

The Causes of Women Migration from Ethiopia to the Gulf Countries

Belayneh Leta* and Belete Haileyes

Review Article

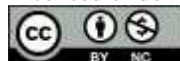
University of Gondar, College of Social Sciences and Humanities, Department of Political Science and Governance Studies

Article History: Received: December 29, 2021; Accepted: November 9, 2023; Published: December 11, 2023

Abstract: Women migrant workers constitute the highest foreign workforces in the Gulf countries. Among these workforces, Ethiopian domestic workers encompass the highest number. According to the data from the Ministry of labor and social affairs, around 180,000 Ethiopians have legally migrated as domestic workers to the Gulf countries each year. The objective of this article is, therefore, to investigate the driving factors of women's migration to the Gulf countries. To this end, the study has employed a qualitative research approach. To realize the objective of the study, relevant books, journal articles, magazines, policy documents, and research works were consulted as the principal sources of secondary data. Through critically reviewing the existing literature on women's migration, the finding of this study indicates that previously underemphasized causes; such as discriminatory gender norms, the migration policy of the home and host states, gender-specific domestic work, and the intersection of multiple identities; are also the main driving factors of women migration to the Gulf countries. Finally, to reduce women's migration to the Gulf countries, the study has suggested the following policy recommendations: creating job opportunities for women, launching national awareness creation programs about the impacts of illegal migration, adjusting migration policy based on recent changes, reducing gender discrimination, providing financial assistance to restore and rebuild the wellbeing of the returnees, and working with neighbouring countries to control illegal migration.

Keywords: Domestic workers; Driving factors; Ethiopia; Gulf countries; Women migrant

Licensed under a Creative Commons. Attribution-NonCommercial 4.0 International License.



1. Introduction

According to Datta (2015), migration refers to the movement of people both within and outside of their countries of origin, driven by more advantageous circumstances in the places of destination and pushed by socioeconomic, political, religious, or cultural issues in the areas of departure. International labor migration is a prominent form of migration, whereby individuals or groups depart from their home countries in pursuit of employment opportunities abroad. Thus, labor migration differs from other forms of migration in that it is primarily motivated by economic factors. Nonetheless, it does happen in both legitimate and illegal ways. Labor migration is deemed lawful when labor migrants meet the legal requirements of both their home and destination countries.

On the other hand, people who migrate illegally are those who leave their home country without following the necessary legal procedures in both their home and destination countries (Gizachew, 2018).

Labor migration has been steadily rising in the modern world, impacting every region as a common phenomenon. 150 million of the 244 million cross-border migrants are thought to be labor migrants. Nearly half of these foreign labor migrants are thought to be women. Put differently, a sizeable portion of international labor migration is claimed by women migrant workers. The Gulf countries are in the same boat. These nations are now the main destinations for female labor migrants who typically take up domestic work. According to the International Organization for Migration's 2019 policy brief, Ethiopia is a major source nation for female domestic workers in the Gulf countries. According to Kuschminder (2014), there is a strong feminization of migration occurring in Ethiopia, as 60 percent of current migrants are female'.

The number of Ethiopian women employed as domestic workers in Gulf nations has dramatically increased since the 1990s. Hundreds of Ethiopians have fled to the Gulf countries on a daily basis to work as domestic workers, both legally and illegally. Several reports published recently have detailed the difficult circumstances and suffering experienced by Ethiopian women who have immigrated to the area (Demissie, 2018). The number of women moving into the area is rising in spite of these accounts of their suffering as migrants. Thus, academics should pay close attention to the causes of this migration trend to the Gulf countries. Academic researchers are paying more and more attention to this gender-based migration that takes place in Ethiopia. The reasons behind female migration are currently a hot topic in research.

The number of research papers on women's migration has increased, but these papers have theoretical shortcomings. The current research has made an effort to close a theoretical gap. The majority of studies (Demissie, 2018; Fernandez, 2017; Gizachew, 2018; and Mohammed, 2016) have linked female migration to social networks, family influence, unemployment, and poverty.

