



MENTORING RETURNEES:

Study on Reintegration Outcomes
Through a Comparative Lens.

OCTOBER 2020



TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACRONYMS	3
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	4
INTRODUCTION	6
BACKGROUND	7
OBJECTIVES	8
METHODOLOGY	8
I - REINTEGRATION: TO SURVIVE OR TO THRIVE?	11
1.1. REINSERTION VS. REINTEGRATION: PREPARING FOR A HOLISTIC REINTEGRATION	11
1.2. DECIDING TO RETURN, AND PREPARED TO RETURN?	12
1.3. WHAT PEOPLE BRING BACK	13
II – WHAT HAPPENS AFTER RETURN? GENERAL REINTEGRATION OUTCOMES AND FINDINGS FROM THE RSS	16
2.1. PROGRAMMING RECEIVED: THE FOUNDATIONAL ROLE OF ECONOMIC PROGRAMMING	16
2.2. COMPOSITE SCORES: A TYPOLOGY OF REINTEGRATION LEVELS AND TRENDS	17
2.3. ECONOMIC DIMENSION: THE NUANCES OF COMBINED – OR INTEGRATED - PROGRAMMING	20
2.4. SOCIAL DIMENSION: CRITICAL GAINS TO ENHANCE REINTEGRATION	22
2.5. PSYCHOSOCIAL DIMENSION: REINFORCING LINKS BETWEEN RETURNEES AND THEIR COMMUNITIES	24
III – OUTCOMES OF THE MENTORING APPROACH: WITH A FOCUS ON SENEGAL AND GUINEA	28
3.1. THE PILOT MENTORING APPROACH WITHIN ORION	28
3.2. COMPARING REINTEGRATION OUTCOMES FOR MENTORED AND NON-MENTORED RETURNEES	31
IV- EFFECTIVE REINTEGRATION INITIATIVES AND ACTIVITIES	42
4.1. LOCAL FACTORS IMPACTING REINTEGRATION OUTCOMES	42
4.2. IDENTIFYING EFFECTIVE REINTEGRATION INITIATIVES: THREE CASE STUDY EXAMPLES	43
CONCLUSIONS	48
RECOMMENDATIONS	50
ANNEX 1. LITERATURE REVIEW	52
ANNEX 2. THE REINTEGRATION SUSTAINABILITY SURVEY (RSS)	63
ANNEX 3. REGRESSION RESULTS	65
ANNEX 4. DIFFERENCE IN DIFFERENCE EFFECT SIZE	67
BIBLIOGRAPHY	68

ACRONYMS

ANPEJ	L'Agence Nationale pour la Promotion de l'Emploi des Jeunes (National Agency for the Promotion of Youth Employment)
AVRR	Assisted Voluntary Return and Reintegration
BAOS	Bureau d'Accueil, d'Orientation, et de Suivi (Office of Reception, Guidance, and Accompaniment, Senegal)
COVID-19	Novel Coronavirus 19
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
EU	European Union
EUTF	European Union Emergency Trust Fund for Africa
FCDO	Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Office
GIZ	Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (German Corporation for International Cooperation or German Development Agency)
IOM	International Organization for Migration
MEASURE	Mediterranean Sustainable Reintegration Project
ORION	Operationalising an Integrated Approach to Reintegration
RSS	Reintegration Sustainability Survey
VHR	Voluntary Humanitarian Return

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Samuel Hall and the **University of Sussex** would like to thank first and foremost all of the returnees who generously gave their time and shared their stories for this study, as well as key informants who took the time to explain their programming in Guinea, Senegal and Morocco. Many thanks in addition to *Mohamed Manéah Diakite* and *Maurice Bourouma Camara* in Guinea, *Fatoumata Sakhra Mohamed* and *Sophie Tine* in Senegal, and *Majda Badr El Karam* and *Naji Elaidi* in Morocco, who led fieldwork and data collection in their respective countries. Research for this study was led by *Dr. Nassim Majidi*, *Camille Kasavan*, *Stefanie Barratt* and *Joshua Barratt* at **Samuel Hall**, and *Dr. Ceri Oeppen* at the **University of Sussex**, with contributions from *Dr. Prof. Michael Collyer*, *Prof Dr. Russell King*, and *Joshua Sinclair*.

IOM would like to thank mentors *Alhamdou Diallo*, *Alpha Diallo*, *Alpha Kourouma*, *Karifala Sacko* and *Ousmane Sangare* in Guinea, *Mohammed Atta*, *Amal Hanine*, *Ech-cherki Khoukhani*, *Khaoula Laaroussi* and *Yassine Lazzar* in Morocco and *Marieme Camara*, *Alasanne Diouf*, *Sokhna Fall* and *Abou Karim N'diaye* in Senegal, all the mentors in Guinea, Morocco and Senegal for their dedicated work, as well as all the **IOM** colleagues and stakeholders involved in the piloting of the mentoring approach.

This publication was commissioned by the International Organization for Migration, Geneva. It was prepared and conducted by Samuel Hall and the University of Sussex.

This report should be cited using the following referencing style:

Samuel Hall / University of Sussex (2020) Mentoring Returnees: Study on Reintegration Outcomes through a Comparative Lens, commissioned by IOM Geneva and funded by the FCDO.

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This study – a collaboration between the International Organization for Migration (IOM), Samuel Hall and the University of Sussex – builds on previous research on the reintegration of returning migrants¹ to analyse outcomes of reintegration in three fieldwork countries (Guinea, Morocco and Senegal), and an analysis of data across 14 additional countries.

The report builds on a recent evolution in the field of reintegration policy and practice, namely IOM's 2017 definition of sustainable reintegration, and its focus on a multi-dimensional and multi-levelled reintegration process. This research uses this definition to build a narrative around key achievements – as well as key stumbling blocks – regarding reintegration. The report focuses on the core components of “self-sufficiency”, “stability”, and “coping” central to this definition, to ask how far programming has come, and what more is needed, to deliver on the promises of sustainable reintegration.

The 2017 IOM integrated approach to reintegration states that **“reintegration can be considered sustainable when returnees have reached levels of economic self-sufficiency, social stability within their communities, and psychosocial well-being that allow them to cope with (re)migration drivers. Having achieved sustainable reintegration, returnees are able to make further migration decisions a matter of choice, rather than necessity”**. [IOM 2017, *Towards an Integrated Approach to Reintegration in the Context of Return*]

Following a presentation of factors that impact reintegration processes (Chapter I), the report addresses an analysis of reintegration outcomes across two main bodies of data:

1. A presentation of the quantitative reintegration outcomes from IOM's Reintegration Sustainability Survey (RSS) database (Chapter II). This is the first time IOM can provide cross-country comparisons on reintegration outcomes, on the basis of standardised indicators.
2. An in-depth analysis of the a pilot returnee mentoring programme, which aims to complement a ‘traditional’ reintegration focus on economic activities, with stronger social and psychosocial programming (Chapter III). This assesses the impact of this pilot programme on reintegration across three countries, including quantitative and qualitative analysis for Senegal and Guinea. A smaller sample size means that for Morocco, findings are based on qualitative fieldwork, and complement the overall analysis.

The analysis centres around the three components of self-sufficiency, stability and coping. Specifically, the research team examines what the data reveals about returnees' reintegration processes:

- *Economic outcomes*: are people able to stand on their own feet and be resilient to shocks?
- *Social outcomes*: are returnees able to access needed services?
- *Psychosocial outcomes*: are returnees able to ‘cope’ with their lives upon return? What can be said of their level of confidence, trust, empowerment, and social relationships?

These questions will be answered by analysing the role of IOM's pilot of a mentoring approach under the ORION (Operationalising an Integrated Approach to Reintegration in the Framework of Assisted Voluntary Return and Reintegration) project to assess how mentoring can contribute to accessing economic self-sufficiency, social stability and psychosocial wellbeing.

Finally, we situate the ORION mentoring approach within the broader ecosystem of reintegration activities in the countries of focus (Chapter IV) and ask what can be learned from other reintegration initiatives to reinforce a collective and more effective approach to supporting returnees (Chapter V).

¹ Annex 1 provides a full desk review of current academic research literature on return and reintegration.

BACKGROUND

Empirical research demonstrates that returning migrants go through processes of readjustment and reintegration² that can be just as challenging, and sometimes even more so, than their initial migration and integration. Studies have explored the notions of successful and sustainable reintegration, but ‘success’ is frequently loosely defined or assumed to be implicitly understood. Until recently, sustainable reintegration was often assumed to mean a lack of re-migration. However, as IOM has stated in its definition, re-migration can be a valid outcome of successful reintegration. Another positive change over the last decade has been the increasing acknowledgement of the multi-dimensional nature of reintegration: whilst this is not a new idea³, it is now more commonly highlighted in both academic and policy-orientated literature.

In 2017, IOM revisited its definition of sustainable reintegration⁴ presenting a more holistic one taking into account global migration trends, political developments in the areas of return and reintegration and increased awareness of the complexity of reintegration.

The new definition recognises the multi-dimensional nature of reintegration in the economic, social and psychosocial spheres and aims at reinforcing the links between reintegration and development, by encompassing interventions at the individual, community and structural levels. The same year, the MEASURE research project⁵ provided an evidence base to operationalise this definition of sustainable reintegration. The focus of this research was to operationalise a comprehensive approach to reintegration, based on the revised definition of sustainable reintegration, and to better fit with returnees’ lived experiences of migration, return and reintegration. The research team also developed core indicators and measuring tools, so that reintegration as a process could be monitored to enhance accountability and transparency, as well as returnee protection.

A key outcome of these two developments – the 2017 revised definition and the 2017 MEASURE standard-setting reintegration research project – is the IOM project to Operationalise an Integrated Approach to Reintegration in the Framework of Assisted Voluntary Return and Reintegration (ORION), funded by the Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Office (FCDO) of the United Kingdom government. Through ORION’s four components, including a mentoring approach piloted in Senegal, Guinea, and Morocco, the objective is to test and improve reintegration programming and its monitoring, using comparable data, standardized tools and reintegration scoring systems. This report provides a starting point to examine country level reintegration outcomes, through IOM’s existing datasets. Conclusions of this study are aimed at strengthening reintegration programming globally, including improved monitoring.

Table 1. Research questions

THEME	QUESTION
Reintegration outcomes	To what extent have migrants assisted by IOM achieved a level of sustainable reintegration in communities of return? What are the external / contextual factors and migrants’ agency that can have / had an impact on these reintegration outcomes?
Outcomes of the mentoring approach	What is the correlation between assistance received and RSS scores? What are the outcomes from the ORION pilot mentoring approach?
Effective reintegration activities	In each country context, what are existing good practices and effective reintegration initiatives?

² Carling et al., 2015; Gmelch, 1980; Muggeridge & Doná, 2006; Oeppen, 2009

³ See Gmelch, 1980

⁴ Definition provided in the introduction page 4. IOM (2017) *Towards an Integrated Approach to Reintegration in the context of return*

⁵ Samuel Hall/IOM (2018) *Setting standards for an integrated approach to reintegration*. https://www.iom.int/sites/default/files/our_work/DMM/AVRR/IOM_SAMUEL_HALL_MEASURE_REPORT%202017.pdf

OBJECTIVES

The 'Study on Reintegration Outcomes Through a Comparative Analysis,' conducted in partnership between IOM, Samuel Hall and the University of Sussex, assesses how different approaches to reintegration can be more or less successful, from both a programmatic perspective and from the returnees' perspectives.

The overall objective of this study is to identify effective practices in reintegration support through a comparison of reintegration outcomes in specific return contexts.

Research Questions

This research covers three key themes to assess i) reintegration outcomes, ii) ORION mentoring outcomes, and iii) good practices seen in existing reintegration activities. Together, these themes combine returnee-specific, ORION-specific, and context-specific input, to improve reintegration support.

The structure of this report follows these themes: the first and second chapter address reintegration outcomes overall, the third delves specifically into ORION mentoring outcomes, and finally, we conclude on key takeaways from a programmatic assessment of reintegration activities.

METHODOLOGY

A comprehensive literature review (see annex 1) and pilot research informed the design of this study. Qualitative fieldwork was carried out between March - June 2020 (see below for COVID adaptations), and a secondary analysis of existing RSS data was conducted on two separate datasets:

First, a dataset containing data from all countries in which the RSS was administered was examined, taking interviews at the end of reintegration assistance as a reference point, in order to examine programming and its impact on reintegration scores (and variables of particular interest) in a range of countries.

Second, a dataset focusing on returnees to Senegal and Guinea for whom it was possible to gather two or more RSS surveys (through the initial complete RSS dataset as well as complementary phone surveys conducted by the research team) allows for a panel analysis and comparison of ORION mentored and non-mentored returnees.

Fieldwork locations

The ORION mentoring approach was piloted in 12 communities across three countries. Samuel Hall selected two locations in each country for a total of six locations across the three countries (see table 2). The location selection was based on the following criteria:

- returnee profiles,
- location size (including rural / urban geographies),
- number of beneficiaries, and
- accessibility and security considerations.

Table 2. Research locations

SELECTED LOCATIONS		CRITERIA FOR SELECTION
Senegal	Dakar (Dakar)	Capital city, dynamic, large urban area, large number of returnees, accessible
	Ziguinchor (Ziguinchor)	Mid-size city, regional capital, in the historical Casamance region of Senegal, mainly agricultural / fishing economy, accessible by plane from Dakar
Morocco	Casablanca (Casablanca-Settat)	Large urban area, majority of ORION beneficiaries, urban setting, more educated profiles of returnees
	Khelaa des Sraghna (Marrakech)	Small town, accessible, more rural, agricultural economy
Guinea	Ratoma (Conakry)	Capital city dynamic, large urban area, large number of returnees
	Pita (Mamou)	Small highland town, agricultural livelihood, accessible by car from Conakry

PANDEMIC ADAPTATIONS: ADAPTING FIELDWORK TO COVID-19

Fieldwork for this study began on March 13, 2020, with one Samuel Hall researcher in Dakar (Senegal) working with a national researcher. As the world – including the airport in Dakar – began to shut down because of the Covid-19 pandemic, the research team switched to remote fieldwork management. Moving forward, Samuel Hall designed adapted tools for the fieldwork, with a:

- **Remote ethnographic approach**, which bases itself on interviews conducted remotely and visual sources collected by participants to obtain tangible observations in a manner that maintains the safety of participants and field teams.
- **Remote phone survey in June 2020**, led by national field teams with supervision and remote management from the Samuel Hall research team

While adaptations meant that fieldwork continued as per original targets in Guinea and Senegal, the IOM Morocco office counselled against conducting key informant interviews (except for returnees), given the inability to obtain research permissions during the lockdown period. As a result of these restrictions only one key informant interview (KII) was conducted in Morocco.

Mixed Methods Research Tools

The study assesses reintegration experiences and data in a holistic manner: through survey indicators and a qualitative exploration of returnees' lived experiences. Qualitative methods included:

- **Semi-structured interviews** with ORION mentors and beneficiaries and non-ORION returnees, with a mix of gender, age, education levels, modes of return and types of assistance received.
- **Family and community case studies** to explore community and individual dynamics in the reintegration process, for both ORION and non-ORION returnees. Using influencer/network mapping and live community walks, researchers identified major influencers and supports of returnees' lives (as well as gaps), and real-time mapping of actors returnees engage with.
- **Key informant interviews** with community level actors, local private sector actors, and local authorities based on, but not limited to, the actor mapping.

Quantitative methods included:

- The **RSS dataset** of ORION and non-ORION countries, provided to Samuel Hall in July 2020. Crosstabs, linear regressions, and where possible, a difference-in-difference analysis, examined how different reintegration activities impacted reintegration scores at different levels while, controlling for other characteristics. These conclusions were then nuanced and fine-tuned through analysis of qualitative data. Comparative methods were used to compare different countries and reintegration assistance packages, but also to compare ORION beneficiaries to their earlier, pre-mentoring selves, evaluating to which extent their reintegration scores had improved since the original RSS data collection.
- **A complementary phone-based survey** for the analysis of reintegration approaches on the ground, in the three countries of study. While it was possible, through IOM lists and snowball sampling, to identify sufficient respondents in Guinea and Senegal, the sample was limited in Morocco. This was therefore not used to inform the advanced statistical analysis in this report.

Table 3. Qualitative and Quantitative Participants Interviewed for the Study

	GUINEA	SENEGAL	MOROCCO	TOTAL
Semi Structured Interviews (ORION)	8	8	8	24
Semi Structured Interviews (non-ORION)	8	8	8	24
Semi Structured Interviews with Mentors	2	2	2	6
Case Studies with Returnees	4	4	4	12
Key Informant Interviews	10	9	1	20
Quantitative Phone Survey ⁶	107	61	6	174
Total research participants	139	92	29	260

⁶ Carling et al., 2015; Gmelch, 1980; Muggeridge & Doná, 2006; Oeppen, 2009



I - Reintegration: To Survive or to Thrive?

This chapter sets the context framing IOM’s data, as well as the data collected by the research team. While this research does not aim to analyse the return process itself, acknowledging the nature and process of returns is essential to understanding reintegration outcomes. **Reintegration is part of a migration cycle and is determined by experiences in transit, destination and return.**⁷

1.1. REINSERTION VS. REINTEGRATION: PREPARING FOR A HOLISTIC REINTEGRATION

“The action which consists in returning the individual in[to] the activity he was doing before he left, or in a new activity: that is a reinsertion or insertion. But the action that allows him to have confidence in himself, and in the community that protects him – that is reintegration.” - Guinea Mentor

Labels and words matter: this mentor differentiates between ‘reinsertion’ (i.e. returning to a version of one’s previous life) and sustainable reintegration: aspiring to reach a fuller sense of holistic well-being - which is what the ORION project’s mentoring approach aims to support.

To analyse reintegration outcomes, it is necessary to examine the level of return preparedness and pre-return conditions. **The ability to prepare for return prior to return has an effect on what happens after return.**⁸ This section provides a brief examination of the factors leading up to return and their lingering effects on the reintegration process.

Interviews with returnees highlighted, in many cases, their inability to prepare appropriately for their return, and the impact of this. One Guinean returnee described the situation in Libya after being retrieved from a boat by coast guards and brought to a prison in Tripoli: “In the prison they gave us the food, there was the European Union that helped, IOM also. [...], it’s the European Union that fed, clothed us, gave us toothpaste, sponges, soap, everything. There was no possibility of preparing for things ourselves over there.”

Effective reintegration outcomes require the recognition of the inherent interconnectedness across the three dimensions and the importance of the psychosocial component in cases of traumatic migration experiences, such as the premature returns from Libya to Sub-Saharan Africa.

Feeling Left Behind Upon Return to Guinea

Mohamed’s* dream was to continue his studies and pursue higher education, but when he left Guinea he was hoping to provide for a family where his father had died and his mother and wife were left with limited means.

When he returned with nothing, the shape of daily life was the same, but he felt acutely that his life was stalled: “my relationships with others were not the same. [...] It’s not the same as before. It’s not at all easy, I had left friends behind who I worked with, when I came back, I found that they had progressed, whereas for me... I had gone backwards [compared to them].”

Upon return, he did receive support from a friend and his younger brother who were there to listen to him and in whom he could confide. Although his brother has managed to get him occasional part-time work in an electronic shop, it is only when he is needed, which is “not every day.” Mohamed would still like to go back to school one day, but until then, he is looking for less precarious work.

**name has been changed*

7 For further discussion, see the literature review in Annex 1.

8 For greater examination of the importance of preparedness for successful reintegration outcomes, see Cassarino (2004); King (2015); Rogge (1994); Samuel Hall/ DRC/NRC/IRC (2019)

I - Reintegration: To Survive or to Thrive?

1.2. DECIDING TO RETURN, AND PREPARED TO RETURN?

*“Returnees, those who leave and whose migration was interrupted, can develop psychological anxieties. They might be accompanied for their social, economic reinsertion – but there is a psychological element that is truly important. [...] **they have not yet mourned their migration attempt.**”*

Key Informant, Senegal

Migration is usually framed as a specific project, associated with a life goal or an increased quality of life for the migrant and their family back home.⁹ When this migration is interrupted and return decisions need to be made before objectives are achieved, reintegration possibilities are affected.¹⁰

In this study, a subset of the RSS dataset was examined, containing 5,139 returnees to 17 countries. Most returnees who benefited from IOM support were classified as “irregular migrants”. An additional 27% were classified as “stranded migrants”.

Information on duration of stay abroad was not collected systematically, but it appears that most of the migrants in the sample had spent less than six months on their migration journey prior to return. Given this, return is for the most part, not linked to having achieved specific goals, but to a failure of their migration project. In this context, decisions to return are unlikely to be carefully planned. This is confirmed in the qualitative interviews undertaken.

The interviews reveal three essential findings on the lack of preparedness:

First, returnees are often faced with limited options due to external constraints – having to ‘choose’ between being stranded, remain in detention or to return. This leads to decisions that are not in accordance with their initial wish or aspiration.

This is largely related to those in Libyan prisons, stranded in the desert in Niger, or in other conditions of intractability. While they may not want to return, when presented with an opportunity to go home, the returnee feels they have to seize it given the protection risks they face in situ. This was often the case for returnees in Senegal and Guinea, mainly returning from Niger and Libya. Returnees often referred to the return decision using the language of obligation.

For instance, one returnee in Senegal describes a common experience: *“Once we had been in prison for six months in Libya, someone came to tell us that IOM was going to help us get to Senegal, that they would repatriate us if we agreed. If we did not agree we did not have to. But because we were there in prison, the situation was difficult, we were obligated to return to Senegal.”*

Second, returnees described encounters with authorities which interrupted their migration journey, ability to reach their objectives, and plan for a more prepared reintegration process. A returnee in Senegal describes this: *“I was determined not to return, but [...] we were repatriated on a plane; this was very painful for me. It’s the police that took us. I had just come back from work when the police grabbed us in the place where we were staying. I had no choice... the police kept us nearly four weeks before the ambassadors signed our files and gave us plane tickets. It was at this moment that I met IOM who reassured us.”* An ORION beneficiary in Morocco also describes feeling “tricked” by police into agreeing to return under false pretences: *“It’s the Dutch police that caught me and asked me to return to Morocco. [...] A group of people told me that if I came back to my country they would find me work in a guesthouse in Marrakech, but it was a trap on their end just so that I would agree to return voluntarily.”*

⁹ See Erdal and Oeppen (2017) ; Scalettari and Gubert (2019)

¹⁰ For further discussion on the impacts and importance of desire to return and of types of return decision making on reintegration outcomes, see Erdal and Oeppen (2017); Gmelch (1980); van Houte (2014); Ruben et al. (2009)

Third, having at least a minimum level of preparation and being able to make an informed choice is preferable in all cases. However, research findings reveal a lack here, even in cases that are considered assisted or voluntary humanitarian return decisions. In some situations, the migrant is actively looking for a way to return home, presenting themselves at IOM offices in the respective countries of migration. *“I did not have the necessary means to continue my adventure, and so I decided to return home. I went to the IOM office in Athens, which helped me return, and they took care of everything,”* describes one Moroccan ORION beneficiary, echoing a similar narrative to that of other interviewees. A returnee in Senegal described further: *“When I left my home to make the journey it was complicated at home, but what could I do, we were living in difficulty. That’s why I left, to get a better life and change the situation. But in the end, it was more complicated than I thought, so I went back to Senegal. [...] People told me that IOM was present in Morocco, Niger, so when I arrived back in Niger I directly went and asked, ‘Where is the IOM?’”*

Family Support, Family Hopes, and the Struggle for Decent Work in Morocco

Karim*, 30, was never able to finish high school (for financial reasons) and began to look for work as a teenager. Without a diploma he bounced from job to job, leaving due to mistreatment on the part of employers who would refuse to formally declare him. *“This pushed me towards a hatred [of the situation] and to think about migrating to Europe. My country unfortunately gave me no rights whatsoever.”*

He found himself in Greece for a year, able to work and save and send money to family back in Morocco. Eventually, work and the situation with his employer became difficult, and he found himself needing to leave, and returned to Morocco through IOM. *“When I returned, I was so lost,”* he says, *“the presence of my family has been an important source of moral support for me, even when they were far I felt that I was not alone.”*

Now he wants to find work – “good work of course, which gives me my rights” – and he especially wants to form a family, “a family in order to found my future, I want to have children, I am 30 years old and I want to see my children grow before my eyes.”

But finding decent work remains difficult, and achieving his hopes is difficult without this: *“If the situation remains like this and I still have no work I will have to think about moving again.”*

1.3. WHAT PEOPLE BRING BACK

“Imagine a young person who worked in agriculture. He leaves, he returns. He had an experience before leaving, he has another experience now, he has learned things. We need to be able to use these two experiences, to explain the norms and possibilities [of work expectations], to understand modern techniques [to link this to the experience he already has].”

Key Informant, Senegal

Returnees bring back a variety of contradictory experiences which inform both reintegration opportunities and challenges. **What happens on the journey and while ‘stuck’ impacts the ability of migrants to prepare and face return effectively, and engage along the next phase of reintegration.**

Given the experiences of detention and prison in Libya, **psychosocial support is necessary and crucial upon return, mentorship cannot be considered optional in such cases – the ORION mentoring approach should be systematic, and this study demonstrates the reasons for this.**

Supporting psychosocial needs (especially for those who have experienced trauma) after the return moment and through the reintegration process is explored in Chapter III. However, beyond this post-return psychosocial support, a critical examination of why some of this trauma occurs and where it could be mitigated before return, can also be useful.

I - Reintegration: To Survive or to Thrive?

In this case, reintegration support efforts must not only look forward towards helping returnees manage the psychological baggage they bring with them, but also backwards (through advocacy or other means) towards ensuring this baggage is less weighty in the first place.

There are also positive experiences, skills, new ways of life that can support returnees and their communities. Returnees' positive experiences can also be re-centred in the conversation on reintegration: to utilise experiences they may not have had prior to leaving.

People learn new practices and skills when abroad, but current support for identifying and leveraging existing skills remains limited, and returnees are often left on their own to build on these, with non-existent professional networks, dependent on informal family and social relations to find work.

Although the scope of this research focuses on reintegration outcomes, literature surrounding reintegration as well as research findings for this study highlight that what happens after return cannot be separated from previous migration and return experiences. Many interviewees had both migrated and returned in order to survive difficult situations; in order to thrive, sustainable reintegration is key. In the next chapter we explore what happens after return using data from the RSS.

