



Socio-Economic Realities of Returned Immigrant Reintegration in Ghana: A Systematic Review

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ABSTRACT

Scholars have observed that in the face of wage differentials that favor destination countries, an increasing number of presumably rational Ghanaian migrants in developed countries choose to return to Ghana.¹ To explore this phenomenon, a systematic literature review methodology was employed in collecting, sampling and analyzing migration literature in general, and Ghanaian migration literature in particular to ascertain the dominant mechanisms that surround the return and reintegration of returned Ghanaian immigrants. The paper shows that (un)favorable social, economic and political conditions in Ghana and destination countries are the critical underlying conditions that influence the return of Ghanaian immigrants — suggesting that Ghanaian immigrants are rational actors who perform a cost-benefit analysis of the contextual realities that circumscribes the economic landscape of Ghana and destination countries. The paper identifies that the challenges associated with returnees' reintegration in Ghana have social, economic and institutional aspects. Against this backdrop, the paper recommends the formulation of a comprehensive return migration policy that emphasizes the sociocultural context of immigrants. The paper advocates for an individual, community and structural intervention to facilitate the mobilization and effective use of returnees' socio-economic capital.

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INTRODUCTION

Data on the return migration of Ghanaian immigrants shows an increasing rate of return. The 2018 report of the International Organization for Migration (IOM) indicates that in Ghana the percentage of IOM assisted returnees increased from about 2.8% in 2017 to 3.0% in 2018.¹ Moreover, the 2009 report of the IOM suggests that the proportion of Ghanaian immigrants who returned to Ghana saw a steady increase from 18.8% to 34% between 2000 to 2007. The report indicates that only 153,632 of the 1,090,972 Ghanaians who left the country between 2000 to 2007 did not return.² Existing data on return migration shows that in every given year, about 10% of Ghanaian immigrants return to Ghana.³

¹ IOM, *Joint EU-IOM Initiative for Migrant Protection and Reintegration, Ghana*. (Geneva: IOM, 2019).

² IOM UN Migration Platform, "Migration in Ghana: A Country Profile 2009," <https://publications.iom.int/books/migration-ghana-country-profile-2009-0>, (2009).

³ IOM UN Migration Platform, "Migration in Ghana: A Country Profile 2009."

The Ghanaian literature on migration suggests that returnees vary greatly in terms of resources and motivation.⁴ For example, while Ammassari and Wong identified labor migrants and elite professionals returning to invest their socio-economic capital,⁵ Kleist observed the involuntary return of both skilled and unskilled returnees in Ghana.⁶ Despite myriads of reasons and motives for the return of migrants, studies on return migration are limited with fragmented conclusions. Thus, scholars have suggested that a poor understanding of the motivations and reintegration of return migrants contributes to the failure of most Ghanaian policies on return migration and reintegration.⁷ A plausible motivation for migrants to return is successful and sustainable reintegration. Successful reintegration of returnees in Ghana is important to the economic and social life of Ghana.⁸ However, the lack of a conducive socio-economic environment in Ghana is a major hindrance for Ghanaian returnees to reintegrate.⁹ In light of the prevailing challenges of return and reintegration of Ghanaian immigrants, Setrana and Tonah argue in their work that little attention has been paid to the survival mechanisms of immigrants upon return. To them, during the reintegration process, returned migrants face structural challenges with regard to the socioeconomic and cultural environment in Ghana.¹⁰

A relatively small body of empirical literature is emerging that focuses qualitatively on the return to Ghana and reintegration.¹¹ This study intends to pull the extant literature together to get a better overall picture of Ghanaian return migration and reintegration, in order to inform policy rethinking. The paper will draw from migration literature in general, and Ghanaian migration literature in particular with a focus on return migration, to ascertain the dominant mechanisms and issues that surround the return migration and reintegration process of Ghanaian immigrants.

In order to understand the dominant processes that surround the return migration and reintegration of Ghanaian immigrants, the research will address the following questions: a) What are the key challenges faced by returned migrants in their reintegration process, b) What are the key policy gaps associated with the reintegration of returned Ghanaian immigrant?

⁴ Nauja Kleist, "Pushing Development: A Case Study of Highly Skilled Male Return Migration to Ghana," in *Africa's Return Migrants: The New Developers*, ed. L. Åkesson and Baaz M. Eriksson (London: Zed Books, 2015), 64–86.

⁵ Savina Ammassari, "From Nation-Building to Entrepreneurship: The Impact of Élite Return Migrants in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana," *Population, Space and Place* 10, no. 2 (March 2004): 133–54, <https://doi.org/10.1002/psp.319>; Madeleine Wong, "Navigating Return: The Gendered Geographies of Skilled Return Migration to Ghana," *Global Networks* 14, no. 4 (October 2014): 438–57, <https://doi.org/10.1111/glob.12041>.

⁶ Nauja Kleist, "Modern Chiefs: Tradition, Development and Return among Traditional Authorities in Ghana," *African Affairs* 110, no. 441 (October 1, 2011): 629–47, <https://doi.org/10.1093/afraf/adr041>; Kleist, "Pushing Development: A Case Study of Highly Skilled Male Return Migration to Ghana."

⁷ Mary Boatemaa Setrana, "Post-Migration Outcomes and the Decision to Return: Processes and Consequence on Development," *African Human Mobility Review* 3, no. 3 (2018): 995–1019; Mariama Awumbila, "Drivers of Migration and Urbanization in Africa: Key Trends and Issues," 2017.

⁸ Ammassari, "From Nation-Building to Entrepreneurship: The Impact of Élite Return Migrants in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana"; Mavis Dako-Gyeke and Richard Baffo Kodom, "Deportation and Re-Integration: Exploring Challenges Faced by Deportee Residents in the Nkoranza Municipality, Ghana," *Journal of International Migration and Integration* 18, no. 4 (November 6, 2017): 1083–1103, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12134-017-0526-0>; Esi Akyere Mensah, "Involuntary Return Migration and Reintegration. The Case of Ghanaian Migrant Workers from Libya," *Journal of International Migration and Integration* 17, no. 1 (February 9, 2016): 303–23, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12134-014-0407-8>; Mary Boatemaa Setrana and Steve Tonah, "Do Transnational Links Matter after Return? Labour Market Participation among Ghanaian Return Migrants," *The Journal of Development Studies* 52, no. 4 (April 2, 2016): 549–60, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00220388.2015.1126255>.

⁹ Mensah, "Involuntary Return Migration and Reintegration. The Case of Ghanaian Migrant Workers from Libya"; Mary Boatemaa Setrana and Steve Tonah, "Return Migrants and the Challenge of Reintegration: The Case Study of Returnees to Kumasi, Ghana," *A Journal of African Migration* 7, no. 142 (2014): 31–51.

¹⁰ Setrana and Tonah, "Return Migrants and the Challenge of Reintegration: The Case Study of Returnees to Kumasi, Ghana."

¹¹ J.A. Tenkorang, "Factors Associated with Return Migration in Wa Municipal in the Upper West Region." (University of Ghana, 2014), <http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh:8080/handle/123456789/21549>.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Most migration scholars argue that in thinking about the sustainability of return, the most important factor pertains to the voluntariness of return and the existence of favorable conditions in the home environment.¹² These scholars argue that when a return is not voluntary, there is a likelihood of re-emigration, and that return migration tends to be successful in the face of favorable socio-economic conditions and political stability in the home environment — suggesting that sustainable return migration depends on the state of socio-economic development at the home environment, which affects the reintegration process. Thus, return migration and reintegration are complex mechanisms that work hand in hand. One can argue on this premise that “all other things being equal” there is a correlation between the success of return and the success of reintegration (in the context of favorable social-cultural, economic and political conditions). According to Tenkorang, “policies affect these important factors by encouraging voluntary return in influencing the economic and social environment to make return an attractive option.”¹³

Although most literature on return migration focuses on how economic conditions contribute to return, social factors also play an important role in inducing return. In terms of social factors, Gmelch and Gent and Black, for instance, emphasized that strong family ties tend to influence immigrants’ decision to return and the outcomes of reintegration.¹⁴ Gent and Black also mentioned that the feeling of allegiance and loyalty to the country of birth might be one important consideration.¹⁵ For some migrants, the socio-cultural benefits of return are comparatively more important than the economic benefits.¹⁶ It should also be recognised that deportation is a factor that can induce return. An international migrant can be deported for various reasons, including the expiration of a visa or permit.¹⁷ Tenkorang argues that in some situations “prospective asylum seekers can be refused a permit and can be repatriated to the country of origin.”¹⁸ Tenkorang and Rajulton emphasize that in many cases, the reaction of host countries affects the migrants and influences their decision or ability to stay or return.¹⁹

There seems to be some consensus that “pull factors” (i.e., attractions of the home country environment) are the most important drivers of return migration.²⁰ Nevertheless, it must also be recognised that “push factors” such as deportation or failure to succeed in a host environment, may play an essential part in the return migration decision in some cases. Hence the subsequent paragraphs shall discuss the extent to which a variety of pull and push factors affect the reintegration of immigrants.

According to Arowolo, reintegration entails the broad process of socio-economic and cultural reincorporation of returned migrants into their country of origin.²¹ Koser, in defining reintegration,

¹² S. Gent and R. Black, *Defining, Measuring and Influencing Sustainable Return. Briefing Paper 3* (Brighton: Sussex Centre for Migration Research, University of Sussex., 2005); Fernando Rajulton, “Migrability: A Diffusion Model of Migration,” *Genus* 47 1-2 (1991): 31–48; Tenkorang, “Factors Associated with Return Migration in Wa Municipal in the Upper West Region.”

¹³ Tenkorang, “Factors Associated with Return Migration in Wa Municipal in the Upper West Region,”¹⁵.

¹⁴ George Gmelch, “Return Migration,” *Annual Review of Anthropology* 9, no. 1 (October 1, 1980): 135–59, <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.an.09.100180.001031>; Gent and Black, *Defining, Measuring and Influencing Sustainable Return. Briefing Paper 3*.