The other primary causes of migration have received very little attention from them. The other factors that influence migration have received less attention. We have taken into account other migration determinants in order to fully comprehend the picture of women's migration. Thus, the purpose of this paper is to examine the factors that motivate women to migrate. It focuses on additional factors such as discriminatory gender norms, sending and receiving state migration policies, gender-specific domestic work, and the intersection of multiple identities that were not fully acknowledged in the discourse surrounding Ethiopian women's migration. The study's focus is restricted to migrant domestic workers. Furthermore, the paper focuses on women's migration to Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and the United Arab Emirates after 1991. In search of better living conditions, the majority of domestic workers relocate to Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates. The policy of limiting citizens' freedom of movement was modified after the Derg was overthrown. A completely new strategy was introduced by the EPRDF government, which states right away that all human rights including the freedom of movement are respected without exception (Kuschminder, 2014).

2. Research Methods

2.1. Country Profile

The Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia is situated in the north-eastern region of the continent. Its easy access to the main ports in the area and strategic proximity to Europe and the Middle East boost its international trade. Sudan borders it on the west, Kenya borders it on the south, Eritrea borders it on the north, and Somalia and Djibouti border it on the east (<https://ethiopianembassy.org/overview-about-ethiopia/>). The nation is five times larger than the United Kingdom and spans 1,112,000 square kilometers (472,000 sq. miles), or about the same area as France and Spain combined. The Abyssinian highlands extend from the north through the middle. The land drops into the Sudanese grasslands to the west of the chain and the Afar deserts to the east. The land is dominated by the Rift Valley Lakes to the south of Addis Ababa. The central plateau of Ethiopia ranges in elevation from 2,000 to 3,000 meters. About 25 mountains in the country's north and center have peaks that rise to more than 4,000 meters (13,200 feet), with Ras Dashen standing at the highest point at 4,543 meters (<https://ethiopianembassy.org/overview-about-ethiopia/>).

Ethiopia, home to 110.14 million people, is a mosaic of historic civilizations, with influences from both the Middle East and Africa visible in the religious, ethnic, and linguistic makeup of its Semitic, Cushitic, Omotic, and Nilotic speakers. Eighty nationalities make up the Ethiopian people, of which the Amhara and Oromo make up the majority with roughly 60% of the total population. Roughly 85% of people reside in rural areas. The economically active population segment, which spans the ages of 14 to 60, accounts for approximately 50% of the total population, and the annual population growth rate is approximately 3.09 percent. Ethiopia consists of two administrative councils, Addis Ababa and Dire Dawa, and nine National Regional States (NRS): Tigray, Afar, Amhara, Oromia, Somali, Benishangul-Gumuz, Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Region (SNNPR), Gambella, and Harari. There are additional divisions into 62 zones and 523 woredas within the NRS and Administrative councils (<https://ethiopianembassy.org/overview-about-ethiopia/>).

2.2. Research Approach

The paper employs a qualitative approach. A qualitative approach can help the authors to understand the meaning of phenomena in the social world and appropriately answer the research question. This research approach focuses on providing specific methods for getting detailed answers about people's thoughts, behaviors, and emotions. Subjective evaluation of attitudes, beliefs, and behavior is central to the qualitative research approach (Silverman, 2005). In its method, the paper is solely based on a review of secondary sources of data which is to be important to understand the causes of women's migration from Ethiopia to Gulf countries. Accordingly, secondary data were collected from different published and unpublished materials such as books, journal articles, magazines, policy documents, and research works. After the data had been gathered in the above-mentioned tools, it was organized systematically in accordance with the objective of the study. In addition, triangulation of secondary data was made. Finally, the discussion and the result of the study were forwarded in the form of narration.

2.3. Theoretical Framework

Women's migration has been one important aspect of human history. It is one phenomenon that has taken the attention of scholars recently. Since the last decades of the 20th century, various theories have been developed to explain diverse reasons why women left their home countries. But for this paper, we focus on three basic theories relevant to explaining other main causes of women's migration: Gender approach, Integrative approach, and intersectional approach.

