

**ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES
INSTITUTE FOR PEACE AND SECURITY STUDIES**

**EXPLORING THE AFTERMATH OF FORCED MASS RETURN: REINTEGRATION
CHALLENGES OF DEPORTED ETHIOPIAN MIGRANT WORKERS FROM SAUDI
ARABIA**

**BY
MIHERET BETSEHA**

JUNE, 2016

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**A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES OF
ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN PEACE AND
SECURITY STUDIES**

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Acknowledgement

First and foremost, my heartfelt gratitude goes to the Almighty God for getting me to this day and for all his boundless blessings in my life. I would also like to give gratitude to the staffs and faculty members of Addis Ababa University Institute for Peace and Security Studies for making my journey worthwhile.

My appreciation and gratitude goes to my adviser Dr. Regassa Bayssa for guiding me throughout the writing process of this thesis. I am also grateful to the feedback I received from Dr. Sunday Okello and Dr. Ayalew as their inputs has been invaluable in editing the draft.

I am also very grateful to my parents, Genet Negash and Betseha Tessema, you made me who I am now and I am forever indebted to you. Thank you family and friends for your unrelenting support.

Last but most importantly, I would like to thank the fourteen Saudi returnees for taking the time to share their stories regardless of the fact that it was not easy. You gave the theses a meaning and without your support, it wouldn't have been completed. Thank you all.

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List of Acronyms and Abbreviations

ADHRB	Americans for Democracy and Human Rights in Bahrain
AGAR	Agar Ethiopia Charitable Society
APMM	Asia Pacific Mission for Migrants
AVR	Assisted voluntary return
BOMSED	City Government of Addis Ababa Bureau of Micro and Small Enterprises Development
GCC Gulf	Council Cooperation
IOM	International Organization for Migration
IPPR	Institute for Public Research
ITUC	International Trade Union Confederation
ILO	International Labor Organization
KSA	Kingdom of Saudi Arabia
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
MOLSA	Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs
RMMS	Regional Mixed Migration Secretariat
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
WISE	Women in Self Employment

Abstract

Forced return migrants often encounter challenges in reestablishing their lives in home societies due to their abrupt and sudden return as well as for having returned empty handed. This study explored one such event which resulted in mass expulsion of migrants from one of the biggest migrant hosting countries, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

Earlier on November 2013, Ethiopia started receiving over 163,000 migrant workers expelled from Saudi. Two years has passed since their return and this study explores the aftermath of forced mass return by looking at the current living situation of returnees. It looks into the various stages of migration to fully understand issues relating to their return.

The study mainly made use of Qualitative research approach as its the approach that best suits to meet the objectives of the research. An in depth semi structured interview was conducted on 14 returnees of Saudi crackdown which reveal the agonies of return. Non Participant Observation method has also been used as the researcher directly went to the allocated sheds of returnees and witnessed the manner by which returnees are coping up. The Findings of the study indicate that majority of Saudi returnees are not in a self-sufficient situation and that they are currently facing several challenges relating to the business sheds allocated, government bureaucracy, of being organized into groups, and due to stringent requirements in vocational choices. They also established several social challenges intertwined with their sudden forced return such as shame of returning empty handed, tension with family members as well as social isolation.

The Ethiopian government need to give huge emphasis on the push factors that lead people to resort to migration and it should also come up with policies that are aimed at better regulating migration as well as return migration. A mechanism that allows for a multi stakeholder cooperation in such emergency situations should also be created and should be made locally adopted. The international community should also put pressure on the government of Saudi Arabia so that the country respects the rights of migrants as they make up a great section of the society.

CHAPTER ONE

1.1. Background of the Study

Migratory flows have been drastically increasing for the past four decades and as a result migration has been regarded as one of the most visible manifestation of the globalization trend. It is also a phenomenon that has currently gained ample attention as a major force shaping international reality. Having taken note of the fact that migratory pressures are intensified, globalized, feminized and diversified, many scholars contend that we are currently living in the "Age of Migration" or in "a second era of mass migration" whereby everyone is on the move (Antonio, 2011, p.1). Meanwhile, others call for qualifications in the terminology of the "age of migration" to the "age of involuntary immobility" by claiming that despite the desires to migrate, it is only the fortunate ones that could have access to migration (King, 2012).

Despite the growing current trend, migration has been part of human evolution. Russell tries to explain migration using the roving instinct which is intrinsic to human nature as "the need to search for food, pasture and resources; the desire to travel and explore but also to conquer and possess"(King, 2012, p.4). The recent UN report on migration (2016) indicates that the number of migrants has shown an increase by growing from 222 million in 2010 to 244 million migrants on the year 2015. United States of America is the top destination country for 47 million migrants, followed by Germany and Russian Federation (each hosting 12 million migrants). Saudi Arabia is also ranked as the fourth destination country home to around 10 million migrants. But such statistics have been criticized for failing to show the real picture. One of the reasons for such skepticism pertains to the fact that the criteria of defining who is a migrant varies from country to country as well as the quantity of undocumented migrants having barely been recorded (King, 2012). Antonio (2011) adds to this standpoint by stating that the social and political relevance of migration goes beyond numbers. "*It involves people, not just production factors but plans, dreams, frustrations, hopes and interests of human beings*" (p.1).

Migration also touches the lives of hundreds of millions of Africans throughout the continent. Ratha et al (2011) emphasized that about two thirds of migrants coming from Sub Saharan Africa (particularly the poor) go to other countries in the region while those coming from middle income countries disproportionately migrate to other destinations outside of Africa. Ethiopia, a

cradle of civilization and a country depicted as one of the poorest yet fast growing economies in the world has also been part of the migration trajectory as a place of origin for quite large number of migrants, a transit country as well as a host for huge number of refugees coming from the Horn of Africa. Both internal and international migration has been a subject of interest for many academicians and scholars in Ethiopia regardless of the fact that migration is a relatively recent phenomenon in the country (Fransen and Kuschminder, 2009). However, there exists a deep culture of migration in Ethiopia in which going abroad is associated with success and thus intensifying the pressure to migrate irrespective of the risks associated with it (RMMS, 2014).

1.2. Statement of the Problem

Two years ago, in a flight that was labeled as "the most colossal airlift the world has ever seen", hundreds of thousands of Ethiopians were deported from Saudi Arabia (The Migrant, 2013). For many Ethiopians, migration to the Gulf countries is perceived as an upfront solution from an impoverished living situation. Regardless of the awareness of the risks and the abuses that happen to migrant workers living there, it is always the fortunate ones that many Ethiopians look up to. Success in the Gulf countries has been regarded as a matter of luck. Those fortunate enough would change their lives and that of their families while others lost their lives along the way and others are left stranded in the midst of bewilderedness. This is the case for many Ethiopian returnees and particularly that of 2013/2014 returnees from Saudi Arabia. They went to Saudi longing for a better future but for many of them, returning empty handed was the only viable option left at their disposal.

Among the various destinations for Ethiopian migrant workers, the Arab Gulf countries took a great share of the Ethiopian people on the move. Since the time that the petroleum production reached its peak in the Arab Gulf area (1970's), there lies a great demand for man power in these countries (Bel-Air, 2015). Studies reveal that Ethiopia is the top source country within the horn for labor migration to Saudi Arabia (RMMS, 2014). These migrants either take the legal routes or the more risky illegal ones to reach to their chosen destination.

Though Saudi Arabia is a kingdom with the biggest economy in the Arab world, unemployment surged throughout the country during the Arab Spring (Bel-Air, 2015). As a result, Saudi authorities came up with a *correctional campaign* aimed at nationalizing the work force earlier

on 2013. This multi-dimensional campaign was launched in response to controlling clandestine migration in the Kingdom. Several studies reveal the unforeseen nature of the campaign referring it as an "unprecedented crackdown on irregular migrants"(ITUC,2014) and (The Migrant, 2013)(RMMS,2014).

With the aim of alleviating the growing challenge of unemployment among Saudi citizens, a seven month amnesty period was given in which foreign workers were ordered to regularize their status. For those failing to do as proscribed, the options left were to repatriate back to their place of origin. After the lapse of the amnesty period, patrols were in search of irregular migrants all over the kingdom and those caught to be illegal were arrested, and their fate had to be deportation to their home countries. On 2014, over 1 million migrants were estimated to leave the kingdom either voluntarily or not. Out of this great number of return migrants, around 160,000 of them were migrants of an Ethiopian origin (RMMS, 2014).

Several sources including wide range of videos on the internet were displayed showing the outrageous treatments of Saudi vigilantes in an attempt to arrest irregular migrants. In some deprived areas of Riyadh, several Africans were reportedly killed in clashes with police amongst which include three Ethiopian men. Ethiopian women were also abused and left traumatized. In addition, many of their belongings were confiscated and for some return with bare shoes was the choice left at hand. Many Ethiopians and Diasporas demonstrated their anger with the way Saudi authorities treated Ethiopian expatriates in the raids that took place in the Kingdom starting from November 4, 2013 up to February 2014. However, very few studies deal with the aftermath of this forced mass return and the efforts taken to reintegrate the returnees(Michael,2014), (Hanna,2014) and (Yemisirach, 2015). These studies encroach upon Saudi crackdown by looking at the pull and push factors for migration and examine the lived experiences of returnees. The studies are also delimited by sex and they try to assess the reintegration efforts taken for Saudi returnees of the crackdown within the short period of time since their return.

Given the fact that two years has passed since their return, there still remains a need to feel in the void pertaining to the efforts that were made in reintegrating Saudi returnees and their lived experiences after return. The impacts and outcomes of such reintegration efforts in the long run as well as through time need to be addressed. As sustainability of return is a matter to be

measured through time, the gaps that exist in this subject specific area need to be eliminated through further investigation of such eventualities and their impacts in order to create clear understandings and to come up with the way forward to prevent such eventualities from occurring now and again.

Research Question

- What led to the repatriation of hundreds and thousands of Ethiopians from Saudi?
- How do returnees of Saudi crackdown describe their lived experiences during and before return?
- What challenges and prospects did they face during reintegration and how much have they become self-sufficient?
- How has return impacted their understanding on migration?
- How sustainable has their reintegration process been after return?

1.3. Research Objective

General Objective

The main objective of this study is to explore the aftermath of forced mass return.

Specific Objectives

- Give insights on the mass repatriation of illegal Ethiopian migrant workers
- Examine the repercussions of such an eventuality on returnees
- Addresses such repatriation measures from a human security perspective
- Explore the responses forwarded in terms of reintegrating Saudi returnees
- Identify the challenges faced by returnees as well as other stakeholders in the reintegration efforts of Saudi returnees
- Evaluate the reintegration process in terms of its sustainability

1.4. Significance of the Study

This research unlike the very few studies conducted in the subject specific area, it looks at return migration and reintegration from a Human Security perspective. Given the fact that Human Security revolves around identifying and responding to factors that threaten the existence and survival of human beings, it would only be just to look at migration and issues revolving around it from such a perspective. Such an outlook would help to forward solutions that aim at enhancing the migration process to make it more humane and people centered. Taking these matters into consideration, the study will add knowledge to the subject matter at hand by addressing mass expulsion of migrants and giving voice to the unheard. It also assesses the reintegration efforts rendered by several organs with the aim of evaluating the impact of such efforts in maintaining sustainable return.

1.5. Limitations and Delimitations of the Study

Among the overall 163,000 Ethiopian returnees of Saudi crackdown on irregular migrants, over 50,000 of them came from Amhara region, followed by Oromia (approximately 33,000) and Tigray (approximately 28,000)(RMMS, 2014). This having been the case, due to budget and time limitations, the researcher would not be able to reach out to returnees coming from various regions of the country. The scope of the study will thus be limited on those returnees that were repatriated from KSA during the Kingdoms' crackdown on irregular migrants and that are currently residing in Addis Ababa.

Given the fact that it has been two years since their repatriation, the researcher faced difficulties in locating returnees of the 2013/14 Saudi crackdown. Many are found scattered or migrated back even though reintegration support has been put forward by the Ethiopian government. In order to deal with this limitation and with the aim of locating the returnees, the researcher contacted 8 Sub cities bureau of Labor and Social Affairs. In addition, since the research relies upon migrants' experiences for undertaking the study and fully comprehending issues revolving around it, it involves revealing matters that could at times be sensitive and personal in nature. Shortage of pertinent literatures on subject specific area also left an adverse impact on the development of the research.

1.6. Operational Definitions

Assisted voluntary return: Logistical and financial support to rejected asylum seekers, trafficked migrants, stranded students, qualified nationals and other migrants unable or unwilling to remain in the host country who volunteer to return to their countries of origin.

Clandestine migration: occurs when a non-national breaches the entry regulations of a country; or having entered a country legally overstay in breach of immigration regulations.

Country of destination: The country that is a destination for migratory flows (legal or illegal).

Country of origin: The country that is a source of migratory flows (legal or illegal)

Country of transit: The country through which migratory flows (legal or illegal) move.

Deportation: The act of a State in the exercise of its sovereignty in removing an alien from its territory to a certain place after refusal of admission or termination of permission to remain.

Detention: Restriction on freedom of movement, usually through enforced confinement, of an individual by government authorities.

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

Expulsion: An act by an authority of the State with the intention and with the effect of securing the removal of a person or persons (aliens or stateless persons) against their will from the territory of that State.

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

Reintegration: Re-inclusion or re-incorporation of a person into a group or a process, e.g. of a migrant into the society of his country of origin.

Repatriate: To send or bring somebody back to their own country.

Unaccompanied minors: Persons under the age of majority who are not accompanied by a parent, guardian, or other adult who by law or custom is responsible for them.

CHAPTER TWO

2. LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Introduction

This chapter will attempt to provide clarity on return migration and reintegration by drawing upon previous literatures chosen to be relevant for the subject matter under study. The chapter tries to give an overview of return migration as well as its distinct categorizations and the respective theoretical framework that aid in explaining such an aspect. It also brings forth into the discussion the essence of Human Security in return migration. Previous studies conducted on KSA mass repatriation of migrants, Saudi policies affecting the crackdown on migrants as well as reintegration of returnees have also been reviewed with the aim of giving a full understanding of the issue at hand.

