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Challenges Ethiopian Migrant Returnees Encounter in the Reintegration Processes: The Case of Females Deported from Saudi Arabia

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Abstract

Studies revealed that migrant returnees face challenges of reintegration into their countries of origin, particularly when countries to which they returned face weak economies and labour markets. In such countries, it is considered returnees are a burden to their place of origin. This article explores the socio-economic and psychological challenges the Ethiopian returnee migrant females encounter to fully re-integrate within their original social environment. The data collection methods include in-depth interviews, key informant interviews, and document reviews. Purposive and snowball sampling techniques were used to select returnee migrant females and experts working in relevant offices in Gulale sub-city of Addis Ababa. The collected data were analyzed thematically. The findings reveal that returnee migrant females were deported from high wage earnings in Saudi Arabia due to a sudden declaration by the Saudi government. The returnees have faced challenges of reintegration into the social and economic structure of their place of origin. The specific challenges include the breakdown of the migrants' previous social network, lack of adequate financial capital, and absence of encouraging job opportunities for generating personal income. As a consequence, they suffer from psychological problems like anxiety, depressions, loneliness, humiliation, and self-neglect. Based on the findings, the study recommends that addressing the problem requires intervention at grassroots level with unreserved commitment from all concerned bodies. Interventions need to be gender-oriented, inclusive and participatory.

Key words: /Deportation/Gender/Home environment/Migration-returnee/Socio-economic/Psychological/Reintegration/

1. Introduction

With a global increase in the number of migrants and refugees, the issue of return migration has recently received greater attention (Haase & Honerath, 2016). Return migration is the process of going back or being taken back to the point of departure. It is also often associated with the process of going back to one's own culture, family and home (Newland, 2017). According to Adamnesh (2006), migrants decide to return for many

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reasons. They may be motivated to return because of the encouraging and positive environment in their country of origin or they may also be forced to return home for other obligatory factors.

Return migration is a complex phenomenon, and in recent years there has been greater recognition of the challenges associated with it (Marchand, Reinold, & Diase Silva, 2017). Taking into account the complexity of return migration, the main aim of the International Organization for Migration (IOM) and other concerned global establishments on the issue is, how to make return takes place in a dignified way and reintegration sustainable (Knoll, Veron, & Mayer, 2021). Return migrants' reintegration is sustainable when returnees have reached levels of economic self-sufficiency, social stability within their communities, and psychosocial well-being that allow them to cope with (re)migration drivers. Having achieved sustainable reintegration, returnees can make further migration decisions a matter of choice rather than necessity (IOM, 2017, as cited in IOM, 2020). This is possible when returnee reintegration takes place by considering the factors that can affect reintegration at the individual, community and structural levels. To this end, according to Homecoming (2020) reintegration assistance has to be expanded and become part of the policy toolbox for return by countries of origin and other various concerned actors.

According to Knoll et al. (2021), the comprehensive and sustainable reintegration of migrant returnees into the host community over the long-term may depend on a combination of efforts of various actors. In practice, as different donors funding different reintegration programmes, it has not worked well. Per these authors, the reason behind this is that programmers have an integrated approach on paper; they may face various challenges in practice in successfully reintegrating the returnees. For instance, returnees themselves are not always positively perceived by those who have never migrated. Tension can develop between local populations who persevered through poverty, conflict or crisis and populations who left in search of better living and economic conditions (Fonseca, Hart & Klink, 2015). Moreover, competition for social standards and roles, which may have changed during the absence of the returnee, can increase tensions between local community members and returnees receiving financial reintegration assistance. Additionally, most migrants often return home empty-handed to the same conditions before migration such as poverty, unemployment, the influence of family/relatives which necessitated their previous migrations and the absence of reintegration programs. All these and other factors play a vital role in hindering the efforts made to make the reintegration of migrant returnees successful.