¹⁵ Gent and Black, *Defining, Measuring and Influencing Sustainable Return. Briefing Paper 3*.

¹⁶ Gmelch, “Return Migration”; Gent and Black, *Defining, Measuring and Influencing Sustainable Return. Briefing Paper 3*.

¹⁷ Mariama Awumbila et al., *Technical Paper Prepared as Part of the African Perspectives on Human Mobility Programme* (Oxford: International Migration Institute, 2009).

¹⁸ Tenkorang, “Factors Associated with Return Migration in Wa Municipal in the Upper West Region,”¹⁵.

¹⁹ Tenkorang, “Factors Associated with Return Migration in Wa Municipal in the Upper West Region”; Rajulton, “Migrability: A Diffusion Model of Migration.”

²⁰ Gmelch, “Return Migration”; Rajulton, “Migrability: A Diffusion Model of Migration.”; Awumbila et al., *Technical Paper Prepared as Part of the African Perspectives on Human Mobility Programme*; Setrana, “Post-Migration Outcomes and the Decision to Return: Processes and Consequence on Development.”

²¹ Oladele O. Arowolo, “Return Migration and the Problem of Reintegration,” *International Migration* 38, no. 5 (December 16, 2000): 59–82, <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2435.00128>.

emphasized that it involves an adjustment to the cultural and environmental conditions of the country of return. To him, that entails access to the labor market, social welfare, housing and educational systems.²² Gmelch emphasized that the question of reintegration can be analyzed from two main perspectives. The first approach focuses on the socio-economic conditions of the returnee. In this regard, he argued that the success or failure in reintegration would be based on the degree to which the migrant satisfies the following socio-economic conditions: access to employment, adequate housing, developed personal relationships and participation in community organizations and the like. Secondly, he stated that reintegration could be approached from the individual's perception of his/her integration. With this, he argued that "re-adaptation is analyzed as a form of personal adjustment and measured in terms of the degree of "satisfaction" or "dissatisfaction" expressed by the migrant; [where] plans to re-emigrate are interpreted as a sign of dissatisfaction or maladjustment."²³ Most scholars in contemporary research tend to emphasize the latter approach.

The high living standards and earnings in most destination countries shape the expectation of most migrants about their home countries.²⁴ It has been argued that most migrants prior to their return invest at home or return along with sufficient savings or pensions to avoid the risk of reverting to pre-migration living standards.²⁵ Agyeman and Garcia go on to report that in recent times, most countries of return have introduced new policies and formal arrangements with host countries, which allow return migrants to continue to access services and entitlements earned in the host country (like social security and employment pension arrangements) after they have returned to their country of origin.²⁶ In summary, the mechanisms associated with the return and reintegration of immigrants have social, economic and political dimensions. An important question is, how are these socioeconomic and political dynamics affect reintegration in a given reintegration project? The subsequent session sheds empirical light on how the prevailing socio-economic, political and cultural landscape in Ghana affects the reintegration experience and outcomes of Ghanaian returnees.

METHODOLOGY

This study employs a qualitative literature review methodology in assessing how the dominant migration literature conceptualizes return migration and reintegration of Ghanaian immigrants. Templier and Paré suggest six generic steps involved in conducting a review paper, namely (a) formulation of the research questions and objectives, (b) searching the extant literature, (c) screening for inclusion, (d) assessing the quality of primary studies, (e) extracting data, and (e) analyzing data. The research adopts this framework of conducting a review.²⁷

In total, the study acquired 1043 relevant publications; 1037 of these emerged from the electronic search and six were found through the backward and forward searches. After a thorough eligibility assessment, a total of 20 primary studies were selected. These primary studies met the following eligibility criteria; a) peer-reviewed primary studies that concentrated on either or both the factors associated with the return and the challenges affecting the reintegration of immigrants; b) focused on the Ghanaian context of return and reintegration of immigrants; c) published in 1995 or later; d) published in English. 1995 was considered because the phenomenon of return migration

²² K. Koser, "Return, Readmission, and Reintegration: Changing Agendas, Policy Frameworks, and Operational Programmes.," in *Return Migration, Journey of Hope or Despair?*, ed. B. Ghosh, 2000, 57–100.

²³ Gmelch, "Return Migration." 142.

²⁴ Edmond Akwasi Agyeman and Mercedes Fernández García, "Connecting Return Intentions and Home Investment: The Case of Ghanaian Migrants in Southern Europe," *Journal of International Migration and Integration* 17, no. 3 (August 17, 2016): 745–59, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12134-015-0432-2>.

²⁵ Akwasi Agyeman and Fernández García, "Connecting Return Intentions and Home Investment: The Case of Ghanaian Migrants in Southern Europe."

²⁶ Akwasi Agyeman and Fernández García. "Connecting Return Intentions and Home Investment: The Case of Ghanaian Migrants in Southern Europe."

²⁷ Mathieu Templier and Guy Paré, "A Framework for Guiding and Evaluating Literature Reviews," *Communications of the Association for Information Systems* 37 (2015), <https://doi.org/10.17705/1CAIS.03706>.

received increasing attention from 1995 onwards when the Ghanaian living standard survey revealed there were about 50,000 returnees in Ghana. All primary studies that did not meet the above-mentioned criteria were excluded. Figure (1.0) below is a PRISMA flow diagram providing an overview of how primary studies were sampled in each stage of the selection process.

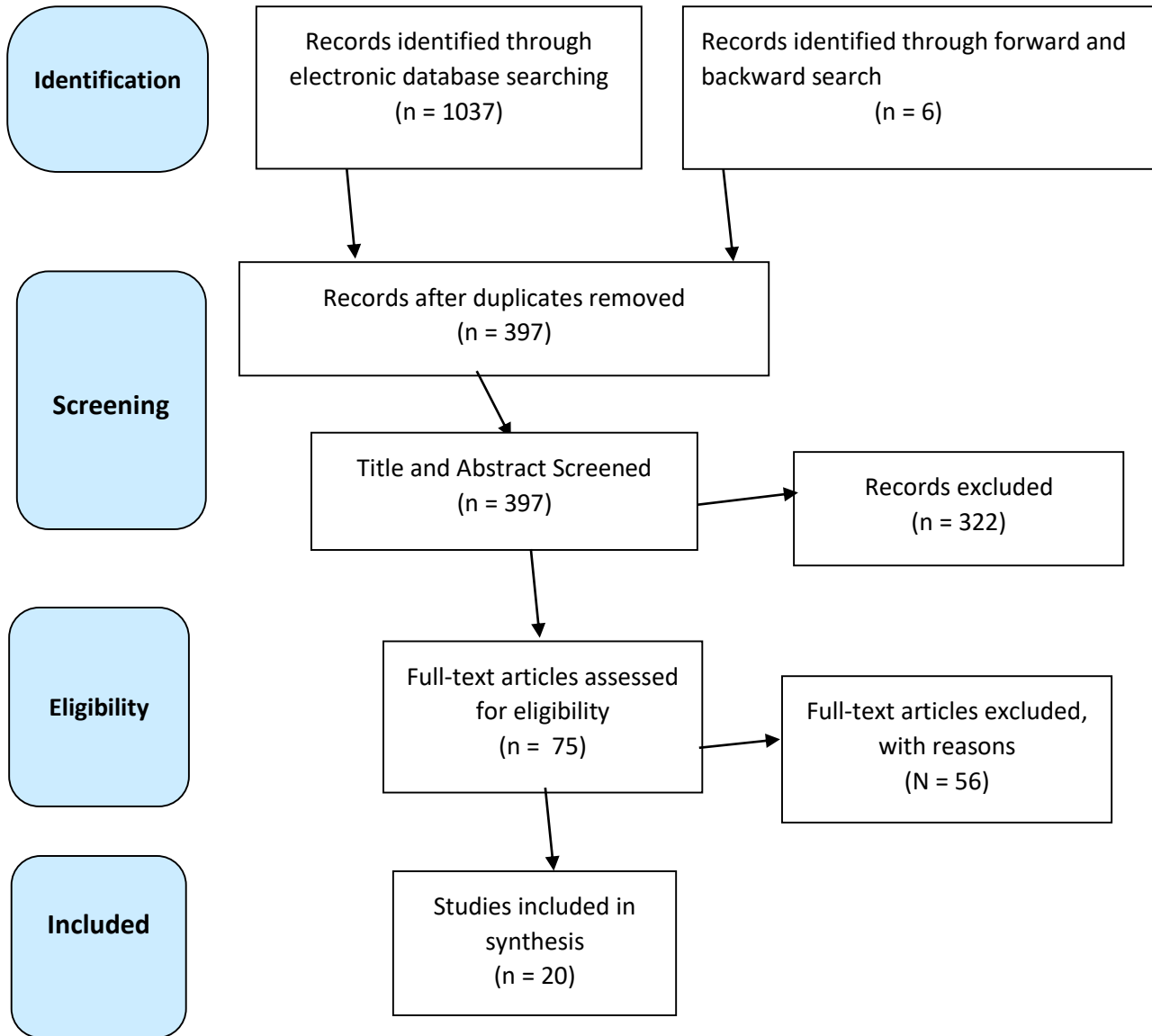


Figure 1: PRISMA Flow Diagram: Overview of Systematic Sampling Scheme for the Third and Fourth Research Questions. (Source: Adapted from The Prisma Group)

After the data eligibility check stage, the researcher proceeded to the data extraction and analysis stage. The data extraction process is primarily concerned with coding relevant information.²⁸ The adage “garbage in garbage out” suggests that the quality of the information coded corresponds to or has a direct effect on the quality of the analysis and the outcome of the review. The author adopted the “framework analysis” methodological process in extracting and analyzing the data because this has guiding principles that can facilitate both the extraction and analysis of relevant data. According to Ritchie and Spencer, the methodological process of framework analysis entails the process of “sifting, charting and sorting materials according to key themes and issues.”²⁹ In more specific terms, the framework analysis approach comprises five key components: familiarization, identification of a thematic framework, indexing, charting, mapping and interpretation stage. Below is the breakdown of what each stage entails:

- Familiarization: the author familiarized himself with the data to have a fair overview of the emerging themes;
- Identifying a thematic framework: he wrote memos on the concepts and ideas that emerged from each primary data source;
- Indexing: he sifted the data, and sorted out all the quotes. Here, he identified portions of the data that are associated with particular themes;
- Charting: he placed the sorted-out quotes under their appropriate themes and/or subheadings identified during the thematic framework stage;
- Mapping and Interpretation: he pulled together all the critical features of the data set and performed a synthesis of the data.

