

REINTEGRATING RETURNED MIGRANTS TO KOSOVO

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Abstract. *The purpose of this paper is to review the existing literature on returned migrants from developed countries to low and middle income countries with specific focus on Kosovo as a high outmigration country. This new situation has caught most of the Kosovo governmental and civil society institution unprepared as there were no specific policies or programs that addressed the needs of the returned migrants. The results of analysis of research articles and reports are presented from Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems perspective and they indicate: high prevalence of PTSD and other common mental health problems among returned migrants after the war in 1999. Risk factors include being women, belonging to minority group, low education. One other consistent findings in most of studies was that respondents that reported lack of social support (community, friends and family) reported higher mental health problems and more difficulties in reintegration. Research reports that looked at the return of migrants primarily that migrated after the war in 1999 and returned in Kosovo found: that at the individual level those that had longer period of stay abroad, returned involuntarily and being Roma had more problems with adaptation and reintegration. At the micro-level, poor housing conditions, lack of family and friend support was overall found to be negatively related to adaptation, business initiative and health issues of returned migrants. At the macro-level, unemployment and the overall economic situation were a constant risk factor. Our recommendations in policy level suggest that existing policy papers to include support to vulnerable groups such children with special needs, citizens of Roma community, single mothers and people with mental health problems to be included in the existing Kosovar strategy for return migration in order to receive support upon return. In program level we suggest development of school interventions that would target specifically the education of returned children. We recommend development and implementation of multifamily group interventions taking in consideration the limited resources in Kosovo. Research level recommendations suggest to focus on individual resilience factors and development and evaluation of intervention projects that promote individual and family resilience.*

Keywords: return migration; Kosovo; Low Middle Income Countries; reintegration; forced return of migrants; voluntary return; policy return migration

This paper reviews research on the psychosocial adaptation of returned migrants. Most of this research was conducted by international organizations that operated voluntary return programs. The purpose of this review is to highlight the factors that help or hinder reintegration of returned migrants so as to appropriately recommend actions in policies, programs, and research level. Paper reviews the identified factors from perspective of Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory (Bronfenbrenner, 1979).

This paper was written in 2015 while Europe was facing one of the largest humanitarian crisis after WWII with the arrival of Syrian refugees. At the very same time Kosovo is experiencing the reverse, expecting to receive back approximately 50,000 migrants whose asylum request was not accepted in EU countries. Our hope is that someday Syrian refugees will be able to return to their home and that the findings of this study could also help to inform policies and programs to help ease their plight.

KOSOVAR MIGRATION

High out-migration is the rule rather than exception in Kosovo. Currently 21.4% of Kosovo's population lives abroad (ASK, 2014). Over the past century Kosovo has experienced multiple different waves of migration (UNDP, 2014). Pre-1989 unskilled men with little education emigrated to Germany and Switzerland as guest workers. From 1989-1997 when Kosovo autonomy was abolished, skilled and educated young men migrated from rural and urban areas to European countries. From 1998-1999, 800,000 people escaped or were forced from their homes as result of war. Lastly, post 1999 there was a constant small-scale migration to EU countries mainly for economic and family reunion purposes. However there was a major shift in the migration flow in 2014 when a large number (estimated at 50,000) of Kosovars using illegal corridors headed to EU countries (predominantly Germany) in the quest for better economic and social conditions. Most of them crossed illegally border from Serbia to Hungary. If caught by Hungarian police, they claim asylum in Hungary. However most of them even those that claimed asylum in Hungary, continue further to Germany. The number of asylum seekers from Kosovo to EU countries has steadily increased since 1999 (see Figure 1). The number of asylum

seekers especially increased from 20,226 in 2013 to 37,895 in 2014. Kosovo was ranked as the third country of asylum seekers after Syria and Afghanistan (see Figure 1). 48,900 of first time asylum applicants reviewed in EU countries or 26% of the total number of first time applicants in EU during the first quarter of 2015 were from Kosovo (Eurostat, 2015). This composes about 1.8% of the total population of Kosovo. One to two percent of Kosovar asylum seekers will be granted asylum and all others will be returned to Kosovo, either voluntarily or forcibly.