2.1. Return Migration: An Overview

Return migration is an aspect of migration that has not been given much coverage so much so that it is referred as "the great unwritten chapter in the history of migration"(IOM, 2010, p.4). In the literature, other terminologies such as homeward migration, repatriation, remigration, reflux migration and retro migration have been alternatively used to describe return migration (Kovacs et al, 2014). It is relatively a recent concept and for that matter it is a notion that lacks a widely acknowledged meaning in national or international policy or law but it is yet a complex, dynamic and challenging segment of international migration (IOM, 2010).

Return migration is a multifaceted issue touching on various aspects such as international relations, economic and social development, issues related to health, culture, human right and security (Sahakyan, 2006). Return migrants could include a heterogeneous group of failed asylum seekers, migrants protected under temporary schemes, refugees after the termination of their asylum status, illegal immigrants, migrants with an expired temporary permit and legal migrants who wish to return to their country of origin (IPPR, 2013).

Ideally, return is personal and a matter understood to be certain and voluntary as opposed to a challenge and negotiation for migrants. Yet, it is also one of the rights asserted by the Universal

Declaration of Human Rights of 1948 which declares that: "Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country". However, the reality at hand considers return to be the result of various factors.

- ❖ *Voluntary without compulsion* (otherwise called spontaneous, decided or chosen return): a migrant decides at any time during his/her sojourn to return home at his/her own free will, initiative and cost without the involvement of international or national actors. This type of return is barely recorded due to the fact that it takes place without the governments' assistance (IPPR, 2013).
- ❖ *Voluntary under compulsion* (also known as assisted voluntary return or enforced return): under this scheme, migrants are usually at the completion of their work or study term abroad, or are rejected for asylum, or unable to stay and thus choose to return at their own volition. It also includes those refugees who had to leave their countries of origin because of conflict/crisis and who return in post conflict/crisis phase. Whether this kind of return could be considered as voluntary is quite contested due to the fact that the consequence of not returning could lead to forced return (Bodvarsson and Van den Berg, 2013).
- ❖ *Involuntary or forced return*: under this scheme, it is the authorities hosting migrants that order their return. Migrants not allowed entry to the country of destination or whose stay is no longer authorized as well as unsuccessful asylum seekers that do not return voluntarily are prone for such kind of return scheme (IOM, 2010).

As has been stated above, voluntary return has some essence of free will and well informed decision of the individual sojourner which in fact denotes that coercive measures rarely exist. In the contrary, forced return involves the compulsory return of an individual to his/her country of origin, transit or third country on the basis of an administrative or judicial act. Forced return is commonly known as deportation. In comparison to other types of involuntary returns, deportation is distinguished by its mandatory and state sponsored character (Kibria, 2004, p.6). It is a form of return that has been increasingly used and normalized in many migration destination and transit countries leading to migration crisis.

2.2. Theories explaining return migration

Migration is an aspect of human activity depicted as an under theorized phenomena. It is perhaps the result of the fact that migration is too diverse and a complex phenomenon that a one size fits all theory could barely be able to explain it in an adequate manner (King, 2012) and (Massey et al, 1993). This section briefly explains theories of migration that aid in explaining return migration.

a) Neo classical Economic theory: Under this theory, migration occurs due to wage differences and employment conditions between regions. Here, migration decision is an individual decision for income maximization. Migration is regarded as a temporal phenomenon since movement from the low wage economy to high wage economy is presumed to ultimately result in wage equalization (Hagen, 2008). Thus, under this theory, return becomes plausible when migrants (after having migrated for some time) realize that the expected value of their lifetime income is higher in their country of origin. This could be the result of two things; change in the conditions of the original country (wage differentials disappearing) or migrants miscalculation of the balance of costs and benefits in migration (Gonzalez, 2000). Several critics exist against this theory due to its presumption on wage equalization and for regarding return as a result of failed migration experience (King, 2012).

b) Relative deprivation theory: here the relative income position of a household or an individual is an important factor for international migration. Individuals compare themselves to other people in their community and they resort to migration to improve their position within the community (Jennisen, 2004). Under this theory, it is the poorest people that resort to migration. Thus, return here is achieved when a migrant finds that his position in his community is better at home than at the place of destination (Gonzalez, 2000).

c) The New economics of Labor migration approach: this theory states that migration decisions are often made by household members for the good of the family at large. Migration is regarded as a tool of income diversification and risk aversion while return is considered as logical outcome of a calculated strategy obtained from the successful achievement of goals in the migrants' country of destination. Thus, return migration is possible if the family improves its position and the risk is reduced or the reason for sending member of the family exist no more

or is alleviated. Return is thus regarded as the result of successful achievements. However, this approach has been left to skepticism due to the fact that it does not provide much of an explanation as to how remittances and skills are used in home countries and for the fact that success/failure cannot be the sole explanatory factor for return migration (Hagen, 2008).

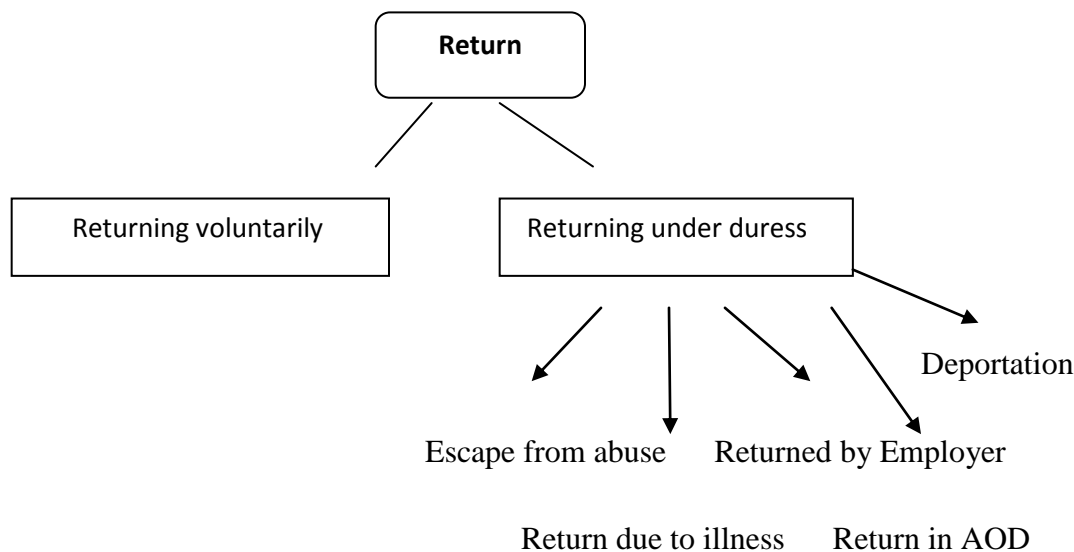
d) The structural approach to return migration: Under this approach, return is not only analyzed from the perspective of the individual migrant but also from the institutional and social factors in home societies. It establishes that financial and economic resources brought back by returnees to their home countries are crucial to their return decision as well as reintegration. Unlike the New Economics of Labor and Neo Classical Economic theories, success/failure under the structural approach is determined by comparing the reality at hand with that of the returnees' expectation. This approach also considers local power relations, traditions and values as having a significant impact on returnees' capacity to invest their migration experiences in their respective home countries (Cassarino, 2004).

Amongst the above theories that aid in explaining return migration, the theory that helps to portray Saudi crackdowns return migration is the structural approach. The reason behind this assumption lies in the fact that this theory takes into consideration of the situation on the ground. The structural approach does not consider return as a failure/success without giving due consideration of other factors such as financial and economic resources brought back by returnees as these factors impact the reintegration of returnees in their home societies as can be clearly seen from the case at hand. A magazine published by IOM (2012) established that due to their untimely and sudden return, majority of the returnees arrived empty handed and some even without shoes. Disregarding these factors while assessing reintegration efforts would create a huge void.

2.3. Impacts of Forced Mass Return

Cassarino (2004) maintains that "the propensity of migrants to become actors of change and development at home depends on the extent to which they have provided for the preparation of their return" (p. 2). He identifies preparedness as a major and essential process in return, yet a concept lacking in forced return schemes. Preparedness is a terminology attributed to the willingness as well as readiness of migrants to return home.

Kibria (2004) in the findings on the experiences and deportations of Bangladeshi migrants maintained that deported migrants are less likely to derive the benefits of the migration journey in comparison to other returnees. In fact, she claims that they are more likely to be among the most socioeconomically disadvantaged and vulnerable sectors of the various migrant streams. The disadvantages accruing to deportees could be manifested in their lack of skills, education and access to capital which could hinder them from arranging the necessary legal documents and as a result bestowing upon them the undocumented status.



AOD - Anticipation of deportation

Figure1. Adopted from "Returning International Labor Migrants from Bangladesh: The Experience and Effects of Deportation", developed by the researcher

Sahakyan (2006) under the study "The impact of immigration and repatriation on labor market: Literature Review and implications for Armenia" elaborates on the implication of large scale population movements and their effect on the labor market in terms of employment, labor mobility and changes in the wages of natives in recipient countries. The author notes that ideological immigrants (returnees wanting to live with their fellow countrymen or returned for cultural reasons) are more likely to be complimentary to the natives in terms of the monetary and human capital they acquired. As a result, the aggregate gain of the natives would be higher. On the other hand, repatriates (economic or political migrants returning to their place of origin) are

more likely to be similar to the average natives and thus their return is likely to bring an adverse impact on the economy of the recipient country though this may not always hold true.

2.4. Human Security: An Essential Concept in Return Migration

Since the Treaty of Westphalia, which laid out the groundwork for the emergence of the nation state, security was a concept that pretty much has to do with sovereignty, non-interference of states in the domestic affairs of other states and territorial integrity. Under this conceptualization, Security yields a zero sum outcome in which a gain on one side was only considered viable by the loss on another (Stivachitis, 2008).

Before the notion of human security shine through, the main referent objects for security were states. However, the alternative view of people as referents of security has been evident in UN initiatives on Human rights starting from the establishment of United Nations (after the second World War) leading to the enactments of several human rights conventions such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights on 1948. Though the above significant developments in the international arena laid the groundwork for Human Security, several sources indicate that it was not until nearly half a century later that human security emerged as a distinctive alternative to the traditional model (Williams, 2008).

Human Security brings the concern of people at the forefront. It gives them a shield against pervasive threats and empowers them to act on their own behalf. "Freedom from fear" and "freedom from want" is what Human Security is all about. The former includes freedom from threats such as war, state sponsored violence and conflict while the latter incorporates freedom from other causes of insecurity like preventable disease, poverty and other developmental concerns (Oberleitner, 2002). However, several critics claim that human security is a notion that makes everything a priority, lacks boundaries and a concept which cannot meaningfully be reflected in practice. Other skeptics argue that it risks engaging the military in issues best tackled through non-military means rendering the term out of any visible utility. It has also been viewed as contrary to national interest and weakening foreign policy choices (Ray and Jolly, 2006).

Despite these contestations, human security is a concept that has quite a growing importance in various areas such as migration. Since the peace of Westphalia, migration is a matter regulated

by the sovereign as to who is allowed into and out of boundaries of a state. The sovereignty of states was manifested in their ability to control who enters and remains in their territory. Expenditures on border security by deploying immigration officers and frontier guards, construction of barriers and border fences, interdiction of migrants in transit as well as mass deportations and removals have been used as ways of regulating migratory flows especially that of irregular migration.

“While spending on border security would continue under a human security approach, the point of emphasis would differ. Instead of “simply closing the door behind us in order to keep the less fortunate people outside” a human security approach would emphasize the multiple factors that give rise to migration flows, including economic deprivation, political persecution, and ethnic cleansing, and would seek to address these conditions before they lead people to migrate.” (Vietti and Scribner, 2013, p. 23)

The human security model thus tries to fill in the gap by identifying and alleviating threats that lead to forced and irregular migration. Question arises as to the responsible organ for ensuring human security. Several sources lay the initial responsibility on the state but when states fail to do as such, the principle of subsidiarity comes into the picture in which the international community or regional authorities barge in to take a more proactive role (Williams, 2008). Stivachtis (2008) tried to show the link between migration and security by indicating that migration policies provoke insecurity both for migrants and natives in varying ways. Natives’ insecurity increases when the state fails to effectively implement border control at any cost while migrants insecurity rises with increasing rigidity of border control.

Buzan and Waever also try to link the two concepts in various ways. Natives may or may not consider the existence of migrants into their territories as a threat to their security. Migrants may or may not pose any real existential threat to the receiving states but certain groups within that state could be successful in framing migrants as a security threat. They also give note of instances whereby migrant communities pose a threat to the host society despite the fact that responsible organs have failed to present such an issue as an existential threat calling out for securitization (Waever et al, 1993).

2.5. Understanding Migration to KSA

Migration to the Gulf States has been an ongoing event since the discovery of oil and natural gases in the 1930's. But sources indicate that African migrants started fleeing to GCC not until the 1970's (during the "oil boom" period) in which "petrodollars" made up the primary source of government funds (APMM, 2014). This rapid change in the economies of the GCC led to the construction of various infrastructures, improvement of social services, and investment in various sectors as well as a higher living standard for Gulf citizens which further exacerbated the need for foreign labor (Khan and Harroff, 2011).



Figure 2. Map of GCC countries

Saudi Arabia has been the primary destination country for migrants coming from the horn particularly from Ethiopia. In total, an estimated 12 million foreign workers fill the manual, clerical and service jobs in Saudi including 1.4 to 2 million Migrant Domestic Workers (RMMS, 2014). These migrants constitute one third of the total population and they mainly come from India, Egypt, Pakistan, Yemen, Philippines, Vietnam, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Indonesia, Sudan

and Jordan. The jobs that these migrants take up in particular that of Africans are referred as the 3D's i.e. dirty, degrading and dangerous (Murray, 2012).

Throughout the Gulf region, there has been a growing demand for MDWs from Ethiopia, Eritrea, Sudan and Egypt indicating a shift to rather cheap sources of labor. Migrant domestic workers in particular, viewed as status symbol of a luxurious life, are placed in order (in terms of the wages paid) with Filipina women at the top, followed by Indonesian and Sri Lankan women while African women are located at the bottom of the hierarchy. The differences in wages for migrant workers coming from different countries (though working in the same sector) is attributed to the influence of sending countries policy or diplomatic relations with the receiving country. Migrant sending countries such as Philippines, Sri Lanka and Indonesia have signed bilateral agreements with Saudi and laid out certain protections for their nationals working there.