A number of the primary studies selected employed a range of qualitative and quantitative methodologies. With primary studies that had quantitative or mixed methods, the researcher did not conduct a meta-analysis of the quantitative data because they did not share any like variables. In this regard, textual data were coded and mapped into their appropriate themes using the framework analysis approach.

Given that existing literature on the topic is scant, it is likely the methodology did not provide the necessary opportunity to identify all the relevant mechanisms and challenges associated with the return migration and reintegration of Ghanaian immigrants. Although the researcher has been able to identify some important drivers and challenges of return migration and reintegration, the article does not intend to generalize or conclude that the findings are the only or most important mechanisms that affect return migration as a whole in Ghana.

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

This session presents a systematic analysis of the empirical research articles to ascertain the conditions associated with the return migration and reintegration of Ghanaian immigrants. Twenty primary studies were selected that emphasized the factors associated with return migration and reintegration of Ghanaian immigrants. The findings from the Ghanaian literature on migration suggest that both pull and push factors are important in influencing the process of return migration. Six “recurring” perspectives emerged from the 20 pieces of literature that were examined. These recurring themes are

²⁸ Yu Xiao and Maria Watson, “Guidance on Conducting a Systematic Literature Review,” *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 39, no. 1 (March 28, 2019): 93–112, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0739456X17723971>; Robin Whittemore and Kathleen Knafl, “The Integrative Review: Updated Methodology,” *Journal of Advanced Nursing* 52, no. 5 (December 2005): 546–53, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1365-2648.2005.03621.x>.

²⁹ Jane Ritchie and Liz Spencer, “Qualitative Data Analysis for Applied Policy Research,” in *The Qualitative Researcher’s Companion* (2455 Teller Road, Thousand Oaks California 91320 United States of America : SAGE Publications, Inc., 2002), 305–29, <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781412986274.n12>.

associated with the distinct socio-economic and political environment of both the destination and the origin country.

Family and Community Obligations

Examination of the primary studies suggests that sometimes returned Ghanaian immigrants are challenged with high expectations and over-dependence from their relatives and members of their community. Mensah, assessing the challenges returnees from Libya faced during reintegration, identifies that Ghanaian immigrants have the burden to support at least three dependents.³⁰ According to Mensah, the majority (74.6%) of Ghanaian returnees interviewed have at least one or two dependents. In emphasizing dependency in the Ghanaian context, She shows that “the dependency ratio [is] an average of one returnee to three dependents.” That may include the returnees’ immediate family (both nuclear and external), older relatives (married and unmarried) and friends. While the literature is unclear on what informs this compulsory accumulation of dependents, there are traces in the existing migration theories which suggest that the NELM resonates with such responsibilities as the key motive for migration in the first place.

According to Mensah, a large number of dependents and the long period of dependency associated with the Ghanaian socio-cultural environment challenges the success of returnees’ reintegration. She finds that “...because of the long-term dependency, family members who are in a position to ease the burden [sometimes are] reluctant to do so for fear of becoming the next source of income for the entire family.”³¹ Similar to the above, the absence of family support tends to heighten the problem of some returnees, especially those who return to Ghana with empty bags.³² This issue is highlighted in the accounts of some of the involuntary returnees studied by Mensah. For instance, Owusu (interviewee/returnee) vehemently expressed his inability to take care of his dependents, by stating that “my biggest problem is that I cannot support all the 18 people who depend on me. I do not earn much, let alone save.”³³ Another involuntary returnee (Opoku) emphasized this predicament by lamenting that “... we are facing a lot of problems because I came back empty-handed and business is not good. My family was expecting more of me... but my dreams did not come through.”³⁴ The statements of Owusu and Opoku (involuntary returnees) show the nature of the dependency challenge many Ghanaian returnees have to navigate in the process of reintegration. Kleist, in examining the role of return chiefs in the socio-economic development of Ghana, observed that a majority of the respondents (returnees serving as chiefs) “framed their return in terms of sacrificing a more comfortable lifestyle in western countries and facing social pressures from family and community obligations.”³⁵ For instance, one interviewee (Nana), who was a senior manager in the US before he returned to serve as a chief in his rural community, saw his return as a sacrifice and a disadvantage by recounting that:

It is a sacrifice! First and foremost it is a sacrifice of salary and comfort. The facilities are more comfortable there [in the US], the roads, the water, the electricity, etc., Because of the poverty here, when you are wealthy – or relatively wealthy – people come to you for money because they are hungry. There is poverty here and therefore it becomes an obligation to give something. It’s a little bit of a drain and a disadvantage.³⁶

³⁰ Mensah, “Involuntary Return Migration and Reintegration. The Case of Ghanaian Migrant Workers from Libya.”

³¹ Mensah, “Involuntary Return Migration and Reintegration. The Case of Ghanaian Migrant Workers from Libya,” 314.

³² N. Kleist, “Returning with Nothing but an Empty Bag: Topographies of Social Hope after Deportation to Ghana,” in *Hope and Uncertainty in Contemporary African Migration* (London ; New York : Routledge, [2017]: Routledge, 2016), 187–206, <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315659916-15>.

³³ Mensah, “Involuntary Return Migration and Reintegration. The Case of Ghanaian Migrant Workers from Libya,” 314.

³⁴ Kleist, “Returning with Nothing but an Empty Bag: Topographies of Social Hope after Deportation to Ghana,” 335.

³⁵ Kleist, “Returning with Nothing but an Empty Bag: Topographies of Social Hope after Deportation to Ghana,” 71.

³⁶ Kleist, “Pushing Development: A Case Study of Highly Skilled Male Return Migration to Ghana.” 72.

Setrana and Tonah, in assessing the return migration experiences of Ghanaian international immigrants, made a similar observation about the high dependency and the negative impression most returned Ghanaian immigrants face from their families and communities in Ghana. They note in their interviews with migrant associations in Ghana that "...returnees complained of the excessive financial demands made on them by their relations and friends and the pressure to meet the high societal expectations from returnees."³⁷ In examining the high societal expectations faced by returnees in Kumasi, Ghana, Setrana and Tonah observe that "returnees are regarded as 'burgers or been to' and are expected to distinguish themselves as having lived abroad." "Burgers" are expected to showcase their opulence in the clothes they wear, the car they drive, and the house in which they reside.³⁸

Moreover, the findings of Arhin-Sam on how non-migrants perceive returnees affirm this reality that "burgers in Ghanaian societies are considered to have returned with 'more money' and are rich, irrespective of the skills they possess or how much they positively impact their society."³⁹ Returnees are often perceived as philanthropists and are expected to "... make substantial and generous donations at social events such as weddings, funerals, church programs, associations, and club meetings."⁴⁰ The overwhelming demands and expectations are captured on the account of one returnee. The returnee recounts in Setrana and Tonah that:

You see, there is so much expected of us as returnees. Unfortunately, we are not able to meet these expectations, and we are seen as being frugal and uncaring about the plight of people in our communities. Many still think that the streets of Europe and America are littered with gold. People whom you employ to assist you, like the masons, electricians and plumbers seize the opportunity to dupe you; they think I have enough money to spare away. It has happened to me on countless occasions. Now I don't even know whom to trust.⁴¹

In addition, the literature reveals that sometimes returnees in Ghana are stigmatized and perceived as a liability at both the family and community levels of sociality. For instance, this may pertain especially to involuntary return migrants, whom Kleist says are understood to "constitute a burden for their families."⁴² According to this logic, not only does a migrant's forced return disrupt an important source of family remittance income, but it also turns the returning migrant into a dependent having to rely on family income that has been diminished by his or her return to Ghana. This results in a double burden for most families, who are challenged to manage "...fewer resources in combination with more expenses"⁴³ Dako-Gyeke and Kodom and Kleist show how some involuntary returnees feel stigmatized and shamed by their countrymen because they returned with empty bags.⁴⁴ Dako-Gyeke and Kodom, for instance, argue that "in most cases, families and communities are likely to stigmatize those who challenge their perceptions of migration destinations as lands of opportunity. [They tend to] believe that only those who are lazy, irresponsible or hapless are deported."⁴⁵

³⁷ Setrana and Tonah, "Return Migrants and the Challenge of Reintegration: The Case Study of Returnees to Kumasi, Ghana,"161.

³⁸ Setrana and Tonah, "Return Migrants and the Challenge of Reintegration: The Case Study of Returnees to Kumasi, Ghana."

³⁹ Kwaku Arhin-Sam, *Return Migration, Reintegration and Sense of Belonging: The Case of Skilled Ghanaian Returnees* (Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, 2019),157.

⁴⁰ Setrana and Tonah, "Return Migrants and the Challenge of Reintegration: The Case Study of Returnees to Kumasi, Ghana,"162.

⁴¹ Setrana and Tonah, "Return Migrants and the Challenge of Reintegration: The Case Study of Returnees to Kumasi, Ghana,"163.

⁴² Kleist, "Returning with Nothing but an Empty Bag: Topographies of Social Hope after Deportation to Ghana,"334.

⁴³ Kleist, "Returning with Nothing but an Empty Bag: Topographies of Social Hope after Deportation to Ghana."