The wave of migration which occurred between November 2014 and January 2015 surprised institutions in both Kosovo and asylum receiving countries. The majority of these asylum seekers requested asylum in Germany and so far the official declaration was that Kosovo is a safe country and all the asylum seekers from Kosovo will be returned. This new situation has caught most of the Kosovo governmental and civil society institution unprepared as there were no specific policies or programs that addressed the needs of the returned migrants.

Most of these asylum seekers are either solo young males or families with children who are seeking better social and economic conditions. In a rapid assessment conducted by Kosovo Ministry of European Integration (IOM, 2015) the two main factors leading to

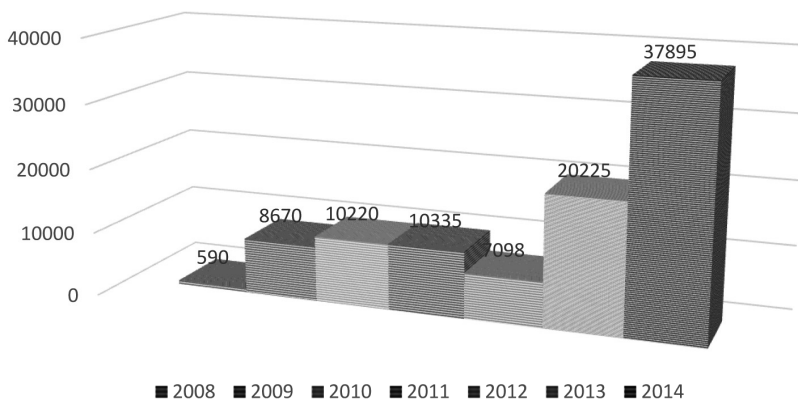


FIGURE 1. NUMBER OF ASYLUM SEEKERS FROM KOSOVO IN EU COUNTRIES FROM 2008-2014 (SOURCE EUROSTAT, 2015)

migration were economic and family reunification, Kosovo according to the World Bank is Low Middle Income Country (LMIC) with highest levels of unemployment in Europe 35.3% (ASK, 2015). Another important factor was the spread of misinformation via social media which claimed that Germany was accepting seasonal workers from Kosovo. This is important because Kosovars are the only citizens of Balkan countries that are unable to travel to the European Schengen area without a visa. This rumor was taken as true by many Kosovars who illegally migrated to EU countries often by paying high fees to smugglers. Some even sold their properties in order to cover the travel costs.

The official declarations of European host countries stated that Kosovar migrants will be returned as Kosovo is considered a safe country. Rejected asylum seekers are already being returned, either voluntary or forced. Voluntary means that the rejected asylum seeker agrees to return on his/her free will. Forced return means that the rejected asylum seeking is removed by force from the host country. In practice, many voluntary returns given no alternative other than forced return (ECRE, 2012, Weber, 2011), which has been referred as compelled return (Cassarino, 2004). Some voluntary returnees, especially those from Germany, are provided support from programs such as pre-departure and post-arrival reintegration assistance (IOM, 2005).

POLICIES, PROGRAMS, AND RESEARCH CONCERNING KOSOVAR MIGRATION

POLICIES. In 2013 Kosovo developed a national strategy for the reintegration of repatriated persons in Kosovo. This strategy specified the roles and responsibilities of

central and local authorities in the process of reintegration of returned migrants. The strategy prioritized single mothers, children, children with special needs, elderly without family care, the Roma community, people with mental health problems and no family care, families with poor economic conditions, and victims of human trafficking. There has been no impact evaluation of the strategy and action plan to date. The total budget for its implementation has decreased from 3.170 million euro in 2013 to 2.112 million euros in 2015 (KIPRED, 2015). The strategy provided subsidies for families and individuals that have returned involuntarily for rent, food and medicines. The period of support was limited to few months. The problem is that the 50,000 persons who are expected to be returned from the November 2014 to January 2015 are not eligible for these benefits because they only apply to those that migrated before August 2010. No new policy initiatives have been established that will offer support to this significant number of new returned migrants.

PROGRAMS. There are a limited number of assistance programs for returned migrants to Kosovo. These are mainly provided by German NGO's and GO's. For example, the programs such AWO¹ and APPK² offer direct services to returned migrants such as reintegration counseling, psychological counseling, educational classes, support in starting small businesses etc. These services are offered to those returned from Germany on a voluntary basis. Germany was the main destination of Kosovar asylum seekers.