Male migrant workers on the other hand are mostly engaged in labor activities such as waste disposal, camel and goat herding, slaughtering and as manual laborers in construction fields (World Bank, 2002).

Ethiopian migrants take any of the three routes to reach to KSA (Fernandez, 2010).

- ❖ **Public migration:** Occurs when individuals register as migrant workers at MOLSA though they initially arrange their employment through personal contact in countries of destinations.
- ❖ **Through legally registered Private Employment Agencies** (here after referred as PEA's): Unlike public migration, PEA's are responsible for securing contracts for migrants to Saudi Arabia (either directly or indirectly) through agencies that recruit the same in the destination country.
- ❖ **Irregular migration:** This route of migration accounts for unrecorded migration in Ethiopia. Migrants use the service of illegal brokers, individual operators, traffickers, smugglers or legally registered companies that illegally provide employment brokerage services. The number of migrants choosing this route is estimated to be double the size of regular migration. Many migrants resort to irregular migration with a belief that it is less costly than the other routes of migration (RMMS, 2014).

Seid and Minga (2014) in their analysis of policy considerations regarding Ethiopian out migration outlined the major factors contributing to emigration from Ethiopia as follows:

a) Supply-push factors (predisposing/repulsive factors) which trigger Ethiopians to go out of their country.

b) Demand-pull factors: positive factors in receiving countries that attract migrants.

c) Mediating factors: distinguished as facilitating and restraining factors such as availability or lack of visas, transport, passports, communications, recruiters, brokers and the likes.

d) Social network factors such as the presence of relatives, friends and acquaintances in host countries and the respective opportunities available there.

ILO report on trafficking in persons overseas for labor purposes (2011) also established poverty, lack of opportunities and failure in educational endeavors, gender stereotypes and culture of migration as critical factors behind migration and human trafficking. The report also lays out low employment opportunities at the local level, low wage rates, low income, impoverished life and limited access to basic means of production (such as land and credit facilities) as the major economic factors pushing Ethiopians to resort to migration. Rapid changes in the local and regional economies, restrictive immigration laws, weak protection regimes for migrant workers, and the role of traffickers in artificially expanding demand for cheap labor are also laid out as pull factors in the destination countries. Other intermediary and immediate factors also exist amongst which include peer and family pressure, negative attitudes attached to local domestic work, low performance and motivation in pursuing education, networking and operation of traffickers from the local to the international level, low costs involved in facilitating migration, limited information about regular and legal migration channels, limited enforcement of protective laws, and gaps in the enforcement of the legislative framework designed to prevent and respond to trafficking in persons.

Hanna (2014) also adds to this standpoint by stating that poverty, lack of education, influence and pressure from family and friends, exemplified by the slight change in the life of neighbors' whose relatives are living abroad as the major causes of migration to Saudi. Michael (2014) in his findings on exploring the reintegration challenges of irregular migrant men returnees from

Saudi also stressed that the central push factor for migration was the economic hardship that has been endured by migrants in the country of origin prior to migration.

Lees Push Pull framework and New Economics of Labor migration could thus be relevant theories in explaining migration to Saudi. The former states that migration occurs as a result of the positive and negative factors at the origin and destination countries of migrants while the latter presumes migration to be a household decision of risk aversion in which the family makes financial and emotional support in the migration decision (Hagen, 2008). There also exists a labor division between natives and migrants in Saudi in which migrants are confined to the lowest "blue collar" categories (ADHRB, 2014). This could best be explained by the Dual Labor market theory which stipulates that segments in the labor market are distinguished as primary and secondary; lower pay makes the secondary sector (the blue collar) unattractive to natives calling for the need to fill in the gaps by recruiting migrants as could be seen in the labor arrangements of Saudi Arabia (King, 2012).

2.6. Saudi Policies Affecting the Crackdown on Illegal Migrants

In early 2013, King Abdullah announced the beginning of an amnesty period within which undocumented migrants living in Saudi Arabia were ordered to either regularize their stay (i.e. renew their residency and employment status) or leave the country voluntarily. Several sources indicate that the amnesty period went on for about seven months. After the Lapse of such period, security forces and vigilantes were in search of illegal migrants and those caught in between were taken to one of the 64 detention centers, primarily in Jeddah and Riyadh before they were sent back to their place of origin (RMMS, 2014). Sources revealed that the centers had limited access to public utilities and lacked adequate food, shelter or privacy. In addition, security forces were condemned for using excessive power and at times have tortured raped and extra judicially killed undocumented migrants. In fact, three Ethiopian men were reported to have been murdered during deportation raids (Bel-Air, 2015).

As of November 2013, around 1 million migrants have been deported or left the Kingdom willingly among them including 550,000 Yemeni, over 160,000 Ethiopians and 33,000 Somali migrants (RMMS, 2014). In a flight that was referred as "the most colossal air lift the world has ever witnessed", Ethiopia received around 163,018 migrants in total (100,688 men, 53,732

women and 8,598 children including unaccompanied minors). Due to this sudden departure, many returnees came back without any belongings and some with no shoes (The Migrant, 2013).

The primary reason for Saudi crackdown (also known as the correctional campaign) on 2013 was the vast number of clandestine migrants living in the Kingdom. How do these migrants end up being undocumented? Did all of them take the irregular route to get to Saudi Arabia or what happened in between? These are some of the questions that need to be understood in order to fully apprehend this event. As a result, the next sub sections deal with Saudi policies that could be seen as having a significant impact on the 2013/14 Saudi crackdown on irregular migrants.

2.6.1. Kafala (Sponsorship System)

Kafala is a system wide spread throughout GCC countries. It is a sponsorship system characterized as "a point of weakness for GCC countries" and as a result managed to attract attentions and skeptics from various civil society organizations, human rights activists, academicians and many other interested actors (Roper and Barria, 2014).

Kafala literally means "sponsor" and it is a system in which the state delegates to its citizens the responsibility of controlling and regulating the activities of foreigners on the national territory in return for political allegiance i.e. as part of the social contract (Zahra, 2014). The Kafael could be a placement agency, a company/institution or any citizen and it has an overall responsibility over the employee including social, economic and legal responsibility. The employee on the other hand cannot switch sponsors or look for another work opportunity without the permission of his Kafael (issuance of no objection certificate). Failing to do so would result in undocumented status of migrant workers as the only way a migrant can sponsor his/her self is if he/she is an investor and owns a company (Bel-Air, 2014).

Under the Kafala system, a foreign worker needs to have a permission from his sponsor to exit the country. Due to the fact that the system preconditions the good will of the employer for workers to exercise basic rights, it has been condemned as a tool for exploitation and oppression and a manifestation of modern day slavery (Naami, 2014). Legal recourse is barely an option for these workers and particularly to many domestic workers since male representation (Mahram) is obligated. All this occurs despite the fact that the original notion of Kafala denotes otherwise

under the *Bedouin* Cultural practices from which the sponsorship system stem from (Bel-Air, 2013).

Despite the fact that Saudi Arabia has implemented various anti trafficking laws and acceded to various international conventions that are aimed at protecting the rights of migrant workers, the implementation still lags behind. By abolishing the terminology "transfer of sponsorship", Saudi Arabia has enacted a law which allows migrants to move from one employer to another on the precondition that the latter has a work permit and spent at least a year working for the current employer (Bel-Air, 2015). Nonetheless, if the employee was caught working for an employer other than the one that recruited him as could be established on the work permit, he/she may be banned from entering Saudi for two years. In addition, a regulation which lays out certain basic protections to domestic workers has also been enacted on February 2014. This legislation sets out certain rules such as nine hours daily break, prompt salary payment, sick leave and one month paid vacation every two years. Though the enactment of such laws that give shields to migrant workers could be seen as one step forward, making such changes visible to impact the lives of migrant workers is something that should be given huge attention (Fernandez, 2010).

2.6.2. Saudization Quota System/Nitqat policy

Since the Arab Spring, unemployment has been one of the pressing concerns of Arab countries and particularly that of the GCC countries ("employment catastrophe"). Creating sustainable environment to meet rising youth unemployment was necessitated and as a result GCC countries came up with localization policies (Bel-Air, 2015). Saudi Arabia started to implement this localization program known as Saudization quota system or *Nitqat Policy* with the aim of creating special privileges for nationals in the labor market (i.e. the Private sector). This policy classifies private sector companies into Premium, Green, Yellow and Red categories depending on the number of natives employed and creating incentives for those companies hiring natives as well as imposing penalties for non-compliance (MEI, 2010).

The Saudization/Nitqat policy was implemented in a stricter manner during Saudi Crackdown. The government hired more than 1000 inspectors that are mainly tasked with checking on small businesses hiring practices to ensure foreign workers are not working illegally. Raids on businesses were carried out to catch and detain clandestine migrants. Ramady (2012) under his

article claims that Nitqat/Saudization can be both a blessing and a curse for Saudi Arabia. He substantiates his claim by stating that it could create Saudi employment by expelling or reducing most of foreign workers. However, it could also be a curse due to the fact that foreign workers mainly take up jobs that are regarded as demeaning among Saudi nationals and thus creating a void. Bel Air adds to this standpoint on the socio political challenges hampering such policies and maintains "If Nitqat were to fail, business people would bear the political costs of this failure" (Bel-Air, 2015).

2.7. Ethiopia's Policy on Migration to Saudi

The mass return of over 160,000 Ethiopian migrant workers from Saudi on the year 2013 was the primary cause for FDRE governments ban on migration of unskilled workers to the Middle East. This temporary ban was put in place by the government with the aim of “preventing harassment, intimidation and trauma suffered by those working abroad, particularly in the Middle East, as domestic employees.” Even though the ban is presumed to give a breathing space by allowing the legal framework to be revisited and to better regulate and manage labor migration in the future, its impacts has also been left to criticisms by many for further exacerbating irregular migration.

With respect to negotiations and relations with Gulf countries, Ethiopia has signed bilateral agreements with Jordan, Djibouti, Qatar and Kuwait. To date however, Ethiopia did not sign bilateral agreements regarding labor migration to Saudi regardless of the fact that huge numbers of migrants are subjected to degrading treatment and mass forced returns as in the 2013s Saudi crackdown on illegal migrants. In an attempt to give protection to migrants workers in Saudi and particularly that of domestic workers, legislative responses were put forth in two major areas. The first relates to the 2009 amendments to the Private Employment Agency Proclamation of 1998. This amendment proclamation demands migrant workers to register with MOLSA, providing their employment contract, a work permit for destination countries, a medical examination certificate and insurance. Employment agencies are also obligated to register with MOLSA and are thus held accountable to the workers they recruit to employment overseas.

The second relates to the Employment Exchange Services proclamation No 632/2009 which obligates Employment Agencies to place funds beforehand in order to facilitate assistance in

events whereby workers contract is terminated. Nevertheless, whether these deposits have been put to use to pay for transportation back to Ethiopia has been left to doubt. The government has not yet opened the legal route to Saudi which has been banned since the 2013 crackdown due to lack of lawfully established PEAs, growing number of migrants and limited capacity of MOLSA.

2.8. Reintegration of Return Migrants

Kuschminder (2013) under the study on “Female return migration and reintegration strategies in Ethiopia” established that reintegration is a terminology that has different implications for different types of return migrants and a concept that has much to do with sustainable return. Various factors such as individual experiences and social status prior to migration, their experiences in the country of migration and the condition of their return are factors that influence reintegration. However, regardless of the manner of return, reintegration is a process that has deep interconnections with the structural conditions of the return environment. The same study also maintains that reintegration is an all-inclusive aspect requiring the efforts of governments, local population and labor markets to be open and accepting of returnees’ cultural and social identities in order for the returnees to have an optimal reintegration. The author identifies four core elements that shape the reintegration strategies of returnees. These include cultural orientation, social networks, self-identification and access to rights, institutions and the labor market.

On the same token, Naami (2014) also investigated the migration, return migration and reintegration experiences of Ethiopian female domestic workers and assessed various aspects in return migration such as reception, economic betterment, personal relationships and empowerment. Her findings reveal that there is uneven distribution of incomes among the returnees. While some returnees discovered a new sense of empowerment and self-worth others felt deterioration in their confidence that they regret their decision to have migrated in the first place.

In her findings on the mass deportations of female Ethiopian Migrant workers from Saudi Arabia, Hanna (2014) reveals various challenges faced by women deportees during reintegration. These include social impacts (i.e. breakdown of family, unemployment, change of behavior and habits), psychological impacts and economic impacts. She also indicates that scarcity of funding

and lack of national policy hindered the reintegration efforts as well as the sustainability of the return program. The study concluded by asserting that there is a need to enact a migration policy, facilitate ways in which migrants could take legal routes to migration, advancements in the educational and employment policy.

Likewise, Michael (2014) in his assessment undertaken on exploring the reintegration challenges of irregular migrant men returnees from KSA, he laid out several economic, organizational and social challenges faced by returnees. The economic challenges faced by these repatriates include inadequacy of the loan repayment period, inability to get interest free start-up loan, excessive size of members in a business, market problem of the sheds allocated and failure to fulfill infrastructures for allocated business sheds. Lengthy government bureaucracy as well as incoherent and inconsistent leadership, declining family care and support, family and peer pressure, community misconception and self-imposed social isolation were some of the organizational and social challenges faced by the deportees.

Reintegration of return migrants could pose serious challenges to the absorption capacity of the country of return especially in the case of mass influx of return migrants. Thus it is a matter that requires careful planning as well as cooperation between sending and receiving countries. A book published by IOM also maintains that reintegration measures should be able to address and mitigate factors that lead migrants to migrate in the first place. Otherwise, returnees will further be encouraged to emigrate again especially if the return was involuntary (IOM, 2010).

CHAPTER THREE

3. METHODOLOGY

This chapter addresses the procedures that were employed to generate data used to explore the migration, repatriation and reintegration experiences of Ethiopian returnees of the 2013/14 Saudi crackdown on migrant workers. The chapter incorporates an explanation of various aspects of the research including the research site, data sources, methods of data collection and data analysis technique.