A man, a restaurant, and a complicated return in Dakar

Bouba*,³¹ had never thought to migrate until his situation in Dakar became difficult, and he decided to try his luck abroad despite his family's reluctance. While he dreamed of going to Manchester, he ended stuck up in Libya, working first in restaurants, then in prison twice, and witnessed three friends be murdered. Upon his second release from prison, he moved to Algeria, where he thought that work and relative safety might be found. In Algeria he found work, but his employer withheld his wages. Things were difficult, he was abandoned in the desert, and he eventually found himself in Agadez, relying on IOM to return to Senegal.

When he came back to Dakar he only wanted to return to the countryside to his original family homestead. "But I couldn't go like this, with nothing, I was so tired," he explained. Still in Dakar, he lives uneasily with his family, with whom relations are tense: "I was not well taken care of by my family when I returned, they stigmatised me. They think that people who come back from Libya are unstable." He still hasn't received financial support but has taken loans while waiting to start his own business: a barbecue shack on a busy street in the Rifisque neighbourhood of Dakar. "I really love this job, the restaurant, I like this much better than what I was doing before. I learned this in Libya, and I started small when I came back: just the grill, a bit of chicken. And little by little I have been able to grow it. But I want to develop this, to have other types of food, real tables, to hire people..."

Bouba allows clients to run tabs, to buy meals on credit, and he has felt weighed down by debt – he owes rent on both his family home and his restaurant space, has only three friends he feels he can confide in, is still waiting for other promised support, and feels that things are worse now. He is still trying, is resolved to make things work in Senegal but is honest about the difficulties: "I've had highs and lows since I returned, I've changed a lot since I returned. I had drawn into myself, I have lived a lot, now I prefer to live for myself, to simplify my life."



II - What Happens After Return? General Reintegration Outcomes and Findings from the RSS

II - What Happens After Return? General Reintegration Outcomes and Findings from the RSS

CHAPTER II – KEY FINDINGS

90% of IOM's AVRR returnees received at least one type of support, 57% benefited from more than one: most commonly in microbusiness, and at an individual level. However, programming now also includes group-level support, building cooperation among returnees.

Selection process: ORION countries are situated among the lowest reintegration scores in the RSS dataset, justifying the focus for added reintegration and mentoring support in Senegal and Guinea.

Types of assistance: The regression analysis concludes that all dimensions are essential to reintegration: the foundational dimension is economic assistance, while social and psychosocial support are needed to consolidate and sustain economic reintegration gains.

Going beyond the assistance given: Investing in the link between networks and assistance can address the key element of sustainability. Networks can be understood as the missing link between social and economic reintegration programming. Reintegration programmes need to bridge the humanitarian – development – peacebuilding nexus by providing a link between citizens and their government over justice and services.

Whilst not all AVRR programmes are alike or comparable between 2018-2020, a common monitoring system has been applied across a range of countries to assess reintegration outcomes. This chapter asks, ***“To what extent have migrants assisted by IOM achieved a level of sustainable reintegration in communities of return?”*** draws conclusions from 17 countries of return¹¹ in the RSS dataset. The quantitative data in this section is therefore not representative of returns overall, but of some of the returns taking place through IOM's AVRR programme.

2.1. PROGRAMMING RECEIVED: THE FOUNDATIONAL ROLE OF ECONOMIC PROGRAMMING

The majority of IOM's AVRR returnees for whom RSS data is available (90%) have received at least one type of support, with variations across countries; for example, 87% of RSS interviewees in Afghanistan and Bangladesh received reintegration support, versus only 26% in Senegal, yet everyone in Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Ivory Coast, and Niger received some form of reintegration support.

The most common type of support was microbusiness (42%), followed by training (15%). Another 7% benefited from material assistance, and 6% from medical assistance. The bulk of the programming (77% of beneficiaries) was carried out at the individual level, with a majority (57%) having benefited from more than one type of programming. The most common remains the microbusiness support, as seen in Sudan, Somalia, Senegal, Niger, Mali, Gambia, and Bangladesh where microbusiness is by far the most prominent activity. Key informants still comment that the views on economic reintegration support need to be adapted: “not everybody is made for being an entrepreneur. (...) We have learned that we have to be more careful and selective into who might be an entrepreneur.”¹²

While shifts beyond economic activities as the main type of support may take some time, one shift already apparent is **the move beyond individual programming to building cooperation among returnees: one in five returnees benefited from “collective” or “co-operative” programming.**

¹¹ Only countries with more than 50 data points were selected for analysis in this chapter.

¹² KII GIZ July 2020

2.2. COMPOSITE SCORES: A TYPOLOGY OF REINTEGRATION LEVELS AND TRENDS

Turning to a comparison of RSS scores¹³ across the 17 countries reveals three country typologies, with returnees to Somalia at the lowest end and returnees to Ghana at the highest end of the RSS composite score spectrum (see Figure 1). This three-tiered typology enables finer-tuned monitoring of how composite scores compare to dimensional RSS scores, to assess which dimensions and activities have a greater impact on reintegration score as a whole. An analysis of RSS scores provides three tiers:

Group A. Scores above 0.7

Ghana, The Gambia, Mozambique, Mali, Niger, Afghanistan, Burkina Faso

Group B. Scores between 0.61-0.70

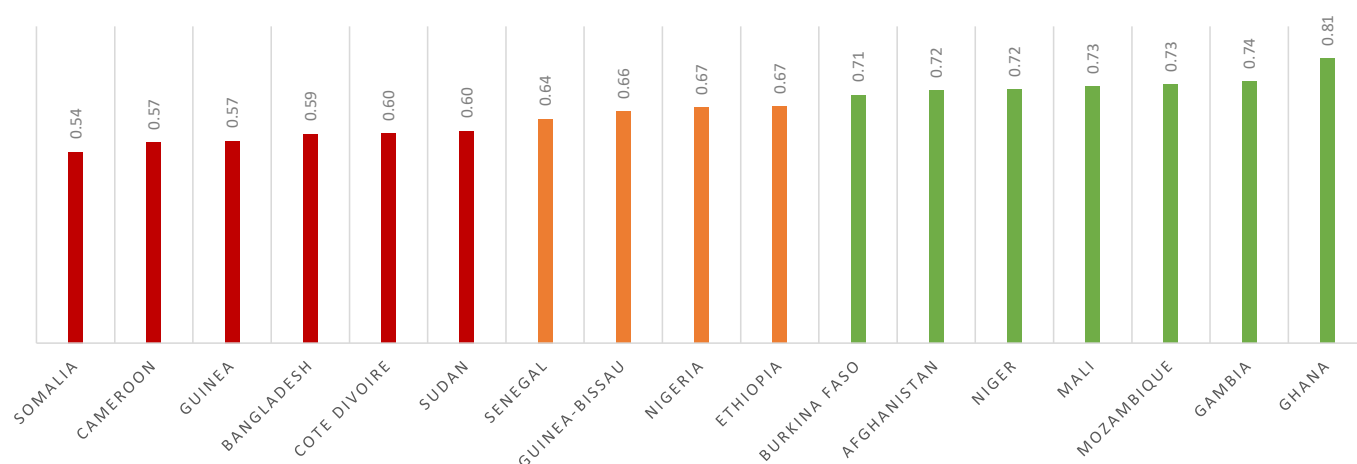
Ethiopia, Nigeria, Guinea Bissau, Senegal

Group C. Scores 0.60 or below

Sudan, Côte d'Ivoire, Bangladesh, Guinea, Cameroon, Somalia

ORION countries are situated among the lowest reintegration scores, justifying the selection of these countries as they highlight particular needs for added reintegration support to increase the level up towards the second or first tier. An analysis of the composite scores obscures some concerning trends (e.g. in Burkina Faso) and some positive trends (e.g. in Ethiopia), which are further discussed below, based on a review of dimension scores. Some of the more positive scores (e.g. in Afghanistan) reveal the potential added value of matching individual- with community-level programming.

Figure 1. Overall IOM RSS composite scores¹⁴



Colour coded by the lowest tier (red), mid-level tier (orange) and highest tier (green) for a three-tiered typology of reintegration in key countries of IOM AVRr returns

Analysing trendlines

Time since return is considered an important variable for reintegration metrics, and one would expect scores to improve over time.¹⁵ Figure 2 compares the scores in different dimensions with respect to time since return, and for selected countries. Trendlines show the mean rate of improvement for each of the countries with significant numbers of observations.

¹³ See Annex 2 for explanation on the RSS survey

¹⁴ The sample size by country, from the largest to the smaller sample in the RSS dataset: Nigeria 956, Guinea 603, Cameroon 423, The Gambia 380, Côte d'Ivoire 375, Niger 369, Ethiopia 357, Senegal 285, Mali 272, Guinea-Bissau 221, Burkina Faso 203, Ghana 178, Sudan 178, Mozambique 117, Bangladesh 104, Somalia 84 and Afghanistan 52.

¹⁵ Time since return is here a proxy. RSS dates include the time the survey was entered in the system, which may differ slightly from date of administration. Lines in Figure 3 represents the evolution of average scores over time.

II - What Happens After Return? General Reintegration Outcomes and Findings from the RSS

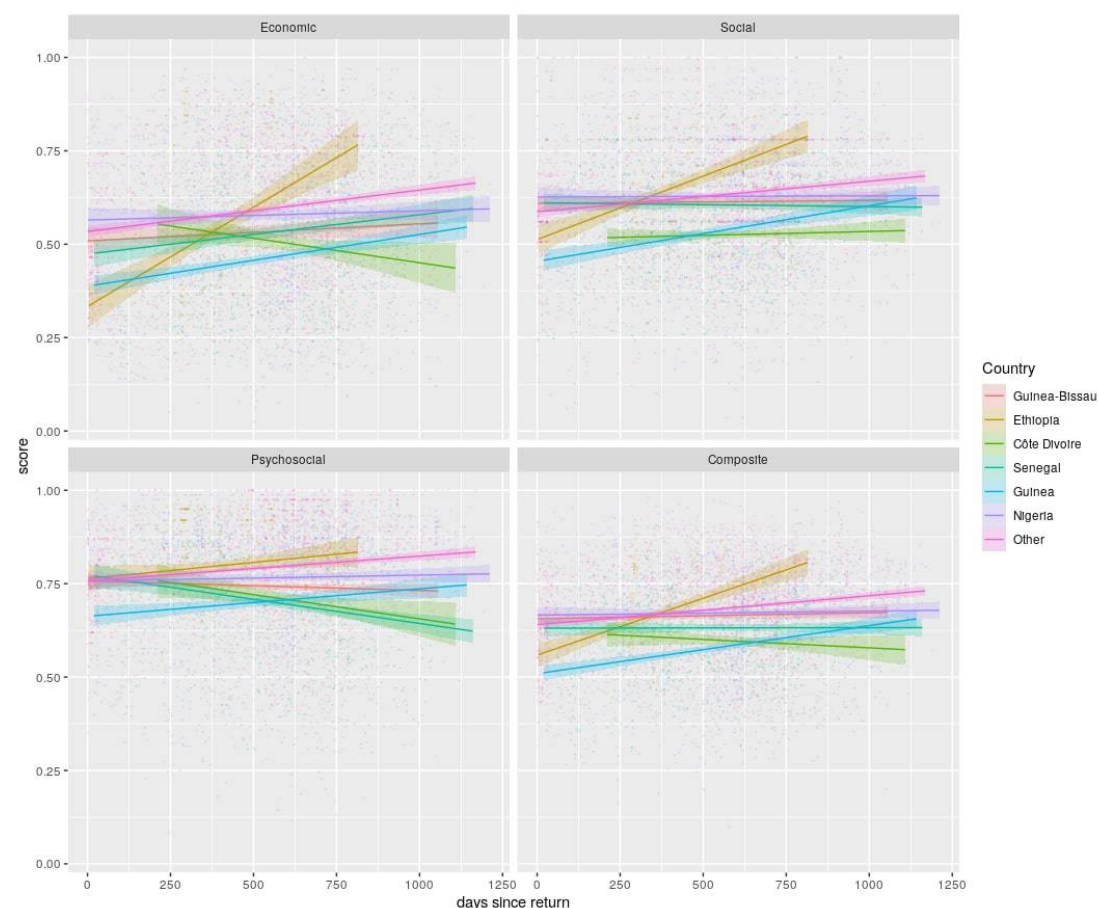
The shaded area represents the margin of error.

The graph shows that scores in Ethiopia tend to recover most quickly in the economic dimension, despite starting out poorest. In Côte d'Ivoire, by contrast, economic conditions as per scores along that dimension appear to deteriorate rapidly, despite beginning relatively well.

Ethiopia's trajectory over time on the social dimension and composite score shows a rising trend, similar to the experience of Guinea which rises most significantly in the economic and composite dimensions, and to a lesser extent in the social and psychosocial dimension. While overall Senegal shows a quick rise in the economic dimension over time, the composite reality is average, due to significant disadvantages in the psychosocial scores across time.

Such trendlines can allow IOM country offices and headquarters to assess where additional support is needed, both in terms of dimensions and countries, to reverse negative trends and learn from positive ones. Here key lessons learned can be derived from the Ethiopian and Guinean examples, while adaptations are needed to raise the bar (or improve trends) in countries such as Côte d'Ivoire and Senegal where returnees struggle with their reintegration process.

Figure 2. Trendlines by dimension and composite scores across 6 key countries of return



To understand what variables may be impacting each dimension and the composite scores, we used a regression analysis to control for sex, age, time since return, activities, and country.¹⁶

¹⁶ See Annex 3 for regression table.

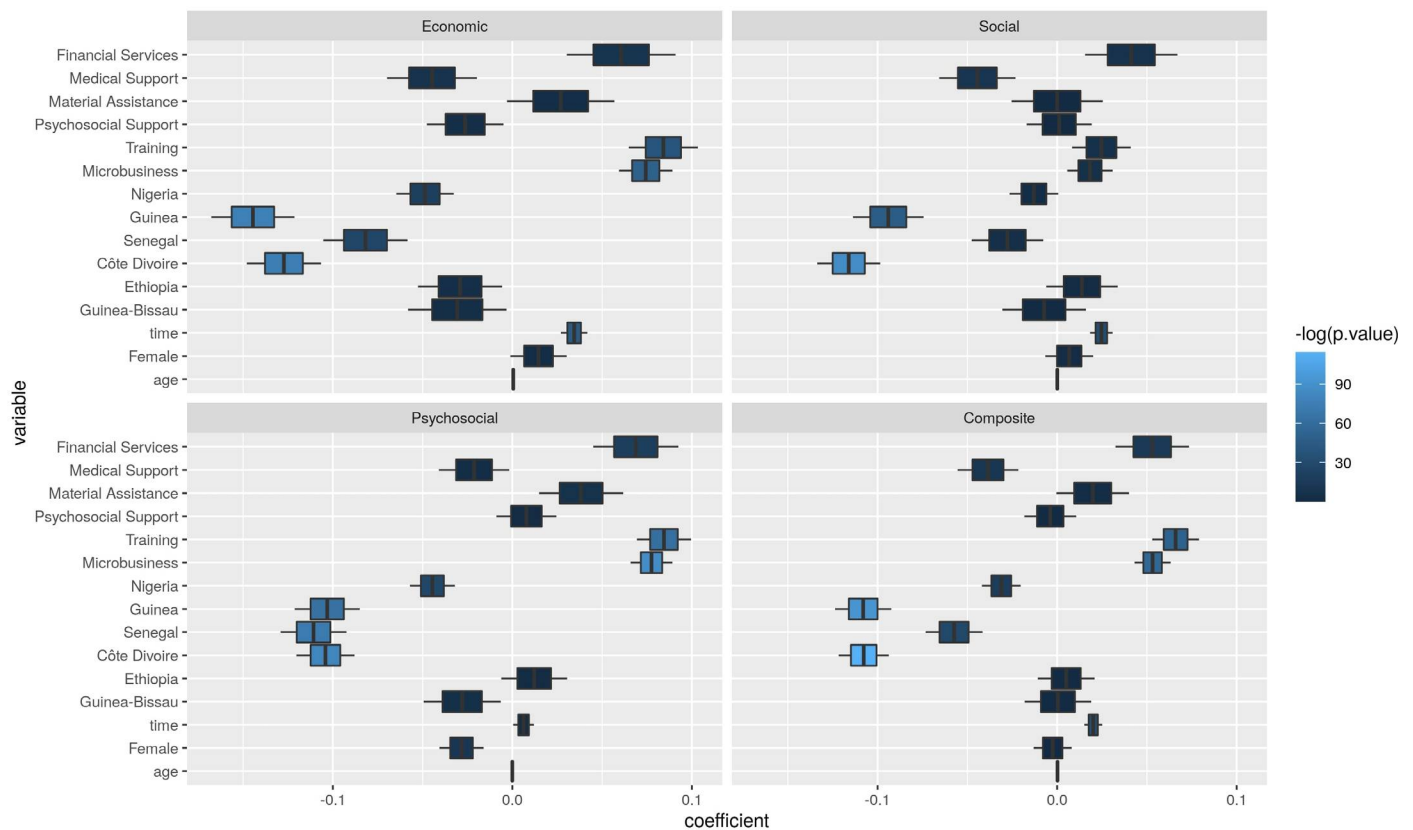
II - What Happens After Return? General Reintegration Outcomes and Findings from the RSS

The results of the regression analysis show that the most impactful variables are:

- The country of residence, with Guinea, Senegal, and Côte d'Ivoire at the greatest disadvantage. Being in these countries will have a negative impact on the returnees' reintegration score. On the other hand, Ethiopia records important gains in the economic and social dimensions.
- Training and microbusiness activities. Material assistance, microbusiness, and financial services are positively correlated to score improvements in all dimensions.

While all dimensions are essential to reintegration, the foundational dimension is economic assistance, while social and psychosocial support may be needed to consolidate reintegration gains (e.g. economic gains). Figure 3 presents the results of the regression analysis: the lighter blue reflects the most significant factors determining reintegration levels – the further a box is to the right, the more positive the correlation between the variable and reintegration levels; the further to the left, the more negative the relationship. Figure 3 therefore shows that training and business, alongside financial services are the three activities that have the most positive impact on economic, social, psychosocial scores and composite scores. Financial services show a more positive correlation with social RSS scores: financial services offer returnees a cash-based resource that they do not need to borrow from acquaintances, families or friends, thereby removing a certain pressure and tension that could rise by borrowing from close circles.

Figure 3. Regression analysis – controlling for variables' impact on reintegration



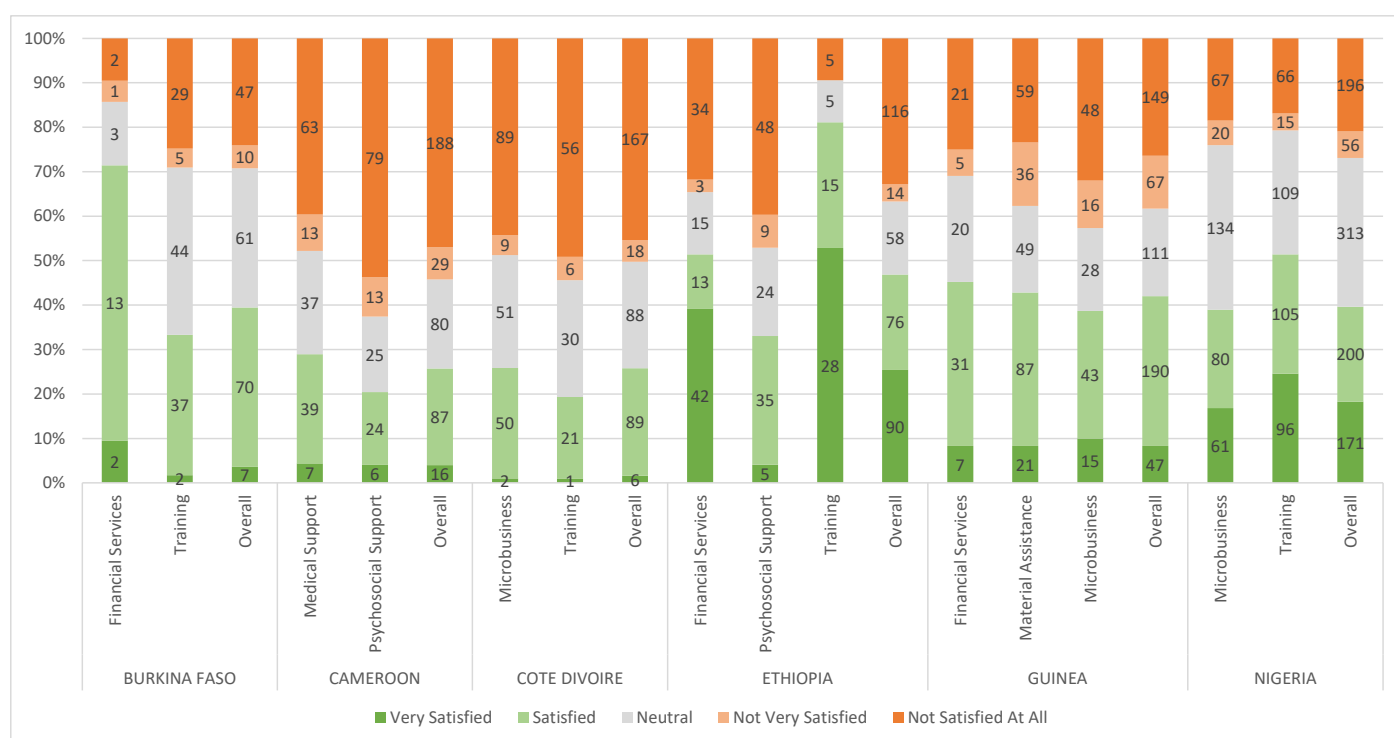
II - What Happens After Return? General Reintegration Outcomes and Findings from the RSS

2.3. ECONOMIC DIMENSION: THE NUANCES OF COMBINED – OR INTEGRATED - PROGRAMMING

A combination of material support with psychosocial support can have a critically positive outcome (e.g. Ethiopia) or remain inconclusive (e.g. Cameroon). These disparities warrant closer attention and lesson-sharing between country offices. Similarly, while returnees in Burkina Faso and Nigeria were provided with support across similar dimensions, they result in different levels of satisfaction; specific support activities also vary from country to country. Given that perception of economic situation upon return showed great variety, and that livelihoods are the target of most activities or programming received, this is arguably the most important dimension to analyse (see Figure 4).

- In Burkina Faso, those benefiting from financial service activities are more likely to perceive their economic situation positively than those benefiting from training activities.
- In Ethiopia, those having benefited from financial services / training tend to display much more positive results in terms of how they perceive their economic situation than those having benefited from psychosocial support.¹⁷

Figure 4. Main Types of assistance received vs. perception of economic situation N= 2,817



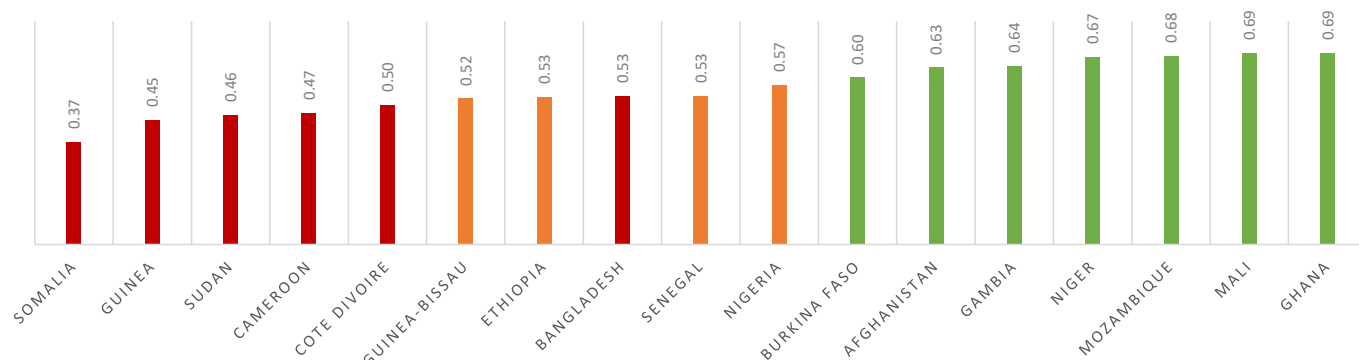
Overall, the country-level RSS scores in the economic dimension (see Figure 5) reveal a similar typology to the overall composite scores. They also reveal that returnees to Bangladesh fare better in the economic dimension but are “dragged down” in their overall RSS score by other dimensions – such as the psychosocial – **confirming the need to sustain economic programming gains through multi-dimensional and integrated assistance.**

A comparison of the composite scores with the economic score helps identify situations where economic gains might be jeopardised by performance in other dimensions. The scoring and typology above are confirmed when returnees are asked about their level of satisfaction with their current economic situation. Those in the lower tier are the least satisfied whereas those in the higher tier (e.g. Ghana and Mali) are the most satisfied. Other economic indicators reveal more nuance, and highlight the need to pay accrued attention to protection and social elements that determine returnees’ reintegration levels.

¹⁷ Without the exact selection criteria for participation in a given set of activities in each country context, it is not possible to attribute causal relations to these scores. This warrants further follow-up and qualitative investigation.