RESEARCH. There is limited research on migration and its overarching consequences in Kosovo. Most of the studies conducted have focused on the economic aspects of migration, whereas very few have focused on the social

¹ AWO Nuremberg is an organization working on the reintegration of people returning to their homeland from Germany. The volunteers returning to their homeland are informed, qualified and supported as well as accompanied in cooperation with the repatriation counselling office. See <http://www.awo-nuernberg.de/en/migration-und-integration/the-kosovo-project.html>

² APPK offers socio-economic reintegration support and capacity building of different focus groups, by ensuring their socio-economic sustainability and professional advancement. See <http://www.appk.org/web/index.php?lang=en>

and health consequences of migration (Arenliu, Weine, Hoxha, Jemini-Gashi, 2015). This paper is the first attempt to summarize the existing data and knowledge available on the return migration to Kosovo.

RETURN MIGRATION

Stricter asylum seeking policies in EU countries are consequently producing higher number of rejected asylum seekers. The return of these migrants is not an easy process. Deportation as return method are considered expensive, politically complex and have been criticized on human rights bases (Whyte, & Hirsland, 2013). Return through voluntary return programs or voluntarily in general remains the preferred method of return. Overall the process of asylum seeking and waiting for the answer is characterized by high psychological distress, and mental health and health problems (Ryan, Kelly & Kelly, 2009; Gerritsen, Bramsen, Devillé, Van Willigen, Hovens, & Van Der Ploeg, 2006).

There is limited literature from other countries regarding returned migrants reintegration and their social, health consequences (Carr, 2014). This also might be as only 13% of EU countries followed what happened in post-deportation period (European Commission DG Justice, Freedom and Security, 2011).

Overall, voluntary and assisted programs have better outcomes than forced deportation (Kleist & Bob-Milliar, 2013). Return migration especially when done forcibly has been associated with mental health and health problems among: IDP returning to their homes after war (Siriwardhana & Stewart, 2013), irregular migrants (PICUM, 2007), and injecting drug users (Ojeda, Robertson, Hiller, Lozada, Cornelius, Palinkas, & Strathdee, 2011).

Most of the existing literature on returned Kosovars is focused on those who left as result of war in 1999 and some on those who migrated after 1999 and returned after their asylum request was rejected. We will summarize the results of our review of these papers.

LITERATURE REVIEW OF RETURNED MIGRANTS IN KOSOVO

Reviewed studies (see Table 1) with the returned migrants that left Kosovo as result of the war indicate that most of these migrants returned between 1999 and 2001. These returnees had a high prevalence of traumatic stress, mental health problems and health issues (Eytan et al. 2011; Von Lersner et al. 2008; Toscani et al. 2007; Roth et al. 2006). PTSD related to the 1999 war persisted among returned migrant in Kosovo after 1.5 years and in another study after 6 years. Similar trends of high prevalence of depression, hopelessness, suicide ideation were also found among returned Roma children and adolescents (Knaus, 2012). The mental health outcomes were significantly related to housing conditions, work availability and health care issues (Von Lersner, 2008).

Unemployment and forced return were also associated with poorer mental health (Von Lersner et al. 2008). Another factor negatively influencing the adaptation and reintegration was the length of stay in the host country. Length of stay was related to so called "dependence syndrome" whereby longer stays were associated with more apathy, helplessness and lack of self-initiated actions. Long terms refugees and asylum seekers were typically not allowed to work and were dependent on state subsidies. Those that had the support of friends and family in the country of origin had more success in reintegration. Toscani et al. (2007) found that war refugees returned from Switzerland reported high level of PTSD symptoms. Those with PTSD were significantly: less likely to have family members in the same city where they resided, were staying in someone else home, and received less support from local community. Eytan et al. (2011) found that female sex, older age and low education were variables associated with PTSD and depression diagnoses 8 years after return.