By taking into account that the research basically focuses on the experiences of Saudi returnees as have been described in their own words, methodologically, the research exclusively made use of qualitative approach. Typically, qualitative research is concerned with words, their meanings and how things work in particular contexts. It is an approach that involves subjective assessment of people's insights, attitudes, impressions and behaviors as opposed to counting amounts and measuring things (Mason, 2002). As a result, researchers that employ qualitative approaches often make use of small sample sizes as they are not trying to statistically make generalizations using their findings. Qualitative research is more of a quest to explore and understand issues, the meanings attached to them and giving answers to questions by analyzing and making sense of the data gathered.

3.1. Research Site

In order to have a clear understanding of the research problem, the researcher tried to gather data from individuals relevant to the study (i.e. returnees during Saudi crackdown). With an attempt to triangulate the data that was generated from Saudi returnees, information was collected from organizations in Ethiopia such as Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs, BOMSED and Agar Ethiopia.

The study was primarily undertaken in Addis Ababa as it was not possible to reach out to all deportees coming from various regions in Ethiopia due to time and financial limitations. The study was thus limited to Saudi returnees that are currently residing in the capital city of Ethiopia, Addis Ababa.

3.2. Research Method and Design

Although there are other distinctions in the research modes, the most common classification involves quantitative, qualitative and mixed. These terms denote the distinction about the nature of knowledge, i.e. how one understands the world and the ultimate purpose of the research. The terms also signify the ways in which data is gathered, analyzed and the type of generalizations and conclusions drawn from the data.

Quantitative research methods have been available for social and human scientists for a very long time. It is an approach to a research which seeks to develop and employ numeric measurement models. It lays its basis on careful observation and measurement of the objective reality that exists "out there" in the world. Unlike qualitative research, quantitative approach makes use of bigger samples and it is an approach which forms a body of knowledge in generalization, in the form of measures and decisions prior to conducting the research allowing the development of statistical analysis (Creswell, 2003).

On the other hand, Qualitative approach was developed in the social sciences to enable researchers to study a wide array of dimensions in the social world. It is an approach which emphasizes on the qualities of entities, processes and meanings that are not experimentally examined or measured in terms of quantity, amount, intensity or frequency. Qualitative research refers "quality" as being an essential aspect to the nature of things as opposed to quantitative research which primarily relies on quantity. It is the what, how, when and where of a thing as well as its essence and ambience that is given value in qualitative researches (Berg, 2007). As Qualitative research is aimed at gaining an in depth understanding of a specific organization or event, it gives a full description of the structure, order, and broad patterns found among a group of participants. It is in fact the most suitable research method for the subject matter under study. Unlike Quantitative approach, it barely introduces treatments or manipulates variables, or imposes the researcher's operational definitions of variables on the participants. Rather, it learns the meanings from the participants themselves. It is more flexible in that it can adjust to the setting. Concepts, data collection tools, and data collection methods can also be adjusted as the research progresses (Babbie, 2007).

Taking these factors into consideration, qualitative approach is chosen for this specific purpose as it helps in exploring the migration, repatriation as well as reintegration challenges of Saudi returnees. The approach brings matters to light and explain issues that cannot be explained in numerical terms: feelings, ambitions, frustrations, attitudes and opinions. Qualitative approach is thus found to be more suitable than any of the approaches for this research because of its flexibility. By choosing this approach, the researcher made sure that the topic and research can be flexible. It helped to accommodate to the changes that occurred during data collection.

3.2.1. Case Study

Qualitative research employs various strategies of inquiry known as general procedures of research such as ethnographies, grounded theory, case studies, phenomenological research and narrative research. Among these various strategies, this study made use of case study. Yin (1994) indicated that case study is preferred when "how" and "why" questions are being posed, when the researcher has little control over events and when the focus is on a contemporary phenomenon within some real life experience. Under case study, a researcher explores a program, an event, an activity, a process or one or more individuals in an in depth manner by making use of various data collection procedures through a certain period of time.

Given the fact that this study is aimed at understanding and exploring the migration, repatriation and reintegration experiences of Saudi returnees, primarily relying on an event that led to their return (i.e. the 2013/14 Saudi crackdown), case study is the strategy of inquiry most suitable for the study as it allows to retain the holistic and meaningful characteristic of such real life events. Among the three categories of case study research namely descriptive, exploratory and explanatory, the study employed the exploratory type of case study as it tries to define a problem, fully understand the behavior pattern of the concerned unit and exhaustively study issues revolving around it (Kothari, 2004).

3.3. Method of Data Collection

Qualitative approach, the approach of choice for this study, employs various methods of data collection such as interviews, observations and focus Group Discussions, documents and texts, and the researcher's impressions and reactions (Kothari, 2004). In order to lay out answers to the main research questions, collecting data both from primary and secondary sources is essential.

With these points in mind, the researcher utilized extensive interviews as well as document analysis using flexible qualitative approaches.

3.3.1. Interview

Berg (2007) defines an interview simply as "a conversation with a purpose"; the purpose being to gather information. It involves a set of preplanned questions which could either be open or close ended that are forwarded to the interviewee with the aim of elucidating the subject matter under study. Interviews are popular methods of data collection for it allows the interviewer to gather an in depth, detailed and specific information using few informants. Interviews can be structured, unstructured or semi structured depending on the needs of a particular study (Mason, 2002).

During the Interview process, the researcher devised open ended questions to collect qualitative data in the semi structured interview. The main goal of this open ended questions interview is to get detailed view from informants under the study. Semi structured interview also known as qualitative interview was also utilized as it is a method more likely to generate a fairer and fuller representation of the interviewees perspectives and less formal though it employs predetermined questions (Kothari, 2004). The researcher devised an interview guide with predetermined questions but yet using an informal setting and allowing for some kind of flexibility in cases participants add more information further directing the interview process.

In total, the researcher interviewed 18 respondents, among which 14 were Saudi returnees and the other four were key informants from MOLSA, BOMSED and Agar Ethiopia.

3.3.2. Observation

Kothari (2004) identifies observation method as the method of data collection systematically planned and recorded and subject to checks and controls on validity and reliability. The information gathered from this method is sought by the investigator's own direct observation without requiring any response from the respondent. This method could be advantageous in that it helps to eliminate bias if it is done accurately and it is also relatively less demanding of the informants' active cooperation. The researcher under this current study used this method in order to gather information to assess their feelings and their reaction to questions as well as to know what actually is happening or to see how well they have been doing and how much they have

reintegrated. This was done by actually going to the sheds that the returnees/informants were allocated and this has helped the researcher to know how the informants are coping up. Non participant observation is the type of observation employed under this study as the observation was done on a detached basis and since the researcher did not attempt to experience what the informants feel by being part of the group under study.

3.3.3. Document Analysis

The desk top research is a secondary source which is employed to critically review available literatures that gave basis to the topic. As a result, various researcher materials on similar topics such as return migration and challenges to reintegration were reviewed. In addition, other secondary sources including books, journals, magazines, other published and unpublished materials as well as audio visual materials, on return migration, human security, and reintegration of migrants among others, are also used.

3.4. Sampling Techniques and Design

In gathering the essential data from the individuals affected, 14 informants (i.e. Saudi returnees) were interviewed. The respondents were first located by contacting Addis Ababa City administration Labor and Social Affairs bureau which then referred the researcher to contact the various sub city administration organs for detailed information. The researcher then contacted the responsible organs within Sub cities i.e. Labor and social affairs department of seven sub cities, namely Arada, Yeka, Nifas Silk, Kality, Kolfe Keranyo, Lideta, Gulele and Kirkos Sub cities which either gave the researcher contact numbers or the where about of the shed that the returnees were allocated. This makes purposive sampling method as the major technique employed to locate respondents under the study. Purposive sampling method is a method identified as a non-probability sampling procedure in which the researcher deliberately selects items for the sample with the belief that the items selected will be typical or representative of the whole (Kothari, 2004). The researcher used this method to locate the returnees by contacting the organs responsible as laid out above.

The researcher also utilized snowball sampling method in order to further locate informants under the study. Snowball sampling also referred as chain referral is a sampling method best suited for informants that are difficult to locate such as migrants and criminals. Under this type

of sampling method, the researcher starts with one participant and asks the respondent to locate others (Creswell, 2003). Out of five returnees the researcher was able to locate using snowball sampling method; only two were willing to be part of the study.

Triangulation a technique described as a means of refining, strengthening and broadening conceptual linkages was also utilized with the aim of substantiating the data gathered from informants under the study (Berg, 2007). In addition, triangulation was employed to control bias of the researcher and to check validity of the research. The researcher interviewed key informants from MOLSA and BOMSED and an NGO by selecting organizations who have direct contact with Saudi returnees and their reintegration. The method employed to select the key informants was thus purposive sampling method. The sample size of the study is made up of 18 informants in total. The informants under this study were located by contacting eight sub cities, three from Yeka, three from Nifas silk, two from Kolfe Keranyo, two from Kalitiy, and two from Arada and three from Lideta Sub city. The informants are comprised of both male and female within the age range of 25- 48. While six of the informants are male the remaining six are females.

3.5. Method of Data Analysis

Data analysis is a system that involves making sense out of data recorded in text, image, audio or video formats. In order to effectively address the research questions and objectives, the acquired data was interpreted and analyzed through thematic analysis method. Thematic analysis is a descriptive presentation of qualitative data. It is noted that qualitative data may take the form of interview transcripts collected from research participants or other identified texts that reflect experientially on the topic of study. A good thematic data analysis addresses the thematic content of interview transcripts or other texts by providing common themes in the texts identified for analysis. The researcher groups and employs common themes and ideas from the gathered data in order to give voice to the similar and different themes of the participants (Kothari, 2004).

The researcher transcribed interviews collected from research participants and identified texts from secondary sources that reflect on nexus between return migration, human security and reintegration. The researcher further identified common themes of these transcribed data in order to analyze common perceptions of participants and secondary sources. The researcher also

addressed common ideas as well as conflicting perceptions of participants and secondary sources.

3.6. Ethical Considerations

Creswell (2012) maintains that in a qualitative research, the researchers are highly involved with the participants in the study. For this reason, there are certain strategic, ethical and personal issues that need to be taken into consideration. Taking this into consideration, the researcher respected and obeyed all the rules and regulations of Addis Ababa University and the rules under the IPSS hand book in conducting this study. Informants under this study were informed of the nature and purpose of the research beforehand. The researcher also made sure that their consent was completely voluntary. Informants were also informed that they have the right to withdraw their consent before, during or after their initial participation. The researcher also clarified exactly how the data collected was to be used. Confidentiality and anonymity was also addressed in a way that participants were informed that their names won't appear on the report unless they have consented to it. In addition, they were given the rights to choose the place for carrying out the interviews.

CHAPTER FOUR

4. FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

This chapter focuses on the presentation and analysis of data. It explores the aftermath of forced mass return and the reintegration challenges of KSA returnees. The analysis is done primarily relying on the information gathered from the interviews conducted which is further substantiated with relevant literature.

This thesis made use of data collected from direct observation and personal interviews conducted on 14 Saudi returnees and four key informants selected from organs that have direct contacts with the returnees i.e. organs involved in the reintegration of KSA returnees. The chapter begins with the brief portrayal of informants under the study and goes on to lay out their pre migration as well as migration experiences. Kuschminder (2012) maintains in order to assess reintegration strategies of return migrants; one should be able to understand the role of their life cycle in their return (i.e. returnee's experiences prior to migration, during migration and upon migration). These experiences of returnees will be incorporated under this study with the belief that such experiences in one way or another pose a significant impact in their return as well as in their reintegration into home societies. The final two sections of the chapter will explore the reintegration challenges of returnees and evaluate their return in terms of its sustainability.

4.1. Profile Description of Research Informants

With the aim of exploring reintegration challenges that returnees faced upon return, a total of 14 Saudi returnees that are currently residing in Addis Ababa were interviewed. This section will set out the demographic account of research informants under this study.

As far as sex and age of the informants in concerned, 8 female returnees of age range between 25-29 and 6 male returnees of age range between 30-48 have been interviewed. In terms of their level of education, out of the 8 female returnees taking part in this study, only one was uneducated, two completed high school, one completed grade nine, three completed 10th grade and one completed vocational trainings on Information technology. On the other hand, among six male informants under this study, two completed 6th grade, two finished 8th grade and the rest two managed to reach Grade 10.

4.2. Pre Migration Experiences of Returnees

As it has been discussed in the previous chapters, an individual's decision to migrate could be the outcome of various push, pull and mediating factors as well as the existence of social networks in destination countries. This having been the case, the next section will lay out the major factors that influenced informants' decision on emigration. It will also encroach upon the routes that have been taken by the informants under the study to reach Saudi.

4.2.1. Causes of Migration

Alem was a nineteen years old woman when she first went to Saudi. Inspired by the success stories of other women that went to Saudi and managed to change their lives, she describes the push factors that led her to emigrate to Saudi.

"I came from a very poor family so I went to Saudi with hopes to change my life as well as that of my family's. I know of people that went to Saudi and improved their lives for the better. I wanted the same for me and my family as well so I decided to migrate to Saudi. My family didn't actually want me to go but I insisted and they borrowed money with interest (አረግ ብድር) so that it would help me facilitate for the whole migration process." (Interview, 2016)

Suleyman stated "Poverty and lack of sufficient income through which I can support my family are factors that drove me to Saudi. I parted with my wife and went to Saudi because life was full of challenges for us." Similarly, another KSA returnee added, "What triggered me to go to Saudi is lack of sufficient income to sustain myself and I thought to myself that I will be better off once I reached Saudi", says Ali.

Tizita, just like the informants above chose emigration to Saudi as a way out from an impoverished living situation. She explains,

"I first went to Saudi earlier on 2004. I came from a very poor family. Before I left, I used to work at a cafeteria as a waitress but the money that I earn wasn't even sufficient enough for me, let alone for supporting my parents. So, I resorted to migration with hopes that it will help me change our lives. Since my younger sister has always wanted to go and work in Saudi, I borrowed money to help her get

there. Soon enough, she paid back the money and facilitated ways for me to work there as well (in her kafeel sisters' house).” (Interview, 2016)

While poverty could be laid out as one of the factors that force migrants to leave their country of origin, limited employment opportunities has also proven to be a push factor for returnees like Hiwot. She explains:

“I couldn't get a job with the field that I graduated in. So I went to Saudi with the belief that I can get by on my own and live off my parents support. It's really hard to be a burden to your family after spending quite a long time on your education.” (Interview, 2016)

Seble, a 27 years old woman, also recounts to the circumstances under which she decided to migrate to Saudi by highlighting on her family's struggle.

