



INTEGRATION STRATEGY GROUP

Return Migration and Reintegration Policies: A primer

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About the Integration Strategy Group

The Integration Strategy Group (ISG) is a joint initiative of the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) GmbH in cooperation with the German Marshall Fund of the United States (GMF). It is an expert exchange to assess the current opportunities and challenges of integration practices in Morocco, Turkey, and Germany.

The aim of the Integration Strategy Group is to exchange internationally and generate insights for future policies and good practices in the policy field of integration, a field that is important from a domestic, but also a regional and foreign policy point of view for creating a stable neighborhood.

To this end, an interdisciplinary group of twenty Moroccan, Turkish, and German officials and non-government stakeholders from the migration policy field are meeting three times over the course of 2016 in Germany, Turkey, and Morocco. Brief reports will be generated from the exchange.

The Integration Strategy Group is based on the premise that human mobility to all three countries will continue and that integration and inclusion practices are needed. Successful integration practices promote trust between migrants and receiving societies and create inclusive societies based on mutual understanding. The integration and inclusion of different migrant groups can greatly facilitate economic exchange, development and growth opportunities and creates the basis for social stability. On the other hand, the non-integration of immigrants, refugees and return migrants can lead to greater social, economic and political friction, potentially hindering economic development and fostering instable security situations. While Morocco, Turkey, and Germany face different sets of issues related to migration and integration, each country is in transition and must meet the challenge of creating integrated and inclusive societies.

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ABSTRACT

With a global increase in the number of migrants and refugees, the issue of return migration has recently received greater attention. To date, return and reintegration policies have been shaped by increasing political emphasis on migration control, and tools such as readmission agreements. These policies rarely target sustainable reintegration. This primer aims to provide policy guidelines by considering the individual and structural factors which determine return and reintegration. The primer highlights the different perspectives and policy interests of countries of destination and origin, emphasizes the need for nation states to recognize returnees' potential, and stresses the importance of inter-state cooperation in the field of return and reintegration.

1. Introduction

The so-called refugee crisis of 2015 focused the international policy community's attention on return migration, be it voluntary or forced.¹ Bilateral and international political frameworks for return now have greater relevance for both domestic and foreign policy. Alongside bilateral approaches between states, there are also numerous approaches at the international and supranational level which address the challenges and prospects of return migration. At the same time, return to countries of origin is increasingly used as a political instrument and bargaining chip in discussions and agreements between states. Moreover, domestic policies on return migration usually neglect connection with development policies. Instead of simply pushing countries of origin to readmit nationals and focusing on the number of returnees, development cooperation research and practice indicate that countries of origin and destination must cooperate closely in order to facilitate return and sustainable reintegration,² and to enhance returnees' potential to contribute to the development of their countries of origin. From a domestic policy-perspective, sustainable reintegration is achieved when returnees do not re-emigrate; in development cooperation, sustainable return focuses on the impact of the return itself, for example in terms of knowledge transfer.

This primer focuses on the return and reintegration of migrants and refused asylum-seekers.³ It discusses different groups of return migrants, examines the complexities, challenges and potentials surrounding return and reintegration, and sheds light on the various actors and motivations involved. Rather than analyzing international or supranational approaches such as the European Union's Global Approach to Migration and Mobility and its policies, the primer concentrates on nation states – countries of origin and destination – and possible areas where they might intervene. The primer rests on the assumption that conditions for sustainable return hinge on individual factors (for example whether return is voluntary or not) as well as structural ones (such as access to the labor market). Home and host countries face different situations and therefore use different intervention measures. Given the challenges migrants face during their process of return and reintegration, and the need to acknowledge the often untapped potentials of return migration, this primer seeks to identify good practices and recommendations for better return policies by addressing nation states as responsible and generally capable actors for policy improvement. Finally, this policy primer defines guidelines for sustainable and development-oriented return, and reintegration policies and instruments.