2.3.1. Gender approach

Some scholars argued that gender specific migration experiences have not been adequately addressed by traditional migration theories like structuralism, neo-classical economic and household strategy. Boyd and Grieco (2003) assert that gender is marginally taken into account by traditional theories of

migration, which makes it difficult to understand why women predominate in particular labor flows. That being said, this gap can be filled and the authors can better understand the causes of women's migration by including a gender perspective in their analysis of migration patterns among women. This method holds that women's migration is influenced by gender dynamics within families. Boyd and Grieco (2003) explain that the family plays a crucial role in determining the motivation and incentive of women to migrate, as well as controlling the distribution of resources and information that can encourage, discourage, or prevent migration. Apart from the dynamics of gender roles within families, the social roles and standing of women in a community also impact the reasons behind and trends in migration. There is a gendered division of labor and subordination of women in many developing societies. Migration decisions are influenced by the status and boundaries of men's and women's activities. Stated differently, women may feel compelled to leave their homes due to socially constructed gender roles and their devalued positions in society. Boyd and Grieco (2003) assert that preconceived notions about women's roles in society and traditional sex roles can affect the kinds of jobs that migrant women are hired for as domestic workers. Beyond the aforementioned, the gender approach can assist us in comprehending the ways in which women immigrants are drawn to host countries by the labor demands specific to their gender.

According to certain studies, one factor driving women's migration is the gender-specific labor demand in the countries they settle in. According to Morokvasic (2013), there are situations when women are more able to be mobile than men due to particular demands, particularly in the domestic sectors. This is true in the Gulf region, where there is a significant need for female domestic workers. Women migrate abroad as a result of socially constructed gender inequality in their home country and the need for female domestic workers in the host country.

2.3.2. Integrative approach

The second theory that is pertinent to this work is Nana Oishi's "integrative approach." The method uses three levels of analysis: macro (the state), meso (the society), and micro (individuals). The micro (individual) level of analysis is the first one that is important to examine when studying female migration. According to Oishi (2002), the other reason why women migrate is the significant role of the autonomy of the migrant. Women's independence and ability to make decisions are crucial factors in the migration process. According to the same author, women in a given nation must have greater freedom and authority to make decisions for them in the home. And it makes their out-migration easier.

The presence of a social environment that supports international women's migration is the subject of Oishi's second level of analysis. In certain regions of the world, women's migration for domestic work has become the norm because of societal acceptance of such migration. The key thesis here is that women's labor migration can be sustained and legitimized by society. For instance, there is a great deal of pressure to migrate in communities where migration is the norm. This is particularly true in those regions of Ethiopia where women's migration is supported by the local social environment. The fact that so many women migrate abroad can be partially explained by the existence of this migration culture.

According to Oishi, at the macro level, the state has more influence over the course and patterns of international women's migration. Women's migration is sustained by the migration policies of both the home and host states. He further claims that the presence of relatively open emigration policies can explain the fundamental patterns of such migration with regard to the sending countries' role. Put differently, emigration laws and the availability of labor do have an impact on the total flow. In addition to home countries, he mentioned about the role that host countries play in the migration of women. Generally speaking, the premise here is that "more migrant women will enter the particular country if there is a large demand for migrant women and, if the immigration policy is more open for unskilled women labor" (Oishi, 2002: 8). This is particularly true in the Gulf nations, where a large number of female migrants are drawn there by the open immigration policies and strong demand for domestic help.

2.3.3. Intersectional approach

The explanations for why women migrate above fall short of explaining the phenomenon entirely. The intersectional approach can therefore assist us in identifying additional interconnected causes. The approach's primary goal is to analyze how different forms of disadvantage intersect and thereby affect certain groups of women based on gender, race, and class simultaneously (Bastia, 2014). It can help us to explain the relations of several sources of women's subjugation and how this pushes them to migrate. According to Bastia (2014), 'intersectional has greatly contributed to visibilities the interconnected and constitutive nature of multiple forms of oppression in migration processes. It is well known that women at the bottom of the social hierarchy are impacted by interconnected oppressive systems. We can comprehend how this oppression intricately intertwined with gender, sexual orientation, and class, and subsequently impacted the lives of women in sending countries, by employing the intersectional approach.

According to Lee and Piper (2013), women's migration may be influenced by a variety of forms of inequality in their countries of origin. Women are typically denied equal access to jobs, skill development, housing, land, and other basic services and resources, and are subject to labor markets stratified by gender, geography, educational level, and class. This pushes them to migrate to other countries.

