



European
University
Institute

ROBERT
SCHUMAN
CENTRE FOR
ADVANCED
STUDIES

REINTEGRATION AND DEVELOPMENT

JEAN-PIERRE CASSARINO (ED.)

EUROPEAN UNIVERSITY INSTITUTE, FLORENCE
ROBERT SCHUMAN CENTRE FOR ADVANCED STUDIES

REINTEGRATION AND DEVELOPMENT

Edited by Jean-Pierre Cassarino

CRIS

CROSS-REGIONAL INFORMATION SYSTEM ON THE REINTEGRATION OF MIGRANTS IN
THEIR COUNTRIES OF ORIGIN

ANALYTICAL STUDY, CRIS, 2014

BADIA FIESOLANA, SAN DOMENICO DI FIESOLE (FI)

© 2014 Return migration and Development Platform (RDP), EUI

Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies

This text may be downloaded only for personal research purposes. Any additional reproduction for other purposes, whether in hard copies or electronically, requires the consent of the Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies.

Requests should be addressed to forinfo@eui.eu

The views expressed in this publication are those of the authors

Published in Italy in 2014
European University Institute
Badia Fiesolana
I – 50014 San Domenico di Fiesole (FI)
Italy

<http://www.eui.eu/RSCAS/Publications/>
<http://rsc.eui.eu/RDP/>

The CRIS Project

The Cross-Regional Information System on the Reintegration of Migrants in their Countries of Origin (CRIS) was launched in 2011, thanks to the financial support of the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (SDC, Bern) and the European University Institute (EUI, Florence). It is part and parcel of the Return migration and Development Platform (RDP, <http://rsc.eui.eu/RDP/>) located at the Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, EUI. CRIS is aimed at addressing the social economic legal and institutional factors and conditions shaping returnees' patterns of reintegration in their countries of origin. In other words, it sets out to explain why some return migrants succeeded in reintegrating better than others.

CRIS PROJECT

Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies

European University Institute (EUI)

Via dei Roccettini, 9

50014 San Domenico di Fiesole (FI) - Italy

Tel: +39 055 46 85 819

Email: jpcassarino@eui.eu

<http://rsc.eui.eu/RDP/>

<http://www.eui.eu/RSCAS/>

FOREWORD AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This study is based on a field survey carried out in 2012. It is aimed at investigating the link between migrants' reintegration and their contribution to development. Field data including interviews with return migrants were collected in the framework of the CRIS Project (Cross-regional information system on the reintegration of migrants in their countries of origin, <http://rsc.eui.eu/RDP/research-projects/cris/>).

The CRIS project was made possible thanks to the financial support of the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation in Bern (SDC, Switzerland) and the European University Institute (EUI). We wish to express our gratitude to SDC for its generous support, particularly Beata Godenzi-Rasmussen, Markus Reisle, and Odile Rittener-Inauen. Special thanks go to Barbara Affolter-Gómez who shepherded the implementing phase of the project and whose support and attention were instrumental in the completion of the research and training activities.

The CRIS team consists of a coordination unit located at the Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies (RSCAS/EUI, Italy). Additionally, four partner institutions took part in the project:

- In Armenia: *Advanced Social Technologies* (AST, Yerevan);
- In Mali: *SOS Migrants, Association Migration & Développement*, (Bamako);
- In Tunisia: The *Institut de Recherche sur le Maghreb Contemporain* (IRMC, Tunis);
- In Italy: The International Training Centre of the International Labour Organisation (ITC-ILO, Turin).

We are grateful to the partner institutions for their commitment in the preparation, organization and implementation of the research and training activities of the project, including their proactive participation in the field surveys.

More than 50 interviewers were mobilized in Armenia, Mali and Tunisia. Our sincere thanks go to all of them for their crucial assistance and engagement in the development of the fieldwork. We also wish to express our gratitude to the return migrants interviewed for their patience and collaboration.

Finally, we wish to thank all the administrative staff and web assistants at the Robert Schuman Centre who collaborated with the CRIS project including Sarah Beck, Aurélie Boursier, Marie-Ange Catotti, Monique Cavallari, Claudia Fanti, Mei Lan Goei, Laura Jurisevic, Valerio Pappalardo, Serena Scarselli and Francesca Scotto.

Jean-Pierre Cassarino
RSCAS, European University Institute
March 2014

CONTENTS

FOREWORD AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	V
--	----------

CONTENTS	VII
-----------------------	------------

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY AND MAIN FINDINGS	XI
--	-----------

RECOMMENDATIONS	XV
------------------------------	-----------

1. BRIDGING THE POLICY GAP BETWEEN REINTEGRATION AND DEVELOPMENT, by Jean-Pierre Cassarino	1
---	----------

1. Introduction	1
2. Time, motivations, conditions	2
3. Willingness and readiness to return	3
4. Migration cycles and return preparedness	8
5. Policy priorities vs. return migrants' realities	9
6. The analytical significance of migration cycles	12
7. Towards a terminological readjustment	17

2. RETURN MIGRANTS IN ARMENIA, by Antonella Guarneri	19
---	-----------

1. Introduction	19
2. Socio-demographic characteristics	20
3. Leaving Armenia	23
4. Countries of destination	25
5. The migration experience	27
6. Return to Armenia	30
7. Occupational status and financial situation after the return	35
8. Analysis of future intentions	42
9. Conclusion	46

3. RETURN MIGRANTS IN MALI, by Davide Calenda	49
1. Introduction	49
2. Socio-demographic characteristics	50
3. The migration itinerary	54
4. Social integration abroad and reintegration after return	60
5. Professional reintegration	63
6. Conclusion	67

4. RETURN MIGRANTS IN TUNISIA, by Jean-Pierre Cassarino	71
1. Introduction	71
2. Tunisian migrants' socio-demographic characteristics	72
3. Motivations to emigrate and motivations to return	77
4. Occupational status	80
5. Occupational sectors and skills portability	84
6. Financial situation	87
7. Perceptions of the institutional context back home	88
8. Conclusion: Heading towards policy coherence	89

THEMATIC ANALYSES **93**

5. RETURN MIGRANTS' EMPLOYMENT TRAJECTORIES, by Davide Calenda ..	95
1. Introduction	95
2. Return migrants' occupational status across the migration cycle	96
3. Employment sectors and skills portability	98
4. The impact of type of migration cycles on professional reintegration	105
5. Conclusion	108

6. RETURN MIGRANTS' ENTREPRENEURSHIP, by Jean-Pierre Cassarino	111
1. Introduction	111
2. Various levels of entrepreneurship	112
3. Employers	114
4. Returnees' self-employment	117
5. Becoming an entrepreneur-returnee	119
6. Conclusion	122

7. RETURN MIGRATION FROM A GENDER PERSPECTIVE, by Antonella Guarneri	125
1. Introduction	125
2. Various profiles of migrant women	126
3. Family and work during the emigration period	132
4. Migration itineraries and migration cycles	134

5. The empowerment of returnee women.....	137
6. Risk of job exclusion.....	139
7. Conclusion.....	140
8. RETURN MIGRANTS' REMITTANCE BEHAVIOUR, by Davide Calenda.....	141
1. Introduction.....	141
2. Method.....	143
3. Socio-demographic and educational characteristics.....	146
4. Motivations for emigration and employment situation abroad.....	148
5. Patterns of remittances at the country level.....	153
6. Conclusion.....	163
REFERENCES.....	167
APPENDIX.....	173
METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH, by Antonella Guarneri.....	175
1. Definition.....	175
2. Sampling method.....	176
3. A three-stage questionnaire.....	177
4. Preparation of the survey.....	178
5. Data processing.....	179
6. Geographical stratification.....	180
7. Data exploitation and analysis.....	181
GLOSSARY.....	183
QUESTIONNAIRE.....	187

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY AND MAIN FINDINGS

The study is based on 1425 interviews made with return migrants in Armenia, Mali, and Tunisia. The survey covers three countries located in different regions with a view to comparatively highlighting the fundamental factors shaping returnees' manifold patterns of reintegration, beyond any regional particularism. This research endeavour is driven by the desire to stress the existence of key factors which cannot be dismissed when dealing with the links between return, reintegration and development. The study provides extensive evidence that returnees having a complete migration cycle, whereby they had *access* to opportunities and resources allowing them to prepare for return, are more likely to optimally reintegrate back home as opposed to those whose migration cycle was incomplete or interrupted (see Chapter 1). Each type of migration cycle was shaped by specific return motivations, as epitomised in the synoptic table below.

