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**AN ASSESSMENT ON REINTEGRATION OF ETHIOPIAN FEMALE
TRAFFICKED RETURNEES FROM SAUDI ARABIA TO ETHIOPIAN**

SOCIETY

BY

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**AN ASSESSMENT ON REINTEGRATION OF ETHIOPIAN FEMALE
TRAFFICKED RETURNEES FROM SAUDI ARABIA TO ETHIOPIAN
SOCIETY**

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This is to certify that the thesis is prepared by Abraham Moges, entitled: An assessment on reintegration of Ethiopian female trafficked returnees from Saudi Arabia to the Ethiopian society, the thesis was submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Masters of Arts in Social Works complies with the regulations of the University and meets the accepted standards with respect to originality and quality.

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DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, declare that this thesis is my original work and has not been presented for any degree in any other University and that all sources of materials used for the thesis have been fully acknowledged.

This thesis has been submitted for examination with my consent and approval as a University advisor, Dr. MOHAMMED HASSEN

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ACRONYMS

UN: United Nation

ILO: International Labor Organization

MOLSA:Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs

RMMS: Regional Mixed Migration Secretariat

PEAs: Private Employment Agencies

IOM: International Organization for Migration

NGOs: Non Governmental Organizations

GOs: Governmental Organizations

UNHCR: United Nation High Commissioner for Refugees

NELM: New Economic of Labor Migration

AGRINET: Agricultural Network

ABSTRACT

This study aims to focus on the socio-economic factors behind the reintegration process of trafficking survivors in their families and communities in Ethiopia. In doing so, this research tries to explore the experiences of trafficked survivors in the process of being trafficked, their life and integration with Saudi society and returning process to Ethiopia. In addition, it helps to understand the perception of survivors in their reintegration along with the perceptions of community people and family members. This study also brings forth in discussion how their experiences in Saudi and challenges to reintegration have affected their construction of self identity. This research was carried out with the help of Saudi Arabian embassy and it intends to find out what the GO is doing to facilitate the reintegration process.

This study is consisted of 7 in-depth interviews with trafficking survivors and GOs key persons. The data was collected in May and analyzed the data using many theories. Such as, Integration approach, neo-classical approach, New Economic Labour Migration approaches (NELM) and so on.

The study found that the living condition of Ethiopian female migrants in Saudi Arabia was strongly influenced by the working environment in the hotels or bars and people that interacted with the women. Women were particularly vulnerable to exploitation because they had entered Saudi Arabia with their illegal status. On the other hand, some women were integrated into Saudi society economically and socially through their relation with Saudi men and their ability to speak Arabic language. In terms of the return process, most cases of returnees decided to come back to Ethiopia because of their pregnancy with

Saudi partner and their illegal status made them illegible to benefit from the Saudi health care system.

None of the women were able to gain secure employment after their return from Saudi Arabia to Ethiopia, because of the types of entertainment work that the women were subjected to while in Saudi Arabia. Although the cases differ, some of the women with children were able to use the remittance from their Saudi Arabian husband or partner to empower themselves and this empowerment helps reintegrate the women into their local community better than those who had neither remittance nor partner.

Key words: Female, Human trafficking, reintegration, returnees, Migration, Migrant workers, Psychosocial and victims of trafficking.

Chapter one - Introduction

1.1. Background

Before developing in to the paper, it is important to first understand the concept of trafficking. Although there are various definitions of human trafficking, the United Nations Protocol on Trafficking in Persons, adopted in November 2000 (UN, 2000), has given a definition that is commonly accepted by this study. It defines trafficking as:

“the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, or deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labor or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs” (p.2).

The face of migration in and from Ethiopia has been changing, from large refugee flows in the 1980s and 1990s to different forms of labour migration in the present decade as people seek employment opportunities abroad. Ethiopia is a major source country for labour migration to the Arabian Peninsula and Middle East. Ethiopians, especially females, have been challenging their major economic and social life obstacles in many ways, albeit their vulnerability to low social

and economic status, denial of their right of access to resources and violence against them are increasing from time to time. Labour migration as domestic worker abroad now a day is considered as an escape from such kind of marginalized life style.

Saudi Arabia, as all other major immigration countries, is hosts unrecorded but large numbers of irregular migrant females. As many irregular migrants find ways to remain hidden and work informally, the real volume of the migrant population might be higher. No country could provide reliable statistics on the number of trafficked females into, within, or out from their country; they could only give estimates. According to ILO and the Ethiopian Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs (MOLSA) (as cited in regional mixed migration secretariat (RMMS), 2014, p: 17) figures, 100,000 regular Ethiopian labour migrants moved to Saudi Arabia in 2011. Reportedly, in the first half of 2012 alone, over 160,000 maids – 10 times the number of the previous year - migrated to Saudi Arabia to work in the domestic sector, using the services of Private Employment Agencies (PEAs). The total number of regular labour migrants (including domestic workers) from Ethiopia to Saudi Arabia in 2012 is estimated to have been 200,000. According to MOLSA figures, between July 2012 and July 2013, 161,787 Ethiopian migrant workers processed their migration to Saudi Arabia through PEAs.

Despite several demands raised, at the end of 2013, early 2014, Saudi Arabia carried out massive deportations of irregular migrants, including some 160,000 Ethiopians. The Ethiopian government has been working to turn back home with the help of International Organization for Migration (IOM).

Interestingly, according to RMMS, (2014, p: 17), the majority of Ethiopian migrant workers who were recently deported from Saudi Arabia were males (97,666 out of 158,125, or 62%) instead of females (52,119 or 33%). This shows that migration of female predominantly occurred through regular migration

channels, while males seem to opt for irregular migration to Saudi Arabia more often. The figures mentioned above only include regular, registered labour migration. ILO estimates that irregular Ethiopian migration to Saudi Arabia is double the size of regular migration. The US Department of State reports that MOLSA even estimates that the 200,000 regular labour migrants in 2012 represent just 30 to 40% of all Ethiopians migrating to the Middle East, implicating that the remaining 60% to 70% (between 300-350,000) are either trafficked or smuggled with the facilitation of illegal brokers.

The exact number of Ethiopians in Saudi Arabia is therefore unknown. Due to the lack of information about the whereabouts and exact numbers of migrants, the Ethiopian government did not know what to expect in terms of the number of returnees deported from Saudi Arabia during a massive crackdown on irregular migration in Saudi Arabia in late 2013, early 2014. At the time of writing the Ethiopian government decided to withdraw the licenses of all PEAs and ban unskilled migration to the Gulf States for at least 6 months. This ban should allow the Ethiopian government to further develop its strategy to prevent human trafficking, deal with the large number of Ethiopian migrants who were deported from Saudi Arabia in November and December 2013, and to create structures to manage future labour migration from Ethiopia to the Gulf States better.

Even with the current returnee crisis and so many Ethiopians returning from Saudi Arabia without any savings and with stories of abuse, it is questionable whether this will impact the intention to migrate. Although many returnees seem to be keen to get back to their areas of origin, many are also reluctant to face their families out of shame associated with returning home empty handed or after having suffered abuse. It is therefore plausible that some will stay in Addis and try to find work or try to get out of the country again (RMMS, 2014, P: 21).

IOM provides, in cooperation with the Ethiopian Ministry of Health, post arrival health assistance at all sites. However, the system's capacity to deal with complex psychological trauma is overstretched. According to RMMS (2014), 293 especially since a significant proportion of the women returning from Saudi Arabia are mentally ill. They have been sexually abused in Saudi Arabia, denied of based needs such as food and shelter, had to work 24/7 and have been denied salary. Two local NGOs running a shelter for returnees suffering from mental illnesses – AGAR Ethiopia and Good Samaritan Association - provide essential and valuable support to these vulnerable persons (P: 70).

Many Ethiopian women, as mentioned above, move abroad each year in hopes of finding work that will support their families back home. However, these women often fall victim to human trafficking (specifically sex trafficking) or they find that work conditions in their host countries are far worse than they expected.

Further, RMMS (2014, p: 70), receive report from AGAR that they received migrant returnees via the Ethiopian police, who were encountered by the police on the streets of Addis in a confused state, which proof there have been cases of mental illness that were not diagnosed upon return. Based on detailed reports from Addis Ababa received by RMMS, as of 27 November 2013, 95% of returning women were pregnant or lactating; the pregnancies have either come about from their own husbands or due to rape. It was reported that heavily pregnant women were put on planes, and there were several births in transit. Women pregnant by Saudi men sometimes want to abandon their children as they are afraid to return home in Ethiopia with Saudi-looking children (Ibid).

In Ethiopia, the return of refugees and the reintegration of both populations into their communities are complex phenomena. Return and reintegration are typically fluid and long-term, especially in terms of causes, for example, 'push' and 'pull' factors that can include improved access to basic necessities such as shelter, water and food and linked to this and more generally, the quality of life in the area of displacement, the availability of services in the place of return or resettlement, and the social support structure.

This study tries to discuss and analyze the process of reintegration of trafficked returnees in the society and to find out the socio economic factors that facilitates and hinder their integration process, even if, reintegration is a long term process this study gives blue print for further sustainable reintegration. In doing so, the study attempts to give an understanding of the psycho social experience of trafficked female returnees. Further, the study analyzes the perception of the society towards the returnees and the role of GOs in the reintegration process.

1.2. Statement of the problem

Human trafficking is a worldwide phenomenon which characterizes the present global, social and economic development. The flow of migration could be related to globalization since the latter increased transnational flow of capital, trade and technology transfer to other parts of the world. This global economic restructuring has not only advanced global development in many aspects but also produced some negative effects seen in terms of socio-economic disruption in many developing countries. Economic development gaps among countries have rapidly widened. The disparity in economic

development has led a large number of people to migrate to developed countries where there are more employment prospects.

Different researchers conducted numerous studies on trafficking in Ethiopia. But, their main concern was causes, patterns, consequences and legal framework. In spite of this, there is a set of limited information on return migration, specifically, on reintegration aspect. Studies specifically focusing on reintegration of survivors in Ethiopian society are difficult to find. The re-integration process involves a whole host of social, cultural and economical adjustments. Thus, government agencies as well as the community need to organize the reception of, and provide assistance to, these returnees.

It should be noted that the international labour migration is suffering with danger, especially irregular migrants in destination countries. They have to overcome difficulties in the society where language and lifestyle are different from their countries of origin. They have to face many difficulties such as economic problems, discriminations, and lack of access to social services. If the destination country has strict immigration policies, the situation of irregular migrants can become more vulnerable because irregular migrants are often afraid of deportation. Their illegal status is frequently forced them to work in a very poor employment condition. Moreover, the host country usually will not allow them to access to the social services if they are illegal workers.

During the course of migration, migrants have to adjust themselves into new society which they had never experienced before. They have problems with speaking language, access to social services, and interaction with natives. There are many cases reported that migrants are deceived by employers because they do not understand the language, and some are discriminated by the natives. Therefore, migrants have

to overcome these difficulties with a lot of efforts. When people fail to integrate into the society, migrants tend to feel lonely and begin to have aspiration to go back home. If migrants are not permitted to stay in the destination country, they will face with an order to leave. The options available to them are overstaying, returning home voluntarily or forced return (IOM, 2005, p: 13). Thus, return decision will be also determined depend on their experiences in the destination country or the policy or stand point of the destination country towards irregular migrants.

Adjustment problems can also occur when migrants return from the destination country to their countries of origin. A large number of returnees are disappointed by their migration experiences. In most cases, adjustment problem could be found among migrants from poor community since they do not have immediate employment prospects. This has created further destabilizing conditions. Inadequate jobs in the country of origin can also lead to reintegration problems as many returnees can face the same economic hardships that lead them to migrate in the first place. Furthermore, they come back to the country of origin often finding that the social environment has changed after their long absence. Returnees are also affected by cultural dynamics in the destination country which leads to a change in their own values. Therefore, many female returnees tend to face many difficulties in reintegrating themselves into their countries of origin. Impact of migration can also be felt in terms of family bonding or community relations (as cited in Yuko Kato, 2007 p: 3).

Therefore, the reintegration appears to be one of the aspects to be studied in tandem with the issue of migration. This is because migration study also regards the reintegration as one of the stage of migration. Most of migration researches focus on the situation in the destination countries. There is limited research on how migrants utilize their knowledge after they return.

Some female returnees faced discrimination from their previous community, some have mental problems and some face social stigma due to their returning with a child that they have with Saudi partners. The problems can be further increased if the returning woman did not bring any socio-economic benefits to her family or community.

Considering the fact that a large number of females in Ethiopia have been motivated to work abroad, it could be assumed that they also face some problems upon their return. However, there is not sufficient research on the situation of these returnees over the sustainability of their livelihood and the impact of migration upon their return. The reintegration process of female returnees in Addis Ababa is an interesting area for research on migration in Ethiopia. Therefore, this study will focus on how female returnees reintegrate into the community of origin and how their experiences in Saudi Arabia affect their reintegration process.

The main research problem can be further categorized into following sub questions:

- How is the experience of females who have been trafficked?
- How is the experience of trafficked female returnees in the process of reintegration into society?
- How do the trafficked female returnees perceive the social conflict and discrimination in society?
- Have they been accepted by their family and society? What are the major socio-economic factors that facilitates and hinders the re integration process to the society?

Over all, this research attempt to answer the above questions through the perspectives of Ethiopian's female trafficked returnees. Entering in depth into the inner world of the returnees' life experience may provide a means of understanding the socio-economic problems facing the returnees.

1.3. Objectives of the Study

1.3.1. General objective

- This study is designed to know the survivors situation after returning and socio economic factors on the process of reintegration and understand the experience of survivors on a broader scale and will help to examine the strategies to process the reintegration in Ethiopia.

1.3.2. Specific Objectives

- To examine living conditions and the integration of Ethiopian female migrants in Saudi Arabia.
- To understand the Return process of Ethiopian female returnees.
- To suggest what more the Saudi government or Ethiopian Government and NGO's can do to help the victims.

1.4. Research Questions

This study will describe the experiences of the trafficked female returnees and what kinds of problems or challenges are faced in the process of reintegration.

1. What are the past experiences of the trafficked survivors who have been trafficked to Saudi Arabia and their integration to the Saudi society?
2. What is the returning process for Ethiopian female migrants?

3. What are the factors support and challenge their reintegration back into their communities?

1.5. Significance of the Study

As mentioned earlier, the majority of studies covering this issue are focused on demonstrating the causes of the human trafficking and the policy implementation among others. This study aims;

- To add knowledge about these overlooked issues to understand their needs to explain their life experiences and socio-economic factors facilitating and hindering the re integration process.
- To contribute to social work practice by discussing the importance of the role of actors including service providers, law enforcement agencies and NGOs among others involved in of combating trafficking.
- To contribute to the literature on trafficking issues by exploring the experience of survivors, this has not come out in any Ethiopian literature elaborately.
- To identify the roe of GO's in the process of reintegration.

1.6. Scope and Limitation of the Study

The study is mainly restricted to return migrants who migrated to Saudi Arabia. The selection of respondents was conducted only from those residing in Addis Ababa for the reason the author is convinced that most returnees live in the city as they prefer urban life than rural.