¹ There is no consensual definition of the terms return and reintegration, and the definitions used in this paper are thought to be the most representative within the return migration policy arena. Possible definitions are provided by the European Union and the United Nations. The European Migration Network defines return as the movement of a person from a host country back to a country of origin, country of nationality or habitual residence, usually after spending a significant period of time in the host country whether voluntary or forced, assisted or spontaneous. On the other hand, the United Nations defines return migrants as "persons returning to their country of citizenship after having been international migrants (whether short-term or long-term) in another country and who are intending to stay in their own country for at least a year." Source: United Nations, "Recommendations on Statistics of International Migration. Revision 1," Statistical Papers, Series M, No. 58 (New York, 1998). Accessed on November 21, 2016: http://unstats.un.org/unsd/publication/SeriesM/seriesm_58rev1e.pdf.

² Reintegration can be defined as the re-inclusion or re-incorporation of a person into a group or a process, for example of a migrant into the society of their country of return. The term sustainable return is also relevant for the guidelines. It can be defined as follows: "The individual has reintegrated into the economic, social, and cultural processes of the country of origin and feels that they are in an environment of safety and security upon return". This definition has been criticized as being unrealistic for a policy environment; it does, however, urge policymakers to take a harder look at the multiple factors involved in achieving a sustainable return.

³ This paper does not address the return of (former) refugees under UNHCR mandate.

2. Why do migrants return? Return and reintegration from a migrant perspective

There is no such thing as typical return migration. Migrants return for many different voluntary or involuntary reasons, after varying lengths of stay in their destination countries, and may or may not enjoy networks and bonds with actors in their countries of origin. Prospects and prerequisites for reintegration also vary considerably. Typologies of return migrants have been provided by Hein de Haas⁴ and Jean-Pierre Cassarino,⁵ who also singled out key aspects in the process of return. Two rather simple but decisive questions help to classify types of returnees: Is the individual willing to return (“willingness to return”)?⁶ And is the individual capable, ready, well-equipped, and well-informed to return (“readiness to return”)? We have modified de Haas’ typology to distinguish between the following types of return migrants:

- **Involuntary return migrants:** These are usually individuals with no legal residence status, whose economic and/or social integration failed, and who are deported back home. Most are unable to mobilize resources such as social capital, networks or know-how upon their return to the country of origin, where their reintegration will be determined by individual circumstances, including a changing or unstable economic situation, limited access to the labor market, and recognition of foreign qualifications. Furthermore, the very fact that return was not voluntarily chosen can lead to psychosocial problems, as it runs counter to personal preferences. Many return migrants will have experienced marginalization in the destination countries due to their irregular status, and often face stigmatization and marginalization in their countries of origin after return.
- **Return migrants whose return is “voluntary but unavoidable”:** This form of return might look voluntary, but is usually the inevitable consequence of failed migration and integration experiences in the host countries. Usually, these migrants’ residence status will expire in the foreseeable future. Return may also be chosen on account of regulations which prevent family reunification in the country of destination. These returnees can often tap into some form of resource, such as return premiums from the host countries or, occasionally, personal savings. Otherwise, their reintegration prospects resemble those of involuntary returnees, and many suffer at least initially from personal and psychological problems and a lack of motivation to reintegrate.
- **Voluntary return migrants:** These migrants have an explicit intention to return, especially once they have reached their savings goals, or acquired skills, higher education or business networks in their host countries which they can transfer and apply back home. Their reintegration can

⁴ Hein de Haas, “Moroccan migration trends and development potentials,” Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) GmbH (Bonn/Eschborn, forthcoming).

⁵ Jean-Pierre Cassarino, “Theorising Return Migration: the Conceptual Approach to Return Migrants Revisited.” In: International Journal on Multicultural Studies (IJMS), Vol. 6, No. 2, 2004, pp. 253-279.

⁶ Ibid.

stimulate business development or create jobs through investments. Nonetheless, an unfavorable business climate or government bureaucracy can pose reintegration challenges.

- **Second-generation “quasi-returnees”:** Second (or third)-generation diaspora members who wish to invest in the home country of their parents or grandparents. Some quasi-returnees lack skills such as knowledge of the local business culture or language, while others can achieve relative success in providing specific forms of support and guidance, such as business plan development.

In summary: these **individual factors** for return and reintegration are central to a return migrant’s personal situation in terms of their willingness and readiness to return, personal networks in the country of origin, motivation, and successful labor market integration. Research shows that involuntary return is a major obstacle for personal development and reintegration.⁷ Reintegration of forced returnees is much more likely to fail, and they are more likely to re-migrate.