	Types of migration cycle		
	Complete	Incomplete	Interrupted
Return motivations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To run a business concern in the country of origin; Termination of job contract; To complete training/studies at home; Achieved migration objective (e.g. successful completion of studies); Situation in the country of origin has improved. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Job precariousness in the destination country; Family and personal problems; Adverse social and cultural environment/ racism/discrimination abroad; Migration objectives not achieved (e.g. studies not completed). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Non-renewal of residence permit in the destination country; Expulsion/readmission; Administrative/financial hurdles; Loss of job; Serious health problems; Family pressures; Forced marriage; War/conflict

Having identified three types of migration cycle, the authors address the conditions of return migrants in Armenia, Mali and Tunisia, in the broadest sense. This is done both at country level and comparatively (e.g. with reference to thematic issues including employment, entrepreneurship, gender, and remittances).

Given the diversity inherent in return migrants' types of migration cycle and conditions at time of survey, the findings presented in this study call for a rethink of the priorities behind current "return policies". The latter should foster the conditions for enhancing *access to opportunities*, not for ensuring at all costs the so-called "sustainability" or durability of return in countries of origin.

The main findings and conclusions drawn from this study are the following:

- Return migrants having an interrupted migration cycle have strong difficulties in reintegrating back home. For example, they tend to be more unemployed and jobless back in their country. Their access to social protection is more difficult. Conversely, the completeness of the migration cycle strongly fosters returnees' social and occupational reintegration.
- On average, optimal reintegration occurs when two preconditions are met: a sufficiently long experience of migration abroad and favourable motivations to return. This means that migrants who lived abroad for a long period of time and who returned owing to adverse circumstances in the country of immigration tend to find it difficult to reintegrate (namely Tunisian migrants returning from Libya or Malian migrants returning from Cote d'Ivoire).
- Conditions in the country of origin significantly impact on the propensity to reintegrate. This holds particularly true for Armenian returnees. Their repeated back-and-forth movement can also be understood as a strategy allowing returnees and their family/relatives in Armenia to offset unfavourable labour conditions at home, including joblessness and the lack of decent wages (Chapters 2 & 5). When unemployed in Armenia, they do not get registered with employment agencies (up to 21 percent) in Armenia and plan to emigrate again (Chapter 2).

- Armenian return migrants interviewed lived in Russia and France respectively before returning to Armenia; 60 percent and 15 percent respectively (Chapter 2). 90 percent of the Malian returnees interviewed lived in another African country while abroad (Chapter 3). Among them, 68 percent lived in Cote d'Ivoire. By contrast, up to 60 percent of the Tunisian returnees interviewed lived in a European country (mainly in France and Italy; Chapter 4).
- Polygamy and the extended family remain predominant features of the Malian return migrants interviewed (Chapter 3);
- The majority of the interviewees did not leave for abroad because they were unemployed. Rather, they emigrated to seek higher wages and better living conditions (Chapter 5);
- Compared to senior emigrants, young generations of emigrants seem to be confronted more often with temporariness, and with risk of unemployment back home. Out of 100 Tunisians who emigrated from 2005 to 2011, approximately 42 were unemployed upon return. For returnees who had emigrated prior to 1989, this figure was around 14 out of 100. Regardless of the type of migration cycle, these data may be correlated with the poor capacity of the Tunisian labour market to absorb return migrant workers (Chapter 4).
- Return migrants having a complete migration cycle tend to invest back home much more than return migrants who had an incomplete or interrupted migration cycle. Human capital and social capital have a strong bearing on migrants' socio-professional reintegration patterns, as well as on their capacity to invest after return (Chapter 6);
- There exist various levels of entrepreneurship after return (Chapter 6). Entrepreneur-returnees who set up job-creating business concerns back in their countries of origin tend to be those who were already employers abroad. Self-employment in both the formal and informal sectors is frequent in Mali, above all among returnees having an incomplete or interrupted migration cycle.
- Frequent visits to the country of origin while abroad constitute one essential ingredient of the reintegration process upon return.

- Family characteristics turn out to be significant factors shaping patterns of remittances. Being married and having a family back in the country of origin increases the likelihood of becoming regular remitters. This is particularly true for Armenian migrants and for Malian migrants whose remittances were directed to both the family and the community (Chapter 8).
- Remittances constitute by definition valuable financial resources for reintegration. However, they are not sufficient to describe the large array of resources from which some interviewees benefited upon return. Self-financing, family support, acquaintances and social networks in the former immigration country and in the origin country also constitute resources that need to be taken into account (Chapter 8);
- All the return migrants interviewed socialised while abroad. They had frequent contacts and relationships with the host society and with their co-nationals living abroad. However, while abroad, they all had very few contacts with institutions of their countries of origin (e.g. consulates). Moreover, back in the country of origin, only 10 percent of them benefited from institutional support by the public administration.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Empirical data demonstrate that the more complete the migration cycle, the more prepared for return migrants are. This empirical evidence cannot be dismissed when dealing with reintegration and development.

The most adequate response to address the above-mentioned evidence would lie first and foremost in appreciating that the following categories of migrant cannot be mixed together under a uniform heading of “return”:

1. Repatriated migrants from war-torn countries of immigration;
2. Unauthorised migrants removed or readmitted from abroad;
3. Return migrants who decided on their own initiative to go back home.

There is a substantial difference between return (viewed as a stage in the migration cycle), repatriation and readmission. The last two terms epitomise the interruption of a migration itinerary having severe consequences for migrants’ likelihood and opportunities to reintegrate, as shown in the various chapters included in this study. As long as no distinction is made, the policy debate on the link between return, reintegration and development will remain biased by security-driven priorities. Accordingly, it is with this call for a terminological readjustment in mind that the recommendations presented here should be read.

Importantly, the following recommendations are contingent on effective access to concrete return-friendly structural and institutional opportunities in both the countries of destination and of origin.

Recommendation 1

It is necessary to gather **data and information** on the post-return conditions and the perspectives for temporary and permanent reintegration of migrants in their country of origin. This does not only refer to the context in the country of origin but also to the circumstances in the country of immigration which motivated migrants to return. The collection of such data should be performed by the **Offices for Statistics** in Armenia, Mali and Tunisia. Moreover, they should not limit themselves to the socio-demographic characteristics of return migrants, but also include more precise data as provided by the CRIS survey (see the questionnaire used during the field surveys in Appendix).

Recommendation 2

All countries of migration should place return in a **mutual development perspective** where it **constitutes just one step in the migration cycle and not the end of it**. Return migrants need **access to opportunities**, not assistance. The following recommendations address this need by mentioning concrete solutions.

Recommendation 3

Countries of origin should clearly define their **sovereign priorities** as applied to the reintegration of their own nationals. Such priorities should reflect **their own social and economic challenges** that need to be tackled domestically.

Recommendation 4

Consultations involving representatives of the countries of destination and of return, as well as civil society organisations, trade unions and employers' organisations, should be promoted once reliable information and data about the composition of return flows and stocks are properly gathered.

Recommendation 5

Develop **pilot programmes** emphasizing the financial and human capital of migrants returning to their countries. These programmes would not only concern migrants with their own business projects but also those whose **skills and training** could be transferred through programmes of great added value for the country of origin. Ease of access to finance and tax exemptions could be foreseen by the introduction of mixed financial mechanisms between banks in countries of destination and origin. Actors in the banking sector should be consulted and mobilised by the authorities of the country of return.