Knaus (2007) found that minority groups such as Roma had extreme hardships in reintegration. For example 70% of the children dropped out of school and most suffered from

TABLE 1
SUMMARY OF THE ARTICLES AND RESEARCH REPORTS ON MENTAL HEALTH OF RETURNED KOSOVAR
MIGRANTS FROM EU COUNTRIES – PERIOD OF MIGRATION 1999 AS RESULT OF WAR

Source	Sample/Study Description	Purpose	Results
1. Von Lersner, U., Wiens, U., Elbert, T., & Neuner, F. (2008). Mental health of returnees: refugees in Germany prior to their state-sponsored repatriation. <i>BMC international health and human rights</i> , 8(1), 8.	Researchers interviewed 47 participants of voluntary assisted programs prior to return to their country. Findings were compared with 53 refugees that decided to stay in Germany. Parts of the sample were Kosovar refugees (30%).	To understand the mental health of returnees before return who have lived in exile for a long period.	High prevalence of traumatic stress experienced during the war. Majority returned under the pressure of the immigration authorities. The participants had substantial fear and uncertainty regarding the return.
2. Von Lersner, U., Elbert, T., & Neuner, F. (2008). Mental health of refugees following state-sponsored repatriation from Germany. <i>BMC psychiatry</i> , 8(1), 88	33 participants were interviewed 9 months after return to their country of origin.	To examine the mental health and wellbeing by using Posttraumatic Stress Diagnostic Scale, Wellbeing and Mini International Neuropsychiatric Interview (MINI)	Prior to return participants showed a prevalence rate of 53% for psychiatric disorders. Following return this increased to 88%. Returnees had difficulties with housing, work and health care.
3. Knaus, V. (2012). Silent Harm. UNICEF	The study was conducted with families and children of repatriated migrants from Kosovo from Austria and Germany. Sample consisted of 131 parents and 164 children aged 6-18. The majority of respondents were repatriated to Kosovo during 2010 after lengthy stay in host countries.	The study examined the mental health of children by assessments with various measures: Child behavior checklist (CBCL) children 6-14), Harvard trauma Questionnaire (HTQ) children 16-18 and parents, General Health Questionnaire (GHQ 28), Clinician Administered PTSD scale (CAPS), McGill Illness Narrative Interview (MINI).	44.2% of children suffered from depression, 25.5% reported hopelessness, 19.1% felt life was not worth living. 25.5% reported suicide ideation, 40% of the girls aged 6-14 had major social problems, one third showed symptoms of clinical depression. 29% of children from 6-14 and 30.4% of 14 and above suffered from PTSD at clinical level.
4. Toscani, L., DeRoo, L. A., Eytan, A., Gex-Fabry, M., Avramovski, V., Loutan, L., & Bovier, P. (2007). Health status of returnees to Kosovo: Do living conditions during asylum make a difference?. <i>Public Health</i> , 121(1), 34-44.	This was a cross sectional survey of 580 ethnic Albanians aged 16 and above in Kosovo selected for a list of 12900 heads of households who received repatriation aid. These were repatriated asylum seekers as result of war in 1999. Majority of them were returned compulsory to Kosovo from August 1999 to July 2001.	Study aimed to assess the relationship between conditions during asylum in Switzerland and health status among returnees.	25.5% suffered PTSD and 65% lived in extreme poverty. Subjective health scores were low especially for those with PTSD.