3. Results and Discussions

Women's migration is not determined by a single factor, as the theoretical framework mentioned above shows. In the case of Ethiopia, a number of interconnected factors are pushing women to migrate to the Gulf States. However, for the purposes of this paper, we first highlight the factors that researchers frequently bring up while also emphasizing other factors that are rarely given due consideration in discourse of women's migration.

3.1. Poverty, Unemployment, and the Autonomy to Decide

Poverty and unemployment are among the first common causes cited by numerous researchers. According to Datta (2015), a number of Ethiopian women feel as though their only choice is to migrate because of their poverty and the lack of work opportunities in their country. Mohammed (2016) also note that women are compelled to seek domestic work abroad due to the nation's high unemployment rate and poverty.

In Gulf countries, women viewed domestic work as a significant career option due to poverty and a lack of employment opportunities. The freedom to choose whether or not to migrate abroad is granted to female migrants. However, prior studies have not identified migrant autonomy as a contributing factor. The substantial role that women's autonomy plays is one of the reasons why they migrate, as was covered in the section on the theoretical framework. Similar circumstances apply to Ethiopia, where hundreds of thousands of domestic workers have migrated voluntarily in search of better employment and living conditions. In contrast to past migration patterns, where women were categorized as passive reactors to migration processes, Kuschminder (2014) claims that the majority of women migrants choose to migrate on their own, without seeking advice from others. Stated differently, women's willingness and motivation are major drivers of out-migration in some regions of the nation. According to the Regional Mixed Migration Secretariat [RMMS] (2014), the decision of Ethiopians to migrate to the Gulf countries for domestic labor is mainly voluntary and driven by economic factors.

3.2. Social Networks and Social Environment

In addition to poverty and unemployment, numerous earlier studies demonstrate that social networks have contributed to an increase in migration to the Gulf countries. In this case, social networks and the social environment are both of importance. It is an indisputable fact that decisions about migration, encouragement, and settlement are influenced by family, peers, and the community. According to De Regt (2007), networks of friends and family frequently influence the destinations of Ethiopian migrants,

assisting with their travel, their entry into the destination nation, and their access to housing and employment. Because of this, a large number of women migrate abroad.

The other cause related to social networks is the social environment in which the families live. As discussed in the third level of analysis of the integrative approach, the existence of a social environment accommodating international women's migration can also legitimize and perpetuate women's labor migration. In Ethiopia, there is a culture of migration, and the pressure of family and peers was common. The pressure to migrate is increased in societies and communities where migration has become ingrained in the culture (Gizachew, 2018). According to Fernandez (2011), the culture of migration, where migration is associated with personal, social, and material success, and where migrating has become the norm rather than the exception, is one of the main causes of female migration. Fernandez (2017) added, staying in is viewed as a sign of failure because of this culture. This is especially true in some regions of Ethiopia where a particular set of norms encourages the migration of women. The decision to migrate is influenced by peers and family in addition to norms.

Stocchiero (2017) argues that because migration is changing society, the improved quality of life experienced by families with migrant members is encouraging other families to make the same choice. According to Stocchiero (2017), there is also a culture of migration, which is defined as a structural factor consisting of social pressures, income disparities, and attitudes influenced by both the migrant population and host society. Families within the same local communities have varying levels of well-being due to remittances. To migrate, they serve as a motivator. The interplay between societal influences and economic disparities compels young girls to seek employment opportunities and higher wages in the countries of destination.

Migrants are encouraged to leave their home for domestic work by the pressures from their families as well as the fact that society accepts female migration.