II - What Happens After Return? General Reintegration Outcomes and Findings from the RSS

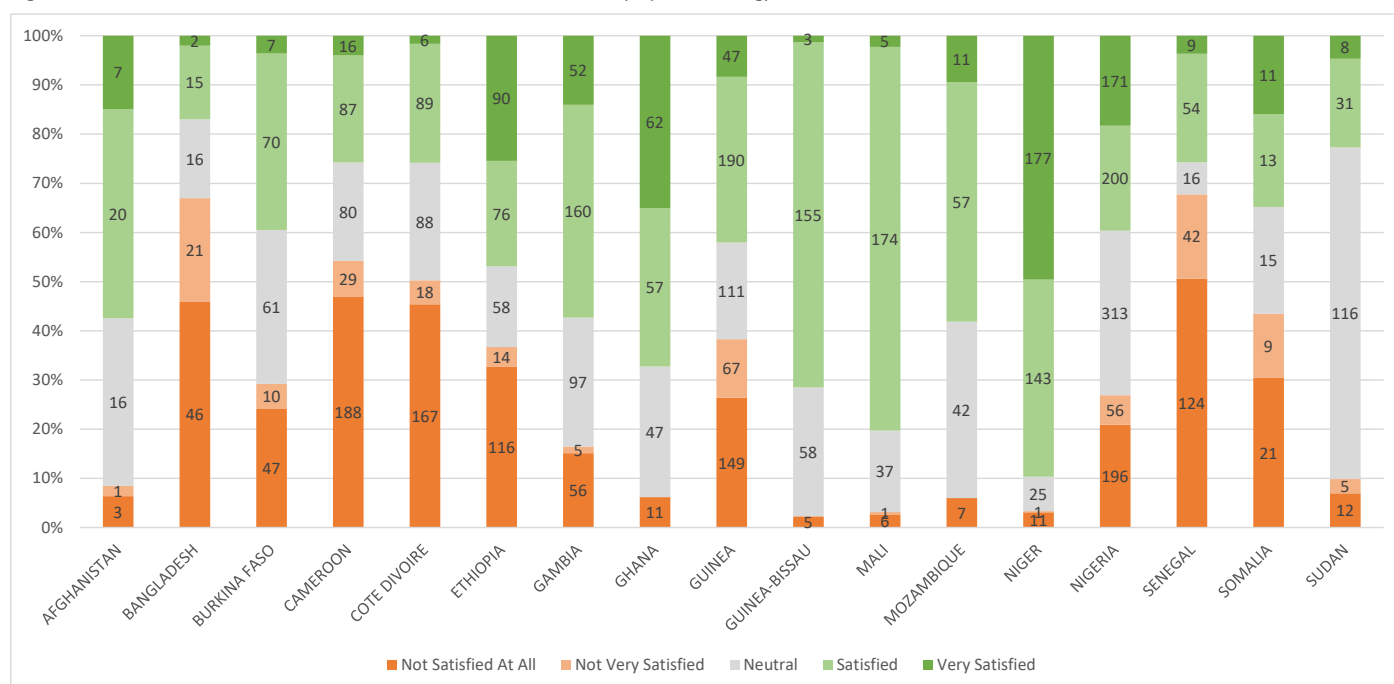
Figure 5. IOM RSS economic dimension scores by country



The data shows that food insecurity among returnees is a concern across most countries of return, with both high and low composite scores. Looking at the reduction in quality and / or quantity of food in the month preceding the interview reveals that close to 60% of returnees in Mali – which featured in the top tier of composite reintegration scores - had to compromise on their food intake, more than any other RSS country and at similar levels as Cameroon, which features in the lower tier. A second set of countries reported over 40% of returnees who had to compromise on their food security – namely Bangladesh, Guinea, and Niger, closely followed by Ethiopia, Afghanistan, and Nigeria (above 30%).

Borrowing is a common coping mechanism post-return, and a key factor of cyclical vulnerability. Respondents in Group A countries report being for the most part able to borrow money (Guinea, Mali, Mozambique, Afghanistan) while those in group B and C countries (Somalia, Senegal, Nigeria, Ethiopia, Côte d'Ivoire, and Cameroon) are the least likely to be able to borrow money. The countries that report the most frequent loan practices (above 50%) are Bangladesh, Mali, and Sudan. This shows that in some cases loans can be a positive contributor to reintegration (e.g. Mali) while in other cases they can be an indication of systemic vulnerabilities (e.g. Bangladesh and Sudan). Understanding borrowing practices, as well as obstacles and opportunities, can provide IOM country offices with the potential to tailor financial services and cash-based interventions to help returnees step out of poverty and towards more productive investments.

Figure 6. Returnees' satisfaction with their economic situation (5-point rating) N= 4, 915



II - What Happens After Return? General Reintegration Outcomes and Findings from the RSS

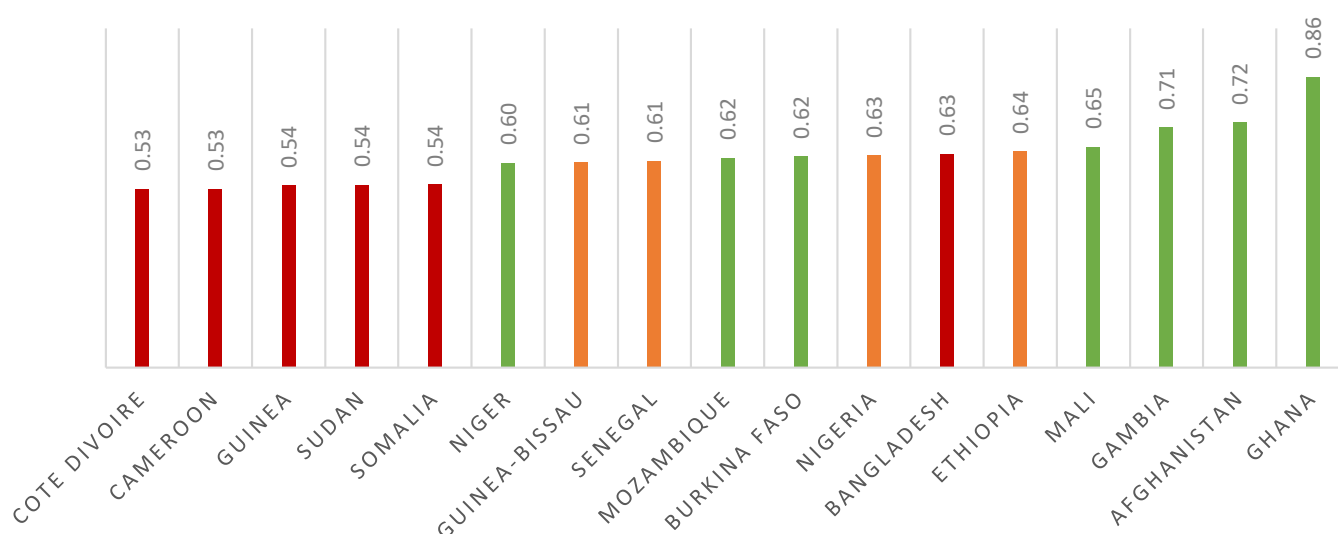
Comparing access to employment and training opportunities with the current capacity to work shows high levels of **job precarity** in Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Burkina Faso and Sudan, and the **inability to turn employment and training opportunities into jobs** in Mozambique, Somalia, Sudan, Cameroon Guinea and Guinea Bissau. There seems to be a link between employment/training support and current work trends in Ethiopia, Gambia, Ghana, Mali and Senegal. Qualitative follow-up with returnees in each setting to receive feedback on whether the opportunities for employment and training had an impact on the marketability of returnees, and their ability to work, could shed further light on this issue.

2.4. SOCIAL DIMENSION: CRITICAL GAINS TO ENHANCE REINTEGRATION

Information on duration of stay abroad was not collected systematically, but most of the migrants in the sample had spent six months or less abroad prior to their return. The social reasons for the initial migration may still impact returnees: for instance, poor housing or access to services in countries such as Cameroon or Côte d'Ivoire, who rate low overall on social RSS scores.

In cases such as Niger, in the top tier on the composite RSS score, returnees' social scores are particularly low. This is also the case in Mozambique and Burkina Faso, where social scores are lower than other dimension scores. If particular attention is paid in these countries to improving social indicators, critical gains could be made on reintegration outcomes. Meanwhile, while the situation in Bangladesh is most challenging in the economic and psychosocial dimensions, there are gains to build on in the social dimension, which could reinforce overall reintegration.

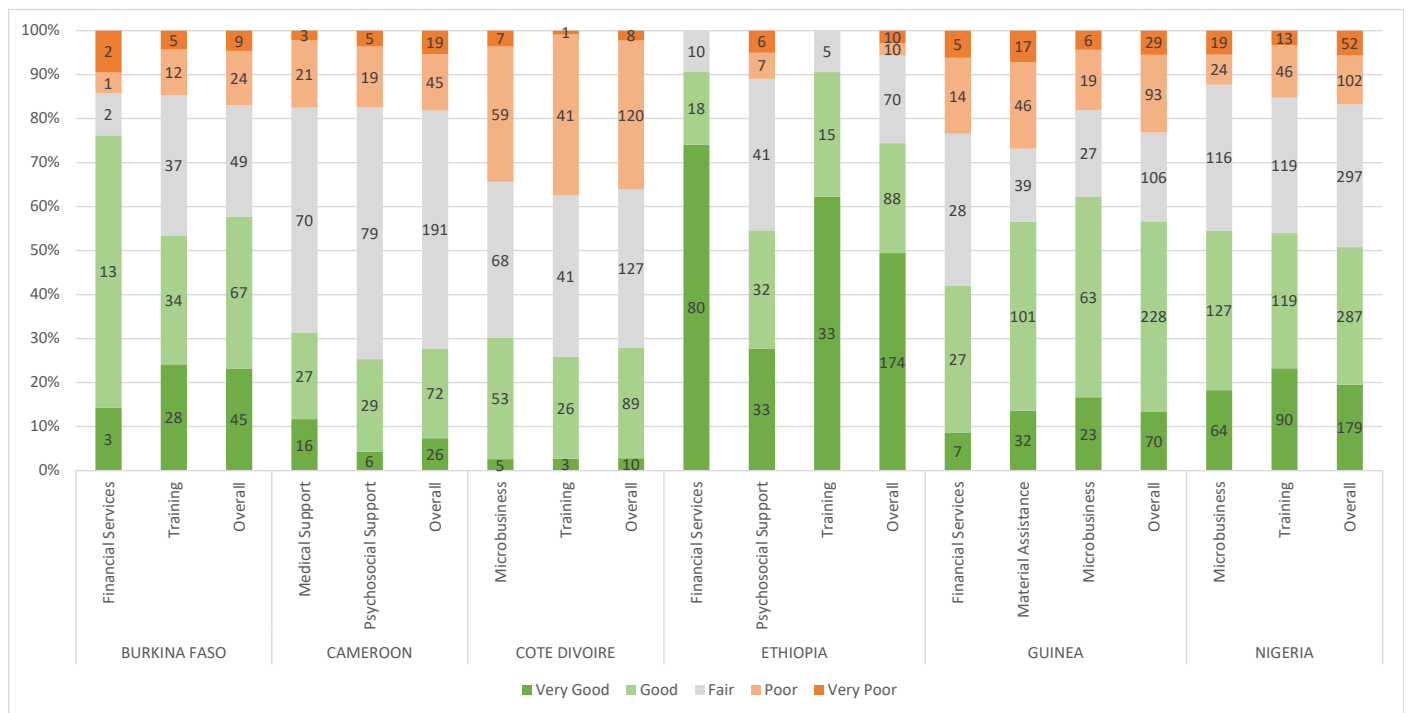
Figure 7. RSS Social Dimension Scores by Country



Investing in the link between networks and assistance can address the key element of sustainability. Networks can be understood as the missing link between social and economic reintegration programming (Figure 8). In Ethiopia, the strength of services is stronger than in other countries, partly due to established national and local mechanisms for supporting Ethiopian returnees. Those having benefited from livelihoods programming have a stronger social network than those having benefited from psychosocial support; perhaps because of linkages between service actors and community and social actors. In Burkina Faso, those given access to financial services are more likely to have a good network than those who were part of a Technical and Vocational Education and Training (TVET) cohort.

II - What Happens After Return? General Reintegration Outcomes and Findings from the RSS

Figure 8. Main Types of Assistance received vs. perception of quality of network support by country N= 2, 696



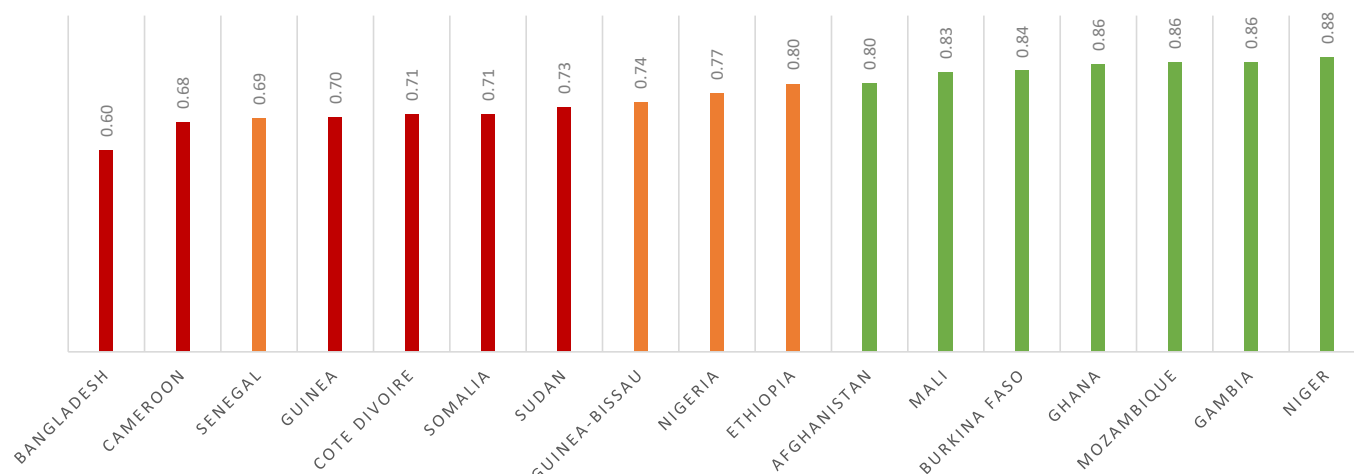
Group A countries rate better their access to and quality of services – whether housing, education, or health care. Access to education is particularly concerning in Burkina Faso, Guinea, Somalia, and Sudan, while in Senegal, despite having access to education in most communities, respondents reported the highest numbers of out-of-school children. One concerning exception on healthcare is the situation of Mozambique with returnees rating most negatively their access to quality health care. While Mozambique is a group A country, greater investment and attention to health care could raise the overall reintegration levels for returnees and their families, as providing for the healthcare of loved ones is often a common driver of migration in the first place.

Countries with higher levels of political tensions or violence show lower access to justice and law enforcement, with the need for country programmes to **pay closer attention to bridging the humanitarian – development – peacebuilding nexus by providing a link between citizens and their government over justice and basic services.** Some return contexts present dire humanitarian needs – seen in critical gaps in access to safe drinking water in Guinea, Ethiopia, and Côte d'Ivoire.

II - What Happens After Return? General Reintegration Outcomes and Findings from the RSS

2.5. PSYCHOSOCIAL DIMENSION: REINFORCING LINKS BETWEEN RETURNEES AND THEIR COMMUNITIES

Figure 9. RSS psychosocial dimension scores by country



The majority of returnees (88%) feel able to stay and live in the country of return. However, 28% of returnees in Bangladesh are unable to cope and 34% in Sudan felt that staying would not be possible.

This is also the case for 11-15% of returnees in Guinea, Cameroon, and Côte d'Ivoire. One of the reasons for this may be the reported **feelings of discrimination** (see Figure 10) upon return that rate highest in Côte d'Ivoire, Guinea, followed by Cameroon and Senegal. This calls for stronger links between psychosocial individual support, and the strengthening of links between returnees and their “communities” of return. The feeling of discrimination is linked to the returnees feeling unsafe:

- **Outside of their homes** (see Figure 11) – reported in the same countries, with the addition of conflict and forced displacement settings such as Afghanistan, Bangladesh, and Somalia.
- **Inside their homes** (see Figure 12) as returnees in Côte d'Ivoire, Cameroon, Bangladesh, Guinea, Niger, Mali, Sudan, and Senegal report family tensions and conflicts that hinder their reintegration process.

Overall, the distribution of the psychosocial dimension scores closely mirrors the overall rankings, although some country positions have shifted. The most concerning is Senegal, which has the third lowest psychosocial score: highlighting the critical importance and potential of mentoring activities. Guinea is close behind Senegal. Figure 13 shows that those receiving psychological support (in Cameroon and Ethiopia) are considerably more likely to see the benefit of such support. This might be due to those having expressed such a desire to begin with were provided such support. Further investigation at country-level could clarify these dynamics. **These trends confirm the importance of providing additional psychosocial resources to returnees to strengthen reintegration outcomes.**

Figure 10. Feelings of discrimination upon return N= 4 931

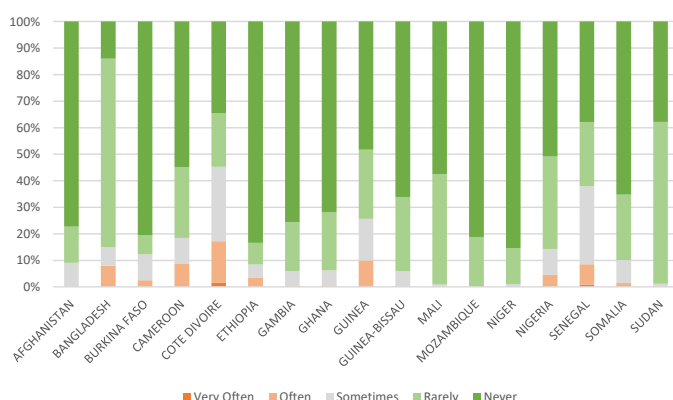
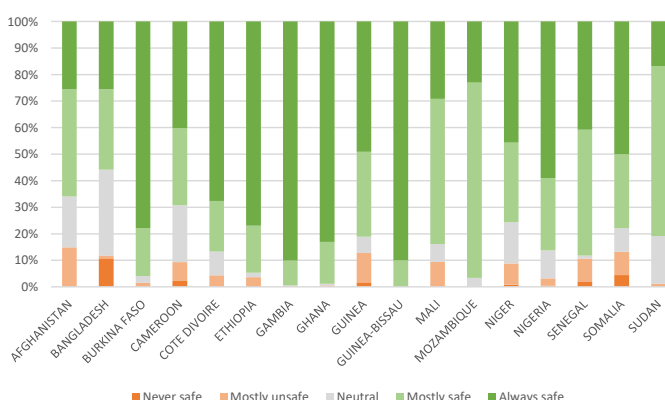


Figure 11. Feelings of safety outside of home N = 4 931



II - What Happens After Return? General Reintegration Outcomes and Findings from the RSS

Figure 12. Reports of Family tension or conflict N= 4 931

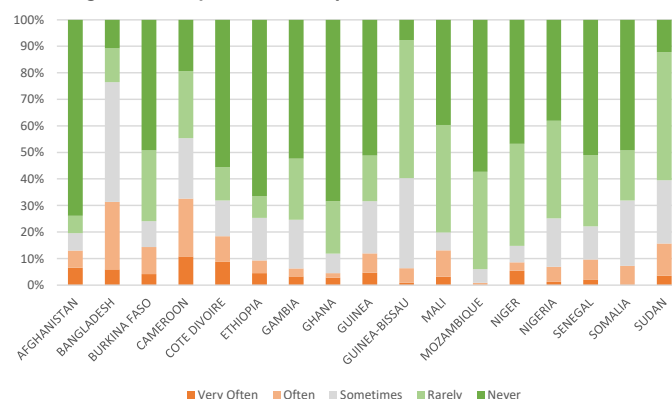
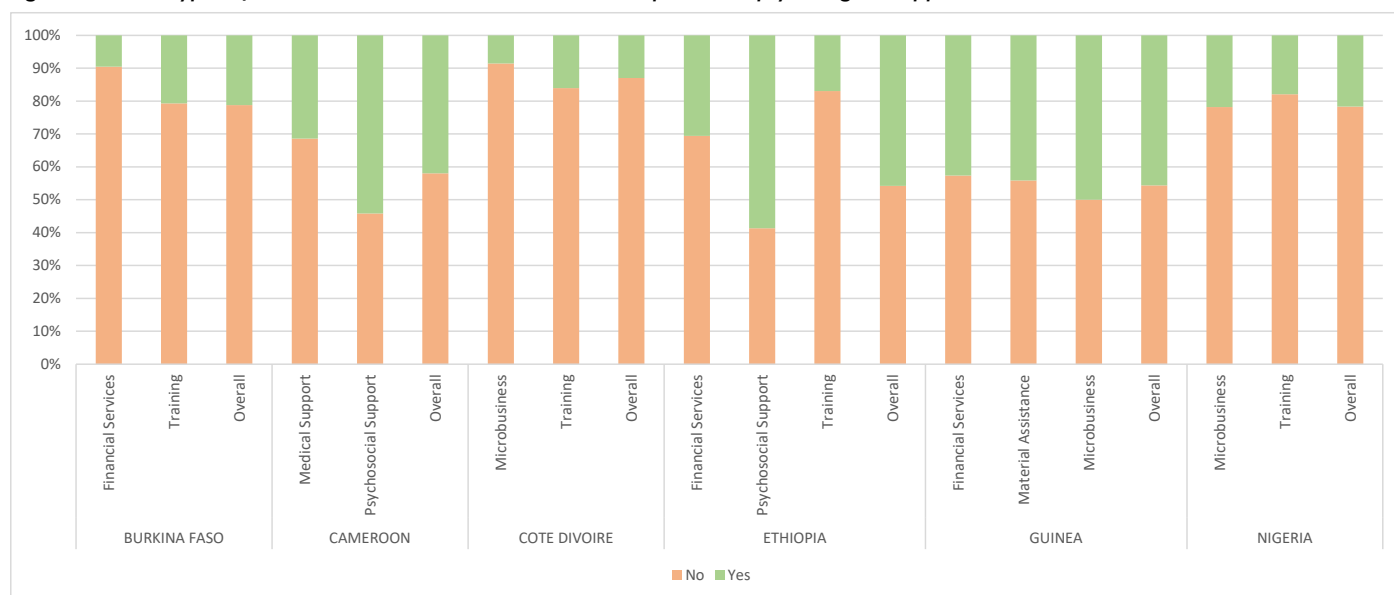
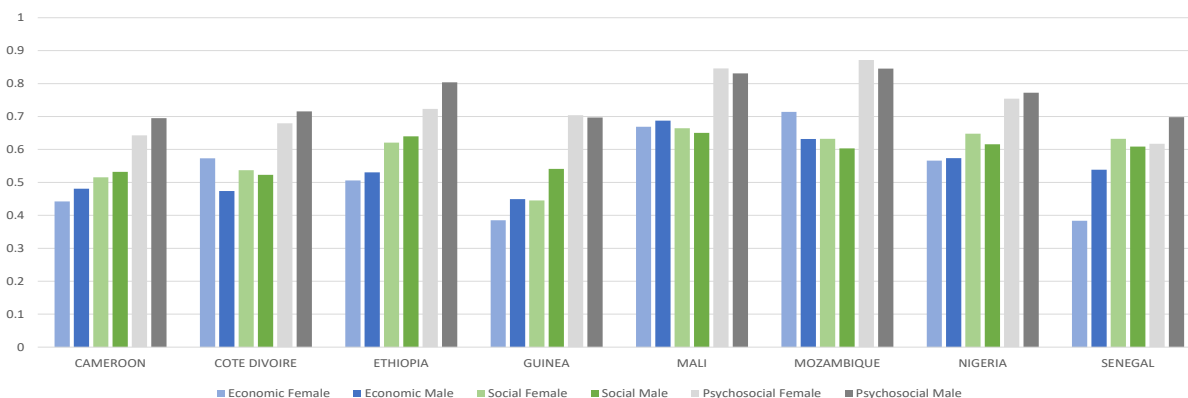


Figure 13. Main types of assistance received vs. wish to received specialized psychological support N= 2,657



Although women were unevenly included in the RSS sample, **Figure 14 illustrates indicative findings of the gendered experiences of reintegration.** A separate research stream on gender in reintegration is being planned for by IOM. Such studies should pay close attention to women's reintegration outcomes, as well as the additional barriers that they may need to overcome, compared to men, in order to achieve what seems to be overall similar – or in some cases – better reintegration outcomes. This speaks to the capabilities of female migrants and returnees who, despite challenging return contexts, may end up faring the same or better than male counterparts.

Figure 14. Scores By Gender by Dimension



II - What Happens After Return? General Reintegration Outcomes and Findings from the RSS

A Woman's Migration and Return Story

Fatima*, 34, feeling neglected by her husband and managing his business while he was abroad, managed to use her own business savvy to plan migration for herself and her son. Here she relates planning her move and how it affected her subsequent life, even after return:

"As a married woman, I worked a lot for my husband, and he didn't live here, he is in Germany, he would send me money or vehicles or other goods, I would deal with customs, I would put them in the store, I would sell or resell the vehicles, I would build. And now the house was almost finished. So he came back in 2016 with some nonsense, you know men, the woman who helps him he has no consideration for her, so I told him, I said to him "be careful, the day will come, you will look for me, you will look for me here, you will turn on your lamp even in the middle of the day, and you will not see me Fatima*." He said to me, Fatima, let it go, women give money to men, they build for them, but me I gave you all the money to build. I told him, "If it wasn't for my bravery you would not have been able to build, while you are in Europe I am here. And you have often given much to your parents for them to work for you, but they couldn't they just used the money, and me who you have no consideration for, it's me who did this work for you, so if you don't respect me, I am not telling you to stop chasing women, but do it elsewhere so that I don't know." And with this nonsense, he had left me a mini bus which I resold for 42 million GNF. I sold it, I took the money, and I put it in my account."

And it's with this money that Fatima* left, hoping to go to Italy, with her young son in tow. The boat began to sink, they were apprehended by the Libyan coast guard, brought back to a detention centre in Libya, eventually returning from prison to Guinea through IOM. Upon return, her husband had already come back from Germany. She was happy to be back in the safety of her home, in spite of family tensions. Reconciliation with her husband first was key to reconciliation with the rest of her family: "My parents were angry [...]. They were angry and they wanted to hit me, and my husband said no, that it was his fault. My husband brought me to my family in his car, they wanted to hit me, but he asked for their forgiveness." Since then, she has been able to begin to build a chicken business and relations with community members have been cordial. In the end, "My life is not exposed. Here where I am, I cannot say that I am the most well off in my neighbourhood, but I have enough to eat. [...] Everyone knew that I had left, but when I came back, I pretended that nothing had happened, and no one dared ask me anything. [...] People still came to greet me, but no one dared ask me anything." Her daily life has returned to normal, and she feels grateful for the material comforts she has, but in the end her journey continues to mark her: "My mentality has changed. That's what adventure does to you, if you don't win, it changes your mentality."



III - Outcomes of the Mentoring Approach: with a focus on Senegal and Guinea

III - Outcomes of the Mentoring Approach: with a focus on Senegal and Guinea

Chapter 3 – Key Findings

ORION mentoring has improved reintegration in **the social and psychosocial dimensions**, confirming its ability to address one of the key gaps in reintegration support. There is a small, but statistically significant, **positive impact of the ORION pilot mentoring approach on reintegration**.

