REINTEGRATION STRATEGIES

Conceptualizing How Return Migrants Reintegrate

Katie Kuschminder

Migration, Diasporas
and Citizenship

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The Migration, Diasporas and Citizenship series covers three important aspects of the migration process: firstly, the determinants, dynamics and characteristics of international migration. Secondly, the continuing attachment of many contemporary migrants to their places of origin, signified by the word 'diaspora', and thirdly the attempt, by contrast, to belong and gain acceptance in places of settlement, signified by the word 'citizenship'. The series publishes work that shows engagement with and a lively appreciation of the wider social and political issues that are influenced by international migration and encourages a comparative perspective.

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To Jordon and Mackenzie

Preface

In 2009, I was accepted to Maastricht University to complete my Ph.D. as part of the IS Academy Migration and Development Project funded by the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Within this project, my role was to work on the topic of return migration and to lead the fieldwork in Ethiopia. Upon my first trip to Ethiopia in the spring of 2010, I met with several government officials and international organizations. This was the first time I learned about the complexities of migration in Ethiopia: the large number of women going to the Middle East for domestic work; the return of diaspora members who were opening new businesses and contributing to growing the country; and the array of highly skilled students being trained abroad and returning to work in both the public and private sector after their studies. From this preliminary trip, I knew that any research conducted on return to Ethiopia had to encompass all of these different groups.

The reintegration strategies approach emerged from a comprehensive multidisciplinary literature review of the migration, forced migration, sociology, and political science disciplines. My motivation in developing the approach was to further elicit the intricacies of reintegration in a comparative context for different groups of migrants. I wanted to show

that reintegration is an individualized process that people go through in different ways depending on their experiences and the choices they make. This book explores the process of reintegration and how different women have navigated their reintegration in Ethiopia.

Florence, Italy   Katie Kuschminder

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Acronyms

AVR	Assisted Voluntary Return
EDRI	Ethiopian Development Research Institute
EIA	Ethiopian Investment Agency
EOC	Ethiopian Orthodox Church
HRW	Human Rights Watch
ILO	International Labour Organization
IOM	International Organization for Migration
IT	Information Technology
MidEth	Migration for Development in Ethiopia
MFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Ethiopia)
NGO	Non-governmental Organization
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
OWWA	Overseas Workers Welfare Administration (the Philippines)
SNNPR	Southern Nations, Nationalities, and Peoples' Region
TRQN	Temporary Return of Qualified Nationals
UAE	United Arab Emirates
UN	United Nations
UNDESA	United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNHCR	United Nations High Commission for Refugees
UNODC	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
UN Women	United Nations Office on Women

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Introduction

When you go from your native land to another culture there is culture
shock. The culture shock is okay because when you cross the boundaries
you are expecting something different…You know, somehow mentally, to
a degree you are prepared and you shift. Now the re-entry culture shock
is different. Because yes, you know this culture, what you have in your
mind is what you grew up in and you can visualize things. But then when
you actually come back to it things are not the same. Things are not the
way you left them. Although they look like it on the surface, they are not
exactly that way. And because it's dynamic, it's changing for the better or
for the worse. So when you come back, do you fit in is a different ques-
tion? (*Participant 36*)

Decades of research have been invested into understanding integration,
the process of migrants' adaptation to the country of migration. Various
theories of integration have been put forth from pre-eminent migration
scholars such as Stephen Castles and John Berry. The field has been rich
with discourse and analysis to understand the different dimensions of
integration and how different immigrant groups integrate. In general,
return migration, on the other hand, has been less researched. In 2000,
Russell King wrote: "Return migration is the great unwritten chapter in

the history of migration" (7). The fall of the Berlin Wall, increasing conflicts in the south, and the high number of asylum seekers in Europe in the 1990s have all led developed countries to increase their attention on the return over the past decade.

Return is the process of returning, and reintegration is generally the story of what happens next; yet, a decade after King's statement, few studies have actually focused on reintegration. We lack understandings of how people reintegrate and theoretical models to explore the different dimensions of reintegration. This is most likely due to the explicit assumption that there is no story in reintegration. People are returning to their country of origin, their *culture*, and their *home,* and therefore, the process is straightforward. As the above quote demonstrates and research has vividly illustrated in the 1990s in the works of scholars such as Laura Hammond (1999), John Rogge (1994), and Koser and Black (1999), this is not the case. Return is not merely going home, and reintegration is not simply fitting back into your old life. Both of these phenomena represent processes. Reintegration is a process that takes time, years for some and for others reintegration can never be achieved, which may result in a re-migration.

Within the migration and development debates, there are high expectations on diaspora returnees to act as agents of change in their countries of origin. At present, there is increasing pressure on return migrants to reintegrate, contribute to development in their origin countries, and act as brokers of knowledge transfer and capacity building. From a policy perspective, the large increase in asylum seeker claims in Europe in 2015 has now placed far greater emphasis on return. This is demonstrated in policy agreements such as the signing of the European Union and Afghanistan Joint Way Forward on 2 October 2016, which has a core focus on return and reintegration. Assisted voluntary return programmes facilitated by the International Organization for Migration (IOM) reached record levels in 2015/2016 returning migrants that primarily did not have the right to stay in the host country. Regardless of the type of return migrant, there is an expectation that the returnee will be able to reintegrate upon return, yet there is little understanding of the process of reintegration.

This book seeks to contribute to the return and reintegration literature by putting forth a new conceptual framework for understanding reintegration. This introductory chapter provides a brief overview of the return and reintegration field. This chapter then applies lessons from the field of integration to the field of reintegration and proposes a new definition of reintegration that will be used in this book. The rest of this introductory chapter introduces the research case study of female return migration to Ethiopia and the methodology and analytical approach used for the empirical elements of this book. This chapter concludes by providing an overview of the remaining chapters in this book.

Defining Return Migration

At first glance, defining return migration appears straightforward. Gmelch (1980) provides an overarching definition "Return migration is defined as the movement of emigrants back to their homelands to resettle. Migrants returning for a vacation or an extended visit without the intention of remaining at home are generally not defined as return migrants, though in some settings it is difficult to distinguish analytically the migrants returning home for a short visit or seasonally from those who have returned permanently" (136). This definition implies a permanency in the return movement, as migrants are to "resettle" in the homeland. Return migration has historically been thought of as the "end part of the migration cycle", but recent work has illustrated that the return movement may be only another step in the cycle as people lead increasingly fluid lives of mobility (Riiskjaer and Nielsson 2008; Stefannson 2006).

King (2000) provides an alternative definition that does not imply a resettling: "Return migration may be defined as the process whereby people return to their country or place of origin after a significant period in another country or region" (8). However, as suggested by Ammassari (2009), King does not specify what a "significant period" entails. There is debate as to how long one has to be abroad to be considered a migrant and thus a return migrant. The United Nations defines a return

migrant as an individual who has been abroad for at least 12 months. Alternatively, there is also the argument that a period of 3 months can also be viewed as significant enough to be considered as a migration episode, especially in terms of circular or seasonal migration.

The United Nations (UN) identifies two categories for people entering a country: citizens and foreigners (1998). International migrant citizens are defined as returnees and are classified by the following types:

- Returning from study or training abroad
- Returning from employment abroad
- Returning after working abroad as international civil servants
- Humanitarian migration:

  - Repatriating refugees
  - Repatriating asylum seekers

- Citizens deported from abroad
- Other returning citizens

Other returning citizens are defined as "All international migrant citizens returning to their own country for a lengthy stay (of at least 12 months) who cannot be classified into previous categories. In particular, citizens who settled abroad and return to establish their place of usual residence in their own country should be included in this category" (UN DESA 1998). This definition is problematic in the case of states that do not offer dual citizenship, as is the case in Ethiopia. If an individual migrates from Ethiopia and lives abroad for 10 years, they may choose to acquire the citizenship of the host country. When they return to Ethiopia, they would thus be classified as a foreigner by the UN definition. However, if they are returning to "resettle" in their homeland and have been abroad for a "significant period", they would be classified as a return migrant by the definitions provided by both Gmelch (1980) and King (2000).

It is evident that definitions of return migration are not necessarily straightforward. This becomes problematic when working across disciplines as researchers, policy makers, and practitioners may conceptualize return migration in different ways. There is a need to create uniformity

in terms across the spectrum to ensure clarity in debates. In general, a definition of return migration must remain broad so as to include the multiple categories of return migrants (as discussed in the next section). Thus, I would argue that a basic definition as provided by King is best suited to return migration and that scholars should define a "significant period" for their work. In this study, return is therefore considered as "the process whereby people return to their country or place of origin after a significant period in another country or region" (King 2000: 8) wherein a significant period is considered as a minimum of 3 months abroad. Three months has been selected instead of the UN recommended 1 year based on the argument that 3 months can provide enough time for exposure to another culture and context to have an impact on individuals' values and behaviours, which is important for their ability to potentially impact social change. A distinction is also made to ensure that the 3 months abroad was a migration episode, meaning it was intended for the purposes of moving and not for a vacation or visit. Furthermore, this definition is appropriate as it avoids the problems of the UN definitions that only citizens can be returnees. This is a fundamental flaw of the UN definition in that it fails to capture all returnees that may have acquired foreign citizenship. Although exact numbers do not exist on this in Ethiopia, it is assumed that the majority of highly skilled returnees have given up their Ethiopian citizenship as the majority migrated during the conflict period in Ethiopia and have been abroad for over 10 years.

Categorizing Return Migration

In addition to varying definitions, return migrants can be categorized in multiple ways. Defining categories of return migration is important as return migrants are a highly heterogeneous group with different aspirations, experiences, and vulnerabilities. This section will provide a brief overview of some of the important categorizations used to define different groups or return migrants.

Perhaps the most significant distinction is between voluntary and forced migration movements as they have different terminologies for

both the initial migration movement and return. This distinction can be made on two levels: first, if the initial migration movement was voluntary (migrant) or forced (refugee), and second, if the return migration movement is voluntary (return migrant) or forced (deportee or *refoulement* for refugees). This categorization in return deserves further discussion as the distinction is not always clear. The use of the term Assisted Voluntary Return (AVR) in policy programmes has changed the definition of what is voluntary. AVR refers to primarily rejected asylum seekers (and in some countries other migration groups) who voluntarily agree to return to their country of origin in exchange for a reintegration package (such as cash and/or business set-up support) from the host country. This voluntary decision is generally made after an asylum claim has been rejected and the individual lacks any opportunity to legally stay in the country of migration. From a policy perspective, AVR is critically differentiated from enforced removals wherein migrants choose for voluntary return.

Yet many scholars and advocates have raised the question: to what degree is this actually a voluntary return (Webber 2011)? Cassarino (2008) poses the question in another way: as to if this form of return is *decided* or *compelled*? Decided return refers to those who "chose on their own initiative to return, without any pressure or coercion", whereas compelled return refers to those "who returns to his/her country of origin as a result of unfavourable circumstances and factors which abruptly interrupt the migration cycle" (Cassarino 2008: 113). Although termed *voluntary* return, AVR can be viewed as a form of *compelled* return. The increasing prevalence of the use of the term voluntary to include these forms of compelled return has led academics to start clarifying in their work that they mean "truly voluntary" (Majiidi 2012) or "genuinely voluntary" (Oeppen 2012) return. Due to the complexity of these terms, for the purposes of this study, the term decided return will be used to refer to individuals who "chose on their own initiative to return, without any pressure or coercion" (Cassarino 2008).

Multiple other categorizations have been established for return migrants, and a second key element in many return typologies is the differentiation of the intention of the migration episode to be either permanent or temporary. In reality, intentions are difficult to measure

as intentions may frequently change. Combining the intention and the eventual migration outcome, Bovenkerk (1974) has suggested a typology that has been refined by and further developed by Gmelch (1980). This typology encompasses the following four categories such as (1) intended temporary migration with return; (2) intended temporary migration without return; (3) intended permanent migration with return; and (4) intended permanent migration without return. This typology has been useful with respect to remittance behaviour, as evidence exists that remittances are higher when migrants plan to return home (Ammassari 2009). However, while abroad, migrants' intentions may change.

A third typology is based on the amount of time spent in the home country. This typology has the following four categories: (1) occasional returns for a short-term visit to see family and friends; (2) seasonal returns based on seasonal work activities; (3) temporary returns—which occur when the migrant returns to the homeland for a significant period but may intend to remigrate, and (4) permanent return which are those that settle in the home country for good (King 2000). The notion of a temporary return has gained increasing prominence in the literature with new programmes designed for brain gain and temporary return such as the IOM Migration for Development in Africa Program (Terrazas 2010; OECD 2010). The challenge with this approach is that returnees may change their mind regarding return and at one point and plan to be a permanent returnee but remigrate and become a temporary returnee.

This leads to a fourth typology that is based on the relationship between the countries of migration and return. It includes the following three categories such as (1) return from less developed countries to highly developed countries; (2) return migration of labour migrants from the developed industrial countries to their less developed home countries; and (3) return movements between countries of broadly equal economic status (King 2000). This typology has not been widely utilized in the literature and also fails to offer a consensual approach to categorizing return migration.

It is evident that categorizing return is not a straightforward exercise and that several different variables can be taken into account to inform

these categorizations. One approach taken by scholars is to develop categorizations of returnees that suit their case study (Carling 2004). In this book, I have taken this approach of categorizing the return migrants in this study based on a logic that fits the case study.

Reintegration

In general, after the act of return, individuals begin the process of readjustment and reintegration. Similar to the return typologies, there is a significant difference in the literature on reintegration of forced and non-forced migrants.

In terms of the refugee literature, reintegration is often coupled with the 4R's of "repatriation, reintegration, rehabilitation, and reconstruction" (Lippman and Malik 2004). The focus of reintegration is thus on refugees who are repatriated. In the 1980s, King viewed repatriation as a form of forced return when "return is not the initiative of the migrants themselves but is forced on them by political events or authorities, or perhaps by some personal or natural disaster" (King 1986: 5). The UNHCR, however, focuses on "voluntary repatriations", which define voluntariness as "not only the absence of measures which push the refugee to repatriate, but also means that he or she should not be prevented from returning, for example by dissemination of wrong information or false promises of continued assistance" (UNHCR 1996). Despite this definition, it is fundamental to recognize that repatriation is often a situation wherein refugees have limited options, as they are generally no longer welcomed in the country of asylum. Although repatriation may not be considered a forced return, it is often a *compelled* return as refugee's circumstances leave them no other alternatives.

Return through repatriation can therefore bring many challenges and may not be a homecoming or a pleasant experience (Allen and Morsink 1994; Koser and Black 1999; Rogge 1994). Furthermore, repatriation often occurs in large flows (such as the recent repatriation of 500,000 refugees from Tanzania to Burundi from 2007–2009), placing significant pressure on the country of origin and organizations seeking to provide assistance to returnees, which can make the experience

more challenging for the individual and the communities to which they return.

Reintegration of repatriates has largely focused on meeting basic needs such as access to land, shelter, food, water, and essential services. In addition, reintegration focuses on larger structural factors of protection, law and order, property restitution, reconciliation and peace building, and restoration of livelihoods (Davies 2004). Reintegration thus becomes a process that is largely focused on rights and equalizing the rights of returnees with the rights of locals. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) defines reintegration as "equated with the achievement of a sustainable return—in other words the ability of returning refugees to secure the political, economic, [legal] and social conditions needed to maintain life, livelihood and dignity" (UNCHR 2004: 6). This is furthered by "Reintegration is a process that should result in the disappearance of differences in legal rights and duties between returnees and their compatriots and the equal access of returnees to services, productive assets and opportunities" (UNHCR 2004: 7). It is evident that in terms of repatriation and return of refugees, the literature focuses primarily on ensuring equal access to rights, safety, and the elimination of persecution. These aspects are highly relevant in a post-conflict setting wherein refugees initially fled due to persecution.

The literature on reintegration of non-refugee populations bears some similarities to the above but does not have a focus on access to basic needs and equalizing rights. Presumably, this is because it is assumed that non-refugee returnees are not in situations of vulnerability upon return and that non-refugees return with enough resources so that they can independently meet their needs. This assumption is not always correct as deportees, rejected asylum seekers, and low-skilled migrants can all return in situations of vulnerability wherein they need support in order to be able to meet their basic needs and struggle for equal access to rights. This will be evidenced later in this book with the case of returning domestic workers from the Middle East that have had interrupted migration cycles and return without any resources.

In general, non-refugee returns can be further categorized as follows: voluntary highly skilled return, voluntary low-skilled return, seasonal

migration return, student return (forced or voluntary), return of rejected asylum seekers, assisted voluntary return, forced deportations, and second-generation returns. The process of reintegration is thus quite different within these categories. Christou (2006) uses the term "adjustment" for second-generation returns as she rightly highlights that they really have not "returned" at all. For all returnees, however, the process is one of "adjustment".

In the case of decided return, reintegration can be defined as the "process through which a return migrant participates in the social, cultural, economic, and political life in the country of origin" (Cassarino 2008). Social aspects would include participation in organizations, relationships and acceptance with family and friends (such as respect within the household), access to information sources, and societal acceptance. Cultural aspects would include participating in religious or cultural events, and participation in the norms and values of the society. Economic reintegration refers to the occupational and employment status of the returnee and their ability to afford a certain standard of living. It also includes entrepreneurial activities and local investments. Political reintegration refers to participation in the political process of the country.

The final category of returnees to consider in reintegration is forced returnees and/or deportees. Research has demonstrated that reintegration is exceptionally difficult for this group (Schuster and Majidi 2013). Issues of shame and contamination in having a failed migration, and remaining debt from the initial migration can increase the difficulties faced by forced returnees (Schuster and Majidi 2013).

Reintegration is thus a process that incorporates multiple patterns to varying degrees. The individual's experiences and social status prior to migration, their experiences in the country of migration, and the conditions of their return all influence reintegration. Gmelch (1980) termed this reintegration the "readaptation of return migrants". Gmelch proposed that there are two ways to assess the readaptation: first, by examining the actual economic and social conditions of returnees, and second, by focusing on migrants' own perceptions (1980).

The first approach of examining the actual conditions of return migrants has been examined in several empirical works (Alquezar Sabadie et al. 2010;

Ammassari 2009; Cassarino 2008). Quantitative indicators that have been used to assess post-return conditions include employment, access to services (such as health care), finances, entrepreneurship, and plans for re-migration (Alquezar Sabadie et al. 2010; Cassarino 2008). Additional qualitative works have focused more on social aspects and migrants' own perceptions by examining topics such as changes in gender roles upon return, adaption to the work and cultural environment, and subjective opinions regarding return (Ammassari 2009; Thomas Hope 1999).

The challenges of reintegration also differ for return populations. In Ammassari's (2009) study of highly skilled return migrants, Ammassari determined four categories of reintegration challenges experienced by returnees. The first is in regard to the employment and business sector that include both trials associated with being employed in the environment of return and obstacles of establishing one's own business. The second category is the local work conditions, which are assessed in terms of work attitudes and professionalism of colleagues. Ammassari found that reintegration was more difficult for people working in the public sector than those working in the private sector. The third challenge is the local living conditions, which include contact with friends and family and gender roles. The final reintegration challenge is satisfaction with return and the decision to re-emigrate or remain in the country of return.

For all types of return migrants, reintegration is a process that is influenced by the structural and cultural conditions of the return environment. The structural and cultural conditions of the return environment affect the ability of any individual to reintegrate. Structural and cultural conditions include government policies, such as the rights extended to returnees in terms of citizenship, property restitution, or other privileges (Kibreab 2003). Second, the context of safety and security is critically important for structural reintegration in post-conflict societies. Third, the attitudes of the local population towards returnees can significantly impact reintegration. Stefansson's (2004) work highlights the importance of stayees in the reintegration process in Bosnia, wherein returnees were called *pogjeclice* by locals meaning: "those who ran away scared for no reason, implying cowardice" (58). Stayees felt that returnees were economically

privileged, and conflicts emerged over access to property, land rights, and jobs (Stefannson 2004). Returnees also brought new ideas and customs that made them stand out and clash with the local culture. The result was the social exclusion of returnees and the development of the "return identity" and return "enclaves" (a distinctly bounded area within a larger unit) wherein returnees only interacted with each other (Stefannson 2004). The term "immigrant enclave" was termed by Wilson and Portes (1980) in their work on the Cuban enclave in Miami. Their work led to the "ethnic enclave hypothesis", which showed that it was more beneficial for Cubans to work for co-ethnics in immigrant entrepreneurship than for refugees to work for whites (Waldinger 1993). This case study highlights the importance of reintegration occurring at a community level to ensure cohesion for the long term.

In addition to clashes between stayees and returnees, clashes can also arise among different groups of returnees. Horst (2007) found that in return migration to Jamaica, the different reintegration processes of returnees from the UK and returnees from the USA led to conflict between the groups. Returnees from the UK believed that return required a strong commitment, participation in local returnee organizations, and social life in Jamaica, whereas returnees from the USA tended to spend half their time in the USA and did not engage in organizations and social life in Jamaica (Horst 2007). This led to resentment of the USA returnees from the UK returnees and clashes among the returnees themselves due to their different reintegration processes and strategies.

Finally, an important distinction must also be made between short-term and long-term reintegration. It can be expected that the reintegration of a return migration within 12 months of return will be different than their reintegration after 5 years. As an example in a survey of 135 return migrants to a Barbadian village, 53% of respondents were so dissatisfied after their first year at home that they believed they would have been happier abroad; however, after 3 years in Barbados, the level of dissatisfaction dropped to 17% (Gmelch 2004). Reintegration is thus a process that takes time.

It is evident that the term reintegration has different applications for different types of return migrants, thus explaining the challenges

in establishing an all-encompassing definition of reintegration. Furthermore, there are several factors that determine an individual's level of reintegration such as economic, social, political, and environmental conditions. Perhaps it is due to these complexities that a systemic approach to defining levels of reintegration is not established at present. This book will attempt to contribute to this gap through the reintegration strategies, which provide a typology for understanding how people reintegrate.

Learning from Integration

Integration is the process that occurs when a migrant moves from their country of origin to the country of migration. Although there are many differences between the processes of integration versus reintegration, there are also similarities as in both contexts the individual undergoes a process of adaptation to the new environment. The integration literature is more developed theoretically than the reintegration literature and offers some insights that can be applied to the return context. It is not possible in this brief section to provide an entire overview of the integration literature, and therefore, only elements of the integration field relevant for application in this book are discussed.

Initial theories of immigrant incorporation, especially in the USA, assumed migrants to uproot themselves from their country of origin and begin a process of assimilating to the country of migration. Assimilation was viewed as a process wherein "immigrants were incorporated into society through a one-sided process of adaptation" (Castles and Miller 2009: 247). From assimilation, the concept of multiculturalism gained popularity, which encourages migrants to maintain their cultural identities. Integration came to be understood as a two-way process that requires adaptation on the part of the migrant, but also the host society (Castles et al. 2003). Integration may thus be understood as a "process through which the whole population acquires civil, social, political, human and cultural rights, which creates the conditions for greater equality" (Castles et al. 2003: 118). This approach argues that immigrants should be given support to maintain their cultural and social identities.

Two approaches to integration highlight differences from reintegration approaches. The first approach by Heckmann (2001) is an examination of integration in European countries. Heckmann identifies four dimensions of analysis: structural, cultural, social, and identificational integration. Structural integration refers to the acquisition of rights, access to positions, and statuses in the core institutions of the country, and these rights can only be achieved if the immigrant participates in learning and socialization processes. This follows to cultural integration, which refers to the cognitive, behavioural, and attitudinal change of individuals. This process also affects the receiving society. Social integration refers to membership of individuals in the society and private sphere including friends, marriages, social relations, and participation in associations. Finally, individuals' subjective position is given importance in identificational integration meaning the individual's sense of belonging and identification. This approach highlights the importance of rights, networks, acceptance by the receiving society, and one's own personal sense of identification. Although the majority of these points are discussed in the reintegration literature, Heckmann's approach provides a nice summary of the key factors for reintegration.

The second approach is from Berry's model of assimilation in cross-cultural psychology (1997). Berry's assimilation model adopts the four categories such as integration, assimilation, segregation, and marginalization, as shown in Fig. 1. Two questions (presented as issues) shape the model, the first being: "Is it considered to be of value to maintain one's identity and characteristics?", and the second being "Is it considered to be of value to maintain relationships with larger society?" Within this model, each category is then an interplay between *cultural maintenance* and *contact and participation*.

Cultural maintenance is defined as "to what extent are cultural identity and characteristics considered to be important, and their maintenance strived for" (Berry 1997: 9). Contact and participation essentially refers to the migrants' social network and examines the extent to which migrants should become involved in other cultural groups or remain among their own cultural group.

From Berry's model, integration is a combination of immigrant adaptation to the dominant culture and maintenance of their own culture, assimilation is a rejection of one's own culture and full adaptation to the
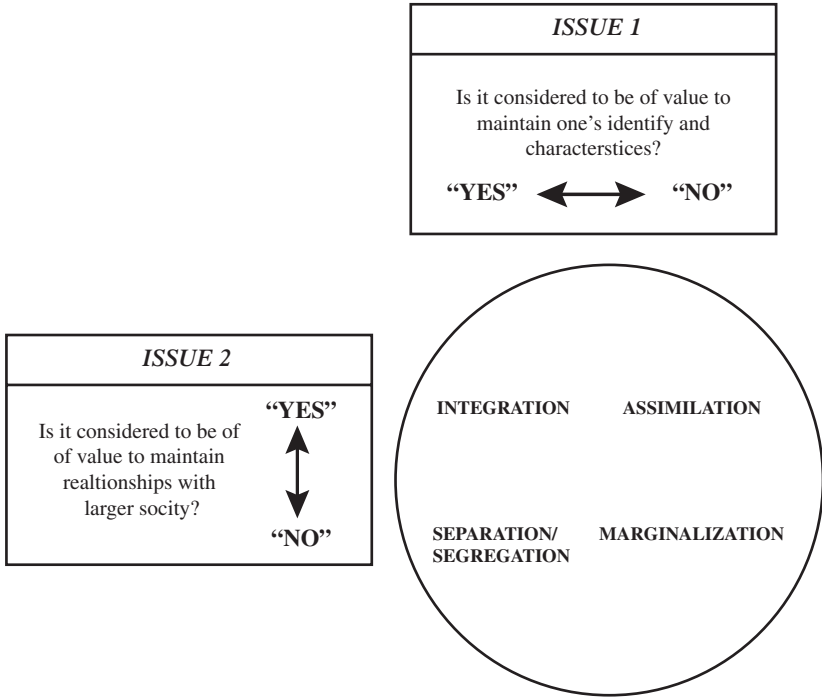
Fig. 1 Berry's model of assimilation. *Source* Berry (1997)

dominant culture, segregation is a rejection of the dominant culture and maintenance of one's own culture, and marginalization is a dual rejection of both cultures. Berry's approach highlights the importance of cultural maintenance and social networks in immigration and the choices that an individual makes in their acculturation strategy. The model recognizes that structural factors also inhibit the ability of migrants to integrate and underscores that integration can only be attained when there is mutual accommodation and acceptance from the receiving population (Berry 1997). This reflects Castles et al. (2003) definition of integration as a "two-way process".

The integration literature thus has a contribution to make to understandings of reintegration. The acquisition of rights and the incorporation of returnees into the core institutions of the return environment are essential components of successful reintegration. This is dependent

upon the structural and cultural environment, government policies, and the attitudes of the local population towards the reception of the returnees. Second, returnees' decisions regarding cultural maintenance are an integral component to reintegration. Return migrants have to re-adapt to the local culture and can choose different balances between the culture of the country of migration and the culture of the country of origin/return. This highlights the importance of the return migrant undergoing what Heckmann terms a "learning and socialization process" to re-understand the local culture. Third, returnees' social networks are vital in their ability to reintegrate. There is a difference between return migrants only interacting with other returnees versus interacting with the local population, as is reflected in Berry's model of assimilation. Finally, as highlighted by Heckmann, self-identification is important in the reintegration process. Individuals may identify themselves as having dual or multiple allegiances or dual or multiple identities that may be maintained by dual lives in both the country of migration and country of return.

Addressing the "Re" in Reintegration

The current definitions and use of reintegration are inherently problematic for two key reasons: first, they focus solely on the individual and do not include the wider community in the reintegration process, and second, they assume re-assimilation to the culture of the country of origin versus a reintegration that acknowledges the cultural changes adopted by the migrant during the migration experience. Reintegration is currently at the "assimilation" stage of the integration debate wherein returnees are incorporated into society through a one-sided adaptation process. Following from the integration literature briefly described above, the key elements of viewing reintegration as a two-way process between the return migrant and the receiving society and acknowledging that migrants may undergo cultural changes are essential in conceptualizing reintegration. Incorporating these elements, reintegration in this study is defined as the process in which return migrants are supported in maintaining their cultural and social identities by the host society and the whole population acquires equal civil, social, political, human, and cultural rights.

This study proposes a new approach to reintegration, termed reintegration strategies. The reintegration strategies define the process of how people reintegrate across the four dimensions such as cultural orientation, social networks, self-identification, and access to rights, institutions, and the labour market. Reintegration in this view is multidimensional, encompassing many different elements. The reintegration strategies are fundamentally impacted by the life cycle of the return migrant and the choices they make in their reintegration. Second, the structural and cultural environment of the country of return plays a vital role in reintegration. Like integration, we must envision reintegration as a two-way process occurring between the individual and the country of return. Return migrants cannot reintegrate if they are not accepted by the local population, the government, and labour market institutions in the country of return. Reintegration is a fluid concept, and after identifying the process of reintegration through the reintegration strategies, the study examines how return migrants can move between reintegration strategies.

The final stage of the study explores the potential of return migrants to vernacularize—the ability of returnees to bring new ideas from the country of migration and present them in ways that are accepted by the local population (this concept is based on the work of Levitt and Merry (2009) and will be explained further in the next chapter). Through the reintegration strategies, it is evident that people reintegrate differently. The final section identifies the conditions that empower certain returnees to act as vernacularizers and share new ideas within their social environment upon return. The analysis elicits five key conditions that impact the ability of return migrants to have the potential to vernacularize, and the final stage of this study examines this relationship within the context of the case study.

Case Study Introduction: Female Return Migration and Reintegration in Ethiopia

In order to explore the reintegration strategies approach, this study uses the case of female return migration to Ethiopia. Ethiopia experienced a conflict period from 1974–1991 and since 2000 has been experiencing high levels of economic growth. During the conflict period, millions of

people fled from Ethiopia and a large number of the countries highly educated and/or elite migrated to North America or Europe. With the stabilization of the country in the late 1990s and the high growth rate resulting in business opportunities, some of these people have now returned.

Migration and return migration have both increased to and from the country in the past decade. Ethiopia is currently working to build its education system, and an increasing number of Ethiopian students are going abroad for education. Despite the growth in Ethiopia, there are high levels of unemployment, which are frequently higher for women than men. Exact figures are unknown, but it is estimated that up to 500,000 Ethiopian women are migrating to the Middle East for domestic work annually. A study conducted by Anbesse et al. (2009) examines the mental health of returning domestic workers from the Middle East and highlights the challenges specific women face upon return. Different types of female migrants thus return to very different conditions and situations in Ethiopia.

This study examines return migration of three analytical groups:

- *Professionals*—Women who migrated in the 1980s and 1990s primarily and returned to Ethiopia after an extended duration abroad having worked in the country of migration, acquired skills, and returning to Ethiopia with professional expertise.
- *Students*—Recent migrants that migrate primarily to European countries for the purposes of bachelor's degree or more commonly a master's degree.
- *Domestics*—Women from primarily lower class families that migrate to the Middle East for domestic work.

These three groups have different migration life cycles, experiences and opportunities abroad, and reasons for return. As such, they have different reintegration strategies upon return.

In this study, I have focused on the case of female return migrants in Ethiopia for two key reasons. First, historically, Ethiopia is a patriarchal society. Today, Ethiopia ranks 129 out of 154 countries on the United National Development Programme (UNDP) gender inequality index

(GII) (UNDP 2016), illustrating that large gaps still exist between men and women in Ethiopia. This index reflects inequality between women and men reproductive health, empowerment, and the labour market (UNDP 2013). Female empowerment has become a politicized issue in Ethiopia receiving a lot of attention from international organizations. Ken Oishi from the World Bank in Ethiopia stated in 2011 that "The voice of change [in Ethiopia] is more likely to come from women". This study is rooted in the perspective that women are more likely to be change agents than men in Ethiopia, especially when considering return migration. Women that migrate to Western countries have the opportunity to experience cultures with higher levels of female empowerment. One of the assumptions in this study is that this enables female returnees to bring with them new perspectives on female empowerment in their return to Ethiopia.

Second, Ethiopia has experienced a strong feminization of migration. The IS Academy survey from Ethiopia finds that 60% of the current migrant households sampled in the survey are female. When considering the country of destination, 68% of current migrants from Ethiopia in the Middle East are female (Kuschminder et al. 2012). These numbers are comparable to those of Sri Lanka, Indonesia, and the Philippines where females account for 62–75% of all emigrant flows (Asis 2005). The migration story in Ethiopia is thus highly gendered, and focusing on female migration and return is well suited to this country case.

Ethiopia provides for a unique case study, wherein different types of migrants are regularly retuning to the capital of Addis Ababa. This allowed for the ability to capture diversity between the analytical groups in their return to one location. The case of Ethiopia has had little exploration in the recent decade (previous work has studied the impact of return in the post-conflict period) and brings new elements into the debate. The country specific conditions of Ethiopia will be further explored in Chap. 3 of this book.

Methodology and Analytical Approach

This study is based on fieldwork conducted in Addis Ababa in 2011. A total of 100 semi-structured interviews were conducted with female return migrants (81) and key stakeholders (19). Interviews with

returnees were conducted in several different locations in Addis Ababa. Although not necessarily stigmatized, return migrants do represent a specific segment of the population that can be difficult to locate as they may be spread out in different clusters within the overall population. Furthermore, in Ethiopia, there is no list of return migrants or one central organization assisting returnees. For these reasons, the only viable method for sampling was snowball sampling. In snowball sampling, a gatekeeper introduces the researcher to participants and essentially uses referrals from one participant to find new participants.