3.3. The Role of Travel Agents and Brokers

Intermediary organizations are another factor contributing to the gendered character of Ethiopian emigration flows, in addition to the migrants' choice and the function of social networks. Intermediaries function as networks that connect prospective female migrants with the need for female labor in destination countries, which can enhance the probability that women will migrate. The growth of travel agencies and brokers has contributed to an increase in migration from Ethiopia to the Gulf countries. Travel agents and brokers are encouraging and supporting female migration to Gulf countries since sending women there has become a very profitable business. For the sake of illustration, women migrating for domestic work are exempt from having to pay workers substantial upfront costs to a broker. An intermediary will pay for their migration-related costs in exchange for their first three months of income. In some cases, this might even entail the broker paying their passport application fees (Kuschminder, 2014). According to the Regional Mixed Migration Secretariat [RMMS] (2014), young ones depend on brokers who provide them information about the employment girls can get. Therefore, intermediaries involved in the migrant labor trade, such as travel agencies, are crucial to facilitating the migration of Ethiopian women.

3.4. Discriminatory Gender Norms

This is one of the factors less frequently mentioned in the discourse on the causes of women's migration. It is argued that women's migration is influenced by gendered norms that impact how they interact with different social institutions. Research carried out in Ethiopia suggests that the presence of discriminatory gender norms is one of the factors driving young women to migrate abroad in search of domestic employment (Demissie, 2018). As Fernandez (2011) explicates, deciding who migrates, for how long, and to which country may be influenced by gender relations in the family and society. The aforementioned statement holds true in numerous regions of Ethiopia, where gender-based dynamics drive female migration to the Gulf region.

Discrimination based on gender is socially constructed in Ethiopian society. According to societal norms, boys are granted privileges while girls are required to submit to their parents. The gender norm within the family and society causes women to be marginalized in both the social and economic spheres. As a result, labor migration as a domestic worker abroad is considered as an escape from such kind of marginalized lifestyle (Bekele, 2013).

According to Naami (2014), job-seeking is a highly popular activity in neighboring Gulf countries because of Ethiopia's patriarchal structure and unequal status. Women face a variety of gender inequality issues because they live in a patriarchal society. Their ability to obtain work and education is significantly impacted by gender inequality. They then conclude that migration is their only chance of survival as a result of this. According to Datta (2004), Ethiopian women, especially those living in rural areas, have extremely limited access to resources, education, and training opportunities due to patriarchal cultures. These obstacles prevent women from engaging in the formal economy, so leaving their current location is the only practical way for them to make a living. This disadvantageous social and economic position of women in their society is believed to be one reason for their migration.

3.5. Migration Policies of Home and Host Countries

The other determinant which rarely fully acknowledged in the causes of female migration is the migration policy of both origin and destination states. Irena (2007) asserts that the gender differences in government policy can impact migration decisions at both the origin and destination ends of the migration spectrum. Emigration laws impact the total amounts and trends of international female migration, as covered under the integrative approach. In Ethiopia, women are free to migrate to the Gulf countries without any restrictions from the government. The Ethiopian government has made emigration legal since 1991. The policy of limiting citizens' freedom of movement was modified after the Derg was overthrown. A completely different strategy was introduced by the EPRDF government, which states that all human rights, including the freedom of movement, are unquestionably respected. More people are leaving the country because of this legal framework (Fernandez, 2017).

Apart from this constitutional entitlement, the Ethiopian government has implemented various measures to encourage lawful emigration. This is due to the fact that migration has evolved into a strategy for controlling the unemployment rate and receiving hard currency through remittances (Naami, 2014).

Gizachew (2018) adduces that thousands of Ethiopians migrate to other countries, particularly the Gulf States, with the encouragement and assistance of their government. For instance, Ethiopia and Saudi Arabia have an agreement that is in effect since 2017. A consensus has been reached by the Ethiopian Ministry of Labor to allow 45,000 Ethiopian female housemaids to enter Saudi Arabia on a monthly basis. The number of female migrants to Saudi Arabia increased as a result of the agreement between the governments of Ethiopia and Saudi Arabia.

Fernandez (2017) asserts that the production of a supply of migrant domestic workers is facilitated by the Ethiopian government. This illustrates the function of the Ethiopian government in serving as a labor intermediary, providing labor to the Gulf nations. Furthermore, regular migration of women to the region is not restricted by law. As a result, the government policy previously mentioned plus the lack of a restrictive immigration law encourage female migration. In addition to the home country, receiving countries' migration policies have their role in women's migration. Immigration laws in Gulf nations ensure that lawful immigrants continue to enter the country. It is generally assumed that more migrant women will enter a given country if there is a high demand for them and if immigration laws are more lenient toward unskilled female labor (Oishi, 2002). This is particularly true in Gulf nations where Ethiopian women are encouraged to migrate due to lax immigration laws and open immigration policies.