Recommendation 6

Assist migrants in their country of origin, including providing **free sponsorship/guidance to return migrants, including entrepreneur-returnees**, to support their reintegration, as well as the realisation and maintenance of their business projects. This sponsorship requires the participation of civil society organisations, including employers' organisations and public authorities.

Recommendation 7

Propose incentives, of limited duration, in a specially adapted legal and institutional framework, to attract migrants who wish to return to their countries. In addition these measures, the adoption of specific **legal provisions** could be envisaged fostering:

1. The creation of a **bank of human resources**, managed by specialised public institutions, allowing local enterprises to identify migrants abroad possessing the skills they require ;
2. The **development of policies to attract skilled migrants** living abroad, by implementing talent-search schemes ;

3. The creation of information portals linked to chambers of commerce abroad, diplomatic representations, employers' organisations, associations and the public authorities in countries of destination and origin, in order to facilitate access to opportunities in the country;
4. The promotion of skills portability by elaborating joint agreements between countries of destination and of origin. Such agreements are critical in fostering the portability and recognition of skills acquired abroad and at home.

Recommendation 8

Chapter IX of the International Labour Organisation Recommendation n. 150, adopted on 23rd June 1975¹, underlines that **vocational guidance** and **vocational training** should be the subject of joint agreements countries of origin and countries of employment (i.e. countries of destination) insofar as they support the possible reintegration of migrant workers into the economy of their country of origin. Consequently, employers' associations, trade unions, migrant-aid associations and public authorities in countries of origin and destination have an essential role to play in the context of social dialogues on the occupational reintegration of migrants, their rights for vocational training and their reintegration in the labour market.

¹ See: http://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=NORMLEXPUB:12100:0::NO:12100:P12100_INSTRUMENT_ID:312488:NO

BRIDGING THE POLICY GAP BETWEEN REINTEGRATION AND DEVELOPMENT

Jean-Pierre Cassarino

1. Introduction

To the layperson, dealing with return migration may seem a banal endeavour. Many people emigrate and return back home, on a temporary or permanent basis. It is, however, far less banal to analyse the factors and conditions shaping return migrants' patterns of reintegration, whether the migrants in question are highly skilled or not, adult or young, men or women, or from developed or developing countries of origin.

Like many other terms relating to migration and in use by governmental and intergovernmental institutions, 'return' has gradually changed in meaning. Today, in most migration countries, it is all too often understood to relate to the end of the migration cycle. Indeed, it is often associated with expulsion or removal. This understanding has become so predominant, if not hegemonic, that reference to return can imply some kind of pressure or coercion on the part of the state and its law-enforcement agencies.

Return migration occurs all the time. We know that return migrants constitute a highly heterogeneous group of actors in terms of migration experiences, length of stay abroad, patterns of resource mobilisation, legal status, motivations and life plans. Over the past fifty years, an array of studies across various disciplines has explained the manifold factors shaping migrants' patterns of reintegration in their countries of origin, as well as their motivations to return. These have concerned not only labour migrants (King *et al.* 1983; Kubat 1984; King 1986; Stark 1996), migrant-students (Glaser and Habers 1974), women (Kuschminder 2014), highly skilled migrants (Thorn and Lauritz 2006; McLaughan and Salt 2002; Lowell 2001; Vertovec 2002; Cervantes and Guellec 2002; Wickramasekara 2003) and entrepreneur-returnees (Cassarino 2000; Iredale and Fei 2001; McCormick and Wahba 2003), but also repatriated refugees and asylum-seekers (Allen and Morsink 1994; Koser and Black 1999), as well as irregular migrants subject to a removal order (Van Houte and de Koning 2008; De Bree 2008; Sward 2009).

Concomitantly, patterns of reintegration have become more diverse. These patterns are most certainly reflective of the returnees' migration experiences in their former countries of immigration. They are also shaped by the social, economic, institutional and political conditions migrants encounter in their home countries upon return. Such considerations are important if one wants to understand how and why returnees' patterns of reintegration differ from one another. Moreover, they are crucial to understanding the prerequisites for strengthening the link between return migration and development.

2. Time, motivations, conditions

Scholarly approaches to return migration all share the basic assumption that migrants' patterns of reintegration are shaped by three interrelated elements: the context in migrants' home countries; the duration and type of one's migration experience abroad; and the factors or conditions (whether favourable or not) in the host and home countries that motivated return - that is, pre- and post-return conditions. Taking into account these three elements (place, time, and pre- and post-return conditions) is critical in showing

how different variables combine to shape migrants' patterns of reintegration in their countries of origin. These variables have been considered in this research.

There exists, however, a basic and all too often overlooked condition that connects the experiences of all those who return home from abroad, regardless of their place of origin, social background, motivations, prospects, skills or occupational status. Beyond the diversity of return migrants' experiences, there is a primary element that needs to be taken into consideration: return preparedness.

Return preparedness is not a vague notion. It refers to a process that unfolds in an individual's life over time, and is shaped by changing circumstances (that is, personal experiences, and contextual factors in sending and receiving countries) in the broadest sense. It is not only about preparing for return. It is about having the ability, though not always the opportunity, to gather the tangible and intangible resources needed to secure one's return home.

Return preparedness calls for a twofold question. Why do some migrants have a higher degree of preparedness than others? How is the issue of return preparedness dealt with or taken into consideration within contemporary migration management policies?

3. Willingness and readiness to return

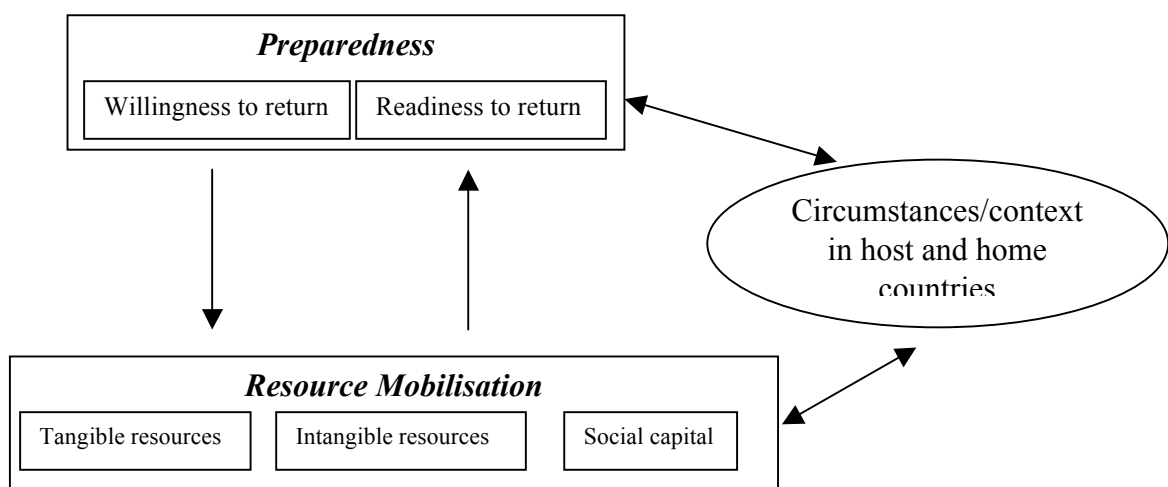
Willingness and readiness to return are the two fundamental elements comprising return migrants' preparedness. Willingness refers to the act of deciding to return, on one's own initiative, and in the absence of any external pressure. It refers to the subjective power to choose to return at a certain time, as part of one's migration cycle. Naturally, an individual will have to weigh up the costs and benefits of their decision to return. However, what matters for our purposes is the subjective feeling that the decision to return was neither dictated by others nor by external circumstances, regardless of whether or not it is justified objectively. Willingness refers to whether or not one considers that the time is right to return.

Of course, given the heterogeneity of return migrants' experiences and profiles, this standard of willingness is not always found, and may not always be a part of the return

process. Sometimes, unexpected events or obstacles will disrupt the migration cycle, and induce migrants to return home sooner than expected. In this case, the circumstances of migrants' return may have implications for their post-return conditions.

