, educational background, and marital status?
2. Tell me in what situations you were living before you migrated to the Middle East/ Saudi Arabia?
3. What were the reasons for your work migration?
4. What was your expectation before you migrated? Have you met what you expected?
5. Why Saudi Arabia was chosen as destination?
6. What route and transportation had you taken to reach Saudi Arabia?
7. If it was through irregular means (illegal employment agencies, brokers, traffickers and smugglers), could you tell me the experiences and exposures on the way? What was the role of traffickers and smugglers?
8. How do you describe your living and working conditions as a migrant worker?
9. How do you remember your relationship with the employer?
10. What caused for the termination of working permit?
11. For how many years you stayed without working permit?
12. How do you view the condition during the expulsion? Is there any abuse inflicted on you? Have you lost own property? Please tell me in detail.
13. How do you view the assistance provided by the GoE, the civil society, and NGOs upon arrival?
14. Do you manifest the following state of mental and physical condition after forced return: depression, sadness and, or anger, stress, lack of sleep, restlessness, nightmares and physical complaints such as heart problems?
15. How do you evaluate your expectation and the current reality in your home country?
16. What is your future plan? Do you have a plan or thought to go back again? Please tell me your reasons?
17. What needs to be done to abate possible remigration of returnees? What needs to be done by the government?

Related to your experiences and the purpose of this study, is there any issue that you want to add? Do you think you have told me everything important?

**Thank you very much for your cooperation!!**

### 3. Focus Group Discussion Guide

#### Focus Group Discussion Guide for Returnees

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Time: \_\_\_\_\_

Venue: \_\_\_\_\_

Duration: \_\_\_\_\_

Group Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Name of Moderator: \_\_\_\_\_

Name of Note Taker: \_\_\_\_\_

No	Sex	Age	Educational Level	Duration stay abroad	Remark
P1					
P2					
P3					
P4					
P5					
P6					
P7					
P8					

1. What are the common reasons to migrate abroad especially to the Middle East?
2. What are the common route and transportation taken and why those routes mostly preferred?
3. Which country is favored most for labour migration and why?
4. What were the major responsible contexts that resulted for the termination of work permit?
5. What is the most prevalent form of economic exploitation inflicted on Ethiopian labour migrants?
6. How do you evaluate the magnitude of physical abuses and sexual abuses by employers, agents, traffickers and smugglers (specifically for female returnees) During the expulsion
7. How do you evaluate the GoE initiative in protecting migrant's rights through its Embassy and Consulate?
8. How do you evaluate the assistance provided by the governmental bodies, NGOs and religious leaders upon arrival?
9. How do you evaluate current situation of returnees?
10. Do you see the desire to re-migrate among the returnees? What are the core reasons?
11. What need to be done to abate possible re-migration of the returnees?
12. Solutions proposed to address the problems related to migration both at the place of origin and destination?
13. Any other point that you think relevant for the study.

**Thank you very much for your cooperation!!**

#### 4. Key Informants Interview Guide

##### A. Interview Guide for IOM concerned expert

Interviewee: \_\_\_\_\_ Date of Interview: \_\_\_\_\_

Place: \_\_\_\_\_ Time of Interview: \_\_\_\_\_

Duration of Interview: \_\_\_\_\_

1. What were the most common psychosocial problems highly manifested on returnees?
2. How the organization evaluates the economic status of returnees?
3. What kind of assistance has been provided for returnees? Is there an ongoing assistance for the returnees to reintegrate them?
4. Do you think the assistance provided can make lasting?
5. What need to be done to make the return more sustainable?
6. IOM future plan of action on potential returnees?

##### B. Interview Guide for MOLSA Concerned Expert

Interviewee: \_\_\_\_\_ Date of Interview: \_\_\_\_\_

Place: \_\_\_\_\_ Time of Interview: \_\_\_\_\_

Duration of Interview: \_\_\_\_\_

1. Is there any mechanism through which the ministry can follow-up the end of labour contract and its renewal?
2. Why do you think the plight of the Ethiopian women in the Middle East is not abated? What need to be done to curb the problem?
3. How do you view the role of private employment agencies, brokers, and smugglers vis- a -vis massive deportation of labour migrants?
4. In what respect the ministry involved in the repatriation process? What were the common problems encountered during the repatriation?
5. What are the lessons learned from the massive deportation of citizens?
6. What can be done to reduce out migration and future possible deportation of citizens?

Any other point you would like to raise?

**Thank you very much for your cooperation!!**

### **C. Interview Guide for MOFA Concerned Expert**

Interviewee: \_\_\_\_\_ Date of Interview: \_\_\_\_\_

Place: \_\_\_\_\_ Time of Interview: \_\_\_\_\_

Duration of Interview: \_\_\_\_\_

1. By virtue of its responsibility, how the Ministry understand the exploitation and physical abuse being inflicted on labour migrants in the Middle East?
2. What were the specific mandates the ministry charged with in relation to the repatriation process?
3. Why the ministry couldn't manage to repatriate migrants before forceful expulsion?
4. How the ministry evaluates the repatriation process? What are the challenges encountered?
5. What are the durable solutions for irregularity of migration?
6. What does the Ethiopian embassies in the Middle East in general and in Saudi Arabia are doing in protecting the rights of citizens employed in the countries?
7. What is being done to reintegrate the returnee's? Is there any task the ministry in charge with?
8. Classified data on the total number of returnees in terms of region, sex any other classifying parameters available.  
Any other point you want to raise that you think relevant for the study?

Thank you very much for your cooperation!

### **D. Interview Guide for Addis Ababa City Administration Labour and Social Affairs Bureau**

Interviewee: \_\_\_\_\_ Date of Interview: \_\_\_\_\_

Place: \_\_\_\_\_ Time of Interview: \_\_\_\_\_

Duration of Interview: \_\_\_\_\_

1. Can you tell me the total number of returnees in need of the Administrations support? And what kind of assistance is being given?
2. How many of the returnees are out of the support accessible by the Administration? Why?
3. Do you think the support the Administration provides will make the return sustainable? If not, why?
4. What are the long term solutions that the City Administration designed to abate possible consequences of out migration?  
Any other point you would like to raise that you think relevant for the study?

**Thank you very much for your cooperation!!**

**Appendix II: Statistical significance of associations between key variables and desire for remigration**

Selected independent variables	$X^2$ value	df	Sig. (2 tailed)
1. Sex	0.187(ns*)	1	$p > 0.05$
2. Marital status	6.096	2	$p < 0.05$
3. Financial support from family	6.082	1	$p < 0.05$
4. Emotional support from family	6.791	1	$p < 0.01$
5. Social relationship with family	4.480	2	$p > 0.05$
6. Relation with the Employer	2.486(ns*)	2	$p > 0.05$
7. Change in Family Life due to Remittances	12.875	4	$p < 0.05$
8. Achievement of migration goal	2.043(ns*)	1	$p > 0.05$

\* At 5 % degree of freedom, values  $\leq 3.828$  are not significant

### **Declaration**

I, the undersigned, declare that this thesis is my original work and it has never been presented for the degree in any other university and that all sources of material used for the thesis are duly acknowledged.

#### **Declared by**

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Signature \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_

#### **Confirmed by**

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Signature \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_