TABLE 1

5. Roth, G., Ekblad, S., & Ågren, H. (2006). A longitudinal study of PTSD in a sample of adult mass-evacuated Kosovars, some of whom returned to their home country. <i>European Psychiatry, 21</i> (3), 152-159.	The study used prospective design with a baseline study in Sweden and in Kosovo.	Study aimed to look at the prevalence of PTSD among mass evacuated refugees in Sweden as result of war in 1999 who returned to Kosovo and were followed up 1.5 years after. Measures used were Harvard Trauma Questionnaire and SCID.	37% of the participants had PTSD related symptoms at baseline. Morbidity increased at the three follow-ups, about 80% of the participants had PTSD at follow up 1.5 years later.
6. Eytan, A., Guthmiller, A., Durieux-Paillard, S., Loutan, L., & Gex-Fabry, M. (2011). Mental and physical health of Kosovar Albanians in their place of origin: a post-war 6-year follow-up study. <i>Social psychiatry and psychiatric epidemiology, 46</i> (10), 953-963.	551 were followed in 2007 in Kosovo after their initial assessment while being asylum seekers in Switzerland.	Study examined change in the PTSD frequency 6 years after the refugees were returned to their home counties. Participants were asylum seekers in Switzerland as result of war in 1999. The measures used Mini International Neuropsychiatric Interview and Medical Outcomes Study (SF-36).	PTSD was less frequent in 2007 than in 2001. However ill health without access to health care and major changes in responsibilities at work was associated with occurrence of PTSD. Physical component of SF 36 didn't change in time.
7. Model to Monitor Returned Minors (2014), Summer 2014, The Migrant, 4-6	Sample consisted of 150 children aged 11-18, 120 of them returned from EU to Kosovo, and 30 to Albania. All children except one were rejected from asylum procedure.	To examine the mental health of the returned children using Strength and Difficulty Questionnaire (SDQ).	Results show that that more than 50% of the children cope with emotional problems. Vast majority (75%) needs clinical treatments according to European standards. 56% of children have problems in contacts with peers. The situation is worse for Roma children.
8. Council, D. R. (2011). Long-Term Sustainability of Return of Rejected Asylum Seekers to Kosovo. Evaluation of the Kosovo Return Programme Implemented by Danish Refugee Council 2006–2009.	Technical report on evaluation a Danish return program of rejected Kosovar asylum seekers. The study was conducted 3-4 years after the actual return. In total 18 cases were interviewed using qualitative methods of study. The migrants had various length of stay from few months to 7 years.	Study aimed to provide insight into the long-term sustainability of the returns of rejected asylum seekers from Kosovo and the problems they face.	Difficult living conditions and lack of employment in Kosovo were one of the most common problems. Inadequate health care, unequal access to public education, ethnic tensions were considered to be problems for sustainable return. Many were unemployed and depended on short term jobs.

TABLE 1

9. IOM (2014). Challenges in the reintegration of return migrants with chronic medical conditions.	The study was conducted by conducting interviews in seven countries with individual returned migrants with chronic conditions, family members, health care workers, reintegration organizations and local researchers. In Kosovo in total there were 18 interviews.	Study explores the lived reality of voluntary returnees with chronic medical conditions returning to Afghanistan, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Ghana, Kosovo, Mongolia and Morocco.	The reintegration in Kosovo was hampered by their inability to economic independence and self-sustainability. Experienced more psychological problems compared example to respondents from Armenia or Azerbaijan. The returnees were dependent solely on their family members upon return.
10. Wigger, F. (2013). Return and Reintegration Assistance External Evaluation. Final Report. KEK-CDC	The report is based on the desk review and reports of countries with assistance program's to returnees, interviewing relevant stakeholders involved in return migration in Switzerland and Kosovo, interviews with returnees, Kosovars that have not migrated, representatives of Ministries and local organizations involved in assistance of returned migrants.	The report is part of evaluation of the Swiss and Reintegration Programmes for returnees from Kosovo. Questions addressed: to what extent the return assistance programs promote voluntary return, how programs contribute to social and professional reintegration of returnees and sustainable integration and how these programs contribute to an improved collaboration between Swiss and Kosovar authorities.	In terms of reintegration it was found that the shorter period of stay the higher probability to reintegrate. Voluntary returns are more associated with successful reintegration. There is lack of information on their rights in terms of support that they can get from Kosovar authorities. Lack of coordination among different organizations working with returned migrants, The Kosovar authorities mainly deal with cases of forced migration.
11. IOM (2015). Evaluation report of return assistance programs. http://www.iom.hu/sites/default/files/IOM%20A5-ENG-web.pdf	This was an evaluation report using both questionnaires and semi-structured interviews. The participants were beneficiaries of IOM voluntary assistance program 29, representatives of governmental institutions, ministries, municipality representative, and organization representatives working directly with returned migrants.	The aim is to measure the extent of satisfaction with the reintegration assistance for income generation activities and understand the difficulties related to sustainable reintegration.	The participants that received grants for business initiation stated that negative economic situation was a problem. Most of returned migrants reported that they haven't received any support from public institutions. The evaluation confirms the importance of the information provided prior to return. Family support was crucial for business survival.

mental health problems. At special risk were children that were born and raised in the asylum seeking country. Roth et al. (2006) followed returned migrants longitudinally and found high levels of PTSD symptoms, no mental health treatment, and that women were at higher risk than men.