⁴⁴ Dako-Gyeke and Kodom, "Deportation and Re-Integration: Exploring Challenges Faced by Deportee Residents in the Nkoranza Municipality, Ghana"; Kleist, "Returning with Nothing but an Empty Bag: Topographies of Social Hope after Deportation to Ghana."

⁴⁵ Dako-Gyeke and Kodom, "Deportation and Re-Integration: Exploring Challenges Faced by Deportee Residents in the Nkoranza Municipality, Ghana,"1097.

Concerning the negative impressions and stigmatizations returnees face, a 30-year-old male deportee affirms this reality by recounting that:

People in my community, even my family members, have said a lot of negative things about me since my last return. According to some community members, I stole some goods while abroad, which contributed to my deportation, and as a result, I could not bring anything... this is a serious allegation, but I cannot change their perceptions.⁴⁶

The above discussion suggests that the family and the community play an instrumental role in the success of returnee reintegration in Ghana. According to Stark “The family including the extended family plays a central role in all phases of migration and return, because in most countries [including Ghana] migration decisions are taken collectively.”⁴⁷ Hence, in a case where migration projects are unsuccessful, it is generally perceived as a “...collective investment lost, and this may have dire consequences for the [returnee and] the household,”⁴⁸ which perfectly fits the neoclassical economic theory. In such a context, some Ghanaian deportees are unable to reunite with their family members if their migration was dependent on the assistance of their family.⁴⁹ Hostile attitudes of migrant families and communities towards unsuccessful migration projects stem in part from the likely consequence of “downward social-mobility” which results in a negative experience for all parties involved.⁵⁰ Also, “... deportation defies established norms in sending communities and as a result, returnees experience stigma and shame due to the disagreement between what is socially expected and the reality.”⁵¹ The following section discusses the next theme of how cross-cultural tensions affect returnees’ reintegration in Ghana.

Cultural Mismatch

The literature suggests that some Ghanaian returnees had experiences after they returned to Ghana that contrasted with their pre-return expectations. Setrana and Tonah observed from their interview data that most returnees lamented vehemently about the changing religious landscape.⁵² This challenge is primarily associated with the mismatch between returnees’ values and priorities, and the socio-cultural convictions of non-migrants. According to Setrana and Tonah, the majority of returnees interviewed were concerned about the proliferating churches and pastors, and how it affects productivity in the country.⁵³ Here Setrana and Tonah show that returnees could not “comprehend the irrationality associated with the number of hours Ghanaians spend in churches instead of engaging in productive activities.”⁵⁴ For instance, Mercy, a returnee from the United States, expressed in an interview that:

⁴⁶ Dako-Gyeke and Kodom. “Deportation and Re-Integration: Exploring Challenges Faced by Deportee Residents in the Nkoranza Municipality, Ghana.”1098.

⁴⁷ Dako-Gyeke and Kodom, “Deportation and Re-Integration: Exploring Challenges Faced by Deportee Residents in the Nkoranza Municipality, Ghana,” 1098; Douglas S. Massey et al., “Theories of International Migration: A Review and Appraisal,” *Population and Development Review* 19, no. 3 (September 1993): 431, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2938462>.

⁴⁸ Kleist, “Returning with Nothing but an Empty Bag: Topographies of Social Hope after Deportation to Ghana,”333.

⁴⁹ Dako-Gyeke and Kodom, “Deportation and Re-Integration: Exploring Challenges Faced by Deportee Residents in the Nkoranza Municipality, Ghana.”

⁵⁰ Richmond Tiemoko, “Migration, Return and Socio-Economic Change in West Africa: The Role of Family,” *Population, Space and Place* 10, no. 2 (March 2004): 155–74, <https://doi.org/10.1002/psp.320>; Nauja Kleist, “Disrupted Migration Projects: The Moral Economy of Involuntary Return to Ghana from Libya,” *Africa* 87, no. 2 (May 11, 2017): 322–42, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S000197201600098X>.

⁵¹ Dako-Gyeke and Kodom, “Deportation and Re-Integration: Exploring Challenges Faced by Deportee Residents in the Nkoranza Municipality, Ghana.”1089.

⁵² Setrana and Tonah, “Return Migrants and the Challenge of Reintegration: The Case Study of Returnees to Kumasi, Ghana.”

⁵³ Setrana and Tonah. Return Migrants and the Challenge of Reintegration: The Case Study of Returnees to Kumasi, Ghana.”164.

⁵⁴ Setrana and Tonah. Return Migrants and the Challenge of Reintegration: The Case Study of Returnees to Kumasi, Ghana.”164.

... in the US, church service was brief, and one was not obliged to frequent them as happens in Ghana. Here people are always in the church. I do not know but maybe it is because they are poor... we spend close to seven hours in church and even have to give a number of offerings, and we seem not to gain anything.⁵⁵

The above account shows the nature of the Ghanaian religious landscape. The account also reveals the extent of the mismatch between the values and priorities of returnees and the religious inclinations of Ghanaians. Setrana and Tonah relate the reason behind the attitude of spending productive hours at church to the fact that most individuals in Ghana have been made to believe that the solution or the cure to their problems is spiritual, which requires a pastor or the church to solve. The religious attitudes that circumscribe the lifestyle of most Ghanaians may inform part of the reason why some returnees feel reluctant about investing in Ghana. The cultural mismatch makes it very challenging for some returnees to (re)establish a cordial relationship with relatives who may carry an extreme or entrenched worldview.⁵⁶ This is a possible reason why some returnees have the feeling that their investments may be mismanaged. Hence, reintegration in the context of relinking with social networks or institutions becomes challenging on the part of returnees in Ghana.⁵⁷ That is primarily as a result of the mismatch between the values and priorities of returnees and the religious convictions and practices that are dominant in Ghana. The literature suggests that the identity migrants assume at the diaspora through their cross-cultural interactions is reinvented upon return and that creates tension between their way of life and that of the locals. This tension underlies the vehement lamentations of Ghanaian returnees.

Arhin-Sam shows that the intensity of cultural mismatch or tension is dependent on how long a returnee stayed abroad and secondly on the extent to which returnees-maintained touch with the home society (Ghana).⁵⁸ Within this layer of understanding, Arhin-Sam identified three main categories of cultural mismatch associated with reintegration in Ghana: (a) mismatch “emanating from variations in the host country and Ghana when the state of the host country is juxtaposed with that of the home country;” (b) mismatch “from unmet expectations of massive development of the home country, Ghana;” (c) mismatch “related to diversity between the pre-migration state of the home country and the current state of the home country.” The existence of these categories suggests that indeed, the “after-return society” (Ghana) for some Ghanaian returnees is an arena of cross-cultural tensions.⁵⁹ The subsequent section will develop the argument further by discussing the challenges that affect reintegration regarding the investment of capital gains.

Difficulties in Investing Capital

In the context of the economic reintegration of Ghanaian immigrants, Setrana and Tonah observed two major categories of returnees. The first category includes returnees who have acquired resources in destination countries and are seeking to invest in the private or informal economies of Ghana. The second category comprises skilled migrants seeking employment in either the public or the private sector. Sometimes returnees may belong to both categories. Both categories of returnees are challenged with some difficulties regarding the investment of both human and economic capital they acquired abroad.⁶⁰

⁵⁵ Setrana and Tonah, *Return Migrants and the Challenge of Reintegration: The Case Study of Returnees to Kumasi, Ghana.*”164.

⁵⁶ Setrana and Tonah. *Return Migrants and the Challenge of Reintegration: The Case Study of Returnees to Kumasi, Ghana.*”

⁵⁷ Setrana and Tonah. *Return Migrants and the Challenge of Reintegration: The Case Study of Returnees to Kumasi, Ghana.*”

⁵⁸ Arhin-Sam, *Return Migration, Reintegration and Sense of Belonging : The Case of Skilled Ghanaian Returnees.*

⁵⁹ Arhin-Sam, *Return Migration, Reintegration and Sense of Belonging : The Case of Skilled Ghanaian Returnees.*194.

⁶⁰ Setrana and Tonah, “*Return Migrants and the Challenge of Reintegration: The Case Study of Returnees to Kumasi, Ghana.*”

The literature suggests that the success of reintegration is sometimes influenced by the preparedness of returnees and their ability to invest capital gains.⁶¹ In the context of capital investment, it is usually assumed that returnees who had the chance to prepare for their return do not go through extreme challenges in reintegration.⁶² However, the challenges within the Ghanaian economic system pose tremendous difficulties for returnees who desire to invest their capital gains.⁶³

The language barrier is identified as one of the key problems that affect the investment of the skills and experience (human capital) Ghanaian returnees acquired in the diaspora. Setrana and Tonah, in examining the post-return experiences of returnees in Ghana, observed that in the context of investing human capital, some skilled returned immigrants in Ghana are challenged with language barriers.⁶⁴ That is a severe challenge because language constraints may hinder the process of returnees' reintegration. Thus, reintegration may be interrupted for returnees who are unable to easily adjust to job-specific language demands. In such an instance, a returnee may opt to re-emigrate to a country where language demands would not be a problem. Furthermore, Setrana and Tonah show that, upon return, some Ghanaian medical doctors who had their education abroad (specifically in non-English instructed programs) lamented about their inability to translate the names of drugs and instruments into English. This challenge affects productivity severely because service delivery is often slowed. Moreover, this challenge may form part of the reason why Setrana and Tonah observed the inclination toward remigration among some skilled returnees who are unable to adjust in Ghana.⁶⁵

In addition, Setrana and Tonah show that many of the skilled returnees in Kumasi interviewed were dismayed with the bureaucratic structures and the work ethics that circumscribe the Ghanaian economy. These returnees are individuals who have acquired sufficient social, economic and human capital in the diaspora and returned to invest their capital gains. According to Setrana and Tonah, such returnees are often "frustrated by the delays associated with obtaining services such as the registration of land, building permits, vehicle licensing, registering a business, obtaining water and electricity services."⁶⁶ A participant in their study, Paul, emphasizes that "it is not easy to initiate anything here, there is so much bureaucracy, go here, get this documentation and so on. Worst of it all they do not even keep their promises. Things are not as easy as in the UK... Things must really change."⁶⁷ Indeed, the "slow rhythm of life" and the "laid-back attitudes" that circumscribe the working environment of Ghana make it challenging for most returnees during reintegration.⁶⁸ Dako-Gyeke and Kodom examined the reintegration difficulties of involuntary returnees in Ghana and argue that the majority of deportees interviewed were planning to re-migrate because they had "experienced difficulties accessing formal support services in their communities" to aid their economic reintegration and

⁶¹ Dako-Gyeke and Kodom, "Deportation and Re-Integration: Exploring Challenges Faced by Deportee Residents in the Nkoranza Municipality, Ghana."