Developing trust with trafficking victim returnee informants was a rather difficult task that took an extensive time. They had been in desperate situations because of the problems they faced in the countries they worked and this made them hesitant to cooperate and share their experiences.

This study is meant to reflect the socio-economic cultural perspectives of one city in Ethiopia i.e. Addis Ababa. Therefore, it does not represent the situation of the entire country, which is composed of more complex and diverse population groups, culture and socio-economic conditions. In this regard, the findings of this study might not correspond to the entire geo-political areas of Ethiopia. More importantly, the women interviewed in the study represents only a sub-set of the total population of trafficked women, for example those who have returned to Ethiopia.

The other limitation which is encountered by the researcher emanates from limited literature material particularly, studies and books concerning to reintegration of returnee migrants.

CHAPTER TWO – REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

This chapter endeavours to give an understanding of the term trafficking and reviews the literature studying trafficking particularly in Ethiopia. The chapter proceeds by defining trafficking in Ethiopia and continues by discussing the purposes, factors leading the trafficking and the impact of trafficking. In the last section, attempts have been made to review the literature related to reintegration of trafficking returnees.

2.1. Trafficking of Women and Girls

According to Fernandez, (as cited in Selamawit, 2013, p: 13), in his research states that a large number of Ethiopian women and girls are migrating to the Gulf States with the displacement disguised by voluntary labour migration and better employment opportunities. The demand for domestic workers, particularly Ethiopian ones, is likely to continue in the long term, as they are 'cheaper 'and perceived as more compliant than domestic workers from Philippines and Indonesia. The research further explains that as of 2008 and/2009, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait became the top destination countries for Ethiopian migrant domestic workers, recruiting 61 per cent and 33 per cent respectively. Study conducted by Asefach (2012, p: 23) show that large number of Ethiopian women have become victims of trafficking these days; the migration is lured by false promises of better opportunities and comfortable livelihoods. Most of these women end up as modern day slaves facing unbearable workloads, physical and psychological abuses.

2.2. Trafficking in Ethiopia

A research finding show that in search of job opportunity or income is not detrimental by itself, for many countries gain significantly as a result of remittances of citizens working abroad. Nevertheless, what is unacceptable is that, migrants are trapped into a situation where they become victims of trafficking during the migration process and are made to suffer abuse and exploitation. The research further comments on the complexity of migration becoming trafficking as follows: “*while all trafficking involves migration, not all migration is trafficking*” (as cited in Asefach, 2012, P: 20-21).

A study shows that most victims of external trafficking have either completed high school or only are school dropouts. Consequently, due to the unfavourable circumstances existing in the country, women and young girls are exposed to trafficking through their hope to improve their lives and support their families(as cited in Asefach, 2012, P: 21).

According to Pearson (as cited in Asefach, 2012, p: 23), Ethiopia is mainly a source country for trafficking and young Ethiopian women are trafficked to Djibouti, Lebanon, the United Arab Emirates, Saudi Arabia, and Bahrain for domestic labor. According to local Amharic newspaper (cited in Agrinet, 2004, p: 11) there are around 130,000 Ethiopian males and females residing in the Gulf States, and all of them are labor migrants. The above news paper further notes, even if Ethiopian women wish to migrate for work purposes, many of them become victims of trafficking, lured by false promises of good job, high salaries and an easy life.

According to the study done by Agrinet (2004, p: 26) trafficking of women is almost inevitable, whether the mode is legal or illegal, and in both modes intermediaries are involved in the process. The same study

also expresses surprise that only a small proportion of migrants went through legally registered employment agencies, as compared to those who travelled through local brokers. The study further shows that from the small number of respondents it can be inferred that the majority of the migrant women were trafficked. The study concludes that this is a cause of concern, and the contribution of legal employment agencies in curbing the trafficking of women and children should be investigated. Moreover, the study further found that eighty five percent of migrant women who were received by brokers at the destination countries were trafficked.

2.3. Causative factors of Trafficking

The root causes of trafficking are complex and often interrelated. Poverty, weak governance, armed conflict or lack of effective protection against discrimination and exploitation are some examples. It is important to understand that each country presents specific factors or a combination of multiple factors that are unique to each situation. The causes are generally grouped into “push factors” (that drive people away from their home country) and “pull factors” (that attract people to migrate to another place).

2.3.1. Push Factors

A research shows that poverty is the most frequent explanation cited for the involvement of large numbers of women and girls in domestic works. While it is usually the first answer to this question, as poverty may be a principal catalyst, it cannot solely explain trafficking. The research also indicates in most societies, women get the negligible share of resources. When incomes are constrained, it is the women who undergo most of the suffering first. The study further shows men are forced to look for jobs outside agricultural labor, but women are left without any job at all. Consequently, women are sidelined to an increasing

degree. When they enter the highly cutthroat labor market they are forced to compete with the prevailing male labor force. The study further revealed that women are left with little choice but to take extremely low paid, exploitative work as domestic servants, clothing factory workers, prostitutes, etc. (Bezabih, 2008, p: 32). Hence, another study shows that the search for jobs or economic need seems to have great pressure on women and young girls to succumb to traffickers (Agrinet, 2004, p: 28).

2.3.2. Pull Factors

According to Bezabih (2008, p: 41) the increasing demand of women and young girls in urban areas for domestic work is the major pull factor. With the ever-increasing poverty and limited access to services in the rural areas, women and children are migrating to cities expecting better opportunities.

2.4. Return and Reintegration process of Migrants

There has been relatively little empirical research on return migration. A possible reason for this may be the difficulty of getting adequate and reliable data on return migrants (as cited in Adamnesh, 2006, p: 31). In addition as most migration researches have centered on three other major themes: studies of the initial migration decision; studies of migrant adaptation, assimilation, acculturation, integration; and consequences of migration, there was lesser room for return migration (ibid). Similarly, in the Ethiopian context, as well, nothing has been written on return migration.

According to United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)(2006, p:23), A returnee is an individual who has returned and, within the international framework, this refers broadly to the act or process of going back to the individual's country or community of origin.

The return procedure can be broadly divided into two categories, voluntary return and forced return. The IOM's definition of 'voluntary return' is that "Return based on the voluntary decision of the individual." The concept of voluntary return requires more than an absence of coercive factors. A voluntary decision

is not only defined by the absence of any physical, psychological, or material coercion but also implies that the decision is based on adequate, available, accurate, and objective information. On the other hand, “forced return” is meant by “Return that is not undertaken by the individual voluntarily (IOM, 2005, p: 34).”

The following definition of the reintegration process is taken from *The IOM Handbook on Direct Assistance for Victims of Trafficking* (2007: 81):

The aim of the reintegration process is to provide for a victim’s safe, dignified and sustainable reinsertion into society and a normalized life. Accordingly, the reintegration assistance to victims of trafficking can include a full range of services, from shelter assistance or other accommodation, medical and psychological care, social and legal counselling to reintegration grants, school reinsertion, and vocational training.

The voluntary return is considered to be the most recommended way of return as the voluntary return will facilitate their sustainable return. The definition of sustainable return by IOM was presented as “achieved when returnees are able to integrate in the community of return, without immediate inducement to leave again (IOM, 2005, p: 34)”. Several studies have attempted to link reintegration in the home country with the sustainability. The measure of sustainability of return would be whether those who do return consequently re-migrate or not.

Chaulagai (as cited in Sabiha Yeasmin, 2013, p: 17) in his exploratory study of trafficked women’s experiences and perceptions towards their reintegration had pointed out the almost same view in a broader level. His study illustrated that reintegration of trafficked survivors in Nepali community was challenging as prostitution was considered as shameful work. He presented the various understanding of trafficking among different categories of people. He found that the community people and family members

stigmatized the survivors. He also pointed out that economic independence can work as a solution for the successful reintegration of survivors.

Consequently, according to the IOM, sustainable return has been achieved “when returnees are able to reintegrate in the community of return, often through a productive role as a member of their community, without immediate cause to leave again in an irregular manner” (IOM 2008, p : 4). On the level of the developing country, reintegration is considered to have been successfully promoted once this makes a contribution to development and/or combating poverty by, for instance, the returnee creating more jobs. At the end, the return migration of skilled workers, contributing to a “brain gain” is one of the more recent topics and one in which IOM participates through its Return of Qualified Nationals programmes.

2.5. Concepts in the process of reintegration

In order to understand the reintegration process of Ethiopian female returnees, following concepts are applied to explain the process.

2.5.1. Social Integration

The above literatures reviewing show that the level of integration into the destination country affects the reintegration process of the returning migrants. Therefore, it is necessary to look at the concept of integration into the destination country.

There are four basic forms of social integration: structural integration, cultural integration, interactive and identification integration. Structural integration means of the attainment of rights and the access to position and status in the core institutions of the destination society, such as the economy and labor market, education and qualification systems, the housing system, welfare state institutions and full political citizenship. Cultural integration refers to an individual's cognitive, behavioral and attitudinal change. Interactive integration means the acceptance and inclusion of immigrants in the primary relationships and social networks of the destination society. Identification integration means that the feeling of belonging to the society of the destination country (as cited in Yuko Kato, 2007, p: 14).

As such, process of integration into the destination country will leave some impacts on migrant's physical and psychological aspect. Therefore, in line with the three basic principles for integration, employment, language and interaction with natives will be used to examine the integration of Ethiopian female returnees in this study.

2.5.2. Return migration

Although the focus of this study is reintegration, it is necessary to look at their returning process in order to assess their success or failure of migration experience. By looking at their returning process, it becomes possible to explain under what condition returnees can reintegrate into the home country.

Return migration is a relatively new area of academic study. This is because return migration tends to be a private, individual, or family affair. According to Standing (as cited in Yuko Kato, 2007, p: 15), migration can be separated as seven stages:

1. Migration not ever considered
2. Migration consideration but rejected (for definite future, or temporarily, on a contingency basis)
3. Migration intended/ planned, but timing and/ or destination uncertain
4. Migration in process
5. Migration completed
6. Migration made, and repeated
7. Migration made, returned to area of origin or place of previous residence (ibid).

The last of the seven stages best defines return migration because it has a great impact on the country of origin, transit, and destination. There are impacts on national immigration systems. Return assistance requires legal frameworks and great cooperation between sending and receiving countries in order to make the reintegration process as successful as possible. The most ideal way of return is through voluntary action that is based on the decision of the individual and does not include coercive factors. Assisting voluntary return of irregular migrants can help to reduce the risk of trafficking providing the political and legal policies are in place for reintegration.

2.5.3. Reintegration

As stated in the statement of the problem that reintegration is the focus of this study, this section will deal with the concept of reintegration.

Reintegration is part of migration cycle. Reintegration of returnees is a process of integrating migrants back from their destination country to their country of origin (IOM, 2007, p: 37). Reintegration refers to “a re-inclusion or re-incorporation of a migrant into the society of his/her country of origin (ibid).” This reintegration process is between those who have returned and those who remained at home during their absence. Reintegration is essentially a social and economic process, primary taking place in communities at the local level.

It is said that migrants have difficulty reintegrating into their home countries because of joblessness and social maladjustment depending on the experience in the destination country. There are two aspects in the reintegration debate: the economic reintegration and the social reintegration. This study will look at these two aspects to examine how social and economic factors facilitate their successful reintegration in Addis Ababa.

With regard to economic reintegration, employment opportunities are one of livelihood for them to sustain their life. If they can not secure employment, they have to make a choice of re-migration. In many cases, there are not sufficient employment opportunities available at home when return to their community. Furthermore, migrants will often reluctant to engage in farming or previous low skilled jobs since many of them realized that these jobs could not generate the same amount of money which they gained in the destination country. In cases where returnees can only find unskilled jobs, migrants who

have learned skills in destination countries have to face deskilling and low self esteem (as cited in Yoko Kato, 2007, p: 16-17).

Job opportunity is important for returnees when they returned to the country of origin. If there is sufficient job opportunity, returnees can make a living without re-migrating. Moreover, if the returnees gain human capital in the destination country, it might be possible to secure better or productive job than before their departure (Black and Gent, 2006, p: 41). Therefore, how employment opportunity support their economic reintegration and the use of knowledge acquired in the destination country will be factors to analyze the reintegration process of the returnees in this study.

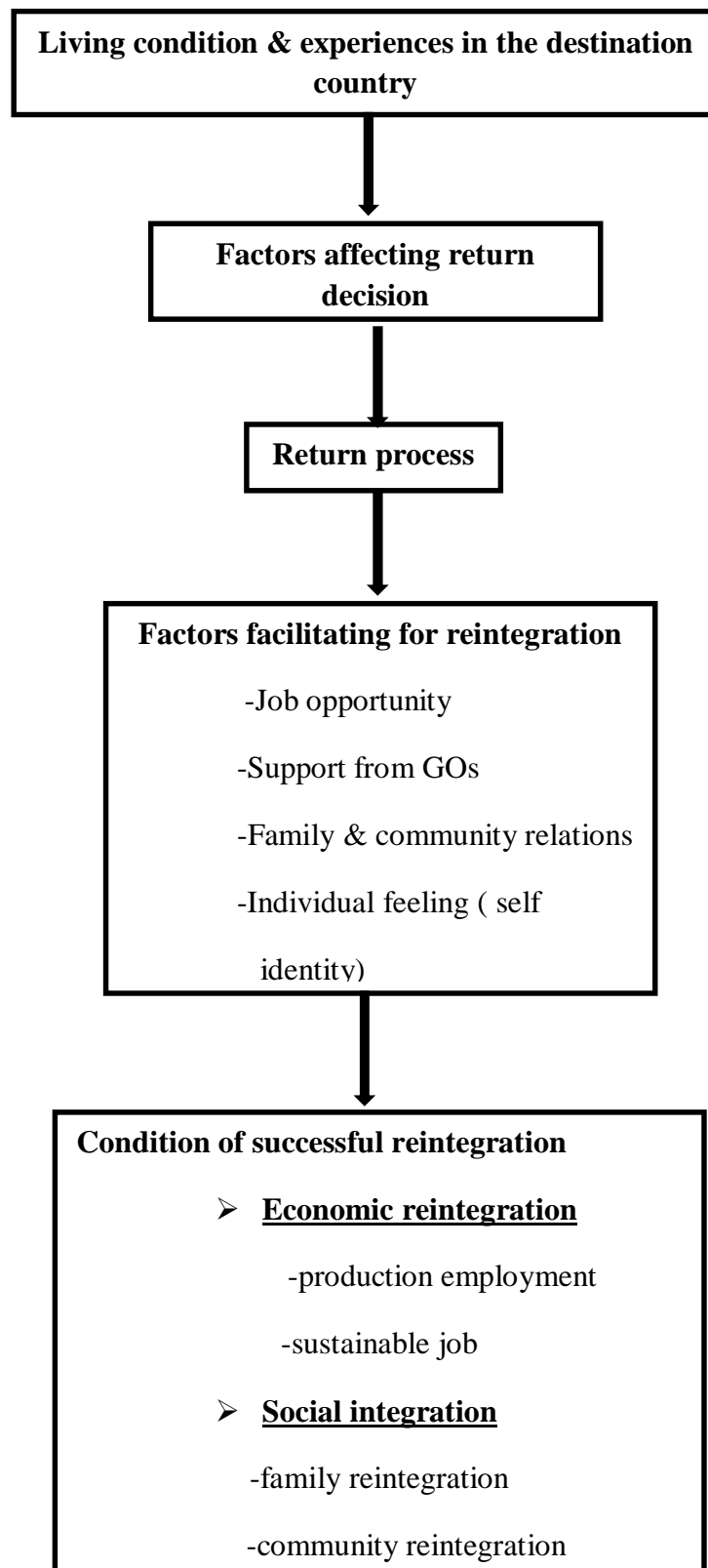
The social aspect of reintegration can be also a crucial factor in the reintegration process. Adjustment back to life in the migrant's home community often requires changes in life style and living conditions. The reception by family and friends who stayed behind and the personal disposition of the returnee can be essential element for social reintegration. It is often argued that returnees experience difficulties such as family disruption due to the long time absence from their family. Family acceptance is the first step when reintegrating into their home society.