As part of the mission to "Saudiization" of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, creating job opportunities for young unemployed Saudis and regularization of the labour market, Saudi Arabia has deported many illegal Ethiopian migrants. Accordingly, between November 2013 and March 2014, more than 163,018 Ethiopian migrants were forcibly repatriated (Mariam, 2016). In connection to this, according to a report by IOM in April 2017, the Government of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia launched a campaign titled 'A Nation without Violations', granting all Ethiopian illegal migrants an amnesty period of 90 days to leave the country without facing penalties (IOM, 2017, as cited in Marchand et al., 2017). An estimated 500,000 migrants were present in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia when the campaign was launched. After multiple extensions, the amnesty period ended in November 2017. Upon return, the readjustment and reintegration of migrant returnees can be problematic, particularly as the return was spontaneously, involuntarily, forcefully, unexpectedly, and inadequate preparation of the country of origin to accept and reintegrate the returnees (Liebers & Kunz, 2018). Despite these facts, there is scanty of information about the factors that challenges the reintegration of the returnees. This is because there have been relatively little empirical researches on return migrants' reintegration process. A possible reason for this may be the difficulty of getting adequate and reliable data on return migration (McCormick & Wahba, 2003). Most of the existing studies on Ethiopian migrants appear to concentrate only on the hardships and the living conditions migrants faced during their staying time in their place of destination. For instance, a research conducted to assess the vulnerability of Ethiopian women and girls in Kuwait by Selamawit (2013), found out that most of Ethiopian women were suffering from physical and psychological problems because of heavy work-loads, longer working hours, serving more than one family even though they were hired by one, deprivation of food and sleep, denial and withholding of salaries, and sexual

harassment. On the other hand, studies by Emebet (2002) and Mesfin (2011) described only the challenges and prospects of female labour migration to the Middle East Gulf States, and the migration experience of returnees, respectively.

Abinet (2010), on the other hand, studied the role of remittance and return migrants on urban growth and rural-urban linkage. His study is delimited to understanding the remittance and returnee's impact for growth and rural-urban linkage, and focuses on identifying the pattern and magnitude of remittance. Abinet's study revealed that a large amount of remittance is being injected into the economy of the town and the surrounding areas. Finally, a study by Adamnesh (2006), which focused on identifying the reason for return migration and the existing situation regarding the returnees' assimilation process and their contributions to their home lands' economic growth, finds out that migrants return mainly to live and work in Ethiopia with accumulated relevant human and financial capital which impacts positively the economic development of the country.

The above empirical studies mainly focused on the life experiences of Ethiopian female labor migrants at their place of destination and the role of remittances they sent home to support the home economy. As a result, as far as the knowledge of the researcher is concerned, there is a literature gap on the reintegration challenges which Ethiopian female migrant returnees would face at home. Therefore, this study examines the issue at hand which would be invaluable input for policy makers and problem solving strategies if it became clearly known.

The main objective of this study was to explore the socioeconomic and psychological challenges Ethiopian female returnee migrants face in their reintegration endeavor with their homeland socioeconomic environment. To this end, the following specific objectives have been addressed by the study:

- to identify the economic hardship the returnees faced in the reintegration process;
- to explore the post deportation social reintegration problems faced by the returnees at their place of origin; and
- to find out the psychological problems which the returnees suffered all through their reintegration endeavors.

2. Methods

This study was guided and framed by a constructivist perspective. As noted by Crabtree (1999), constructivism claims that truth is relative and recognizes the importance of the subjective human creation of meaning, but does not reject outright some notion of objective views. A qualitative exploratory case study design was employed to conduct this study. The data for the study have been collected from March to April of 2017. Case studies are often described as an exploration of a 'bounded system' and are often employed by social science researchers when the researcher is interested to explore and interpret social groups in their natural setting using a number of qualitative techniques over an extended period of time (Hancock et al., 2021). So this study aimed to explore and describe the existing realities regarding the socio-economic and psychological hardships that the returned women were facing in their smooth reintegration endeavor with their original homeland environment. Through a qualitative research approach, the researcher generated a more detailed view of participants regarding the issues at hand, getting closer to the actors' perspectives aimed at developing as full understanding of the situation as possible. The front-line participants of study were women returnees living in Addis Ababa City Administration Gulale Sub-city. Per the data gained from Addis Ababa city administration Women, Children and Youths' Affairs bureau, from all sub cities; it was Gulale Sub-city that took a lead in formally documenting the profiles of the returnees up on their arrival. Hence, Gulale Sub-city was selected for the study as more data about the returnees were available in the sub city. These returnees are those who were deported from the Gulf States and those who have been at their destination for at least three years. Participants for the study were purposely selected to get relatively detailed data on the issue of the study at hand. Experts and workers from Bureau of Labor and Social Affairs, and Bureau of Women, Children and Youths Affairs from the city administration Gulale Sub-city also participated in the study.