Readiness to return reflects the extent to which migrants have been able to mobilise the adequate tangible (that is financial capital) and intangible resources (that is contacts, relationships, skills, networks) needed to secure their return, be it temporary or permanent. This notion allows the manifold resources mobilised by migrants to be analysed. It also stresses the need to view return as an ongoing process, requiring time. As mentioned above, migrants have different capacities for readiness. Some may be optimal, others insufficient. Time, resources, experience, and conditions in the host and home countries constitute the main factors which, when combined together, shape migrants' readiness to return.

Willingness and readiness to return reflect the ability of a person to decide how, when and why it is time to go back home. This ability is not a given, for the conditions of return may vary substantially, leading to various degrees of preparedness. In other words, not all migrants choose to return on their own initiative, nor do they have the readiness to do so. Such various degrees impact on their propensity to reintegrate back home.



Source: (Cassarino 2004: 271).

Preparedness relates not only to individual choice, but also to one's readiness to return. In other words, to be optimally prepared to return involves an individual's capacity to decide to return and to have the opportunity to mobilise resources needed to secure return (i.e. readiness). At the same time, readiness to return varies in line with different types of migration experience, and with migrants' contexts of return. This is illustrated in the Figure above.

The emphasis on the willingness and readiness of the migrant to return (i.e. the returnee's preparedness) yields various analytical benefits:

- It argues that return is not only a voluntary act. Return also pertains to a process of resource mobilisation that requires time. Moreover, migrants may manifest their wish to return without necessarily being ready to do so;
- With regard to the link between return migration and reintegration, it shows that, irrespective of their legal status in host countries, returnees differ from one another in their levels of preparedness and patterns of resource mobilisation;
- It regards various types of migrants, ranging from labour migrants to refugees. In other words, returnees differ from one another not only in terms of motivations, but also in terms of levels of preparedness and patterns of resource mobilisation;
- It shows that returnees' preparedness is not only dependent on the migrants' experience abroad, but also on the perception that significant institutional, economic and political changes have occurred at home. Of course, these circumstances have a bearing on how resources are mobilised and used after return;
- It highlights the fact that returnees' preparedness is shaped by circumstances in both their host and home countries, that is, by pre- and post-return conditions;
- It takes into account migrants' preparedness to return, while arguing that the returnees' impact on development at home is also dependent upon their levels of preparedness.

In previous works (Cassarino 2004; 2008), three patterns of return preparedness were identified, regardless of the diversity inherent in the experiences of migration and return conditions.

The first pattern relates to returnees whose high level of preparedness allowed them to organise their own return autonomously, while mobilising the resources needed to secure their return. This category comprises migrants whose migration cycles were complete. They feel they gathered sufficient tangible and intangible resources to carry out their projects in their home countries. They have also developed valuable contacts, as well as acquired skills and knowledge that can add significantly to their initiatives. They have had time to evaluate the costs and benefits of return, while at the same time considering the changes that occurred in their countries of origin at institutional, economic, social and political levels. Some of them may maintain their residential status in their host countries with a view to securing their cross-border mobility. Their high level of preparedness influences their participation in cross-border social and economic networks; these convey informational and financial resources that can foster resource mobilisation, not only before return, but also afterwards. Some migrants' projects at home may be responsive to public programmes, promoted by the governments of their countries of origin. Although the full impact of such return-friendly, state-sponsored programmes remains to be seen, their implementation may be viewed as a positive change by returnees.¹

The second pattern relates to returnees with a low level of preparedness. This category takes in migrants whose migration cycle was incomplete. Their length of stay abroad was too short to allow tangible and intangible resources to be mobilised, owing to major events which interrupted their migration cycle - examples being unexpected family problems, ostracism, and lack of real opportunities for social and professional advancement in host countries. These migrants consider that the costs of remaining are higher than returning home, even if few resources were mobilised before their return.

¹ This is what Robyn Iredale and Fei Guo (2001: 14) observed during a survey relating to Chinese returnees from Australia. The authors argue that "Although the Chinese government's incentive programs don't appear to have had a direct impact on people's decision-making processes in Australia, they have provided a positive signal from the government that the social environment and policies in China are improving."

Hence, resource mobilisation in receiving countries remains extremely limited, and the returnee will tend to rely on resources available at home in order to reintegrate.

The third pattern relates to returnees whose level of preparedness is non-existent. Their migration cycles were abruptly interrupted. These migrants neither contemplated return, nor prepared for it. Circumstances in host countries prompted them to leave. For some, this was the result of an asylum application being rejected; for some, the unexpected non-renewal of a job contract; for others, simply their removal from the territory of their destination country.

Table 1: The interrelationship between levels of return preparedness and migration cycles

	Types of migration cycle		
	Complete	Incomplete	Interrupted
Return motivations	To run a business concern in the country of origin; Termination of job contract; To complete training/studies at home; Achieved migration objective (e.g. successful completion of studies); Situation in the country of origin has improved.	Job precariousness in the destination country; Family and personal problems; Adverse social and cultural environment/ racism/discrimination abroad; Migration objectives not achieved (e.g. studies not completed).	Non-renewal of residence permit in the destination country; Expulsion/readmission; Administrative/financial hurdles; Loss of job; Serious health problems; Family pressures; Forced marriage; War/conflict
	High level of preparedness	Low level of return preparedness	No return preparedness

It is clear that the three above-mentioned levels of return preparedness make up a rough plot of the plurality of conditions faced by return migrants. However, the significance of this exercise lies precisely in emphasising that, regardless of the heterogeneity characterising return migrants' experiences and profiles, willingness and readiness to return constitute key elements in understanding why patterns of reintegration vary so widely.

4. Migration cycles and return preparedness

There obviously exists an interrelationship between the completeness of the migration cycle and the level of return preparedness, which, as shown above, is contingent on willingness and readiness to return. (Both of which are shaped, in turn, by different patterns of resource mobilisation, and by circumstances in both host and home countries.) These considerations have concrete and practical implications for policy-making when it comes to defining measures aimed at offsetting the incompleteness of the migration cycle, as well as migrants' low level of return preparedness. Particularly in the current context marked by the ongoing economic crisis, many migrants have opted to return to their home countries to escape unemployment in destination countries. Their opting to do so results from adverse economic circumstances that negatively impact on their readiness to return to their countries of origin. Such a decision also springs from a personal evaluation of these circumstances. Public authorities in migrants' countries of origin will have to respond to the social and occupational reintegration needs of their returning nationals.

More importantly, over the last fifteen years or so, the temporariness of labour migration has gained tremendous momentum in current bilateral and multilateral talks on migration matters. For example, temporariness is enshrined in the mobility partnerships that the European Union concluded with Armenia in October 2011 and with Tunisia in March 2014. The drive for temporariness invariably raises critical issues when it comes to understanding whether the (temporary) duration of the experience of migration will be sufficiently long to allow migrants to accumulate sufficient financial and human capital as to ensure their return and reintegration process back home.

Likewise, these considerations are of paramount importance in understanding that the abrupt interruption of the migration cycle might well have severe consequences for the reintegration of migrants. This raises a host of challenges both for countries of destination and of origin, especially when dealing with return migration and development.

5. Policy priorities vs. return migrants' realities

“Return” stands high in the priorities that have been identified in the current top-down management of international migration. However, this is not because return is viewed as a stage in the migration cycle. It is because return has been narrowly defined in the current lexicon of governmental and intergovernmental agencies as the act of leaving the territory of a destination country.

In the European Union (EU), this vision of return has been presented as an “integral part” of the instruments geared towards dealing with unauthorised migration, and protecting the integrity of immigration and asylum systems in most destination countries (European Commission 2005: 2). Since the early 2000s, return policies of the EU and its Member States have been predominantly, if not exclusively, viewed as instruments for combating unauthorised migration, while defining return as “the process of going back to one’s country of origin, transit or another third country” (European Council 2002: 29).