“I am the eldest child of the house. Since the time that my parents passed away, the responsibilities of taking care of my brothers fall on me. I had to support my siblings so I borrowed money from relatives and went to Dubai. After working in Dubai for three years, I returned home and started my own business. But the business was not going the way that I wanted it and I was not gaining much of an income. So, I migrated back to Saudi with the money that I have earned in Dubai. Even though, the decision to migrate was mine entirely, I did it to take care of my siblings.” (Interview, 2016)

For other informants under the study such as Meseret and Aziza, migration was the last resort to being unable to succeed in education. For Zeru, a middle aged man, it is the existence of social networks in Saudi and the desire to get out of an impoverished living situation that triggered the need to migrate. On the other hand, Raji, another KSA returnee and informant under this study, chose emigration to Saudi so that it can bring him closer to his preferred destination i.e. using Saudi as a transit country to reach to Europe.

4.2.2. Routes of Emigration

ILO report on trafficking in persons for labor purposes (2011) established that migrants use two ways to go outside of Ethiopia: buying an air ticket and taking a flight to the destination country or crossing the border to neighboring transit countries using the desert route. The latter route includes irregular migration to South Africa through Moyale; to Saudi Arabia through Bossaso; to Saudi Arabia and UAE through Afar, Djibouti and Yemen; to Sudan through Metema; to Djibouti through Dire Dawa; and to Lebanon, Saudi Arabia and UAE through Bole International Airport.

Majority of the female informants under this study (five out of eight) confirmed that they took the legal route of migration. Among the five returnees that chose the legal migration route, three used the services of legally established private employment agencies while the remaining two arranged their employment process through their personal contacts and registered with MOLSA afterwards. The remaining three women went by taking flights to Saudi using the services of illegal brokers.

Conversely, amongst the 6 male informants only one took the legal route to migration (i.e. through the religious pilgrimage of Umra), while the remaining five took the desert routes. Zenebe recounts to his experiences in the desert as follows:

"I have a sister that returned from Saudi and she told me that there are ample opportunities to work and succeed there. So I took the illegal route (through Djibouti) and went there with big hopes for the future. My sister covered all my expenses with the understanding that I would be able to pay her back once I get there. I paid 7000 Ethiopian birr to get to Djibouti. After we landed from the sea, I also paid around 800 Riyal. The brokers in the deserts detained and tortured me around the Yemen border until my sister sent the money that they requested. Had she not sent the money, there was no chance for me to be released. I would have lost my life there", says Zeru looking away with discomfoting thoughts running in his mind (Interview, 2016).

Suleyman with resentment also adds by stating,

"I went to Saudi using the illegal route. Since my first wife went to Saudi through the illegal route, I thought to myself that I can handle whatever she has managed to go through. That's why I decided to go to Saudi using the illegal route. I went to Yemen through Djibouti by borrowing 4000 birr from a friend promising to pay him with interest and I took the remaining 1000 from my brother. When I was in the deserts, I was very sick. I felt as if my heart has stopped for a while. There were snakes all over the place. There was no water and once I almost died of thirst. I sleep on the hills and every night the cold went deep into my veins that I couldn't be able to move myself until the morning sunlight warms me up for some time. I don't know how I survived all of that and managed to make it to this day. The memory of it is just horrific." (Interview, 2016)

Solomon on the other hand stated, *"I first went to Kuwait taking a flight. Then I took the desert routes to get to Saudi which I thought would only be a transit country. I anticipated going to Sweden after that. I know of people that took the same route to get there that's why I chose this route. But somehow my aspirations could not bear fruit."* (Interview, 2016)

4.3. Migration Experiences

The experiences that Saudi returnees acquired throughout their migration journey differ depending on the routes taken and the type of employment that they were engaged in. All of the female returnees/informants under this study established that they migrated to Saudi to engage as domestic workers and maintained that they used to carry out household labor activities such as cleaning rooms and compounds, cooking, nursing, looking after children and elders, laundry and disposing wastes, to mention few. Even though each family and household where this women are employed in are unique on their own right, Naami (2014) established that migrant domestic workers cannot escape from the influence of the systems and institutions which usually define the relationship between them and their Kafeel not as employer-employee but rather as owner-property.

A report prepared by World Bank (2001) establishes four areas of abuse for women migrant workers; economic exploitation, social and psychological abuse, physical and sexual abuse and abuse resulting from the operation of the legal system. Under the latter form of abuse, such acts as unreasonable imprisonment, confinement or deportation, unlawful or forced substitution of contracts, unlawful withholding of passports and other documents, absence and/or breach of contract could be incorporated. In addition, many MDWs come from remote areas in Ethiopia, lacking skills and exposure to modern household equipment and hygiene standards exposing them to further exploitation and exacerbating the abusive situation they face by their sponsors. As a matter of fact, Addis Hiwot Agency (a local NGO), some PEAs and MOLSA has started providing pre departure trainings (until the ban on migration to the Middle East came into effect) though the duration of such trainings have been criticized for being quite short (RMMS, 2014) and (Naami, 2014).

However, male informants under this study established that they were engaged in various employment activities such as camel and goat herding (especially in the deserts), car washing, poultry, horticulture, in liquor stores, cafes and supermarkets, as manual laborers in construction and clothing companies and as mechanics and drivers.

Tizita shared her migration experiences as follows:

*'When I was in Saudi, I worked as a domestic worker. The husband has four wives and I was employed at his first wife's' house. She's an old lady and the man of the house wasn't there as much so it was just me and his wife. I didn't have huge workloads as other domestic workers in Saudi. As a result, I was sold to work in other places by contract. She pays me 700 Riyal per month and I go out and work in other places for three days or four. When I return back, the house chores at my Kafeel would be waiting for me. If I earn 1000 Riyal she would take half of it. This kind of work is called '**Hijar**' in Arabic which means contract work. When I started working for contract, I went through so many challenges. Once I mixed up two detergents together to clean the toilet and I almost died. They just don't teach you or give you any precaution. They couldn't care less if anything happens to you. Once she took me to her relatives for an invitation and there were other Ethiopian*

domestic workers as well and they told me to stop such kind of work. They told me that my Kafeel is exploiting me and that I would get more than 2500 Riyal if I leave her and start working on my own. So I left my Kafeel, rented a house with two other Ethiopians that I met there and started working." (Interview, 2016)

Hiwot, a twenty seven years old woman adds:

"At my first Kafeel which I worked for seven months, I faced a lot of challenges. For the summer, she took me to Egypt. The house was full of dirt because it has stayed closed for a long period of time. There was literally no rest and I couldn't get enough amount of food. What's even worse, she withheld my seven months wage. It was terrible and I felt homesick. One day I decided to leave her for good. I went through hell at her house for seven months even though I didn't get paid any dime of money." (Interview, 2016)

Aziza also explains:

"I used to work in Saudi as a domestic worker and I was the only cook for a very large family. The domestic workers alone are nine. Imagine cooking for all these people. However, the woman of the house was really nice to me and I didn't face any problem when it comes to food. But I had no rest or freedom of movement." (Interview, 2016)

The story of Aziza resembles that of Senayit's. She stated:

"When I first went to Saudi, the house that I was working at consisted of a large family of 12 members. I was the only domestic worker in the house. I worked for a year at that house but the workload was unbearable for me so I escaped and since then I was illegal. I rented a house with other Ethiopians and I started working for a contract. What I got from my stay in Saudi is just a kidney problem. I used to feel sick when I was there but when I got here and I got it checked at the clinic, they told me that one of my kidneys has stopped working." (Interview, 2016)

Teshome, a middle aged man, migrated to Saudi through the religious pilgrimage of Umra. He recounts back to his memory and explained his migration experiences as:

“My stay in Saudi was neither good nor bad. I was employed in a clothing company for two years. When I was working there, I didn't face many problems because my employers were Ethiopians. At some point, I also started liquor selling business but since it was an illegal activity in Saudi, I stopped the business. Once the police caught me and I was deported because I had no Iqama. But I went back again (one and a half months later) using the same route and after having changed my name for the second time.” (Interview, 2016)

In addition to the labor division between natives and migrant workers in Saudi, returnees also maintained that they could not use their skills in the country of destination to generate income. Ali to this end stated *“I couldn't work with the vocation of my choice because I don't have an Iqama. It made me lose hopes.”* (Interview, 2016)

Meseret also shared her migration experiences as follows:

“I worked for the Kafeel that brought me to Saudi for seven months. The husband gives me my salary by making me sign on a piece of paper but the woman of the house takes over the money promising to send it to my family here. However, she didn't send it, not even once. When I talk to the representative of the agency in Saudi, he told me to stop worrying about it and do my job. He said that she will give me the money at the end of the contract. But I knew that she wouldn't so I escaped and rented a house with other Ethiopians and started working as a run in for a year and four months.” (Interview, 2016)

4.4. Pre Return Experiences of KSA Returnees

Several documents published by NGO's and civil society organizations as well as other unpublished materials established that the manner of expulsion of migrant workers during Saudi crackdown violated the human rights of returnees. The detention centers that these returnees were held at had limited access to meals, public facilities and general lack of privacy. In addition, the researcher when conducting interviews with the returnees was able to gather that

the experiences that these KSA returnees went through before return differ slightly pertaining to the area that returnees resided during the crackdown and the manner in which their return took place (whether they voluntarily handed themselves to the police or they were forcefully expelled by the police).

Alem is the only KSA returnee that expressed her desire to return long before the incident occurred. However, she was unable to return due to financial impediments. She goes on to say,

"During the crackdown, all I wanted was to return to my country. Time flies and I am ageing. I wanted to go back to my country, get married and have my own family. I wanted to have kids of my own. The only reason that I stayed until the crackdown was because I had no money to buy the tickets to a flight back home. When we were asked to return back, I took the opportunity without blinking." (Interview, 2016)

For migrants like Alem that are willing to return, though are not able to do so due to economic impediments, an alternative to forced return has been brought into the picture in several European countries. IOMs report on return migration (2010) establishes that Assisted Voluntary Return (AVR) is an important element in return migration as it provides assistances not only to irregular migrants and failed asylum seekers but also for all migrants needing support to return home. AVR is a preferred scheme of regulating migration. Unlike forced return, it allows the migrant to escape from the stigma associated with deportation and also puts forth the most humane and cost effective way of managing migration for host countries.

She then goes on to add,

"The situation in Riyadh especially was getting worse through time. Ethiopian fellows were dying. Thanks to the Ethiopian government we were able to return back home. The Arabs threw us out on the street so we had no option but to seek shelter in the Ethiopian Embassy. Ethiopians raided to the streets demanding to be treated with respect and to be returned back home to Ethiopia. Before deportation, I was held in a detention center in Jeddah. We didn't have adequate food to eat since there were large numbers of detainees in the centers. The food they gave us wasn't enough but we Ethiopians had each other so you wouldn't let your fellow

Ethiopian die of hunger while you have some amount of money left in your pocket."
(Interview, 2016)

Teshome also stated:

"It's always been illegal to work in Saudi without having the necessary documentation. However, during the crackdown, the rules were restricted and for us migrants, the situation was getting worse and worse day by day. We were prohibited from working in businesses that we started since migrants are only expected to be employed under the authorization of a Saudi employer." (Interview, 2016)

Senayit, with discomfort that could be seen on her face also maintained:

"I wanted to return during the crackdown because they couldn't let us work. I was just tired of playing hide and seek with Saudi vigilantes. They break into your house and they would throw you out on the street. We were living with the constant fear of being caught. Before deportation, I handed myself to the police and I was held in a detention center for about two days. The situation there was just terrible. There were people that went mad because they had stayed in the detention centers for quite a long time and there were also women that were going through labor and it was just horrible." (Interview, 2016)

Similarly, Meseret's recollection of her memories before return was troubling. She added:

"I was detained in Riyadh for 27 days before deportation. I saw what was happening to our fellow Ethiopians in Riyadh on the Internet and I was scared so I went straight to the place where they held returnees. People were dying at that time. We were placed in a detention center for 20 days and 7 days inside of a bus waiting for a plane to take us back to our country. The situation there was horrific. Many people went mad and many others were sick and thus taken to a hospital. In the midst of all this chaos, there were also women that were giving birth. It was just surreal. At some point I was sick but I didn't want to go to a hospital since there

was a rumor that they take out organs from your body in a hospital." (Interview, 2016)

Hussein also stated his pre return experience as follows:

"During the crackdown, I was in Jeddah. I saw what was happening to our fellow Ethiopians on the Internet. Then, we were informed by senior officials in Ethiopia that there is a suitable situation for us to live, work and succeed in our own country so we surrendered our hands to the police. We were sent back home the next morning." (Interview, 2016)

Tizita also added *"Even though I was not detained, I had seen a pregnant woman bleed while she was beaten. After seeing that and many other things, my mind could not be stable." (Interview, 2016)*

In addition, all of the informants under this study except Alem spoke of their active desire to remain in Saudi had the crackdown not occurred. They established that they had no intention of returning to Ethiopia had the incident that forced them to return did not occur. Zeru when asked if he would have returned otherwise stated:

"Of course I had no intention of returning here. I would have stayed in Saudi until I get to an economic situation in which I can support myself. But Ethiopian officials insisted that we return. They gave us hopes and promised to create opportunities for us. No one likes living in a foreign country and having parted with his/her family. It's our living situation that drove us to that point. And we were also told that the government won't take responsibility for whatever happens to those failing to return within the required period of time so I decided to return." (Interview, 2016)

Seid also adds, *"Hadh't the incident occurred there was no way that I would have returned. However, we were informed from the media that the living situation in our country has improved and that there are ample opportunities available for us. The Saudi government on the other hand demanded that we return to our place of origin so we had no choice but to leave." (Interview, 2016)*

The untimely and sudden return of a migrant could pose significant challenges to the migrant, and his family (DIIS, 2013). In return migration, preparedness is an essential concept that has pretty much to do with everything. It implies the willingness of migrants to return home as well as their readiness. With respect to this, Aziza's experience could be a demonstration of Saudi returnees' sudden and untimely return.