3. What do return and reintegration mean for the countries involved?

Countries of origin and countries of destination usually vary substantially in terms of how they understand and shape return and reintegration. Such divergent perspectives hamper coherent policies between states, and contribute to the prevalent misjudgement that return and reintegration are two independent policy areas. Furthermore, the necessary linkage is often missing between return policies and (re-)integration policies in destination countries and social and economic inclusion in countries of origin. This section addresses and compares policies in countries of destination and origin, and concludes with perspectives for transnational return and reintegration policies which link policies in countries of origin and destination.

For destination countries, return is mostly understood in terms of controlling migration and preventing irregular migration. This applies especially to countries with high numbers of recent migrants or asylum seekers, like Germany or Turkey. Recognizing the fact that the numbers of asylum seekers and other migrants cannot be completely controlled when ethical and international refugee and migration legal standards are applied, nation states seek other ways to control migration, such as stricter return policies.⁸ While the public perception of refugees is usually marked by a certain acceptance of their need for protection, or even compassion, irregular migrants in host countries are

⁷ Tania Ghanem, “When Forced Migrants Return ‘Home’: The Psychosocial Difficulties Returnees Encounter in the Reintegration Process,” RSC Working Paper No. 16, 2013. Accessed on November 21, 2016: <https://www.rsc.ox.ac.uk/files/publications/working-paper-series/wp16-when-forced-migrants-return-home-2003.pdf>.

⁸ The “gap hypothesis” describes the policy gap in liberal nation states between the goals and actual implementation of national immigration policy, especially when it is directed towards restriction of migration. See Christian Joppke, “Why liberal states accept unwanted immigration,” in: *World Politics*, Vol. 50, No. 2, 1998, pp. 266-293, or J. F. Hollifield, “Migration and International-Relations - Cooperation and Control in the European Community,” *International Migration Review*, 26, 1992, pp. 568-595.

popularly perceived as illegitimate. Destination countries seek to strengthen their return policies at the bilateral or supranational level by signing readmission agreements, and at the national level by implementing tighter residence laws and tougher expulsion criteria and procedures. In addition, some host countries, such as EU member states, offer incentives for “voluntary” return through “Assisted Voluntary Return (AVR)” or “Assisted Voluntary Return and Reintegration (AVRR)” programs. Such programs serve to control migration, and are not intended to enhance development in the countries of origin.⁹

Instead of simply focusing on reducing the sheer number of unwanted migrants, return policies should be broadened in scope and redesigned to support individual and structural factors for return. Destination countries can implement a range of possible measures to enhance readiness to return and improve the quality of the return process. For example, labor market integration and a (professional) link to countries of origin can contribute to successful reintegration. Migrants who are integrated into the host countries’ economic and social life are more likely to acquire knowledge and know-how which could prove valuable and assist professional reintegration upon return. Pre-departure counseling and guidance for (potential) return migrants can also positively influence reintegration processes.¹⁰ Host countries can support return and reintegration guidance according to specific target group needs. Furthermore, they can also support diaspora policies and organizations so that migrants are able to maintain networks with their countries of origin. Such networks can be decisive when they return.

For countries of origin, return and reintegration are perceived differently, and can pose many challenges. Although the right to return to the country of origin is recognized in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights,¹¹ for many countries of origin, return receives low priority, in particular involuntary return, or return due to failed migration or integration elsewhere.¹² The reintegration of return migrants is overlooked when many countries of origin face weak economies and labor markets. Where even members of the local society have little or no access to the labor market, higher qualifications or a good welfare system, returnees may be considered as a burden not only by governments, but also by the local society. Reintegration policies and individual reintegration processes greatly depend on the overall economic, political and social circumstances of the country of origin. Services such as counseling require corresponding institutional capacities and resources which are often lacking in developing countries.

Labor market performance also plays a crucial role in return and reintegration. Where labor markets operate on an informal basis, returnees can face problems due to missing or lost networks. Likewise, when public or private employment agencies do not succeed in identifying labor market needs and matching them to the supply, economic reintegration can be cumbersome.

⁹ Khalid Koser and Katie Kuschminder, Katie 2015: “Comparative Research on the Assisted Voluntary Return and Reintegration of Migrants,” International Organization for Migration (Geneva, 2015). Accessed on November 21, 2016: <https://www.iom.int/files/live/sites/iom/files/What-We-Do/docs/AVRR-Research-final.pdf>.