This understanding of return is, of course, reflective of the normative construct that the agenda on the management of international migration has consolidated, for it not only reinforces the centrality of the state, but also rationalises its security-oriented methods and means of implementation. In the parlance of the EU, return merely refers to the act of removing unauthorised migrants and rejected asylum-seekers from the European territory. Moreover, it does not take into account migrants’ post-return conditions, let alone their human and financial potential as participants in development.

It is astonishing to observe the hegemonic status that this approach to return has achieved over the past decades, and how it is now weaving its way into various policy areas at the national and international levels. At a national level, an array of measures, laws and infrastructures have been established in order to serve this design. Detention centres, fingerprint identification systems, yearly expulsion quotas, and laws on preventative custody are just a few examples. At an international level, cooperation with neighbouring countries (on so-called enforced return) has been justified in official rhetoric as a necessary evil, regardless of whether the country where migrants are readmitted has the capacity to fully respect fundamental rights, or to protect the dignity

of readmitted persons. Today, at the level of the 28 EU Member States, more than 300 bilateral and multilateral agreements have been concluded to facilitate the swift removal of unauthorized aliens.²

These initiatives have been presented as a bitter remedy or a necessary evil, turning cooperation on readmission and reinforcement of border controls into a rational solution to fight “effectively” against unauthorised migration. There is no question that this cause-and-effect relationship invests official discourse and means of action with a sense of rationality.

However, any scholar who has worked on return migration would soon notice that this policy approach was not part of the open and recurrent debates about return migration during the 1970s and 1980s. These debates were addressed elsewhere (Cassarino 2004). Suffice to say that return was not mixed up with expulsion, let alone with readmission. Likewise, migrants’ motivations to return home, on a temporary or permanent basis, and their manifold patterns of reintegration, constituted at that time the main measures to be tackled, as well as the research interests of many scholars across various disciplines. Now it is possible to identify a list of 'main ingredients' that, since the 1990s, have been quite conducive to altering perceptions of migration in general, and return in particular: the growing politicisation of international migration movements; the ensuing adoption of restrictive laws regarding the conditions of entry and (temporary) residence of migrants, asylum-seekers and refugees; reinforced border controls; and the heightened debates on national sovereignty and identity. Such new taxonomies as “voluntary return” and “enforced return” started to shape more intensive public discourse and action by governmental and intergovernmental institutions.

The gradually more pervasive nature of this dichotomy (voluntary versus forced return) in public discourse and policies on migration and return appears today unquestionable. However, the extent to which it reflects the composite nature of return flows and returnees’ experiences remains highly debatable. There are two interrelated reasons for this. The first one is that the dichotomous approach to return, as it stands now in current political rhetoric, is shaped by a receiving-country bias. The second reason is that

² The inventory of these agreements is accessible here: <http://rsc.eui.eu/RDP/research/analyses/ra/>

neither conditions in countries of origin after “return”, nor reintegration, are properly considered.

In addition, despite the seemingly impeccable reference to voluntariness, the line between “voluntary” and forced return can, in the end, only be a blurred one, given the purposes it serves.

This blurred line has been documented over the last few years by the academic institutions and research centres that have carried out field surveys based on interviews with persons who were “returned” through assisted voluntary return (AVR) programmes. The common objective of these surveys was to provide empirical evidence of the socio-economic and psychological conditions of these individuals. Moreover, they set out to assess the impact of both readmission and AVR programmes on the patterns of reintegration of migrants in their countries of return. In other words, they tried to fill in a knowledge gap that had so far characterised the implementation of policies aimed at removing, either coercively or on a so-called voluntary basis, aliens subjected to a removal order by the authorities of a destination country.

For instance, June de Bree observed, within the framework of a field survey carried out in Afghanistan with “AVR returnees”, that interviewees are faced with poor employment and housing conditions back home. Her field survey showed that 93 percent of the sample declared that “they are restricted in their mobility within Afghanistan, either because they or their family had personal issues with the Taliban or Mujahedeen, or because of a general feeling of insecurity due to violence, crime and (terrorist) attacks” (De Bree 2008: 16). Insecurity and economic and social instability in Afghanistan are the most frequent factors cited by her interviewees vis-à-vis their intentions to leave the country again - with 89 percent of them expressing their desire to return to the West.³

In a similar vein, in a comparative study based on a large number of interviews carried out in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Sierra Leone, Afghanistan and Togo, Marieke van Houte and Mireille de Koning showed that social and political tensions in the country of

³ An evaluation report directed by Arne Strand, based on interviews with Afghan “voluntary returnees,” confirms their desire to re-emigrate abroad, owing to harsh, insecure conditions and poor economic prospects in Afghanistan (Strand *et al.* 2008: 46-47).

return, along with a lack of safety, accounted for the interviewees' desire to re-emigrate - even as obstacles to do so exist (Van Houte and Koning 2008: 34). These factors greatly jeopardised the interviewees' possibilities of reintegrating socially and professionally in the country of return. Needless to say that these investigations are important in understanding how the voluntary dimension and the "sustainability of return" - which constitute key elements supporting the adoption and implementation of AVR programmes - have been addressed in concrete terms in the above case studies.

Arguably, it is the aforementioned drive for operability that has supported this shift, just like it has so far exempted AVR programmes from any comprehensive and independent assessment of their impact on the conditions of persons in their countries of return - as noted by Jon Sward (2009).

Furthermore, the dichotomous approach to return would not have become so prevalent without the production of knowledge reifying the centrality of the state's managerial role. This development, already mentioned above, also turned the state and its administration into the legitimate producers of this form of knowledge.

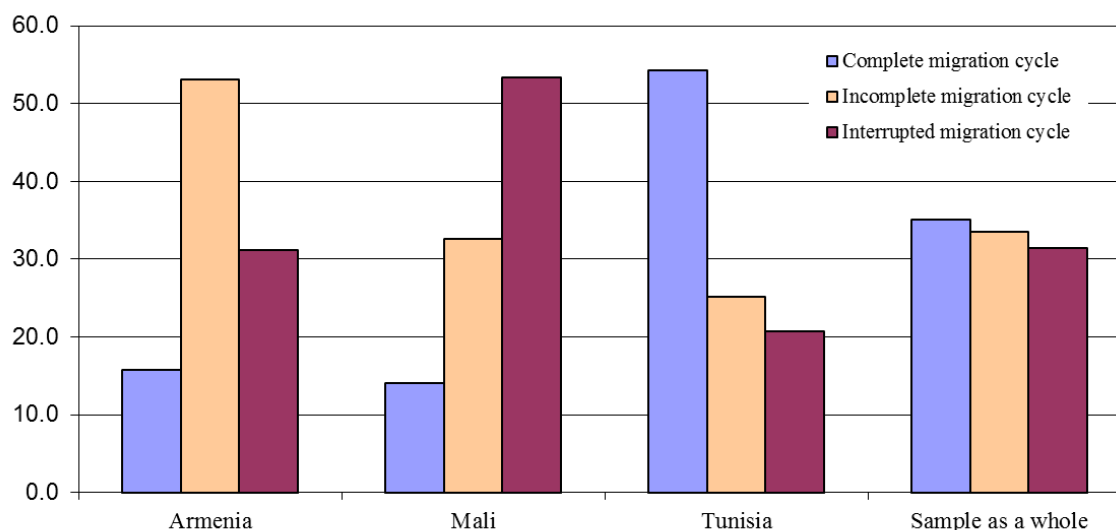
There is no doubt that the identification of priority actions and their unquestioned "necessary" solutions has, up to this point, consolidated a migratory regime aimed at dealing with consequences more than causes, and overlooking the actual conditions shaping migrants' patterns of reintegration after return. There are inescapable facts and evidence when it comes to dealing with the return of migrants and their patterns of reintegration. The next section sets out to address these by empirically highlighting the policy relevance of returnees' levels of preparedness, and of their respective migration cycles (i.e. complete, incomplete, and interrupted) in the field of return and development.