The relationship among the people in the community is also an important factor when the returnees are trying to achieve social reintegration. This is because returnees have to adjust themselves into the traditional society again. If the returnees fail to accept their new living conditions, they tend to face with identity crisis and this often leads to personality disorders or trauma (as cited in Yuko Kato, 2007, p: 18).

As such, social environment is also important factor for returnees. Thus, the study attempts to understand how social factors such as family/ community relations and individual feeling have affected reintegration process, as well as economic aspect.

2.6. Conceptual Framework

Figure 1 The Conceptual framework of reintergration process



The idea of the framework is adopted from Yoko Kato (2007, P: 19).

2.6.1. Life experience and integration into the Saudi society

In order to explore the reintegration of Ethiopian female returnees, the living condition of Ethiopian female returnees and their integration into Saudi society has to be understood. Reintegration process will be affected by the experiences in the destination country because the migration experience leaves some impacts on migrants physically and psychologically and would also cause some effects to their life in some extent.

Examining living condition in the destination country will assist us to understand the challenges of integration and whether they were vulnerable or they were benefit from living experience abroad. In addition, their integration into Saudi society also will be analyzed in order to understand their returning process. It is necessary to know what they have gained or lose from their migration experience in order to assess whether their migration was successful or failure. By analyzing this, it becomes possible to know how integration affects their return decision.

2.6.2. Factors affecting return decision

The study of reintegration could not be separated from the returning process. It is necessary to look at their returning process in order to analyze reintegration process. There are two approaches to examine the return migration. Neoclassical approach regards the return migration as a failure of migration experience.

New Economic and Labor Migration approach advocates that migrants return when they achieve their migration objectives. These two approaches will be used to analyze their return process in this study.

2.6.3. Facilitating or hindering factors for reintegration

Reintegration will be affected not only by the migration experience in the destination country, but also some socio economic factors in the country of origin. Since the productive and sustainable jobs are considered to lead women's sustainable reintegration, job opportunity is therefore regarded as one of the most important factor for the smooth reintegration of the returnees (as cited in Yoko Kato, 2007, p: 21). The support from GOs will be also considered as one of the facilitating factor for reintegration, as various kinds of assistance provided by NGOs also contribute to the successful reintegration (Macaranas, 2004, p: 27). In additions, community and family reintegration will also be looked at in this research as a significant factor for reintegration. Family and community acceptance without any disruption or stigmatization would lead to their sustainable social situation (as cited in Yoko Kato, 2007, p: 21). Individual feeling will also be focused, because the mental adjustment is important for successful social reintegration since migrants tend to lose self esteem because there is no job opportunity or deskilling (Macaranas, 2004, p: 27). As such, this research will examine how these factors have influent their reintegration process.

2.6.4. The condition for successful reintegration

The condition for successful reintegration is divided in two aspects, economic and social reintegration. Economic reintegration refers to a migrant into the economic system of his/her country of origin (IOM, 2004, p: 14). Economic reintegration is one of the most important aspects to successful reintegration. This is because the ability to earn income and be productive members of their families plays a significant role

in restoring self esteem as well as overall physical and psychological well being. Since most of illegal migrants migrate abroad because of economic reason and lack of education, securing productive and sustainable job is difficult task for them even after their return. Therefore, securing a productive and sustainable job will be analyzed in this research as a condition of successful reintegration.

Social reintegration is also considered as an important aspect for successful reintegration of returnees. Social reintegration means that “re-incorporation of migrant into the social structures of his/her country of origin (IOM, 2004, p: 17).” Social intervention with the aim of integrating into former society, family and community play an important role for facilitating the social reintegration. In migration studies, it is often stated that after long absence, some have problems with members of the community such as family disruption and stigmatization. Family and community people’s rejection also lead the loss of confidence and feeling of displacement. Therefore, family and community reintegration will be also regarded as a condition for successful reintegration.

CHAPTER THREE – METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

3.1. Study design

This research has employed qualitative method to gather the data required for the issue under study. The method is considered to be appropriate to deal with the scientific questions the research tries to address. Qualitative research according to Russell (as cited in Selamawit,2013, p: 25), takes place in natural settings employing a combination of observations and interviews as primary data sources and scientific literature as well as document review as secondary source. Both primary as well as secondary sources are applied to generate data and information in the study.

Since the study intends to explore a detailed data from one particular community concerning a development approach adopted by external agencies, case study would be the appropriate methodology. According to Creswell (2007), case study research is a qualitative approach in which the investigator explores a bounded systems (cases) over time, through detailed, in-depth data collection involving multiple sources of information (e.g., observations, interviews, audiovisual material, and documents and reports a case description and case-based themes. For example, several programs (a multi-site study) or a single program (a within-site study) may be selected for study (p: 73).The case study is the appropriate methodology for this particular study because it emphasizes detailed contextual analysis of a limited number of events or conditions and their relations.

3.2. Data collection

Data were collected during May 2014 in Addis Ababa, the capital city of Ethiopia. As mentioned before, the study employs qualitative methods involving:

- Documentary research and economic conditions and related studies drawn from libraries and the documents provided by Saudi Arabian embassy.
- In-depth interview with seven Ethiopian female returnees. Key-informants interview with the officer in Arada sub city and Saudi Arabian embassy, respectively.
- Direct observation was conducted mainly in Addis Ababa city particularly Arada sub city, where three of the returnees lived. The researcher visited the home of these interviewees, observing their life, family and community environment.

3.3. Sampling criteria

There is a need to set the criteria of minimum period of absence away from the normal in order to define return migrants. The researcher determined more than two years as the minimum period because according to the International Travel Regulation, a period of one year is considered as migration. To see their reintegration process, the respondents were chosen based on their return and stay in Ethiopia more than five months. This is a purposive sampling. The conditions of women are: entered or stayed in Saudi Arabia illegally, and returned to Ethiopia. Purposive sampling was utilized to select appropriate

participants. According to Singleton (cited in, Asefach, 2005, p. 44) this kind of sampling technique is based on a deliberate decision of the researcher and the sample is selected to include the main representative characteristics or distinctive features of the general population.

3.4. Data Processing and Analysis

Karval (as cited in Asefach, 2012, p: 47) also shows that qualitative methods of analysis focus on the stories told during the interview and works out their structures and their plots which contain a temporal sequence, patterning of happenings. Thus, the researcher has tried to explore the feeling, understanding and experience of participants through in depth interview to determine that it satisfies the research questions and the general purpose of the study. This approach allowed the researcher to explore untold stories of why migrant women end up getting trafficked which hopefully will give new insights and open original ways of understanding the experiences and reintegration process of trafficked females from Ethiopia.

3.5. Ethical consideration

The researcher explained the objectives of the study and obtained consent from the participants before starting the interview. In conducting in depth interview, the participants were explained the interview was for the academic purpose only. Data from Saudi Arabian embassy staffs were used only with the security purpose, real name of interviewees were omitted. The principle of confidentiality and anonymity was observed all through the period of study and report.

CHAPTER FOUR – FINDINGS

The research findings are presented in this chapter. The first part presents qualitative findings and covers the presentation of narrative stories of the participants and followed by analysis.

4.1. Case studies

4.1.1. Case study 1, Helen

Helen was born in Addis Ababa in a large family with a huge poverty. She is the middle daughter in a family of six children, consisting of two brothers and three sisters. She was completed 10th grade with insufficient point for further education. She migrated to Saudi Arabia at the age of twenty one. Now, she is twenty six. After completed 10th grade, she could not find stable job in Addis. Helen was interviewed about five months after her return from Saudi.

After completed 10th grade, Helen worked at a clinic as patient card keeper to support her family. But, it was not enough. At the age of twenty one, her friends used to talk about going to the Arab countries and working there and earning a lot of money to have a good life and help their families. At first Helen was reluctant, but when all four of her friends decided to go, she also made a decision to go to Saudi Arabia. She mentioned considering migration as a better opportunity to improve her life and support her parents. She said her cousin had told her that she would get her a job in Riyadh. She said her cousin had promised

her that she would be working as a baby sitter in Saudi. She recounted her direct flight to Saudi Arabia and her cousin telling her someone will be waiting for her at the airport.

Upon her arrival, an agent came and took her to without any formal process undertaken. The agent took her to a hotel and said that he was going to see her employer and would be back soon. She did pay for travelling, but after she arrived, she was told that she owed a 4,000 USD debt and confiscated her passenger documents including her passport. Two hours later a man came to take her to another hotel saying that she was his property. She could not understand, she kept saying that it was a misunderstanding and that her cousin would come soon. She had come to Saudi Arabia for another purpose. The man told her that the agent had sold her to him, from now on he would have her documents and she had to do whatever he told her to. He said that the next day she had to move to another place and serve all the clients he would send to her. She was shocked by what was happening. The next day he came and took her to another hotel. He said that every day she had to give him \$500, no matter how many clients she would serve. He was so violent. It was a continuous hell. Each day she served many clients. She was not able to move or think. It went on for months. She was living between clients and tears. That was the rhythm of her life. She could not even realize what they wanted from her. The intensity of the process lasted for a couple of months. One day she got terribly sick. He left her alone and sent another Ethiopian woman to visit Helen. That day she understood that it was an organized enterprise and that there were many women from many countries who shared the same fate.

Meanwhile the pimp refused to give back her passport because of the debts he said he had incurred on account of her. She had to work and earn money if she wanted to go back home. Then he introduced her to another man telling that he had sold her to him and that she had to take her passport from him. The next day she was beaten like for the first time. He was an extremely

cruel man. He came every morning to pick up his money and beat me terribly. She had no right to speak or express her concern, everybody knew him well for his cruelty. She did not receive any money from him. He did not even buy food. It all depended on the client's will. She was resold four times. One day, one of her clients was trying to kill her. If it were not for the women in the next room she would have been killed. In his great fear the man was beating her. He squeezed her throat.

Luckily enough there was a police raid in the hotel where Helen was working and she was taken together with other women to a police station and detained. Her pimp did not do anything to release her from prison. She spent four months there. Though it was prison and the conditions were terrible, it was incomparable with what she had gone through before that. Nobody was cruel or rude to her there and she had to wait while her temporary documents from Ethiopian Embassy and the ticket for deportation were arranged. All she had before remained with the pimp, she could not pick up anything.

The most shameful thing happened at Addis Ababa International airport. Helen said "Everybody was treating me as if I was a prostitute, saying bad words. My life has changed since that time." She came back to her home directly from airport. It has been five years since she left her country of origin. However, she hasn't had a job after returning to Ethiopia early. Now, Helen started providing *enjera* for hotels and local shops by making micro cooperation in Arada sub city with other returnees.

Helen's family were glad she returned. She renovated her family's home and bought different furniture after she returned. Few of Helen's relatives lived in the same city and they were also glad that she came back. Since she renovated her home and became wealthy, she became well-known by the people in the neighbourhood. In her neighbourhood, there are many women who had worked in Gulf States or still live in Saudi Arabia and other Arab countries. Migration to Saudi Arabia is very common in this city so Helen thought that the jobs women engaged in Saudi were not a major problem.

Helen said "People think if they go to Saudi Arabia, they can earn higher income than in Ethiopia. It is true but thing does not go so well. It is not easy to make money and working conditions are very hard. People have to work every day. Besides, some Saudi people have bias towards Ethiopians or Habeshi". She has a plan to go abroad again either to Arab countries, except Saudi, or to other countries.

4.1.2. Case study 2, Aster

Aster was born in Addis Ababa with middle income family. Her rationale for leaving was to improve her life by taking care of her financial problems. To this end, she travelled to Saudi Arabia, at the age of seventeen. Currently, this woman is twenty two and the interview was conducted after about six months from her return.

Aster was thirteen when her mother died. Her father and her uncle had been using drugs for many years. Soon her father was imprisoned, she did not know for what offence. Since then she faced a problem: she was unable to pay her school fee. She dropped out of 7th grade. Her uncle

sold everything in their house to buy drugs. When she was 14 he forced her out to the street. She was living in the streets, sleeping under benches in the park. He told her to sell herself if she was not able to find money in another way. She went to the police and they sent me to orphanage center. Once her classmate told her that there was a woman in her neighbourhood helping young pretty girls to go to Arab countries to work for a fashion magazine. She could not believe it. She was so happy. Later the woman told her that after she had arranged documents for her and other persons they would all travel together to Saudi Arabia. After a short while the papers were ready.

There were 7 of them, girls of different ages between 13 and 23. They travelled to Saudi Arabia. The woman who had recruited her had 27 children 'employed', mostly from orphanages, or from the streets. She deals in this business for 12 years already.

The hell Aster lived through at home continued in Saudi Arabia. They placed them in a hotel. They had special interest in young virgins. They were selling them at enormous prices to rich Arab sheikhs for one night, after which they were working with clients like other ordinary girls. They received only a fraction of what the sheikhs gave to the pimp.

Two days later they took them to a night-club and explained the nature of their work and the amount that they should pay them every day. They explained that they had paid a lot of money for their passports and travel, in total US\$ 6,000 for permission to fly and tickets. They were also paying for their room and food. Almost all the children were crying. They could not understand what was expected from them and how they were going to do it. The Arab partner of their pimp was getting angry when he was not getting the amount of money they were expecting them to

provide. He was beating children with a belt and was very violent. She said “I was also crying at the very beginning, but what could I do?” Sometimes there were rich businessmen who hired them every time they came to Saudi Arabia. She was very happy when one businessman called her and said he was coming to Saudi Arabia. He spent his time only with her. He rented a room for her where she stayed and sometimes they went shopping together.

After nights of work they were getting so tired that they could not do anything else but sleep. They did not communicate with each other. They were living in different hotels, even though they were from the same country and were together on the same flight. When their visas expired they travelled with their pimp to Immigration Affairs to extend the visas. They stayed there for no more than two hours. Their passports were usually given to them at the office and taken away after passport control. They could not run away or complain to the police since they assured them that they were bribed.

For the first time, one of her client who was working for the immigration police threatened her pimp and took her passport back. Later on she was caught by the police again, detained for two months and deported. As she was deported she could not even bring the small things that the clients had given to her. Her Arab client promised to send those presents to her.