¹⁰ International Labor Organization, “Guidelines for recognizing the Skills of Returning Migrant Workers”, 2010. Accessed on November 21, 2016: <http://apmigration.ilo.org/resources/guidelines-for-recognizing-the-skills-of-returning-migrant-workers>.

¹¹ United Nations, “The Universal Declaration of Human Rights,” Article 13, 1948. Accessed on November 21, 2016: <http://www.un.org/en/universal-declaration-human-rights/>.

¹² Jackline Wahba, “Who benefits from return migration to developing countries,” IZA World of Labour, 2015. Accessed on November 21, 2016: <http://wol.iza.org/articles/who-benefits-from-return-migration-to-developing-countries/long>.

One further and severe structural obstacle is ignorance of return at the state (and sometimes civil society) level, as well as the lack of recognition that processes of return and reintegration require specific policies. This is particularly acute where returnees belong to marginalized groups, such as an ethnic minority. The situation however looks very different in countries of origin with high emigration rates, where government institutions acknowledge the potential of return migrants, and where good practices already exist. Such countries usually offer incentives such as a “return plan,” and therefore tackle reintegration issues at a very early stage.

Various instruments can help engage with the diaspora, in particular those nationals living abroad who might be interested in temporary or permanent return. In order to know who and where the diaspora is, countries of origin should develop diaspora engagement strategies, including diaspora engagement officers in relevant embassies, and diaspora mappings. By knowing the diaspora, countries of origin can plan to engage returnees in professional jobs or short-term placements. Designing sustainable reintegration interventions, however, requires sufficient data and information on migration issues.¹⁶

It is essential to understand that return policies are transnational by nature, and that the (re-) integration policies in countries of destination and origin do interact. Offering opportunities for multiple entry and/or securing the residence status in destination countries can facilitate temporary or permanent return, since this makes re-entry after return generally possible.¹⁷

Integrating migrants into society and labor markets can enhance their capacities to reintegrate and invest in their original society. Cooperation between countries of origin and destination is crucial in facilitating return and reintegration through, for example, come-and-see-visits, and counseling and

EXAMPLES OF RETURN AND REINTEGRATION POLICIES IN COUNTRIES OF ORIGIN:

Philippines: As a country with high emigration rates and a well-established infrastructure for migration management, the Philippines offers reintegration support for returning overseas workers.¹³

Ecuador: Facing a shortage of pre-school and qualified high school teachers, the Ecuadorian government elaborated a project for the return of migrant teachers. This program is one of several governmental strategies that aim to facilitate the voluntary return of Ecuadorian nationals residing abroad.¹⁴

Morocco: The Moroccan government established a public fund for return and solidarity (Fonds retour et solidarité) to support the return and reintegration of Moroccans living abroad. Under the patronage of the Ministry of Moroccans Living Abroad and Migration Affairs/Ministère chargé des Marocains Résidant à l'Étranger et des Affaires de la Migration, this fund aims to assist Moroccans living abroad during and after their return, including social and professional reintegration for returnees, and the socio-educational integration of their children.¹⁵

¹³ Cf. for example National Reintegration Centre for OFWs, 2016. Accessed on November 21, 2016: <http://nrco.omdsinc.com/>.