Purposive and snowball sampling techniques of non-probability sampling method were employed to select potential participants of the study. As recommended by Glaser and Strauss (1999), the sample size for this study was determined by data saturation. The primary data were collected by interviews. As noted by Kothari (2004), primary sources of data are fresh, original and first-hand data. Accordingly, in-depth interviews have been conducted with 16 returnees and key informant interviews with five experts working at Gulale Sub-city. The interviews have been conducted by two interviewers: the researcher and one senior research assistant. Afan Oromo and Amharic languages have been used to conduct the interviews. The interviews lasted from 30 minutes to one hour and were recorded using a tape recorder. The recorded data were transcribed, translated and coded to generate themes or patterns. The secondary data relied on existing available documents like journals, books and government official reports prepared on the issue at hand. The data were analyzed thematically to provide an in-depth and detailed exploration and interpretation of the research topic. Triangulation, member checking and peer briefing were the strategies that the researcher employed to ensure the quality of the data gathered. Ethical practice is not an add-on to social research but lies at its very heart (Gorard, 2003). This is because advancement of knowledge does not, of itself, provide an entitlement to override the rights of others. Hence, the researcher considered all possible mechanisms of preserving the interest, privacy and free will of the participants so as not to disclose the information in a way that violates the principles of confidentiality. For confidentiality issues, pseudonyms were used wherever quotations were important from the narrations of the study participants in analyzing the data.

3. Findings

3.1. Socio-demographic Information of the Research Participants

The study participants are divided into two categories: the female returnees and the key informants. All of the returned migrant participants were female. All of them were deported back home by the Saudi government after three to four years of stay there. The data shows that six of the returnees were deported home in 2014, five of them in 2015, two of them in 2016 and three of them in 2017. While the youngest returnee is 25 years old, the oldest is 31. Three of them did attend up to grade six only. Ten of them completed grade eight and three completed grade 10. Ethnically, six, three, and four of them are Oromo, Wolaita, and Amhara respectively, and one from Tigre, Silte, and Kaficho each. Eleven of them are unmarried, three of them are married, and two are divorced. From the two widows', only one participant does have a child. Six of the returnees are Muslims, four are protestant Christians, and six of them are Orthodox Christians. Three of the key informants are females and two are males. Per the collected data of the study, their educational background shows that one key informant studied his master's degree in developmental studies, four of them are bachelor degree holders, two of them studied sociology, one studied social work, and one studied psychology.

3.2. Migrant Returnees and the Process of Deportation

The deportation process of Ethiopian labour migrants in the Saudi Arabia happened suddenly based on a declaration made by the Saudi government late 2013. The deportation process was intensified in early 2014 returning more than 150 thousand migrants home in a period of two months, March to April 2014. This study showed the deportation targeted those migrants who were considered "undocumented migrants" by the Saudi government. These undocumented migrants were those whose overseas working licenses were expired. As the deportation process was a sudden declaration, up on their deportation these female returnees were not given enough time by Saudi government to collect their belongings as they left both their material and financial resources in the host country. As a result, these female labour migrant returnees were not economically capable for smooth reintegration with their home socioeconomic and cultural environment up on their arrival.

3.3. Re-integration Challenges: As Encountered by Return Female Migrants

The findings of this study show that the Ethiopian female migrants faced forceful and unexpected deportation by the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. This situation made their return process unintended as they were not ready enough for it. As a result, their reintegration course with their home's socioeconomic and cultural environment was not as smooth as desired. Reportedly, this study found three major reintegration related hardships which the returnees had to face and endure at their place of origin: economic hardships, social reintegration problems, and difficult psychological situations.

Economic hardship of returnee migrants' reintegration: The main problem that the returnee migrant females faced at home is related to economic hardship. Data gathered from the key informants of the study show that being illegal migrants in Saudi Arabia, these returnees were forcefully deported before they got ready enough for the process of returning home. They returned home with empty pockets as they did not collect their salaries. They also left behind all their material resources at their place of destination. Consequently, upon their arrival at home, they faced severe financial problems to help themselves with their daily-based basic needs' expenses.

One female returnee described the severity of financial hardship she faced upon her return follows:

As soon as I arrived at Bole International airport with other deported returnees, the government gave me only 950 Birr for transport expenses. But I finished the money in less than two days for buying food and new cloth. I just returned an empty pocket even without holding some clothes for change. I could not ask my parents for money since they are poor and they have still expected to get my support which they were receiving while I was in Saudi Arabia. As a result, I am now facing a difficulty of even to cover my daily basic needs' expenses (Mekdes Admasu, Age: 27).