Aster came back to her home directly. As soon as she came back home, she decided to buy a small one-room flat because she had spent most of her life in the streets and she wanted to have her own home. Her mother already passed away so there was only her father. Aster thought that

her family was disrupting and she was the only one who could take care of her father, even if he is in prison. Her uncle accepted Aster.

After she came back, Aster did not employed since she came back from Saudi since she relies on the savings. But, she hasn't enough to live longer without doing work. Now she goes to massage school to have marketable skill. On the other hand, she entered one of micro cooperatives in Arada sub city. She said that life became better than before migrating to Saudi Arabia. Since she was engaged in the entertainment industry for a long time and she did not have higher education, she thought that if she did not have saving, she would face difficulty on finding job. People in the community gossiped about her a lot. Her family was very poor prior to Saudi, so the community relationship was not well since before. She has bad opinion about Saudi Arabia. She started work in one of massage service giver organization in Addis Ababa. She said if she has a chance she wanted to migrate again, except Saudi Arabia.

4.1.3. Case study 3, Azeb

Azeb is from Addis Ababa and she used to live with her parents before migration. Her father had no job and her mother was working as a petty trader. She migrated to Saudi Arabia at the age of twenty. Currently, she is twenty-four, single and working as a baby sitter. The interview with this respondent was conducted about five months after her return.

Azeb said, after she completed 10th grade, she was able to find a stable job. She was working as a waitress in a café. When the café closed one of the regular clients saw her in the street and said that she was going to Saudi Arabia. She said there was a lot of work in cafes, bars and

restaurants where she could get a better job and salary. The proposal seemed very attractive and she agreed to go. When she went to her house she met another woman there. The woman told Azeb that she was taking a group of women while it was easier to arrange. As she did not have money she paid the ticket for her and gave her US\$ 200 to leave behind for her family. She also took her to the hairdresser and dentist and bought her a dress. She said that she needed to look good in order to get a high salary.

They travelled directly from Addis Ababa. When they arrived in Saudi Arabia one of the women had a problem with her invitation. After a conversation of ten minutes and a phone call to some place all problems were settled and they let them out of the airport. She took them to Jeddah to a small hotel that to say she had completely reserved for them. They stayed there for three days. Their documents were given to the receptionist at the hotel .On the fourth day she said that she could not keep them in this hotel, as it was too expensive. She moved them to a very cheap hotel and told them to stay there and receive their clients. When she heard the word “clients” she was so surprised. She was prepared to work as a waitress. She asked the other woman what they thought about it. Nobody wanted to talk.

The next day their ‘organizer’ came accompanied by an Arab man. They explained to them that they had been sold to him and if they did not do what they were told he could do with them whatever he wished. It is his country and everybody would believe him. Police or immigration officials would not accept complaints. Everybody used his services and they were all his friends. From that day on her misery started: he was sending many clients a day. She did not understand what was happening. She had no right to be sick, she had no right to refuse or choose. She did

not know how he had established the terrible conveyor but the line did not stop. Though they lived in the same hotel with other women from Ethiopia who had come at the same time, they almost did not communicate. When they had couple of minutes in the morning everyone was telling the horrible situation they went through and more horrible stories of other women, especially those from Pakistan. They told that they had found one young beautiful girl who had committed suicide in her room. The body disappeared the same day. No police came. Next day another woman was living in her room. Nothing happened. Later their 'boss' always presented her example to them, telling that their pimps were so merciless.

Once Azeb got so sick that she could not even move, but the pimp wouldn't pay attention to her and kept on sending clients to her. She did not know how she got through that day. She was feeling so hopeless that she decided to die. She thought that whatever she would tell at home, whatever kind of excuses she would offer to her parents, nobody would believe and forgive her. She went to the balcony, thinking that throwing herself out would solve all problems. Immediately she was called in as the next client came. If she did not get terribly sick she would never see her home. She told the pimp that she needed to see a doctor, but she said that it was very expensive and she could not afford it. The next day she was so weak that she could not even stand. She asked the receptionist to call the pimp. She came with a doctor, who said that she needed some medicines for the moment and an operation later on. She asked for her documents to go home but the pimp said that she could not go and would take care of her there. Time passed by and she kept sending more and more clients to her, so that her health condition became worse.

She had no choice, she called her mother and told her to go to the house of the pimp together with police, and tell her relatives that if she did not give her passport to her in Saudi the Ethiopian police would put her relatives in jail. That threat, worked out she gave her passport and a ticket and she came back home.

At the beginning, it was quite difficult for Azeb to find job after return because she only completed 10th grade education. She finally found job at a mobile accessory Shop. However, the work at an accessory shop was very hard and it was located far from her home. At this time, she had already moved out of the environment so could not ask for family's help. She was a member of one of micro cooperatives in Arada sub city.

Since Azeb had a heart disease, this work had bad influence to her. She thought of going again to earn some money to do an operation even if she has a bad image about migration. She would be clever this time and would not be trapped. She have no right to be deceived again, she have a hospitalized mother and need to take care of her.

4.1.4. Case study 4, Wube

She was 23 years old at the time of her interview. It has been 5 months since her return. She was born in Addis Ababa and completed 9th grade education. Her family suffered from poverty. After completing 9th grade education, she worked a few years at a Café as a waitres in Addis Ababa. One day, a broker visited her home and talked about Arab Countries as a good country to earn better income than Ethiopia. Wube thought that working in Arab countries would be good opportunity to help her family.

The broker prepared necessary documents and Wube arrived in Saudi Arabia. They did not charge brokerage in Ethiopia but Wube was told that she owed 3,500 USD when she arrived at Saudi Arabia. She was taken to Jeddah city. She did not move anywhere from Jeddah during her stay in Saudi Arabia. She was 18 years old at the time. She stayed in Saudi Arabia for four years. She was forced to work at a bar, and the boss at the bar was quite violent and punched and kicked her and her colleague everyday. Wube started to suffer from mental illness because of his violence. Although she worked there for four years, she had never received wage. The boss always exploited her wages. Everything was under the boss's control, so she could not contact her family in Ethiopia. At that bar, Wube had to work as a hostess and prostitute. However, the boss did not give the birth-control pills to the workers. One day, she noticed that she got pregnant, but she could not identify who the father was. She delivered her child at the hospital. After a while, entertainers at the bar asked the boss to release Wube and her child. They felt sorry for Wube's situation, and then she was finally released.

The police detained her for two weeks with her three months year son. After that, she deported in Addis Ababa with other irregular migrants. She received some assistance, particularly, transportation fee. She would want any help for children. She had no expectations for what she would do after going back to Ethiopia after five weeks.

She wanted to go back to Ethiopia but she did not know how to return. She ran to the Ethiopian embassy to ask for help. She stayed in shelter home there for 10 days, and the shelter paid the air ticket for Wube and her son and sent them to the airport. Her son was just 3 month old at that time. There was no direct assistance from Ethiopian government. When it comes to Saudi government, they regarded Wube as illegal worker, so not to mention assistance, they might have arrested her. If she could receive some

assistance, she would want any help for children. She had no expectations for what she would do after going back to Ethiopia. She just wanted to run away from Saudi Arabia at that time.

She went back to her community directly. Her father already died a year before she came back. Her family was surprised when Wube brought a child and disappointed that she did not bring any money. She helped with field work at the farm. When the family suffers with so many problems, they sold their farming field. However, it could not cover all the debts, so Wube's family still suffers from the debt. So Wube thinks that life became harder after she returned to Ethiopia. She thinks her family has too many problems. Wube was not able to handle these family problems sometimes and her mental health condition became worse. Therefore, she move out from home and stayed at the bars. Wube cannot open herself to family members. It is because she did not bring economic contribution to the family. Instead, she brought a child who needed to be nursed carefully. However, her niece who is 25 years old is the only one who tries to understand Wube.

The community environment is not a comfortable one for Wube's family. Since her family had been poor, the people in the community did not have a positive opinion toward Wube's family. When Wube returned from Saudi Arabia without husband, people gossiped about her. Wube said that those who migrated to Gulf countries were regarded as prostitutes in her village, and they were expected to bring economic contribution to family and the community. However, in the case of Wube, she did not bring any contribution. Instead, she brought a baby. This became a good for gossip and rumour. Therefore, the community did not help them. For her, it is quite difficult to find a job because she still suffers from mental illness. One day, she fell in a state of panic and burned herself on purpose. Now, she is working in restaurant in Addis, but she is planning to go to Saudi or other countries again by leaving her son with her families.

4.1.5. Case study 5, Abe

Abe was 24 years old at the time of interview, and stayed in Saudi for seven years. Her family was poor. She completed 8th grade education, and then she started sell small products on the street. After she worked there for a few years, her friend found a job in Arab countries. Abe thought this was good chance to gain income to help her family. Her parents did not know what she would do in Saudi.

She entered Saudi Arabia illegally with other Ethiopian women. She was 17 or 18 years old at the time. She thought she was the only one who would go to Saudi from her place, however, there were some girls who were from the same environment. When she arrived at Saudi, she was told that she owed debt. She was sent to one of the city and worked at a bar. She had to work as a prostitute and tried to pay off the debt by working hard. She was not told about this debt in Saudi and she had no idea what she would do in Saudi. She earned around 400 USD per month at this bar and stayed at an apartment with other foreign workers. The boss at the bar was scary so she wanted to repay and leave the bar as soon as possible. She paid off this debt in one and half years, and then she moved to different city. She stayed there for six years.

After she left the bar, she engaged in a service job. She liked to work in Saudi because she could earn a lot of money. That is why she stayed in Saudi for a long period. She saved a lot of money and sent remittances to her family. She met a Saudi guy at the bar. After she done working at the bar, the Saudi guy moved to live with Abe. They lived together for three years. After a while, she noticed that she got pregnant. He agreed with having the child. At this time, she could speak conversational Arabic without any problem.

Her boyfriend agreed with having a child, but he did not want to marry. She went to the Ethiopian embassy not to be deported by the Saudi government. The air ticket was paid by her boyfriend. She arrived in Addis Ababa when she was six months pregnant.

She went back to her home directly. She gave a birth in Ethiopia. Abe did not work after she returned. She received remittances from her boyfriend, so she could concentrate on raising child. She lived with her family. Since her boyfriend still sends remittances, she is financially better off. Her Saudi Arabian boyfriend still sends money every two months. She thinks it is not enough to cover the living costs.

When she returned to Ethiopia, she was glad that she could come back to Ethiopia in safe. However, she said that she liked Saudi because she was able to earn higher income. But, if she had a chance to work again, she wouldn't go back to work again. She said that the life got better than before going to Saudi. However, since she was in a bad health situation requiring special treatment, she needed to consult with the doctor regularly. She said that when she returned, the community also accepted her and she did not face any gossip. Her family did not blame her when she returned to Ethiopia with a child. Abe's daughter was placed with her family and they treated her well.

4.1.6. Case study 6, Meron

Meron is 23 years old and stayed in Saudi Arabia about five years. She migrated to Saudi Arabia when she was under 18 years old. She completed 10th grade education. She was born in around Addis Ababa,

particularly Gelan and her family was poor farmers. When she was in 8th grade, her father passed away, and her mother's health situation was not well. Therefore, she had to work to help her family's finances. She had four sisters and since she is the oldest sister, she had to take care of their mother and her sisters. After she finished 8th grade, she started to sell food on the street for a few years in Addis Ababa. One day, a broker visited her home and told her how profitable working abroad would be to her. The broker did not tell the destination at all and they explained how much she could earn in the destination country. Meron agreed with going abroad because she needed money to help family finances.

She was taken to Djibouti border at first and she found that her friends in the village were also there. She had to stay in the border for two or three weeks. After that, she was taken to Djibouti border. Since Meron and the others were supposed to enter Saudi Arabia as Somali citizen, they were forced to practice how to answer the questions at the officers at the border in Saudi. They were asked to say they were from Somalia, because the country is not stable they had to migrate to stay alive. They were transported by small boat with no space for seating or any movement. Fortunately, nobody was captured and arrested in the Saudi border. The officers received a bribe from the broker and crossed the border.

When she arrived in Saudi Arabia, she was told that she owed a 3,000 USD. She was sent to a bar in Riyadh. She worked there for three years. There were many foreign females at the bar such as Ethiopian, Yemeni and Pakistani. Meron thought that they were brought to Saudi in the same way as her. Meron did not like working in the bar because she had to provide sexual service to many customers. She owed a debt as much as 3,000 USD, but she realized that it was impossible to pay off. Therefore, she escaped from the bar. She ran to the friend house. This friend helped her get out and escaped from the bar.

In the bar, she met a Saudi guy right after running out from Riyadh, and started to live together for a few years. She did not work there because her boyfriend earned for her. She sent small remittances to her family in Ethiopia from his earnings.

One day, she noticed that she was pregnant. She told him about her pregnancy, and then he said that it would be better for her to go back to Ethiopia. The reason behind was, the situation in Saudi was harsh for illegal migrants. And, he said that he would send money for her and their child. Therefore, she decided to return to Ethiopia. She went to Ethiopian embassy and her boyfriend paid for the air ticket.

After she returned, she went back to her home near Addis Ababa. Recently, she tried to contact her boyfriend in Saudi, but there was a problem. Because the phone number of her partner was not working, all the time it is out of service. She tried to contact with her Saudi partner and he also sent remittances for a few months. However, it disappeared gradually. Meron returned to Ethiopia when she was eight months pregnancy. She delivered a daughter in Ethiopia. Since she saved some money in Saudi and received remittances from her partner, she could live without working. Her family accepted her and Meron helped farming the field work. But the farming is not enough to make a living, so she makes traditional crafts for extra money. She is also involved in the community activities.

She said that she was helping to produce clean water for the community. Since she only completed 10th grade education, she thinks it is difficult to find better job than farming. That is why now she planned to go to the school to complete at list 12 grade education. She thinks the life got better than before going to Saudi. But it is because her family used to be too poor. Since she is satisfied with her current life and did not like the job in Saudi, she does not want to go back to Saudi. She did not feel apparent discrimination

from the people in the community. Even though she got pregnant with a Saudi guy, people regarded those who migrated to Arab countries as an object for jealous eyes. She was regarded as successful. However, at the village meeting, some people were gossiping about her. She thought that they felt jealous about her since she had experience in the foreign country.

4.1.7. Case study 7, Mimi

Mimi was born in Addis Ababa city and she was 27 years old at the time of her interview. She completed the 10th grade education. Her father died when she was 15 years old. She is the second of six children. She stayed in Saudi around six years. It has been 11 months since she returned. She has a 4 years old daughter with her in Addis Ababa.

When she was young, her cousin who lived in the same place went to Saudi and they became rich. Every time Mimi's mother told this story to Mimi and she thought that going to Saudi would be better place to make money than in Addis. Mimi's father emigrated from Ethiopia to the Sudan when Mimi was small, so she seldom saw her father. Her mother was alone all the time and Mimi started to think of taking care of her mother by working abroad in the future. After completing 10th grade, she moved to Nazret, a province in Oromia region, to work as a shop seller. However, Mimi's mother suggested she go to Saudi or other Gulf States, and her uncle who had been to Dubai several times and relative in Addis Ababa arranged to send her to Saudi Arabia. They did not explain what kind of job she would get, but she assumed that she would work in entertainment industry.