Early successes and trust built by ORION mentors is at risk of damage by lack of coordination with other assistance streams, such as material support. The research reveals that scores drop across all dimensions post-return compared to pre migration: this is especially true for economic scores, in particular in Guinea

This chapter focuses on the reintegration outcomes of the pilot mentoring approach administered with a selection of IOM-assisted returnees as part of the ORION project in Guinea, Morocco, and Senegal, between 2018 and 2020. The chapter draws on qualitative, semi-structured interviews with 48 returnees (of whom half are ORION mentees), six mentors and 17 key informants across all three countries, and quantitative panel data for 208 returnees (109 to Guinea, 99 to Senegal)¹⁸ for whom the research team could compare two or more RSS surveys.

3.1 THE PILOT MENTORING APPROACH WITHIN ORION

Historically, reintegration support has focussed on the material (economic) dimension of reintegration by providing financial incentives and business start-up support. **In 2017, the MEASURE report¹⁹ called for a structured ‘case management approach’ to support and frame economic and social interventions in relation to reintegration. The ORION pilot mentoring approach aims to rise to that challenge;** this chapter examines the extent to which it does or does not succeed.

The mentoring approach is a new one in a growing field of reintegration programming. Some community organisations – including some in the pilot countries, such as *Action Sociale in Dakar* – offer mentoring to support vulnerable people including returnees. However, ORION is the first to pilot the mentoring approach across countries, which is one of the reasons why its evaluation is important.

According to IOM documents, the mentors “serve as a link between returnees and the community and help returnees to implement their reintegration plans”, as well as “play a key role in developing networks and raising awareness about reintegration among relevant local authorities, institutions and non-governmental and civil society organisations in their communities.”²⁰ This field-research suggests that the former is certainly true; the latter, less so. Although mentors have developed some localised networks, such as asking personal contacts to help find jobs for returnees, they see their role as primarily supporting the individual needs and plans of the returnees allocated to them, and helping them access other material support from the IOM. A mentor in Guinea said, *“in general, my role is to mediate between return migrants and their needs. But I also have the role of mediating between [mentoring] beneficiaries and the IOM”*.

3.1.1 THE MENTORS – PROFILE AND TRAINING

The mentors are from the communities in which they work, hired and trained by IOM in 2018. As an IOM country officer pointed out, “mentors are not necessarily migrants [or returnees] themselves, but they are involved in their community; they have interesting profiles – often they are social workers – who have done similar activities in the past”. **At least one mentor in Guinea was himself a returnee;** the majority of mentors are not, and instead come from backgrounds in social work or other similar fields. The field-research revealed that the mentors have an impressive theoretical understanding of reintegration in addition to their practical knowledge, unpicking the multidimensional and multi-level nature of reintegration with confidence.

¹⁸ The number of returnees to Morocco with two or more RSS surveys was too small to conduct valid quantitative analysis, therefore for Morocco we rely qualitative data alone.

¹⁹ Samuel Hall / IOM. 2017. Setting Standards for an Integrated Approach to Reintegration: Summary Report (MEASURE Project).

²⁰ IOM 2019a, 4

Effects of the mentor profile on the mentor-mentee relationship are analysed below (section 3.1.3).

Part of the initial stages of the pilot was for mentors to conduct a local mapping of services that could provide support to returnees. IOM (Geneva) provided the research team with a copy of the results of this mapping exercise, and such documented resources could be very useful for future mentors. However, there appears to be a disconnect in terms of availability between IOM offices, and initially the research team was not aware of this documentation, as an IOM key informant in Senegal told us, “we did this mapping... no, it doesn't exist in writing, it was in the form of workshops”. Another key part of the mentors' role is participating, with IOM country offices, in the selection of mentees.

Profile of a Mentor

Diallo Ousmane, a mentor in Ratoma (Guinea), has made a career out of listening to people. Originally a teacher, an interest in international relations and child protection led him to a second degree and eventually, like many of the other mentors, to social work.

As a mentor he has found listening to be crucial, and his ability to help others through this a key and rewarding aspect of the job. As he describes: “What is beautiful in this job [in spite of the difficulties], is to help someone, and to see a recognition after, this is beautiful. I often repeat a phrase that one of my returnees said to me [...]: ‘I was able to get out of this situation because I had someone who believed in me.’ That is what allowed him to get out. If he succeeded, it's because someone believed in him, and so he accepted support.”

Diallo Ousmane further highlights the nature of his work, comparing it to that of a mechanic: “I like to say that if you are a mechanic you have your tools, if you are a welder it's the same you find your tools. But here you have no nuts and bolts, no screws, but you have some indicators that are there that you can rely on to support you in satisfying the needs of the person in front of you. This is much more difficult. If you can manage to master those indicators, and to gain his trust, to satisfy him in terms of his needs, and that he manages to transcend his situation, this is beautiful, [this is the work].

3.1.2 THE MENTEES – SELECTION AND PROFILE

According to official selection criteria²¹, mentees are selected based on three key factors:

- **Location**, i.e. being in an area where a mentee is present;
- **Voluntariness and willingness** to engage with the mentoring approach; and
- **Reintegration needs**: individual's baseline RSS scores below 0.33 were to be given priority. The panel survey in Senegal and Guinea suggests that the RSS score was not always used as a selection criterion, as the average first RSS scores of mentees are well above 0.33 (0.45 in Guinea and 0.62 in Senegal). Mentors combine their own local knowledge with the RSS scores to select mentees: “We are in the community, so we also use our own observations to find out whether a [potential] beneficiary deserves or needs this support” (mentor, Guinea). This was discussed within the training provided by IOM, empowering mentors to make decisions based on RSS scores, local knowledge, and the character of the potential mentee.

3.1.3 THE MENTOR-MENTEE RELATIONSHIP

The relationship between mentor and mentee was positive, with most mentees saying that they trusted their mentor to support them. This trust is not automatic and has to be developed over time, sometimes through the use of mediators: other return migrants who facilitate the relationship and can help build initial trust between mentors and mentees.

21 Reintegration through the mentoring approach: the selection of beneficiaries, no date, ORION: DFID SSS CMR (internal document).

III - Outcomes of the Mentoring Approach: with a focus on Senegal and Guinea

Once the relationship is established, **the mentor has the potential to be a very positive, supportive influence in returnees' lives**, as described by one returnee interviewed in Dakar, when describing her relationship with her mentor,

"thanks to [my mentor], it was she who gave me courage. She said to me, 'you can do it like this'. She gives me peace, she is very nice."

The mentors see their role as not just advising and assisting regarding practical aspects of reintegration, but also as a listener, and through that, a source of emotional support. As a mentor in Morocco said:

"Personally, I don't see myself as only an advisor, but a person who listens. For someone returning to their country of origin, finding someone who can listen to them is really important. People whose family have rejected them, and still think Europe is El Dorado. For me, the fact that I listen creates a link with the mentees. You have to explain what you can and cannot do, but even just talking to them is already great."

The mentors highlighted how their role as community members, separate from IOM, can create a partnership between them and their mentees. Despite the strengths of the relationship, the mentors identified challenges in their work. These challenges were consistent across the three countries.

Challenge 1: Keeping track of beneficiaries and effective monitoring

Mentors highlighted the mobility of returnees, with multiple places of residence (e.g. moving between households) and their lack of a consistent mobile phone number. These challenges were exacerbated in rural areas where people were more spread out, for example around Pita in Guinea. Mentors highlighted the challenges of relying on public transport to get to dispersed returnees.

Challenge 2: Programme longevity and sustainability

Given the temporary pilot nature of the project, mentors raised concerns about its longevity and sustainability. Mentors felt their work to be essential for mentees' reintegration, and most mentees appreciated their work, hoping it could continue. Mentors pointed out that because reintegration is a long-term process, their support should be too.

Challenge 3: Building trust and consistency in the mentor-mentee relationship

The mentors explained how at first, in some cases, there was a lack of trust between them and the mentee. This challenge was more pronounced in Morocco, where returnees' migratory experiences and failed expectations of life in Europe led to distrust. Another mentor explained how a lack of trust, and the migratory experience of struggle, precarity, and having to negotiate ways around structural obstacles, meant that initially mentees saw them as just one more structure to 'get around' in their quest to remigrate. Over time this changed, and the mentees placed more trust in their mentor.

Challenge 4: Engaging with the returnee's family

Mentors understood that family relations are a key component of successful reintegration. They saw part of their role in supporting their mentee's reintegration as promoting family ties and communication. As a mentor in Guinea explained, *"the family is the best means of reintegration"*. However, the mentors were also clear that any interaction between them and their mentee's family had to be up to the individual mentee, not the mentor: *"my interaction with families depends on the will of the beneficiary himself. If he's not willing, we don't even try"*, said a mentor in Morocco. Where mentors met with mentee's families, they made families aware of the difficulties of return.

Mentors were aware of the risk to reintegration from negative family interactions, and highlighted examples where the returnees had initially migrated without saying goodbye, borrowed money – or even stole money – to leave, as particularly difficult cases. They pointed out that often the family did not fully understand the reasons for returning and were hoping for remittances or other benefits from migration, leading to tensions. As a key informant in Senegal said,

"Often parents are quite disappointed, they say, 'before he was the one sent money, who ensured the education of my children'. We feel their disappointment and we explain that it's not their son's fault. Some understand, but unfortunately, others do not".

Challenge 5: Coordinating mentoring support with other material sources of support

Whilst challenges one and two were largely practical, and three and four were related to trust, challenge 5 combines practicalities and trust. The two significant sources of external material support for returnees mentored under ORION are the European Union (EU) – IOM Joint Initiative for Migrant Protection and Reintegration, funded by the EU Emergency Trust Fund for Africa (EUTF), and the Safety Support and Solutions in the Central Mediterranean Route programme (where ORION is situated).

Part of the mentor's role is to help mentees access material (economic) reintegration support and manage expectations as to what they could provide was challenging, especially as the mentoring programme does not provide material support.

Managing expectations was made more difficult by delays and lack of coordination between the mentoring and other support programmes. This can damage the trust between mentor and mentee that is key to the mentoring relationship. As one returnee puts it:

"I cannot say that I am disappointed, but I am... how to say. I know that this is a support that comes from an organisation, maybe it can take time, but this doesn't help. I have been waiting until now. But when we first got here, we were expecting this as soon as possible. Because they saw that our situation was so difficult, we were waiting for this support quickly...but today it has not come...for me, I have forgotten about it, I no longer count on it."

3.2 COMPARING REINTEGRATION OUTCOMES FOR MENTORED AND NON-MENTORED RETURNEES

To explore the differences between returnees who received mentoring and those who did not, a panel dataset was created containing returnees who had completed two or more RSS surveys post-return, and compared their first and last survey to assess change over time: the average time between the first and last survey completed being just under a year (350 days). As the first and last RSS survey for each individual in the panel were not conducted all on the same day, comparisons were made of general change over time, rather than a specific timescale. The individuals included in this dataset are summarised in table 4 below.²²

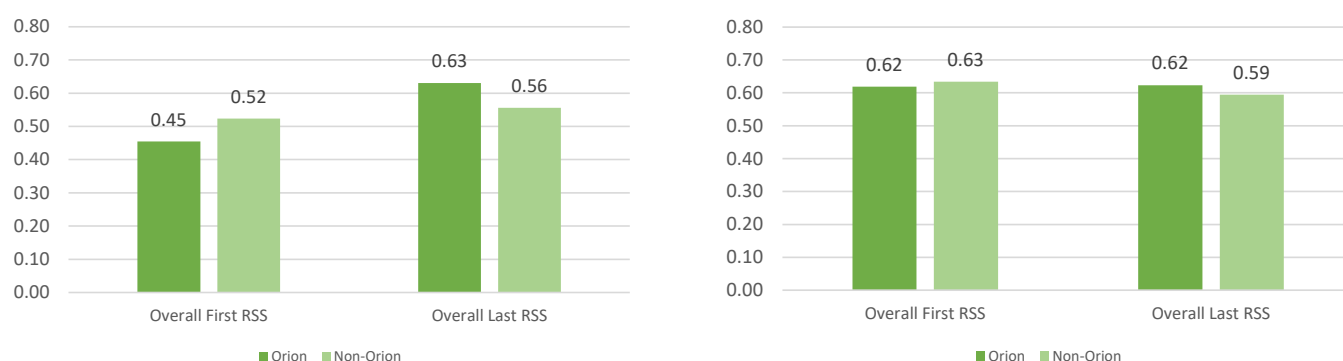
Table 4: Summary information on the panel dataset

COUNTRY OF RETURN	GUINEA	SENEGAL
Individual returnees	109	99
ORION Beneficiaries	72 (66%)	51 (52%)
Assisted return experience	Mostly returning from Niger (stranded migrants returning through AVRR) and Libya (irregular migrants returning through VHR).	

3.2.1 INVESTIGATING A POSSIBLE 'ORION MENTORING EFFECT' ON REINTEGRATION OUTCOMES

Not all those who received mentoring had low RSS scores to begin with, and some returnees with low scores were not receiving mentoring (as discussed above in section 3.2.2). This is illustrated in Figure 15 and is particularly pronounced in Senegal (Figure 16) where the average score for the first RSS is almost identical for ORION and non-ORION mentoring beneficiaries.

Figures 15 and 16. Composite RSS scores at first and last RSS – Guinea and Senegal

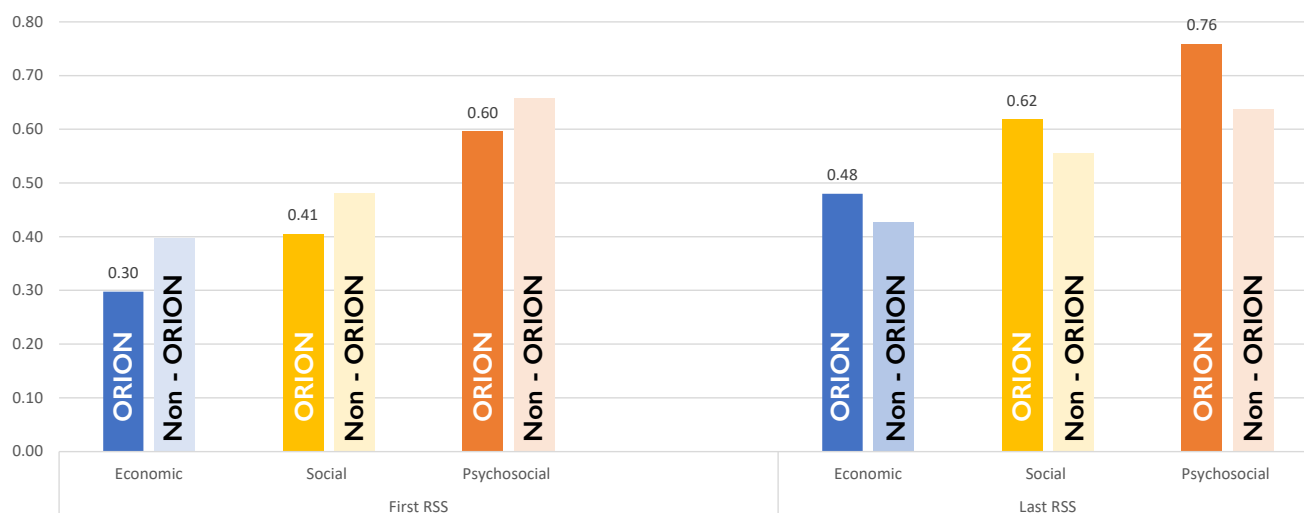


²² There were not enough returnees who fit that criteria in Morocco to conduct a comparative analysis, so the research team analysed the Morocco quantitative data separately.

III - Outcomes of the Mentoring Approach: with a focus on Senegal and Guinea

In Guinea RSS scores improve over time in almost all dimensions (Figure 17) for ORION beneficiaries, compared to more mixed outcome scores for non-beneficiaries. In particular, ORION beneficiaries 'overtake' non-beneficiaries in all dimensions at the last RSS. Non-beneficiaries saw a small improvement in the economic and social dimensions, and a slight loss in the psychosocial dimension.

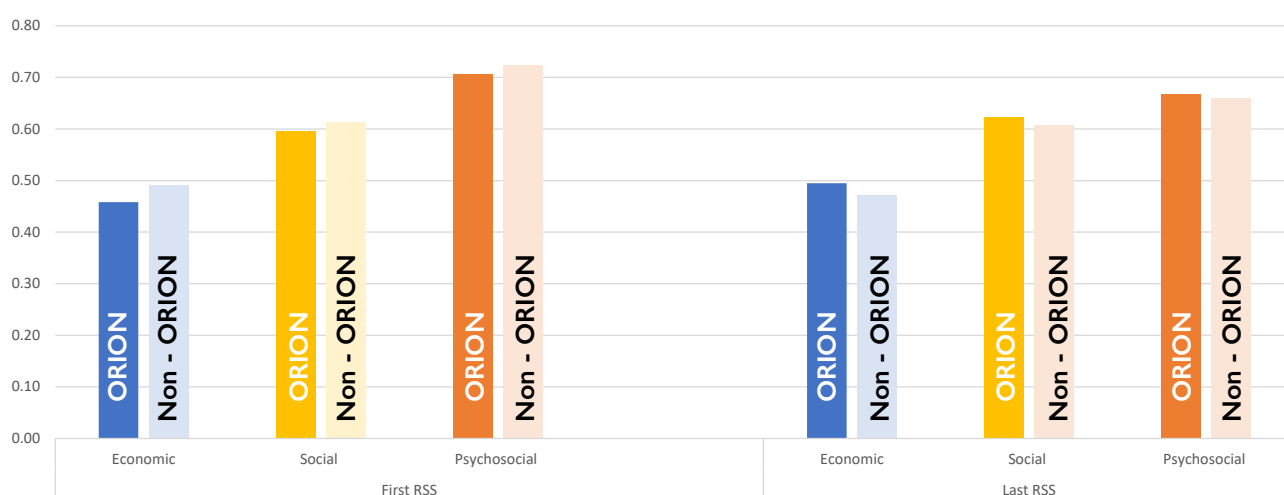
Figure 17. Guinea Comparison of average RSS scores over time (ORION vs. non-ORION)



In Senegal, here is virtually no improvement for ORION beneficiaries and a decrease in scores for the non-ORION sample (Figure 18). The differences between ORION and non-ORION beneficiaries are much less pronounced than in Guinea, as are changes over time. Looking at the last RSS, ORION beneficiaries in Senegal are doing slightly better than the non-ORION sample overall, but have not improved their scores significantly since the first RSS, seeing a slight decrease in psychosocial scores.

Whilst these figures are based on simple averages, and are limited by only measuring change between two time-points²³, they do point to differences in the effect of the ORION mentoring programme in Guinea compared to Senegal, and to some differences in terms of the effect of mentoring on the different dimensions of reintegration.

Figure 18. SENEGAL Comparison of evolution of average RSS scores ORION vs. non ORION



²³ As discussed in Annex 1, reintegration is not a linear process, and returnees will likely experience ups and downs in terms of their reintegration experiences. An awareness of this has also been codified in the growing awareness and use of the 'V-model' by IOM, DFID and others (see Majidi and Nozarian 2019).

III - Outcomes of the Mentoring Approach: with a focus on Senegal and Guinea

Turning to box plots, Figure 19 confirms and adds nuance: **results show minor positive outcomes for ORION vs. non-ORION beneficiaries across all dimensions with non-ORION beneficiaries staying roughly at the same level, across time, while ORION beneficiaries' scores improve in Guinea.**

To understand what variables may be impacting the different reintegration results between ORION vs. non-ORION beneficiaries, and between countries, we used a regression analysis (Figure 20). As before, the paler the blue, the more statistically significant the finding.

Figure 19. Comparison of evolution of average RSS scores ORION vs. non ORION

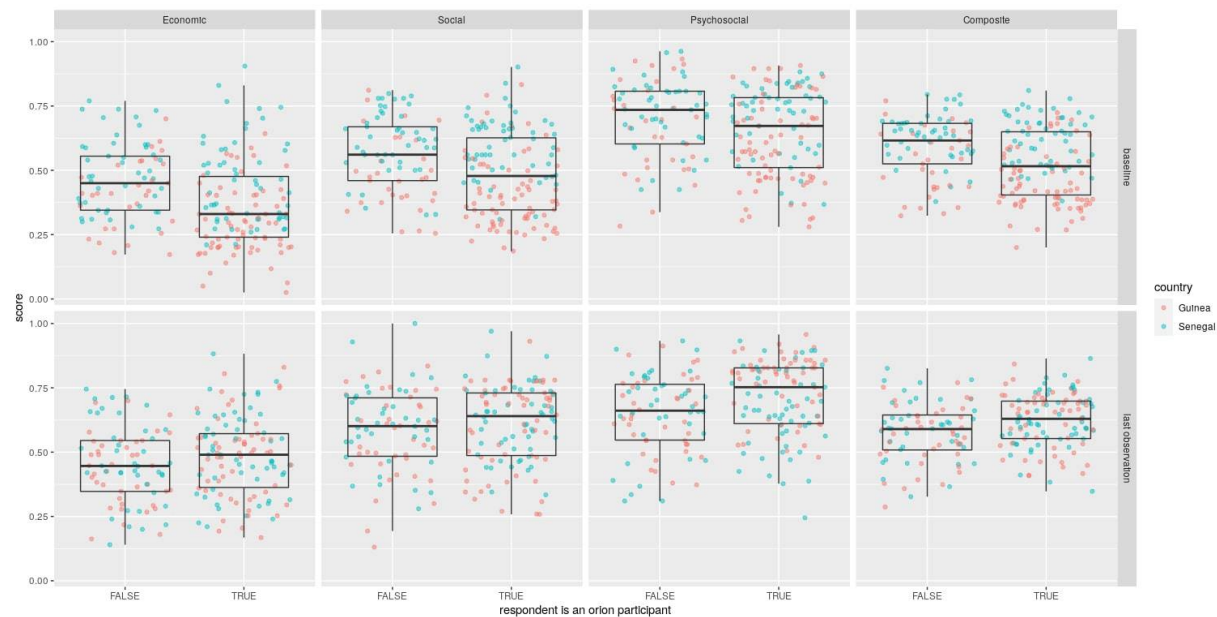
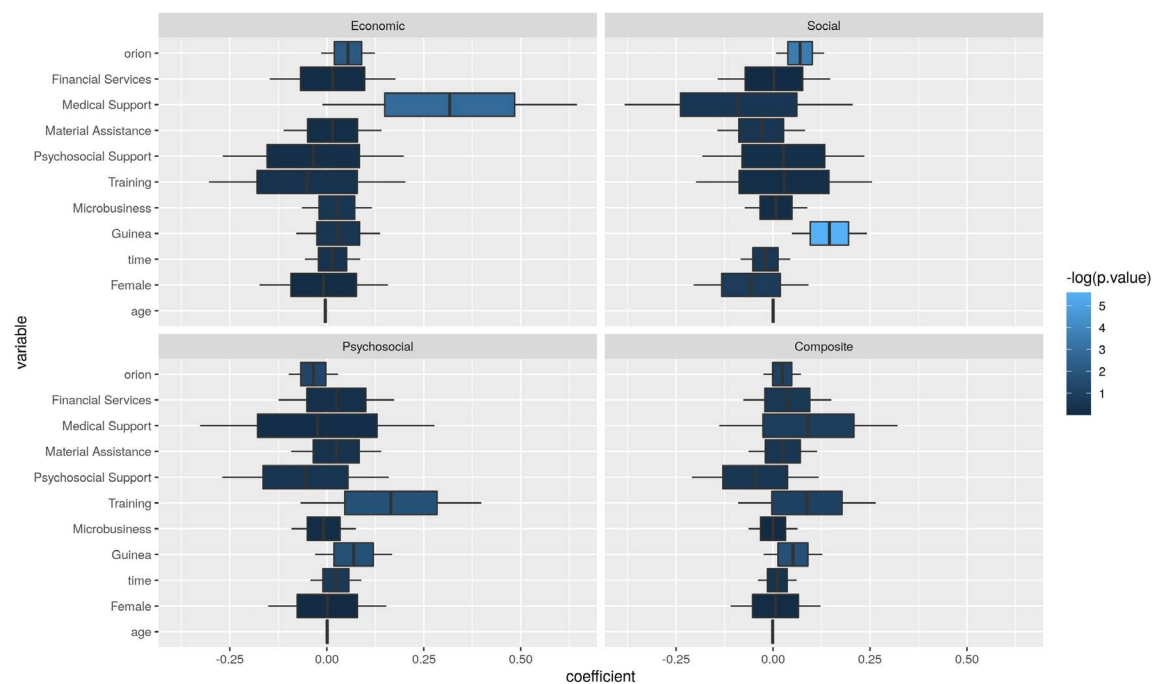


Figure 20. Regression analysis – controlling for programming impact on reintegration



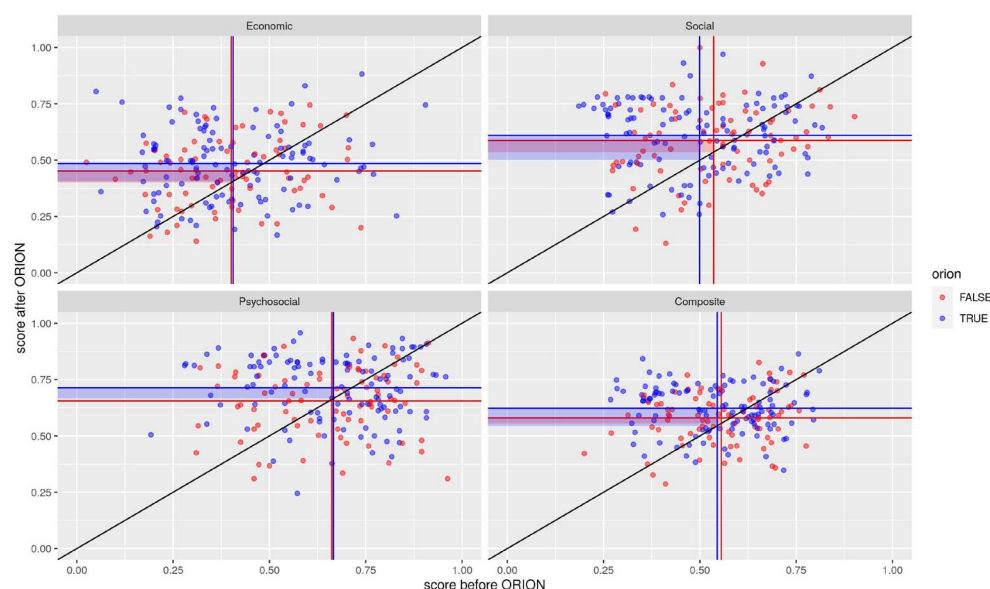
III - Outcomes of the Mentoring Approach: with a focus on Senegal and Guinea

The results of the regression analysis show that:

- **There is a small, but statistically significant, positive impact of the ORION mentoring on reintegration.**
- Returnees in Guinea seem to do better in the social and in the psychosocial dimensions
- Training has a positive impact on psychosocial dimension scores.