The study further revealed that the migrants returned home without getting adequate money. Hence, they got no seed money to set up their own business after return. This, in turn, hindered their economic reintegration into the community to which they did return.

The other female returnee mentioned how she struggled with the economic problems she faced after she returned home to initiate her own private business as follows:

After returning home, I wanted to start a business in order to earn income for my survival. The smallest and less capital intensive business which I wanted to engage in until I empower myself economically was making coffee and tea for sale. But when I calculated the initial capital, it became more than 5000 Birr. This cost includes all materials needed to start the business. But, my financial capital at hand was less than that amount. (Ayantu Gari, Age: 25)

The data gathered from an interview with the returnees showed how the inflation in the country's economy made the economic reintegration endeavor of the returnees more challenging. A female returnee expressed her view as follows:

Since my return, the price of all goods and services has increased from time to time. This is another headache for someone like me who do not have any income and adequate money to afford daily living expenses let alone other things. As you know, you need to have adequate money to live in Addis Ababa especially there is no affordable house to rent. Also the house owners increase rental fees as they want. As a result, I am reducing my food consumption and shifting the money to cover the currently increased rental house payment. If things continue like this, I do not know what I have to do. Only Allah knows. (Hafiza Mohammed, Age: 29).

Interviews conducted with key informants from Gulale Sub-city Labor and Social Affairs Bureau showed how the economic hardships which the returnees faced at home challenged their smooth economic reintegration. The informants highlighted that the migrants faced deportation when they were not in a better financial capital than when they left their homeland. Hence, the returnees failed to cope with the home economy and faced difficulties in smoothly reintegrating to their communities.

The results of the reviewed documents show that the number of female returnees has increased from time to time. Accordingly, a summary of the report on the number of the returnees prepared by Gulale Sub-city Women, Children and Youths' Affairs bureau showed about 645 female returnees officially registered in the sub-city in 2016. In 2017, 756 new female returnees were deported to Addis Ababa Gulale Sub-city from Saudi Arabia. Information obtained from a key informant at this bureau showed how an increase in the number of returnees, added to the crimping home economy, aggravated their economic problems making their smooth economic reintegration with the home community hardly possible.

Social isolation problems faced by female returnees: The study shows that in addition to the economic hardships, social issues have challenged the female returnees' not reintegration into their community. Social reintegration problems the returnees faced include stigma and discrimination. As result, the returned female migrants encountered challenges obstructing smooth reintegration into their families, friends, relatives, and neighbors.

The data obtained from the interview conducted with officials from Gulale Sub-city's Women, Children and Youth Affairs bureau revealed that migrant females returned home accompanied by children and/or pregnant. Such returnee migrants did not get social recognition and approval from their parents. Per the result of the interview conducted with one sociologist at Gulale Sub-city Bureau of Labor and Social Affairs, bearing a child out of formal marriage is considered a social taboo in most cultures of Ethiopia in general and the study area in particular. As a result, those female returnees who became pregnant/ gave birth without socially accepted marriage faced rejection by their parents. Bearing children and becoming pregnant out of formal marriage is an unacceptable practice in the community to which they returned.

The study revealed that changes in home social structure and weakening of returnees' old social capital are another problem that challenged returnee migrant females not to have a smooth social reintegration. The reason for this, as revealed by the study, is that the returnees' long detachment from their friends, family members, relatives, and neighbors from the community to which they are returned.

One female returnee stated how the breaking down of her social capital challenged her reintegration into her original social environment as follows:

Before I migrated to Saudi, I had three best friends. They were not only friends. Rather, they were also my social support systems who looked after me whenever I faced challenges. Nonetheless, when I came back home after four years of migration stay, I did not find them attached to me physically and emotionally as before. I lost the addresses of the two of them. After much effort, I found the address of the remaining one though I did not find her rightly attached to me. She has already married, which I did not hear about. She also became a mother. That made her busy. She could not give me time for social affairs so long as she was busy handling her life. In addition to this, she had not had our friends' contact addresses. (Berhan Takele, Age: 30)

As identified by the study, another social reintegration problem that returnee migrant females are facing after they returned home is due to exaggerated expectations of financial and material help from the community members to which they are returned. One of the key informants from Gulale Sub-city Bureau of Labour and Social Affairs mentioned that such expectation has challenged the returnees not to have smooth social reintegration. This could be attributed to lack of community -based awareness about the difficult social situations which the migrant returnees face at their homeland.