"I was still working with the Kafael that first brought me to Saudi when the incident occurred. So I was a properly documented migrant worker. However, the Arabs were ordered by the government to expel migrant workers or otherwise they would be facing penalty. That's how our expulsion was carried out. I didn't even get the chance to take my salary. I was not even given enough time to comprehend what was going on. When I got to Ethiopia, I was not in a stable mental situation to understand what was happening so I was taken to a hospital immediately."
(Interview, 2016)

Zeru also noted *"During the crackdown, our employers gave us our salaries and told us that we are not allowed to work there anymore. We didn't have any place to stay at so we paid for our transportation to the place where returnees were held and surrendered ourselves to the police. We didn't even get the chance to change our uniforms."* (Interview, 2016)

Saudi Arabia has the sovereign prerogative to regulate the entry, stay and exit of non-nationals. However, this prerogative must be exercised in accordance with human rights standards. Human security, a concept that places the individual as the major referent object establishes that safety of individuals is the key to national and global security. The terminology of Human Security is thus intertwined with safeguarding the vital core of **all human lives** from critical pervasive threats and situations. This having been the case, should the Saudi governments be given the authority of disregarding the rights and safety of migrant workers levying state security as a cover? In addition, given the fact that migrants account for the highest proportion of workforces in the Gulf countries, shouldn't human security be of a concern as well? Shouldn't the international community put pressure on Saudi government?

4.5. Return and Reception

Return to the home country could be a traumatic experience for expelled migrants. This could perhaps be the outcome of involuntary interruption of migrants experience which creates suffering experienced for not having been able to fulfill his/her personal ambition and the loss of authority to make decisions about his/her own life. Thus, return migration requires effort in considering what happens to migrants once they leave the host country and return back home.

DIIS policy brief on the challenges of involuntary return (2013) established the two most essential aspects of reintegration in forced return. They include the safe and conducive mode of reception as well as skills, resources and social networks of returnees. The following two sub sections will briefly describe KSA returnees' condition upon return and the mode of reception in their home country.

4.5.1. Saudi Returnees Condition upon Return

The researcher with the aim of understanding the situation of KSA returnees upon return contacted AGAR Ethiopia Charitable society, a national, non-governmental and non-profit making organization established for supporting mentally ill, elderly and trafficked victims. It is an organization that has incorporated trafficked victims reintegration program as one of its main goals. The key informant from this organization depicted the situation of several returnees as follows:

"During the crackdown, there was an influx of returnees flooding to our institution. We provided temporary shelters, medical care as well as clothes for them. After their mental situation gets better, we assisted them in locating their families through contacts." (Interview, 2016)

The Key informant also added,

"We had to use mattresses on the floor since our organization was really crowded at that time. Many of the returnees were in a bad shape when they reached here. Several of them were mentally ill, depressed, or sexually abused. Since the returnees were expelled in sudden, many of them didn't know what exactly was going on or where they were. Some of them weren't even in a mental situation to

comprehend that they have actually arrived in Ethiopia. We provided shelters for them until they were mentally stable and can remember the whereabouts of their families." (BOMSED, 2016)

For many of the returnees under this study, returning empty handed was the only option left viable for them. An interview with Alem which has stayed in Saudi for about eight years established that *"Upon return, I had two luggage of cloth brought back with me, one of which was lost along the way. I had only my clothes no money."* (Interview, 2016)

Seble also stated,

"When I was in Saudi, I didn't send money instead I bought clothes and household equipment's and stored it in a huge barrel. However, I couldn't bring it with me during the crackdown. The only thing that I had upon return was a three or four months' salary and pieces of cloth. What was of a greater concern to us at the time was returning to our homeland safe and sound." (Interview, 2016)

Similarly, Hussein, an informant under this study who has spent 19 years of his life in Saudi also noted, *"Upon return, I had no money brought back with me. The luggage of clothes was all I had brought back with me at that time."*

Aziza also stated,

"When my Kafeel expelled me from her house, I only had my hand bag with me when I came back from Saudi. She told me that she will send me my clothes as well as my salary which I left with her in Saudi. I used to save my wages at my Kafeel because I trusted her with everything and she told me that she will send it to me even though she failed to do so as she promised." (Interview, 2016)

Zeru on the other hand stated, *"Upon return, I had only my salary in my pockets. Since we were suddenly returned, I didn't even get the chance to change my work uniforms let alone bringing luggage of clothes."* (Interview, 2016)

In contrast, Teklay, a KSA returnee that has spent more than twenty years of his life in Saudi stated, *"When things start getting worse in Saudi, I started making arrangements to send my*

belongings. As a matter of fact, I was able to send six sewing machines before the crackdown and I also brought a barrel of raw materials for tailoring business and one sewing machine with me". However, Teklay is the only informant under this study that has showed a certain degree of preparedness by gathering sufficient resources before return and managed to mobilize his resources prior to return.

4.5.2. Mode of Reception upon Return

On 13, November 2013, 23 Ethiopian migrant workers were deported from KSA with no luggage and most with no shoes (i.e. the first batch of returnees). Due to the urgent need of humanitarian assistance, IOM was called for the task and provided post arrival assistances (including provision of water, food, shelter, and sanitation goods) in seven transit centers (located in Bole airport, Gerji, Civil Service College, Kotebe Teachers college, Millenium hall and Addis Ababa Leadership Institute). On March 2014, the aggregate number of returnees has reached around 163,018, out of which 100, 688 were men, 53,732 were women and the remaining 8,598 were children. A significant number of women were pregnant and in dire need of pre and post natal care (IOM, 2013).

All of the informants under this study established that they were satisfied with the manner of reception that awaited them in Ethiopia upon return. An official welcoming ceremony was held at Bole International Airport and returnees were given temporary shelters. They also received 900 Ethiopian Birr for transportation, soaps, sanitary pads, and other supports deemed to be essential. Seven days of psychosocial trainings were given and skill trainings were also provided on various income generating businesses depending on the choice of returnees.

Alem describes her experiences upon return as follows:

"The reception when we reach to Ethiopia was really wonderful. We felt at peace because we arrived home safe after having witnessed all of that chaos. The government did the best of what it could back then. We were given 900 birr for transportation, soap and sanitary pads. We had ample food to eat and our own single bed. I stayed in the transit center for three days. I also took seven days of

psychological training. After that, we were given vocational trainings in the area of our choice." (Interview, 2016)

Seble also added:

"The reception in Ethiopia was really wonderful. There were government officials that came to the airport to welcome us. They were really hospitable. My family lives in Addis so I went straight home from the airport. We took a week of psychological trainings (psychosocial trainings). I also took trainings in food preparation for a month as well as hair dressing courses." (Interview, 2016)

Suleyman with discontent in his face also established, *"For the time being, the reception in Ethiopia was really nice. We were given several trainings in Kokeb hall. I took vocational trainings on Poultry farming. The trainings though not satisfactory and sufficient on its own, it was good." (Interview, 2016)*

Similarly, Hiwot added:

"The reception at the Airport was really good. They gave us biscuits, 900 birr for transportation and other goods that they believe would be important for us. I went straight to my parents' house. The officials were literally crying when they were welcoming us. After that we were given several trainings. To mention some, I took psycho social and vocational trainings in baking cakes and bread. When I heard about the opportunities that are available here, I went to the Woreda. They referred me to the Sub city with a letter indicating that I am a Saudi returnee. After a while, they gave me the shade." (Interview, 2016)

Aziza also stated,

"When I got here, I was in shock and I couldn't clearly understand what was happening. As a matter of fact, I went to a hospital. I stayed there for two days. When I went to the Sub city, I was told that there is a program for Saudi returnees at Kokeb hall. We were registered and we were given psychosocial trainings for seven days. I also took vocational trainings from Tegbareid and an NGO called WISE. The

training was really helpful. It makes you to look back at the things that you did in the past." (Interview, 2016)

4.6. The Aftermath of Return: Reintegration Challenges of KSA Returnees

Migrants who return through expulsion often face challenges in reestablishing their lives in their home countries. Often times, they return empty handed, having lost their earnings or belongings outside or never having acquired an opportunity to earn and save money. This being the case, forced return migrants usually deal with the economic and social challenges of return.

DIIS policy report on life after deportation establishes that forced return migrants are likely to be more similar to an average native worker in the home country which influences the labor force in a more negative way. Not only that, when forced return is carried out in a massive scale, it has various implications for the local community as it further increases competition for employment and causing additional strain on scarce resources. The following sub sections will lay out the challenges that KSA returnees are currently facing as has been described on their own words.

4.6.1. Challenges Associated with the Livelihood of Returnees

a) Allocated Business Sheds

After taking trainings on the respective area of their choice, Saudi returnees were organized and engaged through micro and small enterprises. Startup loans were facilitated for them from Addis Credit and Finance institution. Sheds for carrying out businesses were also provided for them.

Within the context of the livelihood challenges of KSA returnees, many of informants under this study established that their reintegration into the home society was hampered by challenges that mainly relate to the sheds allocated to them. These challenges associated with the business sheds has been established as the major factors that prevented informants under this study from generating adequate income through which they can sustain their lives.

Through an in depth interview with informants as well as key informants under this study, the researcher was able to gather that the size of sheds that returnees acquire vary depending upon the type of vocation that he/she is engaged in. Whether returnee organized themselves in groups or not also determines the size of the shade that will be allocated to them. If a returnee decides to

work on his/her own, the maximum area of the shed that will be given to him/her is a three square meter plot shed. However, if he/she is given a 9 square meter plot shed, he/she will be required to form groups with other returnees. In addition, the researcher was also able to establish from Key informants under this study that Saudi returnees are given these business sheds for a period of five years. For the duration of the period within which the sheds are under their control, they will be required to pay rents in different proportions, 25% for the first year, 50% for the 2nd, 75% for the 3rd and 100% for the 4th and 5th year.

Teshome, a KSA returnee currently engaged in tailoring and dress making business stated the difficulties he faced with his shed as follows.

"After taking trainings on the respective area of my choice, I went to the local administrators and they informed me that I can choose the shed that I want to work at. Hearing that was a relief and I did get to choose as I was told. However, finishing works were still remaining when they handed me the shed. It took two years for everything to be ready for starting the business. I had brought back with me around 250,000 birr but it was spent on rent and to transport the machines and other belongings from place to place. I didn't do anything with the money that I brought back from Saudi. All the money that I have saved up from 20 years of struggle in Saudi is gone to waste now. To add pain to misery, they have been reducing the area of the shed that they gave me." (Interview, 2016)

Seble, another informant under this study also describes the challenges that she faced with the shed that was allocated to her with rage and disappointment. She explains:

"The shed that was given to me is very small. It rests on a 3 square meter plot of land. Two years has passed since the shed was given to me. However, it has no basic facilities such as electric or water supplies. In order to deal with this challenge, I had the light converted from another place and I pay 150 birr per month even though I don't have any earning from the business. I don't know how they expect me to do a fast food business without having access to such basic facilities. Due to the fact that my business is that of fast food, I need water. I buy a jar of water with 10 birr per day. It's just all expense no gain." (Interview, 2016)

She then adds,

"The shed that is given to me is located on the third floor of a building. It's definitely not suitable for carrying out business. We were told that the government has spent fourteen million birr to construct this building. It has been two years since it was built but the building is still empty. I'm just the only one working on this floor. However, I was obliged to get a license even though I don't get any earning out of it. What am I going to pay for tax?" (Interview, 2016)

Senayit, a KSA returnee that organized herself in groups with other eight Saudi returnees also established that,

"Me and my group mates are working on a cafe business. Even though the shed that we are now working at is suitable for carrying out business, we're still struggling since it is no electricity or a toilet. To deal with these challenges, we spend about 5000 birr per month for charcoal. However, when we tell our customers that we don't have a rest room, they leave us for another place and its impacting our business to a greater extent." (Interview, 2016)

Majority of the informants under this study also showed their resentment and discontent for having spent so much money on the sheds that were allocated to them. Aziza stated, *"I spent 17,000 birr for partitioning the shed that was given to me. I had hopes that everything will work out well so I invested all that I have on it. However, the building is not suitable for market purposes."* She then added,

"I took the trainings and started my own business in retailing vegetables and fruit. Except fruits and vegetables, I am not allowed to sell even a bread or water. At the beginning since the building didn't have any basic facilities such as water or electricity, we were not expected to pay rent. But now since the water and the electricity comes and goes, we pay rent for the shed that we don't get any income from." (Interview, 2016)

Hussein also added,

"Many Saudi returnees spent the little money that they brought from Saudi/ borrowed from family upon return, to partition the shed that was allocated to them with hopes that they will be able to get it back afterwards. However, their sheds are being taken away from them after spending all their money, hopes and energy on it for several reasons. The administrators don't even reimburse them with their money when they decide to give it away. In the surrounding that my shed is located, there are two buildings. Many of the sheds were allocated to Saudi returnees. But up to now, it's all empty. The main reason for this is that the sheds are not suitable for business." (Interview, 2016)

With the aim of addressing the above frustrations of returnees, the researcher was able to conduct interviews with two officials from the City Government of Addis Ababa Micro and Small Enterprises Development Bureau (BOMSED). One of the officials stated,

"We believe that the support our institution gave to returnees has helped them to fully reintegrate into the society. However, everything is not going to go smoothly since we face a lot of challenges relating to shortage of resources. Those returnees that have the moral and the will to change their lives are working tirelessly without choosing jobs and they are in fact improving their lives. If they are willing to work hard enough, we have created opportunities for them to succeed in. But what we see from many returnees is that they want luxury and we don't and can't guarantee that. We give assistances to various vulnerable segments of the society such as university graduates, women, and for HIV patients. But even amongst these groups, we give priority to return migrants. But we faced a lot of problems along the way. These returnees don't want to face challenges. They just want to get everything at ease. We know that the sheds that we gave them are not suitable for business. But in order to solve this problem, they should come up with their own solutions. They could use the shed that we give them for production purposes and they could rent another for selling the goods. We can't provide everything for them. It's just not possible. They have to meet us half way." (AtoGirma, 2016)

The other key informant from BOMSED when presented with the question of lack of access to basic facilities such as electricity and water, he stated,