A difference-in-difference analysis confirms the positive impact of ORION on reintegration. The analysis speaks to a tangible positive impact of ORION over time. Figure 21 shows how ORION returnees fare compared to non-ORION returnees, and how their situation evolves across time. Instead of being colour coded by country, this graph is colour coded by whether returnees are part of the ORION mentoring approach. Data points below the diagonal indicate a worsening situation, while data points above indicate improvement in scores. The vertical lines are the mean scores at the first RSS, the horizontal lines are the mean scores at the last RSS, and the height of the shaded area is the change caused by ORION, in other words, the added value of the mentoring approach on reintegration. With a difference in difference analysis, mentoring approaches via ORION may have contributed to degrees of improvement.

Figure 21. Difference in Difference analysis



Retrospective Analysis - Comparing conditions pre-migration to the first RSS post-return

In order to conduct analysis comparing pre-migration conditions and reintegration outcomes, the research team isolated the cases for whom a pre-migration conditions survey was available, and compared key indicators to the first RSS survey administered upon return²⁴. This resulted in a sample of 268 cases from Guinea and 127 from Senegal. What changed between leaving and return?

While access to public services are only very slightly worse post return, key indicators across the economic and psychosocial dimensions highlight negative shifts upon return, showing generally lower scores. While differences in situations pre-departure and post return are most evident when it comes to economic factors, they are visible when examining psychosocial indicators too, in particular those related to community belonging and feelings of psychosocial distress (Figures 22 and 23).

²⁴ It is important to note a limitation to this kind of comparison; it compares a respondent's perception of their current situation to their memories of a previous situation (i.e. prior to their migration).

III - Outcomes of the Mentoring Approach: with a focus on Senegal and Guinea

Figure 22. Do you feel part of the community where you currently live?

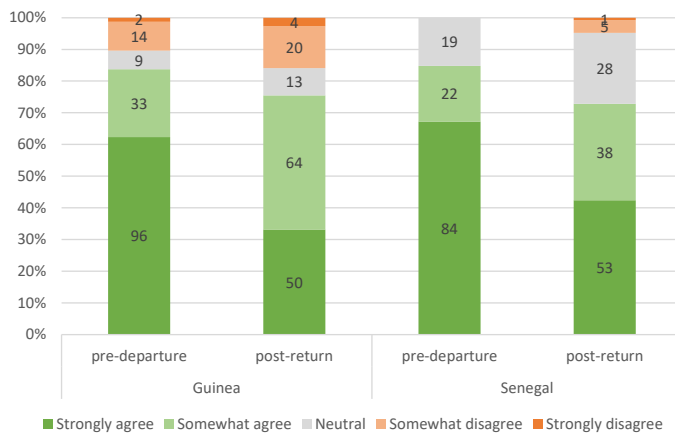
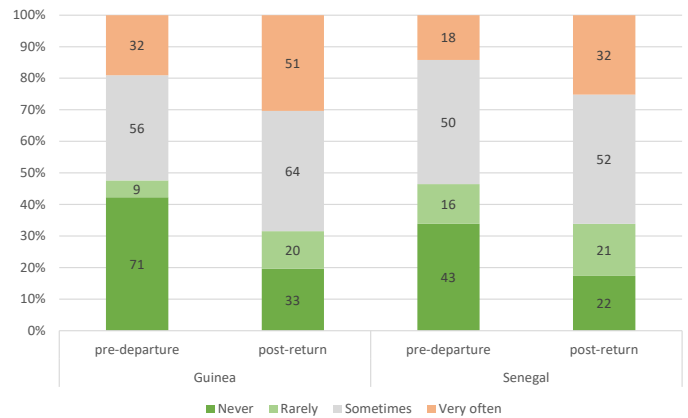


Figure 23. How often do you experience feelings of psychosocial distress?



3.2.2 RETURNEES' ECONOMIC SITUATION – AN OVERALL LACK OF PREPARATION AND RESILIENCE

Few returnees in the panel dataset (around 10%) were satisfied with their economic situation. Over time, this improved, particularly in Guinea, but remained low; at the last RSS, just under 50% of returnees in Guinea were satisfied with their economic situation and only 20% in Senegal. Whilst not directly comparable, this result can be viewed against a recent Gallup World Poll, where 53% of the Senegalese polled were 'satisfied with their current standard of living'.²⁵

Most were returning because their migration plans had 'failed' and were consequently returning without savings, and in some cases still in debt from their original migration expenses. Because of this, most needed to get employment right away. Whilst key informants and mentors highlighted this as an impediment to returnees partaking in more extensive training, such as literacy classes, and other programmes that might enable more stable, formal employment in the longer term, short-term needs for food, shelter, and in some cases, repaying debts, are a legitimate concern. **These short-term needs meant that returnees were often taking precarious jobs void of long-term stability**, such as daily paid labour, and in many cases, motorcycle-taxi driving. As a returnee in Dakar said, "it's not easy. It's still tough. The day before yesterday someone called me for a plumbing job, I was able to make some money but just enough for one meal. You work for a day or two, but then there's no work for a week or two".

The proportion of people in work improved over time for ORION and non-ORION beneficiaries, as shown in Figure 24. However, there are still high proportions of returnees in all categories who are not currently working, especially in Guinea. **The challenge for returnees was not just finding work but finding livelihood opportunities able to absorb shocks.** In some places, coordination between ORION mentors and EUTF had potential to make positive changes, as the mentor in Pita, Guinea, explained:

"Many of the beneficiaries have benefitted from reintegration support, many have been reintegrated economically. For example, we have set up a potato farming project here which has been implemented by the EUTF. And then, there's the soap-making project, which is taking off. And we have two ORION beneficiaries who have benefitted from small grazing-animal breeding – for the moment it's going, it's working well."

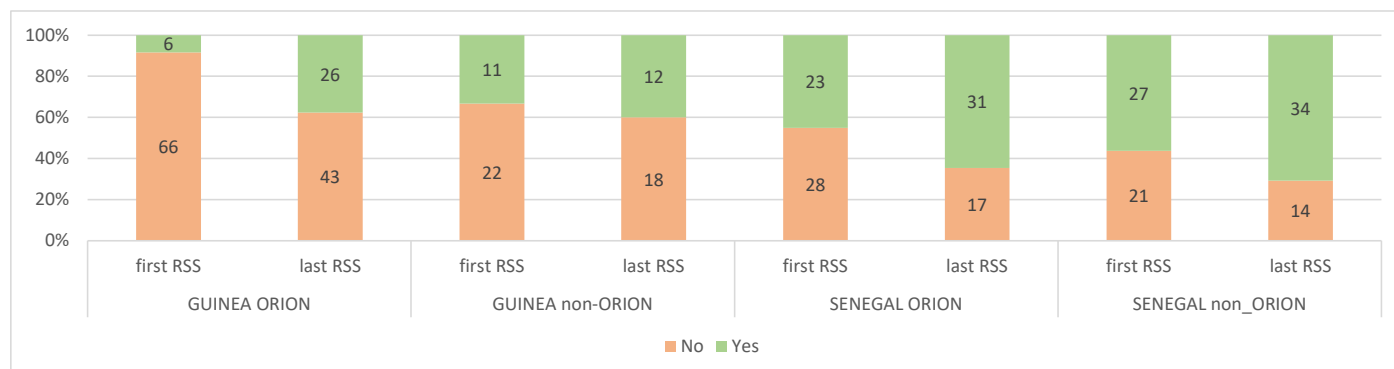
When assistance is not received – or not received quickly enough – returnees turn to family members or precarious jobs to access income-generating opportunities. An additional issue raised by returnees is that the support available is not always suited to their situation; as an ORION beneficiary in Dakar said,

"IOM had spoken to us about financial support, or support for finding jobs. But the IOM woman told me that IOM doesn't give money directly, that they only help to find jobs. But me, I have a job, I have a shop, what I need is financial support."

25 Rheault 2019

III - Outcomes of the Mentoring Approach: with a focus on Senegal and Guinea

Figure 24. Do you currently work?



Finding work is primarily reliant on networks which are often lacking – social networks may exist, but they do not always result in jobs; professional networks are a critical gap. Some returnees were working with family, and in some instances, in light of COVID, the research team noted cases of returnees changing jobs to family premises so as to minimise non-household contacts. Family support can assist with reintegration, but it can also bring tensions; as a returnee in Dakar said, “You know, it’s not easy when you live and work with your brother”.

In cases where returnees have managed to build a business (such as a restaurant or a shop), these enterprises often remain fragile; something which COVID will only emphasise. **Most returnees simply do not have the economic resources to build stable resilient business on return.** The more economically successful (or at least, satisfied) returnees were those who had gained some experience abroad (e.g. restaurant work) and were able to combine that with their business activities after return, and / or, those who had strong family support. Key informants recognised the importance of long-term, integrated support, and building on individual experiences too.

Another indicator of economic precarity, as shown in chapter II, is food (in)security. Over half of the sample had to reduce quality or quantity of food consumed, with this trend worsening over time (Figure 25). There are a number of reasons why this may be, but based on previous research and existing literature, whilst family members may initially host (and feed) returnees, this is not necessarily a permanent arrangement, with corresponding drops in access to food, over time.

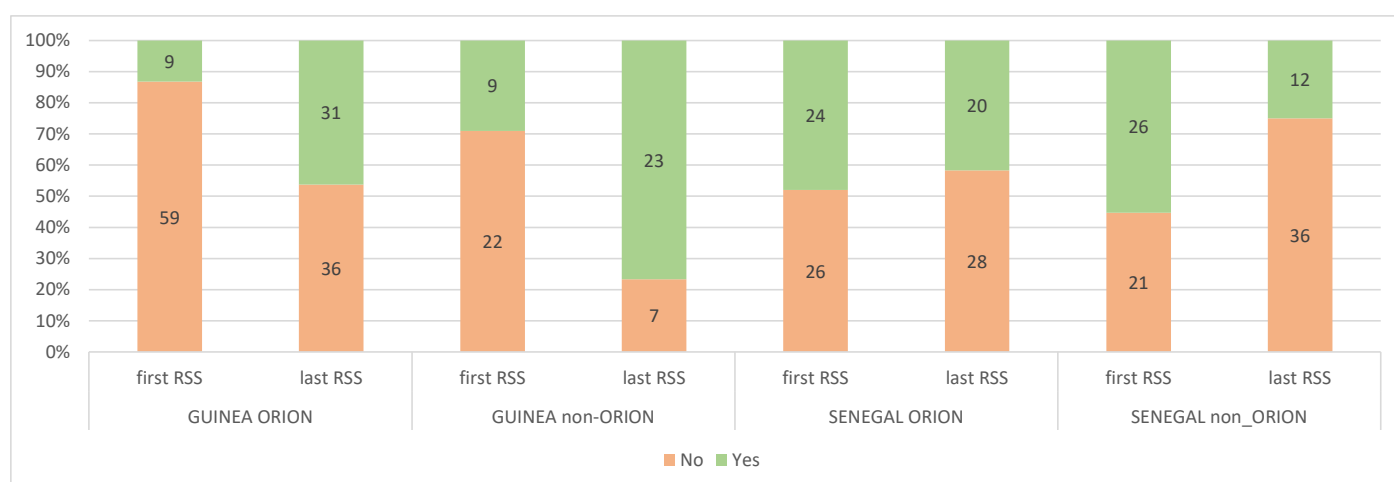
Figure 25. Reports of food quantity/quality reduction in the last month



A final indicator of economic resilience is debt and borrowing. Access to borrow money is mixed and changes over time. As Figure 26 shows, in Guinea, very few people have access to people who can lend them money at first, but this improves over time; whereas in Senegal, it is the opposite.

Although the number of people borrowing money frequently is fairly low, it does increase over time, for both ORION and non-ORION beneficiaries and in both countries. Debts and borrowing may be a future risk, but they could also indicate attempts to build a business. However, frequent borrowing is unlikely to suggest stability, and the fact that this has increased over time, as has the proportion of people with debt, is of concern, particularly in Senegal.

Figure 26. Ability to borrow money ORION vs. non ORION in Guinea and Senegal



Studies of assisted return of migrants in precarious situations tend to focus on the debts incurred in funding the initial migration, rather than debts incurred after return. It is the case that many had borrowed money to fund their initial migration, but how much of a remaining burden this was variable and depended who they had borrowed the money from. Even in cases where the debt is 'forgiven', it can still reinforce the negative interactions between a 'failed' migration project, economic situation and psychosocial resilience, as a returnee in Senegal explained, "I'm no longer valued in my family (...) that's what hurts".

3.2.3 EFFORTS TO BUILD SOCIAL STABILITY AFTER RETURN

Under the social dimension, and in relation to access to services, our analysis suggests a difference in attitudes (or priorities) between mentors and mentees.. This is also reflected in the panel data which suggests an impact of ORION mentoring on social dimension scores, whilst qualitative findings emphasise the psychosocial impact of mentoring. This is likely reflective of differing priorities. For example, mentors regularly raised the issue of the challenges of helping mentees gain appropriate documentation, such as identity documents. This was not raised as a concern by a single returnee interviewee. For the mentors, identity documents represent more than just a document, they represent access to civil-national structures and status. Many shared examples of the challenges of accessing services without the correct documents and the vulnerabilities that intersect with documentation, such as this narrative from a mentor in Senegal:

"There are some who have never had a civil status (...) for example, there is a woman who has never had an identity card. It's not easy. For example, I had to find a certificate of non-schooling with her father's signature. But getting the documents from her father was difficult, her father refused to give them to me, she doesn't have a good relationship with him, it wasn't easy."

III - Outcomes of the Mentoring Approach: with a focus on Senegal and Guinea

Mentors consider documentation an essential building block of reintegration. While over time possession of identification documents improves, one mentor in Senegal notes that immediately upon return,

“A majority of returnees do not have any civil status, they have lost their paperwork. There are government offices providing services that would address their needs, but most returnees do not know about them. I orient them towards those institutions, and I often accompany them to undertake their administrative requirements to be able to access such services”.

Documentation was not a focus of returnees' attention to the extent that it was for the mentors. This can be explained by the mentors' profiles: social workers and other professionals used to working in the social services and assistance sector, and, therefore, are by profession and training more aware of the critical importance of documentation in accessing social services and rights.

The RSS asks returnees to rate their level of access to education and healthcare in their community, and their standard of housing, which are rated as slightly higher in Senegal than in Guinea, as might be expected given their relative national rankings in indexes such as the Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI)²⁶. However, there is also a slight visible trend of returnees' overall ratings improving over time in Guinea compared to a decline over time in Senegal, even as social scores themselves increased in Senegal.

The mentors reported that even if returnees might be aware that 'services exist', they may not feel comfortable accessing them, and supporting them in this area is something that mentors saw as a key part of their role. Along with documentation, access to education was a gap that mentors emphasised.

3.2.4 THE OVERARCHING IMPORTANCE OF THE PSYCHOSOCIAL DIMENSION

Stakeholders and mentors all agree that the psychosocial dimension is crucial to reintegration – progress cannot be made on economic dimensions if returnees do not feel that they can cope with their present and future. The value of supporting psychosocial reintegration and its role in supporting economic and social reintegration was raised repeatedly in interviews and previous studies²⁷.

Psychosocial support is not just a 'soft' addition, but key to enabling returnees to build their confidence and capabilities, enabling sustainable reintegration. However, it is a two-way flow. A mentor from Morocco highlighted how, *“for my beneficiaries, their psychosocial state is good, but it's the economic state that impacts the emotional state. If you don't have money, you're going to feel sad.”*

Given the importance of family relationships in reintegration, it is not surprising that **tensions between family members were also commonly cited as causes of stress after return.** Sometimes, returnees felt overwhelming pressure from relatives (particularly extended family), who assumed that the returnees had money because they had migrated, or who had lent the returnee money to migrate in the first place. As a mentor in Guinea said,

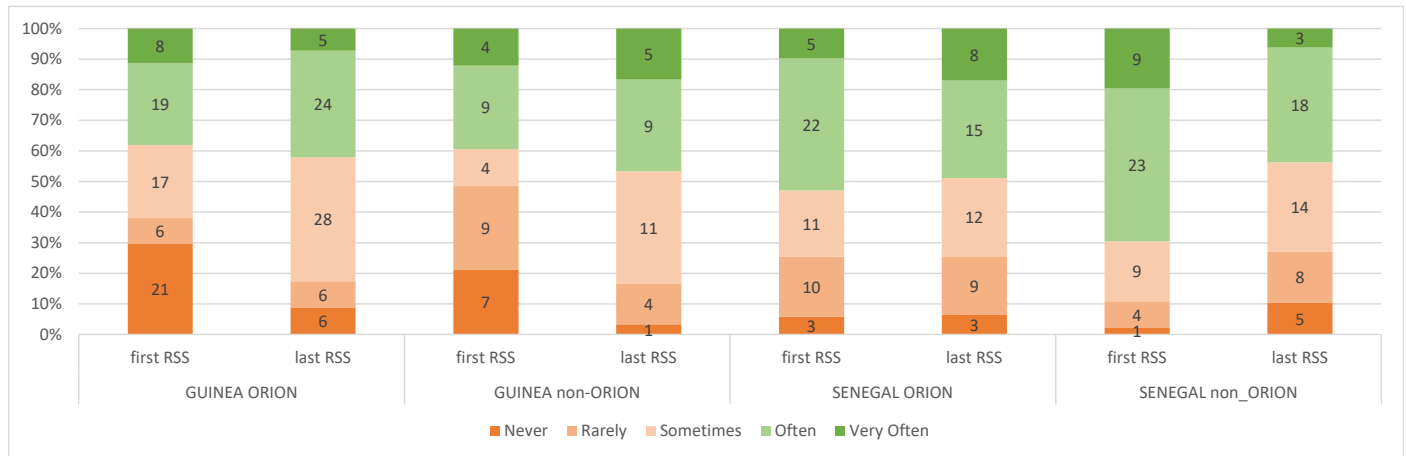
“In general, most require psychosocial follow-up. Many have had their families selling their most precious goods for them to be able to migrate. Some have stolen to leave, intending to repay what they had taken. Their families seek reimbursements, but when they return without the capacity to repay, they are stressed, marginalised, they feel guilty. So, the priority is to work on this psychosocial dimension.”

Another common issue was family members not understanding the dangers and associated traumas of precarious migration. Those in areas with a more apparent 'culture of migration' (e.g. Morocco, Ziguinchor in Senegal) fared better, as family and friends were more aware of the challenges they had faced. As one returnee in Morocco said in relation to whether their family support network had changed since their return, *“My friends and family's outlook has not changed, they help and support me a lot, they know the difficulty of migration and the risks of the journey”.* This reinforces the importance mentors attached to the family. In terms of reintegrating into 'communities', the majority of returnees expressed feeling fully or somewhat part of the community. However, returnees reported a relatively low level of invitations to participate in social activities, as illustrated in Figure 27.

26 Alkire, S., Kanagaratam, U., and Suppa, N. 2020. The Global Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI) 2020. Oxford: Oxford Poverty and Human Development Initiative.

27 see Samuel Hall / IOM (2017)

Figure 27. Invitation to Engage in social activities in Guinea and Senegal



The qualitative data presents a range of social experiences, from people who are very active in community activities to those who are extremely socially isolated. For those without family, the situation was particularly difficult, as an ORION beneficiary in Casablanca said,

“I do not have support, no one has been helping me. My parents have passed away, I have no contacts with my friends or neighbours, and where support is expected, it is from me to the family, not the other way around. But with my current situation, I cannot do that? I am stuck (...) I prefer not to get in touch with my family. Some things in my life have changed. I do not want my children to see life like they see it, always looking at the negative, seeing everything negatively. My children are forbidden to leave their rooms and play outside”.

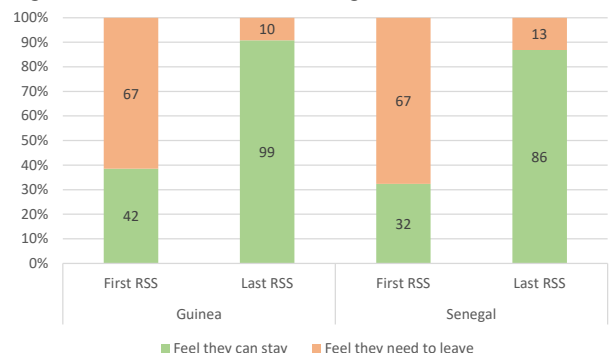
This interviewee’s psychosocial context is shaping his social context. It takes time to build or rebuild trusted social networks and family relationships after return, or a strong sense of identity amid migration and return’s impact on a person’s life. This is especially the case if the returnee and / or their networks see their migration as a ‘failed’ project or did not approve of the initial migration.

Friendships might fill that gap, but this may not be enough to build a sense of community belonging. A sense of stability in relation to social belonging is something that takes time, and for some of the interviewees is not yet achieved, even two to three years after their return. **The key to social reintegration is family relationships, but this raises the question of what happens to people who do not have family support. In these cases, programmes like ORION can fill a key gap,** as an ORION beneficiary in Guinea said,

“Since my return I haven’t had anyone to help me or offer me a job. I am baking, which is the trade I learned here before [migrating], to make money for day to day life. So, I’m getting by for now. Also, I have the goats and sheep that IOM bought for me. When I am in a cash crisis, I sell some to meet my needs. No-one helped me except IOM.”

Over time, ORION beneficiaries indicate a decreasing perception of the need to re-migrate as Figure 28 shows. This is apparent in both Guinea and Senegal, suggesting that over time feelings evolve towards wanting to stay.

Figure 28. Perceived need to re-migrate, first vs last RSS



A final particularly concerning finding relating to the psychosocial dimension of reintegration was the reporting of mental health concerns in qualitative interviews. Some interviewees reported actions or thought processes that might commonly be associated with depression, anxiety, suicidal ideation, and post-traumatic stress disorder. The latter was particularly apparent in those who had returned from Libya. All these issues are bound to have an impact not just on returnees’ psychosocial wellbeing but also their resilience to economic precarity, their social stability, and their ability to cope with setbacks.

III - Outcomes of the Mentoring Approach: with a focus on Senegal and Guinea

Whilst mentors can provide a supportive listening ear, sometimes they had to refer their mentees to more specialised support.

Snapshot from Morocco

Returnee numbers in Morocco are lower than in Senegal and Guinea, and the migration and return context is only recently beginning to be framed and discussed in a cooperative and cross-partner manner (see Chapter IV). Indicative change in scores for ORION beneficiaries in Morocco is presented in Figure 29.²⁸

Given the limited number of IOM beneficiaries and survey responses in Morocco (24 in total), the research team was unable to provide comparative statistical analysis of reintegration trends and RSS scores in Morocco.

RSS scores in Morocco for ORION beneficiaries highlight relatively high scores across the psychosocial dimensions, and the lowest scores at economic levels. This is consistent with qualitative findings, which highlight relatively higher levels of psychosocial stability and less symptoms of significant trauma than in the two other ORION pilot countries.

Of the 24 survey responses analysed for Morocco, no participants were satisfied with their economic situation (Figure 30) and a majority were unemployed and actively looking for work (Figure 31).

Figure 30. Work or No Work in Morocco

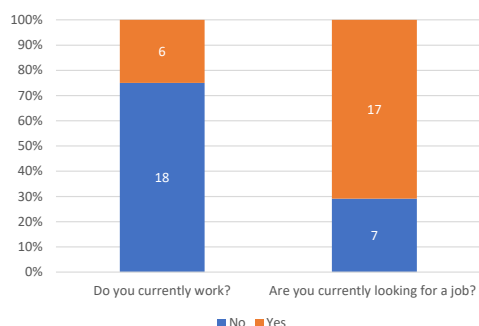
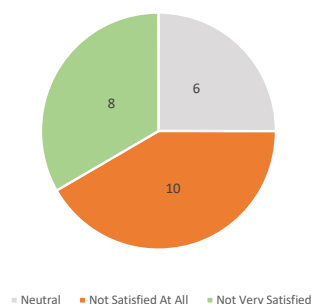


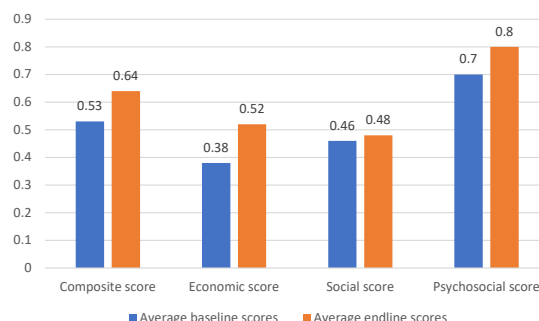
Figure 31. How satisfied are you with your current economic situation?



Interviews in Morocco emphasised economic stagnation and unemployment as key – and often sole – sources of stress upon return, as participants highlighted generally close knit and supportive family and community lives, where their contacts were supportive and understanding of the difficulty of achieving migration to Europe. Mentors in Morocco were a bit more nuanced, highlighting anecdotal cases of family rejection and a higher need for psychosocial support than indicated by RSS scores. Mentors also highlighted the links between dimensions, as seen in other countries: “The dimensions are a circle. If someone succeeds on the economic level, then of course on the social level [it will be easier]. It’s a chain. But the problem is that sometimes people do still need psychological support.”

²⁸ Changes in scores for Morocco are based on extremely limited sample size: the research team could only isolate from the global RSS dataset the cases in which the first and second survey could be distinguished based on the dates provided, which was not the case for all surveys. Surveys submitted by hand, for instance, were incomplete. Score changes in Figure 29 were therefore calculated on the basis of 6 data points in Morocco and should be taken as indicative only.

Figure 29. Evolution of RSS scores of ORION beneficiaries in Morocco





IV - Effective Reintegration Initiatives and Activities

The previous chapter confirms that **ORION mentoring does have an effect on reintegration outcomes**. In most aspects, this is either positive or has no effect (i.e. ORION mentees showing more successful, or roughly equal, reintegration indicators with non-ORION mentees). The positive indicators are more pronounced in Guinea, and more clearly in the psychosocial and social dimensions of reintegration. The research team was struck by the many examples of good relationships between mentors and mentees and how warmly many mentees spoke about their mentors.