Multiple entry points were used to find participants, and these varied slightly by the type of returnee to be sampled. For the domestics, a consortium of NGOs[1] working with returnees and IOM were initially very helpful in referring participants. In the professional category, the Ethiopian Investment Agency (EIA) shared the phone number of diaspora investors, which included some female returnees. The majority of participants, however, were found through the researcher's network connections. This included colleagues at the researcher's partner organization, the Ethiopian Development Research Institute (who were able to refer all categories of returnees), colleagues through other organizations in Addis Ababa, staff and other guests at the researcher's guesthouse, and other expats working in the city. In addition, the researcher went to areas where high numbers of returnees apparently congregated, such as international churches and cafes, and worked to make connections with returnees. Finally, in finding domestics, assistant researchers were sent to neighbourhoods known to have high numbers of returnees and spoke to people in the local community to find returnees from the Middle East. Through the above methods, a total of twelve different entry points were obtained for finding the returnees.

The interview format with the returnees followed a life cycle approach and focused on six specific themes: (1) life before migration, (2) the decision to migrate, (3) life in the country of migration, (4) the decision to return, (5) the return experience, and (6) the reintegration experience. Forty of the interviews were conducted in English, and the remaining interviews were conducted with the assistance of a translator or by a research assistant. Three research assistants were hired and trained to conduct interviews in Amharic with returnees from the

Middle East. The research assistants conducted 30 interviews, and 14 interviews were conducted with the researcher through translation. All research assistants and the translator were female and spoke both English and Amharic. The majority of interviews lasted 45 min to 1 h, and overall interviews ranged from 30 min to 2 h in duration.

The key stakeholder interviews were less structured than the participant interviews, and questions were targeted towards each stakeholder's role in regard to return migration. The key interview objective of the stakeholder interviews was to understand (1) their current role; (2) their role in relation to return migration; (3) the role of the overall organization in relation to return migration; and (4) their perspectives on return migration in Ethiopia. Key stakeholders were interviewed from the Government of Ethiopia, international organizations, local NGOs, and other local institutions dealing with return migrants, such as the Addis Ababa Airport Authority and the Mental Health Hospital. These interviews were not recorded as often the researcher was informally referred to the organization, and in order for participants to feel comfortable with recording, they would need to receive permission from the communications department or director of the organization. Thus, in order for interviewees to speak freely, detailed notes were taken from the interviews. Key stakeholder interviews ranged from 30–90 min.

The analysis followed what Weiss calls an "issue-focused analysis", meaning that the aim of the analysis was to learn from all respondents about specific issues, events, or processes (1995). The issues of interest in this study include return migration, reintegration, and social change. Following from the theoretical framework in Chap. 2, each chapter following this chapter addresses a particular aspect of the framework for the case analysis.

Weiss furthers that in issue-focused analysis, there are four stages: coding, sorting, local integration, and inclusive integration (1995). Coding was done using the qualitative software Nvivo. All transcribed participant interviews were coded using a mix of pre-defined nodes based on the framework, and free nodes that emerged as the coding progressed. Once the participant files are coded (referred as nodes in Nvivo), they need to be organized, which is what Weiss terms the

sorting phase (1995). This essentially referred to grouping together the nodes relevant to each chapter and section for analysis. Local integration then refers to bringing in the other sources of data collection including notes and observations made by the researcher. Inclusive integration then brings together all aspects of the analysis to create a coherent story. This process was not necessarily followed as strictly as described above and evolved slightly more organically, but essentially each of the steps of coding, sorting the files, integrating notes and observations with the sorted material, and bringing all aspects together to create the coherent story of each chapter was the process of analysis.

Following from the issue-focused analysis, a specific analysis was conducted for assessing the reintegration strategies of each participant. A deductive analysis was conducted wherein first each return migrant was assessed across the four dimensions (cultural orientation, social networks, self-identification, and access to rights, institutions, and the labour market), and second, based on this analysis, each participant was placed into a reintegration strategy. This methodology allows for the identification of variations within the analytical groups, key trends, and anomalies. For the most part, the dimensions within the reintegration strategies corresponded to one another to result in a clearly defined reintegration strategy of the participant. However, there were a few cases where the reintegration strategy was not clear.

In the case of students, for both cultural orientation and social networks, they were frequently placed in the reintegrated strategy; however, for self-identification and access to rights and institutions, they were placed in the traditionalist strategy. This meant that along the dimensions, the students were equally split between two reintegration strategies. In this situation, students were placed in the reintegrated strategy when they stated differences in their values and behaviours from migration that were brought with them in return and maintained upon their return. This reflects a heavier weighting of cultural orientation in determining the overall reintegration strategy. In general, the four categories are supposed to be seen as equally weighted; however, in determining a final strategy, cultural orientation was viewed as the most influential category for the reintegration strategy.

For the reintegration strategy of vulnerable, the dimensions had to be slightly expanded in terms of self-identification. For this group, self-identification was less focused on national/cultural/ethnic identity, but more on state of being, in that the vulnerable self-identify themselves as not being "okay". Therefore, based on the reintegration strategies, the vulnerable have been identified as meeting at least one of the following criteria: (1) poverty to a degree that one does not have the ability to access rights and institutions; (2) experiencing some level of social exclusion; and (3) self-identify themselves as not being okay. In terms of the first criteria, it is arguable that an individual that lives in acute poverty does not have the ability to go beyond their daily needs of food and shelter. Therefore, they do not have the capacity to access rights and institutions within their culture. Second, social exclusion is viewed as those that have limited access to social networks (which may be self-imposed) and do not engage with society. Finally, women that self-identified that they were not "okay" include statements regarding unbearable stress since their return, depression, or not being able to cope with their lives. These forms of situations led to returnees being categorized as vulnerable.

Finally, there is one case of a professional who did not fit within the reintegration strategies and for this reason was left out of this analysis. This individual identified most strongly with the country of migration, but was isolated upon return and therefore not engaged in returnee or local networks. She was thus seemingly vulnerable due to lack of ties, however, was not vulnerable in any other dimensions. Her self-identification was fully Ethiopian, but simultaneously, she reacted negatively to the culture. She therefore cut across several of the reintegration strategies and did not fit into one category. What is interesting about this case, however, is that she was most likely to re-migrate as she felt that she could not be successful in Ethiopia. It was commonly discussed with the professionals that far more women came and went back than that came and actually stayed in Ethiopia. Perhaps this is actually then a fifth category of unsuccessful reintegration, which this woman was currently in the midst of experiencing. Further research in the countries of migration with women that returned and re-migrated would be required to provide reflections on this hypothesis.

Structure of This Book: An Exploration of the Reintegration Strategies

This book consists of six chapters in addition to the Introduction. Chapter 2 provides the basis for this book introducing the approach of the reintegration strategies. Each of the following chapters flows from a key element of Chap. 2.

Chapter 3 presents the structural and cultural environment of return migration in Ethiopia. Following from Chap. 2, the structural and cultural environment is assessed according to the four elements such as treatment of returnees from the local government, the treatment of returnees from locals, the treatment of returnees in the labour market, and the flows of return migrants. These four elements are analysed to assess whether the return environment is favourable, adverse, or neutral to return migrants in Ethiopia.

Chapter 4 examines the life cycle of the returnees of the three analytical groups: professionals, students, and domestics. The reintegration strategies approach highlights in Chap. 2 that the life cycle of the migrant is critical to understanding their reintegration strategy. Chapter 4 therefore details the life cycle of each analytical group in order to understand their reintegration.

Chapter 5 analyses the three analytical groups within the four dimensions of the reintegration strategies. The four dimensions such as cultural maintenance, social networks, self-identification, and access to rights, institutions, and the labour markets are introduced in Chap. 2 and examined in depth in Chap. 5. The differences between and among the analytical groups are highlighted across the dimensions.

Following from the previous chapters, Chap. 6 assesses the reintegration strategies of the returnees as reintegrated, enclavists, traditionalists, or vulnerable. Whereas Chap. 5 examines the *dimensions* of the reintegration strategies, Chap. 6 assesses the reintegration strategies of the return migrants. Following from the model established in Chap. 2, Chap. 6 elicits the differences in reintegration strategies between the return migrants. This chapter develops the process of how returnees can move between the reintegration strategies and puts forth key elements and conclusions of the reintegration strategies.

In the conclusion, Chap. 7 provides reflection on the key points in this book, implications of the reintegration strategies, a final assessment of reintegration in Ethiopia, and the application of the reintegration strategies to other cases.

Note

1. The consortium includes Agar, Ethiopian Orthodox Church, Association for Forced Migrants, and Stichting Dir. Each of their roles with regard to return migrants is discussed in the next chapter.

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Reintegration Strategies

Introduction

The reintegration strategies offer a new method of inquiry for assessing different levels of reintegration. The conceptualization of the reintegration strategies approach is rooted in an in-depth literature review across multiple fields of research including refugee studies, integration, transnationalism, social network theory, social change, and the wider migration literature. This chapter provides a brief overview of the key topics such as transnationalism, social networks, and social change that form the basis of the reintegration strategies approach. The social network and social change literature are essential to the discussion as they provide cornerstones for understanding how people reintegrate and how to assess the impact of reintegration on communities. Although the empirical element of this book cannot examine the impact of returnees upon their communities of return, this is a central piece of the reintegration literature that is therefore included in this section. Key questions will also be addressed such as What is the role of social networks in return and reintegration? How can the relationship between return migration, reintegration, and social change be characterized?

The first section of this chapter will discuss transnationalism theory and the relationship between reintegration and transnationalism. The third section will move to discuss the theory of social networks and the application of network theory in migration studies and return migration. Next, this chapter will examine the topic of social change and how social change concepts have also been applied in migration studies and return migration. Finally, this chapter will conclude with the framework of the reintegration strategies. Integral to this model are the concepts of cultural maintenance, social networks, and individual's self-identification, which will be discussed in sections throughout this chapter.

Transnationalism

As discussed in the brief section on integration in the introduction chapter, transnationalism is a critical concept in migration studies. Limited research exists on the impact of transnationalism on reintegration. Incorporating learning from research on integration and transnationalism, it can be argued that transnationalism may reinforce processes of reintegration. This will be further explored in later chapters, and this section will provide a brief overview of transnationalism theory and its relevance for return and reintegration.

The theory of migrant transnationalism emerged in the 1990s and since has gained increasing popularity. The central premise of the theory is that migrants are involved in dual lives with activities in both the country of migration and the country of origin/return. Portes et al. (1999) delimit the concept of transnationalism to "occupations and activities that require regular and sustained social contacts over time across national borders" (219). Not all migrants are transnational, only those that have significant and sustained cross-border connections with the country of origin/return. The basis of the theory is in the maintenance of cross-border social networks; however, transnationalism goes beyond social network theory to argue that the connections create new transnational social fields and transnational communities impacting communities at home and abroad.

Levitt and Glick Schiller (2004) define social fields as "A set of multiple interlocking networks of social relationships through which ideas, practices, and resources are unequally exchanged, organized, and transformed" (9). They further distinguish between ways of being versus ways of belonging. Ways of being refer to social relations and practices individuals engage in whereas ways of belonging refers to practices that signal an identity that demonstrates a connection to a particular group. Therefore,

> If individuals engage in social relations and practices that cross borders as a regular frame of everyday life, then they exhibit a transnational way of being. When people explicitly recognize this and highlight the transnational elements of who they are, then they are also expressing a transnational way of belonging. Clearly, these two experiences do not always go hand in hand. (Levitt and Glick Schiller 2004: 12)

Notions of identity and belonging are thus central to the field of transnationalism.

Transnational social spaces can exist at the kinship level, as circuits, or as transnational communities (Faist 2008). These interactions are based on notions of reciprocity, exchange, and solidarity. Transnational communities are rooted in solitary ties that reach beyond kinship and through reciprocity and solidarity create a "high degree of social cohesion and a common repertories of symbolic and collective representations" (Faist 2008). Transnational communities may or may not have a diaspora identity. A diaspora can be defined as a population "which has originated in a land other than which it currently resides, and whose social, economic and political networks cross the borders of nation-states or, indeed, span the globe" (Vertovec 1999). Only diasporas that have a strong connection to the country of origin can be considered transnational (Faist 2008).

Initial research on transnationalism saw the process as opposing to integration. Recent research has indicated, however, that the processes are not mutually exclusive and can be intertwined (Vertovec 2001). It has also been further argued that not only may the processes be

intertwined, they may be mutually reinforcing so that greater transnational engagement leads to higher levels of integration (Oeppen 2009).

This leads to emerging discussions of the area of "post-return transnationalism" and a debate as to if and how engagement in transnational activities upon return may or may not assist in the reintegration process. The examination of transnationalism from a return perspective is an emerging area that is currently being developed. The next section returns to a central component of integration theory and the basis of transnationalism theory, that is social networks.

Social Networks

Engaging with concepts of social networks is important in this book as networks are essential for understanding concepts of integration and transnationalism and therefore also reintegration. Key concepts of social networks including resources, social structure, and social capital will be addressed in this section. All of these concepts are essential to understand how people are positioned upon their return in terms of access to resources and capital. The section will then discuss the application of network theory to migration studies and return migration.

A network can be defined as "a specific type of relation linking a defined set of persons, objects, or events" (Knoke and Kuklinski 1982: 12 from Mitchell 1969). Network analysis bridges the micro- and macro-level of analysis that is the structural and cultural environment and the individual and household. It moves beyond looking at attributes of individuals to looking at the relationships and connections between individuals.

The central importance of networks is the access to resources that they provide. Resources can be defined as "material or symbolic goods" (Lin 1982). Lin argues that there are three principles regarding how individuals assign meaning to resources. The first principle is "differential values are assigned by consensus or influence to resources to signal their relative significance" (Lin 1982). This relates to supply and demand of the resource available, but also the value of the resource

can change due to events or over time. The second assumption is "all actors will take actions to promote their self-interests by maintaining and gaining valued resources if such opportunities are available". Generally, those with more valued resources will work to protect their resources, and those with less valued resources will try to gain more valued resources or change the values assigned to resources. Appropriation of resources can occur in legitimate ways such as education, or in illegitimate deviant behaviours such as stealing. The third principle regarding resources is that "maintaining and gaining valued resources are the two primary motives for action, with the former outweighing the latter" (Lin 1999).

The acquisition of resources is embedded within a social structure. Here, there is a distinction between resources that are attached to an individual versus resources that are attached to a position. Power, hierarchy, authority, and rules all become embedded in the social structure and regulate the access to resources of individuals depending on their position and network connections within the social structure. Individuals have limited resources themselves and thus use social ties and connections within the structure to access resources. Social capital is thus a critical component of the network approach.

Social capital according to a network perspective is the resources accessible and embedded through social connections or social networks (Lin 2001; Burt 2002). This contrasts the theories of social capital put forth by Bourdieu, Coleman, and Putnam in that social capital exists on a group level and can be examined through solidarity and reproduction of the group (Lin 2001). Bourdieu, Coleman, and Putnam argue that a requirement for social capital is the density or closure of social networks (Lin 2001). Dense networks are those that consist of strong ties wherein "members know one another, interact on a routine basis, and are privy to the same information regarding the social environment, including job opportunities" (Wilson 1998: 397).

Network theorists approach to social capital argues that weak ties in networks can be more beneficial for accessing new resources not currently possessed, such as information regarding new job opportunities. Granovetter (1973) has illustrated that information regarding job opportunities is often best found outside of dense networks ties through

weak ties that thus act as an information bridge from structural holes (absence of ties). Building on Granovetter, Burt argues "Dense networks tend to convey redundant information, while weaker ties can be sources of new knowledge and resources" (from Portes 1998: 6). In terms of maintaining resources, denser networks have an advantage as they prevent entry for others, such as occurs with the privileged class (Lin 2001). For those looking to obtain new resources, such as a job, weak ties and extending bridges can be more helpful.

Putnam (2000) termed the differences between weak ties and dense ties access to social capital as bridging and bonding social capital. Bridging social capital is defined as networks that are "outward looking and encompass people across diverse cleavages" and bonding social capital as "inward looking [networks that] tend to reinforce exclusive identities and homogenous groups" (Putnam 2000: 22). Nannested and Svendesen (2008) further the explanation to equate with trust where bridging social capital is based on general trust and refers to trust in strangers and bonding social capital is based on concrete trust and refers to trust in people you already know. Bonding social capital can also turn negative when it becomes excessive in groups that form units such as al-Qaida and the mafia (negative social capital is explored further below).

Upon accessing social capital, Lin (2001) argues that social capital can lead to two types of returns: instrumental returns and expressive returns. Instrumental returns are based on instrumental action, which is taken to obtain resources not already possessed by the actor. Instrumental returns include economic, political, and social returns. Economic and political returns are self-explanatory. Social returns can include reputation, that is the unfavourable or favourable opinion regarding an individual in a collective. Expressive action refers to a method to consolidate resources and defend against resource losses. Expressive returns include physical health, mental health, and life satisfaction. Expressive returns reflect the theory of homophily, also known as the "like-me hypothesis", which states that people with similar characteristics, attitudes, and lifestyles tend to congregate.

Through social networks, individuals can mobilize resources and gain social capital that offers the individual different types of returns. In general, it is assumed that returns acquired through networks and social

capital are positive and can lead to economic, political, and social gain, or improvements in health, happiness, and life satisfaction. There can be, however, negative elements to social capital and network membership.

Portes (1998) highlights four negative aspects of social capital: exclusion of outsiders, excess claims on group members, restrictions on individual freedoms, and downward levelling norms. Portes states "Social ties can bring about greater control over wayward behaviour and provide privileged access to resources; they can also restrict individual freedoms and bar outsiders from gaining access to the same resources through particularistic preferences" (Portes 1998: 21). Downward levelling norms refer to groups where solidarity is created and maintained based on opposition to mainstream society. When one individual is able to create success in mainstream society, this undermines group cohesion as the group is rooted in the impossibility of such successes. Therefore, that member generally exits the group and the remaining group members focus on downward levelling norms that maintain their group dynamics.

The negative aspects of social capital highlight an important component of the network debate as network membership may have negative influences on its members. Therefore, simply being a member of a network is not enough; it is the characteristics and dynamics within the network, and the access to resources that the network provides that is important. Finally, it is essential to note that networks are not static entities that are constantly changing and adapting (Cassarino 2004).

Migration Networks

It is essential to note that network theory has only been partially applied in migration studies. A network approach to migration studies gained increasing popularity in the 1980s. Prior to this research conducted in the 1960s and 1970s also focused on the importance of social networks in theories of chain migration (MacDonald and MacDonald 1964; Boyd 1989). Current migration research emphasizes social networks in various stages of the migration process including (1) decisions to migrate, (2) direction and persistence of migration flows,

(3) transnational links, and (4) settlement patterns and incorporation (Hagan 1998).

Massey et al. define migrant networks as "sets of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants, and non-migrants in origin and destination areas through ties of kinship, friendship, and shared community origin" (1993: 448). Migrant networks are theorized to increase migration because they lower the risks and costs of migration and increase the returns from migration (Massey et al. 1993). Migrant networks can aid the migrant at the destination in multiple ways, such as "the provision of food and housing for a temporary period, assistance in finding housing and work, orienting the migrant to life in the receiving community, and often constituting the primary source of continuing social relationships and moral support once the migrant has established himself/herself in their destination" (Wilson 2010: 13). Once established, migrants can send back remittances and information to members of their networks to assist them in facilitating migration. This creates what has also been termed *chain migration*. MacDonald and MacDonald (1964) defined chain migration as "that movement in which prospective migrants learn of opportunities, are provided transportation, and have initial accommodation and employment arranged by means of primary social relationships with previous migrants" (82).

Network theory in migration studies has primarily focused on the facilitating role of migrant networks (de Haas 2010). The approach has assumed a dense network that provides privileged access to information on how to migrate and then self-perpetuates migration. Migrant network theory has largely ignored three important aspects of network theory (de Haas 2010). First, the importance of access to resources remains largely unaddressed in migration theory which assumes that networks' simple existence will lead to migration, while only the resources provided from the network ties can facilitate access to migration. Second, the forms of social capital are not assessed in the migration network approach, which assumes dense networks and does not examine the potential to migrate through bridging social capital or weak ties. Third, the negative aspects of social capital are generally excluded from the migration network approach, which is significant as it is highly probable that outsiders (based on kin or class) are excluded from migration

opportunities due to lack of membership (de Haas 2010). de Haas (2010) argues that building on Portes (1998) argument, the fifth down-side of social capital is that strong bonding and weak bridging social capital lead to the exclusion of individuals from new information and ideas that may be critical for migration. In summarizing the network effects on migration and accounting for previous shortages in the theory, de Haas states:

> Large-scale migration diffusion through network effects seems most likely to occur among relatively poor, low-skilled migrant groups with a 'moderate' level of group identity, cohesion and 'strong ties', which should be strong enough to guarantee clustering and prevent rapid assimilation, but also loose enough so that group norms do not prevent the establishment of 'weak ties'. This seems to apply to many rural communities in relatively poor but rapidly modernizing and transforming societies. (de Haas 2010: 1610)

This highlights the continued importance of the social structure (hierarchy, power, authority) in the access to resources that the network can provide. Building on these arguments, this book will utilize the full application of social network theory to migration studies, moving beyond the limited application of the "network approach" commonly utilized in migration studies.

Finally, Epstein (2008) puts forth that a distinction must be made between migration network effects and migration herd effects. Network effects account for the individual receiving personal information regarding the migration, whereas herd effects account for individuals who make their migration decisions based on observations of others. In the herd model, emigrants "may have some private information, but are imperfectly informed about the attributes of alternative foreign locations, and pay attention to previous emigrants' decisions" (Epstein 2008: 568). Individuals may discount private information to follow the herd model, and the result can be a negative migration experience, due to the discounting of private information that was accurate. This model differs from network effects where migrants have a connection at the destination that will assist them in their initial settlement.

Social Networks and Return Migration

The application of the social network approach to return migration is less well studied than in the migration literature. From a return migration perspective, it is anticipated that the migrant will acquire social capital while abroad that can be transferred upon return. Cassarino (2004) states "social network theory views returnees as migrants who maintain strong linkages with their former places of settlement in other countries" (265). Thus, successful returnees would have generally expanded their social network due to migration, thus granting them further access to resources and providing positions of power upon returns from their expanded social capital.

In addition to expanding the network through migration, social networks are vital in the process of return migration and the individual's resource mobilization and preparedness for return (Cassarino 2004). Resource mobilization refers to the tangible (i.e. financial resources) and intangible (contacts, relationships, skills, and acquaintances) resources that have been mobilized while abroad. Preparedness refers to "not only the willingness of migrants to return home, but also their readiness to return home" (Cassarino 2004: 271). A high level of preparedness refers to an individual who has strong incentives and opportunities in the origin country to encourage return, has acquired savings and new acquaintances, maintained contacts in the origin country, and has knowledge, skills, and expertise mobilized for return. Their reintegration is thus a process of adaptation and negotiation and the rediscovery of the true characteristics of the origin country (Cassarino 2004). Cassarino's preparedness theory highlights that networks and resource mobilization are not the only central component in return migration, as the willingness and readiness of the migrant to return is also central to their ability to reintegrate.

Both preparedness and resource mobilization for return can be supported through social networks in the host and origin country. Temporary visits allow the individual to see the country of return and preliminarily assess the conditions of return. Networks in the country of return can assist in providing access to valuable resources of

information, housing, employment and business opportunities, and social support in the reintegration process. Networks abroad can also continue to provide information on opportunities and access to potentially broader networks in the country of return, as well as providing social support in the reintegration process.

Social networks are a vital component to successful return and reintegration. Networks provide access to resources and social capital that can play essential roles in the process of reintegration. This includes leading to instrumental returns in the reintegration process such as access to employment, information for business development, or political positions. Networks and social capital can also lead to expressive returns such as mental health and life satisfaction in the return experience. The establishment of return migrant networks that perpetuate further return from networks in the country of migration is also a possibility that has yet to be explored. Finally, the social structure impacts the capacities of the return migrants' network in return and the migrant's agency is paramount in determining their preparedness for return. All of these factors combine to impact the ability of the return migrant to affect social change in their communities of return.

Social Change

Migration can be both a form of change and a cause of change that has different effects on the sending and the receiving societies. Social change is discussed in this section as it is important to note the potential impacts of return migrants on their communities of return. The short-term effects of migration on the sending society include remittances and investments, and the development potential depends on the countries governance. Long-term effects include the possible depopulation of sending regions and transnationalization of local culture; economic remittances alleviate poverty and potential political transformations via mass voting from abroad. Short-term effects on the receiving society include surface-level social and political adaptions and the meeting of labour market needs. The long-term effects on receiving societies include the emergence of working class settlements and

enclaves, increasing ethnic diversity in working class, some social and political transformations to accommodate diversity, and the emergence of specialized institutions to handle marginalized groups (Portes 2010).

Return Migration and Social Change

In terms of return migration, it is possible to conceptualize that all of the changes mentioned above for both the sending and receiving societies become feasible in the country of return. The key impacts for the country of return can be categorized as economic impacts and social, cultural, and political impacts. In terms of economic impacts, the primary economic impact of migration generally discussed is the impact of remittances. Upon return, the migrant is of course no longer able to send remittances; however, decided returnees often return with financial resources acquired abroad. These resources may be invested into the local economy. This can be on a small scale such as purchasing a house or items for the return migrant and their family, or a larger scale such as investing in a new business or large project.

The impact of new business creation from return migrants can be significant in countries of return. A prime example of this is the case of India, wherein highly skilled migrants from the USA began to return to India and re-vitalize the information technology (IT) sector in India (Hunger 2004). According to Hunger (2004: 102), in 2000, ten of the twenty most successful software companies in India were set up and/or managed by return migrants from the USA. The software boom in India has led to development gains and increased the economic position of the country.

In terms of social, cultural, and political impacts, return migrants that have themselves undergone a process of cultural change and adaptation to the country of migration may return with new values, cognitive frameworks, and knowledge. These new cultural elements interact with the local culture and may create clashes or over the long term the increased diversity and social and political transformations to accommodate the new diversity. In particular when those that return are the elite

who hold the power in the country, the processes of social change may occur more rapidly.

Finally, Ammassari (2009) argues that development through return migration can occur at the micro-, meso-, and macro- level. At the micro-level, social change includes the individual themselves and their immediate family. Social change can occur through human and financial capital accumulation, thus including an increase in knowledge or wealth for the individual and/or family unit. Social change occurs at the meso-level through the return migrants' behaviours and the spreading of new ideas within their social environment and workplace. Finally, macro-level social change occurs through the development of new businesses and entrepreneurial activity and through community development, the mobilization of civil society, and public advocacy. This section has illustrated that there is a gap in the evidence on the relationship between return migration and social change, which will be explored in this research, however, requires further attention beyond the scope of this book.

Return Migrants' Potential to Affect Social Change

A distinction can be highlighted between diffusion effects caused by return migration (such as through business creation) and direct social changes initiated by individual return migrants. Several factors contribute to the ability of return migrants to affect social change including their skill sets, the duration of time abroad, skill acquisition in the country of migration, and their networks and preparedness for return. Portes (2010) argues that the power of migration to affect change depends on three factors: the size of the movement, the duration of the movement, and its class composition. Thomas Hope (1999) states that return migrants must have not only the skills, but also the experiences and attitudes to impact the country of return. This also relates back to Bovenkerk (1974) in that large numbers of returnees will have the critical mass to create reforms whereas small numbers have limited capacity for influence (Gmelch 1980). It is argued that circular migrants

who move for a short period with intended return are unlikely to affect change as compared to highly skilled migrants who have been abroad for a longer duration (Portes 2010).

Furthermore, having the potential to elicit social change does not mean that one will lead change to occur. Gmelch (1980) found that the innovation influence of return migrants often does not occur and cited the example of Ireland where returnees felt that in order to gain acceptance with locals they could not force their ideas or foreign experiences on local people. This highlights the importance of the conditions in the country of origin as noted by Thomas Hope (1999).

Levitt and Merry (2009) argue that diffusing practices (the basis of social change) do not occur through merely the existence of social networks and linkages, but that linkages, practices, and identities are inherently cultural. They term the process of appropriation of international ideas into a local context for local adaptation *vernacularization*. According to Levitt and Merry (2009) "Vernaculizers take the ideas and practices of one group and present them in terms that another group will accept" (446). Levitt and Merry (2009) apply this model to the international human rights and women's movement regime to see how international human rights ideas are translated on the ground.

Bridging the above theories, in order to create social change, return migrants can affect culture by bringing with them new values, cognitive frameworks, and knowledge. In order to have these new values become adopted by the local population, the return migrants must be vernaculizers who have the capacity to translate the new values and knowledge into terms that the local population will accept. When this occurs, provided the country has constructive structural factors, the return migrant as an individual has the capacity to affect social change.

In this study, it is not possible to measure the impact of return migrants to affect social change, or to assess whether locals have embraced the messages of return migrants. For these reasons, the study will focus on the potential of return migrants to vernacularize. As illustrated above, vernacularizers can be powerful agents of change upon their return. This study will thus examine the potential of return migrants to vernacularize upon their return.

The Reintegration Strategies: A Framework for Analysis

Following from the definition of reintegration presented in the Introduction: *"the process in which return migrants are supported in maintaining their cultural and social identities by the host society and the whole population acquires equal civil, social, political, human, and cultural rights"*, return migrants' reintegration will be assessed in two parts: the structural and cultural environment of return, and the returnees' reintegration strategy. The structural and cultural environment of return refers to the first half of this definition in that *"migrants are **supported in maintaining their cultural and social identities by the host society"***. The structural and cultural environment in this study characterizes the host societies' attitudes towards the returnees, and their level of welcomeness to the cultural diversity returnees may bring with them upon return. The structural and cultural environment of return is therefore based on the three elements such as government policies, the number of returnees, and locals perspectives towards returnees.

The second part of the definition refers to the returnees' reintegration strategies—that is how, in fact, they reintegrate. The approach recognizes the critical importance of integration and culture in the life cycle of the return migrant. Having had the opportunity for integration abroad, migrants may change their cultural orientation and bring this with them in return. Reintegration is therefore not only an insertion back into the culture and life of the country of origin, but it is a process. Much like integration, return migrants must go through a process of reintegration, and how they reintegrate will be dependent upon their experiences and choices. Agency and the life cycle of the migrant are critical elements in determining the returnees' reintegration strategy. Networks have a critical role in this process as they provide access to resources and information regarding return and reintegration. The returnees' reintegration strategy is thus based on the four categories such as: cultural maintenance, social networks, self-identification, and access to rights, institutions, and labour markets.

Taken together, these two parts, such as the structural and cultural environment and the reintegration strategies, comprise the four categories of integration classified by Heckmann (2001). However, as structural factors are outside the realm of the individual return migrants' control, I have addressed them separately. The return migrants' reintegration strategies and the conditions of the structural and cultural environment are then combined to assess the potential of return migrants to act as vernacularizers.

Structural and Cultural Conditions

Structural and cultural conditions of the return environment include government policies towards return migrants, the attitudes of locals towards return migrants, the approach of the private sector to return migrants, and return migrant flows. It is important to note that as return migrants are heterogeneous, the structural and cultural conditions at any one time may differ for different categories of return migrants. For instance, the government may have a pro-return stance for highly skilled migrants and an anti-return stance for low-skilled migrants, or locals may be welcoming towards highly skilled migrants and negative towards deportees.

The structural and cultural environment of return can thus be categorized as favourable, adverse, or neutral as illustrated in Table 1. Favourable return environments include an official government position welcoming and encouraging return, conducive government policies towards returnee business creation, positive attitudes of locals and the private sector towards returnees, and a medium number of returnees that does not overwhelm the local environment.

An adverse return environment would be characterized by government policies that do not encourage return or provide support to returnees, negative attitudes of locals and the private sector towards returnees and return that is in large numbers that overwhelms the local population. The conditions of the structural and cultural return environment can have a significant impact on the reintegration experience of the return migrant.

Table 1 Structural and cultural environment for return

	Favourable	Adverse	Neutral
Government	• Encourage return migration • Implement policies to support returnees reintegration/ participation	• Discourage return migration • No policies to support returnees	• Ambivalent towards returnees
Local population	• Inclusive attitude towards returnees • Open towards cultural diversity	• Exclusive attitude towards returnees • Closed towards cultural diversity	• Ambivalent towards returnees
Private sector	• Inclusive attitude towards returnees	• Exclusive attitude towards returnees	• Ambivalent towards returnees
Return migrant flows	• Medium flow of return migrant	• Flow is too large and overwhelms local population • Flow is too small to be noticed	• Small to medium flow of returnees (does not affect local populations daily lives)

The Reintegration Strategies

The reintegration strategies represent a multidimensional approach to the process of reintegration based on the four dimensions such as cultural maintenance, social networks, self-identification, and access to rights, institutions, and the labour market in the country of return. Cultural maintenance reflects the value systems of the return migrant and their orientation towards the values of the country of migration or the values of the country of origin/return. The choice of cultural orientation reflects the desire or not for cultural maintenance of the values adopted from the country of migration (Berry 1997). Social networks reflect the type of network of the return migrant: if it is comprised of returnees, locals, cross-border networks, or a combination of the three groups.

The network of the return migrant will determine the access to resources and social capital that the network can provide. Self-identification is the returnees' subjective view and self-definition of their own identity. Return migrants can identify themselves as one of

the following: unidirectional orientation towards the country of origin/ return, unidirectional orientation towards the country of migration, or a transnational bidirectional orientation towards both the country of migration and origin/return. Levitt and Glick Schiller (2004) term the last option a *transnational way of belonging*. The final component is the access to rights and institutions in the country of return that is available to the return migrant. This includes the position and statuses that the return migrant can achieve in institutions such as the labour market, citizenship rights, political institutions, housing rights, and within the education system (Heckmann 2001). All of these factors are not absolutes and can be envisioned as different degrees along a spectrum.

From these four dimensions, the reintegration framework puts forth four reintegration strategies as illustrated in Table 2. The first strategy is termed "reintegrated". The reintegrated returnee has been abroad for a longer duration (more than 5 years), has a high preparedness for return, and possesses skills or a comfortable level of wealth. In this strategy, the return migrant has maintained aspects of the culture from the country of migration, but has also adjusted to the culture of the local context. The return migrant has a vast social network that includes locals, other returnees, and the maintenance of their cross-border network from the country of migration. The vast social network allows the return migrant access to both bridging and bonding social capital, thus being able to access a wide array of resources. The return migrant identifies himself or herself as being transnational or belonging simultaneously to two cultures and country contexts. From this reintegration strategy, the return migrant is able to acquire limited rights in the country of return. The ability to acquire rights will be largely dependent on the country of returns citizenship policies. For instance, if the country of return allows for dual citizenship, then the return migrant will have the same rights as citizens.