She arrived at Riyadh airport and moved to other province. There was a guy who was waiting for her and he introduced her to work at a bar. She worked at the bar with a Yemeni boss and Yemeni hostess. She was worried about work because she did not know how to treat customers at the bar. Her friend who worked together helped her and she was able to manage it. She had to pay off her debt as 4,500 USD to the bar, but she did not know that she would owe this debt. They all had to fill a quota every day. She had to take the customer outside. It was quite difficult to achieve this quota. She had to make phone calls to customers often. When she could not get any customers, she took her real boyfriend to pretend like a customer and she paid money for that. She did not like this job because some customers asked to go to a hotel. In this bar, if a customer opened a bottle of alcohol, the hostess could receive money. Mimi could hold her alcohol so she was good at letting those open bottles, and became popular at the bar. However, her health situation became worse and worse because of too much alcohol, and finally she was not able to keep on working. Her boyfriend paid the fees for medical treatment. It was expensive since she was an illegal immigrant and had no insurance.

She met her boyfriend at the bar. He was a carpenter but already retired at that time. He was old and it seems he had a wife. Mimi was a mistress at first. Although she did not know if they were divorced or not, she thought that he already stayed separately from his wife. When Mimi got pregnant his child, he asked her to marry. She accepted his proposal, but she was worried because she already overstayed. However, her husband prepared the documents and he asked her to prepare necessary documents, too. The procedure was complicated but they could do it. However, she still had illegal status. Although she was very worried about her status, she delivered a child in Saudi Arabia with her boyfriend's support. This child was stayed in Saudi until she is three and half year old. After she stopped working at the bar, she just stayed at his apartment and did not have employment. She sent remittances to her mother regularly through her husband's support.

It became difficult to move from place to place and she stayed home because of the government's situation. She tried to fulfil documents for her legal citizenship procedure but she couldn't do it. By fearing the situation in Saudi Arabia she decided to return back. Finally, she returned to Ethiopia with her three and half year old baby girl. Her husband paid the air ticket.

After she returned, she directly went back to her home and stayed with her family. She received economic support from her husband so she did not need to work. After three months, she established a small stationary shop in Addis by using savings and remittances from her husband. Her husband's health situation is bad, so he remains in hospital. He was already over 70 years old now. Mimi makes phone calls regularly. He loves his daughter very much. He sends remittances as much as whenever she calls.

Mimi said she had no difficulties getting into the family and community again. The family member accepted her and took care of her daughter well. However, she said it was because she saved a lot of money and still receives economic support. Mimi said "Some women could not save money in Saudi. I don't know why they could not do that." It seemed she had a sense of superiority to those women. Therefore, she had a good image about Saudi Arabia. But, she said she wanted to go back to Saudi if she gets a chance.

4.2. Analysis of reintegration of Ethiopian female returnees

This section aims to analyze the reintegration of Ethiopian female returnees by examining case studies. The first section will focus on the Causes of migration. The second section will deal with the analysis of the Life experiences in Saudi Arabia of Ethiopian female migrants. Later return process will be noticed in order to ground on understanding for the analysis of the reintegration process of Ethiopian female migrants in the final section.

4.2.1 The reason of migration

In order to respond to research questions set in Chapter II, push and pull factor will be used to analyze reason for migration of the Ethiopian females in Ethiopia.

It is said that migration can occur as a result of push and pull factor. The push factor implies that there is a force which causes a person to move. According to ILO (2011), Similar to the global trend, lack of employment opportunities and increasing poverty are the major factors behind the prevalence of migration and trafficking from Ethiopia. The overall context of poverty, especially rural poverty, is the most important push factor. Socio-economic poverty is manifested in the form of a large and predominantly young rural population with limited access to means of production such as land, limited access to social services, including vocational and higher education, and limited employment opportunities (p: 21).

In this research, most of the women that I interviewed had described themselves as poor or coming from poor families. Therefore, the demand for cash to pay for other means of living forced them to earn more money in which migrating to seek employment outside as one of their solutions.

“My family was very poor farmer and my father died when I was in 6th grade at school. Furthermore, my mother’s health situation was also bad. I had four sisters, and the oldest sister was taking care of my mother. I could not go to the higher school since I had to help my family finance. I went to Addis Ababa to work to sell food on the street. But, I could not make enough money so I went back home. When the broker visited my home, I agreed to go because I needed money (Meron).”

Based on the result of my observation in Arada Sub City, it could be argued that Ethiopian migrants are generally from the lower economic classes. All of the interviewees in this research raised the economic problems and poverty as their reason to migrate to work outside. Therefore, it could be argued that the poverty is one of the push factors for women to migrate in seeking a better income for their family.

Moreover, the education level is also a push factor for migration decision. The level of education of current Ethiopian female migrant workers is getting higher, women’s education in this study was relatively high. Four of them completed a high school education in this study. Least of them finished only primary education. The lack of higher education prevents women from securing a better income.

Furthermore, the other pushing factor that specifically drives women to migration is the socially constructed gender discrimination within the society. The norm of Ethiopian society provides boys the privilege to attend education until the university level. Girls on contrary are mostly limited to the

domestic sphere and are obliged to obey for their parents will. This limits them from involving in and competing for economic progress of themselves, their family as well as the state at large. The role assignment of rearing children among other duties kept them in the private area of domestic life. As defining push factor is a driving force for women to move to another place, it can be said that the traditional role of women was revealed as one of the push factors in this research.

According to ILO (2011, p: 24) Pull factor is defined as force that encourage a person to move. This cause elaborated as follows, the major destination countries for Ethiopian migrant workers and victims of trafficking have experienced favourable economic conditions that have enhanced the living standards of their nationals. This has in turn created a shortage in low-paying, informal, and dangerous sectors, such as domestic work, construction, agriculture and sex work. To address this gap, countries of destination are looking towards developing countries where they have a significant comparative advantage in terms of better payment offers and living conditions. Unskilled young people in developing countries such as Ethiopia find these work and living conditions very attractive to improve their life. The migration of Ethiopian women in this research is also being able to explain by a pull factor since all of the women interviewed migrated to work in Saudi Arabia, a country renounced for the better economic condition and higher income.

It is said that Saudi's good economic conditions have motivated many Ethiopian migrants to work there. Moreover, there have been demands for unskilled labours in Saudi Arabia in which low educated Ethiopian people can engage. This economic difference is a main pull factor for motivating Ethiopian women to migrate to Saudi Arabia. In this study, many interviewees regarded Saudi Arabia as a rich and developed country and had heard of Saudi Arabia and other Arab countries from friend or someone in their society. However, their information about Saudi Arabia was limited. They only knew about Saudi

Arabia's economic situation. They did not have any negative information about the life of Ethiopian nationals in Saudi Arabia. This image of Saudi Arabia is also one of the pull factors of their decision to migrate.

As such, it could be argued that reason for migration for the Ethiopian female in this research are both pushed by severe economic condition, lack of education, traditional value of women; there were pulled by good image of Saudi Arabia economic condition. Most of interviewees decided to migrate to Saudi Arabia due to economic reason. They also had to take responsibility to take care of their parents. The family and community expected them to bring some economic contribution to the home society. This expectation from people in home society and economic contribution has relationship on women's reintegration psychologically. It will be discussed in the last section.

4.2.2. Life experiences in Saudi Arabia

In order to respond to the reintegration of Ethiopian female returnees, sub questions on the life experiences of Ethiopian female returnees has to be understood. Reintegration process will be affected by the experiences in the destination country because the migration experience gives some impacts on migrants physically and psychologically and would cause some effects to their life to some extent.

Examining life experiences in Saudi Arabia will assist us to understand the challenges of integration and whether they were vulnerable or they were benefit from living experience in Saudi Arabia. Some

literatures imply that the poor working condition in Arab Countries has some effect on their psychological aspect.

Experiences of Ethiopian female migrants in Saudi Arabia, means that migrants learn something different in the destination country. It is necessary to know what they gain or lose from the migration experience to understand whether their migration was successful or failure. By analyzing this, it becomes possible to know how experience affects their return decision.

4.2.2.1. Vulnerability in Saudi Arabia

As stated above, it is necessary to look at positive and negative experience in Saudi Arabia to understand the challenges of integration and how it affects their return decision, as well as reintegration. Moreover, since all the women in this research entered Saudi Arabia illegally, there is a need to examine vulnerability forced by them during their stay in Saudi Arabia. It is said that illegal migrant women are vulnerable in destination countries because they tend to engage in low status job such as domestic work or sex work and there are risk to be involved in poor working condition.

The working condition in Saudi Arabia could reveal the vulnerability of Ethiopian migrants. The interviewees in this study described how they suffered from the severe working condition in Saudi Arabia as follows. Illegal migrants in Saudi Arabia, the women who entered or stayed in Saudi Arabia illegally and those who were sent to the bar were subjected to poor working condition, because these women tended to face a large amount of debt, no wages, no freedom to move alone, long working hours and

violence from the customers, and since illegal migrants did not have access to social service such as health service, their health situation became worse.

Freedom of movement is the first point that women whom I interviewed expressed in concerning with working condition. For instance, some did not receive any wages at the bar or hotel while paying off the debts. Helen's case revealed that she used her wages mostly for paying her debts. When it comes to Wube, the boss at the bar took her wages all the time. They were under the control of bar owners and had to stay in an apartment with other bar workers. Shege said that she had no freedom at the bar and outside of the bar since the boss stayed at the same apartment and accompanied her whenever she went out. Wube also argued that she had no freedom to move unaccompanied as her violent boss would supervise her movements. These strict controls has therefore reduced their interaction with Saudi citizens outside of their working place and discouraged the women from interacting with other Saudi citizens.

The second point is debt that all the interviewees referred to when describing their vulnerability and limitations. All of the seven women interviewed had a debt of between 3,000 to 4,500 USD each. Although most of the interviewees were recruited by local brokers, they were not informed of this debt in advance. They were only told about the debt when they arrived in Saudi Arabia. The amount of the debt was different for each case. Meron said that she escaped from paying the debt since she thought it was impossible to repay. According to the interviewees, the time to repay the debt was dependent on the pimp or bar where they worked. If the owner of the bar or pimp was unkind and greedy to make a profit, they charged various finesse to the women and it became even more difficult to pay their debts back over a short period of time.

According to the secondary information (Asefach, 2012, p: 71), women who went to work abroad had to pay the total amount of their travel fee to the broker before leaving Ethiopia, therefore most of them needed to borrow the money. In contrast, women who were sent to work in the hotels or bars were informed of owing their debt only after arrival in Saudi Arabia. It is assumed that this is to prevent the women from escaping from the hotels or bars. Since all interviewees said that they did not like their job at the hotels or bars, it seemed that the debt was a useful tool to keep the women under the pimps or bar owner's control.

Since they had provided sexual services to Saudi men until their debts were cleared, most of them said that they did not like their jobs at the hotels or bars. Most of respondents worked very hard at the hotels or bars to repay the debt which they owed. They said that they had to work long hours a day and that they were given inadequate rest periods. It was impossible to send remittances, because they were also not allowed to have contact with relatives in Ethiopia until the debt was repaid.

Therefore, debt appeared to be a limitation for all the women to economically benefit from their employment. Debt has also become a barrier for them to maintain the relationship with their relatives in Ethiopia since the means of communication was cut till they could pay off their debt as mentioned above.

The third point that interviewees expressed about their working condition in Saudi Arabian society is "violence". It is perhaps one of the most influential tools imposed by owner or pimps to control the women, and has left many impacts on women's physical and psychological aspects. Below are the extract of interview from Helen and Wube, who expressed their fear of violence.

“My boss always punched and kicked me even though I did nothing wrong. If I did not obey boss’s order, I was tied up to a tree in the snow. He did not hear any excuse from me. He did not regard me as a human being. He always told about the debt to control me (Wube).”

“One of my clients was trying to kill me. If it were not for the women in the next room I would have been killed. In his great fear the man was beating me. He squeezed my throat (Helen).”

They were threatened with punishment by those operating and protecting the hotels or bars and by clients when they resisted or escaped. In the case of Wube, she was always subject to violence from her boss; it was this violence she claimed that had coursed her to have a mental illness. This violence was used to prevent her from escaping the debt. According to her, most of the women who were working at that bar received serious violence from the boss. This bar did not provide any contraceptive devices such as the contraceptive pill. In the case of Helen, she encountered violent customers. She was squeezed her throat by a customer in a hotel, where she was unable to refuse due to fear of violence. Thanked the woman next door she is alive. These women, who were deceived and sent to the hotels or bars in Saudi Arabia, were beaten or subject to sadistic violent by their clients, were left with permanent psychological scars.

As such, the interviews with all the women in this research could lead to the explanation of the working condition in Saudi Arabia as poor and severe in which women were socially and economically vulnerable. This situation did not allow them to earn money which was the first objective to come to Saudi Arabia. The working conditions in Saudi Arabia surprised greatly the prediction of women. As Sabiha (2013, p: 48) argued in her research of Bangladesh female migrants who were force to be prostitutes, it was difficult for the women to be empowered by the migration experience economically and socially because

of these severe working conditions. Similar situation was found in this study that the women in the hotels or bars were not being empowered socially and economically. Thus, it is necessary to examine how this vulnerability in Saudi Arabia affects their reintegration process, and it will be discussed in the last section.

4.2.2.2. Experiences of integration into Saudi society

In order to understand women's return decision and their reintegration process, it is important to look at their integration into Saudi society since the degree of integration will influence their return and reintegration process.

In general, migrants will not be always welcomed by the destination country. They will encounter barriers to integration, such as prejudice and discrimination. For such barriers to be overcome, the destination society needs to engage in a shared process of integration. According to IOM (2005, p: 53) integration does not require migrants to adjust their whole values. Integration recognizes different value systems and cultural practice within society. The process of integration concerns all aspects of life in a society, and includes migrants as well as the host society. In this section, the integration approach was adopted to analyze their level of integration. This approach is directly picked from the work of Yuko Kato (2007, p: 58).

It was observed in this study that all of women interviewed had tried to integrate themselves into Saudi's society through different agencies. In this section, the analysis on Ethiopian women's integration into Saudi society will be analyzed through the employment, language and their Saudi partner. These three were considered as agencies which facilitate their integration into Saudi Arabian society.

The first tool, which facilitates their integration in to Saudi society, was employment. For migrants, the employment is the first step to be involved into the society since they become a member of labour market and have many opportunities to interact with local people in the host society. As Common Basic Principles for Immigrant Integration Policy in the European Union (as cited in Yoko Kato, 2007, p: 59) stated, employment is a key part of the integration process and can be an important way for immigrants to make a social and economic contribution to their host society. This section will examine how women in this study used employment as a tool of integrating into the society.

Trafficking in women from Ethiopia very often occurs for the purpose of home servitude or prostitution. All my informants were engaged in prostitution. All of them had gone through sexual exploitation. All Ethiopian women in this study were employed whether at the hotels or bars. As mentioned in the first section, the working condition at the hotels or bars was very poor. However, even though they worked under hard working conditions and did not like the job they were assigned, some women noted that they received recognition by the customers and highlighted this as a positive aspect to migrating.