Having reviewed the key outcomes of reintegration programming, this final findings chapter concludes on key lessons learned: what can we learn from selected case studies to inform more effective and sustainable reintegration programming?

4.1. LOCAL FACTORS IMPACTING REINTEGRATION OUTCOMES

Table 5. Differences and Similarities Across ORION Pilot Countries Pertinent to Reintegration Activities

	GUINEA	SENEGAL	MOROCCO
Returnee Numbers	High	High	Low
Number of ORION Mentors/Locations	5	4	3
Involvement of Government at National Levels	Medium	Medium	Medium
Involvement of Government at Local/Municipal Levels	Medium/High	Low	Low
Involvement of CSO and Local Actors	Medium/High	Medium	Low
Involvement of Private Sector	Low	Low	Low

These are rated relative to one another for ease of comparison: a medium / high rating in Guinea means that levels of involvement are medium / high relative to Senegal and Morocco. Ratings are based on interviews with returnees and stakeholders in the specific locations of study, as well as findings from the desk review.

The structural environment of return is one of the key recognised dimensions of reintegration. Government involvement varies most when it comes to active involvement in reintegration programming at local levels, whether in the form of municipal or local CSO involvement. As explored in Chapter III, reintegration outcomes in Guinea are slightly more positive than in Senegal. Interviews highlighted stronger levels of local municipal involvement in Guinea as compared to the other two countries, which may serve as one explanation for relative successes in **Guinea**. Mentors themselves in Guinea highlighted the importance of municipal involvement in the psychosocial dimension, beyond practical facilitation: “Now the authorities are involved, if people in town here see ‘Ah this person, [this returnee], the mayor went to see him to see how his work is going’, so they feel valued.”

Conversely, in **Senegal**, where return numbers and migration context are relatively similar to Guinea, gaps in regional and local involvement were highlighted as key obstacles to building effective reintegration initiatives and activities. “It’s important that regional structures dedicated to return take up the torch [of the work already started]. This is what would ensure sustainability,” noted one government stakeholder in Senegal, while a non-governmental actor highlighted the gaps in regional engagement: “I don’t understand why some municipalities don’t put in funds to support returnees. The Conseil Régional also needs to do this. Every département needs to have a fund for migrant reintegration. But this does not yet exist.”

In **Morocco** low numbers of returnees make cooperative community models of programming difficult. Mentors in Morocco note the value that cooperatives have brought in the Moroccan development model but also the difficulty of instating this in regions where there are not significant numbers of returnees. As one mentor highlights, “unfortunately, I only have four beneficiaries, but if I had 20, we could think about doing a collective project. We thought about forming a cooperative, it was a good idea... but there is no geographic proximity between these four returnees, they don’t know each other. [It wouldn’t have been possible].” Even in urban areas, where returnee numbers are higher, the collective approach is challenging for returnees to understand and implement in practice. The mentor in Casablanca described some of these difficulties: “for instance, they [the returnees] have had the idea to create an association for return migrants. There are ORION beneficiaries who want to do this, but they don’t know what it is to create an association. They need capacity strengthening in order to do this.”

In Morocco, where return numbers are smaller, local, or municipal involvement in returnee affairs remains relatively new. The interest in reintegration and local engagement are higher than in previous years, as highlighted by one mentor in Morocco: *“It is only now that things are beginning to develop around return migration. And there is not much synergy between actors – it is starting to develop, there is a certain dynamic in these interventions, I think this will be developed more strongly in the next few years. Even the authorities have now realised that the migration question is important.”*

RURAL / URBAN CONTEXTS' INFLUENCE ON REINTEGRATION OUTCOMES

There are three key elements that emerged in relation to rural / urban contexts of return and their impact on reintegration outcomes and possibilities.

First, consistent and individualised monitoring of and follow-up with returnees, key to the mentoring approach, is more challenging as returnees are scattered more rurally in all three countries. As a mentor in Guinea noted: *“the distance between beneficiaries [is a problem]. There are some in remote villages, where the network does not work, if you call the person for two days it doesn't go through, you have to physically move there in order to visit him and get updates.”* At first glance the mentoring approach of personalised accompaniment seems more challenging in rural areas, because beneficiaries are spread out, requiring significant investments in time and resources on the part of the mentor. Even in urban areas this can be an issue, as returnees are not concentrated in the same communities and may be spread throughout the city. Nonetheless, network and connectivity issues in rural areas further complicate effective monitoring and follow-up in rural areas.

Second, **livelihood activities differ and are more limited in rural areas**. While in some rare cases, rural areas may be a target of programming and an area where returnees find support and land allocation, overall perceptions of economic activities or opportunities in rural areas remain limited. This is particularly marked in Morocco. Moroccan returnees from rural areas highlight this issue:

“I can find some seasonal work in farms here, since I live in the countryside, this is a region known for its olives. But it's not stable work, and this bothers me”.

Third, on a psychosocial level, **feelings of community belonging and social integration are more “diluted” in urban areas**. While this may increase feelings of isolation for returnees in urban areas (especially for those who do not have family support in those areas), closer knit rural areas may also be a source of stress and increased social pressure and expectations, as returnees may not benefit from the same anonymity available in urban areas. Recognition of returnees and their ‘failed’ migration is more acute in smaller rural areas, which can add levels of psychosocial stress and family pressure. A key stakeholder in Senegal described this dynamic:

“At the level of urban areas, social pressure is diluted – some don't even know that the returnee had left – this pressure will come much more from the neighbourhood, the family. And even in some neighbourhoods people don't know. The idea of community is defined at a different level. But in rural areas it is different, everyone knows you have returned, you are visibly here.”

4.2. IDENTIFYING EFFECTIVE REINTEGRATION INITIATIVES: THREE CASE STUDY EXAMPLES

While occasional good practices exist, many actors are striving to implement reintegration support activities, with challenges and lessons learned highlighted in this section. Three reintegration initiatives are presented as case studies as practical examples that may be applied in future programming.

AN ECONOMIC REINTEGRATION INITIATIVE – THE EXAMPLE OF SOAPMAKING IN PITA, GUINEA

In Pita (Guinea), several local stakeholders, returnees, and the relevant mentor highlighted a recent and ongoing soapmaking project as a promising example of a reintegration programme that has the potential to support returnees and the community on multiple levels.

Part of the EU-IOM Joint Initiative for Migrant Protection and Reintegration, the soapmaking project in Guinea involves a collective of returnees (both ORION and non-ORION), trained together on soapmaking and provided with the initial materials (oil, a motorbike for distribution) by IOM. At the time research was conducted for this study, reports on the programme were generally positive, both from municipal stakeholders and returnees involved.

In addition to IOM's support, municipal support efforts have been active in approving and supporting the project where possible, from providing a location for trainings to making regular follow up visits on progress of the project.

IV - Effective Reintegration Initiatives and Activities

One local government stakeholder in the area described how, “they were conducting the soapmaking in the Centre de Lecture et d’Animation Culturelle (CLAC), but when it came time to find a more appropriate and long term place [for the project], I gave them support to find a place where they could be much freer to work.” Discussions with the mayor of Pita further highlighted the support and goodwill that the project has had: “The town has always been invested in helping returnees. [For the soapmaking project] we had to give them some support and information. When they had to find a location the town immediately provided one, and we regularly visited the place to be informed of what was happening, to see if there were any other challenges.”

At the time of research, the project was beginning to have a small economic payoff for those involved, **local officials see potential for further growth and enterprise.** “When I think about the training, those who are doing the soapmaking, I visited nearly every day, they had training for more than two weeks, they are learning how to make any kind of soap. In principle we can say that this is sustainable. When for instance I see how they are selling soap made by themselves – and we encourage this, we publicise their soap – this is already a great thing.”

On a tangible level, financial profits remained relatively small according to some returnees, and Covid-19 was having a negative impact on sales according to local officials and returnees, although the latter highlighted that they could see potential for growth, evincing desires to eventually have their own soapmaking business. **Beyond the economic dimension, local officials view this as a means towards strengthened social integration.** The mayor of Pita highlights this aspect of training, describing returnees involved in the soapmaking project as follows:

“At first when they were with people their own age, some of them were teased, but when those people realised that [the returnees] were taking on projects such as the soapmaking, which is very concrete here, they realised: ‘Ah! Even if these are returned migrants, they have not lost yet, because they are learning a job which can allow them to live.’”

REUNITING RETURNEE FAMILIES: THE EXAMPLE OF L’ACTION SOCIALE

In both Senegal and Guinea, the Ministries of Social Action (*Ministère de l’Action Sociale*, or *Action Sociale*) have begun to be more actively invest in supporting returnees. Interviews with representatives of *l’Action Sociale* highlighted ongoing challenges in implementing effective psychosocial mentoring and support – including a lack of regional leadership and technical capacity in mental health. However, in Guinea interviews highlighted a more advanced level of initiative, most notably when it comes to **facilitating family reintegration and mediating family dialogues for returnees**, recognising the crucial role that families play in supporting reintegration and the different levels required to encourage this. *L’Action Sociale* in Guinea has social workers working with returnees to accompany them psychosocially upon their return. **A key part of this role is actively facilitating family reunification, which takes part under four main actions:**

1. **Placement of minor returnees who cannot return to their family** in pre-identified foster families where they can be taken care of while Action Sociale engages with the child’s actual family to allow them to return home. Action Sociale also supports access to education.
2. **Family Mediation**, including negotiations with families initially refusing to accept returnees.
3. **Medical Referrals** for those in need of healthcare, including support in accessing services and psychological support through Action Sociale’s own social workers, in an effort to lessen the burden on families. This has included **the development of a healthcare centre.**
4. **Family Tracing** for returnees, including (but not exclusively) minor returnees. Action Sociale in some cases begins to implement this family tracing even before the returnee has come back to Guinea: “with family tracing, sometimes we even begin this before the migrant has even left Niger or somewhere else. We look for his family, and if we cannot immediately find his family we will support him in a temporary placement with a different family.”

Actions on family reunification across several levels – including access to health services, consideration of vulnerable populations (such as children and those in medical need), and continued engagement with families in situations that may be contentious or tense – reflect an understanding of the key importance of families and psychosocial wellbeing in the reintegration process, and an example of a multi-level way to engage with them in order to support effective reintegration outcomes.

AWARENESS AND LEADERSHIP EVENTS AT LOCAL LEVELS – EXAMPLE FROM L'ANPEJ IN SENEGAL

L'Agence Nationale pour la Promotion de l'Emploi des Jeunes (National Agency for the Promotion of Youth Employment, or ANPEJ), is a key Senegalese government institution aiming to support access to employment and livelihoods for youth in the country. While the agency provides services for all Senegalese, they have recently instituted a migration specific department, which seeks to mainstream both returnee and potential migrant support into existing programming, while taking into account their specific needs and profiles.

ANPEJ has a team of case workers who accompany returnees along their path to employment, including the job search process, identifying certifications needed, and linking experience with existing opportunities. While this work has progressed with the support of actors such as the German Corporation for International Cooperation (GIZ), implementing this support in a context of high unemployment, limited coordination with other actors, and minimal capacity on psychosocial dimensions, remains a challenge.

Awareness raising is one specific area and initiative where their work has effectively linked with returnees and provides a potential platform for returnee leadership and reintegration: that of awareness raising (*sensibilisation*). In describing the importance of awareness raising about return, and why they have engaged on this initiative, an ANPEJ interviewee notes that: *"when it comes to returns [this awareness raising is important], because it is generally the families themselves that cast the returnee aside. [...] [So we work with] returnees to raise awareness, they explain their journey, their challenges, their experiences, they don't hesitate to speak about it."*

In recognition of the importance of awareness raising, not just in key cities but at regional and local levels, ANPEJ has established a mechanism of "caravans" which travel across several different regions. On a practical level, as described by ANPEJ in interviews, this occurs as follows:

- Two or three 'caravans' will travel at the same time, over the course of two weeks, covering several different locations within one or two regions.
- Caravans are comprised of ANPEJ actors as well as returnees, and on a material level will include equipment for the projection of films and interactive sessions on return and migration

This caravan approach to information sharing, which actively includes returnees themselves, has been an effective means to spread information on returnee needs and link this to more practical events and information on access to opportunities. In partnership with regional and local ANPEJ branches, the caravans will also set up and facilitate capacity building sessions – including on local job opportunities and how to access these – and short livelihood training sessions depending on regional contexts and needs.

LESSONS LEARNED AND CHALLENGES TO SUSTAINABLE REINTEGRATION INITIATIVES

These three case studies **effectively connect returnees with other actors in their ecosystem – other returnees, families, and local actors. Any reintegration programme needs to show firm results in creating stable connections that can result in economic, social and psychosocial outcomes.** Without such connections, reintegration remains an aim, rather than translating into an embedded process.

- In the soapmaking project, the key strength of this economic reintegration initiative is supporting a collective effort by returnees (rather than an individual investment), and linking them with municipal actors who feel invested in their success. The success thus becomes a societal one – not only a matter of profits or revenue, but one of social integration and social cohesion. Other actors are therefore ready to further invest in this effort; IOM's reintegration activity becomes a starting ground, creating a momentum for more support.
- Similarly in the social dimension, government agencies such as Action Sociale in Guinea have invested in connecting returnees with social workers and their families. One of the key gaps found in the ORION approach is the lack of a systematic inclusion of families – in Guinea, the government has approached the question of reintegration from a family perspective, through the lens of minors' reintegration, mediation, medical referrals or family tracing. Acknowledging the importance of families is key to ensuring stability in returnees' lives.
- Lastly, connections are also happening in a more fluid way thanks to awareness raising initiatives that include returnees themselves. Ensuring that returnees are a part of sharing information on reintegration, spreading information and connecting other returnees to practical events and access to opportunities, brings a level of trust and confidence that can render information and connections made more impactful.

IV - Effective Reintegration Initiatives and Activities

Key recurring findings on **practical lessons learned for improving effective reintegration support** are highlighted and reinforced by key informants:

LESSON LEARNED 1: Most reintegration activities – and especially larger scale ones – focus on economic dimensions, and dimensions are often de-linked. While the mentoring approach provides beneficiaries with the confidence and knowledge to navigate the system, the economic and material support element remains a key dimension not integrated with the social and psychosocial dimensions. The majority of programming remains siloed within dimensions, and linkages between programmes and actors are often limited.

LESSON LEARNED 2: Effectiveness across dimensions may be restricted by donor funding and expectations: funding for some programmes allowed for closer psychosocial support for returnees from specific countries – especially in the case of returns from Europe – resulted in different levels of support and pre-departure information..

LESSON LEARNED 3: Administrative slowness impacts efficiency and timeliness in programme delivery. Returnees highlight numerous occasions to follow up on promised support with no results or wait up to a year or more before receiving support. Returnees described the frustration of receiving effective training, being ready to effectively engage in his work, but being stalled by delays in receiving support.

LESSON LEARNED 4: Challenges in effectively monitoring and evaluating impact persist. Actors highlight the difficulty of assessing impact and gaps in evaluation, beyond beneficiary numbers. The minimal level of public evaluation restrains lessons learned and information exchange.

LESSON LEARNED 5: Sustainability and local leadership remain a key concern. Reintegration initiatives remain led by international actors, with local implementing partners. There are a few exceptions or examples of local ownership and leadership in reintegration initiatives.

However, strong opportunities exist to address these lessons learned.

Even in cases where a reintegration programme is led locally or nationally, specific reintegration initiatives remain linked to international donor priorities. This is the case, for instance, for l'ANPEJ in Senegal, whose reintegration programming is guided by partnerships with the German development agency GIZ and the IOM.

In cases where governments are the main leaders on reintegration initiatives, these have yet to show results. This was most apparent in the position of BAOS in Senegal.

There is a desire to more actively integrate returnees into existing national programmes. All countries emphasised that returnees are also nationals of their country and that they should be included in services available to all citizens. In Senegal and Morocco, there exists a resistance to providing 'returnee specific' support. Stakeholders recognise this: in Morocco, GIZ has integrated their reintegration programming into the existing structures of the National Employment Agency. Under the ORION mentoring approach itself there have also been efforts to address sustainability through inclusion of local community members and returnees themselves – in Guinea for instance the ORION mentoring team has been training additional volunteers, including returnees, to take on mentoring roles once the project ends.



Fez, Morocco
Photo By: D L

CONCLUSIONS

The ORION project emerged out of a recognition of the multidimensional, multi-level investments needed to ensure that reintegration programmes are not just a series of employment-orientated activities, but present a holistic model. It is now well-established that any effective reintegration process needs to link economic, social, and psychosocial interventions. To address this, the ORION pilot has centred on the provision of a longstanding gap: the provision of mentoring to returnees based on a case management approach.

This report is based on qualitative and quantitative data, both primary empirical data collected in Guinea, Morocco, and Senegal and panel data extracted from IOM's RSS. This study explored the effect of the ORION pilot mentoring approach on reintegration, placing it in the context of general reintegration outcomes obtained from the wider RSS dataset.

- A difference-in-difference analysis confirms the positive impact of ORION on reintegration. The analysis speaks to a **small but tangible positive impact of ORION over time**.
- The panel data show **minor positive reintegration outcomes for ORION versus non-ORION beneficiaries across all dimensions** with non-beneficiaries having constant or worsening RSS scores over time, while ORION mentees' scores demonstrate an improvement.
- The positive difference between ORION beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries is **most substantial in Guinea**.
- Our mixed methods approach suggests the effect of ORION is **most pronounced in the social and psychosocial domains**.
- Qualitative data illustrates that many **trusting supportive relationships** have been built between mentors and mentees under ORION.

The ORION mentoring approach does contribute to improved reintegration outcomes, and there are ways this can be further strengthened for greater impact going forward. The IOM definition of sustainable reintegration requires returnees to achieve economic **self-sufficiency**, social **stability** and psychosocial **wellbeing** in order that they will be able to cope with the drivers of migration to the extent that any future migration is through choice rather than necessity. The remainder of this conclusion outlines the contributions of the ORION project on these key objectives.

Self-sufficiency is potentially strengthened under ORION through its confidence-building measures

All data sources highlight the tangible impact that the psychosocial dimension has on the two other dimensions – this is not a 'nice to have' extra but a crucial element to building confidence and allowing capabilities to flourish. The role of the mentor is key to building confidence, giving hope and maintaining a focus on the possibilities (and not challenges) of reintegration. **The disconnect between mentoring and other sources of economic support is where the project falls short.** Significant delays in material support, and disconnect between economic reintegration activities and psychosocial and social support, affect the reintegration process and the trust in mentors. Overall, **most returnees simply do not have the economic resources to build stable livelihoods on return.**

Stability is stronger with mentors by their side – but how sustainable is it?

Countries with higher levels of political tensions or violence show lower access to justice and law enforcement, with the need for country programmes to **pay closer attention to bridging the humanitarian – development – peacebuilding nexus** by providing a link between citizens and their government over justice and basic services. One opportunity is to integrate returnees in national development programmes, beyond reintegration programmes.

The national context matters, especially where reintegration interventions lack synergies and are uncoordinated between institutions, and where there is insufficient ownership by local institutions. When dependent on one reintegration initiative like ORION, mentors and returnees express concerns over their capability to sustain gains, with a strong sense of fragility. They articulate concerns about the time needed and the temporary nature of the support. Many asked simply what would happen when the pilot project ends? In countries with slightly stronger reintegration outcomes, such as Guinea, strong local investment and leadership may help to mitigate some of these factors.

In the MEASURE report, Samuel Hall recommended a case management approach to support returnees by providing linkages between different dimensions of reintegration as well as accessing non-returnee-specific support in terms of employment opportunities and social services.²⁹ **ORION mentoring was based on this idea, but this study suggests it does not currently meet its full potential.** Greater synergy between the psychosocial and social benefits of mentoring, coordinated with material and economic support could help develop the mentoring approach further.

Wellbeing is enhanced but underexplored: the role of networks will be key to ORION's next iteration

Overall, the distribution of the RSS psychosocial dimension scores mirrors the overall reintegration groupings presented in chapter I of this report. The most concerning is the situation of Senegal – with the third lowest psychosocial scores of the datasets. **The low psychosocial scores for returnees to Senegal shows the critical importance and potential of mentoring activities in this context.** Guinea is close behind as well. Returnees feel they belong, but also speak of high levels of stress. Missing from their experience are deeper connections with other returnees, with their neighbourhood or community of return and/or of origin. While mentors contribute greatly to confidence-building, such measures need to be enhanced by creating sustainable economic and social connections.

Networks are the missing link in reintegration programming. When economic assistance is not received, returnees turn to family members or precarious jobs to access income. While finding work is primarily reliant on networks, these are often lacking. Social networks do not always constitute professional networks, which remain a critical gap. Investing in the link between networks and assistance can address a key element of this stability and sustainability. Mentors saw their role as supporting the returnee and being a bridge between the returnee and other sources of support, focusing on IOM's economic support rather than wider community-level networks. ORION's unsystematic engagement with the returnees' wider ecosystem, including the family, means that **the position of returnees within the community is under-explored in the programme implementation.**

29 IOM/SH MEASURE (2017)

RECOMMENDATIONS

TOWARDS MORE ADAPTIVE AND FLEXIBLE PROGRAMMING

The reintegration contexts in Guinea, Morocco, and Senegal are some of the toughest ones across the RSS dataset, and the ORION mentoring support shows a direct impact on social and psychosocial wellbeing but only a slight impact on the composite sustainable reintegration scores, and primarily in Guinea only. This calls for more adaptive, non-linear programming. Delays in material and economic support limit the trust in joined up programming - the 'laddering support'³⁰ approach has been overshadowed by a sequential / linear approach, which means that returnees have to adapt to the programme, rather than programme delivery adapting to the reintegration process of the individual. At the moment, the phases are determined by the logistics of programming, of when programming can happen, not when it should happen for the benefit of the returnee. More needs to be done to coordinate between mentoring and other programmes, with an explicit 'case management' approach.

1. Strengthen the role of mentors in the economic dimension (linkages with the private sector, job opportunities) and aspects of the psychosocial and social dimensions (linking more actively with the returnee's ecosystem, both personal networks and formal service provision and access). Given mentors' capacities and influence, their role can be expanded to a more holistic case management approach.
2. Empower mentors to determine when economic support should be made available. Mentors need to have a say in when programming is delivered. They could initiate the staged approach, in coordination with IOM.
3. Adopt a revolving cash fund especially to support short to medium term reintegration needs of returnees, especially when other funding sources (such as for economic reintegration) might be delayed. These funds can be jointly decided by IOM staff and mentors, to maintain the momentum launched by the ORION project and to be used when returnees need them the most. The funds would be marked as flexible funding provided by donors, regularly assessed and replenished to ensure continuous support. Small funds have been made available since the time of this research, further assessments are needed on whether they allow to address the gaps identified.

CONNECTING THE THREE DIMENSIONS – LOOKING FOR SYNERGIES AT A LOCAL & NATIONAL LEVELS

Mentors consider documentation an essential building block of reintegration, and a critical step to access social services and institutional support nationally and locally. Institutional government involvement varies most when it comes to active involvement in reintegration programming at local levels. Furthermore, reintegration initiatives remain largely led by international actors, with local implementing partners behind. Addressing local stakeholders' engagement will enhance ORION's impact on reintegration. There is a desire to more actively integrate returnees into existing national programmes. This can be addressed and built on by reinforcing programming linkages at a local level, and integrating returnees in national systems and plans (e.g. social protection or development plans):

4. Build formal referral networks for returnees to access social services and documentation at the local level, and provide communication platforms (WhatsApp groups and other more permanent information resource platforms) to better leverage information and awareness about access to and use of services to enhance reintegration. This will require the involvement of local actors.
5. Pursue systematic linkages with national development plans that increasingly are decentralised in many countries of return, and hence have a link with community-level programming. The ORION mentoring approach can contribute to building trust between communities and governments. This requires ensuring that governments do include returnees in their programming.
6. Engage more actively in local, participatory fora on reintegration, to involve a range of local actors, and start building a sense of ownership and understanding of the benefits of reintegration for all. Such fora could include mentors and mentees themselves.

BUILD SYSTEMATIC APPROACHES TO INFORMATION AND COMMUNICATION

Consistent and individualised monitoring of and follow-up with returnees, key to the mentoring approach, become more challenging when returnees are scattered in rural areas.

30 Ibid

Actors implementing programming also highlight the difficulty of assessing impact, and gaps in evaluation that can allow them to know their impact, beyond the simple numbers of assisted beneficiaries, partly due to the inability to connect and stay linked to returnees. Returnees themselves similarly highlight numerous occasions of attempting to follow up on promised material support with no results. The communication and information gap must be addressed to build trust and to maintain contact.

COVID19 has reinforced the need to engage in stronger remote and mobile communication and programme delivery. As a result, technology can be a key to ensuring safe and protective implementation measures, while also providing a system to connect to and link better with returnees.

7. Invest in research on and pilot initiatives for a stronger use of technology in support of reintegration programming and information sharing. Building on stronger links with civil society and state-level actors, the use of information, communications and technology (ICT) tools in reintegration could have a positive impact in ensuring that returnees remain connected to the various layers of their ecosystem – even in some of the most challenging return contexts, or at times of pandemic such as COVID19, to access services and information digitally. While investments in technological innovations have focused on Europe and on refugee interventions, investments in support of migrants' decision-making process, preparedness for return, and if they choose to return, for their sustainable reintegration are needed.

DOCUMENTING PROCESSES FOR STRONGER MONITORING OF RETURN OUTCOMES

While monitoring and evaluation protocols exist, following up effectively and keeping track of returnees on a regular basis has proven challenging. Across countries protocols are not necessarily interpreted in exactly the same way. Monitoring is often delegated to the mentors, and documentation of follow-ups is minimal.

8. Strengthen data management processes at country and sub-office levels, include documenting in detail not only outcomes of follow up visits and data collection but the processes within which these were collected. In other words, IOM will require data protocols and codebooks that clarify the process from data collection to data cleaning and analysis. Such documentation is currently not available but can be addressed going forward.
9. Agree on common standards for monitoring reintegration outcomes to compare outcomes across programmes regardless of the implementing agency or donor. These monitoring standards are still weak and remain essential for greater accountability to returnees and donors.