If the country of return does not allow for dual citizenship and the return migrant opts to maintain their citizenship from the country of migration, although being a resident of the country of return, their rights in the country of return will be limited. In terms of access to the labour market, the reintegrated should have strong access due to their skills and adaptability. Finally, their access to the core institutions of the

Table 2 Reintegration strategies

	Reintegrated	Enclaves	Traditionalists	Vulnerable
Return migrant	• Abroad for longer duration • Decided return • High return preparedness • Economic success	• Abroad for longer duration • Decided return • High return preparedness • Economic success	• Abroad for shorter duration • Decided return • Medium preparedness • Economic stability	• Abroad for shorter duration • Forced return (deportees) • No return preparedness • Economically vulnerable
Cultural orientation	• Value both the culture of the country of migration and country of origin/return	• Value the culture of the country of migration	• Value the culture of the country of origin/return	• Rejection of culture of country of migration • Rejection from dominant society in country of origin/return
Social network	• Locals, returnees and cross-border ties	• Returnees and cross-border ties	• Locals	• Ties to kin and other vulnerable groups
Self identification	• Transnational	• Transnational	• Unidirectional	• Unidirectional
Access to rights, institutions, and the labour market	• Limited or full access to rights in country of return (depends on citizenship choices) • Limited access to key institutions in country of return	• Limited access to rights in country of return • Limited access to key institutions in country of return	• Full access to rights in country of return • Full access to key institutions in country of return	• Full access to rights in country of return • Limited access to institutions in country of return

country will also be dependent upon their citizenship choices, and thus may be limited.

The second strategy is termed the "enclave" strategy. Return migrants in the enclave strategy are similar to those in the reintegrated strategy in that they have been abroad for a longer duration (more than 5 years), have a high preparedness for return, and possess skills or a comfortable level of wealth. The enclavists, however, maintain the culture of the country of migration and do not adapt to the local culture. The enclavists are most likely to have cultural clashes with the local population. The social network of the enclavists is primarily comprised of other returnees and the maintenance of their cross-border network with limited ties to the local community. The enclavists thus have strong bonding social capital, but weak bridging social capital. They maintain an exclusive network that is difficult to gain access to for outsiders. The enclavists define themselves as transnational. Similarly to the reintegrated, the enclavists would have limited rights in the country of return if the country does not allow for dual citizenship. Unlike the reintegrated who may opt to give up their citizenship from the country of migration, the enclavists would not give up their citizenship from the country of migration as they identify with the country of migration and ensure the maintenance of the connection with the country of migration. Thus, their rights would be limited in a country of return that does not allow for dual citizenship. Therefore, the enclavists would also have limited access to key institutions in the country of return, such as political membership (if this is not allowed for non-citizens); however, they should have access to the labour market, educational institutions, and housing.

The third strategy is the "traditionalist". The traditionalist typically has been abroad for a shorter amount of time (3–5 years), has a medium level of preparedness for return, and had less social status than the enclavists or reintegrated, but enough status that they can acquire positions of medium power upon return. The traditionalist has fully adapted to the local culture and rejects the culture of the country of migration. Either the traditionalist does not maintain the cultural changes that they adopted from the country of migration and rejects these changes in the return migration strategy, or the traditionalist

adopted a segregated integration approach in the country or migration wherein they had limited contact with locals and did not venture beyond their cultural environment, thus not adopting new cultural capital in the country of migration. The traditionalists' social network is primarily comprised of locals with minimal to no interaction with other return migrants and the cross-border networks from the country of migration. The network thus has limited access to resources, and the traditionalist has weak bridging social capital due to the lack of maintenance of transnational ties. The traditionalist defines himself or herself as entirely oriented towards the country of return. The traditionalist has typically maintained the country of origin/return citizenship and would have full access to rights and institutions in the country of return.

The final reintegration strategy is the "vulnerable". The vulnerable have been abroad for a shorter duration (less than 2 years), have a low preparedness for return, and often are low skilled with low social status. The vulnerable generally have had an unsuccessful migration experience and may have been forcibly returned as a deportee. The vulnerable do not associate with the culture of the country of migration. Simultaneously, the vulnerable are often rejected by the dominant culture in the country of origin/return. This is due to the lack of social acceptance of deportees in the country of origin/return. The low social position of the vulnerable places them on the periphery of society and leads to social exclusion. This places them in a position of vulnerability where they have low access to local institutions for employment and low rights within the country of origin/return, although they are full citizens of the country of origin/return. The vulnerable have limited social networks that are comprised of locals or other returnees and do not maintain cross-border networks developed during migration, as they generally do not have a network in the country of migration to maintain. The vulnerable are at risk of experiencing the negative aspects of social capital, such as "downward levelling norms" as their network is comprised of other vulnerable people. The vulnerable identify themselves with a unidirectional orientation towards the country of origin.

The reintegration strategies are not permanent, and return migrants may adopt different strategies at different stages of their return. For example, upon initial return, an individual might adopt the enclave

strategy; however, with time as they become accustomed to the culture and country of return, they may change to adopt a reintegration approach. Factors that can impact a change in a reintegration strategy would include a shock to the economic position of the individual, a change in the family situation, a negative or positive experience with the country of origin/return, or a change in the relationship with the country of migration. For instance, the relationship with the country of migration could decrease over time and the returnee may choose to move from a reintegrated strategy to more of a traditionalist strategy as they lose connections with the country of migration. On the other hand, the connection with the country of migration may strengthen and a returnee that was initially a traditionalist may re-engage with the country of migration and move to the reintegrated strategy. The returnee may even choose to re-migrate, thus no longer maintaining return status. Finally, the reintegration strategies are conceptualized to provide overall categorizations and it is possible that individuals may portray aspects representing different categories; thus, the categorizations may not be mutually exclusive.

Reintegration Strategies and the Potential to Vernacularize

The potential of return migrants to vernacularize depends, among others, upon their reintegration strategy. The reintegration strategies presented in this study define the process of how people reintegrate across the four dimensions such as cultural orientation, social networks, self-identification, and access to rights, institutions, and the labour market. In order to act as a vernacularizer, one must first have gained new ideas and values that they bring with them in return, and second, be able to gain the trust of locals and frame issues in a way that is socially acceptable. Therefore, the reintegrated have the highest potential to vernacularize as they are comfortable within both cultures and are networked between locals, returnees, and transnational ties. Enclavists have the second highest potential as they meet the first condition of bringing with them new ideas and values in return. Their limited networks with locals

upon return limit their potential to vernacularize. Both traditionalists and vulnerable have no potential to vernacularize as by rejecting the culture of the country of migration they do not bring with them new ideas and values in return. Table 3 depicts this relationship illustrating the potential to vernacularize among the different reintegration strategies.

Structural and Cultural Environment, Reintegration Strategies and Potential to Verncaularize

A return migrants' reintegration strategy is essential in their potential to vernacularize; however, the structural and cultural environment will also significantly determine the ability of the return migrant to vernacularize. Table 4 combines the potential to vernacularize the return migrant according to their reintegration strategy in a favourable versus adverse structural and cultural environment.

In situations of a favourable structural and cultural environment for return migration, individuals who are reintegrated have a high potential to vernacularize. Locals are open to return migrants and are thus willing to learn new ideas and accept cultural diversity. In addition, reintegrated returnees can engage in social structure positions that are supported by the government and can share new ideas through developing businesses, joining political organizations or advocacy movements. Reintegrated returnees possess both the power positions and cultural orientations to be highly effective change agents in the favourable environment.

Table 3 Reintegration strategies and potential to vernacularize

	Reintegrated	Enclaves	Traditionalists	Vulnerable
Potential to vernacularize	High	Medium	None	None

Table 4 Potential to vernacularize based on the reintegration strategy and conditions of the structural and cultural environment

Structural and cultural environment	Reintegrated	Enclaves	Traditionalists	Vulnerable
Favourable	High	Medium	None	None
Adverse	Medium	Low	None	None

In an adverse structural and cultural environment for return migration, reintegrated returnees still have the greatest potential to vernacularize, but the constraining structural and cultural environment limits their capacity to be effective. Strong vernacularizers will be able to integrate with the local population and still disseminate some new ideas, despite the closed attitudes towards returnees. The adverse environment may also push returnees who would generally opt for a reintegrated strategy towards an enclave strategy due to the clashes with the local population.

In a favourable structural and cultural environment, enclavists would have a medium potential to vernacularize as they return with different cultural values and if they are highly skilled can occupy positions of power that lead to indirect diffusion effects. That is, locals may indirectly learn from their behaviour, emulate their cultural differences, or desire to migrate due to their example. In an adverse structural and cultural environment for return, enclavists would have a low potential to vernacularize due to the cultural clashes between returnees and locals. The enclave strategy may no longer be chosen in an adverse structural and cultural environment, but it may be forced if locals ostracize returnees. The adverse structural and cultural environment may lead to high levels of re-migration if enclavists cannot establish themselves.

In both a favourable and adverse structural and cultural environment, traditionalists and vulnerable have no potential to vernacularize. A favourable structural and cultural environment would, however, be more supportive towards the vulnerable and offer them services for assistance. An adverse structural and cultural environment would ostracize the vulnerable leading to further marginalization from society.

This section has highlighted the importance of both the structural and cultural environment and the return migrants' reintegration strategy in determining the potential of return migrants to vernacularize. Clearly, not all returnees have the capacity to act as vernacularizers and not all return environments are open to return migration.

Assumptions of the Model

There are several key assumptions associated with the reintegration strategies. First, it is recognized that return migrants are not always in a

position to make choices regarding their reintegration. Therefore, return migrants may or may not choose their reintegration strategy (as an exercise of their agency). Second, return migrants' reintegration strategies can change over time, that is, over the short and long term, depending, among others, on the type of networks in which return migrants are involved and on the resources they mobilize. Thirdly, the structural and cultural environment can change over time (to or from favourable/adverse) and can differ for different return migrants. Fourth, the potential and ability of return migrants to vernacularize can also change over time with returnees going from a high to low or low to high potential to vernacularize. These assumptions reflect that situations change over time and are never static. In addition, it reflects the agency of the individuals within the process of reintegration.

Summary

This chapter provides the foundation for this book through the presentation of the reintegration strategies' typology. The typology is informed through the multidisciplinary literature review and encompasses elements from the return migration, integration, transnationalism, social networks, and social change literature. The objective is to draw attention to the multiple facets and dimensions influencing return migration and reintegration; the need to widen the definition of reintegration to reflect learning from integration; and the introduction of the reintegration strategies to examine how people reintegrate. The framework recognizes the structure and agency of return migration and how these two factors impact the ability of return migrants to vernacularize.

This chapter forms a substantive base for the remainder of this book. Chapter 3 examines the structural and cultural environment of return migration in Ethiopia, based on the approach to the structural and cultural environment of return addressed in this chapter. Chapter 4 explores the life cycle of return migrants to Ethiopia as the life cycle, opportunities for integration abroad, preparedness, and process of return all have a significant impact on a returnees' resulting reintegration strategy. Chapter 5 provides an in-depth examination of

the dimensions of the reintegration strategies in comparison with the analytical groups of returnees. Chapter 6 then addresses the returnees' reintegration strategies and the relationship between the reintegration strategies and the potential to vernacularize.

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Structural and Cultural Environment of Female Return Migration to Ethiopia

Introduction

As discussed in the first chapter, the structural and cultural environment of return plays a vital role in the ability of return migrants to reintegrate into their country of origin. Reintegration is a two-way process that is highly influenced by the country of return. If the country of return is open and welcoming towards returnees, this will most likely make the reintegration process faster and easier for the returnee. For example, in the Philippines, the government has established several programmes to support returnees, there is a positive perception of international migrants, and the return flows are moderate (IOM 2013). Return migrants still face challenges in their reintegration in the Philippines; however, they receive much higher levels of support than in other countries. This is quite different than a case such as Bosnia, wherein returnees were viewed as deserters of the country and experienced clashes with locals and local government upon return (Stefansson 2004). Presumably, return migrants' reintegration experiences are very different in these two contexts.

The four key elements utilized in this study to examine the structural and cultural environment of return are as follows: (1) the governments'

policies and approach towards returnees, (2) locals' attitudes and perceptions towards returnees, (3) the private sectors attitudes and approach towards returnees, and (4) the flows of return migration to the country. Combined, these factors determine whether the structural and cultural environment is favourable or adverse to return migrants' reintegration into their country of origin.

This chapter will provide an analysis of the structural and cultural conditions of the return environment in Ethiopia. This chapter will first provide a brief history of return migration to Ethiopia. The next section will examine the current forms and flows of return migration to Ethiopia. Third, this chapter will discuss the role of government policies and different institutions involved in return migration to Ethiopia. The fourth section will explore local attitudes and perceptions towards returnees. The final section will provide an assessment of the structural conditions of the return environment for each return group of interest in this study: professionals, students, and domestics.

A Brief History of Return Migration to Ethiopia

Return migration to Ethiopia can be characterized into four phases. The first phase would include all return that occurred prior to 1991. Prior to 1974, the majority of returnees were the elite that went abroad for education (Tasse 2007). From 1974–1991, there was little return migration to Ethiopia as people primarily fled the country. Few people were issued exit visas during this time to study abroad, and many used this as an opportunity to claim asylum in a third country; however, it is arguable that some people also returned during this time. The largest return flows to Ethiopia were thus in the post-1991 decade, wherein after the end of the conflict in Ethiopia, migrants began to return to Ethiopia. In the 1990s, the primary return flows were repatriating refugees from neighbouring countries. By the end of the 1990s, the period of refugee repatriation to Ethiopia was more or less complete. Return flows thinned out and began to change form as the majority of near refugees had returned. This leads to the third phase of return, which began around 2000 and saw the return of diaspora members who had received

refugee status in the North. These numbers were much smaller than the repatriating refugee figures from the 1990s; however, the diaspora returnees have had an impact on modernizing Addis Ababa.

The final phase of return is the current phase, which can be seen as beginning within the past 3–5 years, thus from 2008 onwards. This phase continues to see diaspora return, but is also comprised of increasing flows of returnees from the Middle East and from other parts of Africa. This final phase of return migration is the most diverse, comprised of different flows, as migration and return from Ethiopia has increased in recent years.

Note on Return Terminology in Ethiopia

In Ethiopia, it is important to note that the term "diaspora" is used to describe all individuals with a foreign citizenship including individuals born in Ethiopia who have acquired citizenship abroad and have returned and settled in Ethiopia. Thus, an individual that would be considered a return migrant within this study is called "diaspora" in common rhetoric in Ethiopia. This leads to some confusion, as diaspora returnees are not distinguished from diaspora non-returnees within the use of the term "diaspora". For the purposes of this study, the term "diaspora returnee" will be utilized to refer to those individuals referred to by the Ethiopian Government as diaspora, but who have returned and settled in Ethiopia.

Flows and Forms of Current Return Migration to Ethiopia

There are no official figures on return migration to Ethiopia. The Government of Ethiopia does not keep records on the number of citizens returning to the country at immigration. This section will provide information on available figures of return migration from three different sources. The first is a brief overview of the return migrants in the IS Academy: Migration and Development survey. This survey was led by the

author in Ethiopia in 2011 alongside the interviews conducted for this study. The information collected in the study is useful in understanding the types of current return migrants to Ethiopia. The second is the number of investors recorded as diaspora by the Ethiopian Investment Agency, which provides an indication of the number of diaspora entrepreneurs in Ethiopia. The third source is information on returnees that are assisted by the Addis Ababa Airport Authority. This information specifically refers to returnees from the Middle East that require assistance.

IS Academy Return Migration Survey

The IS Academy Survey: Migration and Development survey included information on a total of 1282 households across five different regions of the country: Amhara, Oromia, Southern Nations, Nationalities, and People's Region (SNNPR), Tigray, and Addis Ababa. Within this survey, information was collected on 152 returnees in Ethiopia. The survey was not nationally representative; thus, the information provided here is not reflective of the country as a whole; however, it still provides insights into return migration in Ethiopia.

Table 1 shows the number of return migrants per region in Ethiopia, based on the geographical regions of the country of migration. The largest numbers of returnees were from the Middle East (62.18%), followed by Africa (28.85%), with less than 10% of all returnees coming from the North (6.41%). This highlights that the majority of return migration to Ethiopia is not from the North, but from South-South migration

Table 1 Return migrants per region in Ethiopia

	Middle East		Africa		North		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Addis Ababa	20	20.62	8	17.78	6	60.00	36	23.08
Amhara	3	3.09	19	42.22	4	40.00	26	16.67
Oromia	37	38.14	14	31.11	0	-	51	32.69
SNNP	11	11.34	1	2.22	0	-	14	8.97
Tigray	26	26.80	3	6.67	0	-	29	18.59
Total	97	100.00	45	100.00	10	100.00	156	100

Source Authors own calculations

streams. This is consistent with the data in the survey on current migration, wherein the largest current flows are migrants to the Middle East, followed by migrants to Africa (Kuschminder 2012). The majority of returnees from the North returned to Addis Ababa (60.0%), and the majority of returnees from Africa returned to Amhara region (42.22%). In Amhara region, one of the survey sites was the town of Metemba, which is a border city with Sudan. The high number of returnees in the Amhara region represents primarily return and circular migration to and from Sudan. Return migrants from the Middle East most commonly returned to Oromia (38.14%), followed by Tigray (26.80%) and Addis Ababa (20.62%). This illustrates that migration and return from the Middle East is occurring in different regions of the country.

Overall, there was a fairly equitable distribution of male and female return migrants at 55.33% male returnees. However, in looking at return from the specific regions, there was a lower percentage of female return migrants from African countries (21.43%) and a slightly higher percentage of female return migrants from the Middle East (53.61%), whereas female return migration from the North was equitable (50%).

In terms of returning to urban versus rural areas, there was also a fairly equitable split within the return migrants where 54% returned to urban areas. In general, it is expected that return migrants return to urban areas, so the high number of returnees to rural areas is fairly unique. Furthermore, it is primarily males that return to rural areas at 64%, whereas females return to urban areas. The explanation for this is not known, but could be in part that females returning from the Middle East generally arrive first in Addis Ababa and may choose to remain in the city. For those in need, there are some services in Addis Ababa that they can access, which are not available in other parts of the country. Males on the other hand migrating to different parts of Africa may choose to return to their family and rural area in an effort to provide their families with support. On average, return migrants spent 4.2 years in the country of migration.

The primary reason for leaving Ethiopia for the majority of returnees was to find employment opportunities (75.3%). Reasons for return were more varied and are represented in Fig. 1. It is noteworthy the change in reasons for return from the post-conflict period in the 1990s
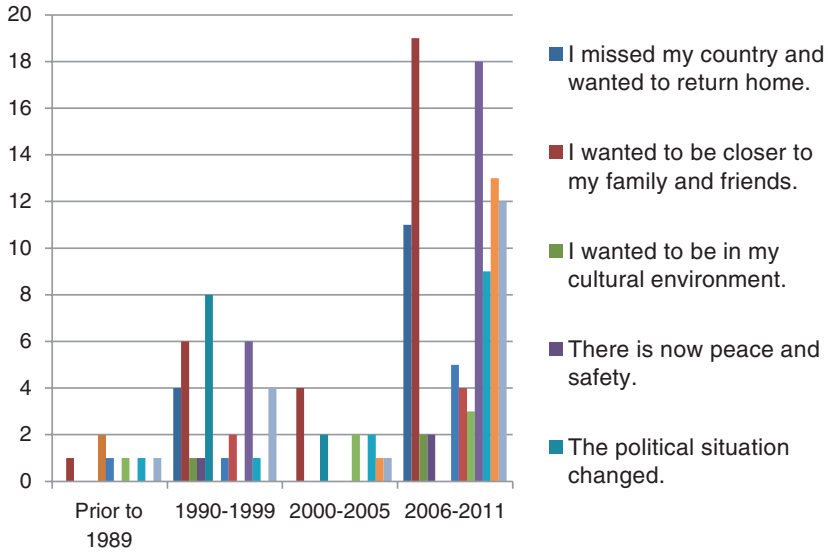
Fig. 1 Year of return and reason for return

and up to 2005 where people frequently cited the changing political situation as the main reason for return, however post-2005 this is no longer the case. The country of return also changes over time as from 1990–1999, 61% returned from African countries, suggesting that they were repatriating refugees, whereas from 2006–2011, 78% returned from the Middle East. Overall, the most frequently cited reason for return was a desire to be closer to friends and family (18.6%), followed by being repatriated/deported (16.6%).

Post-2005, there is a large increase in the number of returnees that report being repatriated/deported within the last five years. 75% of the respondents citing deportation were returning from Saudi Arabia. This most likely reflects both an increase in migration to Saudi Arabia and an increasing migration management political strategy in Saudi Arabia. From November 2013 to March 2014, Saudi Arabia deported over 160,000 people back to Ethiopia (IOM, 2014).

In the IS Academy survey, the majority of returnee's repatriated/deported were male (88.0%), which is also the case with the Saudi Arabia deportations wherein 62% of deportees were male (IOM 2014).

This suggests an interesting gender dichotomy in repatriations/deportations. This is most likely due to the fact that most Ethiopian female migrants to Saudi Arabia are live-in domestic workers, meaning that if they are irregular they are largely invisible to the wider society. Men, on the other hand, are more visible as irregular migrants as they do not live in their employers' houses.

In the IS Academy survey, at the time of interview, the majority of returnees expressed that they now feel very much a part of a community in Ethiopia (87.50%). The majority of respondents that expressed that they either do not feel a part of a community or feel somewhat apart from a community in Ethiopia were returnees from the Middle East (75.0%).

The IS Academy survey results provide an overview of the different forms of return migration currently occurring to Ethiopia. This data portrays the following key themes: (1) the increasing volume of migration and return, (2) the feminization of migration and return migration to the Middle East, (3) the prevalence of deportations from the Middle East, and (4) that return migrants from the Middle East may face more challenges in their return than return migrants from other countries.

It is also important to highlight the low number of returnees from the North in the dataset, particularly as one-third of the sample in this study is returnees from the North and there is a perception in Addis Ababa of large numbers of returnees to Addis Ababa. A possible reason for this is that returnees from the North are from a higher socio-economic status and primarily live in specific neighbourhoods in Addis Ababa, such as the upper-class Bole neighbourhood. Surveys were completed in Bole; however, it was very difficult to get respondents, particularly from well-off households as guards would generally not allow surveyors access to the household members. It must therefore be assumed that returnees from the North are underrepresented in this survey.

Number of Diaspora Investors (Ethiopian Investment Agency)

One source that can provide insight into the scale of returnees from the North is the Ethiopian Investment Agency (EIA). The EIA is a one-stop shop for all investors in Ethiopia, including the diaspora and diaspora
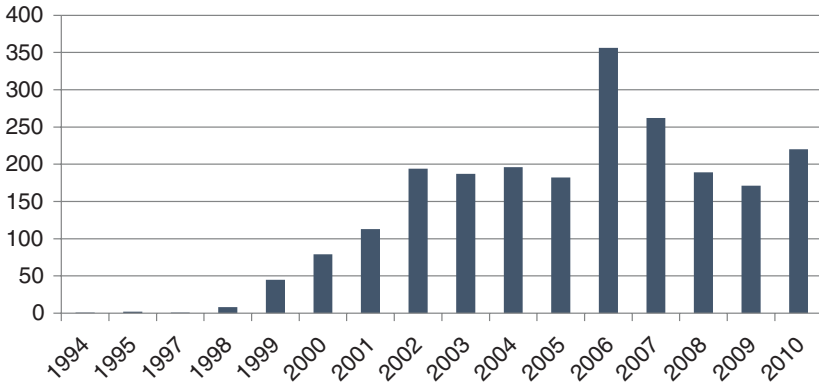
Fig. 2   Number of Diaspora investment projects per year. *Source* EIA (2011)

returnees. The EIA has maintained a list of all investors from the diaspora. Figure 2 provides an overview of the number of diaspora projects per year. The data used to generate this figure does not distinguish between Ethiopian diaspora investors living abroad and Ethiopian diaspora investors who live in Ethiopia. It is evident from Fig. 2 that the number of diaspora investors steadily increased each year from 1994 to 2006, as the number of total projects increased. Since the peak in 2006, the number of diaspora investment projects has slightly decreased. It is hypothesized that this is because the government implemented new policies in 2005 to encourage the diaspora to invest in Ethiopia. Therefore, there is a large increase in 2006 immediately after the implementation of the new policies that tapers off with time.

The majority of Diaspora investors in Ethiopia are male; however, exact figures on the percentage of female investors are not currently available.

Addis Ababa Airport Administration

The Addis Ababa Bole Airport Administration becomes involved with returnees when they are deported from the Middle East and are incapacitated to leave the airport on their own. Although the majority of returnees are able to walk and move, they suffer from mental challenges and may not

know their name, where they were born, where their family can be found, or in extreme cases be able to speak at all. The Airport Authority works to try to find information on their history and family, so that they can contact a family member to let them know the individual has returned. In general, the role of the Addis Ababa Airport Administration is facilitation and to solve any problems at the airport as a facilitator. However, the airport has seen increasing challenges with return migrants and is the only body willing and able to provide assistance. Without the assistance of the Airport Administration, these people would be placed on the street.

Generally, returnees who are assisted by the Airport authority have found themselves in jail in the Middle East and have been issued a *laissez-Passer* document from the Ethiopian embassy in the country of migration. This document has very little information on it, but is necessary for entering the country. The returnees are placed on an Ethiopian Airlines flight and brought to immigration. In some cases, returnees are drugged for the air-flight with a sleeping pill. When they arrive at the airport, some have to be carried from the plane and will not regain consciousness until a few hours after arrival. They are left to wait on a few benches in the immigration waiting area of the airport.

According to the Airport Authority, the majority of people returning that require their assistance are female. In 2009, the Airport Authority began keeping records, and in 2009, 83 returnees were assisted from the Middle East, and in 2010, 108 returnees were assisted from the Middle East. The final resolutions for the returnees were one of the following options: returned to family; went to hospital; sent to Agar shelter (described in next section); or in some cases, the staff will pool together money to assist the returnee. At this time, statistics are not available on the breakdown of the situations of the returnees who are assisted by the Airport Authority.

Those assisted by the Airport Authority are extreme cases of vulnerable returnees from the Middle East. There are daily flights arriving at Addis Ababa Airport from the Middle East that are often filled with returnees. Generally, returnees are fine to leave the airport on their own. It is in rare cases that the Airport Authority becomes involved; however, for the Airport Authority, the cases are difficult to deal with and are increasing in number.

Institutions Involved in Return Migration

This section will discuss all relevant institutions dealing with return migration to Ethiopia. Institutions for return migration in Ethiopia include the following: government institutions, international organizations, and non-governmental organizations (NGOs). Each of these categories will be discussed below.

Government Institutions

There is no specific government authority that is charged with providing services to returnees. The Administration for Refugee and Returnee Affairs (ARRA) was initially conceived as an organization to assist returning refugees in the 1990s. However, as return migration flows to Ethiopia have changed, the organization has moved to focus primarily on providing support to refugees in Ethiopia.

In 2012, ARRA became involved in AVRs through the signing of a return agreement with Norway. In this bi-lateral agreement, the role of Ethiopia is to administer travel agreements and to provide reintegration support through ARRA (Eide 2014). It is unusual for a receiving country government to administer reintegration assistance to rejected asylum seekers, and the ethics of this have been questioned by academics and civil society.

The Ministry of Foreign (MFA) has established the Diaspora Engagement Affairs Directorate General, which is the largest institution in Ethiopia providing services to diaspora. This includes diaspora returnees. The MFA provides facilitation to diaspora returnees seeking to invest in Ethiopia. This is done by the MFA providing a letter of support to the diaspora returnee that is necessary for starting a business with the Ethiopian Investment Agency (EIA). The EIA does not actively provide services to returnees, but is a one-stop shop for all investment in Ethiopia, meaning that diaspora returnee business owners are commonly in contact with the EIA.

Within the Ministry of Justice, there is a team working on violence against women and children, which encompasses human trafficking. This team works to provide education and prevention on

trafficking, and in 2011 began to provide support for returnee victims of trafficking. At the time of interview in April 2011, a vacancy announcement had just been circulated to hire two social workers to provide support to trafficking victims for rehabilitation in two sub-cities in Addis Ababa. The plan was to provide specific training to the social workers so that they would be equipped to handle the complex issues facing returnees. Since this time, human trafficking has risen on the government agenda with the National Action Plan against Trafficking in Persons in Ethiopia launched in May 2014 and new legislation against trafficking in persons and migrant smuggling being signed in 2015.

There are several other government institutions working on issues of migration, diaspora, and human trafficking[1] in Ethiopia and specific technical working groups to address these issues; however, none of these organizations have specific components for returnees. There is a growing momentum and recognition in Ethiopia that returnees from the Middle East are vulnerable and require support, which is prompting responses from the government, such as the hiring of social workers. However, a comprehensive strategy for return migration is not in place at this time.

International Organizations

The International Organization for Migration (IOM) is the primary international organization providing services to return migrants. IOM manages AVR, as discussed above, and IOM manages temporary return programmes to Ethiopia of the highly skilled diaspora including Migration for Development in Ethiopia (MidEth) and Connecting Diasporas for Development (formerly named Temporary Return of Qualified Nationals). In addition, IOM leads the Inter-governmental Authority on Development–Regional Consultative Process on Migration, for which Ethiopia is a member state, along with Djibouti, Kenya, Somalia, Sudan, and Uganda. This group works together to improve cooperation on migration, which includes return migration; however, return is not the key priority.

It is important to note that the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), United Nations Women (UN Women), and the

International Labour Organization (ILO) have all become involved at a policy and promotion level to advocate on issues of human trafficking in Ethiopia. This includes the provision of support to primarily women returning from the Middle East. UN Women, although not a funding agency, provided a special grant to Agar (detailed below) of USD 23,000 in 2011 for them to continue their services for an additional year providing support to female returnees, while looking for a long-term funder. The UN agencies, however, are not generally involved in providing practical assistance to return migrants.

Non-Governmental Organizations

Several non-governmental organizations are working in Ethiopia to assist return migrants. These include the following: Agar, Ethiopian Orthodox Church (EOC), Association for Forced Migration, and Stichting Dir Foundation. These four organizations work together in a consortium to provide assistance to female returnees from the Middle East. Agar provides a shelter for the most vulnerable women, wherein they can have a safe place to stay with food, clothing, and services provided. As of April 2011, Agar had provided support to 119 women. The majority of these women were not from Addis Ababa and had migrated illegally to the Middle East. Often, women are referred to Agar through the Addis Ababa Airport Authority. As the women recover, Agar assists them in returning to their families or finding a place to stay in Addis Ababa.

The EOC provides psychosocial support, medication, and counselling services to returnee women. They treat the women at Agar, of which approximately 85% are mentally ill, and other female returnees that are identified as needing psychosocial care, which at the time of interview had included 300 women. When women return and have family in Addis Ababa, it is recommended that they stay with their family instead of at Agar, where space is limited. The EOC has a psychiatric doctor, nurse, and medical attendant devoted to providing these services. In addition, the EOC assists the returnees in getting the necessary medical care they need for conditions such as tuberculosis, HIV, and treating physical injuries.

The objective of the Association for Forced Migrants was to provide skill training for reintegration to healthy, physically fit, and mentally well female returnees and to then assist them in receiving employment opportunities or providing them with capital and linking them with micro-finance institutions. The Association for Forced Migrants provided training to 102 female returnees. Recruitment was conducted by providing flyers about the programme in several local communities (sub-cities of Addis Ababa). Female returnees living in the local communities could write a letter to the sub-city administration, which would register their name and provide the woman with a letter stating that she is a returnee. The woman would have to show the sub-city that they lived abroad via their passport of documents showing they lived in another country. The woman could then bring the letter to the Association for Forced Migrants and be registered for the training. The training was free of charge, and the women were provided a stipend for living and transportation expenses while they were in training.

Training was offered in seven different areas and was based on the women's interest. Table 2 shows the fields and the number of participants per field. It is evident from Table 2 that catering and food preparation was the most popular field. The women joined courses that already existed in these areas. Most of the courses lasted for six months.

Due to the high number of participants in the catering and food preparation and the low demand for work in this area in Addis Ababa, the Association for Forced Migrants encouraged and assisted women to do internships at hotels and restaurants after their course completion for

Table 2 Returnees' training areas from association for forced migrants

Training area	No. of participants
Catering and food prep	63
Hair dressing	20
Sewing	4
Hotel management	1
Car driving	8
Videography	5
IT training	1
Total	102

two months. That is, the women worked on a voluntary basis at restaurants providing assistances to waiters and food staff. At the end of the internship, 28 of the women were hired. A small number of women (less than five) opened their own businesses after the completion of the course.

The final organization in the consortium was Stichting Dir Foundation. Stichting Dir did not provide direct services to returnees, but undertook research on the situation of female migrants in the Middle East and their situation upon return.

It is evident that there is a need in Addis Ababa for the services provided by these organizations. Agar is regularly filled to capacity, and without their programme, people returning at the airport would not have any place to go. Furthermore, the women returning often need psychosocial care. Perhaps the new social workers being hired into the Addis Ababa sub-cities can fill this gap, but until that time, the work of the EOC is the only service providing psychosocial care to women that are not in the hospital. Training appears to be a good idea in principle to assist this group of returnees; however, the training has not led to high levels of employment. Without employment, many women think to re-migrate. In a city and country of high unemployment, this does raise questions as to how to best assist this population with economic reintegration. At this time, there are no NGOs that seek to provide return assistance to other forms of return migrants.

Government Policies on Return Migration

This section will now turn to examine the Government of Ethiopia's policies on return migration. In June 2013, the Government of Ethiopia launched its first official Diaspora Policy, which was reviewed and updated in 2015. Overall, the document provides a positive image of the Ethiopian diaspora and the contributions that the diaspora and returnees can make towards the country. This is expected, as the policies implemented since the inception of the MFA Diaspora Directorate have been to increase gains from the diaspora. Although primarily directed at

the diaspora, the policy also makes reference to returning migrants. The background in the policy states:

> However most people have agreed that citizen's contribution for their country, while they are outside of their home land, is limited compared to their contribution while living in their home country. (Ethiopian Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2013: 4)

This suggests that the government gives preference to contributions made by individuals in Ethiopia, which should therefore include returnees. The policy makes the following specific references regarding returnees:

5.4 Encouraging foreign currency inflow and Diaspora participation:
5.4.1. A mechanism that could build confidence on returnee Diasporas to come home with their entire capital and property would be crafted and implemented.
6.3. Encouraging organized participation
6.3.1.5. Support would be given to returnees to strengthen their participation in an organized manner and to help new returnees in different sectors.
6.5. Assisting members of the Diaspora
6.5.1. Providing services for returnees going back to their country to have the opportunity of bringing their personal effects in accordance with the law.
6.5.5. Mechanisms will be put in place for Diaspora returnees to help find jobs in the country. (Ethiopian Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2013)

All of these policies reference future actions and at the time of writing had not been implemented. Reflecting on Alan Gamlen's (2006) typology of diaspora policies that includes the following: (1) capacity building, (2) extending rights; and (3) extracting obligations, and it is evident that the intended policies towards returnees include all of these groups. Policy 5.4.1 is rooted in extracting obligations by assisting returnees to invest in the country. Policy 6.3.1.5 reflects capacity building by providing returnees support to establish networks. Finally, 6.5.1 and 6.5.5 extend rights to returnees in that they can bring personal effects and also receive assistance in finding jobs. This suggests a

balanced approach to return, wherein the government is expecting to "give and receive", which contrasts existing policies that have primarily focused on receiving investments from the Diaspora.