Mimi, for example was sent to the bar, but at first she did not know how to treat the customers. Her friend taught her how to treat and serve customers and she was about to acquire the skills needed, learning at a fast pace. The skills Mimi learned from her friend and her high tolerance for alcohol made her popular at the bar and enabled Mimi to earn a bones. It was observed that she succeeded in integrating herself into the working environment in the destination country through her level of performance at work. She also gained confidence since she was recognized by the Saudi customers.

In terms of their adaptation into the Saudi society, some who worked at the hotel or bar which did not have very strict controls also began to adapt them into the Saudi society.

In the case of Meron who escaped from the bar due to the heavy debt, while researcher took an interview with her, she was keen to show many pictures in Saudi Arabia including the pictures of the snack bars. The researcher observed that there were many materials in her room and that other workers were smiling, it appeared that Meron had enjoyed her time.

Even though they were in the hotels or bars which were supposed to be very strict control, some of them did not face such situation in this study. Therefore, it could be said that employment did facilitate some women to integrate into Saudi society, and gave them some positive image towards Saudi Arabia.

The second tool, which facilitates their integration in to Saudi society, was language. According to IOM (2005, p: 55), language is a fundamental basis for any interaction within society. Therefore, linguistic integration is among the first necessary steps, and the proficiency level of migrants in the language of the host country provides an important insight into this aspect of integration. This section tries to look at how Ethiopian female migrants use Arabic language as an integration tool.

In this study, interviewees revealed that while working at the hotel or bar, they learned Arabic and were able to communicate with the customers more or less on their own. Some women acquired enough Arabic skills to speak quite well such as Helen, Abe, and Mimi, even though they did not have much of a higher educational background. For instance, Abe obtained a command of Arabic that enabled her to work in an

Arabic related work field when she returned to Ethiopia. She said she enjoyed staying and working in Saudi Arabia because she could earn enough income, and her Arabic language skill was quite adequate when communicating with others in Saudi Arabia. Helen learned enough Arabic skill from clients and business men from Ethiopia and Mimi learned enough Arabic skill from their Saudi Arabian husband, and it helped them to be a member of social network.

As such, language played an important role for women's integration into Saudi Arabian society, as IOM (2005, p: 55) defined. This Arabic language skill can be regarded as social capital which they gained from the experience of living in Saudi Arabia. It will be further explained in the last section how Ethiopian female returnees make use of this language skill when they reintegrate into Ethiopian society.

The third tool, which facilitates their integration in to Saudi society, was Saudi partner. As stated in the previous section, some women found their Saudi partner and received financial assistance and social protect. Thus, it could be considered that Saudi partner was one of the agencies which facilitate some of the women to integrate into Saudi society. This section attempts to examine how these women are involved into Saudi Arabian society through Saudi partner.

Most of the women in this research found a certain partner in Saudi Arabia. All of them met their partners at the bars. These women experienced integration through their Saudi partner and tried to receive social and economic protection by their Saudi partner. The remaining women, who worked in the hotels under the control of pimps, were not in this kind of relationship with Saudi partners.

Therefore, it was observed that Ethiopian women who stayed in Saudi Arabia adapted into Saudi culture by staying with their partners closely, and broadened their social network through their partners. Once they were married and recognized as a legal wife, they were expected to be a housewife who has Saudi way of thinking by the husband family and his friends. Through these relationships, the women were integrated into Saudi society.

To sum up this section, it could be said that all women had different experience in this study and adapted themselves into the Saudi society with different degree. Mimi and Abe enjoyed the situation in Saudi with their special skills, while others said that they did not want to go back to Saudi.

From seven interviewees, their integration into Saudi society differed according to the situation. Mimi succeeded in gaining a prominent position as a bar employee, and gained the recognition of her customers. Abe also learned Arabic skill and enjoyed working in Saudi Arabia. Helen, Aster and Azeb didn't see the outside Saudi society and also they were not building any relationship out of their work place to have Saudi partner and they were confined to integrating through employment and language. Wube and Meron were vulnerable economically and socially even if they had Saudi partner. Based on integration, it is possible to argue that working in the bars is relatively paved the way for integration than working in hotels.

Through conducting the interviews it could be argued that there are two important points which affected the women's integration into Saudi society: firstly the working condition and secondly Saudi partner. The women at the hotels or bars did not have much freedom and engaged in the entertainment industry, which was regarded as a job of low social value. Even after the women, who had Saudi partner, had left the

hotels or bars the only job prospects available for illegal Ethiopian workers were unskilled labour employment opportunities. Some also had received terrible violence.

In terms of their Saudi partner, having a relationship with a local partner seems a good way to receive protection. The Ethiopian women interviewed faced difficulties surviving in Saudi Arabia and needed to integrate into Saudi society, and a relationship with a Saudi male is one of the ways to assist most women to prolong their stay and integrate into Saudi society. However, by becoming involved with a Saudi male the women tended to rely heavily and depend more on their relationship making them less independent and more subject able to their partners influence over their lives.

The following section will examine how these experiences and different level of experiences of integration into Saudi Arabia affected their return decision and reintegration process

4.2.3. Returning process

Although the focus of this study is reintegration, it is necessary to look at their returning process in order to assess their success or failure of migration experience. By looking at their returning process, it becomes possible to explain under what condition returnees can reintegrate into the home country.

Theoretically, there are two approaches to examine the return migration (as cited in Macaranas, 2004, p: 47), neo-classical approach and New Economic Labour Migration approach (NELM). According to neo-classical approach, the return migration seems to be viewed as the outcome of a failed migration

experience which did not bring the expected benefits. On the other hand, New Economic of Labor Migration approach regards the return migration as part of the migration project and it occurs once the migrants achieve their objectives in destination countries. These two theories are adopted from Macaranas (2004, p: 47) to analyze the returning process.

The return procedure can be broadly divided into two ways, voluntary return and forced return. The IOM's definition of 'voluntary return' is that "Return based on the voluntary decision of the individual (2005, p: 78)." The concept of voluntary return requires more than an absence of coercive factors. A voluntary decision is not only defined by the absence of any physical, psychological, or material coercion but also implies that the decision is based on adequate, available, accurate, and objective information. On the other hand, "forced return" is meant by "Return that is not undertaken by the individual voluntarily." According to the interview, two of the interviewees came back by forced return procedure and five of the interviewees came back by their voluntary decision since none of the five was arrested or deported by the authorities. Helen and Aster were with no legal status that have failed to fulfil or no longer fulfil the conditions for their staying on the territory of host countries and were, therefore, led to go back to Ethiopia. The voluntary returnees' return does not mean of absence of material coercive. The pregnancy and childbirth was the primary reason attributed by nearly most interviewees for their decision to return back to Ethiopia. Since the medical fees and living costs in Saudi Arabia were expensive for those who do not have national insurance, it was almost impossible to deliver and bring up a child in Saudi Arabia without support from a Saudi partner as an illegal worker. On the other hand, the policy of Saudization of Saudi government towards illegal workers also contributed a lot for their decision to go back to Ethiopia. The other reason to return home was severe health situation.

The women also expressed their concerns about having a child in Saudi. They were worried about giving birth with an illegal status since they were not familiar with any laws in Saudi Arabia. Moreover, being illegal migrants in Saudi Arabia means that they are always consumed by the fear of arrest.

Although the pregnancy was a primary motivating factor to determine their return decision, living condition in Saudi Arabia as an illegal migrant and failure or success of migration is also a secondary factor to affect their return decision.

For example, neo-classical approach can be applied in the case of Azeb and Wube. As neo-classical approach argues that decision to return arises from the failure to achieve migration's objectives, these two women returned because they miscalculated the cost of migration and were not able to reap the benefits of higher earnings. As Wube only worked at the bar and she was exploited by the owner of the bar, she was not able to save money as expected. Moreover, as neo-classical approach argues that return migration occurs when their human capital was not rewarded as expected, Azeb and Wube were not able to gain productive or useful skills which they would be able to utilize when they return. Since Azeb and Wube were subjected to the violence in the work site, they revealed that they were tired of staying in Saudi Arabia, and wishing to come back to Ethiopian. Therefore, it could be said that their migration was a failure socially and economically since they were not able to achieve any migration goals.

On the other hand, NELM approach can be applied for Meron, Abe and Mimi case. This approach regards return migration as natural outcome of a successful experience abroad during which migrants met their objectives. These three women found their Saudi partner who provide financial support, and were able to save some amount of money. They answered that they wanted to stay longer if they did not become

pregnant and if the government policy towards illegal worker not became worse. It could be said that they were able to achieve their migration objectives which in these cases means economically successful. Although the pregnancy and the government policy motivated them to return, the migration experience was successful for them, as NELM approach argued.

It should also be noted that the reaction from Saudi partner can be attributed as one of the affecting factor of return decision. Many women expressed the feeling that their Saudi partner did not want to take the responsibilities to take care of them. The pregnancy was a factor for the Saudi partner to determine whether he should get married or not. If their Saudi partner refuses to help them, women would fall into the vulnerable situation since it means women lose the social and financial protection. Others who did not legally marry said that their pregnancy with a Saudi partner and his reaction had some common features. One of those who delivered a child in Ethiopia was told by her Saudi partner to go back to Ethiopia. Another interviewee said that her partner wanted to have a child but he did not want to marry her. Behind these concerns, it shouldn't forget the catastrophic condition illegal migrants faced concerning to the Saudi government policy.

To sum up the return migration process of women in this study, it could be said that their return decision was made not only by the failure of the migration experience, but also when they achieve the migration goals, these factors were visible in the women's decision to return to Ethiopia.

4.2.4. The experience of process of reintegration for Ethiopian female returnees

The process of reintegration is the focus of this study, and as analyzed in the previous sections, their reintegration will be affected by the life experiences in Saudi Arabia.

Moreover, there are also possible facilitating factors for reintegration: Job opportunity, support from GOs, family and community relations and individual feeling. In order to understand how women reintegrate into the society, it is necessary to investigate how these socio economic factors support their reintegration.

For returnees, job opportunity is important since most of them migrated abroad for economic reason. If they are not able to find job in the country of origin, they might choose the re - migration option. Moreover, if GO provide economic assistance or vocational training, returnees' condition could be better. In terms of family and community relations, if migrant's family and community accept them as before and there is no family disruption or stigmatization, this would lead their sustainable social situation. Individual feeling is also important to leads their social reintegration successful. Migrants tend to feel low self esteem because of no job opportunity. This section tries to analyze how the above factors support their reintegration.

4.2.4.1. Experience on economic reintegration

It is said that migrants have difficulty reintegrating into their home countries because of joblessness and social maladjustment (ILO, 2011, p: 70). Employment opportunities are one of the most important aspects to successful reintegration as they provide secure salaries to their families. Therefore, in order to respond the research question, it is necessary to look at economic aspect of reintegration.

The following section will further examine the economic situation of returnees based on explanation of employment situation.

(A). Job opportunity and occupation shift

As mentioned above, job opportunity is important for returnees when they returned to the country of origin. If there is enough job opportunity, women can make a living without re-migrating. Moreover, if women gain human capital in Saudi Arabia, it might be possible to secure better or productive job than before their departure. Therefore, how employment opportunity support their reintegration and the use of knowledge acquired in Saudi Arabia will be analyzed in this section.

According to the interview, when the women went back home, they all went back to their community. But they did not work immediately, since, the job opportunity was limited and nearly most women in this study, returned to Ethiopia with a small child or while being pregnant. Most of them did not work for a few months. They lived with support from their Saudi Arabian partners or their savings from Saudi Arabia, or support from the family.

After taking up the employment, one respondent was back to work in the agricultural sector which she had previously worked before. Meron began to help her family farming community and additionally, she made traditional crafts for market. Wube was also back to the waitress job which she had previously worked before.

The occupational shift was seen in four cases, Helen, Azeb, Abe and Mimi. Helen started to work in supplier of *enjera*. Azeb started to work at Mobile accessory shop. Abe started to work at a guest house which provides services for many Arab tourists and Mimi started her own small business, stationery shop.

It was observed that only Abe used the skills which she learned from her experience in Saudi Arabia. She began to work at a guest house where many Arab tourists were guests. Although she only completed elementary school education, she was able to work because of her Arabic language skills. In her case, the experience in Saudi Arabia helped her to gain employment. It can be said that she earned social capital in Saudi Arabia. Other interviewees, who also had enough Arabic language skills, did not find Arabic related jobs because there were no such opportunities in their living environments. Moreover, Abe still receives the remittances from her Saudi Arabian partner as much as every two months. Considering the fact that the salary in the guest house would not be high enough to bring up her child, if her Saudi Arabian partner stops sending remittances, she would be economically vulnerable.

Mimi established a small stationary shop by using the money from her husband. She invested her savings and remittances from her Saudi Arabian partner into this business. It is assumed that she has enough financial management skill to secure her economic stability and has confidence to succeed based on her successful experience at the bar, but it is too early to tell how long the remaining businesses will survive. It has been about 3 months since she established her shop, and it seems her shop is in a stable situation. She still receives a large amount of remittances from her husband in Saudi. She said that he gave as much as whenever she called. However, he is old and hospitalized now, so it is uncertain whether he can keep on sending the remittances. Thus, her experience in working abroad does not help her present business, because she has not learned some new skills. However, it was helpful to her since because she was able to secure the needed capital to start her own business and have the funds needed to pay for the start up costs.

In the case of Azeb, she used to work at café and restaurant in Addis Ababa before going to Saudi Arabia, and she worked as an entertainer in Saudi Arabia. After she returned, she started to work at Mobile

accessory shop. However, she did not think she gained skill in Saudi Arabia, as Macaranas (2004, p: 59) argued that particularly for the women migrants in vulnerable occupations gained no values-added experience. She said that only jobs qualified for her were unskilled labour because she only completed 10th grade education. She had a disadvantage of finding employment because of not sufficient education. This fact shows that the employment situation for low education females is still inadequate. She expressed that it was very hard to work at the accessory factory because she had to work long hours and the location is far from her home. In addition to these problems her health situation was getting worse and she had a hospitalized mother who needs to be taken care of.

Considering from the human capital perspective, Azeb did not gain the skill which could strengthen her economic condition. She was not able to secure expenses of her. Abe has improved her market value in the workplace by using the skills which she learned, however the job she gained is not financially productive enough to enable her to bring up her child. Mimi who seemed to have a stable economic situation was not totally independent. Many of them stated that there were only entertain jobs or daily jobs in the city available when they returned. In addition, since the education level of these women is relatively low, it was difficult for them to find profitable jobs. The only jobs they could find were unskilled jobs.

It can be concluded that few returnees could make use of the experience in Saudi Arabia to find a job in Ethiopia, and employment opportunity did not so much facilitate their reintegration because there were only limited number of job available for them. As conceptual framework suggested, it was because they gain no-value added experience in Saudi Arabia. Most of them did not have useful experience in Saudi Arabia and did not hold adequate qualification for productive job. Therefore, the women encountered difficulties when they try to seek employment.

(B). Second migration (re – migration)

According to the research of Asis (as cited in Macaranas, 2004), those who are seeking employment overseas again have several commonalities: “they were poor prior to migration (i.e. poorer compared to the others); they worked as entertainers; and they were economically vulnerable upon their return (p: 63).” In this research, Wube fulfils all these points as she has highlighted how her vulnerability and family’s poverty have played decisive roles in shaping the destiny of her life.