The other five technical reports (Table 1 documents 6 to 11) from various organization that mainly evaluate Voluntary Assisted Programs with Kosovar returned migrants. Reports focus on evaluation of the assisted programs by interviewing beneficiaries, service providers and Kosovar public services. There is only one descriptive study of returned Kosovar children (The Migrant, 2014) and it indicates that half of the returned children coped with emotional problems and that 75% of them would require clinical treatment and have problems establishing social contacts with peers. The same study revealed that a low quality of child rearing environments and a lack of peers were risk factors for children's poorer mental health. This was especially valid for Roma children. Children returned with force compared to those returned voluntarily reported more mental health problems and obviously had more problems in adaptation.

Programs that provide support to returned migrants conclude that economic and social issues are major threats to reintegration initiatives especially to ones that support initiation of small businesses. The lack of employment was found to be a consistent problem and threat to return migrant integration, especially given that it was often the precipitator of migration. The study with the Kosovars returned from Denmark and Switzerland (DRC, 2011; Wigger, 2013) again found availability of family support immediately upon return was related to general integration of the returned migrants. Similarly family was crucial for returnees with health issues and acted as social security network providing all health related costs (IOM, 2014). The same study concluded that Kosovar returned migrants depend more on their family members compared to other seven countries where returned migrants were assessed. Also the sustainability for the busi-

ness initiatives was closely related to report family support and of friends by the returnees (IOM, 2015). Persons that stayed for a longer period felt more culturally distant from the Kosovar context and this was especially true for younger migrants. Additionally lengthy stay in the reception centers and not being able to work in the host countries created a passivity among some asylum seekers which was observed to continue with continuous request for support from voluntary assistance programs (Wiegger, 2013). Another overarching finding in reports is that even legal framework on returned migrants in Kosovo is in place its implementation faces serious problems due to limited capacities in public institutions and problems in health care services.

The findings from the reports focus in overall adaptation of return migrants rather than mental health exception one with children (Migrant, 2014)). There are parallels in terms of findings with research articles that focused primarily with returned war refugees and of those whose asylum was rejected as result of migration in 1999.

The aforementioned finding can be organized using Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Bronfenbrenner, 2009) which distinguishes between the personal, micro, meso, and macro levels. The model analyses the individual in its developmental context and its interaction with environmental systems (see Figure 1). The individual level factors of gender (women), being from a minority group and being older were associated with worse mental health and problems in reintegration. The micro-level factors of housing, social support of friends, family and community are important variables to take in consideration in return migration especially as protective factors regarding poor mental health outcomes. In the meso-system the combination of lack of social support with basic housing conditions evidently fades the chances of reintegration. In this level was also evident that lack of social/family support was associated with lower success in the business initiatives. At the macro-level, lack or no access to health and mental health services act is a key risk factors for returned migrants.

Similarly the poor economy and lack of employment are higher level factors that impede well-being and reintegration.

At the individual level those that had longer period of stay abroad, returned involuntarily and being Roma had more problems with adaptation and reintegration. At the micro-level, poor housing conditions, lack of family and friend support was overall found to be negatively related to adaptation, business initiative and health issues of returned migrants. The lack of public institutions in implementing the existing legal framework in returned migrants was seen as another drawback. At the macro-level, unemployment and the overall economic situation were a constant risk factor.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR POLICY, PROGRAMS AND RESEARCH

Today's trends strongly suggest that the number of returned migrants in Kosovo will continue to be high for years to come.

These results are thought to be relevant to be used for this new wave of returned migrants that are expected to be returned in Kosovo during 2015 and 2016. The final section of this paper attempts to provide concrete recommendations in policy, program and research level based on findings from the literature review and mainly focusing on short term period (one to three years).