There are questions regarding the practicalities of implementing such policies. Ethiopia has a high unemployment rate, and it is questionable as to if the government could provide specific job searching support to returnees. This is especially considering that low-skilled returnees are most in need of employment and the market in Ethiopia is overcrowded with low-skilled job seekers.

It must also be recognized that this policy was established in consultations with the diaspora. This reflects that the Ethiopia government is working to balance the desires of the diaspora with their policy realities. Time will tell whether the proposed policies are implemented or whether the document becomes a paper tiger.

Existing Policies Relevant to Return

Prior to the implementation of the diaspora policy, a number of individual policies have been implemented by the MFA over the last decade that impact returnees. As previously stated, returnees that have foreign citizenship are considered diaspora in Ethiopia. For this reason, some of the policies below have been targeted towards the diaspora, but also impact returnees as defined within this study.

Citizenship and the Ethiopian Yellow Card

Ethiopia does not allow for dual citizenship. Individuals that choose to return to Ethiopia that have acquired citizenship abroad do not have the right to Ethiopian citizenship unless they denounce their foreign citizenship. In order to make travel to Ethiopia more accessible for this group with foreign citizenship, the government instituted the Ethiopian Origin Identity Card, which is most commonly referred to as the "Yellow Card". The Yellow Card has been described as allowing for all the rights of citizenship, except the right to vote. The Card has two exceptions; the first

is that the holder of the card does not have the right to vote or be elected into public office; and second, the holder of the card does not have the right to work for the National Defence, Security, Foreign Affairs, or other similar establishments on a regular basis (Kuschminder and Siegel 2013). Rights afforded to the Yellow Card holders include the following: entry into Ethiopia without a visa and the ability to work in Ethiopia without a work permit. Initially, the Yellow Card costs $500 for the first five years and $200 for a two-year renewal, and was reduced in October 2011 to $100 for a period of five years and $40 for a two-year renewal.

The Yellow Card allows returnees with foreign citizenship to enter and leave Ethiopia freely, and to work in Ethiopia. The lack of allowance for dual citizenship, however, prevents returnees with foreign citizenship from being able to vote or engage in politics in Ethiopia. This limits the political reintegration for this group of returnees.

As there are no official statistics on the number of return migrants to Ethiopia, it is not possible to know how many returnees have the Yellow Card. In 2010, the Government of Ethiopia estimated that approximately 21,000 Yellow Cards had been granted (Kuschminder and Siegel 2013). This was below expectations and through consultations with the diaspora; the Government came to the conclusion that the fee was a large barrier for diaspora members in applying for the card, thus resulting in the fee reduction in 2011. The majority of professional women interviewed in this study held the Yellow Card. They were very pleased with the card, reporting that it made working and living in Ethiopia much easier for them, while being able to maintain their foreign citizenship.

Former Incentives for Diaspora Return—Land Policies and Duty-Free Importation

In 2003, the Council of Ministers passed *the revised Regulation on the importation of goods on franco- Valuta basis Council of Ministers Regulation No. 88/2003.* This Regulation permitted individuals returning to Ethiopia permanently to import their personal and household effects 100% duty-free. In July 2006, the provision was lifted as the

government suspected that vehicles were being signed over to third parties without paying duty, which violated the law (Mekuria 2006). The lifting was revised so that all vehicles that were stranded at ports could be brought to Ethiopia until October 2006 (Mekuria 2006). This incentive is thus no longer in effect (Embassy of Ethiopia Washington 2009).

Allowing the duty-free importation of household effects of return migrants is a common policy in most developed states (such as Canada and the Netherlands). It is a policy that practically makes sense, as returnees do not want to pay duty on shipping their personal goods. However, in countries with high duties on foreign goods to protect local markets, it also makes sense to take caution. India has managed this issue by allowing a maximum value on goods to be imported duty-free, and specific conditions for the importation of one vehicle, and gold and silver (Welcome NRI 2013). In 2013, according to an Emirates news site, India placed a specific ban on the importation of flat screen televisions, as it was estimated that a million flat screen TVs were being imported annually and harming domestic markets (Kapur 2013).

In addition, in 2003, to encourage return migration, the Government of Ethiopia granted returnees a piece of land upon their return. All land is governmentally owned in Ethiopia, and people hold leases to land. Land in Addis Ababa is the most desirable, and land close to the city is scarce. This policy become highly opposed by local Ethiopians, as the majority of returnees come to Addis Ababa and were receiving scarce land. This provision was quickly lifted (Kuschminder and Siegel 2013). This policy is not commonly practiced in other countries, as returnees (i.e. non-refugee returnees) are often viewed as the privileged that can afford land upon return. Land is a controversial issue in Ethiopia and can act as a large incentive for return, however, clearly to the opposition of locals. At this time, there are no longer any specific incentives for return migrants.

Businesses and Investments

One of the first initiatives of the Ethiopian Expatriate Affairs Department at their inception in 2002 was to make investment in Ethiopia more attractive to the diaspora. In 2002, the *Investment Proclamation No. 280/2002* defined a domestic investor to be inclusive

of foreign nationals who are Ethiopian by birth. This allows the members of the diaspora to be treated as domestic investors, who have significantly different rights than foreign investors in Ethiopia. For instance, foreign investors must invest a minimum of US $100,000 in a single project, or if a foreign investor has a domestic partner, the foreign investor must invest US $60,000 in a single project. For a domestic investor, there is no minimum amount required for investing (Kuschminder and Siegel 2013). This has a significant impact in allowing diaspora returnees to open businesses in Ethiopia.

Promotion of Temporary Return of Highly Skilled

The Government of Ethiopia has been active to encourage the skilled diaspora to participate in temporary return programmes that focus on knowledge transfer. Two key programmes have been run in Ethiopia: the first is the Migration for Development in Ethiopia (MidEth) Programme, and the second is the Temporary Return of Qualified Nationals Programme (TRQN). Both programmes are administered by IOM and work in cooperation with the Diaspora Coordinating Office of the Ministry of Interior. The Ethiopian Government and UNDP jointly fund MidEth and the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs funds TRQN. Both programmes work to place skilled diaspora members from abroad in temporary assignments in Ethiopia to focus on transferring knowledge and skills. These programmes are not to encourage permanent return, but have been the only focus area of the Ethiopian Government in terms of return programmes.

Government's Position on Return Migration

Although the Government of Ethiopia does not have an official position on return migration, interpretations can be made regarding their behaviour towards returnees from the implemented policies. It is evident that there is a high interest from the Ethiopian Government for investment from the diaspora. In March 2011, the Government published *All Basic Information for Ethiopian Diaspora*,[2] which is a guide detailing

the rules of investment, remittances, the diaspora bond, and the role of the diaspora in contributing to Ethiopia (MFA 2011). At the beginning of the guide, the Prime Minister Meles Zenawi is quoted as saying "Ethiopians in the Diaspora need to further consolidate their efforts and do their part for the efficient implementation of the GTP [Growth and Transformation Plan], a plan which aims at extricating the country out of poverty". Based on this language, the contributions of the diaspora are expected in Ethiopia. This is further evidenced by the expectation that diaspora members will contribute to the building of the Great Renaissance Dam (formerly called the Millennium Dam), which will be the largest dam in Africa. The Dam is a source of great pride in Ethiopia, wherein it has been described that to be against the dam is to not be Ethiopian. Diaspora groups in different countries are being encouraged by the government to make pledges to generate funding targets for the construction of the dam (Walta Info 2011). Some groups have been active in this regard and are working to raise the funds.

Diaspora returnees fall into this category of diaspora that has received great attention from the Ethiopian Government in recent years. There are thus high expectations of diaspora returnees from the Government, including that diaspora returnees are expected to invest in the country, generate business, and contribute to the Renaissance Dam. In exchange, diaspora returnees do sometimes receive special treatment at the EIA and from the government for their initiatives, although there are no policies to support this. Other returnees do not receive any form of special treatment from the government, or any special attention. The focus of the government is on growth and investment; thus, the focus has remained on diaspora and diaspora returnees.

The new policy does suggest the increasing of rights and protection of returnees and migrants abroad. As mentioned previously in this chapter, even if there is a will to provide these supports, there are questions regarding capacity. The Ministry of Labour has identified in an interview with the researcher that there is a strong will from Ethiopia to provide further protection to workers in the Middle East, but that they lack the capacity to do. In regard to providing increased services to returnees, it must be questioned as to if this will be the same situation.

Local Attitudes and Perceptions Towards Returnees

The perception of locals towards returnees has been assessed through the interviews, IS Academy survey data, examining local media, and observations made by the researcher while conducting the research. The IS Academy survey asked all participants for their perspectives on return migrants in a series of four questions.

The results are presented in Table 3, which illustrates the responses of migrant, return migrant, and non-migrant households separately.

Overall, these questions suggest that return migrants are positively viewed in Ethiopia. Table 4 shows the total responses for these same questions from the participants in Addis Ababa, as compared to the total population. It is interesting to note that on all questions, Addis Ababa respondents do not view returnees as positively as the rest of the total sample. One hypothesis for this would be that on the whole, there are more returnees in Addis Ababa, and therefore, respondents have more experience with returnees. In the survey, 28% of all returnees sampled were living in Addis Ababa, with only Oromiya region having a slightly higher number of sampled returnees at 29%, whereas in all other regions, it was less than 18% of the returnee sample. Furthermore, the returnees to Addis Ababa were the most likely to return from the North, at 25%, with the majority returning from the Middle East. Perhaps the type of returnee also has an impact on responses as the other regions had virtually no returnees from the North. These responses suggest that return migrants are viewed slightly less favourable and more as equals in Addis Ababa. The interviews and observations were all made in Addis Ababa; thus, it is important to note that the perceptions in Addis Ababa might differ from the rest of the country.

In the following tables, all categories of return migrants are grouped together; however, the situation is quite different for different groups of return migrants. First, return migrants from the North are characterized as diaspora returnees in Ethiopia and are represented in different ways. The media often portrays a positive image of diaspora returnees and highlights the achievements they have brought to Ethiopia (BBC 2006; Habtamu for Ezega News 2009). The so-called poster-boy for

Table 3 Perception questions by household type

	Migrant	Return	Non-Migrant	Total
When people who have lived abroad come back they…				
Help the country				
Strongly disagree	7 (1.69%)	3 (2.28%)	19 (2.73%)	29 (2.34%)
Disagree	29 (7.00%)	8 (6.35%)	87 (12.48%)	124 (10.02%)
Neutral	63 (15.22%)	22 (17.46%)	116 (16.64%)	201 (16.25%)
Agree	266 (64.25%)	76 (60.32%)	421 (60.40%)	763 (61.68%)
Strongly agree	49 (11.84%)	17 (13.49%)	54 (7.75%)	120 (9.70%)
Do not fit in				
Strongly disagree	66 (16.71%)	22 (18.03%)	89 (13.88%)	177 (15.28%)
Disagree	162 (41.01%)	56 (45.90%)	255 (39.78%)	473 (40.85%)
Neutral	68 (17.22%)	11 (9.02%)	123 (19.19%)	202 (17.44%)
Agree	81 (20.51%)	21 (17.21%)	144 (22.46%)	246 (21.24%)
Strongly agree	18 (4.56%)	12 (9.84%)	30 (4.68%)	60 (5.18%)
Bring new ideas, knowledge and technology				
Strongly disagree	7 (1.69%)	2 (1.59%)	12 (1.71%)	21 (1.69%)
Disagree	30 (7.26%)	7 (5.56%)	49 (6.98%)	86 (6.93%)
Neutral	63 (15.25%)	14 (11.11%)	94 (13.39%)	171 (13.78%)
Agree	210 (50.85%)	65 (51.59%)	402 (57.26%)	677 (54.55%)
Strongly agree	103 (24.94%)	38 (30.16%)	145 (20.66%)	286 (23.05%)
Receive preferential treatment				
Strongly disagree	24 (6.27%)	5 (4.17%)	27 (4.13%)	56 (4.84%)
Disagree	84 (21.93%)	21 (17.50%)	126 (19.30%)	231 (19.98%)
Neutral	76 (19.84%)	22 (18.33%)	145 (22.21%)	243 (21.02%)

(continued)

Table 3 (continued)

	Migrant	Return	Non-Migrant	Total
Agree	152 (39.69%)	56 (46.67%)	267 (40.89%)	475 (41.09%)
Strongly agree	47 (12.27%)	16 (13.33%)	88 (13.48%)	151 (13.06%)

Source Authors own calculations

Table 4 Addis Ababa respondents perception questions compared to total respondents

	Addis Ababa respondents	All respondents
When people who have lived abroad come back they…		
Help the country		
Strongly disagree	2 (0.86%)	29 (2.34%)
Disagree	12 (5.17%)	124 (10.02%)
Neutral	44 (18.97%)	201 (16.25%)
Agree	135 (58.19%)	763 (61.68%)
Strongly agree	28 (12.07%)	120 (9.70%)
Do not fit in		
Strongly disagree	34 (14.66%)	177 (15.28%)
Disagree	88 (37.93%)	473 (40.85%)
Neutral	52 (22.41%)	202 (17.44%)
Agree	32 (13.79%)	246 (21.24%)
Strongly agree	4 (1.72%)	60 (5.18%)
Bring new ideas, knowledge, and technology		
Strongly disagree	4 (1.72%)	21 (1.69%)
Disagree	9 (3.88%)	86 (6.93%)
Neutral	52 (22.41%)	171 (13.78%)

Table 4   (continued)

	Addis Ababa respondents	All respondents
Agree	84 (36.21%)	677 (54.55%)
Strongly agree	72 (31.03%)	286 (23.05%)
Receive preferential treatment		
Strongly disagree	6 (2.59%)	56 (4.84%)
Disagree	31 (13.36%)	231 (19.98%)
Neutral	59 (25.43%)	243 (21.02%)
Agree	77 (33.19%)	475 (41.09%)
Strongly agree	29 (12.50%)	151 (13.06%)

Source Authors own calculations

the successful Ethiopian diaspora returnee is Tadiwos Belete, a diaspora returnee from the USA who has opened several successful businesses such as the Boston Day Spa and the high-end Kuriftu Resort. The portrayal of Belete is positive in the media, as someone who suffered as a refugee in Sudan, and was able to make it to the USA and be successful, but always had a desire to return to Ethiopia. Belete has described the achievement of Kuriftu in an interview with Ezega News (an Ethiopian Business, News and Information Website) as "the 1st standard benchmark for a lodge here. It proves that we Ethiopians can make and operate five-star resorts", which give a sense of pride to the Ethiopian identity (Habtamu 2009). This type of portrayal of the diaspora returnee is common in the media and seeks to bring pride to the Ethiopian identity and contribution of returnees to modernizing the country.

The local perspective on diaspora returnees is, however, not as positive as the portrayal in the media. There are high levels of scepticism towards diaspora returnees. A common perspective is that diaspora returnees worked in low-level jobs in the USA, such as parking attendants, dollar store cashiers, or as dishwashers, and now return to Ethiopia flaunting money and behaving as though they are better than locals. This extends

to the degree that there are low levels of trust for genuinely successful diaspora returnees, wherein locals question whether they are telling the truth regarding their education and previous employment. At one point during the field research when explaining the purpose of my interviews with diaspora returnees to a local colleague, I was asked, "How do you know what they are telling you is true?" This exemplifies the mistrust between locals and diaspora returnees.

Diaspora returnees also experienced a lack of trust from locals, but in the opposite experience wherein locals were not honest with returnees. One returnee explained as follows:

> When you go to stores they could charge you more… For example I would ask somebody to facilitate some permit for me. I didn't know the going price was about, you know 10 to 20 thousands, he said 80 thousand and the guy next to him said yeah that is very reasonable and I signed it. And people were like I don't believe you paid 80 thousand! So you know you do get taken sometimes, that is frustrating. (*Participant 41*)

Overall, diaspora returnees expressed that it is clear to locals and to themselves that they are different and initially there can be clashes.

Furthermore, even the use of the term "diaspora" to describe the returnees suggests an othering process in Ethiopia. Locals do not consider diaspora returnees as "really Ethiopian". This is witnessed in other countries, such as India, where returnees are frequently called NRIs, officially meaning Non-Resident Indians, but given the local slang of Not-Really Indian. The diaspora returnees in Ethiopia recognize this, but often also accept it, and can even view it as an element to be used to their advantage. One diaspora returnee stated:

> People, well, categorize me as diasporas now, so somehow if I do some mistakes culturally, they would pass on them, they don't mind me being a bit crazy. They say "oh she's diaspora, so it's ok". (*Participant 54*)

This acceptance of the label "diaspora" assisted returnees to overcome clashes with locals. Diaspora returnees expressed that over time, they were able to overcome these clashes; however, for locals, stigmas of returnees appear to still exist, particularly for returnees from the USA.

It is clear that this stigma is not resentment for people abandoning their country during the war, as is found in other post-conflict countries such as Bosnia (Stefansson 2004). This stigma appears to stem from a reaction to changes occurring in Ethiopian culture as returnees bring new businesses and new ways of working. Addis Ababa has undergone massive changes in the last ten years, and many of the changes are attributed to diaspora returnees. Furthermore, as expressed in the perception questions, nearly half of the respondents in Addis Ababa feel that returnees receive preferential treatment (45. 69%), which can fuel resentment towards returnees.

For the second group of return migrants from the Middle East, the local perception and treatment is quite different. The media primarily portrays migrants to the Middle East as victims: both as victims of poverty and "backwardness" in Ethiopia, which instigates their migration, and as victims of abuse and trafficking in the Middle East (Tigabu 2011; Berhane 2012). The focus of the media, however, is on curbing the illegal migration and finding solutions for youth unemployment in Ethiopia. There is little information on the struggles of Middle Eastern returnees upon their return to Ethiopia, with the exception that they are happy to be home. As one Middle Eastern returnee stated: "We escaped from hell and went back home. It was too good to be true" (Tigabu 2011). The return is thus portrayed as the safe haven after the horrors of the migration episode.

There are several other elements that occur for Middle Eastern returnees in their return experience. Previously, the common perspective amongst locals is that all returnees are rich. When a woman returned to her home after being in the Middle East, neighbours would come expecting some money or fancy clothes due to the migration. One participant stated:

> After you come from there they may think you have brought a lot with you. "She did not do this for me" that type of thing I heard, so I do not go anywhere. (*Participant 82*)

This quote shows how the assumptions of the locals that as a returnee the participant should have brought them gifts have negatively affected the reintegration of the woman into the local community.

The emerging NGOs and increased government and media attention are starting to create more knowledge regarding the circumstances of returnees from the Middle East, and it is beginning to trickle down to the local level that returnees may not have had a positive experience or brought back lots of wealth. For instance, other participants stated that their families and neighbours were just happy that they had returned unharmed from the Middle East. This creates a mixture of treatment towards Middle Eastern returnees.

Finally, for the third category of return migrants, the students, the situation is also quite different. This is also largely due to the difference in social networks of each of these groups. Student returnees' networks are more educated than those of Middle Eastern returnees. Student returnees are not expected to be wealthy upon their return, but receive a mixed reception. Some people believe that they should have stayed in the country of migration, and question whether they were not good enough to get a job in the country of migration. On the other hand, others treat students with high respect as they have received high-quality education and now returned to help their country, versus staying abroad. Most students expressed that they have encountered both of the perspectives. Overall, however, student returnees do not face many stigmatizations by locals and there is little media attention towards student returnees.

Characterizing the Structural and Cultural Environment of Return Migration in Ethiopia

Thus far, this chapter has sought to provide an overview of the structural and cultural environment of return in Ethiopia for each group of returnees: professionals, students, and domestics. The final section of this chapter will provide an assessment of the structural and cultural environment for each return group based on Table 3 of Chap. 2, also shown below (Table 5).

Table 5 Overview of the structural and cultural environment of return

	Favourable	Adverse	Neutral
Government	• Encourage return migration • Implement policies to support returnees reintegration/participation	• Discourage return migration • No policies to support returnees	• Ambivalent towards returnees
Local population	• Inclusive attitude towards returnees • Open towards cultural diversity	• Exclusive attitude towards returnees • Closed towards cultural diversity	• Ambivalent towards returnees
Private sector	• Inclusive attitude towards returnees	• Exclusive attitude towards returnees	• Ambivalent towards returnees
Return migrant flows	• Medium flow of return migrant	• Flow is too large and overwhelms local population • Flow is too small to be noticed	• Small to medium flow of returnees (does not affect local populations daily lives)

Professionals

The government can be classified as between favourable and neutral to professional returnees. On the one hand, the government has implemented policies to make investing in Ethiopia more accessible for those who are Ethiopian born and now have foreign citizenship. This has had a large impact on the ability of professionals to invest in the country. The government had also implemented policies to encourage return migration, which highlights a favourable structural and cultural environment, but these were discontinued. Therefore, at present, there are no policies specifically aimed at encouraging return migration; however, the government does continue to encourage professionals to invest in Ethiopia. This suggests a slightly favourable government approach towards returnees.

Professionals have for the most part had positive experiences in working with the government to open businesses and acknowledge that

diaspora returnees do receive some special treatment from the government in the opening of their businesses.

> Actually they [the government of Ethiopia] came to Boston and everywhere they are going and asking people. They promised to give us a loan and other opportunities. It was very interesting what they can do for you. We came and bought land from the government. It was very smooth, nice place. They are very helpful. Right now we are doing the design and I am about to get the building permit. I will see how it works but so far things are good. (*Participant 55*)

Frustrations with the government are experienced in other ways, such as the effective use of professional's knowledge contributions. One returnee described their frustration as follows:

> So I see something being done as an engineer and I wish I could help out, I wish they would ask me without payment for support. For example the traffic and there is so much about the air quality…I wish they would involve people in their field and say 'ok' you came in and we are working on environmental issues and training issues, can you help us with these? I would love to get involved here…it is frustrating knowing that you could be part of the solution. (*Participant 41*)

Overall, the situation with government can thus be viewed as a slightly favourable structural and cultural environment for diaspora returnees.

The treatment from the local population can be characterized as slightly adverse for the professional returnees. There is a high level of stigmatization towards diaspora returnees from the general population, but this of course does not include all locals. It is arguable that professionals are able to break through these stigmatizations within a few months; however, these stigmas do still exist at a general level. In addition, there is a mixed environment for accepting other cultures in Ethiopia. The youth in Addis Ababa are open to the changes and the western influence, whereas the older generations are often resisting the changes and the influence of the West on local culture. This creates a mixed environment.

The positive portrayal of professional returnees in the media may lead to future changes in the treatment of locals. Chan and Tran (2011) found in Vietnam that a positive media portrayal of skilled returnees has influenced a positive social attitude from locals towards returnees. The locals accept the skilled Vietnamese returnees as part of the Vietnamese nation. This, however, may not be the case in Ethiopia. Similarly to the slang in India that Persons of Indian Origin (PIOs) and Non-Resident Indians (NRIs) are "not really Indian", there is a perception in Ethiopia that diaspora returnees are not necessarily Ethiopians. India initially had a contested relationship with PIOs and NRIs, wherein prior to 2000, they were viewed as deserters; however, this changed to a more positive light in the last decade as they are now viewed as agents of development and a source of pride for the country (Hercog and Siegel 2013). These examples highlight that the current mixed environment towards returnees in Ethiopia may change in the future as the role of returnees in developed potentially grows.

Finally, the flow of professionals to Ethiopia can be characterized as small to medium. As there are no exact figures, it is difficult to quantify the flows. However, the number of professional returnees does appear large enough to be having an impact on Addis Ababa, but is not too large to overwhelm the city. Therefore, the size of the flow has a neutral impact on the structural and cultural environment.

Overall, the structural and cultural environment for professionals and diaspora returnees in Ethiopia is slightly favourable. The professionals that participated in this project represent those that have managed to resist the negative aspects of the structural and cultural environment and establish successful businesses. However, many interviewees stated, "for every one who stays, at least two go back". This suggests that the difficult aspects of the structural and cultural environment led to unsustainable returns for many individuals that were excluded from this study.

Students

For student returnees, the structural and cultural environment of return is neutral. There are no government policies aimed towards student

returnees that are either positive or negative. The local population has a mixed attitude towards student returnees, that overall appears slightly more positive than negative. The number of student returnees is small, although arguably increasing, but not large enough to be having a noticeable impact on Ethiopia. Therefore, the overall structural and cultural environment of return for students is neutral.

Ethiopia is currently undergoing a transition—as the country and economy grows, there is a critical recognition of a need for higher skills. The country is currently investing in higher education institutes, however, often lacks the required level of instructors. There is a strong recognition of the prestige of foreign education in Ethiopia. This acceptance of the prestige of foreign education is common in other countries, such as China, India, and Ghana and further across Africa, and is easily identified by the tradition of elites sending their children to study abroad. At the same time as there is acknowledgement of the prestige of foreign education, there is not necessarily an automatic acceptance of student returnees. For the most part, students in this study felt accepted upon return in Ethiopia and had high levels of labour market reintegration.

A large gap exists in the literature on student migration, with a particular dearth of literature on students' return and reintegration. The majority of literature focuses on the decision-making of international students to return or stay in the host country (Hazen and Alberts 2006) and human capital transfers of students (Balaz and Williams 2004). Ragurham (2013) argues that current theories of migration do not take into account the unique perspective of student migration and that further research is required in this area. This gap makes it difficult to compare the experiences of the students in this study to other cases.

Domestics

The structural environment of return for domestics in Ethiopia can be characterized as slightly adverse. The Government of Ethiopia does not necessarily promote return from the Middle East, but does acknowledge the challenges of returnees and has begun to implement policies

to support returnees, such as the social workers in the local *Kebeles* in Addis Ababa. This shows that there is an interest in providing protection and support to returnees who have experienced challenges in the Middle East.

The attitudes of the local population towards domestic returnees are mixed. As described above, in some situations, locals are accommodating towards domestic returnees, and in other situations, locals have high expectations for domestic returnees. These different attitudes can have different impacts on the returnee.

The situation in Ethiopia presents a contrast to the treatment of returning domestic workers in other countries, such as the Philippines. In the Philippines, the Overseas Workers Welfare Administration (OWWA) is a government body that provides reintegration assistance (OWWA 2013). This includes the following: job referrals (local and overseas employment), business counselling, community organizing, financial literacy seminar, networking with support institutions, social preparation programmes, and loan facilitation. Additional services are provided to distressed returnees. It is widely acknowledged and promoted by the government that female migrants for domestic work are "heroes" by providing remittances and making sacrifices in their migration and that support needs to be provided upon return. This perception is not held in Ethiopia where more there is commonly a negative view of domestic worker migration.

The flow of domestic returnees to Ethiopia is increasing and increasing to levels, where it is gathering attention in Ethiopia. The size of the flow has generated a response from international organizations, NGOs, and the government. Efforts are increasing to prevent Middle Eastern migration and to provide support to returnees. This can be viewed as a positive step in providing domestic returnees access to care and services that they need. At the same time, however, the number and availability of services is only accessible by a small segment of the domestic returnee population. The services and supports need to be vastly expanded in order to truly impact the domestic returnees. Therefore, the structural and cultural environment of return for domestic returnees can be viewed as slightly adverse.

Summary

The structural and cultural environment of return plays a critical part in the reintegration process. It is evident that the structural and cultural environment of return is different for different groups of return migrant. Table 6 shows a summary of the differences of the structural and cultural environment of return for the different analytical groups.

Although there are variations, on the whole, the structural environment of return can be classified as neutral for all of the return migrant groups. For the professionals, there is more variation in the favourable conditions experienced from the government and the adverse conditions experienced by the local population, creating a more challenging environment of return. Student returnees have received very little attention on the whole, thus returning to a neutral environment. For domestics, there is some indication of the government moving towards a more favourable environment by providing services to returnees, but this is not yet strong enough to be labelled as favourable. Domestics face challenges in the private sector in finding employment and with reception and treatment from locals. This will be discussed further in the coming chapters with an examination of their reintegration.

This chapter has sought to characterize the structural and cultural environment of return migration for the professional, student, and domestic returnees in Ethiopia. It is evident that there is room for improvement in assisting returnees to successfully reintegrate in Ethiopia. The structural and cultural environment discussed in this chapter will be referred to in later chapters in discussing the impact of the structural environment on the reintegration strategies of return migrants in Ethiopia.

Table 6 Structural and cultural environment of return in Ethiopia per analytical group

	Professionals	Students	Domestics
Government	Favourable	Neutral	Neutral
Local population	Adverse	Neutral	Adverse
Private sector	Favourable	Favourable	Adverse
Return migrant flows	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral
Overall	Neutral	Neutral	Adverse

Notes

1. This includes government institutions such as the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, the Federal Policy, and the Ministry of Interior Diaspora Unit.
2. Availabe at: http://www.mfa.gov.et/Diaspora/Diaspora.htm.

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Overview of Female Return Migration to Ethiopia: Professionals, Students, and Domestics

Introduction

A key element in assessing return migrants' reintegration strategies is understanding the role of their life cycle in their return migration. The life cycle includes experiences prior to migration, during migration, and upon return. Critical to the reintegration strategies approach is the class of the individual, their opportunities for integration abroad, and their preparedness and process of return.

As stated by Cassarino (2004), "the returnee's preparedness is shaped by circumstances in host and home countries, i.e. by pre-and post-return conditions" (272). Migration must be envisioned as a cycle, wherein return and reintegration are stages, which are highly affected by the experiences of the preceding stages. At any point, the cycle can be discontinued or interrupted. That is, in the event that a returnee has a successful reintegration, they may not choose to re-migrate and the cycle has been discontinued. On the other hand, the migrants' cycle may be interrupted, such as in the case of unexpected family events, ostracism, or deportation, meaning that migrants return unexpectedly and have no preparedness for their return (Cassarino 2014). This chapter will provide

an overview of the migration life cycle of each analytical group so as to inform their reintegration strategies.

It is also important to note that the process of return and reintegration is not necessarily a linear process. As demonstrated by Cassarino (2004, 2014), returnees often prepare for their return, effectively pre-empting their reintegration. That is, returnees with higher levels of preparedness for their return, including established networks, willingness, and readiness to return, have arguably in part already started the reintegration process while in the country of migration.

For the purposes of this study, the interviews have been divided into three analytical categories:

- *Professionals*—Women who migrated in the 1980s and 1990s primarily and returned to Ethiopia after an extended duration abroad having worked in the country of migration, acquired skills, and returning to Ethiopia with professional expertise.
- *Students*—Recent migrants that migrate primarily to European countries for the purposes of bachelor's degree or more commonly a master's degree.
- *Domestics*—Women from primarily lower-class families that migrate to the Middle East for domestic work.

The stark differences between these groups will be highlighted in this chapter. The following chapters will elicit how these different migration experiences lead to differences in reintegration strategies (as illustrated in Chap. 2) upon return. It will be illustrated in the forthcoming chapters how the analytical categories reflect different iterations in the reintegration strategies.

The Migration Cycle and Return to Ethiopia

Table 1 provides an overview of the background characteristics of the professionals, students, and domestics. From Table 1, it is evident that domestic workers are the youngest interviewees, and professionals are significantly older at an average of 43 years of age. However, at the time

Table 1 Participants' overview: professionals, students, and domestics

Variable	Professionals	Students	Domestics
n	20	17	44
Average age (at the time of interview)	43	29	26
Average age at initial migration	20	24	21
Education level			
Incomplete primary	–	–	7 (16%)
Primary	–	–	6 (14%)
Incomplete secondary	1 (5%)	–	10 (23%)
Secondary	5 (25%)	–	16 (36%)
Incomplete graduate	1 (5%)	–	2 (5%)
Graduate (bachelors)	6 (30%)	5 (29%)	–
Master's or higher	6 (30%)	12 (71%)	–
Country of migration			
Middle East			
Bahrain	–	–	3 (7%)
Lebanon	–	–	15 (34%)
Kuwait	–	–	5 (14%)
Qatar	–	–	1 (2%)
Saudi Arabia	–	–	4 (9%)
Syria	–	–	3 (7%)
United Arab Emirates	–	–	11 (27%)
Yemen	–	–	2 (5%)
North			
Belgium	–	1 (6%)	–
Canada	1 (5%)	–	–
Denmark	–	1 (6%)	–
France	2 (10%)	1 (6%)	–
Germany	1 (5%)	1 (6%)	–
Italy	1 (5%)	–	–
Netherlands	–	4 (24%)	–
Norway	1 (5%)	2 (12%)	–
Singapore	–	1 (6%)	–
Sweden	–	3 (18%)	–
UK	1 (5%)	1 (6%)	–
USA	13 (65%)	2 (12%)	–
Average duration abroad (months)	229 (19 years)	41 (3.4 years)	44 (3.6 years)
Marital status (at the time of interview)			
Single	5 (25%)	12 (71%)	33 (75%)
Married	12 (60%)	5 (29%)	8 (18%)
Divorced	2 (10%)	–	3 (7%)

Table 1 (continued)

Variable	Professionals	Students	Domestics
Widowed	1 (5%)	–	–
Children (at the time of interview)	10 (50%)	4 (24%)	9 (20%)
Employment upon return			
Unemployed	2 (10%)	1 (6%)	27 (61%)
Employed	2 (10%)	14 (82%)	11 (25%)
Self-employed	16 (80%)	2 (12%)	6 (14%)
Average time since return (months)	50 (4.2 years)	24 (2 years)	15 (1.3 years)
Average income upon return (birr/month)	95166	8155	229
Average income Upon return (USD/month)[a]	5598	479	13.5

Source Authors own calculations

[a]Based on USD 1 = 17 Birr. In the spring of 2011, this was the average exchange rate.

of migration, on average, professionals were the youngest at 20 years of age, compared to domestics at 21 and students at 24 years of age. Unsurprisingly, domestics have the lowest levels of education, with none of the domestics having completed graduate school, as compared to all of the students having a minimum of a graduate degree and the majority of professionals having a graduate degree. The majority of domestics are single and do not have children, which is different than the case of domestic workers from countries such as the Philippines, where women are frequently migrating to support their children (Parrenas 2005). The majority of students are also single with professionals being the most likely to be married and have children.