6. The analytical significance of migration cycles

As mentioned above, a migration cycle comprises three stages: departure/emigration, immigration, and return. Each return migrant has experienced particular conditions throughout these three stages. Such conditions have also had certain bearings on the

completeness of returnees' migration cycles. Not all return migrants have complete migration cycles, for factors motivating return are logically diverse. Some factors motivating return may be favourable, whereas others may not.

Figure 1: Returnees' migration cycles, %. N=1425



Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI

The point of this chapter is not to present a profile of return migrants. Nor is it to refer extensively to the specific conditions prevailing in each country of return. This is done in the following chapters, both at country level and thematically. Rather, this introductory chapter seeks to identify the fundamental factors that need to be taken into consideration when dealing with the link between return migration and development. Beyond the inherent heterogeneity that characterizes return flows and stocks, the significance of migration cycles needs to be underlined. At the level of the whole sample (N=1425), there is a rather equal distribution among the return migrants interviewed, in terms of types of migration cycle (Figure 1). By contrast, strong discrepancies appear at a country level.

In Armenia, more than half the return migrants interviewed had an incomplete migration cycle. A substantial share of the Armenian returnees interviewed explained that they decided to return home on their own initiative, but that their decisions were

also prompted by family pressures, or by other problems that did not allow them to stay abroad any longer. Malian and Tunisian returnees who had incomplete migration cycles also referred to family pressures and duties back home. Additionally, in their specific cases, job precariousness in their former countries of destination was another major reason that prompted them to return.

More than half of the Malian return migrants interviewed had an interrupted migration cycle. As explained in Chapter 3, the interruption stemmed from the unstable situation in Cote-d'Ivoire, where most interviewees lived before returning to Mali. The political crisis that hit Cote-d'Ivoire had a strong bearing on the vulnerability of Malian immigrants and their families, leading in turn to their repatriation. In a similar way, the deteriorating political situation in Libya in 2011, along with expulsions and removals from France and Italy, also compelled a certain number of Tunisian interviewees to return, contributing to the interruption of their migration cycle. In France, the migration cycles of Armenian returnees were interrupted by the non-renewal of residence permits, and removal from the country.

The return decisions of migrants who had complete migration cycles were motivated by the fact that their migration objectives had been achieved, and that it was time to return back home. Others (particularly in Tunisia, and to a lesser extent in Mali and in Armenia) explained that they had accumulated enough human and financial capital abroad to invest in business back home.

When comparing data between the three countries, we can see from Figure 1 that a large share of the Armenian sample consists of returnees who had an incomplete migration cycle, whereas the Malian sample includes a large share of returnees who had an interrupted migration cycle; meanwhile, the Tunisian sample contains a large share of returnees who had a complete migration cycle. How can these discrepancies be explained? What do they suggest analytically?

There are various variables that need to be considered in order to account for these differences. The first explanatory variable is the duration of the experience of migration. Indeed, all other things being equal, one could argue that time impacts decisively on the opportunities to gather the tangible and intangible resources needed to reintegrate back

home, if conditions in both the countries of immigration and of origin are held constant. One might even expect that migrants having a complete migration cycle are those with a migration experience of longer duration.

The survey showed, however, that this hypothesis does not apply consistently. This is because the question is not really about the duration of the experience of migration, so much as the social, political and economic conditions that migrants experienced abroad before their return. Returnees who had migration experiences of longer duration are not necessarily those having a complete migration cycle.

Table 2: Average duration of return migrants' experiences of migration, (years). N=1425

	Types of migration cycle		
	Complete	Incomplete	Interrupted
Armenian returnees	4,9 years	5,0 years	3,3 years
Malian returnees	10,0 years	11,1 years	13,2 years
Tunisian returnees	13,8 years	11,0 years	7,8 years
Total (average)	10,0 years	8,5 years	9,0 years
	Complete	Incomplete + Interrupted (average)	
Armenian returnees	4,9 years	4,2 years	
Malian returnees	10,0 years	12,1 years	
Tunisian returnees	13,8 years	8,6 years	
Total (average)	10,0 years	8,7 years	

Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI

The case of the Malian return migrants interviewed is emblematic. Table 2 clearly shows that the duration of the experience of migration is not always significant when explaining the various types of migration cycles. Malian returnees who had an interrupted migration cycle lived abroad for 13.2 years on an average, whereas those having a complete and incomplete migration cycle lived abroad for 10 and 11.1 years respectively. Most of the Malian returnees who had an interrupted migration cycle were immigrants in Cote d'Ivoire who, given the deterioration of that country's political situation, had no choice but to flee the violence there.

These migrants did not intend to return, nor did they prepare for return. Upon return, around 30 percent were faced with unemployment and joblessness back home. This share had decreased by time of survey, and many of them had started to make a living in Mali by setting up their own business concerns (mainly in the informal sectors).

As regards Armenian returnees, differences in length of stay abroad are not relevant when comparing the three types of migration cycle. Those who had an interrupted migration cycle lived abroad for 3.3 years, that is, for a slightly shorter period of time than those having a complete and incomplete migration cycle (Table 2).⁴ There is no question that Armenian returnees who had a complete migration cycle have a higher propensity to professionally reintegrate back home, compared with others. The survey also demonstrated that Armenian returnees who had a complete migration cycle were living predominantly in the neighbouring country of Russia. There seems to be no correlation between the duration of migration experience and occupational reintegration in Armenia. This can be explained with reference to the cross-border mobility that characterises migration from Armenia to Russia. This repeated back-and-forth movement can also be understood as a strategy allowing returnees and their family/relatives in Armenia to offset unfavourable conditions at home vis-à-vis the labour market, job creation in the private sector, and decent wages.

In contrast to Malian and Armenian returnees, a correlation exists between Tunisian returnees' duration of migration experience and the completeness of their migration cycles. Tunisian returnees who had interrupted migration cycles lived for shorter periods abroad than those whose migration cycles were incomplete and complete. This correlation becomes weaker, however, with reference to young generations of Tunisian returnees.

Among many other issues analysed in this volume, these considerations are important to understanding that duration of migration experience constitutes only one explanatory variable relating to the propensity to reintegrate back home or not and to contribute to development. As shown in this volume, conditions in the country of immigration also have certain bearings on the completeness of returnees' migration cycles, and on their propensity to reintegrate back home. Conditions in the country of origin are equally relevant when it comes to analysing patterns of reintegration.

⁴ They were more often than not expelled from their former countries of destination, above all from France.

7. Towards a terminological readjustment

The findings presented in this volume lend support to the argument that reintegration is a question of *access to opportunities*, in the countries of destination and of origin. Both dimensions are simply inseparable. Opportunities to find a job, to transfer one's own skills and social rights, to stay mobile, to start a family, to realize one's own lifeplans (abroad or in the country of origin), are all contingent on adequate if not optimal conditions.

In this light, and given the diversity inherent in return migrants' types of migration cycle and conditions at time of survey, the findings presented in this volume call for a rethink of the priorities behind current "return policies". The latter should foster the conditions for enhancing access to opportunities, not for ensuring at all costs the so-called "sustainability" or durability of return in countries of origin.

Such a rethink would clearly constitute a daunting challenge for migration and development stakeholders. Furthermore, it would be contingent on a basic precondition: the necessity to make a clear-cut distinction between the factors that motivated return, for motivations decisively impact on the likelihood to reintegrate and on return migrants' preparedness.

As shown in this volume, a migration cycle's degree of completeness or interruption strongly shapes migrants' capacity to reintegrate in their countries of origin. Empirical data confirm that the more complete the migration cycle, the more prepared for return migrants are. This evidence cannot be dismissed when dealing with reintegration and development.