As the following transcription from an interview with Mrs. Keneni, a returnee who is among the participants of the study, reveals the high expectation of economic support from her relatives have become a challenge to the smooth reintegration in the society:

All people: friends, siblings, relatives and my neighborhoods do not understand my hidden problems. They all think as if I came home with a full bag of money. As a result, they expected me to help them. Some of them are observed while expecting mobile phones and new brands of clothes from me. My relatives came and talked to me only about their economic problems and at the end of their talk they expect financial aid from me. The other day they again came back to me and ask me to borrow some money. I sometimes lose ways how to explain my problem to them.

When I try to explain them the real situation I am in, they just hear it. But they do not listen to me as they get back to their question of asking me some money to lend them. Sometimes, when I observe the friends and relatives are blind to the real problem of mine, I ignore them. But when I see my siblings waiting for my help, there is nothing I can do rather than finding for a better place where I would stay away from them (Keneni Tolina, Age: 31).

All in all, these social reintegration difficulties have become challenges to the returnees and obstructed them from fully integrating into their respective communities.

Difficult psychological situations of female returnee migrants' reintegration: The study reveals that the female returnees suffered from psychological problems from homeland insecure socioeconomic environment in their reintegration endeavors. Major psychological problems' symptoms which the returnee female migrants suffer from relates to the problems of anxiety, depressions, feeling of loneliness, humiliation, self-neglect, and feelings of hatred towards the unsupportive socio-economic environment.

The following direct quote from the transcription of an in-depth interview conducted with Mrs. Genet, a female returnee participant of the study, reveals her reaction to the hardships faced in the reintegration endeavors at home:

To be honest, I have never thought that I would face difficulty in my country as at least there were people I was hoping for help from during this critical time. But what happened is the opposite. Especially, family members whom I have been helping while I was in Saudi were supposed to stand beside me at least during this difficult time. But they sought to distance themselves from me when they noticed that I returned home by giving birth without arranging a legal or my families' traditional ways of marriage. It makes me feel regret and ashamed for having a child. As a result, I lost my confidence to see my families' eyes. I am ashamed of it. They are conservatives and do not understand me. Everything I saw at home is boring. There are times when my daughter and I stayed in my room for a couple of weeks just to hide away from my family. (Genet Befikadu, Age: 25)

The study also revealed that, as viewed by female returnees, this unfavorable reintegration socioeconomic and cultural home environments are pushing the returnees for re-emigration to Middle East gulf state countries for better earning job opportunities.

Mr. Mengistu Atnafu, a key informant from Gulale Sub-city Social and Labour Affairs bureau, stated the existing practice of re-emigration from the sub city by female returnees to Middle East Arab countries as follows:

For the government's future policy intervention on the issue at hand, this office has been closely working and following up attentively on these social crises from their onset. To this end, one of the mechanisms we used at the office level was registering the returnees upon their arrival. In doing what we came to learn was that the returnees were using re-emigration as a tool of escaping the socioeconomic and psychological reintegration challenges they faced at home. For instance, in the first three months of 2017, we got seven female returnees re-registered among the newly deported returnees in our sub-city. When we crosschecked from the returnees' registration documents, four of them were found to be among those returnees deported home in 2014, two of them were in 2015, and one in 2016.

The result of an interview conducted with key informants from Gulale sub city bureau of Women, Children and Youth Affairs shows that the re-emigrated returnees are re deported to home making the problem recurring.