The professionals were abroad for a significantly longer duration than the other two groups at an average of 19 years, and at the time of interview had also returned for a longer duration at an average of 4 years. Duration abroad can be significant in impacting reintegration as Ammassari (2009) suggests that an optimal duration abroad is 5 years, with longer durations making reintegration more difficult. This will be discussed further in the following chapters.

The countries of migration show that the majority of professionals migrated to the USA and the majority of students migrated to Europe.

The culture in the country of migration has a strong influence on the experiences of migration and return. Most skilled Ethiopians speak English, so the language factor alone allows for better integration of Ethiopians in the USA than in most countries of continental Europe where English is not the main language. Professionals were well integrated in the USA, whereas the majority of students were not integrated in Europe and did not learn the local language.

Domestic workers migrated to several different countries in the Middle East, with Lebanon and the United Arab Emirates being the most frequent. Significant variations among experiences in the Middle East based on the country of migration were not found, with the exception that Syria and Yemen provided worse conditions (in terms of abuse, pay, and human rights) for the female migrants than the other countries.

At the time of interview, on average, professionals had been in Ethiopia the longest at 4.2 years, compared to 2 years for students and 1.3 years for domestics. This is an important variable for the analysis as the professionals on average have had a longer time to reintegrate into Ethiopia than the other two groups. At the time of interview, the professionals primarily owned their businesses (80%) and the students were most likely to be in paid employment (82%), whereas the domestics were most likely to be unemployed (61%). These figures are to be expected based on the return migration literature and skills of each group upon return. The rest of this chapter will discuss the migration and return experiences of each analytical group in further depth.

The Professionals: Refuge and Decided Return

The majority of professionals were members of Ethiopia's elite prior to the Revolution in 1974. Due to different familial occupations, some of the professionals' families became immediate targets of the Dergue regime. As all of the participants are female and were relatively young at the time of the Revolution, the participants themselves were not direct targets by the revolutionaries; however, some were still in danger due to their families' positions and regularly scrutinized by the regime. The

conditions in Ethiopia under communist rule (including job placement, lack of freedom, and regular terror) led the professionals to migrate. For the majority of professionals, their family members were also migrating, so some went with family, while others sought to join family already abroad.

For this group, routes out of the country were often complicated. Some migrated on foot to Sudan or Kenya to claim refuge in a camp and waited for family members to sponsor them to the USA or an opportunity to get to Europe. For others, they sought to get exit visas through creative means, to countries such as India for education, and after arrival in India migrated to the USA. Essentially, all members of this group did have family in the country of migration that was able to assist them in their arrival.

For the younger professionals, they grew up during the communist era, but many migrated after 1991. Their reasons for migration were primarily to have a better education and life abroad. In the early 1990s, the University system in Ethiopia was not very developed as it had been neglected under communist rule. It was common for students attending the top private schools to seek to migrate for further education. After 1991, it was feasible to obtain a passport and exit visa and the younger professionals were able to go abroad, initially for education purposes, but these migrations were extended beyond education as they developed careers abroad. This group was less likely to have immediate family in the country of migration, but commonly had a host family or connection that was established by their families prior to their migration.

Prior to arrival in the host country, the majority of professionals had limited information on what life would be like. At this time, the focus of families was getting out of Ethiopia and little discussions were had regarding the actual way of life abroad. Many of the professionals spoke English or French and were able to converse upon arrival in the USA or France. Some, however, did not have language capacity or the right language capacity (i.e. spoke French and not English and migrated to the USA), thus having a more difficult time in adjusting to the language. As shown in Table 1, the majority of professionals were young at the time of migration (average age of 20 years old), and for the majority, this was their first experience outside of Ethiopia.

The majority of participants experienced high levels of culture shock in their initial migration. As the majority was well off in Ethiopia, their family had lost their finances and resources in the Revolution, and as migrants, they were struggling. In addition, many participants still had family in Ethiopia that they were trying to support. Participants in this situation sought to work immediately in low-income jobs to make money to support their families. One participant stated:

> My brothers, they didn't want me to work. They wanted me to go to high school for 1 year and then join college. I said no, I have to work. I knew at that time my mother was not working [in Ethiopia] and things were not the same as before [when my brothers left]. I knew all these problems my mom had before I left. I had to help my family and my brother that I also left in Kenya. I preferred to go to work and assist my brother left in Kenya. After a few days I got a job at McDonalds and started working. (*Participant 55*)

This quote illustrates the ambition of the participants upon arrival and the need to support their families. The majority of participants did not work in low-end jobs (such as McDonald's or restaurants) for long. They were able to get better jobs and attend school part time, or were able to get family to the USA so that they did not have to support family abroad. With time, they were able to move into professional occupations.

Other participants were more fortunate and were able to study from the beginning. Some participants had gone abroad for education purposes prior to 1974; thus, upon graduation, they were not able to return home. Other participants were in their early teens at the time of their migration, and their family abroad ensured that they went directly into high school and were not working. The initial experiences in the country of migration were often tumultuous for the participants, but as time passed, they adapted to life in the country of migration and became highly integrated.

The average duration abroad for the professionals was 19 years; thus, there were ample opportunities to integrate in the country of migration. All had a residence permit, and the majority acquired citizenship while abroad. The majority of professionals held high-level jobs such as

managers, government employees, or entrepreneurs in the country of migration. Professionals felt a high level of integration abroad and felt at home in the countries of migration. One participant stated:

> I can truly say I am an American. I mean in every sense of the word. Because I really feel first of all it's a place where you are really able to find yourself. I really feel grateful for having been given the opportunity to be sheltered. I mean, there are so many countries where you go you are not wanted, they don't care. Close the door on your face and throw you out. (*Participant 31*)

Very few of the participants spoke about being treated as "second-class citizens" abroad. The majority of professionals felt well integrated and respected in the country of migration. Participants developed a strong sense of belonging, and the country of migration became home.

The majority of professionals maintained ties with Ethiopia while in the country of migration, but engagement with Ethiopia during the Dergue regime was difficult. The fall of the Dergue and increases in communications technology allowed professionals to strengthen their ties to Ethiopia. For many, in their initial migrations in the 1980s, phone calls were very expensive and communications to Ethiopia were less frequent. After the fall of the Dergue, family (mostly parents) were able to leave Ethiopia and visit the country of migration. Phone communication became easier and more frequent, as did the sending of remittances. Professionals had always sought to send money to family in Ethiopia; however, this was more difficult during the Dergue. With the fall of the Dergue regime, money could easily be sent and was sent to support family, friends, and previous employees of the families.

The fall of the Dergue regime also created an opportunity in which people could temporarily return to Ethiopia for the first time. These visits typically occurred after 8 or more years outside of the country and were a profound experience for the individuals. Many of the professionals interviewed did not initially migrate with the plan to be permanently abroad, but as they were or became refugees and the situation in Ethiopia did not improve, they were not able to return. In 1991, the change in regime and the progress that ensued in Ethiopia in the

following decade meant that people could come and visit the country for the first time.

The majority of professional returnees came first to visit family and friends; however, some came for purposes of managing family property or to provide assistance to a friend in their temporary return. Temporary return for this group was a return from exile, and many changes had taken place in Ethiopia during their time abroad. For many, the experience was the confrontation between the imagined and the reality (Stefansson 2004). One participant described their experience as follows:

It was very shocking and mind you I was the last one from the family friends to come back, because of what happened to my family: about 50 per cent of them were dead. And I was the last one. I was forewarned. I was told just about everything and I thought I knew everything and I was going to be okay. And when I got here, what I saw was really shocking. The country went back 50 years. It was a lot of poverty and a lot of people and it was a shock. It was very depressing. (*Participant 41*)

These initial experiences were often difficult for the participants. After this statement, the woman above continued:

But what I said was no matter what I will have to help this country. I am an educator, so I just said I would start some kind of education program and then I will see what I would like to do. And then I went back home. (*Participant 41*)

After the experience of temporary return, this participant was motivated to contribute to Ethiopia and went home to start a new project that focused on children's education. The majority of women that decided to return to Ethiopia were motived by altruistic means to contribute to their country of origin. One woman described her experience as follows:

That is when I said I can't do this. I need to go back because here my work, whether there is one less businesswoman in the US doesn't really matter, but I thought there [in Ethiopia] I will make a difference. I said if I go, my work will have meaning and I have wanted to do that for a long time. (*Participant 51*)

The desire to contribute to Ethiopia and to make a difference was a key motivating factor in the decision to return for over half of the professionals.

For a smaller number of the professionals, the key motivating factor in the decision to return was economics:

> I told you what I do, I do real estate, and the market was not good. So we wanted to try something else. We definitely wanted to move from [city], somewhere warm weather but we didn't know where to go. We tried, we travelled here there, but I cannot take the cold anymore. I said why don't we try to go to Ethiopia? Ethiopia is coming up now and Real estate is good here. Then we tried to develop some houses and we found a good school for our son. We came and looked at that. He joined the School and he liked it. And we said that is it, we left and then we try it. (*Participant 55*)

For this participant, there were push factors in leaving the USA, but the primary motivating factor in moving to Ethiopia was the strong real estate market. Ethiopia's business opportunities are thus a motivating factor for return.

Some of the married participants were heavily influenced by their husbands in their decisions to return. One participant stated:

> The first time I came is after 17 years. And I came for three weeks and believe it or not I cried for almost the whole three weeks. When I came back I said 'I will never step on this land again'. Then my husband came a month after me...And he fell in love with it. When he came back he said 'we are moving to Ethiopia' and I said 'did we go to the same place? You think we are going to function better there?' He said 'yes'...It was amazing, but you know, he convinced me. (*Participant 50*)

Women who made the decision to return had high levels of preparedness for return. Virtually, all had participated in a previous temporary return, had acquired the resources necessary for their return, including information and securing accommodation in Ethiopia, and had the mental preparedness for return. Some of the married participants recognized that they were not ready to return, but had to relocate as their

husbands were already in Ethiopia and waiting for them. This lower level of preparedness for return led to further challenges in the initial reintegration process, and participants recognized this through the culture shock they experienced upon their initial return. However, after 1 to 2 years, these participants felt highly reintegrated and had overcome the initial challenges faced in their return.

Professionals were highly integrated into the countries of migration and engaged transnationally with Ethiopia while in the country of migration. Although initially challenging, the migration experience overall provided many opportunities to the professionals for education, work experience, acquiring resources, and gaining citizenship. The professionals were active in maintaining ties to Ethiopia through conversations, remittances, and temporary return visits. Temporary return visits were significant to professionals making the decision to return more permanent. This is a contrast to other cases, such as Afghans, wherein Oeppen found that during temporary return visits of Afghan-Americans to Afghanistan, the participants felt like "strangers in what they might otherwise consider their 'home'", and as a result, the temporary visits led to further integration in the USA (2013: 261). It is highly possible, that this has also been the case for many members of the Ethiopian Diaspora in the USA, as the respondents regularly discussed that most diaspora do not want to return. This was also the case for some of the participants in this study, but their spouses' desire to return had a strong influence on their final decision to return.

All professionals made the decision to return free from any form of coercion. For the majority, this decision was primarily motivated by altruism and a desire to contribute to their country of origin. For others, it was motivated by business decisions. Professionals had high levels of preparedness for return as the majority returned in stages. These stages included temporary return trips to gather information, re-establish networks, and find housing and other necessary resources for return. Temporary return trips were significant in the women preparing for their return. These initial trips allowed the women to see the changes in Ethiopia prior to return and to overcome the initial shock and emotion that tended to accompany these visits. At the time of the actual return movement, the women were thus prepared for the current

situation in Ethiopia and able to effectively manage their affairs. This also allowed them an open attitude towards Ethiopia that is vital for re-integration.

Students: The Optimal Migration Episode

The majority of students were from middle-income families, wherein the returnees' family was self-sustaining. A few of the students were from low-income families in rural areas where they were the first in their families to go to University, and a few were also from upper-class families that were able to pay for their education abroad. Those from upper-class families were more likely to go abroad for their bachelor's degree, whereas the other students were only able to migrate by receiving scholarships, most commonly for master's degrees. In Ethiopia, the best students from each course are often offered a position at the University after they completed their under-graduate degree. Once working for the University, they are exposed to opportunities for master's degrees abroad and are encouraged to go abroad. In addition, several European funding streams particularly focus on funding those in higher education, such as Nuffic in the Netherlands.

The majority of students made the decision to migrate on their own. One participant compared receiving a scholarship to winning the lottery:

> I might be exaggerating a little bit, [but] if you win the lottery you don't consult with anyone you just go and get the money. So it's the same thing here. It is considered as a good thing, so I am not going to consult with anybody. (*Participant 40*)

Receiving the scholarships abroad was considered by all students as an excellent opportunity not to be turned down. Scholarships generally covered all tuition, living, and transport costs for students. Some students were able to remit some of their money to their families at home, but the majority stated they did not remit money back home, as their

families did not need it. Thus, they were able to take the opportunity to travel to Europe and visit other countries.

The integration process for students was primarily one of integration into the university environment. One participant described this feeling as follows:

> When I am with my international friends, because we all miss our homes, we have lot of common things to discuss, so I feel like I belong with them. (*Participant 32*)

Upon arrival, the university had generally arranged for people to assist the international students in getting around the university and the city to find groceries and other necessary amenities. Often, other Ethiopian students volunteered to assist the new students, which many appreciated as they could speak in their own language. The majority of students reported becoming very comfortable in the university and feeling it was a second home. The environments at the universities were international with students coming from many different countries. None of the students learned to speak the language of the country of migration (with the exception of English-speaking countries wherein students spoke English prior to migration) while abroad. The majority did not feel a part of the country of migration, however, did feel strongly connected to the university and a sense of belonging within their course and international friend network.

It is important to note that the majority of students did not have an opportunity to stay in the country of migration beyond the duration of their course. A few countries allow for a one-year extension to be able to look for a job in the country of migration. Only one participant in the sample opted to stay for this year and was not successful in finding a position. All of the remaining students returned at the end of their course.

Return for the students was a part of their intended migration cycle, and thus, all of the students engaged in decided return. For the students, return was a part of the initial migration strategy and returning home was the final stage of executing their migration experience. As one participant stated:

> That had been my plan the whole time. Like my plan was to go there and go to school and come back. It is just what I did, and everything went according to plan. (*Participant 28*)

During their time abroad, approximately, 60% of students engaged in temporary return visits. These visits occurred in one of the two contexts: first, to visit family and friends in between semesters or on holidays, or second, to complete fieldwork for a master's research project. In general, students with means and that were in longer programmes (two-year programme as opposed to a one-year programme) were more likely to return to visit family and friends and maintain contacts. A few students utilized these visits to explore future work opportunities by making visits to Addis Ababa University and networking with people in their field. These return visits and regular email, Skype, and phone conversations with people in Ethiopia allowed students to have a high level of preparedness for their return.

Overall, the migration experience of the students was the shortest on average and the least challenging of the three groups. Migration was a positive opportunity that was accepted without question, wherein return was part of the intended migration cycle. Virtually, all students greatly appreciated their experiences abroad and enjoyed their course and learning opportunities.

The Domestics: Shattered Dreams, Interrupted Cycles, and Stories of Success

Virtually, all of the domestic workers were from low-income families and decided to migrate to support their families or to "*improve themselves and their situations*". The vast majority of women made the decision to migrate alone. Often, women did not consult their families, knowing that they would not be supportive, and only told their families 1 or 2 days before they left Ethiopia. This situation contrasts other researches in Ethiopia in rural areas, wherein the decision to migrate is

made by the family and is not necessarily the choice of the woman (ILO 2011). The majority of the participants interviewed were from Addis, and there is increasing information available in Addis regarding the hardships women face in the Middle East. Many families do not want the women to migrate for fear that they will be harmed or not return at all. Thus, many women did not tell their families of their migration intentions as they knew that they would not be supported in their decisions to migrate.

One-third of the domestics were in vulnerable situations prior to migration. This included different situations, with a first example being the death of a parent, wherein the household lost a key income generator. In this situation, it sometimes fell to the children to provide for the household, and as one of the elder children, the woman struggled to support her family, or similarly, the income of the one parent was not enough to support the entire family. A second situation leading to migration was poor education results. In Ethiopia, students must receive high enough grades in secondary school (finishing in Grade 10) to attend preparatory school (Grade 11 and 12). From preparatory school, students write exams and if they achieve a high enough grade they can go to University, which is now free across Ethiopia. Many of the domestic workers did not achieve high enough grades in Grade 10 to continue to preparatory school, or once in preparatory school knew they would not be able to go to University and left school to migrate. Finally, of those participants that had a job prior to migration, the key challenge was the low salary they were receiving for their work. Pre-migration salaries ranged from 80–300 birr per month (US$ 4.70–17.64). This was, and is still, not enough to live off of and for those that had to take transportation to work their wage barely covered the cost of their transport leaving them with very little at the end of the month.

The women migrating to the Middle East were heavily influenced by the current *myth of migration* occurring in Ethiopia. One woman summarized this as follows:

> What is being said about [the Middle East] here and the reality in Dubai is quite different. We do not trust people when they tell us the facts about migration, we only look at the artificial clothes returnees wear here and consider as if life is good. But in reality, life is difficult. (*Participant 71*)

Information has increased in Addis Ababa regarding the challenges of migration to the Middle East, and many women have heard about and were aware of these challenges. However, as highlighted above, some women do not believe the negative information, thinking that the migrants/returnees only want to keep the wealth for themselves and do not want others to migrate. This lack of trust leads to misleading perceptions regarding migration to the Middle East. Many women expect that they will go and work hard, and be able to change their situations in a short period of time:

> I knew that I will work, but I didn't expect the work to be so exhaustive. I only expected that I will be rich within a short period of time and I will change my family's life to make it easier. But the reality is not smooth like that. (*Participant 83*)

Women received information both from trusted friends and family that had migrated and from other returnees. This information was often a combination of positive and negative pieces. Depending on the experiences of the family member abroad and the degree of closeness, they did or did not support the women in migrating. For instance, in some cases, sisters who were abroad did not want their sisters to migrate, however, at their continued insistence supported the sister in migration.

The women that received the positive and negative information regarding the country of origin were more realistic in their expectations of going abroad:

> I expected both good and bad things. I was prepared to face any challenges for the sake of my children. I didn't expect only good things. (*Participant 08*)

Women tended to hope for the best in this situation, in that they would receive a good house and would not be harmed by their employers.

Further information is also provided to women that attended pre-departure training. Pre-departure training is officially provided by the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs (MOLSA), but brokers also offer unofficial training. MOLSA training is 3 h in duration and provides information to women on the conditions in the Middle East. A key stakeholder that attended the training said that information is provided on many topics, including the issue of rape. Women are advised in this training to avoid being alone in the house with the husband and that if they find themselves in a situation of rape not to fight, but to be quiet and move on from the situation. As this is government-led training, questions must be posed as to the appropriateness of such advice. However, most rape cases in Ethiopia, particularly in rural areas, are not prosecuted, and rape of young women is a common offense in rural areas where if the woman married her abductor the case is then absolved (Wax 2004). Furthermore, rape of a non-virgin is often not considered an offense in Ethiopian court (Wax 2004). In this context, the advice seems less appalling; however, the lack of support from the government for migrant women who are abused in the Middle East is clear. It is also evident that despite this knowledge, women still migrate, stressing the desperation of these women to put themselves in situations of such known risk.

Private employment agencies and brokers sometimes offer their own trainings. These trainings last from 1 day to a full week and are more comprehensive with a focus on teaching women the appropriate behaviours for working in the Middle East. This includes information on not talking back to employers or being difficult, smiling and speaking kindly, and some brief language training prior to departure. Women who were involved in this form of training said they found it very useful; however, the majority of women received no form of training prior to departure.

The domestics' migration to the Middle East is regulated by the *Kafala* sponsorship system. The Kafala system "makes an individual national citizen or a company sponsor (known as a Kafeel) legally and economically responsible for the foreign worker for the duration of the contract period" (Lori 2012: 4). Thus, the sponsor is the only person allowed to employ the worker. Domestic workers are also excluded

from the labour legislation in most Arab states (Chammartin 2004). Their work is not considered as an "employee", and therefore, they are not protected by national law. This further empowers the employer/ sponsor under the Kafala system as they are entirely responsible for domestic workers. As there is no legal system to protect domestic workers' rights in the Middle East, the working conditions are primarily dependent on the character of the employer. The result of the Kafala system is that the migrant is dependent upon the sponsor not only for recruitment and entry, but also for their daily sustenance and staying legal in the country (Pande 2013). For domestic workers, as soon as they leave their employers/sponsors' house, they have violated their contract and are now illegal (Pande 2013). For this reason, domestic workers that flee their employers' house and go to the police for help are placed in prison as they are now an illegal migrant. In other cases, domestics are able to "runaway" from their employers and become "freelancers" living irregularly and doing live-out domestic work or other jobs.

It is therefore not surprising that the working conditions in the Middle East vary primarily depending on the employment household. No consistent difference was found between country conditions in the Middle East. Based on the employer, a good situation can be described as one in which women work 8–10 h per day, are responsible for a specific task (such as cleaning, child or elderly care), and are given one day off per week. A bad situation, on the other hand, can be described as one in which women work in excess of 18 h per day, are responsible for all domestic tasks in the household (cleaning, cooking, child care, etc.), are not given time off, and are not permitted to leave the house. From here, bad situations escalate to different forms of abuse experienced by the domestic workers. The majority of women interviewed were in bad situations in the Middle East. The few women that had a good situation were generally working for an upper-class family, such as a sheikh. In this situation, there were multiple domestic workers in the household and each worker had a specific task. This allowed for a manageable workload. Furthermore, perhaps due to the education and status of the upper-class households, the women felt that they were treated with respect.

It is important to note that domestic workers in the Middle East are placed in a hierarchy by the country of origin. At the top of the hierarchy is Filipinos, followed by Indonesians, then Ethiopians and Somalis are at the very bottom (de Regt 2008). Asian women tend to be employed by the upper class and are more expensive than African women (de Regt 2008). Having a domestic is a symbol of status in the Middle East, so lower- and middle-class households work to ensure that they can afford a domestic. These conditions place the majority of Ethiopian women into middle-class households that can afford one domestic, which they rely on to complete all domestic duties. This differs greatly from working in an upper-class house with other domestics where tasks are allocated.

Several accounts of human rights abuses of domestic workers have been made in the Middle East (HRW 2008; ILO 2011; Mahdavi 2011). One key challenge is that there is no record or official method to capture the statistics of the number of domestic workers experiencing challenges. One report found that in 2000, over 19,000 domestic workers fled their employers in Saudi Arabia (Chammartin 2004). Vlieger notes that all embassies included in her study in the UAE and Saudi Arabia stated receiving multiple requests for help on a daily basis and safe houses were consistently overly full (2011).

Just over half of the women interviewed experienced at least one of the following forms of abuse: beatings, indentured labour, not receiving food, not receiving payment, sexual harassment, or verbal abuse. The most common forms of abuse were withholding food and withholding payment. One woman explained the food situation as follows:

> Our employer didn't give us food and because of that we were begging food from our Ethiopian friends and from Filipinos…Everything with our neighbours had to be done secretly. One day we were hungry and asked our woman employer to give us food and she told us to eat the wall. We then asked her to show us how to eat a wall… (*Participant 33*)

In this situation, two Ethiopian women worked in the household, wherein the employer only gave them one cup of rice per day. The house had a backyard, and the women were able to go into the backyard

and speak over the fence to other domestic workers in neighbouring houses. The domestic workers in neighbouring houses put food in a bag and threw it to them over the fence. This was the only way the women could get food as the fridge was always kept locked in the household and they were forbidden to leave the house.

In five cases, the women worked for their employers for 2 years or more and never received a single payment from their employers. In this situation, the women were either eventually sent back by their employers, or they fled the household to the police and were placed in prison. In other cases, women had disputes with their employers regarding their payment and did not receive their full payment for all their work, however, did at least receive some funds.

Nine of the participants were in prison during their time abroad. As in the above situation, some of the women fled the houses they were in due to the abuse they were experiencing. Upon turning themselves into the police, they were arrested for violating their work permits. Their duration of stay in the prison, in this case, is usually short, recognizing that the woman has not done anything wrong. In another case, a woman was taken by her employer to the airport and left there. Not having anywhere to go, she was picked up by the police and placed in prison. Eventually, all women were deported to Ethiopia from the prisons.

The experiences of prison depended on the country of migration. For instance, one woman who was in prison in the UAE stated:

> I was happier for the one month I was in jail, than the eight months I passed working. I passed good time in prison, I slept well in the prison and in general I have a good memory of the prison. The government is very nice to take care of all the prisoners, whether they are citizens or migrants. (*Participant 44*)

Other women that were in prison in countries such as Bahrain, Qatar, and Saudi Arabia also stated that they were happy to be in prison. They were given regular food and were not abused; thus, the situation was better than their employment situation. For women imprisoned in

countries such as Syria, however, the situation was very different. One participant described the prison in Syria as follows:

> There are many Ethiopian women there in Damascus in prison…They live in three rooms. The prison is very dirty and there are more than 200 women there in prison. There were instances where a woman was gang raped by five men. But they don't have any representatives/visitors [embassy support]…There are many problems. I wish there were things we could do to help. (*Participant 07*)

The prisons are one area where the difference in wealth between the Middle Eastern countries is highlighted. However, justice was not differentially achieved for women in the different countries. That is, there was no punishment to employers who did not pay the women or abused the women in any of the countries. Deportation from prison was one form of forced return experienced by the women; however, in many cases, they were relieved to be deported and return to Ethiopia. The case of the domestics in the Middle East is unique as they are unable to engage in decided return because their employers will not agree to return them, thus keeping them in a system of indentured labour. Their only option to return is therefore through deportation, which is thus preferable for them to the alternative of continuing work. This highlights another unique aspect of this migration flow.

Seeking recourse to abuse and human rights for domestic workers in the Middle East is highly unlikely within the Kafala system. Kafala ties a migrant to an employer and gives them no options for support or assistance in the event that the employer is abusive. Furthermore, the system empowers the employer who can recognize that there is no recourse for maltreatment of domestic workers. The situation is perhaps best articulated by Vlieger: "Under the best of circumstances a domestic worker in the United Arab Emirates or Saudi Arabia may be treated right, but she has no rights" (2011: 11).

For domestics, return was thus a mixture of compelled and forced return, wherein the majority of domestics were engaged in compelled return. Forced return most commonly occurred as described above, when women found themselves in prison. Another form of forced

return that did occur was when employers unilaterally made the decision for the woman to return to Ethiopia. One participant described their experience as follows:

> She [the employer] bought a ticket with my money and sent me back. I did not think of coming. I was planning to work if not for her, in another house after I finished my 2 years. (*Participant 12*)

This highlights that the woman wanted to stay and work, but was compelled into returning. Furthermore, the employer had her passport marked so that she could not return to the country of migration for a minimum of six months.

Approximately, one-quarter of the sample of domestic workers was engaged in a form of forced return. These women had no preparedness for return and minimal to no resources for return. Often, their families were not informed in advance of their return and they arrived at the airport with no resources. The migration episode was viewed as a failure. Furthermore, these women tended to return with a greater emotional burden due to the abuse they had experienced that negatively hindered their reintegration. This will be evidenced in their reintegration strategies in Chap 6.

As stated previously, the majority of domestics were engaged in decided return that generally occurred at the end of the contract. There are two groups of domestic workers engaged in decided return, first being women that return due to their unhappiness in their situation in the Middle East. These women had some form of resources upon return, which would typically include some money and gifts for family. The amount of money taken upon return was generally small as these women were regularly remitting money to their families. This group had been able to maintain communications with their families at home while abroad, but had not engaged in temporary return as they had a shorter migration cycle. Their preparedness for return was thus low, and their migration experience was not necessarily a success or failure. In general, the initial expectations of the migration experience had not been achieved as these women were not able to "change their lives" from their short episodes abroad. In addition, some of these women also returned with mental trauma due to the conditions of their work.

The migration experience can thus not be classified as a success, and the reintegration experience was generally found to be challenging.

This situation juxtaposes that of the second group of domestic workers engaged in decided return that have been able to engage in temporary return visits, have acquired more substantial resources in the country of migration, and generally have a plan for reintegration. Of the six domestic workers that returned for a temporary return visit, all were engaged in a longer term contract (more than 3 years) with an employer abroad. The return visits thus occurred once every 2 to 3 years, wherein the domestic returned for a period of 2 weeks to 3 months (generally 1 month) to visit with family and friends. During this visit, the domestic was able to see the living conditions of their family, how the remittances they were sending were being used, and the changes occurring in Ethiopia. This trip proved very informative for the domestic workers to make decisions regarding their continued migration and/or return. One interviewee stated as follows:

> When I came here I saw that if you don't have money it would be difficult. If I didn't have money I realized I would be in the same position as before. I thought I would be better off there than here, so I went back. (*Participant 02*)

On the other hand, some domestic workers came back for a visit and due to familial pressure to stay decided not to return to work abroad. Overall, temporary return visits were informative for domestic workers in making decisions regarding their migration and return, in maintaining contacts with family and friends in Ethiopia, and in understanding the current situation in Ethiopia and how they would live within such a context upon return. This significantly increased their preparedness for return for when they decided to permanently return.

Domestics have varying migration and return experiences, which lead to different reintegration experiences. On the whole, the majority of domestics are not able to achieve their migration goals and face more difficulties in the Middle East than they were expecting. Their return experiences are also more challenging than those of the students or professionals as they return with less preparedness and resources.

The Importance of the Migration Cycle in Return and Reintegration

The focus of this chapter has been on the returnees' experience in the country of migration and how this experience has impacted on their preparation for return, which affects their reintegration (as discussed in the next chapter). The two key elements of preparedness are the ability of returnees to mobilize resources for return and their willingness and readiness to return at that particular time. The ability of returnees to mobilize resources is dependent on their experiences in the country of migration, including the opportunities they have had for integration, acquiring skills, networks, and resources.

Resource Mobilization

It is evident that the professionals were the only group that integrated into the country of migration and simultaneously had the greatest opportunity to acquire resources including networks, skills, and finances in the country of migration. This is due to their longer duration abroad, the ability to work in the country of migration, and acquisition of citizenship. The acquisition of these resources allowed professionals to mobilize significant resources for their return. Although students were also able to gain valuable skills abroad, they were not permitted to work in the country of migration and were not permitted to stay in the country of migration legally beyond their student visa. Thus, although students could acquire skills, finances, and networks in the country of migration, this was to a lesser degree than the acquisition of professionals.

Domestics as a whole were able to acquire the least level of resources for return. "Successful domestics" meaning those that stayed for a longer duration and engaged in a form of decided return were able to acquire financial resources for their return. The acquisition of financial resources allowed the returnee to build a home or start a business. For these women, this was the goal of migration and does represent a change to their quality of life by being able to have their own home or

start their own business. At the time of interview, those that had started their own business were still in the initial start-up phase and had not been in operation long enough to know whether the business would be successful. In addition to financial resources, successful domestics also acquire independence and fortitude during their migration. This is often cited by the domestics as important in their return as they are better equipped to deal with challenges and look after themselves then they were prior to their migration.

Unsuccessful domestics return to Ethiopia in situations of vulnerability. This includes having an interrupted migration cycle, experiencing high levels of trauma in the country of migration, and returning without resources. Some of these women return in debt, as they have not been able to pay their initial loans taken out for migration. This situation is very different than all of the other analytical groups in that upon return these women are often worse off than prior to migration either financially, mentally, or both.

Readiness to Return

In terms of preparedness for return, the majority of professionals, students, and successful domestics are ready for their return. Return is decided by the individual, they are willing to return, and have prepared for their return.

For some of the professionals, this was not the case. In particular, for a handful of the married professionals, they returned earlier than they were ready due to their husbands waiting for them in Ethiopia. For these women, it was stated that the initial months after return were very difficult; however over time, they were able to adjust.

Virtually, all of the students had a strong willingness to return. Their defined student visas meant that the students had been planning for their return at that particular time since the beginning of their migration and were willing and ready to return when that time came.

Successful domestics were also prepared for their return. They had chosen to return at that time on their own accord and were ready for the move. Domestics that were involved in a forced return were not

ready for their return, although many wanted to return to Ethiopia to escape the bad situations they were in. For the remaining domestics, they were willing to return to Ethiopia but had a low preparedness as they had not accomplished their migration goals.

Summary

This chapter has underscored that there are vast differences between the analytical groups in this study, which emphasizes the importance of the life cycle in migration and return and highlights the diversity of return migration to Ethiopia. This further emphasizes that as discussed in the introduction, return migrants are a heterogeneous group and discussing return migrants homogenously is misleading. Within the three analytical groups in this study, this chapter has demonstrated that key differences exist among the returnees in terms of class, experiences abroad, opportunities for integration abroad, and resource mobilization and readiness to return, reflecting various levels of return preparedness. All of the factors are important in the reintegration process, which will be illustrated in the next chapter through an examination of how the analytical categories reintegrate in Ethiopia.