The most adequate response to address the above-mentioned evidence would lie first and foremost in appreciating that the following categories of migrant cannot be mixed together under a uniform heading of "return": 1/repatriated migrants from war-torn countries of immigration; 2/ unauthorised migrants removed or readmitted from abroad; and 3/return migrants who decided on their own initiative, and in the absence of any pressure whatsoever, to go back home. There is a substantial difference between return (viewed as a stage in the migration cycle), repatriation and readmission. The last two terms epitomise the interruption of a migration itinerary having severe consequences for

migrants' likelihood and opportunities to reintegrate. As long as no distinction is made, the policy debate on the link between return, reintegration and development will remain biased by security-driven priorities, if not wholly spurious.

As explained at the beginning of this introductory chapter, mixing up readmission and return springs from a receiving country bias that stands in stark contrast with what scholars across various disciplines have observed and documented since the 1960s onwards in their research on return migrants. Accordingly, it is with this call for a terminological readjustment in mind that the studies presented in this volume should be read.

RETURN MIGRANTS IN ARMENIA

Antonella Guarneri

1. Introduction

In the field of migratory studies, the case of Armenia is very interesting to study. In a relatively brief period this country has experienced various different phases that are worth mentioning. When Armenia reached independence in 1991, a period of much emigration began. This peaked in the first half of the 1990s and after that a period of stabilization took place.

Currently, the phenomenon of return migration seems to be growing in intensity. The problem is that it is not easy to describe this topic statistically using official sources. Estimates of migration flows during the last decade are based entirely on research rather than official records (Yeganyan 2010: 16). Some examples that contribute to focusing attention on migration in Armenia are the “Return Migration to Armenia in 2002-2008” study carried out by the OCSE and Advanced Social Technologies (AST), the Sample Survey on External and Internal Migration in the Republic of Armenia carried out in 2007 by the National Statistical Service and the Ministry of Labour and Social Issues, and the report on “Migration and skills in Armenia” published by the ETF and the

Caucasus Research Resource Centre. The first of these focuses on return migration while the other two consider the whole migration issue.

With the lack of official data on migration, and in particular on return migration, information from the CRIS survey allows this gap to be filled by providing a picture of recent trends involving Armenian returnees. Among the many topics considered, the reintegration process seems to be of particular relevance.

2. Socio-demographic characteristics

The Armenian sample is composed of 349 returnees interviewed mainly in the provinces of Yerevan, Ararat, Kotayk, and to a lesser extent in the provinces of Lori, Shirak and Gegharkunik (Table 1).

Table 1: Geographic distribution of the Armenian returnees interviewed, by sex, %. N=349

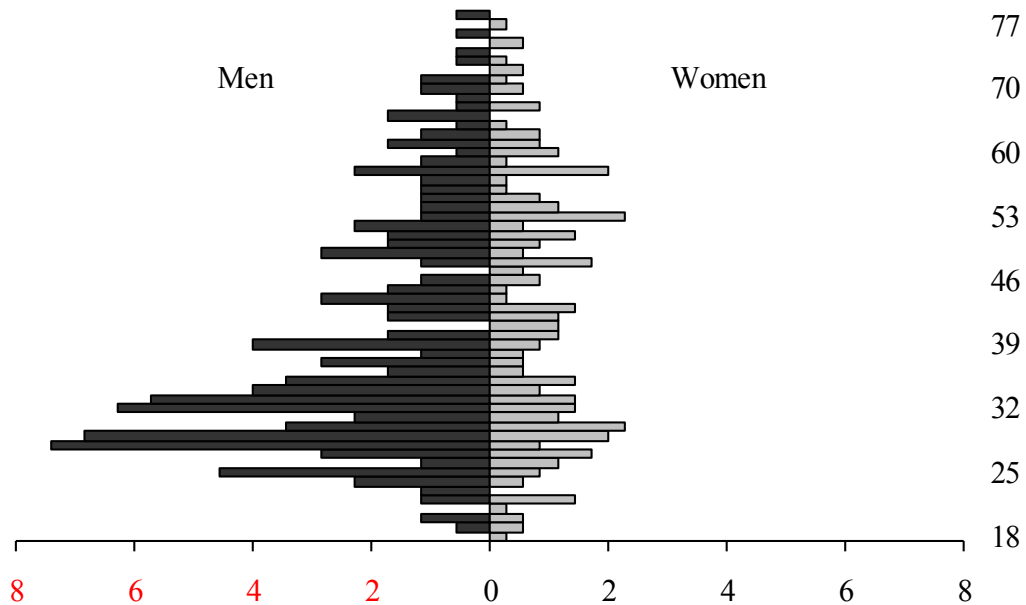
Provinces	Female	Male	Total
	%	%	%
Yerevan	23.2	17.5	40.7
Ararat	7.7	8.6	16.3
Kotayk	2.6	9.5	12.0
Lori	3.2	5.2	8.3
Shirak	3.7	4.3	8.0
Gegharkunik	1.7	4.3	6.0
Other provinces	5.2	3.4	8.6
Total (%)	47.3	52.7	100

Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI

Most of the migrants lived in urban areas in all three stages of the migration cycle: 73 per cent of the interviewees were born in an urban area; 90 per cent lived in urban areas whilst abroad and 72 per cent settled in an urban area after their return. Almost half of the sample returned to the same place where they resided before emigration. More men than women returned to their birthplace.

Men accounted for 52.7 per cent of the whole sample, which comprised mainly young adults aged between 25 and 34 (36 per cent). The mean age was 42 (Figure 1).

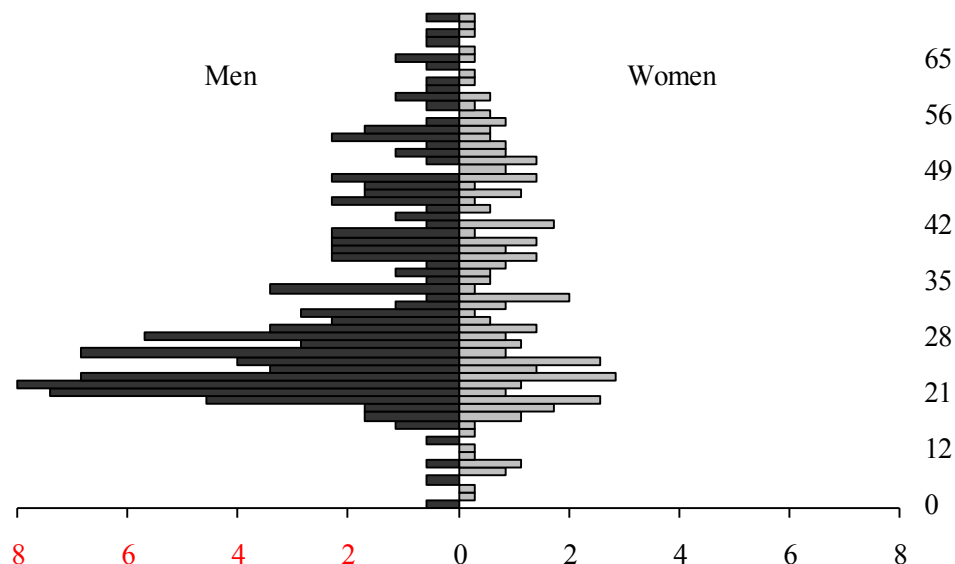
Figure 1: Pyramid of the ages of the Armenian returnees interviewed at the time of the interview. N=349



Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI

It is nevertheless interesting to compare this distribution by sex and age with the distribution of the Armenian returnees at the moment in which they left their country for the first time. This is relevant because the decision to migrate was not always an individual choice, but in some cases was a decision made by the whole household. This appears clear from the ages of the interviewees at the time of their first emigration. Some of them were children. Most of them were concentrated in the age group 15-24, but the mean age was 33 years (Figure 2).

Figure 2: Pyramid of ages of the Armenian returnees interviewed at the time of their first emigration. N=349



Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI

It is interesting to single out the main migratory models that characterize the Armenians at the moment of their emigration. A high proportion of them were married before emigration (Table 2). However, this information is not sufficient to know whether they shared their migration experience together with their husband or wife.