⁶² Kleist, "Pushing Development: A Case Study of Highly Skilled Male Return Migration to Ghana."

⁶³ Dako-Gyeke and Kodom, "Deportation and Re-Integration: Exploring Challenges Faced by Deportee Residents in the Nkoranza Municipality, Ghana"; Kleist, "Returning with Nothing but an Empty Bag: Topographies of Social Hope after Deportation to Ghana"; Mensah, "Involuntary Return Migration and Reintegration. The Case of Ghanaian Migrant Workers from Libya"; Setrana and Tonah, "Return Migrants and the Challenge of Reintegration: The Case Study of Returnees to Kumasi, Ghana."

⁶⁴ Setrana and Tonah, "Return Migrants and the Challenge of Reintegration: The Case Study of Returnees to Kumasi, Ghana."

⁶⁵ Setrana and Tonah, "Do Transnational Links Matter after Return? Labour Market Participation among Ghanaian Return Migrants."

⁶⁶ Setrana and Tonah, "Do Transnational Links Matter after Return? Labour Market Participation among Ghanaian Return Migrants."162.

⁶⁷ Setrana and Tonah, "Return Migrants and the Challenge of Reintegration: The Case Study of Returnees to Kumasi, Ghana."164.

⁶⁸ Setrana and Tonah, "Return Migrants and the Challenge of Reintegration: The Case Study of Returnees to Kumasi, Ghana."; Dako-Gyeke and Kodom, "Deportation and Re-Integration: Exploring Challenges Faced by Deportee Residents in the Nkoranza Municipality, Ghana."1

support the investment of their human capital.⁶⁹ Setrana and Tonah, for instance, highlight that most returnees (interviewees) who desired to set up businesses "...were astonished about the paperwork and bureaucracy that accompanied the setting up of a business, obtaining a permit for a task or simply getting an appointment with the relevant city officials."⁷⁰ The persistence of strict bureaucratic structures frustrates or scares some returnees from investing their capital gains. When that happens, re-migration then becomes an alternative for such returnees who are unable to cope with the environment.⁷¹ This challenge may also have some impact on skilled returnees in their acquisition of jobs.

Aside from the strict bureaucracy, Arhin-Sam finds that some returnees found it difficult to tolerate bribery and corruption in Ghana. Here, he recounts that "returning from a society that does not tolerate bribery of public officials (at least not on the same scale as experienced in Ghana), most of the returnees find it challenging if not awkward settling into the return society where these practices seem acceptable." He also identifies that the widely accepted practice of "*greasing the palm*" (tipping or bribe) was frustrating to the extent that returnees "who often try not to indulge in such social canker end up being punished with unnecessary delays, unwarranted bureaucracy and confrontations."⁷²

Finding suitable employees, undue risk and lack of investment partners, are potential economic reintegration challenges that are likely to be experienced by returnees in Ghana. The absence of this evidence in the empirical literature suggests the need for further studies on the investment challenges that confront returnees in Ghana. The next section discusses the challenges returnees face with job acquisition in detail.

Lack of Job Opportunities

Most of the primary studies emphasize a lack of job opportunities as a problem faced by returnees. The difficulty associated with accessing jobs in Ghana can be attributed to the dominant colloquial perception of "whom you know." Setrana and Tonah argue that the majority of returnees interviewed could only get a job because they had a middleman who connected them to jobs. In examining the challenges associated with reintegration in Ghana, Setrana and Tonah show that returning immigrants consciously try reviving their social ties with friends and family members in a conscious attempt to enable them to "get in touch with people [middlemen] who would link them up with the head of institutions and recruitment agencies."⁷³ Notwithstanding the reliance on middlemen (social networks), the high unemployment in Ghana makes the process of job recruitment very difficult. Thus, most individuals have to go through a series of stages and bureaucratic structures before securing a job. This suggests that most returnees have to "...endure long waiting periods of between one and two years before they finally secure jobs"⁷⁴ The challenge of securing a job is observed by some scholars to be worse among returnees who lacked formal certifications. It has been observed that sometimes, "returnees were unemployed not for lack of trying or lack of skill. Returnees indicated that they had tried to find jobs, but without formal certification, it was difficult to prove their competencies"⁷⁵ This observation suggests how challenging it is for a deportee who returns with empty bags and without formal certification to secure a job in Ghana. For instance, some returnees from Libya recount that the

⁶⁹ Dako-Gyeke and Kodom, "Deportation and Re-Integration: Exploring Challenges Faced by Deportee Residents in the Nkoranza Municipality, Ghana,"1097.

⁷⁰ Setrana and Tonah, "Return Migrants and the Challenge of Reintegration: The Case Study of Returnees to Kumasi, Ghana."164.

⁷¹ Mensah, "Involuntary Return Migration and Reintegration. The Case of Ghanaian Migrant Workers from Libya."

⁷² Arhin-Sam, *Return Migration, Reintegration and Sense of Belonging: The Case of Skilled Ghanaian Returnees*, 205.

⁷³ Setrana and Tonah, "Return Migrants and the Challenge of Reintegration: The Case Study of Returnees to Kumasi, Ghana."

⁷⁴ Setrana and Tonah, "Do Transnational Links Matter after Return? Labour Market Participation among Ghanaian Return Migrants."

⁷⁵ Setrana and Tonah, "Return Migrants and the Challenge of Reintegration: The Case Study of Returnees to Kumasi, Ghana."

existence of construction work in Libya served as an opportunity for low skilled immigrants.⁷⁶ However, the challenge for most returnees is that “the large scale construction jobs in Libya which allowed entry for low skilled construction workers were nonexistent or not accessible to them in Ghana.”⁷⁷ A returnee from Libya recounted in an interview that:

In Libya, I learned how to operate a [paint] roller machine, but since I came back, I have tried to find such work but to no avail. No company like that wants to hire me. Now to get a job in Ghana, it is whom you know unless you know somebody you cannot get it. Bribery and corruption everywhere, some of us have been away so long we do not know anybody, we do not know where to go. I have come to Ghana. I want to continue to paint but where will I get?⁷⁸

Setrana, in examining the factors associated with returnee reintegration to home countries, reveals an intriguing perspective regarding skilled returnees and the success of their reintegration in terms of job acquisition. She argues that “return migrants who have attained qualification or skills abroad are less likely to be successfully reintegrated than those who did not attain any skills or qualifications overseas.”⁷⁹ This suggests that the success or failure of reintegration is not contingent on the formal credentials and skill set acquired but instead is determined by the multiplicity of factors affecting the economic landscape.⁸⁰ However, in some cases, both skilled and unskilled returnees may find difficulties finding suitable jobs if there is a mismatch between their qualifications, skills, experiences and the prevailing demands of the Ghanaian labor market.

Another challenge that confronts returnees wishing to invest capital is the fear of the unknown. Arhin-Sam identified this category of challenge among the skilled returnees interviewed. Here, he shows that many of the interviewees in his studies emphasized that they had fear of uncertainty during the period immediately after their return. Here Arhin-Sam cites the case of Akosua (an interviewee):

The feeling of the unknown can make you really go down or stay afloat. I didn't know what was going to happen tomorrow. You come back, ok where do we start from? I knew I was going to set up a business, but where am I starting? If I show you my business plan where I am going to and everything else, you will be amazed. Basically, it was the fear of the unknown. You know, is it going to work? Am I going to pack my bags and go? Am I going to stay? Am I going to do all sorts that I have planned out to do?⁸¹

In arguing further, Arhin-Sam shows that in some cases the fear of the unknown results in psychological problems for some returnees at the early stages of their return. He observes that “irrespective of the plans put in place before returning, some of the migrants still had to deal with this kind of fear – uncertainty about plans, job, business and unknown about the next actions and even to stay or return to the host country.”⁸² The challenge that affects the reintegration of Ghanaian immigrants is discussed next. Here, the article discusses how “government fatigue” affects the reintegration of Ghanaian immigrants.

Inadequate Assistance from the Government

The majority of primary studies reveal that inadequate support from the government affects the reintegration of returned Ghanaian immigrants. The lack of continuity in government policies and programs on return migration affects immigrants' reintegration in Ghana.⁸³ Also, the lack of government policy on the evacuation of Ghanaian immigrants during crises and post-return life has

⁷⁶ Mensah, “Involuntary Return Migration and Reintegration. The Case of Ghanaian Migrant Workers from Libya.”314.

⁷⁷ Mensah, “Involuntary Return Migration and Reintegration. The Case of Ghanaian Migrant Workers from Libya.”315.

⁷⁸ Mensah, “Involuntary Return Migration and Reintegration. The Case of Ghanaian Migrant Workers from Libya.”315.

⁷⁹ Mary Boatemaa Setrana, “Back Home at Last! Factors Influencing Return and Reintegration of Ghanaian Returnees,” *Journal of Identity and Migration Studies* 11, no. 1 (2017): 40.

⁸⁰ Setrana, “Back Home at Last! Factors Influencing Return and Reintegration of Ghanaian Returnees,”

⁸¹ Arhin-Sam, *Return Migration, Reintegration and Sense of Belonging: The Case of Skilled Ghanaian Returnees*, 202.