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Reintegration Dimensions
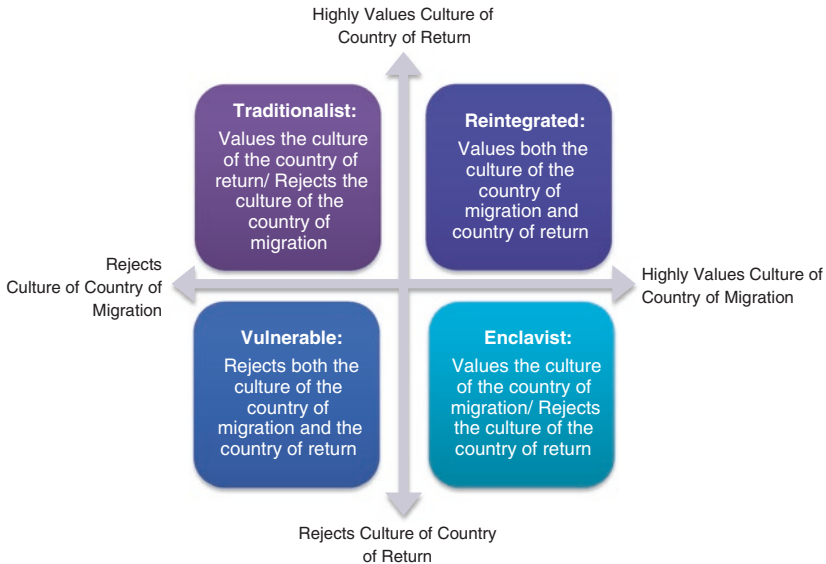# of the Analytical Groups

Introduction

Following from the previous chapter, which explored the life cycle of
the analytical groups, this chapter will examine how the different ana-
lytical groups vary across the four dimensions of the reintegration strate-
gies. The reintegration strategies define how an individual reintegrates
based on the choices the individual makes across the dimensions. In
establishing the reintegration strategies of return migrants, Chap. 2 dis-
cussed the four dimensions that characterize the reintegration strategies:
cultural orientation, social networks, self-identification, and access to
rights and institutions, as illustrated in Table 1. Each of the dimensions,
viewed horizontally in Table 1, is important in assessing the reintegra-
tion strategy of the returnee.

Following from the previous chapter, it is evident that the analyti-
cal groups have varying migration and return experiences and there-
fore it is assumed that the analytical groups' experiences will vary across
these dimensions. The objective of this chapter was to show ***how/in
what dimensions the analytical groups are differently reintegrated***
and ***how this impacts their lives upon return***. This chapter then leads

Table 1 Reintegration strategies

	Reintegrated	Enclaves	Traditionalists	Vulnerable
Cultural orientation	• Value both the culture of the country of migration and country of origin/return	• Value the culture of the country of migration	• Value the culture of the country of origin/return	• Rejection of culture of country of migration • Rejection from dominant society in country of origin/return
Social network	• Locals, returnees, and cross-border ties	• Returnees and cross-border ties	• Locals	• Ties to kin and other vulnerable groups
Self-identification	• Transnational	• Transnational	• Unidirectional	• Unidirectional
Access to rights and institutions	• Limited or full access to rights in country of return (depends on citizenship choices) • Limited access to key institutions in country of return	• Limited access to rights in country of return • Limited access to key institutions in country of return	• Full access to rights in country of return • Full access to key institutions in country of return	• Full access to rights in country of return • Limited access to institutions in country of return

Fig. 1 Cultural orientation upon return

to the next chapter which discusses the reintegration strategies of the participants. The varying migration and return experiences led to large differences between the analytical groups on these elements, which thus determine their reintegration strategy.

Cultural Orientation and Maintenance

In returning to Chap. 2, cultural maintenance was defined as "the value systems of the return migrant and their orientation towards the values of the country of migration or the values of the country of origin/return". Cultural orientation is thus assessed within a range of the returnees' decisions to adapt to the culture of the country of return, or to maintain the culture of the country of migration, as depicted in Fig. 1. The top right corner represents the category of the reintegrated, the bottom right the enclaves, the top left the traditionalists, and the bottom left the vulnerable.

The significance of cultural orientation in the individual's reintegration strategy is rooted in the argument that culture is an important determinant of behaviour (Berry 1997). When an individual from one culture lives in another cultural context, and then returns to the original cultural context, do they bring new behaviours or not? What factors determine these behavioural changes or lack thereof? This section will assess these questions, highlighting that opportunities for integration in the country of migration, duration abroad, and individual's choices all impact their cultural orientation upon return.

Professionals: Negotiation and Adaptation

As described in this chapter, the professionals had lived in the country of migration for the longest duration of time and were well integrated into the culture of the country of migration. Expectedly, upon return, the professionals experience the greatest cultural gap between the country of migration and Ethiopia. In the case of Ethiopia, this gap is also more acute than in comparison countries as it is a post-conflict country wherein the majority of professionals were cut off from the country for over a decade. Upon return, professionals were thus generally more adapted to the culture of the country of migration than the culture of Ethiopia.

Despite this gap, the majority of professionals valued both the culture of the country of migration and the culture of the country of return. Although many of these women experienced some challenges with both cultures, they were able to view both cultures positively and highlighted some of the positive and negative elements of each. Key elements appreciated in Ethiopian culture were being able to have more time due to the assistance provided by having domestic staff, the generous nature of Ethiopian culture, and being close to family and friends. This is similar to findings in other studies of highly skilled return migrants to African countries (Ammassari 2009). Key elements of the culture of the countries of migration that were maintained were professionalism and hard work, women's rights and position in society, and valuing equality of treatment, customer service, and honesty.

 One participant described her initial challenges in Ethiopia as follows:

> People in position hate to say 'I don't know' if they don't know something. Instead of telling me: 'I don't know this, I am sorry or I will ask, or I will do something' they will shove you aside. They make you think like you are mean. If you really want to know and if you sincerely want to know why they are doing that, it's because they want to make sure they know it all. Not knowing is like a sin in this society. I think that is what I was experiencing. And that part really damaged a lot of things for me. I had a couple of big investment projects that I was not able to do just because somebody in a position felt like he had, he didn't want to say 'I don't know'… I am trying to forget, I guess, most of it. (*Participant 50*)

This was a common challenge that the professionals experienced in returning to Ethiopia that the way people communicate is different than what they were accustomed to in the country of migration. Other women described this as "I don't know how to communicate even though I speak the language" (Participant 09). Returnees highlighted that they needed family or friends to assist them in learning how to interact with the government and bureaucracy in Ethiopia.

This challenge was also reflected in staffing. One woman described how she would interview people who told her they were fluent in English for front desk work at hotels, but it was quickly evident that they were not. Professional returnees found it frustrating that people would state they had competencies they did not possess in order to receive jobs.

At the same time as experiencing these challenges, the same woman as above highlighted some of the challenges experienced in the USA and her appreciation for life in Ethiopia. One participant stated:

> The western life, it doesn't allow you to get out of yourself. The demand is too big. I mean, just to take care of your house, to cook, to take care of your kids, that takes the whole you. There is no way you can think about your neighbors; you can think about a nation, you can think about a city. You know, I work in Amhara Region with some fistula program[1] and I travel and I do it voluntarily. There is no way I could have done that in

America because life doesn't allow for someone to get out of themselves to do that. For that I am glad I am back. (*Participant 50*)

This quote highlights the appreciation for the culture of Ethiopia. The majority of professional women were able to value elements of the culture of Ethiopia that did not exist in the country of migration. This primarily included the ability to slow down, the valuing of social networks, friendships and family time, and the generosity and kindness within the culture. At the same time as these elements were strongly valued, it must be noted that at other times they were viewed as a burden. For instance, the social obligations of weddings and funerals for extended networks (not close relations) were at times viewed as cumbersome due to their frequency and the amount of time this takes from working life.

A minority of professional women only valued the culture of the country of migration and rejected the culture of Ethiopia. These women continued to struggle with the culture of Ethiopia, and although they appreciated elements of it, more commonly, they reacted to it instead of embracing it. One participant stated her experience as follows:

So that was very difficult for me, people always blame. I think it is universal but I think in my culture in the States quite a lot of people take responsibility for their own actions. In this country people blame the government, they blame the weather, they blame God, they blame their upbringing, but at the same time they are very resilient people. With what little they have they manage to survive. They are very strong people but over time instead of frustration I came to a conclusion people do what they do because they don't really get help. So I am sympathizing and that happens, it gives you space to not be judgmental and really to understand why people do what they are doing and how to help them. (*Participant 41*)

This quote highlights how the participant views herself as relating to American culture and "this country" as being foreign. It is evident that she has maintained the culture of the country of migration and has not reintegrated into the culture of Ethiopia. Simultaneously, she has developed coping mechanisms for being in Ethiopia to allow understanding for the people and not to bear judgment. This does not mean,

however, that she herself adopts the culture, but has learned how to work proactively within it.

The professionals are thus placed in different sections on the cultural orientation spectrum. The majority fall into the category of valuing both the culture of migration and return; however, a minority fall into the category of valuing the culture of migration and rejecting the culture of return.

Students

The experiences abroad were formative to the majority of students reflecting that they highly valued the learning experiences of the culture in the country of migration. Upon return, elements of the culture of the country of migration were continued to be highly valued, as were elements of the culture of Ethiopia. Students valued both cultures upon return. One student described a key learning from the culture of migration that she brought with her in her return to Ethiopia:

> Actually the other thing that I learnt there is here in Ethiopia women are assigned in very low positions; maybe as a janitor cleaning or something like that. But when I go there [Europe] everybody is involved in this kind of activities [professional activities]. So women are involved in these kinds of activities and what came to my mind is if women can participate in the higher position development will come because these countries are very developed countries and women and men are participating equally, there is not any work totally given to women or to men. So this is the most important thing that I learned from there. (*Participant 25*)

The values of the culture of the country of migration, such as equality of women and men, are brought back with the students in their return. In Addis Ababa, women's rights are more advanced than in the rest of the country; however, overall, the society is still primarily patriarchal, as was discussed in the introduction.

In many cases, like the professionals, students underwent a negotiation process between the two cultures upon return wherein elements of the culture of return were rejected and renegotiated. One participant stated her experience of returning as follows:

> There were changes in the way you think, in the way you expect to arrive in your appointment place, in the way you put yourself that some things, for example in the way you know after being used to the way of life in Europe, you don't automatically accept the way of life in Ethiopia sometimes. For the first few months things were a bit strange. (*Participant 46*)

The above quote highlights that expectations of the culture of the country of return have changed due to the experiences of the culture of the country of migration.

Although the migration experience was much shorter in duration and did not allow for permanent integration opportunities, the migration experience has demonstrated to be highly formative in influencing the values of the students. The majority of students have chosen to maintain elements of the culture of migration which have included the following: gender equality, hard work, professionalism, and assertion. A key element that combines with the adoption of gender equality values is the behavioural difference as this led to many female students learning to assert their opinions more effectively. This will further be discussed in the next chapter. At the same time, however, students maintained many of the values of the country of origin and were able to reintegrate fairly easily.

Domestics: Freedom at Last

Due to the lack of an opportunity for integration, there was a limited ability for domestics to first adapt to cultural elements of the country of migration and second to maintain elements of the culture of migration upon return. In addition, as domestics were in a subordinate position in the country of migration, the elements of the culture that they were able to see were often viewed negatively by the domestics. The experiences within the culture of the country of migration for domestics are limited to their employer and their employer's families. One participant stated:

> Arab countries change your thinking, in most cases you will never see good things there…You will understand that doing bad doesn't add value

to your life and you will learn to be good in your life. You know, if my employer was good to me I would not have come back home. I didn't want to leave her kids, but she was not that kind. This gave me a lesson for being good. (*Participant 45*)

This quote highlights that for this participant behavioural changes occurring from her migration are in reaction to the employer in the country of migration. From her negative experience with the employer, she understandably extrapolates these experiences to reflect the culture of Arab countries. In this case, the reaction led to a further desire to be a good person in Ethiopia; however, for many domestics, the resulting negative experience from the migration led to stress, unease, and overall negative reactions.

Considering the experiences of the domestics as servants in the Middle East, it is not surprising that upon return they value the culture of Ethiopia and reject the culture of the country of migration. As stated in Chap. 4, most commonly domestics were relieved to return to Ethiopia and embraced the Ethiopian way of life upon return. For the domestics return to their culture meant that they were able to express themselves freely, have freedom of movement, and engage in regular behaviours.

Within the sample, there were some anomalies of participants that did feel they partially integrated into the life of the culture of migration and adopted behaviours they would not express in Ethiopia. One participant stated:

When we adapted to the lifestyle of Dubai, we began to behave like Dubai people and at that time we used to make huge expenses for different items. It was difficult at that time to imagine that we are migrants, because the expenditures we were making were so crazy.

This of course was not good for us, but if you have to live abroad, you have to behave like the native people and you think yourself as a native; not as migrants. (*Participant 71*)

However, upon return, the cultural orientation of this participant did not change. Upon return, the participant valued the culture of Ethiopia and, as is reflected in the quote, recognized that the adaptation to the consumer culture in Dubai was not positive, thus rejecting the culture of the country of migration upon return.

Overview

Patterns of cultural maintenance differ not only between the three analytical groups but also within the groups. The primary factor that influences cultural maintenance is the opportunities for integration in the country of migration. Both professionals and students were able to integrate into the country of migration, and therefore returned valuing elements of that culture, whereas domestics had no opportunities for integration and returned as traditionalists. The duration of time abroad and individual's choices also affect the cultural maintenance. The students, who were abroad for a shorter period of time, did not have lasting challenges with reintegration. Some of the professionals, on the other hand, that were abroad for much longer rejected the culture of the country of origin upon return. This is significant because opportunities and the ability for integration impact upon a returnees' ability to influence social change, as will be discussed in Chap. 7.

Social Networks

Social networks reflect the type of network of the return migrant: if it is comprised of returnees, locals, cross-border networks, or a combination of the three groups. The network of the return migrant will determine the access to resources and social capital that the network can provide. As described in Chap. 2, not only is the type of network important, but also the strength of the network ties. Reintegration is therefore impacted by the type and strength of the returnees' network.

Professionals

Upon return, professionals had diverse networks that generally consisted of family members in Ethiopia, other returnees in Ethiopia, and family members and friends in the country of migration. For the most part, professionals were in a position of power upon return due to their education and/or status. Due to their high status within the hierarchy of Ethiopian society and their international connections, professionals had wider access to both bonding and bridging social capital that included the following: Ethiopian elite, returnees, expatriates, and other professionals. This is a large contrast to the students and domestics who do not have social capital to access resources from positions of power.

Professionals had the resources to increase their bonding social capital through memberships in homogenous groups. This included organizations such as the Chamber of Commerce, Ethiopian Women in Business, Women Entrepreneurs Group, and other international groups such as the American Chamber of Commerce. Professionals that were business owners were invited by the Chamber of Commerce to attend events targeted towards business owners. Access to these types of organizations allowed professionals to develop further networks with individuals of a similar status and to further their bonding social capital. This could lead to important information such as for exporting goods and other business development opportunities.

Membership in these forms of groups was exclusive. Several of the professionals that were involved stated that they did not need anything from these groups, but thought it was important to help others. Underlying this participation was also most likely a piece of recognition of the social returns involved in participation in these networks, that is the recognition of status and power associated with membership in these elite organizations.

Others were more open about the returns that they received from their network membership. For instance, one participant below states her expected benefits from participation in a women's entrepreneur group:

> I expect a lot from it, but at the moment what I am getting is networking. You know, I am part of a group that is like an interim board trying to get it going. Partly because I believe it's good to do some kind of service, it is good. I don't have much time, I don't give that much but I believe in the principle of it. Second, I expect to network with other women entrepreneurs. Things that I would never know, information that I would never get I might get through that, because if I am sitting here in a closed gate I won't get the information. But if you are networking then you know if there are buyers coming from outside, who is doing what you know; you can network and help each other out. And the USAID also, in some ways, because the US ambassador started it there, so they are sort of like right along beside us, so I think it's good to be connected. (*Participant 36*)

Through this quote, it is evident that the woman recognizes the importance of access to information for the success of her business. She therefore participates not only because she believes it is the right thing to do, but also because she recognizes the economic and social instrumental returns that can be achieved through participation in the network and the social returns that can be provided through connections with USAID. Membership in this form of network provides access to important resources for the acquisition of economic, social, and positional power.

Although all professionals had access to the above networks, not all professionals opted to join these forms of networks. Some were highly involved in organizations, and others did not feel that they had the time for these forms of organizations. Those that were involved also tended to be professionals with wider networks that spanned locals, returnees, and transnational ties, thus being in the reintegrated analytical group. Individuals, who were not involved, tended to have more closed networks comprising primarily of other returnees and transnational ties.

Several of the professionals' networks were primarily comprised of other returnees with limited interactions with locals. One returnee explained the situation as "I mean we have fun with the returnees more because the value systems are clearer" (Participant 48). This was furthered by another participant stating:

Most of them [in the network] are people who have returned. Even if they did not live there, at least they travel for business, they have the exposure, but I can't have an acquaintance with someone who didn't travel internationally. (*Participant 54*)

This quote highlights that it is not important if the individual is a returnee or not, but as stated in the previous quote, the values system of the individual is essential for creating network connections. Returnees value an international understanding within their networks. This finding is similar to other cases of returnees, such as Stefansson (2004) found with returnees to Bosnia and Herzegovina wherein returnees preferred to network together as they could discuss common identity aspects of life in exile and reintegration challenges. A key difference, however, is that returnees to Bosnia and Herzegovina faced high levels of animosity from the local population. This is somewhat true for professionals in Ethiopia as there is some animosity towards diaspora; however, it is not necessarily to the same degree as Stefansson indicates existed in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Professionals operating within returnee networks are members of exclusive networks that bar access to others that do not possess the characteristics of this group. The networks are therefore more inwards looking and lack the access to bridging social capital that other professionals gain through their wider networks. At the same time, however, professionals operating within return networks run successful businesses and do not need further resources. They openly state that they limit their social interactions as they do not have time for social activities due to their busy work schedule from their business. Therefore, perhaps their inward looking networks are due to the fact that they do not have a need for further resource acquisition.

A final element that distinguishes between the types of a professional's returnee network is the amount of effort put into expanding the network. As one returnee explained:

at the beginning you know you end up sticking with the Diaspora because you know somebody in [the country of migration] when you go out with them the next person they know is also somebody who has been

overseas so you end up going out with them… but now I am starting to have [local] friends, but at the beginning I didn't. So, now I like it…I have now more Diaspora friends than those who never left, but it's on the rise so I like it. (*Participant 51*)

This quote highlights that it is easier for the returnees to network within their own group and that they are not necessarily against creating relationships with locals. Thus, in this case, the returnee's network was a network of convenience and not necessarily intended to be exclusive to other groups. It also stresses that establishing relationships beyond the central network requires a concerted effort.

Finally, all of the professionals had access to a transnational network that provided them with support for the challenges that they faced in Ethiopia. This transnational network was a vital element of everyday life and provided information and access to the globalized world.

Professionals' networks varied along the continuum of reintegrated and enclavist. Reintegrated professionals valued their diverse networks and connections with locals as being enriching in their lives, providing access to economic and social returns, and providing expressive returns in terms of life satisfaction. For instance, for professionals that were highly engaged in charitable networks this provided them with feelings of life enrichment. For the professionals that were engaged in enclavist networks, they tended to prefer to congregate with individuals of similar values reflecting the "like-me" hypothesis. Professionals in enclavist networks did operate successful businesses and did not feel a need for gaining further economic and social resources through network membership. They had life satisfaction, and this was furthered by participation in homophily-based networks.

The variation in network membership among the professionals reflects the different needs and choices of the professionals in their reintegration strategies. Many of the enclavists choose for the closed network as this is what is comfortable and rewarding for them. The reintegrated, on the other hand, choose for wider networks that provide them with satisfaction. Network membership and reintegration for the professionals is therefore highly influenced by choice as all professionals had access to multiple networks but through their agency their membership is determined.

Students

The majority of students' networks were primarily based in Ethiopia. A few of the students had strong transnational connections; however, these were generally not from their study abroad, but from strong connections in Ethiopia going abroad, such as friends and family. These transnational ties were thus strong connections with regular maintenance. From the migration experience, all of the students cited maintaining ties with friends that they made abroad, but the majority maintained a weak connection with transnational tie maintenance primarily occurring over Facebook and an occasional email. Students had also made professional contacts abroad, such as with professors; however, these were often not maintained unless the student was still engaged in joint work with the professor. The majority of students stated that their networks from their migration could provide access to resources such as information. In addition, these networks could be substantial in the case of professional references. In terms of being able to rely on these networks in a situation of need, there was more uncertainty from the students as to if this would be possible.

Students' networks in Ethiopia tended to be diverse including connections to other returnees and locals. None of the students were engaged in enclavist networks, reflecting their shorter duration abroad and maintenance of ties with connections in Ethiopia while abroad. Returnee connections in Ethiopia were primarily with other students that had studied abroad. This included both individuals met while in the country of migration that had returned and previous connections that had also went abroad and returned. Students had strong bonding social capital within these networks in that the ties were strong enough that they could provide access to emotional and financial resources in times of need.

Through the acquisition of education, the students have gained an important resource for their return. Their educational status allows them to advance in the social hierarchy in Ethiopia, which can provide membership to new groups such as professional organizations, alumni organizations, and clubs such as the Rotary club. These organizations

can be quite useful to the students in terms of bridging social capital that can assist in gaining access to further resources. One student described the benefits of being involved in a professional organization as follows:

> It gives me a lot, I mean because when you are there you will be attending [a lot of] research work. So that will give you a better understanding of the situation that the research was done, and it will even help you to identify the gap that some of the researchers have not even dealt with regarding Ethiopia. So you will be motivated to fill that gap in your research activity and you will be sharing a lot of information about what is really going on in rural Ethiopia, specifically in different regions. The other one is you will have some networks with some professors and doctors who are working there, which are better ones than us [laughs]. (*Participant 27*)

This student recognizes the importance of network membership in furthering her work and providing access to esteemed colleagues within her field. This form of membership thus provides primarily social returns in terms of reputation and status, but could lead to instrumental returns if the network provides access to information for economic or social gains.

One student's participation in the Rotary Club provides an example of how the resources gained through education provide for returns. One must be invited, or apply, to become a Rotarian. Membership is therefore exclusive to certain individuals. The objective of Rotary is to "develop and foster the ideal of service as a basis of worthy enterprise" (Rotary 2013). Through having a master's degree and a professional job, the students have resources to contribute to organizations such as Rotary. Individual identity attributes are also of course significant in this selection; however, the acquisition of education and professional employment is an instrumental precursor to membership. One participant described the impact of their membership in rotary on themselves as

> I see very ambitious people and the way people are thinking is changing. So I am really happy and I am really optimistic about making the change and making this country very, you know, a very comfortable place to live.

So, I am very optimistic. I am happy I see so many changes, so many developments, so many things that are being done. (*Participant 34*)

For this participant, rotary provided an opportunity to network and engage with other like-minded people. It is also a status symbol to be involved in such an organization.

Several students were also involved in religious-based organizations such as church groups. These groups provided important connections for life satisfaction and could also provide instrumental returns if necessary. One participant described her membership as follows:

It's more like having a second family. It's not like an association or a group I am involved in; it's something that is like a relative that is really deep down inside of me…But the thing is the value that it has in all the members' hearts is not as an association. So if someone is broke and need money whoever is there will help out. (*Participant 22*)

This quote illustrates the strength of the network membership and the resources that could be provided from the network if needed. Finally, many students were also involved in charitable organizations. Membership in these organizations primarily provided for life satisfaction returns.

Students that did not have membership in organizations cited reasons such as not having an interest or a need for membership. There were no striking differences observed between students having active membership in organizations and those that did not.

Overall, within the reintegration strategies framework, the students in general had networks that were primarily based in Ethiopia and included both returnees (primarily other students) and locals. The networks of the students illustrated a traditionalist/reintegrated orientation. The strategy includes reintegration because of the returnee and weak transnational networks; however, is primarily traditionalist as the strength of the student's networks is predominantly oriented towards local connections. These local networks were strong and for students involved in associations offered more opportunities for bridging social capital.

Domestics

Upon return, domestics' networks were mainly based in Ethiopia and comprised predominately locals and some other returnees. Similarly to the students, other returnees primarily included friends or family that had also migrated as domestics and returned. There were a few instances of domestics maintaining connections upon return with women they had met in the country of migration, but this was less common. In two cases, however, the connections made in the country of migration provided formative relationships that were essential modes of support in return.

The majority of domestics cut all ties with the country of migration upon return. Few domestic workers maintained contact with other domestic workers they had met in the country of migration (that were still abroad), or with their employer or employer's children. The most significant form of contact is phone calls made to other Ethiopian domestic workers that are either family or friends working in the country of migration. These are made on a less regular basis due primarily to cost and are made in anticipation of an eventual return of the individual. Thus, these are not long-term transnational networks.

Particularly, in the case that a domestic worker had been with an employer a long time (over 3 years) and had a positive relationship with the employer, the employer would call them to see how they were doing or asking them to return. For instance, one participant stated: "They [the employers] are calling me for 2 years. They called me last week from abroad to go back, but I am not willing to migrate again" (*Participant 02*). This communication, however, appears to be a one-sided communication at the maintenance of the employer and not the returnee. The women do not feel that they could rely on the employer in a time of need, and thus, the transnational network ties are too weak to provide resources to the returnees.

Upon return, domestics did engage in networks with other returnees. This was not a formal type of network membership, but was significant in providing support to returnees. A non-governmental organization in Addis Ababa offered a training programme for domestic returnees. The participants that were involved in the training found that it was useful

to connect with other returnees that had experienced similar situations to them while abroad. Other individuals that did not have such an opportunity to meet returnees often had friends that had been abroad, which they engaged with upon return. Within these return networks, participants expressed that they would sometimes speak in Arabic so as to not lose the language and provided support to each other regarding the situations they have been through. In Ethiopia, it was not culturally acceptable for domestics to discuss the abuse they had experienced abroad. Return networks allowed them an acceptable space to discuss these issues.

Approximately, one-quarter of domestics had active membership in an organization, which is far less than the professionals or students. These were primarily church-based organizations, the local *edir*—informal savings organization—*kebele*—smallest administrative unit in Ethiopia—organizations or other forms of micro-finance groups. Domestics stated that participation in the church-based organizations gave them fulfilment, illustrating expressive returns of life satisfaction. Participants stated that these networks could also be relied on in times of need, suggesting instrumental social and economic returns as well. Participation in *edir* provides a small piece of financial security as if one is in need they can ask the savings association to receive the money that month to address their needs. It also provides for social connections to other members in the community and illustrates a form of engagement. This is similar to participation in *kebele* associations and other micro-finance groups. These networks are not socially based in that they provide emotional support, but they can provide access to information sources.

Overall, domestics were the least networked of the three groups. This reflects, in part, a class-based difference as domestics had the least opportunity to join associations. Many of the participants were not involved in organizations such as *edir* as other women in their households (such as their mothers or sisters) were participating for their household. It is obvious, of course, that the domestics also did not have the opportunity to join professional and business organizations, which comprise the primary membership for the professionals and students.

Upon return, domestics primarily returned to their networks prior to migration. These networks had commonly decreased in membership due the migration episode. Primarily, they comprised close family and in some cases neighbours and friends. Domestics also had the weakest networks upon return in terms of bridging social capital with limited connections beyond their peers. This lack of access to information and opportunities is reflected in part in elements such as the high unemployment rate of domestics.

Overview

Networks are essential in providing support and access to resources for returnees, which can assist in their reintegration. Many of the professionals recognize the importance of networks and are highly involved in professional organizations that provide access to information for their businesses. The professionals also have the most extensive transnational networks, reflecting their longer duration abroad, that could be relied upon in times of need. Students are also well networked upon return, having access to diverse networks of other returnees and locals. Students' transnational networks are weaker than professionals, but still do exist and can provide access to information or other resources. Domestics' networks are the weakest of the three groups, providing limited access to bridging social capital and resources.

It is noteworthy that the networks vary along class divisions with the professionals being the highest class and having the widest networks and the domestics being the lowest class and having the weakest networks. This reflects homophily in social network theory. The distinctions between the three groups can be characterized as *status homophily*, in which differences between age, education, and occupation (among other demographic characteristics) separate the three groups (Lazarsfeld and Merton 1954). This is reflective of the social stratification that is prevalent in Ethiopia. On the other hand, this is different from variations within the analytical groups, such as for the professionals wherein *value homophily* differentiates the professional's networks as being focused on other returnees or including locals as well (Lazarsfeld and Merton 1954).

Overall, access to social networks and strength of network connections vary greatly between the three groups. The impact of this on the reintegration strategies will be discussed in the next chapter.

Self-Identification

Self-identification is the returnees' subjective view and self-definition of their own identity. Return migrants can identify themselves as one of the following: unidirectional orientation towards the country of origin/return, unidirectional orientation towards the country of migration, or a transnational bidirectional orientation towards both the country of migration and origin/return. Senses of belonging can overlap, and individuals can have multiple affiliations at any one point in time. Transnational ways of belonging refer to social relations and practices that individuals engage in across national borders and that individuals simultaneously highlight as a key part of who they are and their identity (Levitt and Glick Schiller 2004). Social networks form a central part of an individual's identity, sense of self, and notions of belonging. Lin (1999) states:

> Social relations are expected to reinforce identity and recognition. Being assured and recognized of one's worthiness as an individual and a member of a social group sharing similar interests and resources not only provides emotional support but also public acknowledgment of one's claim to certain resources. These reinforcements are essential for the maintenance of mental health and the entitlement to resources. (31)

The maintenance of networks in the country of migration is a key component in maintaining the individual's transnational or bidirectional self-orientation. Furthermore, being recognized and feeling a part of a group in the country of return is central to developing a sense of belonging and further identification with the country of return.

It is essential to note that identities are not fixed and they are static entities constantly being re- and de-constructed (Madsen and van Naerssen 2003). Feelings of belonging and if the return migrant feels

a part of the society in the country of return has a fundamental impact on their reintegration strategy. As illustrated in transnationalism, senses of belonging can overlap and the notion of "home" can have multiple meanings to an individual. This section will discuss how the analytical groups perceived their self-identification.

Professionals

Feelings of identity and belonging were most complex for the professionals as they had integrated abroad and developed new notions of belonging while in the country of migration. As also discussed in the section on cultural orientation, the professionals experience the greatest culture clashes in return; thus, it is arguably more difficult for the professionals to establish feelings of belonging upon return. In the light of this situation, it is not surprising that the majority of professionals had a transnational bidirectional orientation towards both the country of migration and the country of origin/return. The primary allegiance was not always universal, with some women considering themselves Ethiopian first and American (as an example) second, or vice versa. In essence, however, the majority of professionals recognized a dual belonging and adaptability to two homes, which both contributed to their identity and notions of self.

Beyond a transnational way of being, professionals exhibited a transnational way of belonging by explicitly recognizing that their everyday social networks and practices span borders as a regular feature of everyday life (Levitt and Schiller 2004). Schiller et al. (2003) propose that dual identification is furthered if dual connections are grounded in the nation state institutions, thus going beyond social acquaintances. The majority of professionals had foreign citizenship and a Yellow Card identity card in Ethiopia, thus demonstrating regular engagement between two nation state systems. The dual identity can be described as a pendulum for the professionals, swinging between the different identities depending on their daily interactions and experiences. One participant stated this by responding to the question if she has a notion of belonging in Ethiopia as "Some days I do, some days I don't, depending

on the day" (Participant 36). This was furthered by her pondering notions of home, identity, and belonging and making a conscious choice to choose:

> I think more Ethiopia, we have settled in here. We have built a home since you know initially we were renting but now we built a home and we are saying okay. But we were meant to be back here and we are back here. [Country of migration] is always ours, but we were meant to be here. Let's make it work, let's make it last, let's make it real. (*Participant 36*)

This quote reflects the conscious effort that goes into decisions of home, identity, and belonging. This participant identifies herself as firstly Ethiopian and secondly the country of migration, but both countries remain to be important in her identity.

A few of the professionals suffered from a feeling of loss of identity, commonly highlighted in the migration literature as a loss of feelings of belonging and home. One participant stated:

> I think maybe I don't have any….I think I am lost I am not completely part of that culture [country of migration]…and here after several years I came back and my generation is somewhere, but I don't know where they are, and people changed and I don't' feel like I belong here either so…. (*Participant 37*)

This quote highlights how the migration and return experience has led to a loss of identity, more so than a dual identity. This participant experiences a very different notion of identity than the following participant that feels well integrated into both cultures:

> For me, home is Ethiopia, but you would be surprised…I'm as American as you can make me. I go wherever it is, pick up my car, and I'll be on the highway, just as I did, you know, last year or the year before. I travel at least once a year, as I told you. I'm very independent and I fit in perfectly when I go there [country of migration]. And then all the hardship that I had when I was here, fitting in, I fit in beautifully now. I think I carry both cultures very well. (*Participant 60*)

Overall, the majority of professionals feel a bidirectional sense of belonging, as identified by the participant above. Within this bidirectional self-identification, however, several iterations are discussed as noted above with notions of belonging being stronger in one direction or the other for different participants. This impact of these different iterations will be clarified in the next chapter on reintegration strategies, wherein it will be demonstrated that women with stronger attachments to the country of migration are often enclavists. Women that have a more balanced bidirectional self-identification are more likely to be reintegrated. Self-identification is thus a key element in determining the reintegration strategies.

Students

The short duration abroad and the lack of formal integration into the country of migration meant that students did not undergo an adaptation of identity and belonging to a new country during their migration. Therefore, it is anticipated that for the most part, the students had a unidirectional self-identification to Ethiopia. For many, the country of migration was seen as a significant influence in their lives and as a piece of a second home, but this connection was much weaker than for the professionals. The student's networks and institutional connection to the country of migration were not as enduring as it was for the professionals, influencing their notions of self-identification. Simultaneously, several students noted that they did not feel as strong of a connection to Ethiopia, and in a small number of cases, students felt that they belonged more in the country of migration. Despite this dual belonging, the students still identified with being Ethiopian.

The weakening of the Ethiopian identity for the students highlights the impact of migration upon their notions of self. Primarily, the students still see themselves as Ethiopian, but recognize that they themselves have been changed by the migration experience and this influences their interactions and sense of belonging with Ethiopian culture. One participant described this shift as

(I) Do you feel a part of Ethiopian society now?

(P) 70 per cent yes. 30 per cent no. not really

(I) What are the things that make it 'not really'?

(P) Because as we talked before, their way of thinking and their culture. Sometimes it's' a bit much. I don't agree with them. Sometimes I feel very distant but at the same time, I feel very connected to them as well. (*Participant 21*)

These shifting notions of identity are fluid and are not easily made concrete. It is important to highlight that many students felt these notions as they sought to (re)express their changed identity upon their return.

Domestics

Finally, the domestics had a unidirectional self-identification to Ethiopia. As discussed previously, the lack of integration opportunities and negative experiences in the countries of migration led to an inability to relate to the country of migration, and thus, a dual identity was never poised to develop. Identity in terms of ethnicity and belonging was never contested within this group. The majority of domestics therefore felt a strong sense of belonging in their return to Ethiopia; "I feel as if I am a member of the Ethiopian society. If I don't isolate myself I feel good love from them" (Participant 02).