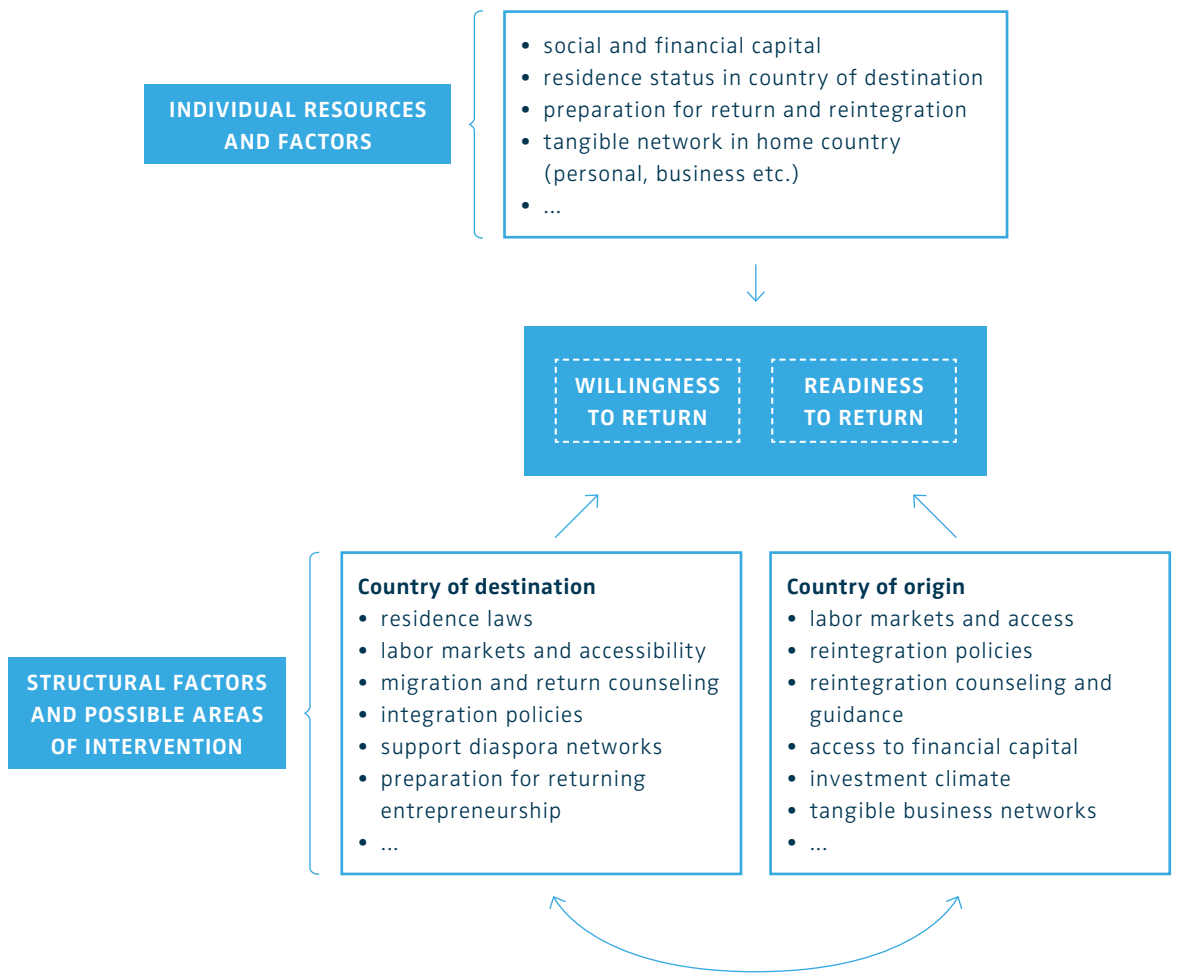
¹⁴ Cf. for example Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Accessed on November 21, 2016: <http://www.cancilleria.gob.ec>, and Global Forum on Migration and Development, “Return Plan for Migrant Teachers and Education Professionals from Ecuador,” October 10, 2015. Accessed on November 21, 2016: <https://www.gfmd.org/pfp/ppd/2299>.

¹⁵ Cf. for example Ministry of Moroccans Living Abroad and Migration, Le fonds MDM Invest, 2016. Accessed on November 21, 2016: <http://www.mre.gov.ma/fr/investissement/investir-au-maroc/le-fonds-mdm-invest>.

¹⁶ Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) GmbH, “Migration policy: guidelines for practice” (Bonn und Eschborn, 2013). Accessed on November 21, 2016: <https://www.giz.de/fachexpertise/downloads/giz2013-en-migration-policy.pdf>.