⁸² Arhin-Sam, *Return Migration, Reintegration and Sense of Belonging: The Case of Skilled Ghanaian Returnees*, 202.

⁸³ Kleist, “Returning with Nothing but an Empty Bag: Topographies of Social Hope after Deportation to Ghana.”

been observed by many scholars as a problem that affects the successful reintegration of Ghanaian immigrants.⁸⁴

The literature shows that Ghana's attitude toward evacuation and resettlement has predominantly been "the wait and see approach." During the 2011 Libyan crisis, the National Disaster Management Organisation (NADMO) was the leading government agency at the front line in assisting the reintegration of Ghanaian immigrants. The agency is funded through the national subvention fund. Bob-Milliar recounts that financial and logistical challenges affected the ability of the organization to provide sufficient assistance to returning Ghanaian immigrants.⁸⁵ The lack of data on Ghanaian immigrants, the ad-hoc approach to migration issues and infrastructural constraints are identified as challenges that impede migration management in Ghana.⁸⁶ For instance, in 2012, the lack of reception centers for hosting returnees from Libya compelled NADMO officials to host a large number of distressed returnees at the military sports stadium (against harsh weather conditions) to complete immigration, health and security screenings. Logistically Bob-Miller shows that during the Libyan crisis, Ghana was challenged because available resources at the time were already deployed to assist the reintegration of about 12, 250 returnees following the crisis in Ivory Coast in 2010. He shows that around the early part of 2011, NADMO was still in the process of assisting in the resettlement of returnees from Ivory Coast.⁸⁷ This indicates that the 2011 Libyan crisis occurred at a time when the state was logistically unprepared or stressed.⁸⁸

The "wait and see" (reactive) approach of Ghana to evacuation and resettlement is described by Bob-Miller as "lukewarm." To him, the Libyan crisis "revealed the unpreparedness of the Ghanaian state to respond to citizens in need. While the government estimated 10,000 nationals living in Libya, 18,455 returned home."⁸⁹

Some of the studies on involuntary return to Ghana show that, upon deportation, deportees are unable to access any social support services.⁹⁰ This may be attributed to the "laid back attitudes" of government agencies on the return and reintegration of Ghanaian immigrants.⁹¹ Dako-Gyeke and Kodom's interviews with returnees from Libya after the 2011 Libyan crisis reveal that the majority of the returnees interviewed had no information about existing social support services available for returnees. For example, a 30-year-old male returnee from Germany stated that "I do not have any idea about any formal assistance in this community or this district or region."⁹²

⁸⁴ Dako-Gyeke and Kodom, "Deportation and Re-Integration: Exploring Challenges Faced by Deportee Residents in the Nkoranza Municipality, Ghana"; Kleist, "Returning with Nothing but an Empty Bag: Topographies of Social Hope after Deportation to Ghana"; Mensah, "Involuntary Return Migration and Reintegration. The Case of Ghanaian Migrant Workers from Libya."

⁸⁵ George M Bob-Milliar, "Rescuing Migrants in Libya: The Political Economy of State Responses to Migration Crises. The Case of Ghana" (Copenhagen: Danish Institute for International Studies (DIIS), 2012), <http://hdl.handle.net/10419/122264>.

⁸⁶ Kleist, "Modern Chiefs: Tradition, Development and Return among Traditional Authorities in Ghana"; Mensah, "Involuntary Return Migration and Reintegration. The Case of Ghanaian Migrant Workers from Libya"; Bob-Milliar, "Rescuing Migrants in Libya: The Political Economy of State Responses to Migration Crises. The Case of Ghana."

⁸⁷ Bob-Milliar, "Rescuing Migrants in Libya: The Political Economy of State Responses to Migration Crises. The Case of Ghana."

⁸⁸ Kleist, "Modern Chiefs: Tradition, Development and Return among Traditional Authorities in Ghana"; Bob-Milliar, "Rescuing Migrants in Libya: The Political Economy of State Responses to Migration Crises. The Case of Ghana."

⁸⁹ Bob-Milliar, "Rescuing Migrants in Libya: The Political Economy of State Responses to Migration Crises. The Case of Ghana."24.

⁹⁰ Dako-Gyeke and Kodom, "Deportation and Re-Integration: Exploring Challenges Faced by Deportee Residents in the Nkoranza Municipality, Ghana"; Kleist, "Returning with Nothing but an Empty Bag: Topographies of Social Hope after Deportation to Ghana"; Mensah, "Involuntary Return Migration and Reintegration. The Case of Ghanaian Migrant Workers from Libya."

⁹¹ Setrana and Tonah, "Return Migrants and the Challenge of Reintegration: The Case Study of Returnees to Kumasi, Ghana."163.

⁹² Dako-Gyeke and Kodom, "Deportation and Re-Integration: Exploring Challenges Faced by Deportee Residents in the Nkoranza Municipality, Ghana."

The literature also shows that returnees who had information about existing support services could not have access to them.⁹³ This reality is captured in the interview responses of some returnees. Here, a 27-year-old returnee from Libya recounts that “we were invited to the Municipal Assembly for assistance (money, fertilizers, tools, training, and counseling, among others). Anytime we went, we were asked to come another time and given excuses. I stopped going because I could not afford the transport fare.”⁹⁴ The logistical challenges, poor planning and poor return and reintegration strategies are among the many factors that curtail the entire process of returnees’ readaptation in Ghana.

Weak Political Institutions

Weak political institutions are part of the reason why most returnees are unsuccessful in their reintegration. As the former president of the US, Barack Obama, said on his visit to Ghana, “Ghana does not need strong men but strong institutions.” Until 2016, Ghana lacked a national policy on migration, return and reintegration.⁹⁵ It was after the Libyan crisis, around April 2016, that the Ministry of Interior published the first migration policy. Before the emergence of the 2016 national migration policy, “ad hoc [and] uncoordinated programs [were employed] in managing migration in Ghana.”⁹⁶ Government agencies, returnees and Non-Governmental Agencies (NGOs) have not yet come to terms with the content of the policy. In other cases, the returnees who are aware of these services are also unable to have access and that is because of the existing archaic and entrenched regulations that circumscribe access to these institutions.⁹⁷ Because of this problem, some returnees disclosed that they have decided to re-migrate because they are unable to invest their capital gains in Ghana.⁹⁸ The International Organization for Migration in a pilot project to test feasible and sustainable reintegration initiatives by the European Union stated that “admittedly, the country [Ghana] has weak institutions that need to be strengthened... because returnees with developed country experience are likely to be frustrated by the slow pace and inefficiency of the public sector operations”⁹⁹

The majority of scholars cited in this review note that “institutional failure has been a recurring theme in the literature on return migration.”¹⁰⁰ Mensah indicates that institutional failure has resulted in a lack of confidence and trust deficit in the state. She shows that the majority of the returnees (respondents) interviewed in his study on experiences of involuntary return from Libya had limited interest in continuing to stay under the bad governance and institutions in Ghana.¹⁰¹ For most returnees interviewed in Mensah, there was a common sentiment that “the political and governance mechanisms had let them and indeed all Ghanaians down.”¹⁰² A trust deficit and limited confidence inform the increasing desire among returnees to re-migrate. This desire is evident in one returnee’s response during an interview in Mensah. Here, when “respondents were asked if they thought it was possible to

⁹³ Dako-Gyeke and Kodom. “Deportation and Re-Integration: Exploring Challenges Faced by Deportee Residents in the Nkoranza Municipality, Ghana.”

⁹⁴ Dako-Gyeke and Kodom. “Deportation and Re-Integration: Exploring Challenges Faced by Deportee Residents in the Nkoranza Municipality, Ghana.”1098.

⁹⁵ Mensah, “Involuntary Return Migration and Reintegration. The Case of Ghanaian Migrant Workers from Libya.”

⁹⁶ Mensah, “Involuntary Return Migration and Reintegration. The Case of Ghanaian Migrant Workers from Libya.” 138.

⁹⁷ Dako-Gyeke and Kodom, “Deportation and Re-Integration: Exploring Challenges Faced by Deportee Residents in the Nkoranza Municipality, Ghana.”

⁹⁸ Mensah, “Involuntary Return Migration and Reintegration. The Case of Ghanaian Migrant Workers from Libya.”25.

⁹⁹ IOM, *Reintegration Opportunities in Ghana for Returnees from European Countries. REINTEGRATION – Pilot Initiative to Test Feasible and Sustainable Joint Reintegration Measures from the EU* (Ghana: IOM, 2013).

¹⁰⁰ Mensah, “Involuntary Return Migration and Reintegration. The Case of Ghanaian Migrant Workers from Libya”; Ammassari, “From Nation-Building to Entrepreneurship: The Impact of Élite Return Migrants in Côte d’Ivoire and Ghana”; Dako-Gyeke and Kodom, “Deportation and Re-Integration: Exploring Challenges Faced by Deportee Residents in the Nkoranza Municipality, Ghana”; Tiemoko, “Migration, Return and Socio-Economic Change in West Africa: The Role of Family.”

¹⁰¹ Mensah, “Involuntary Return Migration and Reintegration. The Case of Ghanaian Migrant Workers from Libya.”