It can be argued that Wube could not achieve her migration goal. She did not receive any economic support from anyone and no saving. Upon her return, there was only waitress job available for her due to her weak academic background. She said that since she did not bring any money from Saudi, she needed to help her family more. She expressed her disappointment that she could not make enough money to stabilize the family finances. As she said in her interview, contributing to the household finances was a desirable result for migrant workers. If it was not achieved during the first migration, then a second migration would occur. However, if women decided to re migrate, then the children, if they have a child, would be left behind in someone else’s care.

One can conclude that second migration occur when the socio-economic condition of returnees was not sustainable. The women in this study had worked as entertainers, four of them decided to re-migrate again. Therefore, Helen’s, Aster’s, Azeb’s and Wube’s cases showed that economical situation upon their return would have more impact on their second migration decision than the occupation in the destination country, and this economic situation upon return was related to their success or failure of their migration experience.

(C). Financial support from Saudi Arabian partner

The new factor facilitating their reintegration was found through the interview. According to the interview conducted, many of the interviewees received some economic assistance from their Saudi Arabian partner in the beginning.

Through analyzing the data, this financial support from Saudi Arabian partner played a vital role in the women's reintegration while they were pregnant and in the early stages of child-bearing. The women interviewed in this research were not able to work actively due to the pregnancy and child-bearing upon their early return. However, it was highlighted through primary research that the women could rely on the remittances from their Saudi Arabian partners and that by using this financial means they could survive without securing employment. This financial support helped the women to take a first step to resettlement. The women interviewed also highlighted how the remittance they received had helped them to overcome financial obstacles such as possible debt and of having small scale business. The women also noted that the remittance helped them not to rely on family handouts or have to work in unskilled employment.

The amount of remittances from Saudi Arabian partners did cover a wide range economically. In most cases, the women would make a phone call to their partners asking for necessary money. Mimi said her husband sent remittances of as much as whenever she called. Abe said that her partner sent remittances of every two month, which was not enough for her. The remittances from their partners were mostly used for expense of bringing up children. Many of the women interviewed hoped that their Saudi Arabian partners would continue to send money.

However, some lost contact with their Saudi Arabian partners for various reasons. Meron said that it was because of the phone number reasons to gate, there was no other way to communicate. Abe and Mimi were still receiving some money, but the amount had decreased over time. These two women, who still receive economic support, said that they were also worried if their partners stop sending remittances.

In sum, although the remittances sent by the women's Saudi Arabian partners did help the women reintegrate in the early stages, problems would arise if their partners stop sending the remittance. A number of the women were forced to seek employment once they have not any remittances to take; it was difficult for women to obtain productive and sustainable employment due to their lack of academic background.

4.2.4.2. Social reintegration: social and cultural change

According to the conceptual framework, the social aspect of reintegration can be crucial factor in the reintegration process, since they have to adjust their life into the home society. It was considered that the migration experience changed their psychical or psychological aspect more or less. In this section, how family and community relationship affect their reintegration will be analyzed, as well as the influence of migration experience.

(A). Family relations

Family relations play an important role in the reintegration process. It is often argued that returnees experience difficulties such as family disruption due to the long time absence from their family. Family

acceptance is the first step when reintegrating into their home society. Since most of the women migrated to Saudi Arabia in order to help family finance and also obligation of taking care of parents, the economic contribution from daughter is a long awaited result for their family.

In this study, four of the women bore children to Saudi Arabian men; some gave birth to the children in Ethiopia while others had the children in Saudi Arabia. When the returnees arrived back to Ethiopia they could not anticipate the reception they would received from their families. However, most of women in this study answered that their family accepted them and their child except in the case of Wube.

Looking at all the cases and considering the commonalities, it could be argued that they were accepted by their families because most of the women had received economic support from their Saudi Arabian partners, even if only at the beginning of their return back to Ethiopia. In addition, those who stayed in Saudi Arabia after working at the hotels or bars could save money; this also allowed the women to contribute toward their families.

In the case of Wube, however, her migration to Saudi Arabia did not yield economic success and lead to her family being resentful about her return. As Wube was not well accepted by her family she felt a feeling of displacement and argued that she found it hard to reintegrate into Ethiopian society. Wube stated that her social exclusion and feeling of being to refuse to accept from her family increase when she returned to Ethiopia.

“The family problem increased after I came back from Ethiopia. My sister owed new debts. Even though I worked very hard, my family did not understand me (Wube).”

In Wube’s case the evidence gathered could lead one to argue that presence and acceptance by her family was a key factor in her reintegration in Ethiopian society and also could be attributed to her present state of mind. In the case of Meron, she entered in relation with Ethiopian man after one month of being a returnee. With this relation she was able to reintegrate into her local social society. The attitude towards her and her child was positive and this new boyfriend treated her child who was born with Saudi Arabian partner as his own daughter.

This study found the presence of children helped facilitate the women’s reintegration back into Ethiopian society. Mimi decided to teach Amharic to her child and so paid for her child to take education. By putting her child into the education Mimi was able to increase educational opportunities for her child and this also helped integrate Mimi with other members of the community who were undertaking the same tasks with their children.

Although some of the interviewees spoke positively about reintegrating with a child; others highlighted that it was an extra economic burden to the reintegration process.

(B). Community relations

The relationship among the people in the community is an important factor when trying to secure the women’s social reintegration. This is because returnees have to adjust themselves into the previous society again. In this section, how community relationship affects their reintegration will be analyzed.

Before examining the case, it is necessary to understand the value change in Ethiopian society. People began to migrate for higher incomes and have respect for the wealth of migrants when they returned. Therefore, migrants have live up to the expectations of villagers when they depart, and if they can not bring back a tangible result, which is “money”, the migrants tend to be stigmatized or excluded from society.

This study also found that community acceptance was more successful when the returnees came back to their country of origin with financial capital. Some women interviewed complained about certain members of the community that had gossiped about their previous jobs in Saudi Arabia. However, other interviewees also highlighted that they reintegrated into the communities with respected and even more if they were still gain remittance. Although it was observed through interviews that three out of seven woman felt that the community had gossiped upon their return to their native villages, the reason of gossiping was different each case (See Table 1).

For example, Aster, argued that she had also been the target of gossip because she had also returned to Ethiopia with no remittances or savings. Aster say that the community had victimized her because she was from a poor family and that most of the community knew that she use to work as an entertainer in Saudi Arabia.

Wube, like Aster, felt that the community she had returned had gossiped about her lack of financial gains and fail to receive remittance. Wube felt that she was the victim of gossip because she returned to Ethiopia with a child and was not accompanied by the father of her child. Wube also thought that some of

the gossip was about her financial status and the fact that she did not return to Ethiopia with any kind of remittance or financial savings. Wube attributed this gossiping by the community to the fact that her family originated from a poor background and she felt that this was also one reason that she was to refuse to accept by the community.

Meron felt that she was also the victim of gossip upon her return back to Ethiopia. However she argued that she felt the reason for the gossip was that the people in her community were jealous of her being able to travel to a foreign country. Meron also noted that the gossiping died down after she took an active role in community based activities, which helped to integrate her as a member of the community. She also felt that being active in the community had positive effects for her own education as it has allowed her to undertake classes to gain her 12 grade education.

Through conducting interviews with Wube, who has say that she had been the targets of gossip, it could be hypothesized that her bad relationship with the community before she left for Saudi Arabia made her a victim of gossiping on her return, regardless of her job in Saudi Arabia, if she did not bring back any economic contribution. The important point is that the community respect the achievement with money, and as long as they bring an economic contribution.

In my case studies, all of the women returned to Ethiopia in late 2013, so one can hypothesize that the value and perception toward entertainers have become more acceptable, and this perception of the society was one of the factors which facilitate women's reintegration.

It can be stated that overtime money has become a major concern of societies in the current Addis Ababa. Since the societies had high expectations that the entertainers would bring back high economic

contributions, if the returnees fail to do so, they have to face stigmatization. This stigmatization also had negative impact on women's reintegration process.

(C). Individual feeling (self identity)

The level of integration into Saudi society would have some influences on the migrant's individual feeling after migration and reintegration. It is said that some migrants changed their value towards money so that they are not able to be satisfied with income generated in the country of origin. In this section, the focus will be how women changed their value and how it affects their life after return.

During the Direct observation, the researcher noticed some women answered that they wanted to re migrate if possible, while some answered that they did not want anymore. The reason of these different answers is associated with success or failure of migration experience in Saudi Arabia. It was revealed that this success or failure of migration affects their individual feeling, such as confidence.

To sum up, Abe and Mimi said that they want to go back to Saudi Arabia if they have a chance as citizen of Saudi Arabia. The commonality of Abe and Mimi is that they could adapt and were integrated to the Saudi society, and gained self confidence. Abe obtained enough Arabic language skills to gain employment and Mimi became popular at the bar. They appeared to be accepted by the Saudi Arabian social circles that they were part of and the families they became involved in while in Saudi Arabia. Unlike some of the other interviewees they felt that their experiences of Saudi Arabia were not all bad and expressed some admiration for Saudi society and its people.

The changes of the social values could be observed in this study. Abe also said that she wanted more money from her Saudi Arabian partner. She said that she received every two month, but she felt that it was not enough to cover all her living expenses.

Mimi, who established small stationery and still receives a large amount of remittances, asked the Saudi Arabian Embassy to provide some help for her child, even though she can afford to provide it herself. She also expressed the future towards other women who returned from Saudi without being able to make large financial gains;

“Some women could not save money in Saudi Arabia. I don’t know why they could not do that (Mimi).”

Abe and Mimi, who increased their capacity while living in Saudi society seemed to have the most in common with Saudi Arabian lifestyle and held optimistic memories of Saudi Arabia than the other interviewees.

However, considering the reintegration situation of Abe and Mimi, the reintegration situation seems well, as they still received their financial support from their partner. It could be concluded that those who enjoyed in Saudi Arabia could gain confidence, and they were more active to reintegrate into the home society. It is because they were proud of their achievement of migration and regarded them as successful.

4.2.4.3. Support from GOs

In this research, most of interviewees revealed that they did not receive any reintegration support from NGOs on the returning stage. Saudi Embassy and Ethiopian government became the support mechanism for the women when they returned to Ethiopia. However, the Saudi Embassy programme was established before four months ago and this meant that the women had already undertaken the reintegration process on their own. Therefore, (according to informant B) Saudi Arabian Embassy was only able to provide financial and social support to the women interviewed after the reintegration process. The Ethiopian government, through the local governments, provide vocational training and facilitating financial loan to begin micro cooperatives (key informant A).

The women, who bore a child from the Saudi partner, were first introduced to Saudi Embassy as the organization was conducting a survey of women who had returned from Saudi Arabia with a half Saudi child. The organization offered the women advice and financial support. The Embassy also offered the women's children nutrition to help the women cover food expenses and also gave the women training on how to successfully gain employment. Therefore, it can be argued that the reintegration assistance such as financial support and vocational training for returnees is helpful at any stage of the reintegration process, and did facilitate their reintegration. However, the GOs neither give counselling for the returnees nor did not monitor the reintegration process. So, the reintegration is not the mission of the GOs.

4.2.5. The level of reintegration

This section attempts to sum up how the experience in Saudi Arabia has influenced on their reintegration process. The level of reintegration can be analyzed by using economic and social factors, one is that whether the returnee managed to gain productive and sustainable employment prospects. Another

measure of success was whether the returnee integrated well in their family group and the larger local community as a whole.

The success or failure of migration experience is related to their level of integration into the Saudi society, and it can be broadly separated into three categories, fully integrated, some problems with integration, and problems with integration, based on factors of integration such as language, employment and interaction with natives. If we look at the reintegration situation of fully integrated persons, Mimi will be a good example. Mimi enjoyed working at the bar, learned the local language, and married with a Saudi Arabian husband. After she came back, she established a small stationery shop. The money she gained through remittance helped her to open her own business. In her case, she satisfied the expectation of family and the people in the community with a big economic contribution. Mimi did acknowledge that she was considered a rich and influential person in her community. As such, it could be said that Mimi did achieve her migration objective by well integrating into Saudi society, and this experience facilitate her reintegration process.

On the other hand, Wube can be categorized as having problems with integration into Saudi society which means that she was not able to achieve her migration objective. She was not able to integrate into Saudi society because of her working environment; she could not learn enough Arabic language skill, her employment conditions were not good, and she had no interaction with any natives. The situation after she returned is still problematic. She was not well accepted by family and the community people, as she sometimes stays in the bars to be away from the society. Wube was also unable to find productive and sustainable employment and had to rely on the Embassy help. Wube felt that her situation had even gotten worse as now she was subjected to gossip by her community. She came back in 2013 and it has been five months since she came back. However, she still feels that she is not reintegrated into the village society.

Considering all analysis, one can assume that violence and exploitation in the destination country can have a large negative impact for their reintegration. As violence deteriorates their self esteem remarkably, it leaves irremovable scars in the heart of women. This scar is difficult to be recovered even after they return to their home community as the research implies that the passage of time does not facilitate women who were subjected to violence to successfully reintegrate back into society.

Yet, the reason that women have to face with violence is not under their control so that it is difficult to avoid. Those women in this interview were sent to the hotel or bar without any choice. Therefore, it is possible to argue that the factor which has influenced women's reintegration is the working condition in destination country, and presence of violence and also the amount of money they earn.

CHAPTER FIVE - DISCUSSION, CONCLUSION AND

RECOMMENDATION

5.1. Discussion

According to the conceptual framework elaborated on Chapter 2, the possible facilitating factors for successful reintegration are job opportunities, support from GOs, community and family relationships and individual feelings. My research found that an economic contribution is the most important factor for facilitating successful reintegration. A woman who economically succeeds has received high acceptance by the community. Mimi is the case of establishing small stationery from remittances sent by her Saudi Arabian partner, could be best illustrated of how economic factor help them to gain recognition from the community. Part of her success was due to remittances from her Saudi Arabian partner. There are also the cases of women who do not engage in any employment after their return because they receive remittances from their Saudi Arabian partners. Although these women do not work, they were also accepted by the community. This implies that people's reaction to returnees would depend on their economic contribution, not on the type of job the women had engaged before and after migration.

There are some cases which back up this fact. Women who fail to bring economic contribution to the community were not accepted by the community members. This is because the community members expect women to bring a large amount of economic contribution from the destination country. Therefore, the case of woman who fails to bring economic contribution would not be able to satisfy the expectations. As a result, she would have difficulty of being accepted by people in the community. These three

examples indicate that employment is an important factor for successful reintegration. However, a more crucial factor to determine if they can reintegrate or not is their economic success from the migration experience (i.e. remittances). Therefore, considering the fact that women who brought economic contributions were more accepted by the society than those who did not, one can argue that the success of economic reintegration can be an important facilitating factor for the social reintegration.