3.6. The Demand for Female Domestic Workers

One reason for female migration is the high demand for domestic workers, as covered under the integrative approach. The same is true in the Gulf, where owning domestic help has long been associated with wealth and status. Many families in the Gulf countries can employ one or more domestic workers, as the oil boom turned those countries into the richest countries (Alkarib, 2016).

Naami (2014) states that family dynamics and gender roles have changed as a result of the Gulf countries' economic development. An increase in the demand for labor, particularly gendered domestic work, was brought about by these social changes. As a response to this, Ethiopian young women migrated for paid domestic labor. Demissie (2018) notes that in order to accommodate the growing need for domestic labor, migration to the Gulf countries has increased significantly since the last decade of the 20th century. According to sources, another factor driving female migration is a shift in demand from Asian domestic workers—who typically seek higher wages—to relatively inexpensive labor source nations like Ethiopia. Furthermore, the migration process is exacerbated by the relationship between cheap labor in Ethiopia and high demand in the Gulf region.

3.7. Multiple Identities and Discrimination of Women

The migration of Ethiopian women can also be significantly influenced by the intersections of multiple identities. As covered in the theoretical framework, women's discrimination in their country of origin and their multiple identities can influence their migration. This is also the case in Ethiopia, where a number of interconnected social factors may have an impact on the migration decisions of women. Demissie (2018) posits that a number of factors, including poverty, economic inequality, gender norms, and unequal access to resources and infrastructure, have an impact on women's daily lives and, eventually, their decision to migrate. Like other developing countries, Ethiopia is characterized by the existence of a multiplicity of discriminatory mechanisms (Lee and Piper, 2013). Women in the nation struggle with a variety of issues, including poverty, lack of access to education, and lack of gender equality. The structural limitations that force women to migrate are a result of these interconnected issues.

Consequently, they experience various forms of discrimination. The other reason for their out-migration is these interconnected forms of discrimination within the nation. Lee and Piper (2013) noted that inequalities; such as social hierarchy, neoliberal globalization, and patriarchal regimes; often shape economic, political, and socio-cultural institutions in ways that are detrimental to marginalized women. This is true in Ethiopia where women have disadvantageous positions and are denied equal access to education, land, and other basic resources (Bekele, 2013). Due to the intersection of these discriminatory mechanisms, women seek to migrate to Gulf countries. According to Kuschminder (2014), women who are in extremely vulnerable situations can easily access migration, and they find it to be a very alluring option because it may give them the chance to escape their homes and circumstances.

4. Conclusions and Recommendations

4.1. Conclusions

As explained in the introductory part, over the past decade, a large number of Ethiopian people in general and women in particular have been migrated to the Gulf countries and the region has become the primary destination of Ethiopian domestic workers. Consequently, this trend has received increasing attention from researchers, and the causes of women migration have emerged as an increasingly prominent topic in research. Following this, many previous works have been done, and they have attributed to women migration to poverty, lack of employment opportunities, and social networks. However, these assumptions do not help us to capture the full picture of migration. To understand fully why Ethiopian women migrate, it is necessary to go beyond the assumption of traditional theories, and survey the causes of women migration in greater depth. By going beyond the current boundaries of analysis, the finding of this study indicates that previously neglected causes such as, discriminatory

gender norms, the migration policy of home and host states, gender-specific domestic work opportunities in Gulf countries, and the intersection of multiple identities are also the main drivers of female migration.

4.2. Recommendations

The migration of Ethiopian women cannot be simply stopped as long as there is a supply of domestic workers from Ethiopia going to the Gulf countries, whether via legal or illegal routes. It will therefore be crucial to develop improved institutional frameworks and policies in order to better control, oversee, and monitor labor migration. Accordingly, the following suggestions are given in light of the study's findings. The government and civil society should prioritize creating job opportunities as the primary means of enabling women to support themselves and their families domestically, rather than viewing migration as their only choice. National awareness creation programs should be launched to address the whole society. The government, in cooperation with the various stakeholders, should play a vital role in awareness creation programs about the impacts of migration.