¹⁷ Hein de Haas demonstrates that in the case of Moroccan migration to Spain, restrictive immigration law leads to more permanent migration since it hampers free mobility after return. See Haas (forthcoming).

guidance for returnees which links pre-return with post-arrival phases.¹⁸ In practical terms, improving economic integration in the destination country alone does not improve migrants' capacities for reintegration. Rather, migrants need reliable information on the country of origin's labor market and how to access it. Partnership between countries of origin and destination would enable come-and-see-visits, and help migrants establish transnational business networks. Such cooperation would enhance migrants' preparedness by providing them with reliable information on the country of origin, thus helping them prepare for return and reintegration in the long run.¹⁹



¹⁸ World Bank Group, "Migration and Development A role for the World Bank," 2016. Accessed on November 21, 2016: <http://pubdocs.worldbank.org/en/468881473870347506/Migration-and-Development-Report-Sept2016.pdf>.

¹⁹ Based on Jean Cassarino, "Theorising Return Migration," p. 271.

4. Guidelines for successful return and reintegration policies

Policy options and areas of intervention are mainly located at the structural level, where policy change can improve conditions for return and reintegration, and enhance individuals' capacities and in particular their willingness and readiness to return and reintegrate. This section identifies areas of intervention and proposes guidelines for better return and reintegration policies.²⁰

General orientation of return and reintegration policies:

- To avoid failed return and reintegration processes, policymakers need to critically consider and question the focus on increasing return rates. Return policies should focus on fostering sustainable return, coordinating approaches with countries of origin and partner countries.
- Well-designed policies require accurate information and knowledge of target groups' needs. Policymakers in both countries need to increase the collection and analysis of gender and age-disaggregated migration data when designing migration and return policies according to local reality and capacities.
- Migrants themselves usually know what is most needed for sustainable return and reintegration. Making use of diaspora experiences and insights can help design adequate policies. Policymakers, therefore, should engage with the diaspora, and ask for their input when designing attractive and effective return policies.

Target groups and beneficiaries:

- As a group, returnees vary in terms of gender, age, qualifications, and reason and preparedness for return. In the interests of sustainable reintegration policy, policymakers need to take this variety into account, and use a target group-centered approach. Policymakers should offer appropriate and needs-based reintegration programs for each category.
- Development programs have shown that policymakers should not expect socially and economically marginalized "failed" return migrants to make a significant contribution to "development." Support for involuntary returnees should primarily be psychological.

EXAMPLES OF A DEVELOPMENT-ORIENTED RETURN APPROACH IN DESTINATION COUNTRIES:

Norway:²¹ Norway's return program with Ethiopia focuses on reintegration, and thus considers development a goal. In this program, each returnee can apply for 26,000 NOK (€3,083) for development projects in their communities. These monies are not paid in cash or in kind, but are meant to contribute to local community development. In one such case, funds were used for a local community school library.

Germany²² The German "Migration for Development" program contributes to migrant knowledge transfer, thereby supporting development in the country of origin. Foreign citizens who would like to return to their country of origin receive advice, job placement services, and subsidies. The aim is to provide returnees with development-oriented jobs in their country of origin, where they can put their expertise to best use.

²⁰ See for example Danish Refugee Council, "Recommendations for the Return and Reintegration of rejected asylum seekers. Lessons Learned from Returns to Kosovo," 2008. Accessed on November 21, 2106: <http://www.refworld.org/pdfid/484022172.pdf>.

²¹ Katie Kuschminder, "Female Return Migration and Reintegration Strategies in Ethiopia," Doctoral Dissertation, University of Maastricht, 2013. Accessed on November 21, 2016: www.merit.unu.edu/training/theses/kuschminder_katie.pdf.

²² Centre for International Migration and Development, "Learn more about CIM migration for development programme." Accessed on November 21, 2016: <http://www.cimonline.de/en/2593.asp>.

Return and (re-)integration policies in destination countries:

- Different policy areas offer measures designed for reintegrating migrants. Policymakers do not need to reinvent the wheel, but instead make use of these existing instruments such as bilateral agreements recognizing foreign university qualifications, and long-term multiple entry visa agreements to encourage circular migration.
- Divergent policy approaches in destination countries hinder communication and cooperation on migration and integration issues between countries of origin and destination. Policymakers in both countries should therefore strive for a more coherent policy approach.
- Prospects for reintegration depend not only on circumstances in the country of origin, but also on the migrant's economic and social success in the destination country. Accordingly, policymakers should facilitate return by offering effective incentives, and ensuring that migrants' skills and abilities are integrated into society. The offer of dual citizenship in the country of origin can facilitate both the return and circulation of talent.