Support from GOs is also a key element in defining how successful the reintegration process has been. According to Macaranas (2004, p: 63), the support offered by the GOs helps the women to reintegrate into their local society and help them financially. The study found that financial assistance, vocational training and counselling service provided by Saudi Arabian Embassy helped women to decrease their social and economic constraints. For example, providing financial help for their children helps to reduce women's financial burden. However, it should be noted that there are some difficulties of providing assistance to returnees. For instance, only a limited number of women could receive these assistances due to the lack of budget and the other issue is that who don't have a child from Saudi Arabian man couldn't have the access for the service provided by the institution. Moreover, although Saudi Arabian Embassy provides vocational training, it does not solve fundamental problems of employment opportunity in that area. In addition, it is difficult to help women who has mental problem to re-gain their self esteem only by counselling service as Wube's case had shown. Therefore, even though they receive financial assistance or training, it is difficult to empower women to be independent.

As conceptual framework has shown, the reintegration situation in the country of origin will be affected by the experience in Saudi Arabia. It was revealed that the women in this study engaged in entertainment work, and most of them did not gain any value-added experience in Saudi Arabia as Macaranas (2004, p: 67) argued, and those women who had experienced violence and sexual exploitation had difficulty

recovering their self esteem and confidence. This can be explained by the poor living conditions in Saudi Arabia. Being sent to a snack bar and forced to be an entertainer, some women lost their self-confidence and suffer from mental disorders, because of violence from their boss or customers. As such, the violence and exploitation leave women psychologically scarred.

This exploitation leads to the question of the vulnerability of migrant women. ILO (2011, p: 55) stated that most women are economically empowered while they are working abroad because they can earn a higher income, while they are socially vulnerable because they sometimes experience exploitation, physical violence or sexual harassment. However, Ethiopian women in this study who entered Saudi Arabia illegally were economically and socially vulnerable because they were exploited of their wages at the work place because they owed a large amount of debts and they had to work to repay it without receiving wages. Due to the nature of entertainment work which frequently exposed to exploitation such as violence and low wages, women therefore had little opportunity for empowerment (Selamawit, 2013, p: 46). However, it should be noted that many of the women in this study who had a Saudi Arabian partner and relied on his financial support, thus putting restraints on women's empowerment, tended to be able to adapt into Saudi society.

Asefah (2012) also argued that the female returnees were economically vulnerable when they returned because their source of income was not as good as when they were abroad (p: 89). Similar cases were observed in this study that the women were economically vulnerable because there were not enough jobs in their Societies and some women depend on only remittances. In terms of social vulnerability, as Asefah found in her study, returnees were respected when they brought an economic contribution and this also leads to successful social reintegration. The job they did in Saudi Arabia is not a major problem anymore in some societies. This means that stigmatization is not always the case. People tend to see only

the wealth of the returnees. This is because the values of people in the community have changed over time, and materialism has become a significant value of the society.

This research has documented the experience of returnees from Saudi Arabia and their reintegration process. It was found that the experience in the destination country affected their reintegration in various degrees. Those who had faced exploitation in the destination country could suffer from mental illness, and have difficulty reintegrating into their society. The conditions of reintegration which I highlighted in the conceptual framework were also all correlated to the reintegration process. However, since the motive of migration is mainly for economic reasons, the achievement of migrants is being determined by the wealth gain from Saudi Arabia.

5.2. Social Work implication

Explicitly, experience in host countries and reintegration process in the home community, affect the migrants' physical, psycho-social and spiritual wellbeing positively or negatively. Therefore, this area should be one of the major concerns of social work practice.

As it has been clearly mentioned in the previous sections of the paper, the support from NGOs or GOs make the reintegration process easy for the returnees. This is highly related to some of the major social work perspectives that make the social reintegration to be one of the relevant direct field exercises of Social worker. The issue of reintegration to be successful and sustainable government organizations or NGOs should use social work strength perspectives on so many levels. This has been evident on how the psychosocial and economic supports and related linking activities heavily rely on the internal and external strengths and capabilities of the beneficiaries to address the identified need. The other issue is, some of the resources of the community that include religious institutions, community based organizations such as "Idir", "Mahber", "Iqub"

etc are not well utilized to mobilize the community for different activities, starting from combating trafficking to accepting the victims without stigma. To be effective with the above idea, there should be a way to enter for the social worker. Hence, this gap should be fulfilled by social work scholars by creating an opportunity where, agencies in the community obtain good knowledge and skill regarding the identification of various internal and external resources that include surrounding assets of the clients along with its advantage in meeting their needs to avoid first migration or second migration.

The agencies in the reintegration process do not use the spiritual support and little has been done in terms of integrating holistic view of the returnees. Therefore, social work scholars should intervene in this area by creating awareness on various counseling methods, social work intervention methods and group therapies that help in addressing psychological and addiction problems of the returnees.

In general, it should be noted that direct social work practice can serve as the best social work field practice the various activities of trafficking outcomes. Integration or reintegration carries out and is supposed to carry out relates to the social work major approaches and values. Moreover, to further enhance the functioning of the social work in the reintegration process, adequate and professional involvement of social work scholars is paramount in addressing issues related to the psychosocial impact of being trafficking victim.

5.3. Conclusion

This study aimed to understand how the socio-economic factors help and hinder the reintegration of Ethiopian female returnees into community of origin. To respond the research questions, living condition of Ethiopian female returnees and their integration into Saudi society were first analyzed to examine as how their experiences in Saudi Arabia affect the reintegration process. It was revealed that Ethiopian women in Saudi Arabia were socially and economically vulnerable because of their working conditions. In terms of their integration into Saudi society, it was revealed that a relationship with a Saudi Arabian male is one of the ways to assisting them to prolong their stay and integrate into Saudi society. However, by involving with Saudi Arabian men, the women tended to rely heavily on the relationship which made them less independent and more subjected to their partners influence over their lives. The living condition in Saudi Arabia has affected their returning decision. This was aggravated by the Saudization policy, which is intended to minimize foreign labour force in Saudi Arabia.

Return process was analyzed later in order to assess the success or failure of their migration experiences. It could be said that their return decisions were made not only by the failure of the migration experience, but also when they achieve the migration goals. Those who economically achieved can be regarded as success, while those who could not secure money were considered as failure.

Accordingly, how socio-economic factors and their migration experiences affected the reintegration process was analyzed. It was found that a number of environmental and social factors contributed to the success or failure in reintegration. Much of these factors could be attributed to the living condition they tolerate while living in Saudi Arabia. The research found that Ethiopian female returnees have difficulty

in securing employment. However, women who had engaged in the entertainment industry do not always meet difficulty of being accepted by their home community.

The study also found that the women had received financial support from their Saudi Arabian partner. Primary research through interviews showed that one of the key reasons for women to be accepted by their home community is the remittances they received from their Saudi Arabian partners, though the women brought their children to Ethiopia without husbands. Many of women interviewed in this research believe that the remittances assisted them to early reintegrate into their home community.

Analyzing the data collected, it could be concluded that economic assistance through remittances sent by the Saudi Arabian partner play a vital role in the women's reintegration while they were pregnant and in the child-bearing. The women interviewed in this research were not able to work actively during their pregnancy period. However, the women could rely on the remittances from their Saudi Arabian partners and by using this financial means they could survive without securing employment. This financial support assisted the women to take a first step of resettlement and helped them to reintegrate into their community of origin. The women interviewed also highlighted that the remittance they received had helped them to overcome financial obstacles such as possible debt and of having small business. The women also noted that the remittance helped them not to rely on family handouts or working in unskilled employment.

Although the remittances sent by the Saudi Arabian partners did help the women reintegrate in the early stages, problems did arise after the men stop sending the remittance payments. Many women interviewed revealed that their partner stop sending remittances and lost contact once they had rejoined their home community. A number of the women were forced to seek employment once the remittances stopped

coming. However, it was difficult for women to obtain productive and sustainable employment due to the lack of education.

Despite the economic assistance from their Saudi Arabian partners has positive aspect for returnees, there are also negative aspects. While receiving remittances from their partner, women tend to stop working and just rely on the remittances. This dependency could be viewed as a negative point also since long absence from the labor market could be a limitation when they seek an employment again.

In terms of social position in the community, it was revealed that women who had engaged in the entertainment industry do not always meet difficulty of being accepted by their home community. Women in this study mentioned that they were accepted by the society and also received high recognition because of economic success despite the fact that they were engaging in the entertainment industry in Saudi Arabia. Although it was considered that entertainer tended to be a target of a gossip in the society in Ethiopia, women in this study did not mention about it except few. Especially the women who married Saudi Arabian husband were more respected and accepted by the community. On the other hand, those who failed to bring economic contribution more likely to be stigmatized by the people in the community. As such, the research found that the economic contribution is an influential factor to determine whether they can reintegrate into the community of origin smoothly or not.

Therefore, it could be argued that not many women were able to gain an employment after their return from Saudi Arabia. Since women had no valued added experience while working in Saudi Arabia because of the entertainment work, it was difficult for them to find productive employment upon their return. Moreover, employment opportunity available for them was limited due to their poor educational

background. Although the cases are differed, it can be argued that some of the women were able to use the remittance they gained to empower themselves economically and that this economic empowerment helps reintegrate the women into their local community.

5.4. Recommendations

The recommendations set out below are drawn from their shared impressions and experiences. Some women encountered the problems in Ethiopia, some in Saudi Arabia. Proposals to be considered by national authorities are thus broadly made on a country basis.

Measures to the Saudi Arabia government

Saudi Arabia has chosen to adopt a very strict immigration control to manage foreign workers by means of deporting them once found illegal. Therefore, due to their illegal existence by the government, they were treated unfairly by employers. For women in this study, many of them were able to enter Saudi Arabia through international human trafficking networks and became trafficked victims because they do not know about the kind of employment. However, they were treated as criminals by the Saudi government. Recommendations towards the Saudi government are as follow:

- Since illegal migrants have limited access to social services, a mechanism is needed to enable the provision to illegal migrant workers such as providing health care service or other humanitarian assistance.

- The Saudi immigration bureau should take on careful investigation on female migrants reported by the Ethiopian embassy. Saudi government should provide clear definition between criminals and trafficked victims. It is necessary to provide tool for the institution such as Saudi immigration bureau to properly combat human trafficking and provide assistance to trafficked victims with humanitarian approach.

- More protection provision to potential returnees should be made available such as counselling services, safe accommodation and return process assistance. Shelter and necessary financial support for trafficked victims is needed.

Measures to Ethiopian government

Since this research focuses on the reintegration of Ethiopian female returnees, the recommendation will focus on measures for Ethiopian government to assist female migrant in the reintegration process. This research revealed that female returnees face many difficulties finding productive jobs after their return due to lack of job opportunity and poor educational background. Those who cannot secure job tend to choose re-migration again, since they could not earn sufficient income in the community. Therefore, it is important to consider how to help returnees to earn sufficient income.

In order to provide recommendations to Ethiopian government, policy of other government to assist return migrant to integrate into their community could be studied as a guideline. For instance, to minimize the difficulties for returnees, Yemeni government established the reintegration center called “National reintegration center for overseas Yemeni workers”. This center aims to assist returnees by providing various reintegration assistance such as job search assistance, enterprise development, training and re-tooling assistance, psycho-social services and so on. To deliver these services, this center has an Assistance Desk to provide not only face-to-face counseling, but also online services.

This kind of approach by the Yemeni government grasps and analyzes the current situation of returnees well. Therefore, similar case should be adopted in Ethiopia. This study found that economic success would facilitate their social reintegration. Therefore, the suggestions for Ethiopian government should focus on how to economically empower these female returnees.

- Ethiopian government should establish reintegration center to coordinate reintegration programs. The assistant desk should be established in each province with counselling services for reintegration assistance.
- As this research found that economic reintegration facilitated social reintegration, financial assistance for establishing small enterprise is considered to be helpful for returnees to secure the sustainable life.

- Since female returnees did not gain valued-add experience abroad, the improvement of their skill is needed. Therefore, Ethiopian government should provide the training and re-tooling project for returnees to enhance their capability such as vocational education.

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Appendices

Appendix A: General Information for Participants

Welcoming Message: The researcher welcomes and appreciates the participant for giving their time for the study.

Introducing the purpose and topic of study:

“An assessment on Reintegration of Ethiopian Female Returnees from Saudi Arabia in to Ethiopian Society”

The study aims to identify the major Socio-economic factors affecting the reintegration of trafficking female returnees and come-up with possible recommendations.

Sample Composition:

The sample composition was selected from Ethiopian migrants returned from Saudi Arabia and residing in Addis Ababa.

Guarantee of Anonymity and Confidentiality:

I would also like to assure you that, the information you gave during the interview will be confidential and will be coded, and there is no need to mention your name. Moreover, you are not going to be responsible for the research outcome.

In case of Discomfort during the Interview:

In case you feel some discomfort during the interview, you are free to withdraw the interview.

Signing Consent Form: Your willingness of participation in the study will be confirmed by signing the consent form of participation.

Appendix B: Informed Consent Form

For the participant:

I hereby confirm that the interviewer has informed me about the nature, conduct, risks and benefits of the study. I have read (or have had someone read to me) the above information regarding this study, and have had enough opportunity to ask questions. I declare myself willing to participate in the study.

Name of participant: _____

Participant's signature: _____

Date: _____

For the Researcher:

I hereby confirm that I have informed the above participant about the nature, conduct, and risks of this study.

Interviewer's name: _____

Interviewer's signature: _____

Date: _____

Appendix C – Interview Guide for the trafficked returnees

1. Establishing Rapport

- Introducing myself and the objectives of the Interview

2. Personal Background of returnees of female trafficking from Saudi Arabia

- Name
- Age
- Age at being trafficked
- Educational background
- Parents' economic status
- Marital status and children if there are
- Duration of stay in the trafficked country

3. Information before trafficking

- What were you doing before being trafficked, for instance studies, work, household work etc?

4. Causes of trafficking

- Why did you leave your country?
- Can you tell me how were you trafficked?
- Did you feel anything bad would happen to you?

5. Life experience in Saudi Arabia

- How was your situation in the Saudi Arabia?
- Tell me about your work experience?

- Tell me about your relationship with your employers or friends or partner?
- Tell me any challenges and advantages you have experienced?
- How would you consider your stay abroad?

6. Returning Process

- How did you manage to return home?
- How was your returning process?

7. Reintegration process

- Have you been accepted by your families and community? What were the most challenging and difficult part about living in the community?
- How do you view yourselves in relation to the other women in their community? Are you on similar status to other female in their community?
- Can you tell me how do your community perceive/respond to you?
- What will the future hold for them? Will they ever choose to their previous profession? If so why?
- Do you have any problems? What are they? What might be the solutions for those problems?
- Is there anything you would like to add or ask about?

Thank you very much for your contribution.

Appendix D: Interview guide for the service giver organization

Dear (sir/madam),

I would like to ask some general questions about the assistance available for returnees in your organization.

What types of services are available in your organization for returnees?

What types of vocational/educational/training courses are available to returnees by and/or through your organization?

If your organization provide financial assistance, for what length of time is financial assistance generally provided?

What type of medical assistance is available to returnees? Does this include any form of psychosocial counselling?

Does your organization monitor the reintegration of returnee trafficking victims?

If your organization is monitoring the reintegration, how does your organization determine that a returnee has successfully reintegrated back into their community?

Thank you very much for your contribution.