¹⁰² Mensah. “Involuntary Return Migration and Reintegration. The Case of Ghanaian Migrant Workers from Libya.” 319.

stay, work and succeed in Ghana, one returnee replied...*I do not believe in our leaders, so I cannot stay here and succeed*"¹⁰³ The state of the institutional landscape is central in all historical periods in influencing the ability of returnees to engage in sustainable initiatives.¹⁰⁴ In making recommendations for the sustainable return and reintegration of elite Ghanaian immigrants, Ammassari recommends that governments and agencies should ensure that appropriate policies are made towards strengthening institutions in order to make the socio-economic environment conducive for return and reintegration. Ammassari further emphasizes that "if returnees encounter fewer re-adjustment problems, such as those due to bad governance, poor management and to the difficulties connected with the way facilities and services operate, migrants would be more willing to return or to remain at home and not be tempted or forced to leave again."¹⁰⁵

STUDY RECOMMENDATIONS

Enhancing Returnee Reintegration in Ghana: Policy Gaps and Recommendations

Currently, there is no fixed definition of successful reintegration. The findings from the migration literature suggest that different scholars and institutions define successful reintegration in different ways. For instance, the IOM considers successful reintegration as the "re-adaptation on the part of the returning migrant of the values, way of living, language, moral principles, ideology and tradition of the country of origin."¹⁰⁶ Koser emphasized that successful reintegration involves a returnee's access to the labor market, social welfare, housing and educational systems in the home country.¹⁰⁷ Gmelch, however, sees successful reintegration as an individual (migrant) centered judgment. Thus, the success of reintegration can only be determined using "the degree of satisfaction or dissatisfaction expressed by the migrant; [where] plans to re-emigrate is understood as a sign of dissatisfaction of maladjustment."¹⁰⁸ The above definitions are the guiding definitions for this section.

However, the findings from the empirical literature indicate that the above definitions are not comprehensive enough, because they focus mainly on returnees' ability to readjust and largely overlook the capacity of the socioeconomic and political environment of the home country to sustainably protect returnees from what Gmelch terms as maladjustment difficulties.¹⁰⁹ The findings from the empirical literature show that the challenge of returnees' reintegration has structural, economic, social, cultural and emotional aspects. In the context of the above definitions and findings from the empirical literature, the researcher argues that successful reintegration occurs when the social, economic and political environment of the home country supports the effective use and mobilization of returnees' socio-economic and human capital in a sustained manner. This definition suggests that successful reintegration has institutional, social, economic, political and cultural aspects. The definition reveals two important actors associated with successful reintegration: the agency of the individual returnee, and the influence of the socioeconomic environment. From this premise, the article posits that the ability of Ghanaian returnees to experience successful reintegration depends on (a) their ability to invest their socioeconomic capital and (b) the existence of a well-functioning socioeconomic environment. In the context of this definition, it presents three key strands of policy recommendations: (a) individual-centered support systems aimed at addressing the specific needs of returnees and their households; (b) community-centered assistance to facilitate a participatory

¹⁰³ Mensah, "Involuntary Return Migration and Reintegration. The Case of Ghanaian Migrant Workers from Libya." 319, emphasis original.

¹⁰⁴ Ammassari, "From Nation-Building to Entrepreneurship: The Impact of Élite Return Migrants in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana."

¹⁰⁵ Ammassari. "From Nation-Building to Entrepreneurship: The Impact of Élite Return Migrants in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana," 204.

¹⁰⁶ IOM, *Towards an Integrative Approach to Reintegration in the Context of Return* (Geneva: IOM, 2017).13.

¹⁰⁷ Koser, "Return, Readmission, and Reintegration: Changing Agendas, Policy Frameworks, and Operational Programmes."

¹⁰⁸ Gmelch, "Return Migration."142.

¹⁰⁹ Gmelch, "Return Migration."142.

approach to reintegration where the returnee's family and community members are empowered to positively contribute to the reintegration process; and (c) structural interventions geared towards providing essential services for returnees and better migration management in Ghana. These strands of policy recommendations focus on enhancing the agency of both the individual returnee and the socio-economic environment of Ghana. While the individual-centered support system focuses on empowering returnees to invest their socio-economic capital, the community-centered assistance and the structural interventions are geared towards providing a conducive socio-economic environment for the sustained use and mobilization of returnees' socio-economic and human capital in Ghana.

Individual Centered Reintegration Systems

The existence of individual-centered support systems in Ghana can facilitate the successful reintegration of immigrants. The empirical literature indicates that the challenges returnees face are in some cases related to the returnees' socio-demographic characteristics and the nature of the return. For voluntary returnees who acquired much socio-economic capital in the diaspora, their reintegration is predicted to be more successful than involuntary returnees who probably returned with empty bags.¹¹⁰ Given the distinct circumstances that circumscribe the return of Ghanaian immigrants, individual reintegration support is necessary, because it "usually allows a certain degree of flexibility and is ideally tailored to returnee's specific needs taking into account specific migratory experiences vulnerability factors, acquired skills and the circumstances of the return."¹¹¹

The Assisted Voluntary Return and Reintegration (AVRR) program is a type of individualized support system of the International Organization for Migration (IOM). The 2017 report of the IOM shows that the AVRR project was initiated in 2011 to aid the successful return and reintegration of Sri Lankan immigrants stranded in West Africa. The support system of the AVRR provided case-specific assistance to aid individual returnees and their family. Within the AVRR framework, an individual returnee is supported either in cash or in kind and that is dependent on the nature of the return and the returnee's predicament. The IOM policy brief shows that the AVRR approach was successful in many instances because the "effective information provision and counseling at the pre-return and post-arrival allowed the [IOM] to tailor the assistance to the specific situation of each returnee."¹¹² The AVRR program of the IOM emphasizes some key pragmatic approaches, which the researcher recommends to be followed by Ghana. They include, but are not limited to, the following: (a) "effective referral of migrants to available socio-economic opportunities and psychosocial support through systematic mapping and collection of information on reintegration stakeholders and type of specialized assistance offered; (b) flexibility of reintegration assistance schemes to allow adaptable provisions of support to returnee's profile, needs and skills, preferences and motivation and to the return context; (c) adequate follow-up during the first 12 months following return to accompany beneficiaries in their reintegration process."¹¹³

The researcher recommends the adoption of an individualized reintegration strategy like the AVRR and its pragmatic approach of referring returnees to existing socio-economic and psychosocial support opportunities in Ghana. This approach will, for instance, ensure that each returnee is informed and effectively referred to available social and economic opportunities and agencies that provide reintegration assistance. The findings indicate that some returnees from Libya did not have any idea about existing social support services in Ghana, while those who had information about support systems could not assess them. Arhin-Sam notes that the lack of a readily available database or repository that contains available government and non-governmental support opportunities, services

¹¹⁰ Kleist, "Modern Chiefs: Tradition, Development and Return among Traditional Authorities in Ghana"; Setrana, "Back Home at Last! Factors Influencing Return and Reintegration of Ghanaian Returnees."

¹¹¹ IOM, *Towards an Integrative Approach to Reintegration in the Context of Return*. 10.

¹¹² IOM, *Towards an Integrative Approach to Reintegration in the Context of Return*. 10.

¹¹³ IOM, *Towards an Integrative Approach to Reintegration in the Context of Return*. 10.

and formalities is a challenge that affects the reintegration of some immigrants.¹¹⁴ Arhin-Sam recounts that “many returnees return with investment plans; however, they are often frustrated by the lack of available, reliable and consistent information.”¹¹⁵ This challenge can be solved through the adoption of an individualized reintegration approach like the AVRRE that emphasizes “systematic mapping [of returnees] and collection of information on reintegration agencies and specialized services offered.”¹¹⁶

Moreover, the AVRRE pragmatic approach of providing support in the context of returnees’ needs, profiles, skills, preferences and motivations will be useful in ensuring some flexibility, capacity building and minimizing the challenge of job mismatch observed among returned Ghanaian immigrants. The literature suggests that some Ghanaian immigrants could not find jobs that match the skills they acquired in the diaspora. Agyeman and Garcia and Andall observed that the job placement schemes by the government of Ghana do not consider the experiences and skills of returnees acquired in the diaspora.¹¹⁷ The flexibility of reintegration associated with the AVRRE framework will ensure that support is provided within adaptable conditions that are commensurate with the individual “... returnee’s profile, needs and skills, preferences and motivation and to the return context.”¹¹⁸ This will facilitate the full investment of returnees’ socio-economic capital.

Moreover, the existence of follow-up in the first 12 months of return with the AVRRE approach will be useful in the Ghanaian context as well. It will help the re-migration consideration among returnees who were unable to achieve successful reintegration because returnees facing challenges and thinking of remigration can be identified during the periodic follow-ups. The European Commission report emphasized that reintegration is predominantly successful when the provision of reintegration assistance and follow-up continues for over 12 months.¹¹⁹

The pragmatic approaches of the AVRRE affirm the importance of an individual-centered reintegration approach. Hence, the researcher recommends that the government of Ghana should adopt an individual-centered reintegration approach like the AVRRE or partner with the IOM in that regard. The adoption of an individual-centered reintegration support like the AVRRE “promotes returnees’ economic self-sufficiency by supporting the set-up of small businesses, promoting the (re)-insertion in the local labor market and increasing returnees’ skills through enrolment in education or vocational training courses and utilization of newly acquired skills and knowledge.”¹²⁰ Individual-centered reintegration efforts will enable returnees to maximize the utility of their socio-economic capital in Ghana, thereby increasing/promoting successful reintegration.

Community-Based Reintegration Approach

Given that it takes an entire family and other community members to support international migration, it will, in a similar vein, take an entire family or community to ensure the success of returnees’ reintegration in Ghana. Over the decades, reintegration programs have followed a top-down approach instead of a bottom-up approach designed in partnership with returnees, returnees’ families and community members.¹²¹ The implementation of a community-centered reintegration initiative like the joint EU-IOM return and reintegration program will be necessary for Ghana, in part because it “will

¹¹⁴ Arhin-Sam, *Return Migration, Reintegration and Sense of Belonging: The Case of Skilled Ghanaian Returnees*.

¹¹⁵ Arhin-Sam, *Return Migration, Reintegration and Sense of Belonging: The Case of Skilled Ghanaian Returnees*. 309.

¹¹⁶ IOM, *Towards an Integrative Approach to Reintegration in the Context of Return*. 10.

¹¹⁷ Akwasi Agyeman and Fernández Garcia, “Connecting Return Intentions and Home Investment: The Case of Ghanaian Migrants in Southern Europe”; Jacqueline Andall, *Gender, Migration and Domestic Service* (Routledge, 2017), <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315254586>.