ADVOCATING FOR A MORE DIGNIFIED AND SAFER RETURN PROCESS

What happens on the journey, and while 'stuck' in countries like Niger and Libya, impacts the ability of returnees to prepare and face return effectively, and subsequently impacts reintegration. Reintegration support efforts must not only look forward towards helping returnees manage the psychological baggage they bring with them, but also backwards (through advocacy or other means) towards ensuring this baggage is reduced in the first place. **As psychosocial support is necessary and crucial upon return, mentorship cannot be considered optional in such cases – the ORION mentoring approach should be systematic, and this study demonstrates the reasons for this.**

10. Advocate for better conditions for migrants, and specifically for the provision of protection for those on fragmented and dangerous journeys. This report provides further evidence on the difficulties of reintegration when return is compounded by trauma of violence experienced at the hands of border authorities and others. A possible extension of the mentoring program can be to include mentors in countries of transit and destination, in recognition of the fact that reintegration does not start upon return, but can be planned ahead of time and prior to departure.

ANNEX 1. LITERATURE REVIEW

1 INTRODUCTION TO THIS REVIEW

Empirical research with returnees demonstrates that return migrants go through processes of readjustment and reintegration that can be just as challenging as initial migration and integration, sometimes even more so (Carling et al. 2015; Gmelch 1980; Muggeridge and Doná 2006; Oeppen 2009). Whilst research on return migration is now an established theme within migration studies, reintegration continues to be under-theorised and under-examined. Studies of return migration have explored the notions of successful and sustainable reintegration to some extent, but 'success' is frequently loosely defined or assumed to be implicitly understood.

Until recently, successful sustainable reintegration was assumed to mean a lack of re-migration. Particularly when 'success' was being measured by immigration authorities and others involved in migration management. However, in a positive shift, recent work on reintegration (including work by Samuel Hall and the IOM) has been more nuanced than this, acknowledging that re-migration can be a valid component of reintegration. Another positive change over the last couple of decades is the increasing acknowledgement of the multidimensional nature of reintegration: whilst this is not a new idea (see Gmelch 1980), it is now more-commonly highlighted in both academic and policy-orientated literature.

This literature review contains four sub-sections. First, we explore some of the issues and challenges of defining reintegration, with a focus on different actors' interests in defining 'successful' reintegration; second, we look at what factors have been identified as affecting reintegration, including highlighting some relative gaps in the literature; third, we review how the literature suggests measuring reintegration; fourth, we investigate what the literature has to say about return migration and reintegration specifically in our case study countries of Senegal, Guinea and Morocco.

1.1 Methodology

In 2011, Dr Oeppen was involved in a large-scale systematic literature review of return migration, as part of the Possibilities and Realities of Return Migration (PREMIG) Project³¹. In this report, we build on that extensive work³², whilst paying particular attention to literature published since 2011. As all team members are actively involved in ongoing research about return migration and reintegration, we are familiar with current literature, so we were building on existing knowledge. However, we also used the Web of Science citation database of over 12,000 scientific journals to identify sources we may have previously missed. Using Zotero, we created a shared library of relevant texts (currently including 169 pieces), which, along with the PREMIG literature, forms the basis of this review.

2 THE CHALLENGES OF DEFINING REINTEGRATION

Integral to discussions of what constitutes the reintegration of return migrants³³, is a normative judgement of what constitutes success, or sustainability, and from whose point of view. This is part of the reason why there is no one fully agreed-upon definition of reintegration. Authors have commented on how the special interests of the actor or institution doing the defining bring their own priorities to the definition of successful reintegration (see for example, Fransen and Bilgili 2018; Kuschminder 2017; Scalettari and Gubert 2019).

Scalettari and Gubert (2019) argue that differences in understandings between migration academics and policy-makers can be explained by different ways of seeing the world: whilst policy-makers see the world as defined by distinct territories and citizenships, migration academics are pushing for a more mobility-orientated, transnational, view of the world that emphasises migrants' multiple attachments to multiple places. This in turn shapes understandings of return.

³¹ See <https://www.prio.org/Projects/Project/?x=1483> for more information on the PREMIG project.

³² The PREMIG review covered over one thousand academic articles, books and book chapters on return migration, published between 1960 and 2011. Carling et al (2011) explain the methodology for that review and provide a fully categorised bibliography.

³³ A note on terminology: the terms migrant, return migrant and returnee are used in this literature review as 'umbrella' terms to include all categories of people migrating and returning, whether economic migrant, refugee, regular migrant, irregular migrant, etc. More specific terms will be used only when relevant to a particular literature theme, or piece of literature, being reviewed or discussed.

For example, whilst return policies might present migration and return as a journey between a 'host country' and 'home' (or 'country of origin'), academic writing about return tends to see migration, return, and mobility in general, as more of an ongoing process, with multiple potential diversions and 'homes' along the way (Black and Koser 1999; Carling et al. 2015).

Literature examining the policy environment surrounding return and reintegration also highlight the distinct approaches that different types of policy actors might have. In particular, they draw attention to how humanitarian agencies, immigration authorities and development agencies might all have different priorities (which may or may not align with the priorities of the returnees themselves), with regard to what is seen as successful or sustainable (Black and Gent 2006; Carling et al. 2015; Falisse and Niyonkuru 2015; Fransen and Bilgili 2018; Liettaert 2019; Mensah 2016; Scalettari and Gubert 2019).

For example, if we examine the way the UN Refugee Agency (UNHCR) has used the term reintegration, we can see how their mandate relating to refugees and other forcibly displaced people (as well as the often conflict-affected contexts they work in) shapes their representation of successful reintegration, which has a focus on rights, justice and protection. For example, according to the UNCHR, 'The "end state" of reintegration is the universal enjoyment of full political, civil, economic, social and cultural rights' (UNHCR 2004b:5). UNHCR's role in managing large-scale repatriations to (post)conflict settings, rather than individualised returns, also influences their approach to what constitutes sustainable return. We see in the UNHCR's work on return and reintegration a focus on the potential intersections between reintegration and peace-building, as well as concern that unsuccessful reintegration could include tensions between returnees and others, which could in turn lead to renewed conflict (Black and Gent 2006; UNHCR 2004a).

Meanwhile, if we look at the priorities of migration authorities and migration management policy-makers in settings like Europe, we see that their interests in domestic migration policy and border control shape their approach to return and reintegration. Whilst return policy might reference reintegration, much of the literature examining this aspect of return policy argues that return and deterrence of future migrants is the priority for migration policy-makers, and a discourse of supporting sustainable reintegration is used in the hope that it will limit re-migration (Scalettari and Gubert 2019) and act as an incentive for 'countries of origin' to agree to the readmission of rejected migrants (Sinatti 2015b). To summarise, Carling et al (2015:30) write that 'Return and reintegration programmes prioritize return over reintegration. The term "reintegration" thus risks becoming a rhetorical device that serves to justify the return of migrants to societies in turmoil and allows development funding to be used for migration management' (see also Collyer 2018; Oeppen and Majidi 2015; Paasche 2014; Scalettari and Gubert 2019).

An issue that exemplifies the effect of these differing priorities is the question of re-migration. Migration intentions survey data does suggest that returnees are generally more likely to want to migrate again (see King and Gēdeshi 2019 for an example from Albania, but similar patterns are also shown in large-scale data such as the World Gallup Poll), but we cannot necessarily assume that this is due to a lack of reintegration. For migration management and border authorities, re-migration might be perceived as a failure of reintegration; whereas for migration scholars and development agencies, re-migration could be a reasonable livelihood strategy, which does not necessarily imply a failure of reintegration (see for example Stepputat 2004). This more nuanced approach to re-migration can be seen in the current definition of sustainable reintegration used by the IOM. The IOM (2017:3) define sustainable reintegration as follows:

Reintegration can be considered sustainable when returnees have reached levels of economic self-sufficiency, social stability within their communities, and psychosocial well-being that allow them to cope with (re)migration drivers. Having achieved sustainable reintegration, returnees are able to make further migration decisions a matter of choice, rather than necessity. [our emphasis].

However, the IOM are unusual in explicitly addressing re-migration. The question of re-migration is less apparent in other significant migration policy documents. For example, the text accompanying the Global Compact on Migration's Objective 21, 'Cooperate in facilitating safe and dignified return and readmission, as well as sustainable reintegration' (UN General Assembly 2018:26), does not reference re-migration, beyond a reference to avoiding internal displacement after return (paragraph 37(b)). This lack of transparency around re-migration makes it difficult to demonstrate to what extent re-migration is still seen as a failure of reintegration by migration policy-makers, or whether there is an increasing acceptance that re-migration does not constitute a lack of reintegration; however, it does appear that the topic of re-migration will continue to be politically sensitive.

An additional challenge in defining successful sustainable reintegration is the question of sustainability and success for whom. Black and Gent (2006) make the important distinction between sustainability for the individual returnee and aggregate sustainability for the place/country of return, drawing on the sustainable livelihoods literature. Linking back to re-migration, they also point out that one of the potential aggregate sustainability benefits of returnees is the potential opening up of transnational links with former countries of asylum, which may require a certain level of re-migration (*ibid*). In an analysis of the potential benefits of return to Senegal, Sinatti (2015) also draws a distinction between different ideas of successful return (as represented by Senegalese return policy, her interviews with returnees, and EU migration policy) and shows how ongoing mobility is viewed differently by the different actors involved. Fransen and Bilgili (2018) offer perhaps the most in-depth methodological discussion of how to measure reintegration success (or otherwise), by highlighting questions of comparison. In line with Black and Gent (2006), they discuss issues of individual vs. group success, and they also raise questions of comparison in relation to success – who are we comparing the returnees to? Themselves as migrants, themselves before they left, their compatriots who never left? Such questions are not new to studies of return migration (see Rogge 1994), but they remain unresolved. Fransen and Bilgili (2018) amongst others, also discuss the issue of whether we should prioritise supposedly ‘objective’ measures of reintegration, or returnees’ subjective view of their own level of reintegration success. This raises important questions about the measurement of reintegration, which is discussed in more detail in section 4.

A final challenge of defining reintegration identified in the literature is the question of complexity in relation to mixed migratory experiences and whether the so-called return represents going to a familiar destination, or somewhere entirely new. In a chapter that poses an influential critical analysis of the discourse used by both policy-makers and academics, Hammond (1999) highlights how the very language of return (return, reintegration, repatriation) emphasises the notion of going back to something known and familiar, whereas in reality this may not be the case. This is most obvious when people are ‘returning’ to somewhere they’ve never lived before, e.g. second generation migrants ‘returning’ (Christou and King 2014). However, it is also the case that even when returning to somewhere where the migrant has lived previously, the passage of time and changes in both the migrant themselves, and the people and places they are returning to, mean assumptions around reintegration being somehow more straightforward than integration must be questioned. Much of the qualitative empirical literature looking at returnee experiences illustrates this challenge (see for example Erdal and Oeppen 2017; Graham and Khosravi 1997; Muggeridge and Doná 2006; Oeppen 2013).

With this in mind, we now turn to whether a more theoretically-advanced aspect of migration studies – the study of migrant integration, adaptation and assimilation – can shed light on how we understand reintegration.

2.1 Learning from theories of integration

There is a huge body of academic literature theorising the ways in migrants adapt to their new settings; reviewing it all would be beyond the scope of this review. However, building on our previous work in the area (see Erdal and Oeppen 2013; Oeppen 2009), we highlight some key ideas that might have significance in relation to reintegration.

Firstly, social scientists have pointed out that migrant integration is a complex process and a keen awareness of that complexity is apparent even in literature on the subject from the 1920s onwards (see Kivisto 2005 for an overview of the history of the study of assimilation)³⁴; if we assume reintegration is a version of integration, then we should be open to the idea of it being a complex process too. Gans (1992) describes assimilation as a process we should consider as a ‘bumpy line’ rather than a linear route. Whilst we might be able to identify certain stages of integration, the manner and speed varies according to various factors; there is no one timescale for individuals and there is certainly no set pattern for particular migrant groups. It is also worth noting that the process may also be reactive to outside factors such as receiving country context, and specific events in both the origin and destination country may speed up, slow down or reverse the integration process (Oeppen 2009). The influence of these ideas in relation to integration can be seen in the W-model of reintegration proposed by Majidi and Nozarian (2019), whereby we can see that particular events might lead to different perceptions of reintegration over time. However, we also cannot assume that reintegration is purely represented by a ‘W’ (which implicitly implies an end-point), rather than an ongoing zig-zag of ups and downs in experiences and perceptions.

³⁴ A note on terminology: the process by which migrants adapt to their new settings (and potentially that setting adapts to them) is variously called integration, assimilation, adaptation, incorporation. They all have slightly different meanings but are also indicative of where they are being discussed, with assimilation being the more commonly used term in North America, and integration in Europe.

Secondly, there has been ongoing interest in the question of ‘who is integrating?’ Should the onus be on migrants to adapt to the ‘host society’, or should it be seen as a two-way process? Whilst the majority of the literature emphasises that we should understand it as a two-way process, the requirements placed upon migrants to do language tests and demonstrate knowledge of socio-cultural history to gain residence or nationalise would suggest that the bulk of the responsibility is placed on the migrant to integrate, rather than on wider society to integrate with them. Perhaps closest to our own understanding of integration is that seen in the work of Ehrkamp (2006) and Nagel (2009), which positions integration as a process of negotiation between individuals and groups in both the arriving and receiving populations. Nagel (*ibid*) points out that if we see integration as a process of negotiation between people and groups, then issues arise not so much because of differences between people, but when particular differences are seen as unacceptable or deviant. In the context of reintegration, returnees are bound to see differences between themselves and those who stayed, but difference *per se* is not necessarily an issue, it is when those differences excite fear or stigmatisation that they may cause issues (see Schuster and Majidi 2015).

Combining elements of the above (a non-linear process and the question of who is doing the integrating) is the question of the distinction between integration as a process, versus integration as a normative goal, or endpoint. The critical literature points out that often the term integration is used in such a way that it ‘bundles analytic concepts together with normative notions or idealised projections of society’ (Phalet and Swyngedouw 2003:779). In relation to reintegration, we can see this mix of normative goals when we consider the differing priorities commentators might place on different ideas of what constitutes successful reintegration (see above). However, whilst it is important to question and investigate the normative underpinnings of representations of reintegration, just as with integration (see Joppke and Morawska 2003), it is also important to remember that norms serve an important purpose if they speak to equity of opportunity in terms of life chances between returnees and others.

Thirdly, alongside ‘who is doing the integrating?’, there is also the question of ‘what are they integrating into?’. Migration scholars working with transnational theory have long highlighted that the idea of nation-states as discrete ‘containers’ for particular societies is not held up by empirical observations. Increasingly, there is an awareness that integrating into a particular setting a) does not involve severing all ties with other places and communities, and b) that those pre-existing ties have the potential to be of benefit to the integration process (see Erdal and Oeppen 2013; Kivisto 2001). Interestingly, the recognition that ties to other places might benefit (re) integration was more explicitly recognised in studies of return migration, than other forms of migration. In studies of return migration and development, and the return of highly-skilled professionals, connections made by migrants before their return have been seen as key to successful returns (Ammassari and Black 2001).

In a recent book, *Reintegration Strategies*, Kuschminder (2017) explicitly builds on ideas from theories of integration to develop her model of different ways in which returnees reintegrate. Taking Berry’s (1997) ‘model of assimilation’, which identifies four different ways in which migrants might acculturate to their new country of residence, Kuschminder (2017) develops a typology of four different situations returnees might find themselves in relation to reintegration. In Berry’s (1997) model a combination of differing levels of cross-cultural interaction between migrants and longer-term residents, and differing degrees to which migrants prioritise maintaining their own cultural characteristics, leads to four different outcomes: integration, assimilation, segregation or marginalisation. Kuschminder (2017) posits that reintegration can be defined multidimensionally (based on cultural maintenance, social networks, self-identification, access to rights and institutions and the labour market) and suggests that taking into account these different dimensions, four different ‘reintegration strategies’ emerge, which could also be termed reintegration ‘outcomes’: reintegrated, enclave, traditionalist and vulnerable. Kuschminder’s work attempts to bring the literature on reintegration into line with current literature on integration, which over the last couple of decades, has emphasised the multiplicity of ways in which integration may occur – in particular in relation to how transnational and co-ethnic ties do not necessarily indicate a failure of integration (Erdal and Oeppen 2013; Joppke and Morawska 2003).

Fourthly, and finally, a key development in studies of integration, the influence of which can also be seen in the work described above, amongst others, is the distinction made between the structural and socio-cultural dimensions of integration. The former includes the more ‘functional’ aspects of integration such as incorporation into structures and institutions such as schools and labour markets, whilst the latter includes more subjective aspects such as feelings of belonging and membership of social networks (Snel, Engbersen, and Leerkes 2006). This multidimensionality is increasingly recognised in studies of reintegration too, and the literature on return and reintegration provides conceptual discussion and empirical information on a wide range of different factors (structural and socio-cultural) that might affect the success – or lack of success – of reintegration. These are examined in more detail in the next section, section 3.

3 FACTORS THAT AFFECT REINTEGRATION

A key development in thinking about reintegration, spear-headed by Samuel Hall, amongst others, is the recognition that reintegration is multidimensional. This approach to reintegration builds on work by Snel et al (2006) regarding integration as well as shifts in global development theory acknowledging the multidimensionality of poverty (Anand and Sen, 1997), in order to emphasise that reintegration experiences and perceptions might be affected by a mix of economic, social and psychosocial factors.

Much of the literature assessing reintegration experiences has been framed around exploring the kind of economic challenges that returnees face. Access to livelihoods and employment were identified as key success factors early on (Feldman and Tompson 1993), whilst it has also been shown that returnees are more likely to be unemployed (Ghosh 1996; Panayotakopoulou 1981). Housing and access to land/property has also been identified as a key structural factor (Papademetriou 1985; Stefansson 2006; Stepputat 2004, 2008; Worby 2001) that often also has a gendered aspect (Fransen and Bilgili 2018).

Another strand of the literature, more often based on qualitative research, has explored the socio-cultural challenges returnees face. Access to supportive social networks has been identified as key to successful reintegration, with some research reflecting on the negotiations attached to this (e.g. the importance of returning with gifts, Oxfeld 2004) and the challenges of maintaining cordial relations between returnees and non-migrants, particularly in relation to negotiating 'narratives of suffering' (Carling and Åkesson 2009; Hron 2007; Stefansson 2004) and dealing with the stigma associated with deportation (Schuster and Majidi 2015). Previous studies of return migrants' experiences have also identified preparedness to return (Cassarino 2004; King 2015; Rogge 1994) as a key factor in shaping reintegration success and consequently, it is important to take the pre-return experiences of returnees into account too, as well as the circumstances of their return: whether they are returning with capital will affect their reintegration, as will the degree of choice exercised in their return migration (Erdal and Oeppen 2017; van Houte 2014; Ruben, van Houte, and Davids 2009).

In this section, we explore what the literature has to say about some of these factors in more detail. To reflect the themes we uncovered in the literature, we have divided this section into sub-sections. Firstly, we look at the way in which the degree of voluntariness in the decision to return might affect return experiences, which is in turn often related to the migratory experience overall (e.g. was the migrant a regularised, visa-holding migrant, an asylum seeker, an irregular migrant, etc). Secondly, we consider how returnees' personal relational characteristics (e.g. gender, age, and access to social networks and other resources) might affect reintegration. Thirdly, we look at the role of assisted return programmes and reintegration policies. Fourthly, we look at some factors that may be worthy of further investigation but are currently relatively under-explored in the literature.

3.1 The role of voluntariness in the decision to return

The distinction between reintegration outcomes for those who are forced to return and those who actively choose³⁵ to return is a key theme in the literature, particularly the policy-orientated literature. It is also used as a differential factor in quantitative studies that look to compare the reintegration experiences of different groups of returnees (e.g. Cassarino 2008). Not surprisingly, the reintegration outcomes for people who did not choose to return voluntarily tend to be worse, in economic, social and psychosocial terms (Cherti, Balam, and Szilard 2013; Oeppen and Majidi 2015; Ruben et al. 2009; Schuster and Majidi 2013, 2015; Sinatti 2011). Often, the stigma associated with deportation and removal has a negative effect on reintegration (Genova and Peutz 2010; Majidi 2018; Schuster and Majidi 2015). One aspect of this that is tricky to disentangle is that the literature also shows people who were irregular migrants before their return, have a lower sense of satisfaction with their reintegration (see for example, Flahaux 2017), and they are more likely to be forcibly returned. The literature tends to focus more on whether return is forced or voluntary in relation to asylum and immigration policies, but it is worth noting that feeling forced to return may also be the result of other aspects such as lack of employment prospects, or family pressure (Erdal and Oeppen 2013; de Haas and Fokkema 2010).

Returnee preparedness is usually seen as an important aspect of successful reintegration (Cassarino 2004; King 2015; Rogge 1994), and this is clearly linked to the voluntariness of return. Preparedness can be understood in two ways, a) the practical preparedness (e.g. is the returnee bringing home savings, skills or other capital, are their family ready to receive them); and b) desire preparedness (i.e. did the returnee actually want to return, or are they being compelled to by circumstances, or forcibly repatriated).

³⁵ We use the phrase 'actively choose' here to differentiate between what is sometimes labelled as 'voluntary return' but is more accurately described as 'assisted return' or 'return with consent'. This distinction is particularly important in policy contexts where 'voluntary return' programmes are targeted at – for example – asylum seekers who have exhausted their rights to appeal and are at risk of removal if they do not consent to assisted return.

Consequently, it is important to take the pre-return experiences of returnees into account and the circumstances of their return, including whether or not they are returning of their own volition (Erdal and Oeppen 2017; van Houte 2014; Ruben et al. 2009). Clearly, if a return migrant has not chosen to return, their reintegration will be shaped by the fact that they do not necessarily want to be in their country of origin. Often, migration is framed as a project, associated with a life goal, or an improvement in quality of life (Erdal and Oeppen 2017; Scalettari and Gubert 2019); if migrants feel they have been forced to return before achieving their goals and/or having not yet re-paid financial (and other) investments they and their family have made in their migration, then return could be seen as failure (Gmelch 1980), which will likely have a significant effect on their reintegration.

3.2 Returnees' relational characteristics, resources and social context

Another key theme in the literature is the effect of returnees' social context. This might be related to their identity-related personal characteristics (most often their age, or life stage, and their gender), their relationships with others (both familial and with wider communities) and the social network resources – or social capital – they have access to.

A qualitative study of return from the Netherlands to Morocco (de Bree, Davids, and de Haas 2010) illustrates a number of age, gender and life stage issues that come up across the literature. De Bree et al show that whilst older male returnees had chosen to retire to Morocco, younger and middle-aged men had been pushed back to Morocco by circumstances in the Netherlands rather than actively wanting to return. In the same study, women and younger children mainly did not want to return to Morocco. As discussed in section 3.1, the desire to be in a place and the degree of choice in the return decision is likely to play a role in the success of reintegration.

A common theme regarding gender is that differential gender norms between the country of migration and the country of return affect reintegration experiences (Guzman Elizalde 2017; Vega Solis and Martinez-Bujan 2016), with women often assumed to find reintegration difficult if they are returning to a country with more conservative gender norms. In addition, gendered inequalities in relation to structural issues such as reclamation of land in post-conflict settings, access to official paperwork and access to economic opportunities mean that women may feel less reintegrated than men (Fransen and Bilgili 2018; Vlase 2013). Relatedly, it is often assumed that older men will enjoy a smoother reintegration process, especially if they are returning with resources for their retirement; however, some studies have shown that male retirees who are also return migrants can experience increased social isolation, relative to their non-migrant peers (Barrett and Mosca 2013).

In terms of returnees' wider social context, access to social networks, and more specifically the emotional and practical support of family members, is seen as a key factor in successful reintegration; this finding is apparent across all the reviewed studies of reintegration experiences. However, a sense of returning as a result of the 'migration project' failing can put a challenge on family relationships and leave the returnee feeling stigmatised and as a burden on their family support networks; this can be particularly upsetting if they have previously been supporting their family through sending remittances (Erdal and Oeppen 2017; Lietaert 2019; Mortensen 2014; Schuster and Majidi 2015; Sinatti 2015b).

The role of social networks in the migration destination country have also been raised as a factor in reintegration. Conceivably, higher levels of social integration might imply increased 'reverse culture shock', or difficulties in re-adjusting (Graham and Khosravi 1997; Muggeridge and Doná 2006; Oeppen 2013), but Sussman (2001) suggests that successful integration suggests personal characteristics of adaptability, which could also support successful reintegration. The 'transnational turn' in migration studies also means that literature on return migration increasingly acknowledges the potential role of transnational social networks in supporting reintegration (Carling et al. 2015). This is clearly the case where those transnational social networks provide material support in the form of enabling transnational entrepreneurship (see Ammassari and Black 2001), but it appears to also be the case in terms of the more socio-cultural and psychosocial dimensions of reintegration. For example, de Bree et al. (2010:506) find that 'Those who returned for socioeconomic advancement and retirement, who were both locally integrated and transnationally oriented, experience the highest sense of belonging and are most personally satisfied with their return migration'. Similar findings have been reported in other empirical studies (e.g. Guzman Elizalde 2017; Kuschminder 2017).

3.3 Reintegration policies and assisted return programmes

When referring to the role of policies and policy-makers in relation to reintegration, the bulk of the literature in this area examines the role of the migrant-destination country's return policies and the role of third parties such as the IOM or UNHCR in managing individualised or larger-scale assisted return. The reintegration policies of migrants' countries of origin are examined in far less detail; not least because for many countries an explicit policy related to return migration reintegration does not exist, or if they do exist they are often designed in reaction to crises (Mensah 2016), for example as part of post-conflict reconstruction and peace-building policies. Where reintegration policies do exist they tend to focus on particular (elite) groups; for example, in Senegal, where return policies are shaped by the Senegalese government's migration policy focus on attracting diaspora resources and investment (Sinatti 2015b, 2015a). However, this is not to say that country of origin policies are not important, as many studies have found that structural conditions in the country of origin are a significant influence on the success, or otherwise, of reintegration (Åkesson 2011; de Haas 2005; Oxfeld and Long 2004; Ruben et al. 2009; Scalettaris and Gubert 2019; Sinatti 2015b).