4. Discussion

The findings of this study indicated that the sudden deportation declaration made by the Saudi government left the female returnees with a low level of preparedness for returning home. As a result, upon their return, they faced different socioeconomic and psychological reintegration challenges that impeded their smooth reintegration with their home environment. Migrants migrate basically for economic purposes (Lucas, 2005). But because of their weak preparedness, the female returnees returned home with no better financial capital than when they left their homeland. The financial crises have restrained their economic reintegration with their home community. Thus, contrary to the findings of a study by Debnath (2016) regarding returnee migrants' enormous contributions to the homeland economy through their participation in major sectors such as construction, textiles, small industries, mines, prawn processing and hospitality services, these Ethiopian female returnees created pressure on the fragile home economy. The findings of this study do support that of Adamnesh (2006) that showed how positive role returnees play in the growth of the home country by attracting foreign currency. This study reveals that these female returnees did not contribute to the growth of their country's weak economy. Instead, the returnees have been taken as a burden on the home economy since they returned home with a multitude of socioeconomic and psychological problems for themselves at a micro level, for their families at a mezzo level, and their country in general at a macro level. When the female migrant returnees became desperate because of the challenges they encountered in the reintegration process at home, they resorted to emigration to Gulf state Arab countries as one way of skipping those challenges. The findings of this study concur with a report from IOM (2020) stating that if the social, economic and political environment at home is unfavorable, re-emigration is also likely. In this context, return is not sustainable, since the cause of re-emigration is due to the failure of reintegration. Consequently, it re-opens a path for the problem to become a routine social crisis unless a strict controlling mechanism is made and implemented by the government and other concerned local and international establishments devoted to mitigating the issue at hand.

Arriving returnee migrants at Bole International airport received transportation assistance from the government and IOM. For the transport to their respective home villages/towns, the government and IOM provided them with transportation fares. It implies that the government and other concerned bodies have paid less attention to the socioeconomic hardship that the returnees would face in their home areas. All in all, it indicates a lack of a clear link between the return of migrants, reintegration into their societies, and longer-term sustainable development outcomes. The lack of linkage means a lack of a sustainable reintegration of the female returnees which also hampers their reach levels of economic self-sufficiency, social stability within their communities and psychosocial well-being (Knoll et al., 2021). Reports in April 2017 estimated half a million Ethiopian migrants were still present in Saudi Arabia when the campaign for mass deportation was launched in March (IOM, 2017, as cited in Marchand et al., 2017). More than half of them are reported to be female migrants. Indeed, women pay an immense contribution to the development of a country at all levels (Kapur, 2019). However, the above findings of this study indicated that country has paid less attention to women. This implies that much work is ahead to be done by the government and other concerned establishments on areas of gender-sensitive issues which deal with specific problems of women.

5. Conclusion

The study revealed that female returnee migrants are facing a multitude of socioeconomic and psychological problems which impeded their smooth reintegration into their home community to which they were returned. The findings of the study conclude that these reintegration challenges made the return process unsustainable. As a result, it is opening another way for female return migrants to emigrate again. This in turn will be a driving wheel for non-stop cycling of the problems if immediate policy decisions are not taken to mitigate the problem.

The findings of this study are invaluable inputs for policymakers, governmental and non-governmental bodies, civil society organizations and other international bodies and establishments dedicated to addressing the

operational challenges of migration, advancing understanding of migration issues, encouraging social and economic development through migration, and uphold the human dignity and well-being of migrants. Furthermore, the findings of this study will be inputs for the knowledge base of social work practitioners working with female returnee migrants facing a multitude of socioeconomic and psychosocial hardships upon their reintegration endeavor.

The findings of this study revealed only the perspectives of the deported female returnee migrants on the issue at hand. So, the deported male returnee migrants' and other voluntarily returnees' perspectives on the same issue needs further research to be conducted.

6. Recommendations

To mitigate the identified reintegration hardships which the female return migrants faced at home, this study forwarded the following recommendations and future policy directions:

The Government in partnership with NGOs, civil societies, and other stakeholders should develop effective intervention solutions to solve the reintegration hardship which the female returnee migrants are facing at home. To economically empower the returnees, Banks and other financial enterprises and institutions should work in collaboration to provide loans for female returnees at low-interest rates to help them start up their small businesses. This must be accompanied by the provision of business skills training by concerned bodies and academic institutions to the returnees to avoid possible business failure. For the female returnee migrants suffering from a multitude of psychosocial problems, more comprehensive and affordable psychosocial treatment and rehabilitation services should be available. To help the community members, to whom the returnees are returned, reduce their high expectations from the returnees, awareness-raising programs and panel discussions should be arranged on the reintegration hardships which the returnees are facing at home. To solve the problems, interventions at a grass root level need to be inclusive and participatory. To this end, all concerned bodies: government and non-government organizations, civil organizations, academicians, and policymakers need to act with unreserved commitment in collaboration.

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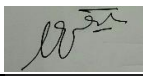
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