"Our institution is not the sole organ responsible for everything that has to do with the sheds. With respect to basic facilities, it's a matter that requires multi stakeholder cooperation. Electric provisions and water supplies need the quick response of other organs involved. We are only responsible for building the sheds and allocating them to the returnees" (Ato Zebene, 2016)

b) Challenges Associated with Stringent Measures

When Firehiwot was showing me her shed, tears were coming to her eyes,

"My shade is located in the second floor of a building. I had taken trainings on baking pastry i.e. bread and cakes. I spent 8000 birr for partitioning the shade. However, the business wasn't working out for me. I was told that the shed could not be used for production purposes. Rather, I was required to buy from a retailer and resell what I have bought. How am I supposed to gain any earning by buying and selling breads and cakes from other retailers when there literally is no business? I didn't earn any income from that so I stopped working after giving it a shot for three months." (Interview, 2016)

She then continues with rage,

"Since I have a diploma in IT, I asked the administrators if I can change my vocation and open an Internet place. One of the administrators at the Woreda approved my request. I borrowed money from my father and bought computers and a copy machine. The business was going good for a while. I started getting 30 birr per day. All of a sudden, just when I was getting my hopes back, I was ordered to stop working. Since then, I couldn't work" Says Firehiwot, with anger and disappointment while showing me around her shed." (Interview, 2016)

Aziza also explains with frustrations,

"I borrowed 25,000 Eth. Birr from Addis Credit and Financial Institution with hopes that I will be able to pay it back from the earnings that I derive from the business. Just when I received the money, we were ordered to shut down the business by stating that the allocation of the sheds was not done in a consistent and regular manner. Since the shed that they had given me at first landed on 9 square meters plot, I was ordered to include two other returnees. At that time, I have already started buying things for the business with the money that I borrowed on my own. After doing as they requested, I was given permission to start the business. I bought many goods for the business such as glasses of water, soft drinks, fruits and vegetables. I even started to sell tea and coffee. Just when things were getting better with the business, I was ordered to stop selling things other than fruits and vegetables. Since there is no business, the goods that I bought decayed and I incurred huge amounts of loss." (Interview, 2016)

Fikirte also stated,

"Just right after our return, without having a stable mindset, we were asked to choose on a vocation that we would like to work on. I chose leather works. I took a 3 months training but the training was not sufficient enough. So I wanted to change my vocation to dress making. I took trainings on designing and I requested for their approval so that I could change my vocation and start working but they say that's impossible. It's been two years since my return but I'm still waiting for their approval." (Interview, 2016)

The key informants' response from BOMSED was as follows:

"If a returnee wants to change his/her vocation, he/she has to terminate its previous contract and take trainings on the latter type of vocation he chooses to be engaged in. Going through these formalities is mandatory. They just can't change their vocation whenever they want because it would create problems for us at the end." (Ato Girma, 2016)

c) Challenges Related to Working in Groups

Ali stated the challenges he faced when working in groups with other Saudi returnees. He stated,

"When we first started working, we organized ourselves into groups of five members but now, two of our group mates are not working with us. The main problem here is lack of the will to work. They come up with many excuses for not coming to work. When the holidays appear, they would be absent for two or three days and they would also be gone for a week after that. How can we succeed with this kind of attitude? These are the things that are dragging us behind. Otherwise working in groups would have been a really good opportunity to prosper together."
(Interview, 2016)

Alem also explained the problems she encountered when working in groups with two other Saudi returnees. She explained,

"After return, two other men and myself were given sheds for selling construction materials. We partitioned and renovated the area that was allocated to us with our own money. Soon after we got our contracts approved, one of the members who was assigned to be the manager disappeared and since then we couldn't get a hold of him. It's the two of us since then. Since our license is with him, we couldn't carry out the business in a manner that can improve ourselves. We don't get any left over after paying for the rent." (Interview, 2016)

Similarly, Senayit also maintained,

"When we first started the cafe business, we were 10 in number. However, half of our members left the group. Even though they are not working with us at the time being, they didn't officially leave the group. They were living in a far worse situation than us so they left with hopes to return back when the business starts going good. We are given the sheds for only five years. Two years have already passed. Since we are each other's surety, it's really hard. Those members that had left the group are not willing to neither revoke their contracts nor work with us in a

full time basis. We want to borrow money but we can't do that without their cooperation so it's just dragging us behind.” (Interview, 2016)

d) Challenges related to Government Bureaucracy

Corruption and Rent Seeking Behavior of Administrators: All of the informants under this study established that they are facing several challenges due to lengthy government bureaucracy and other issues related to lack of good governance. Hiwot stated,

“What I seen in this local administrator offices is that in order to work and to get what you want, you either need to have money, or have a relative in these government offices. Otherwise, if you are a woman, they misuse their power to abuse you. If you say no to all of that, you're left in despair. Sometimes, I even wonder if I am a citizen of this country. The Arabs didn't do anything to me compared to what I am going through right now. Why are they doing this to us? Lack of good governance at the lower level is killing us. Now I don't have any earnings. Now I'm ordered to pay the aggregate amount of rent for the time that the shed was under my control and to transfer it. The government welcomed us wholeheartedly. It's the organs at the lowest level that are doing all of these injustice to us.” (Interview, 2016)

Suleyman then goes on to state the major challenge that he faced upon return as follows,

“After having taken trainings on poultry farming and organizing ourselves into groups, We went to our the Sub city so that the agriculture specialist would recommend us a good product for poultry farming. Upon their recommendation, we took the products. But the outputs they yielded was not healthy so everything went to a loss. They didn't give us any solutions after that. They said that it's been referred to the committee for deliberation but still we didn't get any response from them.” (Interview, 2016)

Fikirte also stated,

"There is lack of good governance and an inconsistent treatment by local administrators. I wonder why that's the case. We're also natives of this country. I wonder why they do this to us. They just exhaust you with their bureaucracy and rent seeking behavior. It's because we don't have any penny brought with us from Saudi that we are seeking help from the government. If we had the capital, we wouldn't be here looking for solutions desperately. What we are asking the government is to create suitable opportunity for us until we can stand on our own two feet." (Interview, 2016)

Inconsistent Treatment by Government Officials: Seble stated her frustration with local administrators by stating,

"There is an inconsistent treatment by the local administrators in our area. While we were required to get license to carry out the business, others in the same building are allowed to work without any such requirement. We are the ones that do not earn any dime of money while we have to pay tax as a result of being licensed while those that are better off are exempted regardless of their earnings." (Interview, 2016)

Teshome also added:

"Whenever local administrators come to visit my shed, I get so frustrated. Every time they come, I get intimidated thinking that that they're here to give me some bad news or to take over the shade. I'm just living by a threat. The tailor in the floor above that is engaged in the same business as me has his area of shade intact. They didn't reduce the area of his shed while they did that to my shade for more than two occasions. I don't really know what it is that distinguishes us and lead us to differential treatments." (Interview, 2016)

Seble also added, *"Neither the sub city nor the woreda is willing to listen to our grievances. They just give us false hopes. They don't give you solutions when you bring forth your problems. They are not even willing to talk to us."* Fikirte also stated, *"It's not the government that is doing all*

of this injustice to us. It's the lack of good will and good governance among the local administrators that is destroying our morals (ሰርተሽ እንዳትለወጧ። እግር እግርሽን ነው የሚሆነው)።” In addition she also noted, *“WISE has also been helping us returnees get back on our feet. It's an NGO that's concerned with returnee's wellbeing. Once you are a member of this organization, you'll be required to save money every week and they provide you with loans without any requirement of surety. All you need to do is be a member.”* (Interview, 2016)

Organization for women in self-development (WISE) has been engaged in providing trainings and capacity building services such as creating saving as well as financial opportunities for Saudi returnees. Several returnees admired and appreciated the support that this organization is currently providing for them.

Solomon also expressed his disappointment by stating,

“Upon return we were organized in groups of ten and we were given a shed at the fourth floor of a building. However, the building is located in a place that is not suitable for business. I'm just trying to do all in my capacity to hold the group together but two of our members had already left. The administrators organize meetings so that we can express our challenges but at the end of the day, you are still left on your own without any sort of solution. They just tell us that everything cannot go smoothly. You just look at the situation that your fellow returnees are living through and it's just really sad.” (Interview, 2016)

In response to the above frustrations of informants, the key informant from BOMSED replied,

“With respect to lack of good governance and rent seeking behaviors, our institution has been providing local administrators with awareness creation trainings every 6 months. Then we evaluate these administrators and hold the ones that are found corrupt responsible for their actions.” (Ato Zenebe, 2016)

4.6.2. Social Challenges of Returnees

Shame of Returning Empty Handed: Meseret goes on to state the social challenge that she faced upon return as follows, *“One of the major challenges that I faced upon return is the shame*

of returning empty handed. People in my surrounding started giving me ugly names because I didn't have anything with me upon return. It was just really hard." (Interview, 2016)

Seble also added,

"Upon my return, my family was happy to see me. I have always put forth my family's interest before me. When I was in Saudi, I have supported them in every way that I could. However, other relatives and the people on your surrounding don't understand your situation. I just felt bad and ashamed for not having been able to bring back anything with me." (Interview, 2016)

Growing Tension with Family Members: One of the most noted problems related to this is failure to use remittances productively and effectively which creates tensions among members of a family especially in cases of failed return.

Alem expressed her sadness when she revealed that she could not get along with her brother since her sudden return,

"When I first went to Saudi, eight years ago, my family borrowed money from a relative to facilitate for my journey abroad. When I was in Saudi, my brother was in a relatively better economic situation so he paid the debt that we had incurred because it bears interest through time. I used to send money to my family with hopes that it would help me to repay back the debts but upon my return, I was able to establish that the money that I used to send has not been put to any useful purpose. As a matter of fact, I still owe my brother the debt and what's even worse he doesn't even talk to me since my sudden return. People only care for you when you are in a good place. That's what I know now." (Interview, 2016)

Aziza also maintained, *"My mother is the only person that welcomed me with love. Other members of the family are not understanding of my situation. I still have disagreements with my brother. He just doesn't understand what I've been through to get here. It's just sad." (Interview, 2016)*

Social Isolation

Hiwot explains how she has been feeling since her return with sadness and disappointment. She states, *"My family welcomed me well upon my return. However, they are scared of me. Whenever I get angry, they become so concerned thinking that I'll go mad. My relationship with them has changed. I go home with the troubles that I face here at the work place and I just isolate myself from them. I am so fed up with everything."* (Interview, 2016)

Aziza also added, *"I used to be a person that doesn't worry much about things. But now, it's been a long time since I have slept without worries. When I think of what I've been through, my losses and the debt that I incurred, it just depresses me. Now, I even get to the point of understanding why people make such huge decisions as committing suicide."* (Interview, 2016)

4.7. Return: Sustainable or Not?

Whether return could be termed as sustainable or not depends on the indicators that we use for measuring it. Cassarino (2004) establishes that there are two major indicators of sustainable return. According to the narrow indicators of return, sustainability is measured by assessing if returnees subsequently re-migrate after their return or not. On the other hand, the wider definition of sustainability takes into consideration of other factors as well such as considering the extent to which individual returnees are able to reintegrate in their home societies and the positive impact they create on the development of their home country. However, the counter argument against the latter definition of sustainability establishes that failed return migrants do not necessarily bring new skills or the remittances that they have been sending would not lead to fundamental economic changes as the earnings are mainly spent on consumer goods.

Lack of desire to re-migrate, access to employment, services and a degree of security are laid out as the major indicators of measuring sustainability. Majority of the informants under this study established that they have no intention of returning back to Saudi. This according to the above narrow definition could be used as an indicator in labeling their return as sustainable. However, the researcher was also able to gather from informants as well as key informants under this study that many KSA returnees of Saudi crackdown has chosen to re-migrate back using the desert

route which still leave the sustainability of their return (even within the narrow context) into question.

Informants under this study such as Hiwot and Suleyman also mentioned their strong desire to re-migrate to Saudi. When asked if she has any plan of migrating to Saudi, Firehiwot stated;

"Of course I have plans to go to Saudi again. Whether the ban is lifted or not, I am not staying here. Saudis didn't do anything to us. It's our own fellow people that are making us go through hell. They threw our hopes in the water. (ተስፋችንን ወሃ ወስጥ ነው የጨዋች). It's because of God's mercy that I'm not living on the streets. All I ever wanted is to work and live in my country but since that is not in the table for us returnees, I have no other choice but to migrate." (Interview, 2016)

Suleyman also stated, *"I have a plan of migrating back to Saudi when the ban is lifted. Since I have a driving license, I could go there and work as a driver."* Coslovi and Piperno (2005) label such instances as this as *demographic sustainability* in which migrants maintain a strong desire to re-migrate however are prevented from doing so due to the impossibility of overcoming physical or legal obstacles to remigration.

The story of all Saudi informants under this study is not a failed one. Even though the majority of informants socioeconomic status could not be termed as successful, for other informants like Ali and Tizita their stories are that of success;

"I got trainings on fast food preparation and I was given a 3 square meters plot shade. I used to sell fast food as well as tea and coffee. The shade was really small so I started using the corridor. However, local administrators would come and order me to stop working like that and I would be devastated. I started working without choosing the type of job. One time a person came to me and asked if I know of anyone that would be willing to clean toilets in a mall. I said to him why not me, I've been doing that the whole time I was in Saudi. So I took the chance without any hesitation. I employed two other people and earned about 4000 birr for that. With the money that I get and saved up from such kinds of works plus the money that I earn from selling fast food and tea in my shed, my situation was improving from

time to time. After saving up some money, I met a woman who used to have a cafe of her own. I rented her cafe with all the equipment in it and now I have paid all the money that I owe to her. Since then I'm working on my own cafe. I even have three other people working under me. I even got credit from Addis Credit and financial institution and managed to pay the debt back with less than a year. But When I return back from Saudi I had no penny in my name. So I could be a living proof that a person can succeed in his/her own country if he/she is willing to work hard enough." Says Tizita, (Interview, 2016)

Ali, another KSA returnee that has returned empty handed and now engaged in metal works business shares his success story as follows.