Nevertheless, the majority of literature looking at the policy aspects of reintegration focusses on assisted return programmes. This literature is largely critical of assisted return policies. Sometimes this is because of ethical concerns relating to promoting return to countries in crisis or conflict, or the concern that assisted return programmes serve the domestic immigration policy needs of funding countries rather than countries of return (Ashutosh and Mountz 2011; Collyer 2018; Oeppen and Majidi 2015) or because the level or type of assistance is either not fully evaluated (Koser and Kuschminder 2015; Paasche 2014; Whyte and Hirsland 2013), inconsistent (Lietaert 2019) or perceived as not meeting the needs of returnees (van Houte and Davids 2008; Strand et al. 2008).

An interesting thread running across much of the literature on assisted return programmes is to what extent they encourage people to return, and the general consensus appears to be that for most migrants, assistance packages are not substantial enough to encourage return, but they are a useful additional support to those who are already considering returning (Black et al. 2004; Black, Collyer, and Somerville 2011; Flahaux 2017).

There is less literature focussed on the extent to which assisted return programmes actually support reintegration. The focus of existing literature has been more on their role in encouraging return and the politics of return assistance. Some quantitative studies have used the provision of assistance as a differentiating factor in analysing reintegration outcomes. For example, in her study of Senegalese and Congolese returnees, Flahaux (2017) shows that for migrants who had been legally resident as migrants, the provision of assistance had no significant effect on reintegration success. However, she suggests that for irregular migrants assistance did have an effect, and she hypothesises that this could be because although they would not necessarily have chosen to return if they had a full range of options, the process of consenting to assistance did give some feeling of proactive control in their return experience. Nevertheless, comparisons between those receiving and not-receiving reintegration assistance are challenging for quantitative studies of reintegration, as often the provision of reintegration assistance is a key mechanism for accessing research participants in numbers large enough to conduct statistical analysis.

3.4 Gaps and underexplored factors

In reviewing the literature on factors that affect reintegration, there were some areas that we felt could be considered 'gaps' in the literature; sometimes these are hinted at or mentioned in passing but they are not fully explored.

Firstly, the effect of forced return is discussed extensively, but largely the role of state authorities in forcing people to return. There is less exploration of internal family or other relational dynamics and how they might lead people to feel forced to return – for example, when a household returns, do all household members have an equal say in the decision, and if they do not, what effect might this have on differential reintegration experiences.

Secondly, the role of the returnee as part of a wider community or society. Those assisting returnees are increasingly aware of this, but it remains under-researched. To what extent are/should returnees be seen as separate from the communities they are returning to, and should available assistance be directed towards the person who is returning, or the place they are returning to?

Thirdly, and relatedly, in most of the literature, there is still a disconnect between the interest in social networks in supporting reintegration and awareness of the wide range of possible social networks a returnee might have.

Discussions of social networks in relation to reintegration almost always refer to family members (and other connections) who are in situ in the country people are returning to, and to a lesser extent, transnational connections with people still abroad. However, a missing possibility here is the role that social networks in terms of connections between returnees might have; although there is some literature about the possible tensions between different groups of returnees, i.e. returnees from different countries (Horst 2007). Can ongoing connections with fellow returnees support or hinder reintegration? This is a complex question. In studies of migrant integration, there are ongoing discussions about whether the presence of co-ethnics or fellow migrants enables or constricts integration, and this raises questions about the role that fellow returnees might have in relation to reintegration.

4 MEASURING REINTEGRATION

The literature reviewed demonstrates how complex reintegration is, and consequently, how complex it is to measure. The task of measuring sustainable reintegration is discussed in detail in Majidi and Nozarian (2019), and implicitly in Koser and Kuschminder (2015), through their discussion of measuring what they refer to as 'sustainable return'. Instead of repeating that here, we summarise some key principles that we see as essential to measuring reintegration, as a result of our review of existing literature.

Firstly, the importance of acknowledging the multidimensionality of reintegration, as well as the different (often non-linear) paths that reintegration might take, including re-migration. Secondly, despite the obvious methodological demands of true longitudinal studies, we should still aim to acknowledge the fact that people's level of reintegration might change over time. These two aspects are central to the work of Samuel Hall / IOM (2017) in which the researchers at Samuel Hall designed a set of reintegration indicators, and a scoring system, to start quantifying reintegration outcomes across country contexts and time.

Thirdly, studies of reintegration should aim to acknowledge and accept the potential differences between subjective measure of reintegration and objective measures, as well as the way(s) in which reintegration is understood by different actors and stakeholders might affect perceptions of the degree reintegration. Fransen and Bilgili (2018) offer a thoughtful discussion of this, as do Scalettari and Gubert (2019). Related to this, we also need to ensure that both group and individual perspectives are taken into account in order to ensure that gender, age, and other differentials are taken into account.

Fourthly, measuring reintegration ideally requires a mixed-method approach combining quantitative methods to illustrate broader trends, particularly those related to the structural aspects of reintegration, with qualitative methods that can provide the in-depth nuances, perceptions and meanings attributed to aspects of reintegration that might be missed by quantitative measures alone.

5 RETURN AND REINTEGRATION IN OUR CASE STUDY COUNTRIES

In this section we explore what the academic literature can tell us about our case study countries. Given the significance of migration as a livelihood strategy in these countries, as well as context-specific issues such as migration due to regional conflicts, and in the case of Guinea, health crises (ebola)³⁶, there is surprisingly little academic literature on return migration to these countries. Morocco and Senegal receive more attention than Guinea. Whilst for most of this review we prioritised searching for literature specifically on reintegration, we had to expand our literature searches to cover return migration in general for our case study countries.

5.1 Guinea

The academic literature on return migration to Guinea is extremely limited. We found one article that included people returning to Guinea as part of a larger sample of returnees (van Houte and Davids 2008), but the findings were not disaggregated by nationality. In terms of academic reports, again, these are limited; the Maastricht Graduate School of Governance produced a migration profile for Guinea (2017), but return migration is only briefly mentioned.

Recently, Samuel Hall (2018) conducted a community mapping of return migration to Guinea under the EU-IOM Joint Initiative, which forms one of the only pieces of literature on return migration in Guinea. Based on a household survey including over 500 participants and complemented by over 50 qualitative interviews conducted in five communities of return across Guinea, the mapping highlighted the importance of social and psychosocial support mechanisms in addition to economic and financial support (Samuel Hall 2018).

³⁶ Please note, this literature review was conducted prior to COVID-19 being recognized as a pandemic.

As a group, the returnees interviewed were mainly male, with limited access to education and, were found to have high levels of psychological stress upon return. While the study found that migration had allowed Guinean migrants to develop their skills and capacities in ways not accessible to those who stayed, the research team also noted the socio-economic vulnerability of returnees in spite of these skills, resulting in high levels of debt and fragile food security (ibid).

Given the scarcity of research examining returns to Guinea the work conducted for this study will seek to fill this gap and provide more clarity on return dynamics in the Guinean context.

5.2 Morocco

The significance of Moroccan migration (predominantly labour migration) to Europe, in particular to France, but also Germany, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands and others, has resulted in slightly more academic literature on return migration to Morocco. Knowledge about Moroccan return migration also benefits from information from a few large-scale surveys of return migration (often collaborative projects between academic institutions, international agencies and Moroccan research institutes). Selected findings from these, as well as some in-depth ethnographic studies, are summarised below.

In 2003/04, the Centre d'Études et des Recherches Démographiques in Rabat, carried out a survey just under 1,500 return migrants in greater Casablanca and Souss-Massa-Drâa, most of whom had lived in France. Of these, the most-cited reason for return was retirement, followed by family-related problems and social difficulties in the destination countries; other reasons included lack of employment in the destination country, and health problems (OECD 2017). This survey also formed the basis of a study by Hamdouch and Wahba (2015) about entrepreneurial activities, and they found that almost a third of returnees in the survey invested in some kind of productive project in Morocco.

In 2006/07 a large scale project examining return migration to the Maghreb, the MIREM project, included interviews with 330 returnees to Morocco (see Cassarino 2008). This project found that those who had chosen to return usually did so because they wished to start a business in Morocco, they were 'homesick', or there were family problems amongst their relatives who had remained in Morocco (OECD 2017). The MIREM project is interesting because it has a focus on both how the nature of return (voluntary vs. compelled) affects reintegration and the effect of the return country's policy environment. Their findings suggest that those who are compelled to return are more likely to wish to leave again, and that only a small proportion of returnees received reintegration assistance from public authorities upon return (Cassarino 2008). This supports suggestions in the wider literature on Moroccan migration that the Moroccan government does not encourage return, as it emphasises the importance of remittances, when formulating migration policy (Sasin 2008, cf. Bilgili and Weyel 2009; Cherti et al. 2013).

Another survey was conducted in 2013, as part of the MEDMA2 (The Mobilization of Moroccans Residing in Belgium for the Development of Morocco) programme, which involved interviewing 390 returnees, of whom 44% had actively chosen to return, whilst the others had felt compelled to, mostly due to the difficulties of achieving suitable employment in destination countries (Boulahcen and Taki 2014; OECD 2017).

Cherti et al (2013) conducted in-depth qualitative interviews with 50 male returnees to Morocco, who had been living as irregular migrants in Europe, of whom 15 returned by choice, 13 were compelled to return by circumstances related to their economic or family situation, and 22 were forcibly removed. Significantly for our project, they attempted to interview people who had been the recipients of support through assisted return programmes but were unable to access them, even with the help of the IOM regional office. Cherti et al (2013) provide a detailed account of some of the struggles individual returnees face in Morocco, which were primarily in the form of obstacles to economic reintegration, as well as feelings of shame at disappointing their family; "People whisper, they say that this guy has not been successful in Italy and that he had to return to Morocco because he cannot do anything" (forcibly removed male, cf. Cherti et al. 2013). Whilst most interviewees received material support from family members, some did not have good relations with their families, and/or, their families struggled to understand and sympathise with the circumstances of their return. Cherti et al (2013) found that only a fifth of their interviewees expressed any sense of satisfaction with their reintegration, all of whom were voluntary returnees; they also suggest that length of migration may also have an effect, as those who had spent longer abroad were more satisfied. This could be due to a sense of having achieved their migratory goals, but given the small sample size, it is difficult to know for certain. Like the MEDMA2 project, Cherti et al (2013)'s findings suggest that the post-2008 financial crisis, and subsequent drop in employment opportunities in Europe, was a factor in compelling return to Morocco.

Other qualitative studies include those conducted by June de Bree, Hein de Haas, Tineke Fokkema, and colleagues, published from 2010. These studies are interesting because they provide in-depth information on how household decision-making to return can be fraught with tension, as well as how views on – and experiences of – return might differ across gender and generational groups (de Haas and Fokkema 2010; de Haas, Fokkema, and Fihri 2015). For example, older men might be more keen to return to Morocco than women and younger men, because of the relative social freedoms and social statuses available to them in Europe (de Bree et al. 2010; de Haas and Fokkema 2010). These studies provide a critical take on the assumption that return migration should be dichotomously labelled as forced or voluntary, as there may be different degrees of volition, even within the same household (see also Erdal and Oeppen 2017). De Bree et al (2010) conducted a qualitative study of 32 returnees from the Netherlands to Berkane, Morocco, and again, identified generational difference in terms of people's wish to return. They also identify the importance of transnational ties in mitigating some of the socio-economic risks associated with return. They highlight that 'transnational practices play an essential role in creating post-return belonging' (de Bree et al. 2010:505) and suggest that those who were both locally integrated and transnationally-orientated are more likely to be satisfied with their return and to feel a greater sense of belonging (ibid:506).

5.3 Senegal

The theme of transnational orientation continues across much of the academic literature on return migration to Senegal, at least partly because it is a key research interest of both Giulia Sinatti and Bruno Riccio, both of whom have conducted extensive ethnographic work with Senegalese transnational migrants. There is very little in the way of quantitative work on return migration to Senegal, with the exception of the MAFE (Migrations Between Africa and Europe) project.

The MAFE project looked at multi-way migratory flows between Europe and Africa, and the migratory linkages between Senegal, France, Spain and Italy, was one of their cases. The MAFE project included surveys with 1,143 households in Dakar in 2008 (using a random sampling method initially, followed by stratified sampling to over-sample household with return migrants) (MAFE 2012). The MAFE project resulted in a huge volume of working papers, policy briefs and academic publications, and their final report summarises their key findings in relation to return migration, including that return migration from Europe to Senegal has decreased since 1975. They also examined factors that might affect the likelihood of return migration and found that Senegalese migrants who sent remittances were more likely to delay returning, and more generally that those who went to Europe to study were more likely to return than those who left for other reasons (ibid.)

Based on the MAFE project, Flahaux (2015, 2017; Flahaux and Kabbanji 2013) has written extensively about return migration to Senegal. Flahaux (2015) states that at the time of their arrival in Europe just under half of their Senegalese participants had intended to return to Senegal. This is an interesting finding because the cultural norms around Senegalese migration would suggest that return is prioritised, at least in public discourse (Sinatti 2009, 2011). Flahaux (2015) finds that whether or not Senegalese actually return can be related to reasons for migrating (those who migrated for work-related reasons or study are more likely to return than those who left to generally improve their living conditions) and the presence of family (those with Family in Senegal being more likely to return). Flahaux (2015) also demonstrates that whilst prior to 1990 the intention to return positively influenced actual return, post-1990 the intention to return does not necessarily correlate to actual return, perhaps due to the changing situation in Senegal, or due to increasing border restrictions and costs to entering Europe.

In a qualitative study, involving in-depth interviews with 65 male Senegalese migrants, as well as ethnographic work with return migrants and their families in Senegal, Sinatti (2011, 2019) illustrates the way in which narratives of return success and failure influenced her interviewees return plans and decisions. Similar to de Bree et al's (2010) findings in Morocco, she also demonstrates how a kind of transnational circulatory return might be used as a sort of insurance policy in case of struggles with reintegration in Senegal, even whilst a more permanent return might be perceived as more successful amongst her interviewees (Sinatti 2011).

Sinatti (2015b, 2015a, 2019) has also written extensively about the return policy environment in Senegal and the negotiations between Senegal and European migration policy-makers. She argues that these policy actors may see reintegration success differently from her returnee entrepreneur research participants, because whilst her participants see return as part of a multi-directional transnational endeavour (and in many cases are reliant on transnational business connections), migration policy makers tend to see return migration as a one-way movement.

Relatedly, whilst entrepreneurship is generally seen as a positive indicator of reintegration (and an important development impact of migration), it is worth noting that other work with returnees in Senegal has highlighted that self-employment is not necessarily a mark of a successful return, but may in fact be a desperate act from those unable to reintegrate into local labour markets (Mezger Kveder and Flahaux 2013).

6 LITERATURE REVIEW – CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

We note that in the academic literature some of the most interesting early conceptual discussions of reintegration (e.g. in the 1990s/early 2000s), particularly in relation to subjective experiences of reintegration, comes from a sub-section of Migration Studies: Forced Migration Studies (or, Refugee Studies). Arguably, Refugee Studies scholars' interests in ideas of 'home', displacement and dislocation – particularly in the context of traumatic forced exile, homesickness and nostalgia – have led to more detailed investigations of what it means to reintegrate into the place one was once forced to leave (see Hammond 1999, 2004; Rogge 1994; Stepputat 2004, 2008). Whilst this literature is obviously shaped by the post-conflict/post-displacement context, the conceptual themes raised about what it means to reintegrate – when both the migrant and the return country have changed in their absence – are relevant to other return circumstances too.

From migration studies more widely, although return migration is no longer the neglected topic it once was (see King 1978), reintegration remains under-theorised, as well as continuing to be shaped by assumptions rooted in methodological nationalism. However, we can draw on the more theoretically-advanced literature about integration to explore how that can be applied to reintegration. In migration studies, with some exceptions (see Vathi and King 2017), in-depth studies of the relational, socio-cultural and psychosocial aspects of reintegration have largely focussed on returnees involved in highly-skilled migration between wealthier countries (see Konzett-Smoliner 2016; Pocock and McIntosh 2011). The influence of the migration-development nexus has also meant that many studies of return migration to countries like our case study countries have prioritised the structural (particularly economic) aspects of reintegration, if they explicitly address reintegration at all.

ANNEX 2. THE REINTEGRATION SUSTAINABILITY SURVEY (RSS)

The Reintegration Sustainability Survey (RSS) was developed as an outcome of the DfID funded MEASURE project³⁷, and seeks to measure reintegration sustainability along the lines of the three dimensions of IOM’s definition of sustainable reintegration: economic, social, and psychosocial. As an outcome of the project, a set of indicators for each dimension was proposed and tested for measuring reintegration sustainability.

The RSS consists of 32 questions split along the three dimensions, defined as follows:

- **Economic Dimension:** 10 questions on indicators concerning perceptions of economic well-being as well as objective indicators on livelihoods, debt, and food security
- **Social Dimension:** 11 questions on indicators concerning perception of access to services, including to health, education, housing, and justice
- **Psychosocial Dimension:** 11 questions on indicators concerning psychosocial well-being, including on community inclusion, discrimination, psychological stress, support networks, and aspirations to re-migrate.

Specific indicators are outlined below, as described in IOM’s *General Note on M&E for AVR(R) and PARA*.³⁸

Q	INDICATORS
Economic dimension	
1	Satisfaction with current economic situation
2	Frequency of food insecurity
3	Ability to borrow money
4	Frequency of borrowing money
5	Debt to spending ratio
6	Perceived access to employment and training
7	Currently working
8	Ownership of productive assets
9	Currently not searching for a job
Social dimension	
10	Access to Housing in community
11	Perceived standard of housing
12	Access to Education in community
13	Children enrolled in school
14	Access to justice and law enforcement in community
15	Possession of ID
16	Access to health care in community
17	Quality/Adequacy of healthcare in community
18	Access to documentation in community
19	Access to safe drinking water in community
20	Access to public services in community

37 IOM Press Note, New IOM Report Recommends Steps to Strengthen Reintegration Programmes for Returnees, 22/12/2017

38 IOM (2018) Annex 3 to the General Note on M&E for AVR(R) and PARA

Psychosocial dimension	
21	Participation in social activities
22	Strength of support network
23	Sense of belonging to community
24	Sense of physical security
25	Conflict with family/Domestic tension
26	Feeling of discrimination in Country of origin
27	Frequency of experiencing signs of distress
28	Desire to receive psychological support
29	Remigration
30	Need vs. Wish to remigrate

Answers to the RSS are then used to calculate scoring for each of the three dimensions, as well as across all dimensions in a composite score. IOM has outline the calculation methodology: “indicators are measured between the values of 0 and 1. Some are binary (responses are coded either as a score of 0 or 1), others are scored on a 5-point scale (taking on values of 0, 0.25, 0.5, 0.75, or 1). In both cases, higher numbers reflect responses that are more indicative to sustainable reintegration.”³⁹

In addition, indicators are weighted based on their relative importance, in order to ensure a balanced scoring. For detailed explanation of the weighting system and score calculation methodology, see IOM, *Annex 3 to the General Note on M&E for AVR(R) and PARA*.

39 IOM (2018) Annex 3 to the General Note on M&E for AVR(R) and PARA

ANNEX 3. REGRESSION RESULTS

model: score ~ age + gender + time + country + program
n = 5546

TYPE	TERM	ESTIMATE	STD. ERROR	STATISTIC	PVALUE
Economic	(Intercept)	0.489145	0.012968	37.718572	4.87E-272
Economic	age	0.000501	0.000324	1.544324	1.23E-01
Economic	genderFemale	0.014577	0.008012	1.819430	6.89E-02
Economic	time	0.034415	0.003769	9.130700	9.91E-20
Economic	countryGuinea-Bissau	-0.030668	0.013993	-2.191637	2.85E-02
Economic	countryEthiopia	-0.029129	0.011955	-2.436629	1.49E-02
Economic	countryCôte Divoire	-0.127250	0.010546	-12.065900	4.93E-33
Economic	countrySenegal	-0.081849	0.011970	-6.837733	9.08E-12
Economic	countryGuinea	-0.144531	0.011823	-12.224100	7.56E-34
Economic	countryNigeria	-0.048641	0.008154	-5.965569	2.62E-09
Economic	programMicrobusiness	0.074299	0.007594	9.784103	2.16E-22
Economic	programTraining	0.084107	0.009825	8.560594	1.50E-17
Economic	programPsychosocial Support	-0.026291	0.010896	-2.412967	1.59E-02
Economic	programMaterial Assistance	0.026923	0.015268	1.763289	7.79E-02
Economic	programMedical Support	-0.044782	0.012768	-3.507299	4.57E-04
Economic	programFinancial Services	0.060614	0.015460	3.920639	8.96E-05
Social	(Intercept)	0.582094	0.011010	52.868236	0.00E+00
Social	age	0.000093	0.000275	0.337165	7.36E-01
Social	genderFemale	0.006738	0.006802	0.990499	3.22E-01
Social	time	0.024628	0.003200	7.695881	1.70E-14
Social	countryGuinea-Bissau	-0.007241	0.011880	-0.609481	5.42E-01
Social	countryEthiopia	0.013838	0.010150	1.363359	1.73E-01
Social	countryCôte Divoire	-0.116093	0.008954	-12.965512	8.55E-38
Social	countrySenegal	-0.027660	0.010163	-2.721650	6.52E-03
Social	countryGuinea	-0.094059	0.010038	-9.370048	1.10E-20
Social	countryNigeria	-0.012940	0.006923	-1.869198	6.17E-02
Social	programMicrobusiness	0.018305	0.006447	2.839128	4.54E-03
Social	programTraining	0.024674	0.008342	2.957979	3.11E-03
Social	programPsychosocial Support	0.001145	0.009251	0.123828	9.01E-01
Social	programMaterial Assistance	0.000019	0.012963	0.001433	9.99E-01
Social	programMedical Support	-0.044438	0.010840	-4.099338	4.21E-05
Social	programFinancial Services	0.041299	0.013126	3.146375	1.66E-03
Psychosoc	(Intercept)	0.742620	0.010150	73.165475	0.00E+00
Psychosoc	age	-0.000034	0.000254	-0.133284	8.94E-01
Psychosoc	genderFemale	-0.028317	0.006271	-4.515748	6.46E-06
Psychosoc	time	0.006255	0.002950	2.120173	3.40E-02
Psychosoc	countryGuinea-Bissau	-0.027934	0.010952	-2.550560	1.08E-02
Psychosoc	countryEthiopia	0.012182	0.009357	1.301931	1.93E-01
Psychosoc	countryCôte Divoire	-0.104119	0.008254	-12.614008	6.76E-36

Psychosoc	countrySenegal	-0.110749	0.009369	-11.821124	8.58E-32
Psychosoc	countryGuinea	-0.103129	0.009254	-11.144502	1.74E-28
Psychosoc	countryNigeria	-0.044546	0.006382	-6.980313	3.36E-12
Psychosoc	programMicrobusiness	0.077505	0.005943	13.040386	3.32E-38
Psychosoc	programTraining	0.084442	0.007690	10.981168	1.02E-27
Psychosoc	programPsychosocial Support	0.007816	0.008528	0.916532	3.59E-01
Psychosoc	programMaterial Assistance	0.038314	0.011950	3.206134	1.35E-03
Psychosoc	programMedical Support	-0.021329	0.009993	-2.134388	3.29E-02
Psychosoc	programFinancial Services	0.068766	0.012100	5.683009	1.40E-08
Composite	(Intercept)	0.617720	0.008764	70.479729	0.00E+00
Composite	age	0.000201	0.000219	0.914397	3.61E-01
Composite	genderFemale	-0.002487	0.005415	-0.459242	6.46E-01
Composite	time	0.020119	0.002547	7.897844	3.51E-15
Composite	countryGuinea-Bissau	0.000444	0.009457	0.046898	9.63E-01
Composite	countryEthiopia	0.005039	0.008080	0.623706	5.33E-01
Composite	countryCôte Divoire	-0.107733	0.007128	-15.114838	1.98E-50
Composite	countrySenegal	-0.057395	0.008090	-7.094544	1.49E-12
Composite	countryGuinea	-0.108039	0.007991	-13.520463	6.89E-41
Composite	countryNigeria	-0.031107	0.005511	-5.644889	1.75E-08
Composite	programMicrobusiness	0.053181	0.005132	10.362208	6.84E-25
Composite	programTraining	0.066012	0.006640	9.941480	4.65E-23
Composite	programPsychosocial Support	-0.003831	0.007364	-0.520232	6.03E-01
Composite	programMaterial Assistance	0.019810	0.010319	1.919722	5.50E-02
Composite	programMedical Support	-0.038519	0.008629	-4.463792	8.24E-06
Composite	programFinancial Services	0.052974	0.010449	5.069903	4.13E-07

ANNEX 4. DIFFERENCE IN DIFFERENCE EFFECT SIZE

Because the difference in difference of the means is equivalent to the difference in the means of the differences (before and after), the appropriate family of effect size estimators is the difference family, including Glass's Δ ⁴⁰, Cohen's d ⁴¹, and Hedges' g ⁴².

Glass's Δ

Under this measure we find that the difference in difference is up to about a third of the standard deviation of the control group.

TYPE	DELTA
Economic	0.137
Social	0.348
Psychosoc	0.265
Composite	0.378

Cohen's d

Using Cohen's d , which considers the pooled standard deviation of control and treatment groups, we find a small effect size for all but the economic dimension, which is negligible.

TYPE	J	G	SD	LOWER	UPPER	CONFIDENCE	MAGNITUDE
Economic	0.9961	0.12	0.21	-0.17	0.41	0.95	negligible
Social	0.9961	0.32	0.22	0.04	0.61	0.95	small
Psycho-soc	0.9961	0.25	0.22	-0.03	0.54	0.95	small
Composite	0.9961	0.34	0.17	0.05	0.63	0.95	small

Hedges's g

Using Hedges' corrected maximum likelihood estimator has little impact on the findings.

TYPE	D	SD	LOWER	UPPER	CONFIDENCE	MAGNITUDE
Economic	0.12	0.21	-0.17	0.41	0.95	negligible
Social	0.33	0.22	0.04	0.62	0.95	small
Psychosoc	0.25	0.22	-0.03	0.54	0.95	small
Composite	0.34	0.17	0.05	0.63	0.95	small

40 Larry V. Hedges & Ingram Olkin (1985). *Statistical Methods for Meta-Analysis*. Orlando: Academic Press. ISBN 978-0-12-336380-0.

41 Cohen, Jacob (1988). *Statistical Power Analysis for the Behavioral Sciences*. Routledge. ISBN 978-1-134-74270-7.

42 Larry V. Hedges (1981). "Distribution theory for Glass' estimator of effect size and related estimators". *Journal of Educational Statistics*. 6 (2): 107–128. doi:10.3102/10769986006002107.

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