Reintegration policies in countries of origin:

- Sustainable return requires the right conditions. Policymakers in countries of origin should take returnees' needs into consideration, and integrate inclusion into national development planning as well as sector strategies.
- Government antidiscrimination and equal access programs can encourage reintegration. Policymakers should involve the receiving society in all aspects of reintegration policy, and acknowledge that reintegration is severely impeded when returnees are discriminated against or envied for special support.

Cooperation between countries of origin and destination:

- By their very nature, return and reintegration are transnational. Policymakers in both countries need to enhance political dialogue, which should take place on an equal footing, and not just at the destination country's insistence. Ideally, nation states should be involved together with regional organizations and civil society actors.
- Policy dialogue might also facilitate cooperative and coherent policy approaches between the countries involved. Policymakers need to seek cooperative approaches between states to design and provide interlinked pre-departure and post-arrival support and reintegration assistance. This includes, prior to departure, return counseling and guidance detailing the conditions and opportunities in countries of origin, as well as the establishment of further education possibilities or job matching.

EXAMPLES OF COOPERATION BETWEEN COUNTRIES OF ORIGIN AND DESTINATION:

Switzerland's migration policy has effective coordination between different national structures and resorts focused on specific migration-related issues and foreign affairs. Therefore the Federal Department of Foreign Affairs developed the "Migration Partnership". This instrument is agreed between two states to cooperate on migration and take the interests of all concerned parties into account. They cooperate on concrete projects and programs to facilitate return and reintegration, such as providing startup assistance for returnees, thus making workforce reintegration much easier.²³

²³ Swiss Development Cooperation, "Switzerland's coherent migration foreign policy – Coherence for Development," 2016. Accessed on November 21, 2016: <https://www.eda.admin.ch/deza/en/home/themes-sdc/migration/migration-dialogue.html>.

5. Conclusion

The primer began with an analysis of individual and structural factors, and the ways in which both sets of factors influence return and reintegration. On the individual level, willingness and readiness to return are crucial. These two factors are in turn influenced by structures and reintegration capacities in the destination country, including labor market access, education for migrants/refugees, and levels of diaspora support. Such structural factors largely depend on local circumstances, and usually reflect the levels of economic and social development, such as labor market and business sector performance. Reintegration perspectives are also influenced by general attitudes and the cultural dimensions of migration and return. When return is perceived as failure, returnees usually face ignorance of their distinct needs, or marginalization and stigmatization, which can hamper reintegration efforts. But structural factors are not shaped by nation-states alone: linking return and (re-)integration policies between countries can have a positive impact on return and reintegration processes, and benefit the interests of both countries. Furthermore, such transnational policies can play a major role in enhancing returnees' preparedness for return.

Despite the challenges for return migrants, and for countries of origin and destination, return migration can have great development potential in terms of voluntary, well-informed and planned return and sustainable reintegration. These potentials include knowledge transfer to stimulate development in countries of origin. Managing reintegration is therefore an essential part of managing return migration, since "reintegration does not take care of itself."²⁴ Governments need to take responsibility by recognizing the value of returnees' enhanced human capital, and by removing barriers, such as labor market restrictions. Policies in and between countries of origin and destination have to provide adequate measures. This primer has developed policy guidelines for sustainable return, such as a general shift away from return rates to a more qualitative orientation towards partner- and development-based return and reintegration policies. Furthermore, target group-specific policy measures should be designed in order to reflect the vast variety of return migrants. This primer further recommends options for setting up cooperative approaches. Dialogue between host and home countries needs to be based on mutual respect and acknowledgement of each partner's interests and capacities. Finally, linking policies between both countries can contribute to sustainable return and reintegration policies: making sure that returnees are well-informed about labor market needs in their country of origin, and giving them the opportunity to prepare for economic reintegration need to take place prior to return. Reintegration therefore begins in the destination country. Return and reintegration policies can benefit enormously when the inherently transnational character of return and reintegration policies is taken into account.

²⁴ Howard Duncan, "Managing return migration for development," KNOMAD Policy Brief 4, (Washington, 2016). Accessed on November 21, 2016: http://www.knomad.org/docs/Policy_Briefs/Policy%20Brief%204%20Managing%20Return%20Mig%20for%20Dev%20Policy.pdf.

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