POLICY. Kosovars will continue to migrate due to various factors mainly for family re-

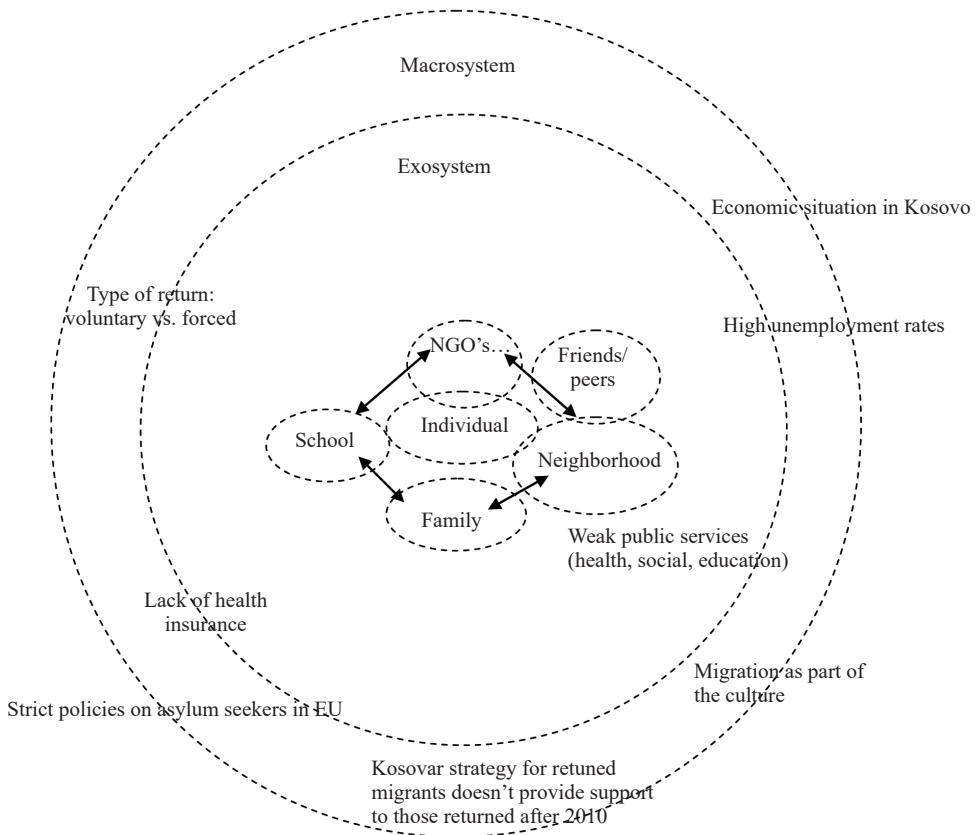


FIGURE 2. SUMMARY OF THE FINDINGS FROM THE LITERATURE REVIEW OF RETURNED MIGRANTS FROM KOSOVO

union and looking for better economic opportunities. The return for most of the Kosovars that migrated in last few years to EU countries is inevitable as the asylum seeking procedures are becoming stricter especially for economic migrants and in light of the Syrian refugee crisis of 2015. Programs offered by EU countries in Kosovo are limited in coverage and have very clear criteria for who can benefit from them and on the other side the existing Kosovar reintegration strategy for migrants doesn't foresee to support migrants that have migrated after 2010. One policy priority should be to modify the existing strategy so as to extend support to those returned after 2015, with priority given to children with special needs, citizens of Roma community, single mothers, and people with mental health problems. We especially suggest that these vulnerable groups might lack strong family and community support which appears to be important factor in reintegration and adaptation. In terms of return policies of the migrants the host EU countries should insist on voluntary return as it increases the probability of successful reintegration and adaptation.

PROGRAMS. Program intervention recommendations are in consistence with the recommendations in the policy level. It is estimated that 5000 Kosovar school children have left the schools in the last wave of migration (Bajrami: Shqetesues, 2015). Specific programs supporting return of these children to schools are needed which will reintegrate them into their former classes with special programs for catching up lost classes. We suggest also considering implementation of psychosocial programs based on low skill interveners in provision of support to school children to prevent eventual difficulties upon their return. Multifamily group meetings could by one model of work where both parents and adolescents discuss challenges and potential solutions related to their adjustment (Weine et al. 2003). Similar intervention could also target families with persons with mental health problems (Weine, et al. 2005). Models of intervention where university students through professional supervision act as interveners could be a low cost psychosocial intervention that might

be piloted in this context. The models of intervention could focus on family and children resilience (Sandler et al. 2015; Wright et al. 2013) and aim to empower both parents and children. This can be especially productive for adolescents where studies worldwide (Werner, 1993) show that promoting positive, close and caring relationship with a significant adults is a significant predictor of their strengths to overcome various hardships.