The challenges of identity experienced by the domestics were not related to notions of cultural belonging in Ethiopia, but questions of self-esteem for those that had suffered in their migration. For this group, self-identification was less about cultural notions and more about not feeling that they belonged anywhere at that time. This will be further discussed in the next chapter in identifying the vulnerable reintegration strategy.

Overview

Self-identification is an important dimension in the reintegration strategy as it reflects the degree to which the returnees feel that they belong

to Ethiopian society. In this study, the majority of professionals, students, and domestics identified that they felt a sense of belonging in Ethiopia. For many of the professionals, this included a bidirectional sense of belonging as they also felt belonging in the country of migration. Some of the professionals and some of the domestics identified that they did not feel a sense of belonging, which was cultural for the professionals and a sign of vulnerability for the domestics. This lack of feeling of belonging hinders reintegration and is fundamental in assessing reintegration strategies of the returnees, as shown in Chap. 7.

Access to Rights, Institutions, and the Labour Market

The final dimension is the access to rights and institutions in the country of return that are available to the return migrant. This includes the position and statuses that the return migrant can achieve in institutions such as the labour market, citizenship rights, political institutions, housing rights, and within the education system (Heckmann 2001). It is understandable that these structural components are essential in the reintegration process as returnees require employment, housing, and citizenship rights to live productively in society.

Professionals

The professionals return as highly skilled migrants and diaspora, which grants them a high level of status and access to rights and institutions. The Ethiopian government has been active to encourage the diaspora to establish businesses in Ethiopia; thus, they are welcomed to the entrepreneurial labour market. As shown in the previous chapter, nearly all of the professionals were entrepreneurs and a few participants had been attracted back to Ethiopia by specific initiatives of the government that offered incentives for diaspora investors.

The majority of professionals had acquired foreign citizenship. This meant that the majority possessed the Ethiopian "Yellow Card" allowing

them several rights in Ethiopia, but not citizenship rights as Ethiopia does not recognize dual citizenship. As per the Yellow Card, professionals were thus not allowed to vote in Ethiopia nor run for political office. Political participation of the professionals was therefore limited.

Although the formal rights of professionals are slightly limited by their lack of citizenship, due to their position and status upon return, they have the widest access to institutions of the three analytical groups. The professionals engage with a wide variety of actors including the senior level government officials, international organizations (such as the World Bank and UN organizations), professional associations, and other business professionals in Ethiopia. Their position as returning elite enables them to have the greatest access to resources upon return.

Students

Upon return, the students have acquired resources (their education) to gain status in Ethiopia, which can lead to positions of greater prestige than they were able to access before. Overall, the majority of students were employed at the time of interview (89%) with the majority in employment positions (72%). Most of the students were satisfied with their current occupations, and for several students, they felt that their master's degree enabled them to be in their current positions. At the same time, however, some of the students do return to their previous positions. This is either because this institution funded their master's and they now are in servitude to the organization or they were able to take a leave from their previous positions. Students who returned to their previous positions stated that they were given greater respect from colleagues for having studied abroad; however, fundamentally, their job roles remained the same as prior to migration.

The students have Ethiopian citizenship and remain to have all rights of citizens in the country. Virtually, all of the students were not involved in politics in Ethiopia. Although they had the right to vote, many do not vote in the country and do not engage in the political sphere. More important than politics is the ability to access institutions within the country. The gaining of a master's degree enabled them more prestige

within professional associations; however, they were still considered junior as these associations are primarily dominated by older professionals.

Domestics

Although the domestics had full rights of citizenship, they had limited access to rights, institutions, and the labour market upon their return to Ethiopia due to their lower social class. This is evidenced by the fact that only 39% of domestics were employed at the time of interview and several of the employed domestics were underemployed. The primary occupations of employed domestics were either as a waitress or sales person. Those with a job were fortunate to find employment in Addis Ababa; however, their employment was generally barely enough to meet their daily needs. The average salary of the employed domestics was 602 Ethiopian Birr (USD 35) per month. Due to the lack of labour market integration, many domestics were dependent on family for meeting their needs:

> I did not get anything good now in fact it is worse because I do not work I came here and still am dependent on my family. I am not good on thing. (*Participant 14*)

Family support networks primarily provide housing to returning domestic workers.

As also illustrated in this chapter, the majority of the domestics did not have secondary education. Many of the domestics dream to be able to study upon their return; however, this is clearly not realistic. A few of the participants in this study were able to receive training through an NGO, but this was for cooking or sewing. The domestics thus are not able to access further educational opportunities due to lack of funds, grades, and social status.

As a group, the domestics were not engaged in politics in Ethiopia. This is not surprising, however, as political apathy is common in Ethiopia due to a lack of tolerance for political opposition.

Overview

Despite being the only group to not have full citizenship, professionals have the greatest access to rights and institutions in Ethiopia due to their social status. The professionals and students have significantly higher labour market integration than the domestics, which also reflects migration motivations as the domestics are the only labour migration group of the three (emigrating because of a lack of employment opportunities). Of the three groups, professionals are the most likely to be able to access rights and institutions within the government, due to their social status.

Summary

This chapter has illustrated that not only are the three analytical groups reintegrated differently across the dimensions, but that there is also sizeable variance within the analytical groups across the dimensions. On the whole, professionals have a dual cultural orientation, wide and strong social networks, bidirectional self-identification, and a high level of access to rights and institutions. The majority of professionals are economically and socially reintegrated, with a segment of professionals choosing to reject the culture of Ethiopia and focusing on enclavist networks of returnees.

The students also value both cultures and have diverse social networks with primarily weak transnational ties, a unidirectional self-identification, and access to rights and institutions in Ethiopia. For the most part, they are effectively reintegrated; however, lack the social status of the professionals.

Finally, the domestics have a unidirectional cultural orientation towards Ethiopia, local social networks, unidirectional self-identification, and limited access to rights and institutions in Ethiopia. The majority of domestics are not economically reintegrated and a minority struggle with social exclusion. Of the three groups, the domestics are the most at risk upon return, and one manifestation of this is that many seek to re-migrate.

The analysis of the reintegration dimensions highlights the importance of the following three characteristics: (1) class and one's position prior to migration, (2) opportunities for integration in the country of migration, and (3) the migrants' agency and choices upon return. In regard to class, migration from Ethiopia has not demonstrated upwards mobility for student or domestic returnees. The position from which they migrate is the position from which they return. In certain cases, migration can lead to upwards mobility, but this has not been demonstrated in this study.

In regard to the second point, opportunities for integration have an impact on the reintegration dimensions. The ability to integrate abroad is fundamental to adapting to the values of the country of migration and bringing these in return for a bidirectional cultural orientation. As domestics did not have the opportunity to integrate abroad, they had limited abilities to bring back elements of the culture of migration.

Thirdly, the dimensions have illustrated that returnees, especially the professionals and students, make choices regarding their reintegration, particularly in regard to their cultural orientation, social networks, and self-identification. Returnees can choose to interact with locals or only other return migrants, which impacts upon the ways in which they are reintegrated.

From these dimensions, the next chapter will assess the reintegration strategies of each individual participant. It will be evident that the analytical groups are divided across the different reintegration strategies.

Note

1. An obstetric fistula impacts women leading to permanent incontinence. According to the Fistula Foundation (2013), there are an estimated 100,000 women suffering from untreated fistulas in Ethiopia. They are commonly ostracized by their communities. Surgery can often repair the damage and allow women to return to a normal life.

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Reintegration Strategies of Female Return Migrants to Ethiopia

Introduction

Having developed an understanding of how the analytical groups are reintegrated across the dimensions of the reintegration strategies in the previous chapter, this chapter moves to discuss the reintegration strategies themselves. The analysis highlights how different forms of reintegration across the dimensions affect the returnees' overall reintegration strategy. In following up from the previous chapter, the reintegration strategies also illustrate how the choices the return migrants make affect their overall reintegration. The objective of this chapter was to *examine different reintegration strategies*. That is, this chapter assesses how the return migrants reintegrate within the typology of the reintegration strategies. Furthermore, this section considers how the analytical groups fit within the model of the reintegration strategies and assesses whether there is a difference between the theoretical categories and the analysis of the participants. This section emphasizes variations within the reintegration strategies and inferences that can be made regarding each reintegration strategy as a whole. This chapter will discuss each of the four

reintegration strategies, followed by a discussion of how returnees can move between the reintegration strategies and finally an overall analysis.

Reintegration Strategies

From the previous chapter, it is evident that the dimensions of the reintegration strategies of professionals, students, and domestics highly differ. Table 1 from Chap. 2, provides an overview of the reintegration strategies and the dimensions. Table 1 shows the anticipated return migrant background in each dimension and how the return migrant in each strategy is expected to be reintegrated on each dimension.

Figure 1 provides an overview of the analytical groups' reintegration strategies. From the analysis, the resulting categorization of the analytical groups shows that professionals primarily fall within the categories of reintegrated or enclavists, students reintegrated or traditionalists, and domestics traditionalists or vulnerable. It is surprising to see that the majority of students fit within the reintegrated strategy and not within the traditionalist strategy as would have been expected. This will be discussed further within this chapter. Two anomalies are also noted within the professional category that fit within the traditionalist and the vulnerable group. This also highlights the variations that can occur within the analytical groups. Each of the reintegration strategies will be discussed in detail.
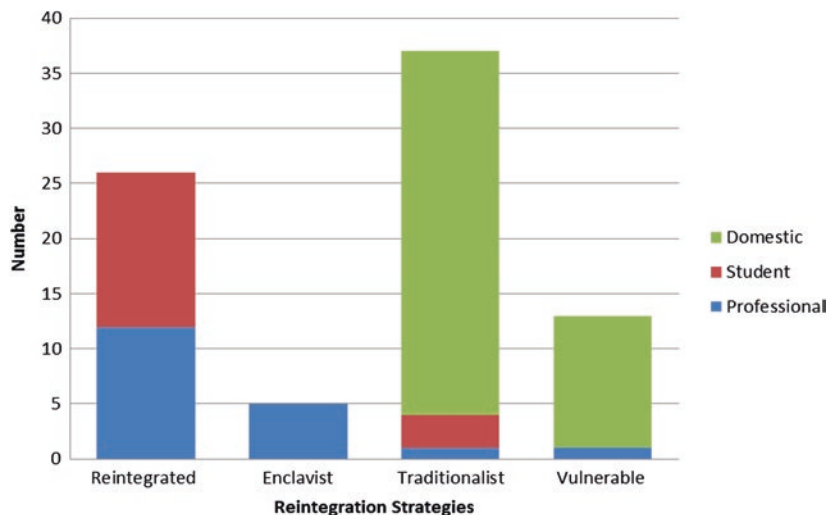
Reintegrated

The reintegrateds' reintegration strategy reflects return migrants that are optimally reintegrated across the dimensions. In this study, both the professional and student analytical groups are represented in the reintegrated strategy. The analytical groups will be discussed separately.

The reintegrated professionals all epitomized the theoretically defined reintegrated returnee. Their average duration abroad was 16 years meaning they had successfully integrated into the country of migration, had acquired skills, resources, and new cultural values in their

Table 1 Reintegration strategies

	Reintegrated	Enclaves	Traditionalists	Vulnerable
Return migrant	• Abroad for longer duration • Decided return • High return preparedness • Economic success	• Abroad for longer duration • Decided return • High return preparedness • Economic success	• Abroad for shorter duration • Decided return • Medium preparedness • Economic stability	• Abroad for shorter duration • Forced return (deportees) • No return preparedness • Economically vulnerable
Cultural orientation	• Value both the culture of the country of migration and country of origin/return	• Value the culture of the country of migration	• Value the culture of the country of origin/return	• Rejection of culture of country of migration • Rejection from dominant society in country of origin/return
Social network	• Locals, returnees and cross-border ties	• Returnees and cross-border ties	• Locals	• Ties to kin and other vulnerable groups
Self-identification	• Transnational	• Transnational	• Unidirectional	• Unidirectional
Access to rights and institutions	• Limited or full access to rights in country of return (depends on citizenship choices) • Limited access to key institutions in country of return	• Limited access to rights in country of return • Limited access to key institutions in country of return	• Full access to rights in country of return • Full access to key institutions in country of return	• Full access to rights in country of return • Limited access to institutions in country of return

Fig. 1 Here: Analytical groups reintegration strategies. *Source* Author's own calculations

migration, was highly prepared for their return through temporary return trips and establishing a plan, and they had an active reintegration strategy. Their reintegration strategies were actualized through the establishment of businesses, joining associations and organizations for primarily professional purposes, developing active social networks across groups, and establishing a sense of belonging and purpose in Ethiopia. According to the definition of reintegration being used in this study, the reintegrated professionals embodied a successfully reintegrated returnee.

At the same time, however, the reintegrated professionals commonly experienced challenges in their initial return, the most frequent challenge being cultural clashes. However, the reintegrated professionals choose to value the culture of the country of return and are able to overcome challenges and integrate with locals and local culture. For this group, return is a choice and an investment in a future. Hence, the women work hard to overcome the challenges of their initial return and reintegration. One woman described how she chose to adapt to Ethiopian culture as follows:

> But there are times that, if he [her husband] is with his friends and in a certain kind of circle, he would expect me to play or he would expect the role of an Ethiopian wife. Not serve, bowing down or something. But if we have guests, a very good example, if we have guests in our house, I would, even if he tries to serve the guests, know I'm the wife, I take care of that, you know. If it was in the States we both work, come home, we cook together…We clean, you know, wash the dishes together. Here, he's expected to sit with the guests and I'm expected to deal with the house help. And you know, serve and whatever it is. The thing is at first the challenge was: Why the hell are you sitting there? You know, I'm working, come with me and work. So I would go in and I would just stare. So ok, he'll come. And then the thing would be: Why? I'm with my friends. What's wrong? You know, you have help. Why don't you do this? And then I'd say: Why don't you do this? I'm helping, so help. And then, after a while I think that makes him happy. And then, for me being that hostess makes me fill with joy. You should see me; you should come to my house now when we have guests. I'm working with the maids. And I love setting the table. I love decorations. I love making sure everybody has everything. I just love it. It was, a very simple thing, you would think, but we would butt heads on that. (*Participant 60*)

Although the overall issue may seem small, this woman has chosen to negotiate between the culture of the country of migration and the culture of the country of origin. If she would reject the culture of the household in Ethiopia, it would create continued conflict. She has chosen to adapt and embrace the new cultural environment. For women who are reintegrated, this frequent negotiation is a common aspect of everyday life, wherein they must choose which elements of the culture of the country of return they will embrace and adapt to, which elements they will not, and the same for the country of migration.

Reintegrated professionals express a transnational *way of belonging* (Levitt and Glick Schiller 2004). They specifically identify that they live between two cultures and actively make choices regarding these cultures, thus expressing the transnational elements of who they are. The reintegrated professionals had vast social networks that spanned locals, returnees, and transnational connections. They were more likely to be

engaged in associations and active in network activities. Through their connections, they had access to both bridging and bonding social capital that could provide instrumental and expressive returns. For instance, they had access to elite business networks that provided information on new opportunities for development, which could further their economic reintegration. Reintegrated professionals' large networks provide them with support for their reintegration in multiple dimensions. This includes support from transnational networks and other returnees regarding the challenges of reintegration and support from locals on how to live and conduct business in Ethiopia.

The result of the reintegrated professionals' choices made regarding their reintegration led to the reintegrated professionals being reintegrated across all of the dimensions. The reintegrated professionals maintain identity attributes of the culture of the country of migration, thus having a bidirectional cultural orientation. This allows them to have the potential to vernacularize, which will be discussed later in this chapter.

Students within the reintegrated strategy, on the other hand, contest the theoretically defined reintegrated strategy. On average, reintegrated students had been abroad for just over 2 years, which is less than the 5 years anticipated for the reintegrated category. Students did return with resources in terms of skills acquired abroad, and some had saved finances that they brought in their return; however, they do not embody an economic success that has high preparedness for return. Why then are the students classified as reintegrated?

The classification of the students into the reintegrated strategy reflects an unforeseen finding of the magnitude of the impact that migration can have on an individual. The students had shorter durations abroad, lacked the opportunity for long-term integration, and a minimal ability to gain resources. Despite these shortcomings, the opportunity to engage in the different values systems of the culture of the country of migration and the opportunity to develop transnational networks left a lasting impact on the students that resulted in behavioural changes upon return. All of the students that were categorized as reintegrated stated that their migration resulted in a change in themselves. After their time abroad, they thought differently about their positions within Ethiopian society, their rights, abilities, and potential accomplishments.

This finding is important, as it highlights that even a short migration experience can be formative in changing perspectives and values. This contrasts arguments in the return migration literature that with a short stay abroad a migrant will have gained too little experience to be able to impact modernization at home (King 1986). For the students, duration abroad was less important than the *experiences* abroad.

The ability of the students to go between the two cultures with ease needs to be explored further. The students stated feeling very comfortable in the country of migration, and many now considered it to be their second home. However, many of the students were not fully integrated into the countries of migration; as for instance, many did not speak the native languages. It was stated, however, that they did feel comfortable in the culture of the country of migration, suggesting an ability to adapt between both cultures. The reintegrated students do not express a transnational way of belonging, in particular as the transnational networks of the students were weak compared to the transnational networks of the reintegrated professionals.

Overall, the reintegrated students are successfully reintegrated in Ethiopia. In contrast to the theoretically established reintegration strategy, the students have a unidirectional self-identification, but this is caveated by their stressing the personal changes that occurred through migration. They have new values and behaviours from their migration that they bring back into their lives in Ethiopia. These behaviours are maintained as they re-adapt to the local culture and acquire rights for their successful return and reintegration.

As a whole, the reintegrated returnees can be viewed as effectively reintegrated and successfully negotiating between two cultures. The reintegrated returnees form a bridge between the culture of the country of migration and the culture of the country of origin. They are successful in acquiring their rights in return, including employment, social relations, and human rights. Their networks are comprised of locals, returnees, and cross-border ties, which underscore that they have an ability to access resources across borders and societies. For these reasons, the reintegrated have the greatest potential to vernacularize in Ethiopia. This will be further explored in the next chapter.

Enclavists

From the theoretical framework, the enclavists are similar to the reintegrated, with the key differentiating factor being that they unilaterally value the culture of the country of migration. The enclavists' networks are primarily other returnees, and they do not go between the two cultures with ease. Hence, enclavists are not culturally reintegrated.

Five women have been categorized within the enclavists' reintegration strategy. All of these women are professionals that returned from the USA to Ethiopia. In comparison with the professionals categorized within the reintegrated category, the enclavists had been abroad for a longer duration, 29 years as opposed to 16 years, and at the time of interview had been in Ethiopia for a shorter duration, 3 years as opposed to 5 years. The reasons and motivations for the initial migration and transnational tie maintenance did not differ significantly from the reintegrated. Three of the enclavists returned specifically for business reasons, and two for altruistic reasons. Overall, the reasons for return are also not substantially different than those in the reintegrated group.

The differences between the reintegrated and enclavist are in their attitudes and networks upon return. Within the enclavists' reintegration strategy, there is a division between the enclavists that choose to operate within returnee networks and those that are open to engaging with locals but do not seem to be able to bridge the cultural divide. For the first group, a choice is made in a preference for the culture of the country of migration. This group is critical of the culture of the country of return. If they wanted to reintegrate, and to adapt and value the culture of the country of return, they could, but they choose not to. An example of this is provided as to how one of these participants characterizes the local culture and her choice to not fit within it:

A lot of the educated faculty members, the educated lot they want be something that they are not…Literally sometimes they want to be people that they can't be. So that makes it difficult to communicate. Because you don't know who you are talking to…Everybody wants to be westernized

much more than anybody else- The very thing they hate they want to be, so I am confused. I don't know? So I don't really like it socially. (*Participant 48*)

This quote elicits the adverse attitude that locals often express towards the diaspora. The enclavists acknowledge this attitude and find support in each other to manage the challenges of negotiating with these differences.

The desire to engage in enclavist networks is not uncommon among returnees. As stated by Stefansson (2004), returnees, particularly those that have been abroad for a longer duration, return with identity attributes that distinguish them from locals. The treatment from locals thus has a large impact on the returnees' reintegration strategy. In Ethiopia, the diaspora returnees frequently note that they are treated differently. It is thus unsurprising, that returnees choose to engage in enclavist networks. As stated above, these networks allow for mutual understandings of a shared experience.

For two of the enclavists, it appeared that their participation in enclavist networks was less of a direct choice, but more of a reflection that they were unable to bridge the divide to develop meaningful relationships with locals. One of the women in this group stated that she did not really have any friends in Ethiopia and just engaged with her family. She experienced several challenges in working with institutions in Ethiopia in an attempt to set up a business and relied on her family for assistance in mitigating these challenges.

The second woman had a romanticized vision of return; in that, she always wanted to eventually return to Ethiopia; however, upon return, she faced several challenges. This included being cheated in her business endeavours. She felt that she did experience hostility at being a "diaspora" and gender biases as being an unmarried woman. On the whole, her friendships with people that had never left were increasing, but her network was primarily diaspora. Overall, her values were predominantly American and she expressed several pieces of dissatisfaction with Ethiopian culture. She enjoyed being in her homeland and had an

altruistic desire to contribute to Ethiopia; however, she was not able to engage and manoeuvre within the culture in the way that the reintegrated did.

Returning to the definition of reintegration, enclavists cannot be viewed as successfully reintegrated across all dimensions as they self-identify themselves as not fully accepted into society. It is important to note that this can be chosen by the returnee and is not only dependent on the external environment. In addition, despite the challenges they faced and their choice for enclave networks, the three enclavists that chose to operate within enclavist networks were all successful in their businesses—therefore having a high level of economic reintegration. Furthermore, this group was able to access the rights and institutions necessary for their success.

Traditionalists

The traditionalists' category is comprised primarily of domestics, with some representation from the students and one professional falling within this category. The domestics fit either within the category of the traditionalists or the vulnerable. Those within the category of the traditionalists are domestics that either had a positive migration experience, or a high level of resilience to overcome the challenges that they faced in their migration upon their return.

As a whole, the domestics slightly deviate from the theoretically defined traditionalist reintegration category. The majority of domestics in the traditionalist's category were engaged in decided return; however, five of the traditionalist domestics were engaged in forced return. As discussed in Chap. 5, the majority of domestic returnees had low preparedness for return. Only six of the domestic traditionalists had medium or high preparedness for return. The majority of domestics therefore returned with some economic resources; however, these generally were not enough to make a sizeable impact on their quality of life. Some of the domestic traditionalists returned with no resources and were fortunate to receive familial support. Overall, the domestic traditionalists hovered on economic stability with many living on the edge of poverty.

Domestics did not have any opportunities for integration in the Middle East. They were servants, not equals in the country of migration, and with limited rights, there were limited opportunities for them to adapt or gain elements of the culture of the country of migration. Therefore, it is not that they adopted a segregated integration approach themselves; they were forced into a segregated integration position. When asked if they felt like they were part of a community in the country of migration, one participant responded: "You don't feel like that because I knew who I was and that I was an Ethiopian, so you don't feel like you belong" (Participant 64). Other participants further echoed this: "You don't feel like that. There is a big difference. I think they look at us like inferiors" (Participant 63). The cultures in the countries of the Middle East actively work to keep a separation between domestic workers and citizens. This is reflected in aspects such as the domestic worker uniforms in Saudi Arabia, which is the only clothing domestic workers are permitted to wear. This separation meant that there were very limited opportunities for domestics to adopt new cultural capital or to expand their social networks in the country of migration.

Finally, the traditionalist domestics do not return to positions of medium power upon return. Only three of the domestic returnees were able to start their own businesses. A few others were able to build or repair their homes, thus making changes in their families' quality of life. However, on the whole, domestics do not return to a position of medium power; on the contrary, they return powerless. As illustrated in Chap. 5, the majority of domestics are unemployed upon return and lack status or position within Ethiopian society. Upon return, traditionalist domestics' networks were primarily comprised of locals. Some domestics had networks with other returnees that they maintained in their return. Overall, however, domestic traditionalists had weak access to bridging social capital that could provide them access to resources.

A large gap exists between the theoretically defined traditionalist and the domestic traditionalist. The domestics in this category lacked the anticipated status, preparedness, and resources of the theoretically defined traditionalist. However, the domestics in this category were not in situations of vulnerability.

Three students were categorized in the traditionalist category. The key difference between these students' categorization as traditionalists and the students in the reintegration category is that the traditionalist students did not feel that their migration had changed their views or behaviour. Therefore, their cultural orientation was only towards the culture of Ethiopia.

It is noteworthy that these three students were specific cases within the sample. Two of the student traditionalists had been abroad for only 8 months, a shorter duration than the average duration abroad of the students. For one of these women, the migration experience was a failure and they returned to Ethiopia unable to complete their degree. The third traditionalist student was from an upper-class family in Addis Ababa and went abroad for her undergraduate degree. She returned at all of the school breaks (2–3 times per year) to Ethiopia, thus maintaining a highly transnational lifestyle during her degree, which is in contrast to the majority of the students. The traditionalist students therefore do not embody the same characteristics as the majority of the student's analytical group.

The traditional students also do not embody the theoretically defined traditionalist reintegration category. As mentioned above, two of the three students were only abroad for 8 months, not the minimum of 3 years, and one was engaged in a failed migration experience. On the other hand, all of these students had medium to high levels of preparedness for return. One of the traditionalist students did also return to establish their own business.

In returning to the definition of reintegration, the traditionalists are not reintegrated because they maintain their cultural and social identities during their migration, thus assimilating back into Ethiopian culture upon their return. The traditionalists had shorter migration experiences, were strongly oriented towards the culture of Ethiopia, defined themselves as Ethiopian, and had primarily local networks. In this case, the traditionalists also struggle with economic reintegration upon return as several traditionalists are unemployed. Moreover, they lack the networks to make connections and access resources that would assist them in improving their situations. Thus, the traditionalists are hypothesized to have no potential to vernacularize.

Vulnerable

For the purposes of this study, an individual who is vulnerable is defined as someone that is in need of special care due to the lasting impacts of their migration experience. Based on the reintegration categories, the vulnerable have been identified as having at least one of the following criteria: poverty to a degree that one does not have the ability to access rights and institutions, experiencing some level of social exclusion, and self-identify themselves as not being okay. A total of 13 participants are identified as being vulnerable, 12 are domestics, and one was a professional. The professional case is an anomaly from the sample and will not be discussed further.

All of the vulnerable domestics had low preparedness for return. Seven of the women were forcibly returned, and five engaged in decided return; however, those that engaged in decided return generally did so out of a necessity to leave a bad situation. This means that they were not prepared for their return and had not achieved their migration goals. Of the seven that were forcibly returned, three of these women were deported; however, they did want to return. This presents an interesting intersection of decided and forced return, wherein women in the Middle East want to return to Ethiopia, but cannot afford to pay their airfare and their employers refuse to pay their airfare and let them return. By fleeing their employer, they are placed in prison for violating their work permits. The state in the Middle East (country of migration) then either forces the employer to pay the return ticket or they are returned by Ethiopian Airlines. In either case, this form of forced return is desirable to the women, as they are able to escape a bad situation with their employer.

The majority of the women in vulnerable situations after return had experienced abuse in the country of migration. This included the forms of abuse described in Chap. 5 such as not being paid their salary, physical abuse, not being given food, emotional abuse, and social exclusion. Their vulnerability upon return is in part a lasting impact of this abuse.

Upon return, the majority of the women were welcomed by their families, which provide essential support for their recovery. Two of the women, however, experienced animosity from their families for not

being successful in their migration episode and making money. One woman's family was angry with her as the family had gone into debt to finance her migration and she returned without having paid back the debt. This form of a situation has been found in other cases of deportees, such as in Afghanistan. Schuster and Majidi (2013) highlight the power of shame in an unsuccessful return and the lack of understanding of families when other migrants are able to send remittances and the family member has returned empty-handed. It is evident that this leads to further isolation and vulnerability as the returnee lacks essential support structures needed after an enduring migration experience.

The majority of the vulnerable experience social isolation from the wider society upon return. Many of the vulnerable women do not want to go outside and engage in society. This can be for different reasons, including that people think they should have money or treat them differently than before, they are embarrassed about their appearance, or they simply prefer not to interact with people. One woman described her chosen isolation as follows:

> When people see me they say, "What happened to your hair? Your teeth? Your face? Why have you become like this?" They say things like this. It hurts me. They are afraid of how I became like this. They are confused and they make me confused too. (*Participant 05*)

For this reason, this participant did not like to leave her house. She preferred to stay at home and minimized the amount of time that she would have to leave her house. Due to the preference for limited social interactions, networks of the vulnerable are limited to primarily close family and relations. Vulnerable domestics have a small dense network that lacks bridging social capital. Cattell's (2001) work in East London identifies vulnerable people as having *socially excluded* networks "limited to a small number of membership groups, and a small number of people within those groups" (1507). Although Cattell identifies these people as single mothers, elderly, or refugees, this same principle and categorization of the social network can be applied to the vulnerable domestic returnees. In their return, the vulnerable domestics experience

social exclusion from Ethiopian society. For the most part, they are not able to access the services they need to improve their well-being. For instance, access to mental health workers could provide needed services to this group. Furthermore, the withdrawal of this group from society also means that they are not accessing institutions for assistance, such as employment opportunities.

As a whole, there is less variability within the vulnerable reintegration category as compared to the other categories. The vulnerable as a group are unhappy about their current situation. They identify that they either do not feel mentally well or do not feel like themselves. They are unhappy that they are dependent upon their families, were not able to achieve their migration goals, and have not improved their situations at all or have returned worse off than prior to their migration. One woman who was not fortunate to have a family to rely on was highly stressed at her unsuccessful migration, and although she did not want to re-migrate, she felt there was no other option as she needed to provide for herself. This vulnerability places women in a situation of continued vulnerability as they consider re-migrating. It is evident that the vulnerable have not successfully reintegrated.

The Potential to Vernacularize

Within the reintegration strategies, several assumptions were made regarding the potential of returnees to act as vernacularizers: first, the reintegrated have the greatest potential to vernacularize among the four groups; second, enclavists have less of a potential to vernacularize than the reintegrated; and third, traditionalists and vulnerable have no potential to vernacularize (Table 2).

Table 2 Reintegration strategies and potential to vernacularize

	Reintegrated	Enclaves	Traditionalists	Vulnerable
Potential to act as vernacularizer	High	Medium	Low	None

The results demonstrate that for the most part, these assumptions have held. Eleven of the participants were identified as vernacularizers, of which nine were reintegrated and two were enclavists. This confirms all of the above assumptions. For both of the enclavists that were identified as vernacularizers, their status as enclavists was a choice. That is, they chose to participate in ethnic enclaves and they had the ability to vernacularize with locals. This highlights the importance of agency and choice in the reintegration categories and the potential to act as vernacularizers. Both of these enclavists chose a preference for the culture of the country of migration. Simultaneously, they had a strong love of Ethiopia and a commitment to improve conditions in the country. They do this by acting as vernaularizers and assisting people in ways that they can to improve their situation by offering them mentoring, skills training, and employment. Through this, they expose these people to Western ways of working in terms of professionalism, respect, and presenting themselves. Therefore, enclavists that choose to be enclavists (are not enclavists because they are unable to reintegrate) are able to be vernacularizers and have the same potential as reintegrated vernacularizers to affect social change.

In order for return migrants to act as vernacularizers, they must meet certain conditions. The first condition is that return migrants must have the ability to integrate while abroad and have regular and meaningful outside interactions with their own culture. Second, returnees must have engaged in decided return and have had a high level of preparedness for return. Third, upon return, returnees must maintain their networks from abroad and continue to have regular outside connections to their local environment, which allows for the continual flow of new ideas. Fourth, returnees must be willing to work with locals and have the ability to frame discussions and topics in a way that key messages can be meaningfully communicated to locals. Fifth, returnees must occupy positions with high status in return, demonstrating prestige and according to mutual respect for others. Each of these conditions will be discussed in further detail.

Integration Abroad

In order to bring new ideas and values upon return, individuals must have an opportunity for integration while abroad. This includes that

first, the individuals must have the freedom to engage openly and meaningfully with locals or other foreigners, and second, that the individual chooses to value the culture of the country of migration. In order to integrate, migrants must have freedom of mobility and expression. The majority of domestic workers interviewed in this study did not have this. Without the ability to openly interact with locals, migrants cannot meaningfully gain new values, social and cultural capital. Second, when migrants do have the freedom to engage in the culture of the country of migration, they must choose to do so. As illustrated in Berry's model of integration, migrants must choose to value the culture of the country of migration. If migrants do not make this choice, they remain in ethnic enclaves and do not have the opportunity to acquire social and cultural capital. Hence, if a migrant lives in an ethnic enclave abroad, even if they return after 15 years abroad, they will have a low potential to vernacularize as they have not acquired new values, social and cultural capital.

Decidedness and Preparedness for Return

The preparedness model by Cassarino stresses the importance of decided return, voluntariness, resource mobilization, and preparedness for return:

> The returnee's preparedness refers to a voluntary act that must be supported by the gathering of sufficient resources and information about post-return conditions at home. (Cassarino 2004: 271)

In this study, it is illustrated that the professional returnees, who have engaged in decided return with high preparedness, have the greatest potential to impact social change. The students' return can be depicted as partially decided and partially coerced as they do not have visas to permit them to continue to stay in Europe for the long term. Simultaneously, however, the students wanted to return and decided to do so. This contrasts the situation of the many domestics that were engaged in enforced return, fighting to flee, or for some decided return.

The differences in these groups reflect not only voluntariness and preparedness for return, but also an essential skills dimension. It is possible that low-skilled returnees can also meet all of the conditions for having the potential to verncaularize, and the case of domestic returnees in this study is very specific. One of the domestic returnees that returned voluntarily with high preparedness did establish her own business upon return illustrating the ability of low-skilled returnees to also be successful.

Return migrants that do not engage in decided return and have low preparedness are the most likely to be vulnerable upon return. It is understandable that vulnerable returnees have a low potential to impact social change.

Sustained Transnational Networks upon Return

Ideas are always circulating, evolving, and growing. Through transnational network ties, individuals are able to maintain their connections to new ideas and ways of thinking evolving outside of their daily environment. These vital connections and ties promote the continued circulation of new ideas, culture, and connections for return migrants. They also enable return migrants to maintain a connection to the culture of the country of migration for the continual flow and circulation of culture and ideas that they bring to the country of return.

Professionals stated that they were regularly in contact with their transnational networks. The majority of professionals also engaged in regular visits (from every few months to once every 2 years) to the country of migration. Several of the professionals stated these trips were important for them in "getting out"—meaning that these trips allowed a difference in the daily environment and perspective.