In addition, the government, non-governmental groups, and civil society ought to work hard to support those who are returning. Prioritizing the provision of medical care, both psychological and physical, defending their legal rights, and offering financial support to enable them to start over by reintegrating back into society should all be done in order to restore their well-being.

Reducing gender discrimination should be a top priority for the Ethiopian government, working with all relevant parties. In addition, equal access to land, education, and other necessities should be provided by the government. Additionally, Ethiopia's government ought to reevaluate its immigration laws in collaboration with the host nation.

5. References

- Alkarib, H. 2016. Ethiopia: Escaping the heat into the fire: Migration of Ethiopian women domestic workers to the Gulf countries. (<http://allafrica.com/stories>). (Accessed on June 16, 2016).
- Bastia, T. 2014. Intersectionality, migration, and development. *Progress in Development Studies*. 23 (2): 127-141.
- Bekele, Selamawit. 2013. The vulnerability of Ethiopian rural women and girls: The case of domestic workers in Saudi Arabia and Kuwait. Master Thesis, Uppsala University.
- Boyd, M. and Grieco, E. 2003. Women and migration: Incorporating gender into international migration theory. Migration information source, Migration Policy Institute.
- Datta, P. 2015. Push-pull factors of undocumented migration from Bangladesh to West Bengal: A perception study. *The Qualitative Report*, 9 (2): 335-58.
- De Regt, M. 2007. Ethiopian women in the Middle East: The case of migrant domestic workers in Yemen. Work in progress paper for the African studies center seminar of 15 February 2007.
- Demissie, Fassil. 2018. Ethiopian female domestic workers in the Middle East and the Gulf States: An introduction. *African and Black Diaspora: An International Journal*, 11 (1): 1-5.
- Fernandez, B. 2011. Household help? Ethiopian women domestic workers' labor migration to the Gulf countries. *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*, 20 (3-4): 433-457.
- _____. 2017. Irregular migration from Ethiopia to the Gulf states. In: Philippe, F. and Nasra M. Shah (eds.) (2017), *Skillful survivals: Irregular migration to the Gulf*. Gulf Labour Markets and Migration (GLMM) Programme, Gulf Research Center: Cambridge.
- Gizachew, Getinet. 2018. Lived experiences of Ethiopian migrant domestic workers returned from Saudi Arabia: Analysis from human rights perspectives. MA Thesis. Addis Ababa University.
- Irena, K. 2007. Working through barriers: Host country institutions and immigrant labour market performance in Europe. The Netherlands: Springer.

- Kuschminder, K. 2014. Shattered dreams and return of vulnerability: Challenges of Ethiopian female migration to the Middle East. IS Academy Policy Brief, No. 18, Maastricht Graduate School of Governance.
- Lee, S. and Piper, N. 2013. Understanding multiple discrimination against labour migrants in Asia: An intersectional analysis. *International policy analysis*.
- Mohammed, Y. A. 2016. Cause and consequence of cross border illegal migration from South Wollo, Ethiopia. *Arts and Social Sciences Journal*, 7 (2): 1-20.
- Morokvasic, M. 2013. Transnational motilities and gender in Europe. *ARS and Humanities*, VII (2): 45–58.
- Naami, Belihu. 2014. Female Ethiopian migrant domestic workers: An analysis of migration, return-migration and reintegration experiences. Master thesis, University of Oregon.
- Oishi, N. 2002. Gender and migration: An integrative approach. The center for comparative Immigration Studies, University of California, San Diego.
- RMMS (The Regional Mixed Migration Secretariat). 2014. The Letter of the Law: Regular and irregular migration in Saudi Arabia in a context of rapid change. Mixed Migration associated with the Horn of Africa and Yemen region, Kenya. www.migrationpolicy.org.
- Silverman, D. 2005. *Doing qualitative research*. London: Sage.
- Stocchiero, A. 2017. Overview on drivers, routes, and impacts of migration in Ethiopia and the role of development cooperation in fighting root causes. Italian Agency for Development Cooperation.