International voluntary assisted programs should continue by especially offering support in initiating small businesses. Taking in consideration the findings from the studies we recommend business initiatives that include more than one family member as they have higher probability of success (IOM, 2015) These support programs can give special importance to women and especially single mothers by not just supporting business initiatives but also by providing information and knowledge through trainings on specific skills related to business initiation and maintenance.

In terms of raising public awareness the local and central level authorities in Kosovo should organize media campaigns on the consequences of illegal migration and promote available legal migration options. Campaigns from credible sources are important in order to avoid another situation where rumors and incorrect information are taken for granted as occurred during the November to December 2014 in Kosovo.

RESEARCH. Future research with returned migrants should focus especially on the resiliency framework and especially family resilience (Walsh, 1996). Family resilience is a way to understand which family processes specifically support families and its members to cope with the return process, including those that have been returned involuntarily and receive no concrete support. These studies should focus on concepts of communication, emotional expression, and support received from each family member and on how these can be promoted within families. Positive relational dynamics in families enhance individual resilience under stressful events (Rutter, 1985, Patterson, 2002; Fraser, Richman, Gilinsky, 1999). Other dimensions in need of

TABLE 2
SUMMARY OF THE RECOMMENDATIONS IN POLICY, PROGRAM AND RESEARCH LEVEL FOR
ADDRESSING THE NEEDS OF THE RETURNED MIGRANTS

Policy level	Program level	Research level
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • vulnerable groups such children with special needs, citizens of Roma community, single mothers and people with mental health problems to be included in the existing Kosovar strategy for return migration in order to receive support upon return. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • school interventions targeting returned children prevention programs • multifamily group interventions by university students and low skill experts • awareness raising campaigns on consequences of illegal migration • promotion of business initiative programs for more than one family member and women (especially single mothers) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • individual resilience factors • school, peers and adolescents upon return factors that help adaptation • development and evaluation of intervention projects promoting individual and family resilience among returned families and individuals

further study are the interactions of children and adolescents in school and with peers. We suggest that implementation of action oriented research where assessments process of data collection would be followed with pilot intervention programs that would facilitate family and individual resilience. Piloted interventions using formative evaluation could also be reviewed and extend their implementation within this population. Following intervention could be provided from local NGO's or community mental health centers with support of countries from which migrants are returned or from the existing public funds on implementing Kosovar strategy on returned migrants. Developed interventions could be relevant to other countries where return migration occurs or might occur, including someday Syria. Research could also focus to scrutinize further the factors that help establishment, maintenance and sustainability of successful small businesses initiatives especially by focusing on women and involvement of more than one family members in specific business initiatives. Findings from these study can help the Voluntary Assistance Programs to recalibrate their criteria's in provision of support in establishment and maintenance of business initiatives.

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this paper is to review the existing literature on returned migrants from developed countries to low and middle income countries with specific focus on Kosovo as a high outmigration country. The results of various studies and report are summarized from a Bronfenbrenner ecological systems theory in order to review the important factors that enhance the process of reintegration and identify those that might impede this process. Based on the findings from literature review we provide recommendation in policy, program and research level. A cross cutting issue in all three levels in focusing on vulnerable groups such as children and adolescents. In Kosovar contexts we have to emphasize the family component as important environmental variable that determines the success of reintegration and adaptation of return migrants. Policy level changes should take in considering especially individuals or vulnerable groups that risk to lack family support such as single mothers, persons with mental health problems and children with special needs. These groups should be eligible to governmental support in terms of housing and support for other basic living conditions as other returned migrants

that have migrated prior to 2010. The program intervention could focus on building individual and family resilience through multifamily group meetings or other forms of intervention. These interventions could be implemented by social science students in order to avoid high costs of interventions and could initially target the vulnerable groups with interventions. Research level recommendations focus on implementation of action oriented research in understanding individual and family resilience factors among returned migrants and accordingly develop and evaluate interventions that promote individual and family resilience as asset to overcome potential hardships or return migration.

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