"When I came back to Ethiopia during Saudi crackdown, all I had was a luggage of clothes which was lost when it got here. I didn't have any money in my pockets. But now, since the time that we were organized in groups and started working in the area of our choice which is in metal works, we are in a better economic situation. I am even inventing machines that could be helpful for our business. I also support my family and pay tax to the government." (Interview, 2016)

In contrast, for majority of the informants under this study there is no change or even a decline of economic status in comparison to their pre migration situation. Hiwot when asked to compare her situation to that of her pre migration situation stated,

"My financial problem has further exacerbated. Before I went to Saudi, since I was learning, nobody expected anything from me. But now, I am totally dependent on my family. It's really hard. The administrators with their lengthy bureaucracy are making me suffer. They destroyed my moral." (Interview, 2016)

Mohammed also added,

"I am fortunate enough to have family and relatives that support me in these desperate times of need. I was fortunate enough to have their support. But for many returnees that I know, this is not the case. Their families' turn their back on them since they return empty handed. Sometimes when I see these returnees, I feel like

bursting out with tears. Saudi returnees have no money at their disposal. They can't fulfill the rent seeking behavior of administrators so they are left destitute."

(Interview, 2016)

Where push factors in home countries are not fully addressed, there's a great chance for return migrants to choose emigration for the second time. This coupled with the ban on migration to Saudi, irregular migration will be taken as last resort from an impoverished living situation. A key informant from MOLSA established that the ban will be lifted once the regulation that is aimed at giving better protections to returnees is enacted (the enactment is underway). The key informants also established that there won't be other instances whereby migrants will be expelled in mass as in the case of Saudi crackdown on irregular migrants as a regulation is underway that better enables to manage migration.

CHAPTER FIVE

5. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1. Conclusion

On the year 2013, Ethiopia witnessed the hazards of migration crisis. In the flight that was labeled as "the most colossal airlift the world has ever witnessed", approximately 163, 000 Ethiopian migrant workers were repatriated from Saudi Arabia. On this occasion, several videos were displayed on the internet displaying the brutal treatments of Saudi forces in an attempt to expel migrant workers. Due to the outrageous treatment of Saudi vigilantes, Ethiopian Diasporas demonstrated their anger and held protests. By taking into consideration that it is the first time ever that Ethiopia faced such kind of return in huge numbers as well as the fact that Ethiopia is the major sending country in the horn for labor migration to Saudi, there is a need to fully address such eventualities in order to create understandings and prevent the same from happening again.

Summary of Major Findings

With the aim of giving full picture to the event as well as understanding factors believed to have an impact on it, the study addressed the pre migration, migration; return and post return experiences of returnees during Saudi crackdown. Given the fact that the aftermath of return is barely recorded, the study is aimed at filling the gaps by addressing challenges that Saudi returnees are currently facing since their return which has been two years. The following summary of findings is organized in a manner that addresses each of the research questions guiding this research.

Research question 1. How do Saudi returnees describe their lived experiences during and upon return?

When gathering primary data from the informants under this study, the researcher was able to establish that the experiences Saudi returnees acquired before return differ slightly pertaining to the area that returnees resided during the crackdown and the manner in which their return took place (whether they voluntarily handed themselves to the police or they were forcefully expelled

by the police). All of the informants under this study maintained that they handed themselves to the police due to fear of being caught and revealed that their situation prior to return was somehow troubling. The researcher also established from extensive interviews that almost all of the informants had no intention to return had the incident not occurred which could be evidence of the untimely and sudden return of migrants (only one stated her desire to return). As a matter of fact, returnees could not mobilize their belongings and for several of them returning empty handed was the option left viable. In addition, the researcher was able to establish that all of the returnees did not take the illegal route to get to Saudi. However, amongst the male returnees and informants under this study, there is a great inclination of choosing the desert route while majority of the women take the legal routes of migration to reach to Saudi. Even though that maybe the case, amongst the fourteen informants interviewed, thirteen of the informants maintained that they neither have an Iqama due to an illegal entry, or overstayed their permit or were working as run-ins during the crackdown (due to the sponsorship system). The remaining returnee established that she was forcefully returned despite her documented status.

All of the informants under this study maintained that they were satisfied with the mode of reception that awaited them here in Ethiopia. However, they also maintained that they were disappointed to find that all of the promises were not honored by government officials.

Research question 2. What challenges and prospects did returnees face during reintegration and how much have they become self-sufficient?

Given the fact that two years has passed since their return, the study assessed current living situation of returnees with the aim of establishing how self-sufficient they have become since their return. The researcher found out two major challenges faced by returnees since return. The first major challenge pertains to the livelihood of returnees while the latter relates to the social challenges returnees encountered as a result of their untimely and sudden return. Within the livelihood challenges of returnees, challenges relating to the business shed allocated, stringent requirements in vocational choices; challenges relating to working in groups as well as challenges associated with government bureaucracy have been laid out as the major problems.

Regardless of the fact that it has been two years since their return, the sheds that these returnees have been allocated lack basic facilities such as water, electricity and rest rooms. The researcher

upon his direct observation of the sheds allocated was able to gather that the buildings are still empty and not suitable for carrying out businesses. The informants also declared that they have spent their energy as well as the money that they manage to earn from their stay in Saudi /borrowed upon return on partitioning the shed. However, since the shed is not located in a place suitable for market purposes, majority of the informants maintained that they are at a loss.

Returnees also showed their discontents with the way they have been treated by local administrators. Lack of good governance, corruption/rent seeking behaviors as well as inconsistent treatments have been laid out as major challenges hampering reintegration of returnees. Challenges associated with stringent rules on vocational choices as well as lack of will amongst group members and challenges attributed to working in groups also hampered the successful reintegration of returnees. Social challenges such as shame of returning empty handed, tensions with family members and social isolation has also been laid out as factors hampering the successful reintegration of returnees into their home societies.

Research question 3. Could the reintegration process of returnees be termed as a sustainable one?

Sustainability as have been stated in the previous chapters is a terminology that has pretty much to do with return migration and reintegration. In its wider context, sustainability implies the economic contribution returnees make in their home countries after return while in its narrow context; sustainability is determined by assessing whether returnees re-emigrate or not right after return /maintains the strong desire to do so. The researcher established that majority of returnees are not in a self-sufficient situation though they do not possess the desire to migrate. However, this is not to mean that all Saudi returnees are living in an impoverished economic situation as some of the informants (although very few have established that their living situation has improved since return). (Out of the fourteen informants under this study, only two returnees showed their desire to migrate back). In addition, several of the informants under this study established that many Saudi returnees have migrated back which was further confirmed by key informants under this study though lacking statistical information.

5.2. Recommendations

Based on the findings of this research, the following are some of the recommendations laid out by the researcher.

- In order to fully address migration and issues revolving around it in a prompt manner, there is a need to give huge emphasis on the push factors that exist in home countries which lead migrants to resort to emigration. The government needs to undertake a comprehensive study on migration so that it can make an informed decision that yields a lasting solution to this current pressing trend.
- The Ethiopian government should also come up with detailed policies of regulating migration and return migration. As long as the push factors in home countries are not yet fully addressed and irregular migration is the only way out (so long as the ban on regular migration is still in place), there is a great chance for history to repeat itself and for another instance of forced mass return to take place. Thus, the government should come up with policies that better address such emergency situations through planning, monitoring and execution of programs that could best serve the interests of vulnerable sections of society such as forced returnees.
- Reintegration of returnees into home societies is a matter that involves multi stakeholder cooperation. Thus, reintegration should be locally adopted by engaging various sectors of the society so that returnees would be reintegrated into their home society without enduring many challenges associated with forced return. Promises of support which cannot actually be delivered could disrupt trust as well as reinforcing marginalization thus should be avoided.
- Awareness should also be created on corruption and rent seeking behaviors amongst local administrators as well as within the community at large. Stringent measures should be taken on those organs found to be liable. Follow up mechanism should also be created which allow the government to evaluate the sustainability of reintegration programs that were put in place. In mass forced return instances such as Saudi crackdown, supports should be tailor made i.e. based on returnees needs. Otherwise, the provision of supports

(as in the case of Saudi returnees under this study, the sheds for e.g.) that do not meet the skills or needs of returnees could be a waste of resources further eradicating frustrations.

- The Ethiopian government should also come up with a fast response to the ban on regular migration to the Middle East as it would further exacerbate the need for choosing the irregular trend in instances whereby the push factors at home country are not yet properly addressed.
- The government of Ethiopia should also carefully assess the mediating factors in migration (brokers, PEA's, smugglers) and come up with stringent rules and measures in regulating irregular migration.
- One of the factors contributing to the poor treatment of Ethiopian migrant workers in the GCC is absence of protection mechanisms put forth with the aim of safeguarding the rights of migrant workers. The Ethiopian government bears the major responsibility to protect its citizens abroad. Even though remittances from these countries could undeniably make up invaluable part of the country's foreign exchange, such advantages should not be taken at the cost of human lives. The government should bring into the table negotiations for improved labor contracts with GCC countries such as Saudi Arabia and oversee the implementation of the same. The Ethiopian government should also reorganize its consulates and liaison offices in the GCC in the manner that they provide better safeguards by demanding the labor contracts for its citizens to be respected.
- Pursuant to the principle of subsidiarity, when Saudi Arabia fails to abide by its duties of respecting human rights, the international community should take a more proactive role and put pressure so that the country respects the rights of migrant workers pursuant to its duties on international law and custom.
- The international community should also come together and put pressure on the government of Saudi Arabia so that the country will carry out its expulsion measures in line with Human Rights Principles. Even though Saudi Arabia has the prerogative of controlling who goes in and out of its territory, such prerogative should not be enforced in derogation of basic human rights standards. Given the fact that migrants make up a

huge segment of the work force, concerns of human security should also be promptly addressed. Assisted voluntary schemes should be brought into the picture in migrant receiving countries such as Saudi Arabia as AVR involves a more humane and cost effective response to regulating migration.

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Appendices

Appendix 1

List of Key Informants and Interview Dates

List of names	Date of Interview
Selam- Senior Nurse- AGAR Ethiopia	April 2016
Meselu- Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs	March 2016
Ato Girma Tesfaye- General manager of entrepreneurship and enterprises development (BOMSED)	April 2016
Ato Zebene - Employment opportunities development project officer (BOMSED)	April 2016

Appendix 2

List of Informants (i.e. Saudi Returnees)

Pseudonym	Age	Sex	Level of education	Place of origin	Length of stay in KSA	Current Vocation
Alem	27	F	None	Addis Ababa	8 years	Construction materials supplier
Seble	29	F	Completed high school	Dessie	1 year & 8 months	Fast food business
Tizita	27	F	Completed 9 th Grade	Jimma	2 years	Cafe business
Hiwot	27	F	10+2 in IT	Addis Ababa	4 years	Cakes and bread retailer
Aziza	29	F	Completed high school	Addis Ababa	2 years	Fruit and vegetables retailer
Mohammed	40	M	Completed grade 8	Amhara region	6 years	Poultry
Haylay	45	M	Completed grade 10	Tigray	21 years	Tailoring
Ali	30	M	Completed grade 6	_____	5 years	Metal works
Seble	27	F	Completed grade 10	Addis Ababa	3 years	Cafe
Meseret	25	F	Completed grade 10	Semen Wollo	2 years	Concrete Block production
Hussein	46	M	Completed 6 th Grade	Addis Ababa	19 years	Soft drinks retailer
Zenebe	48	M	Completed 8 th grade	Tigray	3 years	Private employment
Fikirte	29	F	Completed grade 10	Addis Ababa	2 years	Leather Tailoring
Solomon	36	M	10+1	Ambo	2 years	Cafe business

Appendix 3

Interview Guide (for informants under study)

Name: _____

Age: _____

Sex: _____

Educational background:

Marital Status:

When did you first go to Saudi Arabia?

What triggered the need to migrate to Saudi?(Is it economic, political, religious, pressure from family, etc.?) Is there anyone that influenced your decision to migrate?

How did you manage to get the money to go to Saudi? How much did you pay? What is the source of the money?

Which route to migration did you take?

Were you informed of the living situation that awaits you in Saudi prior to your departure?

What kind of work did you engage in while in Saudi?

Could you describe your life experience while working in Saudi? (You're working condition, relation with your employers)?

What were the obstacles and opportunities that you encountered?

What opportunities were available to you in Saudi? (What gains did you get, if any?)

How long did you stay in Saudi?

How long did you plan on staying in Saudi had you not been repatriated?

How has migration to Saudi impacted you? (Behavioral, economical or in any other way)?

How was your expulsion carried out?

Were you detained before return? If so, how do you describe your detention experiences before deportation?

What were the assistances that were given to you upon return?

Do you believe that the assistances given have impacted your reintegration in any manner?

What were the greatest challenges that you encountered upon your return? How have you manage to deal with those challenges?

What kind of job are you engaged in currently? How much do you get? Do you support your family?

Did you return to your family after deportation? If so, how did your family and friends take it? Do people treat you differently?

Has your economic status improved in comparison into prior to migration or is it the same?

Have you managed to repay the debts you incurred for the costs of migration? If so, how long it took you to repay back?

What were the specific uses to which your belongings /earnings had been put, if any?(Including the remittances that you have sent/ the money you brought back or saved)?

What are your life prospects for the future? (Do you plan to re-migrate? Do you encourage others to migrate?)

Is there anything else that you would like to add?

Appendix 4

Key Informant Interview Guide

The main purpose of this study is to explore the aftermath of return and the reintegration challenges of Saudi returnees.

First I would like to thank you for taking your time to be part of this study. Your participation in this interview would be very important to get a full understanding of the subject matter at hand.

Date:

Name of Respondent [optional]:

Official Capacity/title within the represented institution:

Duration of engagement with the institution represented:

1. What were the roles played by your organization during the mass return of Ethiopian migrants' workers from Saudi on 2014/2006? What assistances were put in place by your organization?
2. How do you value the importance of such assistances in ensuring successful reintegration of returnees?
3. Do you believe that the efforts taken were adequate enough to ensure sustainable return above and beyond reintegrating the migrants?
4. Is there any follow up mechanism that your organization devised to assess how reintegrated these returnees in fact are through time?
5. What obstacles did your organization face in the efforts towards reintegrating Saudi returnees? As having been part of the process, what were the most visible challenges that the returnees faced upon return?
6. What measures were taken in order to overcome such challenges?
7. For the future, what actions and interventions do you suggest to be taken for the same eventuality not to happen again?

Declaration

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

Miheret Betseha Tessema

June, 2016

This thesis is submitted for examination with my approval as an advisor of the candidate

Dr. Regassa Bayissa

June, 2016