Sustained transnational networks through mobile communications, regular visits, and travel allow the returnees to remain engaged in the globalized world. They have the opportunity to learn new ideas and apply new approaches and techniques from outside of Ethiopia. This ability for continual learning and global engagement increases the ability of returnees to be recurrent agents of social change.

Willingness to Work with Locals and Ability to Frame Discussions and Topics

In order to be able to impact social change, return migrants must choose to do so and must put the effort into creating and sustaining networks and relationships with locals. Return migrants act as vernacularizers by creating trust with locals and framing issues in a way that is accepted by the local culture. Establishing this trust is a process that takes time, and framing includes how one presents information, but also how one presents themselves.

Granovetter states "Much information is subtle, nuanced and difficult to verify, so actors do not believe impersonal sources and instead rely on people they know" (Granovetter 2005: 33). This quote reflects both of the above points that information is difficult and must be framed appropriately, and that people rely on people they know— and trust. In order to be able to transmit information to locals, return migrants must be able to establish trust and effective social networks with locals.

Part of establishing trust is how vernacularizers frame issues. Levitt and Merry described frames as

> Frames are not themselves ideas, but ways of packaging and presenting ideas that generate shared beliefs, motivate collective action, and define appropriate strategies of action (Snow et al. 1986; Tarrow 1998). Frames affect how problems are defined and understood, how causes of problems and their solutions are theorized and which perspectives are rejected completely. (Levitt and Merry 2009: 452)

Framing is essential to the success of vernacularizers. How an idea, topic, or issue is framed makes it appealing or threatening. In order to successfully communicate new ideas, vernacularizers must frame issues in a way that they are acceptable to the local population. One of the participants illustrated the efforts required to create connections and frame issues as follows:

> The locals, to get accepted, you have to act like a local… Most of the time they will not accept you. If you are diaspora they always think like- different kinds of directions. They have to believe you. You have to really change yourself, like oh I am one of you. You have to convince them, you have to be really strong…It takes time, but after that like, you will become ok. Most of the diaspora, they do not have local friends. (*Participant 58*)

Returnees must be able to first establish trust and then be able to frame issues appropriately. Vernacularizers must invest the time in relationships to build bridges and trust with locals. The ability to vernacularize thus requires sustained relationships with locals and the ability to frame issues in a way that local populations can embrace the messages as their own.

Status, Prestige, and Mutual Respect

Power and authority place people in positions of status and prestige, which lead to respect and influence. Being in positions of power enables returnees to make decisions regarding their staff, to act as leaders, and to challenge the status quo in the society of return. The professional returnees demonstrated respect for the dignity of labour (Sennett 2003). Sociologist Richard Sennett stresses the importance of mutual respect in the labour force, particularly in situations of inequality. There is a large gap between the returnees and their staff. The returnees are in positions of high status and prestige, but garner respect due to their mutual respect for their staff.

One example of this is from a woman who owned her own business and had a staff of approximately 40 people. Hierarchy is very established in Ethiopia within working culture. Some of the returnees have sought to break this down in their work practices:

> I called them [the employees] in here. I asked them to sit down and let us have a meeting and they said "no we are not going to sit next to you". Because this is the respect [you stand for the boss]. I said "no, if you don't sit, you do not have a job." And they all sat down. (*Participant 48*)

This participant insisted that her staff have more equality and felt that they were not inferior to her. She wanted to encourage freedom of communication and expression among her staff, which is common in North American and Western professional workplaces. These types of values are uncommon in Ethiopia and present an example of how this woman is bringing new values and ideas to the workplace of her business.

Due to their education, class, and networks, the majority of professional returnees occupied positions of status upon their return. Students were also able to acquire good positions upon return due to their education, but with lower levels of experience, they were not yet in comparable positions to the professionals in terms of hierarchy. These positions have a role in the returnees being granted respect. For the professionals, this was important when working with the government authorities to establish their own businesses. For students retuning to universities, their migration resulted in immediate higher levels of respect from their colleagues and students. Their superior position was also recognized by the students:

> They are respectful of the quality of education. The moment you tell people that you studied abroad then chances are greater that you would get a good job. So in that sense, I could say that I was treated somehow better. (*Participant 39*)

Through migration, the professionals and students have acquired human, social, and often financial capital that result in increased social status upon their return. By demonstrating mutual respect for those that are unequal to them, the returnees further act as leaders, demonstrating the potential to vernacularize in Ethiopia.

Moving Between Reintegration Strategies

As stated in the assumptions of the model in Chap. 2, *Return migrants reintegration strategies can change over time, that is, over the short and long term, depending, among others, on the type of networks in which return*

migrants are involved and on the resources they mobilize. An individual's reintegration strategy is a dynamic process. It can remain consistent over several years, or it can change dramatically between the reintegration strategies. Each of the dimensions plays a critical part in the reintegration strategies; as such, a change in any of the dimensions may lead to a change in the overall strategy.

The most common movements would be between the reintegrated and enclavist reintegration strategies or between the traditionalist and vulnerable reintegration strategies. This is due to the fact that the enclavist and reintegration strategies are aligned on the right side of the cultural orientation spectrum with high valuing of the culture of the country of migration. The traditionalists and vulnerable, on the other hand, are aligned on the left side of the cultural orientation spectrum with highly valuing the culture of the country of return. Cultural orientation is a significant dimension within the strategies. It is also possible, however, that an individual could move from the reintegrated or enclavist category to the traditionalist strategy. This could perhaps best be envisioned as someone who is reintegrated, and over time, their connection to the country of migration fades. They lose contact with their transnational networks and other returnees, stop making visits abroad, and focus themselves towards the culture of the country of return, redefining their self-identification as unidirectional and resulting in a change in reintegration strategy. It is more difficult to envision this change in reintegration strategy in the other direction, that is from traditionalist to reintegrated. Perhaps this could occur if the traditionalist increases their network ties to other returnees and rekindles network connections to the country of migration, resulting in an eventual change in their overall reintegration strategy. Possibly, one of the most dramatic changes in strategy would be from the vulnerable to the reintegrated strategy. This would require moving from a dual rejection to a dual acceptance. It is questionable as to if this could be realistic or not.

In essence, changes in the dimensions: cultural orientation, social networks, self-assessment, and access to rights, institutions, and the labour market can lead to an overall change in reintegration strategy. Networks and employment are essential components to the process

of changing strategies. Networks provide the connections required to engage with culture. Through network connections, individuals may change their cultural orientation, leading to a change in reintegration strategy. Employment is also a vital component, particularly for people moving out of the vulnerable strategy. Having access to the labour market, and having rights within the country of return, is essential to moving beyond a position of vulnerability.

The fluidity of the strategies and the ability to move between strategies highlight the importance of taking a long-term approach to reintegration. A return migrant's reintegration strategy may change with time and at different stages of their reintegration. For instance, upon a returnees' immediate arrival, they may be in the enclavist strategy, but by 1 year after return, they are in the reintegrated category. Reintegration is a process that takes time, and assessing reintegration too early after return may lead to misleading conclusions. The strategies must therefore always be understood as existing at one point in time.

Two examples were found in the analysis of women that moved between reintegration strategies. The first is the case of a woman moving from the vulnerable to the traditionalist reintegration category, and the second is the case of a woman moving from the enclavist to the reintegrated reintegration category.

In the first case, when Kidist[1] returned from the Middle East, she was in a situation of vulnerability. She had been working over 18 h per day in a household. She lost over ten kilos, began falling and fainted at work. Her employer took her to a hospital, and she was diagnosed with tuberculosis. Kidist was fortunate that her employer paid for her medical expenses in the hospital for 2 months. After this time, she was returned to Ethiopia. She wanted to continue her work, but her health was too poor, and against her wishes, she was returned. Upon return, Kidist was embarrassed to go out due to her weight loss. Prior to migration, she had been studying and now did not want to see her friends because she was ashamed. Kidist was able to attend a training school for domestic worker returnees. At the training school, she met another returnee that had been successful abroad and returned with enough savings to start her own business. They became good friends and opened

a restaurant together. Now Kidist is more comfortable in Ethiopia, she has friends and networks and is confident to engage with society.

Kidist's story shows how she moved from being in a situation of vulnerability upon return to being in the traditionalist reintegration strategy. Through the training opportunity, Kidist was able to make new network connections that connected her to resources that allowed her to start the business. She now feels optimistic about the future and is no longer stressed about her situation, as she was upon her initial return. This situation highlights the important of access to networks and opportunities. Through participation in this course, Kidist was able to transform her situation; however, without this opportunity, her situation may have remained in one of vulnerability.

In the second case, Mary returned from the USA to Ethiopia for the first time after 15 years to deal with her family's property restitution. She had not been planning to return permanently, but during her visit, she was offered a position in Ethiopia with an international organization and decided to take the opportunity. Upon her initial return, she found the culture very frustrating and her network primarily consisted of other returnees and expats. Mary felt that although she spoke the language, she could not communicate with locals. She was living within the enclavist reintegration strategy. One day, she expressed her frustration with Ethiopian culture to a friend, who explained to her aspects about the culture that led her to re-think her interpretation. This exchange was the tipping point of a process wherein she was changing her perspective towards Ethiopian culture. She began to appreciate the culture and move with less frustration. She changed jobs to work for a local organization and began to have daily interactions and regular friendships with locals. Through her change in employment and social networks, Mary moved from the enclavist to the reintegration strategy.

Mary's case highlights that specific experiences and access to certain types of information can be transformative in terms of the reintegration strategies. The strategies are not fixed and change over time with different resource acquisition and experiences. Formative events, networks, and the resources provided by the networks can instigate the change of the returnee between reintegration strategies.

The Reintegration Strategies

The analysis elicits several observations regarding return and reintegration. First, as stated by Cassarino (2004), return migrants are a heterogeneous group that necessitates distinctions being made between different return migrants. The analysis has illustrated that different types of return migrants (based on the analytical groups) have diverse migration and return experiences that impact their reintegration in different ways. Further to this, not only do different types of return migrants have different reintegration experiences, but also return migrants within the same groups have different reintegration experiences. Reintegration strategies are influenced by the multiple dimensions and vary by return migrants and across analytical groups.

Second, culture is an important element in migration and return. The integration literature is rooted in the concept that migrants bring new cultural elements to the country of migration that distinguishes them from the local population. Much of the return literature and previous definitions of reintegration suggest that return migrants return to their own culture. The refugee literature acknowledges that returnees do not necessarily return "home"; however, the focus is on resources, houses, structures, education systems, language, and other changes that may have occurred (Hammond 1999; Rogge 1994). These are elements that make up culture, but a direct discussion regarding changes in ways of being between returnees and the culture of the country of origin is less prominent in the literature. It is argued that if migrants "integrate" abroad, the propensity to acquire new cultural values and behaviours is higher. Therefore, upon return, it must be questioned whether they are returning to their own culture? Both the migration experiences abroad and the level of integration of the return migrant in the county of migration determine whether the returnee is in fact returning to "their culture" or not. This is reflected in the reintegration strategies as reintegrated, and enclavist return migrants bring elements of the culture of the country of migration with them in return, whereas the traditionalists do not bring elements of the culture of the country of return. The lack of acquisition of new values and behaviours of the traditionalists means

that they do not have the potential to vernacularize upon return from a cultural perspective. Reintegration is thus impacted by the migration and return experience and in specific the integration experience.

Upon return, return migrants can be reintegrated in different dimensions. Reintegration is a multidimensional concept, and returnees may be reintegrated in one dimension, but not in all dimensions. For instance, a returnee with high preparedness may have a thriving business and be highly reintegrated economically. At the same time, however, they may choose to only network with other returnees, distancing themselves from the local population and culture, thus existing in an enclavist network and lacking cultural reintegration. In this example, the returnee is reintegrated in the economic dimension (access to rights, institutions, and the labour market) but not in the cultural dimension. Thus, optimal reintegration is one wherein the return migrant is reintegrated across all dimensions.

It must be noted, however, that cultural reintegration is not only the responsibility of the return migrant. As stated by Berry in the integration literature: "integration can only be "freely" chosen and successfully pursued by non-dominant groups when the dominant society is open and inclusive in its orientation towards cultural diversity" (1997: 10). The country and culture of return must therefore offer a level of acceptance for new cultural elements and behaviours brought by returnees. If these cultural and behavioural attributes are rejected by the country of return, return migrants' only option is to assimilate to the culture of return, therefore rejecting the attributes acquired in migration, or to re-migrate. If return migrants reject the acquired identity attributes from the country of migration, which can include values, skills, and behaviours, then they do not have the potential to vernacularize upon return.

Not only does the returning society make a choice, but the return migrant also makes a choice as to if they accept or reject the culture of the country of return. In as much as the culture of the country of return can reject the returnees, the returnees themselves can limit their ability to vernacularize by choosing to segregate themselves from the culture of the country of return, as is evidenced in the enclavist reintegration strategy. Therefore, in order for returnees to have the maximum potential

to vernacularize, they must be optimally reintegrated across all dimensions, choose to maintain identity attributes from the culture of migration, and choose to integrate with locals. Even if returnees are prepared and have mobilized resources for their return, upon return, they make fundamental choices regarding their reintegration which impacts their ability to be agents of change.

In the same notion that return is a process, reintegration is a process unto itself. Reintegration takes time and resources. Different types of return migrants have different needs upon return and require different supports and resources for successful reintegration. For example, the reintegrated professionals need support in managing the local culture, whereas traditionalist domestics need support in training, and employment acquisition. Furthermore, with time, reintegration strategies can change as returnees acquire new resources through networks or other means that allow them to change between the reintegration strategies.

In this study, the low-skilled return migrants were not classified in the reintegration strategy; however, it should not be deduced that low-skilled migrants cannot fit within the reintegrated strategy. Domestic work is a specific form of migration, and in the Middle East, in particular, it excludes migrants from the wider society. Constable found that Filipina domestic workers in Hong Kong, who were allowed much greater freedoms than workers in the Middle East, "develop a plural vision that allows—perhaps requires—them to create a new place to fit in both in Hong Kong and the Philippines" (1999: 224). These women had developed new freedoms and independence in Hong Kong that they sought to bring with them back to the Philippines. Constable's study was conducted in Hong Kong, but she argues that upon return, they will be in a different space having adopted new desires, options, and visions from their migration (1999). Therefore, their cultural orientation would include elements of the country of migration, and it is possible that upon return, these women could adopt a reintegrated reintegration strategy. Low-skilled workers that migrate to other countries and have the opportunity to interact with locals may have very different experiences than the domestic workers in this study. For instance, individuals that receive temporary protection visas for a few year period

in a European country and then opt for assisted voluntary return may potentially be classified as reintegrated. They may be able to bring back cultural orientations and maintenance that place them within the reintegrated category.

Summary

This chapter has assessed the reintegration strategies of the return migrants and the relationship between the different reintegration strategies and the potential of the return migrants to act as vernacularizers. Further, this chapter assessed how returnees can move between the reintegration strategies illustrating that the reintegration strategies and the potential of return migrants to act as vernacularizers are fluid concepts that both change with time. On the whole, the reintegration strategies take a step further towards understanding the multidimensionality of reintegration, the challenges of reintegration for different return migrants, and how reintegration experiences impact the potential of returnees to act as vernacularizers upon return.

Note

1. Names have been changed.

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Conclusion

Every day thousands of people return to their homelands and begin a process of adjustment. Our understandings of reintegration are evolving, and this study has aimed to make a contribution to unpacking this complex process through the development of the reintegration strategies. This final chapter will provide a summary of the main findings of the study, explore the implications of the reintegration strategies, provide a final overview of return and reintegration in Ethiopia, assess the application of the model beyond the case study, and offer final remarks.

Main Findings: Reintegration Strategies

The objective of this study was to increase understandings of reintegration and the process of reintegration for different return migrants. The first step was to *define reintegration*. Through a comprehensive literature review of migration, forced migration, integration, transnationalism, social networks, and social change, this study has put forth a new definition of reintegration. As stated in the introduction and demonstrated in this study, current definitions of reintegration do not account

for the two-way process of adaptation of both the return migrant and the return society that is required for reintegration. Second, it is evident that many returnees do not return to their own culture. Returning to the quote on the first page of this book, the participant herself highlights that cultures and places are always changing. How you remember a place is different than how it is when you return. Returnees must find their place to fit in, and this is part of the process of reintegration.

Taking into account these factors, reintegration has thus been defined in this study as the process in which return migrants are supported in maintaining their cultural and social identities by the host society and the whole population acquires equal civil, social, political, human, and cultural rights. This definition takes into account that returnees do have different cultural and social identities that they have acquired in their migration experiences. Upon return, these are often not absolved. The country of return, inclusive of the government, local population, and labour markets, must be willing to be open and accepting of returnees' cultural and social identities in order for returnees to have an optimal reintegration. If the country of return rejects the returnees, then reintegration will be an illusion. This was the case cited by Steffanson (2004) in Bosnia wherein locals and the local government rejected returnees, thus resulting in return enclaves and a lack of reintegration for returnees.

This leads to the *process of reintegration*. Central to understanding the process of reintegration is to recognize that returnees are a highly heterogeneous group. The term return migration incorporates broad groups of people that are very different from each other, as was demonstrated in the case study with the comparisons between the professionals, students, and domestics. It is essential to note that the structural and cultural environment of return and the individuals' reintegration strategy are different for different groups of migrants, and even within groups of migrants. This has direct implications for policy and practice in that one policy should not be expected to meet the needs of all returnees, and second, that we cannot expect similar outcomes from all returnees. For instance, we cannot assume that all return migrants will contribute to development when, as demonstrated in this study, specific conditions must be met in order for returnees to have the potential to act as vernacularizers.

There are central factors that shape the reintegration processes of return migrants. First is the life cycle of the returnee. This includes the experiences and class of the returnee prior to migration, their experiences abroad and opportunities for integration, and their process, and preparedness for return. The situation of migrants prior to their migration and their class differences often dictates their migration opportunities. For instance, students are able to migrate to Europe for a master's degree due to their positions. The students that receive these opportunities are the top of their field. Their opportunities are quite different than the domestics' whose only tangible opportunities for migration are for domestic work.

These different migration flows lead to fundamental differences in the country of migration. In the country of migration, the opportunities for integration are central to the migrant being able to acquire new cultural and social identities, and to gain skills and resources for their return. The majority of the students found the exposure to the culture of the countries of Europe as transformative. The opportunities to see female empowerment and the way of life in Europe were motivational to this group. This greatly contrasts with the situation of domestic workers, wherein many of the participants were not able to leave the house of their employers and develop networks with other domestics, nevertheless locals. Their sheer isolation prevented any opportunities for gaining cultural and social capital in the country of migration. Opportunities for integration are thus essential for migrants to gain cultural and social capital that can be brought with them in their return.

In order for returnees to optimize their reintegration upon return, they must be prepared for return and have engaged in a decided return. Cassarino's preparedness theory (2004) demonstrates that decided returnees are more likely to contribute to development. This study has the same finding in that return must be decided in order for returnees to have a high potential to contribute back home. Return preparedness means that resources and information have been acquired for return, such as a home, employment, or an established network. In essence, a prepared returnee has a strategy for their reintegration. Enforced or coerced returnees, on the other hand, have limited resources available for their return and low preparedness. Upon return, they do not have established opportunities and struggle to re-establish themselves.

There are Four Elements that Shape the Reintegration Strategies of Returnees. First, there is the cultural orientation of the return migrants, where they fit upon the spectrum of valuing the culture of the country of migration to valuing the culture of the country of origin/ return. This is a spectrum wherein returnees can be far to one end or the other end, or in the middle of the spectrum. For optimal reintegration and the potential to vernacularize, return migrants find a balance between the two cultures and are in the middle of the spectrum.

The Importance of Cultural Orientation Stresses that Culture Matters. As stated by Levitt and Lamba-Nieves (2013), there is a need to bring culture back into migration debates. Migration and return can result in increased cultural capital, and reintegration includes decisions regarding cultural orientation and finding ways to embrace two cultures in return. The reintegrated professionals in the study exemplified the way to do this and were able to "move between two cultures with comfort and ease". This is not always possible. Culture can also be a barrier to reintegration. Enclavists are often not able to overcome the cultural barriers between the country of migration and the local culture. This places them on the outside and operating only within return enclaves.

The second dimension is social networks. Networks provide access to resources and information essential in the process of reintegration. In the case analysis, professionals often make the most of their networks to gain valuable information for their reintegration. Access to and use of networks assisted professionals in establishing their own businesses and learning about the culture of return from locals. Networks are not only a key element in the reintegration process; they play a vital role in moving between reintegration strategies, as will be discussed further below.

The third dimension of self-identification is essential in reintegration as it reflects a return migrant's sense of identity and belonging. It is noteworthy that even enclavists still feel a strong sense of belonging to Ethiopia. They do identify with a bidirectional self-identification that is slightly stronger towards the culture of migration, but they still have a strong identification with the country of return. There is arguably a tipping point along the spectrum of self-identification. Those that would be further towards the country of migration than the enclavists would

presumably have re-migrated to the country of migration or would not return at all. Further investigation of those that returned and then re-migrated to the country of migration would be required to assess whether this is the case.

The final dimension is access to rights, institutions, and the labour market. Economic reintegration is essential for successful reintegration. For the domestics, one of the greatest hurdles to reintegration was labour market reintegration. Lacking employment places people in a situation of susceptibility that must be overcome in order for them to have a successful reintegration. This dimension also includes citizenship rights, and it is noteworthy that although many of the professionals do not have citizenship rights, they still have the greatest access to institutions in Ethiopia due to their social class.

Reintegration is Multidimensional. Returnees can be integrated in only one dimension, in two dimensions, in three dimensions or across all four dimensions. Too often, labour market reintegration is association as an individual being "reintegrated". This study emphasizes a holistic view on reintegration and illustrates that the other dimensions are just as important as labour market reintegration. If a returnee cannot establish a sense of belonging in the country of return, then they will most likely re-migrate, as suggested above. Optimal reintegration occurs when returnees are reintegrated across the dimensions.

The Interplay Between the Four Dimensions Results in the Different Reintegration Strategies of Return Migrants. The resulting reintegration strategies show how different return migrants reintegrate. The four reintegration strategies of reintegration, enclavists, traditionalists, and vulnerable provide a typology for characterizing return migrants' different strategies in return. It is evident that not only different categories of return migrants (in this case, professionals, students, and domestics) have different reintegration strategies, but also returnees *within* categories have different reintegration strategies.

The Reintegration Strategy of a Returnee is a Fluid Concept that Changes Over Time as Returnees Can Move Between Reintegration Strategies. When

speaking about reintegration strategies, it is crucial to understand that factors shaping reintegration back home are not fixed in time and that *some* return migrants may redefine their own patterns of reintegration whereas others may not. This aspect constitutes a key finding of this research. The primary factors shaping the passage from one reintegration strategy to another are social networks and labour market opportunities. Through social networks, returnees can change their cultural orientation and self-identification. For example, through network ties, returnees can increase their connections with locals, which may broaden their openness to the culture of the country of origin and increase their feelings of belonging in the country of origin. This may result in a change from the enclavist reintegration strategy to the reintegrated reintegration strategy.

As previously stated, in theory, a change could be made from any one of the reintegration strategies to any other; however, it is suspected that the most common changes would be either from the enclavist to the reintegrated or from the vulnerable to the traditionalist. Further research and exploration of the reintegration strategies would be required to better understand the process of more dramatic changes in reintegration strategies.

The final key element of this study was an examination of how the reintegration strategies impact the potential of return migrants to act as vernacularizers upon return. Vernacularizers are defined as individuals that "take the ideas and practices of one group and present them in terms that another group will accept" (Levitt and Merry 2009: 446). The objective of this study was to understand how the reintegration strategies impact and empower the women to be able to share new ideas with the local population and their social environment and to frame issues in a way that will be accepted and embraced by the local population. ***In order to act as vernacularizers, returnees must be able to overcome cultural barriers to frame issues in a way that is relevant to locals, and second, returnees must be in positions of relative power in order to have the greatest impact.*** This leads to the five conditions required for return migrants to have the potential to act as vernacularizers: (1) ability to integrate while abroad; (2) voluntariness and preparedness for return; (3) sustained networks upon return;

(4) willingness to work with locals and ability to frame discussions and topics; and (5) occupying a position of power and demonstrating mutual respect for others. Only when returnees meet all five of these conditions, which further implies that they are optimally reintegrated across the dimensions, are they able to have a high potential to vernacularize. In this study, only 14% of the participants met this criterion and had a high potential to act as vernacularizers. Therefore, ***under the right conditions, return migrants can have a high potential to be agents of change in their societies of return. It cannot be assumed, however, that all returnees have this potential***. This study has demonstrated that there is a *direct link between reintegration and the potential of returnees to have impact on their societies of return.* Reintegration is a complex process, and different reintegration strategies result in different potentials to vernacularize.

Implications of the Reintegration Strategies

In our increasingly globalized world, there is a central recognition that societies are becoming more diverse and plural. Debates regarding assimilation, multiculturalism and integration have been actively occurring across Europe, North America and Australia for decades. Yet, the reverse cultural influence and changes to local societies due to globalization, migration, and return are less understood. This relationship is often discussed in terms of progress, such as the transformative effects of the skills gain in India, the globalization of production, and increasing knowledge workers. The impact of returnees and migration on local communities more broadly has been explored through social remittances (Levitt 2001) and transnationalism in recent decades. Increasing attention is being brought to these issues over the last decade, but key debates regarding plurality in society and cultural diversity of returnees at the national level in countries of return are infrequent occurrences.

It is evident from this study that ***culture is a central tenant in understanding return and reintegration***. Amassari and Black (2001) put forth that the potential of returnees to contribute to development was based on their transfer of financial, social, and human capital to

their countries of return. This study highlights the need to include cultural capital. Culture has wide implications for return and reintegration and can no longer be overlooked in the reintegration process.

This study has demonstrated the importance of recognizing the heterogeneity of return migrants and the different potentials and abilities of return migrants. It simply cannot be assumed that all return migrants will contribute to development. There must be a fundamental acceptance of the heterogeneity of returnees: recognition of the conditions that empower returnees to have the potential to vernacularize and share new ideas with their social environment, versus the acknowledgement of the needs and vulnerability of other returnees. Individuals in situations of vulnerability upon return need support. Policies and practitioners need to recognize the differences between different return migrants, where they are in their reintegration process, and what potential they have to be of benefit to the country of return or what assistance they need to become productive members of society.

Female Return and Reintegration in Ethiopia

This section will bring the assessment back to the case analysis of Ethiopia, as the structural and cultural environment of return plays a vital role in the reintegration of returnees. In Chap. 3, it was determined that for professionals and students, who have been assessed as the vernacularizers in this study, the overall structural and cultural environment towards returnees is neutral. In returning to Table 6 from Chap. 2, it is necessary to add a row to the table to depict the neutral structural and cultural environment of return. Table 1 shows that a neutral structural and cultural environment of return would result in the reintegrated having a medium-high potential to vernacularize and enclavists having a medium-low potential to vernacularize.

The local population was assessed in Chap. 3 as slightly adverse to return migrants. This was stated as locals do not consider diaspora returnees as "really Ethiopian" and professionals have stated how they have needed to work to overcome these stigmatizations in order to create meaningful relationships with locals. Locals will tell you in Addis

Table 1 Vernacularization potential of the reintegration strategies and conditions of the structural and cultural environment of return

Structural environment	Reintegrated	Enclaves	Traditionalists	Vulnerable
Favourable	High	Medium	Low	None
Neutral	Medium–High	Medium Low	Low	None
Adverse	Medium	Low	Low	None

Ababa that changes from the returnees are evident all around you. Every corner has another restaurant from a returnee, named for where they were *Canada café, Amsterdam* or *La Parisenne*. The feelings from locals are that returnees think they are superior. Furthermore, locals berate returnees as being low-skilled people who went and worked at the Dollar Store and have now returned with some money thinking they are better than everyone else.

This creates a difficult environment for women to overcome, build trust, and disseminate new values and ideas. The participants in this study agreed that it took them time and effort to build these bridges. They themselves had to have an open mind and be willing to keep trying to overcome the challenges they faced in order to be accepted by locals.

Several of the women interviewed also identified further challenges of being a woman in Ethiopia. Traditionally, the culture of Ethiopia has been patriarchal. The World Economic Forum Global Gender Gap Indices ranks Ethiopia as 118/135 in the world (2012). The indices assess gender relations on economic, political, education and health-based criteria. It must be noted that there is a significant difference between rural Ethiopia and urban areas, especially Addis Ababa. The capital is considered to be far more gender balanced. Several of the participants in this study stated that they did not feel they experienced gender discrimination; however, this contrasted approximately 50% that did cite gender discrimination. Of the women that cited gender challenges, they recognized that changes were occurring in Ethiopia, but that there was still an existing gender gap. One participant stated this as follows:

Well this culture is now changing, a lot more is done. We are working towards appreciating and respecting women and also realizing the importance of women in society. I personally believe they are more important

than…But anyway. Coming here the cultural thing was- the man is the more important one. It's not every day, not everybody says it in your face- But it is there. Even on the streets you know? I was working for some institution then and I would be driving this four-wheel drive, and people would say, a woman is driving this car! And it's like I am the woman, the car is gender free- it's a car, it can still hit you. But little subtle things. The men earn the respect immediately you know, when we were on that side [country of migration] we're equal. If anything I got the respect actually, I was Mrs.. I was never…you know. When I had my children it was with lots of respect my right was there! Here I am not going to say my right was taken because it wasn't clearly taken but it was subtly, it's under the table it's there. So it kind of irritates you. (*Participant 36*)

Students also expressed challenges with gender roles. One student stated:

Let me put it in this way, you have to be decent as a woman, as a young lady. It is a very big deal when you speak what you think, you know, you cannot speak what you think. Also time you have to be shy a little bit, decent. When I was there I was speaking my mind you know, I talk what I want and I talk what I feel. When I come here it was difficult for me. (*Participant 53*)

In addition to having the reintegration struggles of being a diaspora returnee, women have the additional challenge of finding their place within a male-dominated culture.

If men had been included in this study, I hypothesize that reintegration may have been slightly different for men in the Ethiopian context. This is because men are automatically accorded respect and prestige in return, whereas women are still fighting the gender gap. Several professional return-ees mentioned anecdotally that reintegration is much easier for men as they have further status in Ethiopia upon return, whereas women have been accustomed to gender equality abroad and must readjust to gender hierar-chies in Ethiopia upon return. I suspect that this additional challenge is felt throughout the entire reintegration process and influences the strategies that women adopt in their return. Perhaps professional Ethiopian male returnees may be more likely to opt for the traditionalist reintegration strategy as they

may prefer the culture of Ethiopia to the culture of the country of migration. Further research would be required to test this in Ethiopia.

It is for these reasons that I was particularly interested to examine the experiences of female return migrants. Women returnees experience multiple layers of reintegration challenges that include being a returnee, being a woman, and for the most part, not fitting the mould of expectations in Ethiopia. The reintegrated and enclavist professionals and students in this study exemplified women that are challenging the status quo in Ethiopia. Reintegrated female returnees have the potential to be instigators of social change in Ethiopia due to their abilities to act as vernacularizers and frame new ideas in an acceptable manner for local culture.

Beyond Ethiopia: The Applicability of the Reintegration Strategies to Other Cases

This study has brought forth a new typology for understanding reintegration and has tested this typology in the case analysis of Ethiopia. The results of the study lead to many questions for further research, refinement of the typology, and its application to other cases.

This case analysis was a qualitative assessment aimed at emphasizing the analytical relevance of reintegration strategies. The methodology allowed for depth of information and interpretation in an iterative cycle of analysis. It would be necessary to next quantify the reintegration strategies and test the typology among a large and diverse sample of returnees. This would allow for further understandings as to how different types of returnees reintegrate, if there are differences in gender, age, skills, and other variables. The limited and defined categories in this study have allowed for clear distinctions between returnees, but do not allow for broader interpretations of differences based on such characteristics.

Key return groups that were not included in this sample are repatriated refugees, assisted voluntary returnees, and decided low-skilled returnees. I would argue that the typology is still relevant for both of these groups. In a study conducted in Burundi (Fransen and

Kuschminder 2012), it was found that repatriated refugees from Tanzania to Burundi that had been abroad for a long duration struggled upon return with language and the culture of Burundi. As refugees in Tanzania, these returnees gained *cultural capital* and changed their cultural and social identities. Upon return to Burundi, they struggled with the local culture and were primarily return enclavists, wherein they only interacted with locals out of necessity and pleasantry and did not have meaningful social networks with locals. This study was conducted with a specific group of returnees in two communities. Of the 500,000 returnees to Burundi, there are most likely many other reintegration strategies. In essence, however, the typology should still be applicable to repatriating refugees and various other categories of returnees. This will have to be explored through further research and analysis, which should result in refinement of the strategies and a deepening understanding of reintegration.

Final Remarks

There are several areas of further research to be explored from this study, and I will highlight two specific areas of interest. The first is the need for longitudinal studies on reintegration. As stated, reintegration strategies can change over time. Longitudinal work would allow for more in-depth understandings of how peoples' processes of reintegration evolve over time and the specific factors that drive the process of moving between reintegration strategies. This aspect of the framework requires further elaboration, which could be addressed through a study tracing returnees at several points in time over a 5–10-year process of reintegration. This would also provide insight into the critical point at which returnees are in a position to redefine their reintegration strategies. It is important to understand the factors leading to this situation from a policy perspective as countries seek to attract their nationals to return.

A second area for further research is to understand the impact of return on social change. This is difficult to measure; however, expanding the focus of the study beyond only returnees and to members of their networks that are impacted by them may elicit new observations

regarding the impact of returnees on the local population and social change. In a study on knowledge transfer of temporary returnees to Afghanistan, speaking to colleagues and students of the temporary returnees elicited several key points that were not raised by the returnees themselves (Kuschminder 2014). This approach may lead to similar results with the reintegration strategies and is an area for further exploration.

The reintegration strategies require further testing, questioning, and refining. There are many caveats to be explored in understanding reintegration. In essence, this study has sought to demonstrate that reintegration can be just as complex as migration and that it is not only the role of the returnee to ensure their reintegration, but also the role of the entire society of return. Countries of return are increasingly seeking to attract their migrants to return for the purposes of knowledge transfer, skills, and capacity development. They must recognize and understand the role that they themselves and the local population play in reintegration. Promoting a culture of openness and welcomeness to their returnees will assist in the reintegration process and in general lead to tolerant societies open to cultural diversity and change.

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