¹¹⁸ IOM, *Towards an Integrative Approach to Reintegration in the Context of Return*, 10.

¹¹⁹ Esi Akyere Mensah, *The Saga of the Returnee: Exploring the Implication of Involuntary Return Migration, for Development. A Case Study of the Reintegration Process for Ghanaian Migrant Workers from Libya* (Norway: Universitetet i Agder; University of Agder, 2012), https://explore.openaire.eu/search/publication?articleId=dedup_wf_001::fadcd1fee5e93a4c0e55a169e160061b7.

¹²⁰ IOM, *Towards an Integrative Approach to Reintegration in the Context of Return*. 11.

¹²¹ Mensah, *The Saga of the Returnee: Exploring the Implication of Involuntary Return Migration, for Development. A Case Study of the Reintegration Process for Ghanaian Migrant Workers from Libya*.

help address any feelings of resentment or hostility that a returning migrant may face from members of the community for receiving assistance, or, on the contrary, for returning empty-handed.”¹²²

Mensah, in exploring the saga of Ghanaian returnees from Libya, made a similar observation and recommended the need for a community-centered reintegration scheme. She observed in her studies that “in many communities where migration to particular destinations is the main occupation, returnees from Libya felt that they were failures because they had returned with nothing.”¹²³ Given this challenge, she recommends that in return communities’ traditional leaders, family heads and community members should be involved in the provision of psychosocial assistance to the returnees.

In many instances, a failed migration project affects not only returnees but their families as well. For that reason, the researcher recommends that the government provide psychosocial counseling to returnees’ families as well. A community-centered reintegration initiative will “encourage participation between returnees and non-migrant population alike and thus support social cohesion between returnees and their communities.”¹²⁴ This will help solve the problem some returnees have in relinking with family and friends. The community-centered approach, like the Joint EU-IOM stabilization initiative, for instance, encourages “reintegration activities that link individual returnees with non-migrants’ populations [through] joint income-generating activities and local employment schemes.”¹²⁵

Moreover, the article recommends that the community-centered reintegration approach should involve the dissemination of information and capacity building to migrants’ families and communities, in order to help create the necessary socio-economic environment for returnees to invest their capital gains. The researcher’s definition of successful reintegration suggests that reintegration does not happen in a vacuum, hence developing migrants’ home communities through the provision of social, economic and emotional support services will better position those communities to sustainably engage returnees. In order to implement the community-based initiative, the government of Ghana should “conduct an assessment of the main communities to which migrants return to ensure that reintegration programs respond to their needs and priorities.”¹²⁶

The value of a community-based reintegration initiative is supported by the success story of the Joint EU-IOM community-based reintegration initiative in various Sub-Saharan African countries. The joint initiative is geared toward the stabilization and capacity building of migrant communities to prevent remigration.¹²⁷ The March 2019 report of the IOM on reintegration shows that about 44,000 migrants have received assistance. Currently, over 60 community-based reintegration projects are implemented in eight countries under the Joint EU-IOM initiative in the Sahel and the Lake Chad region. A total of about 2,645 returnees have benefited from these projects.¹²⁸ In Ghana, for instance, the report suggests that the project is currently implemented in one community (Sunyani in the Brong Ahafo Region), and about 24 returnees have so far benefited from the community agriculture initiative.¹²⁹ The success story of the Joint EU-IOM initiative globally and in Sunyani (Ghana) affirms the importance of community-driven integration projects. Hence, there is a need for the government of Ghana to consider establishing or extending community-driven interventions like the Joint EU-IOM initiative to other migrant communities in the 16 regions of Ghana.

¹²² IOM, *Towards an Integrative Approach to Reintegration in the Context of Return*.11.

¹²³ Mensah, *The Saga of the Returnee: Exploring the Implication of Involuntary Return Migration, for Development. A Case Study of the Reintegration Process for Ghanaian Migrant Workers from Libya*,101.

¹²⁴ IOM, *Towards an Integrative Approach to Reintegration in the Context of Return*.11.

¹²⁵ IOM, *Towards an Integrative Approach to Reintegration in the Context of Return*. 11.

¹²⁶ IOM, *Towards an Integrative Approach to Reintegration in the Context of Return*. 11.

¹²⁷ IOM, *Joint EU-IOM Initiative for Migrant Protection and Reintegration, Ghana*.

¹²⁸ IOM, *Joint EU-IOM Initiative for Migrant Protection and Reintegration, Ghana*.

¹²⁹ IOM, *Joint EU-IOM Initiative for Migrant Protection and Reintegration, Ghana*.

Structural Initiatives

The review indicated that the structural challenges associated with Ghanaian reintegration center around a lack of political will and the weak political institutions in Ghana. This paper noted the lack of explicit policy on reintegration and the lack of recognition of the benefit of return migration and reintegration as problems that challenge the reintegration of Ghanaian immigrants. Primarily, this challenge has to do with the strict bureaucratic systems, the ad hoc approach to return and reintegration and the weak institutional support in Ghana. The prevalence of these challenges discussed in the paper suggests that the "...benefits of 'brain gain' is not yet seen because policymakers themselves are either unaware or take for granted the skills and experiences that migrants have received abroad."¹³⁰

In the context of the findings from the empirical literature, it is important that the government recognises and addresses the following: (a) the prevailing socio-economic conditions in Ghana challenge successful reintegration for returnees who returned with an empty bag and with basic education or little or no skills; (b) some Ghanaian immigrants have acquired sufficient capital (in terms of money, skills and experience) in the diaspora that can be harnessed for the development of Ghana; (c) remigration and brain drain is inevitable and will continue until the socio-economic environment is developed.¹³¹

This article recommends integrated migration management and the efficient provision of essential services to returnees in Ghana. Specifically, for endemic migration areas, there is an urgent need for a public-private community-based approach to reintegration.¹³² Such a structural approach will ensure an effective return and reintegration management. In some cases, return and reintegration projects are unsuccessful because of the prevailing structural challenges in Ghana. For instance, the Migration for Development in Africa (MIDA) project, which was primarily geared towards bridging the gap between migration and origin country development could not succeed because of the structural challenges in Ghana. With the MIDA project, there were complaints of mismanagement, harassment and extortion of monies by officials from the Customs, Excise and Preventive Service (CEPS) and the Ghana Immigration Service at the points of entry. Through public-private community-based integrated management systems, the structural landscape will be positively reshaped because stakeholders involved will have more control over the process of reintegration, thereby promoting efficiency and a responsible return and reintegration service delivery.

Given that the definition of successful reintegration provided emphasizes the relevance of a sustainable socio-economic context, it is recommend that the government should adopt a structural (re)adjustment management initiative that "reinforces local capacities to deliver reintegration related services through technical and institutional support: legislative reviews, adoption of guidelines, set up of intermenstrual committees, and establishment of referral mechanisms."¹³³ Building national and local capacities also "entails working with both the private sector and recruitment agencies [in the provision of services] to support the economic reintegration through employment."¹³⁴ Structural interventions are necessary for creating the right institutional environment for successful reintegration. According to the IOM, structural interventions are necessary because they "aim to strengthen national capacities to provide reintegration services to returning migrants through technical support and tools,

¹³⁰ Mensah, *The Saga of the Returnee: Exploring the Implication of Involuntary Return Migration, for Development. A Case Study of the Reintegration Process for Ghanaian Migrant Workers from Libya*.102.

¹³¹ Mensah, *The Saga of the Returnee: Exploring the Implication of Involuntary Return Migration, for Development. A Case Study of the Reintegration Process for Ghanaian Migrant Workers from Libya.*; IOM, *Reintegration Opportunities in Ghana for Returnees from European Countries. REINTEGR-ACTION – Pilot Initiative to Test Feasible and Sustainable Joint Reintegration Measures from the EU*.

¹³² Mensah, *The Saga of the Returnee: Exploring the Implication of Involuntary Return Migration, for Development. A Case Study of the Reintegration Process for Ghanaian Migrant Workers from Libya*.

¹³³ IOM, *Towards an Integrative Approach to Reintegration in the Context of Return*.11.

¹³⁴ IOM, *Towards an Integrative Approach to Reintegration in the Context of Return*. 11.

facilitating cross-sectoral coordination, establishing national networks and referral mechanisms and providing training and conferences to exchange lessons learnt and good practices.”¹³⁵

Finally, the article recommends the need for migration policy development and research. The government of Ghana through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Diplomacy, Ghana Immigration Service, and other stakeholders should come together to establish a national migration research center. The empirical literature suggests that the phenomenon of return migration and reintegration is affected by fluid factors. The changing nature of these factors suggests the migration landscape of Ghana needs to be under constant study, in order to appreciate the changing dynamics of Ghanaian migration. The establishment of this research center will help in return migration forecasting, thereby enabling the government and stakeholders to formulate proactive and sustainable policies. It is also recommended that available private institutions and agencies engaged in migration research should be provided with funding to conduct extensive research on Ghanaian migration.

CONCLUSION

The paper has explored why Ghanaian immigrants choose to return to Ghana in the face of wage differentials that favors destination countries. Findings from the systematic review indicates that socio-economic and cultural conditions in both destination and origin countries play a key underlying role in shaping the outcomes of the return migration projects of Ghanaian immigrants. Given that successful reintegration pertains to a returnee’s ability to utilize his/her acquired capital in a conducive socio-economic context, the adoption of these (individual, community and structural) strands of policy recommendation will enable Ghana to harness the development potential of return migration and reintegration. While an individual-centered approach focuses on empowering returnees to use their socio-economic capital, the community-centered approach and structural interventions discussed in this paper are geared towards the creation of a sustainable socio-economic and institutional environment at both national and local levels to support returnees in utilizing their acquired capital. The majority of the challenges which have been explored are caused by multidimensional factors. Suggesting that some of the reintegration challenges may implicitly belong to more than one strand of policy recommendation.

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¹³⁵ IOM, *Towards an Integrative Approach to Reintegration in the Context of Return*.

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