Table 2: Evolution of Armenian returnees' marital status, by sex. N=349

Marital status	Before leaving to go abroad			At the time of the survey		
	Female	Male	Total	Female	Male	Total
Single	26.7	40.2	33.8	16.4	20.7	18.6
Engaged	3.6	0.5	2.0	3.0	2.2	2.6
Married	53.9	56.5	55.3	57.6	71.2	64.8
Divorced	7.3	1.6	4.3	12.1	3.3	7.4
Widowed	8.5	1.1	4.6	10.9	2.7	6.6
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI

Regarding gender, a substantial share of the male migrants was single when they emigrated and many of them got married during their migration cycle. The proportion

of divorced and widowed women in the sample is tiny but not negligible (12 and 11 per cent respectively). Most of the migrants had children before emigrating. In total, 69 per cent of the whole sample had children across the three stages of the migration cycle.

The sample is mainly composed of highly educated migrants. More than 80 per cent of them completed secondary education. Only 7 per cent of the respondents studied abroad.

3. Leaving Armenia

Almost 50 per cent of the migrants emigrated for the first time after 2005 (Table 3). More than 8 in 10 interviewees emigrated only once.

Table 3: Armenian returnees' year of first emigration, by sex. N=349

Years of first emigration	Female	Male	Total
	%	%	%
Before (and including) 1995	10.9	6.5	8.6
Between 1996 and 2000	21.2	11.4	16
Between 2001 and 2005	26.1	28.3	27.2
After 2005	41.8	53.8	48.1
Total (%)	100	100	100

Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI

Almost all the interviewees left Armenia legally. Most of them did not need a visa (64 per cent) and 3 in 10 of them left with a tourist visa (Table 4).

Personal and family savings were the main source used by the interviewees to prepare for their journey abroad. The main financial resources from which the interviewees benefited before emigration were their own salaries and their families (37 and 39 per cent). Economic motivations such as finding a job (indicated as first reason by 14 per cent of the whole sample), looking for higher incomes (12 per cent first reason) and better working conditions abroad (10 per cent first reason) were the most recurrent factors the interviewees mentioned to explain their desire to emigrate.

Table 4: Legal status and type of documents used by Armenian returnees when leaving to go abroad, by sex. N=349

	Women	Men	Total
	%	%	%
Did you leave your country....			
Legally	99.4	96.7	98.0
Unofficially	0.6	3.3	2.0
Total	100	100	100
Did you leave your country....(only legally)			
With a tourist visa	30.9	33.0	32.0
With a work permit/visa	0.0	0.5	0.3
With a family reunification visa	2.4	0.0	1.2
With a student visa	2.4	1.1	1.7
With a business visa	0.0	0.0	0.0
No visa needed	63.0	64.3	63.7
Other	0.0	1.1	0.6
Missing	1.2	0.0	0.6
Total (%)	100	100	100

Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI

Crucially, a lack of prospects in Armenia was also an important factor in deciding to emigrate (9 per cent). Among the other reasons for leaving frequently mentioned by the interviewees, reuniting family members constituted a particularly important motivation:

“I decided together with my wife to leave Armenia for some time in order to work and earn money. Hence, the main reasons for leaving were looking for employment, for better working conditions and better salary.” (Male return migrant, born in 1973 in a village in the north of the country, Shirak region).

In this short narrative, we can see a mix of push and pull factors orienting the choices of potential migrants. The presence of family members and friends abroad acted as a pull factor, not only influencing the decision to emigrate but also the choice of destination country. Moreover, the family played a key role in helping the interviewees financially, as well as in financing (38.7 per cent) and in preparing for the emigration journey (26.6 per cent).

4. Countries of destination

The most important country of destination was Russia (59 per cent); historical ties with this country still played a crucial role after the dissolution of the USSR (Table 5). In addition, the possibility of entering the country legally without applying for a residence permit represented an element which should not be neglected. The second destination country chosen by the Armenians was France (16 per cent), in fact the overall distribution indicates Europe as a secondary destination area. Information about the different countries where the Armenians lived and of the different periods they stayed there allow definition of the “main country of immigration” (MCI). This country is identified as the country where the Armenians stayed the longest.

Table 5: Armenian returnees' main country of immigration, by sex. N=349

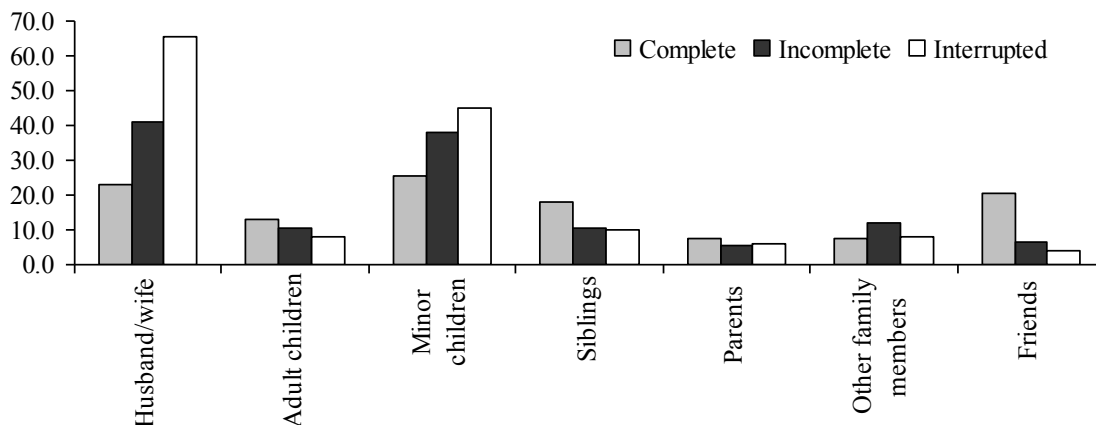
Main country of immigration	Women	Men	Total
	%	%	%
Russia	57.6	59.7	58.8
France	13.3	17.4	15.5
Austria	2.4	4.3	3.4
United States of America	3.0	2.7	2.9
Ukraine	2.4	2.7	2.6
The Netherlands	1.2	2.2	1.7
Belgium	1.8	1.1	1.4
Germany	1.2	1.6	1.4
Greece	2.4	0.5	1.4
Poland	1.8	1.1	1.4
Turkey	3.0	0.0	1.4
Sweden	1.8	0.0	0.9
Great Britain	0.6	0.5	0.6
Lithuania	0.0	1.1	0.6
Spain	1.2	0.0	0.6
Uzbekistan	1.2	0.0	0.6
Abkhazia	0.0	0.5	0.3
Bashkortostan	0.0	0.5	0.3
Belarus	0.6	0.0	0.3
Bulgaria	0.0	0.5	0.3
China	0.6	0.0	0.3
Hungary	0.6	0.0	0.3
Iran	0.6	0.0	0.3
Israel	0.0	0.5	0.3
Italy	0.0	0.5	0.3
Kazakhstan	0.6	0.0	0.3
Lebanon	0.6	0.0	0.3
Mongolia	0.6	0.0	0.3

Romania	0.0	0.5	0.3
South Korea	0.0	0.5	0.3
Switzerland	0.0	0.5	0.3
Tatarstan	0.0	0.5	0.3
Turkmenistan	0.6	0.0	0.3
Total (%)	100	100	100

Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI

The presence of family members and friends abroad was, by far, the main reason for the interviewees' choice of country of destination (43 per cent). Almost half of them left Armenia with family members or friends (this applies more to women than to men). Only 17 per cent of the interviewees were joined by family members or friends after settling abroad. This may be explained by the fact that many of the interviewees only went abroad for short stays.

Figure 3: Members of family and friends arrived in the MCI with the Armenian returnee interviewee by types of migration cycle. N=349



Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI

A first aspect to consider is household composition in across the three different migration stages. The importance of ties with family members and friends is without doubt. However, in this framework, one key feature in the composition of the returnees' networks are the persons with whom the interviewee has shared the experienced of migration. In addition, the composition of these networks is studied according to

different characteristics, e.g. the migration cycle¹. Among the Armenians who completed their migration cycle we find husband/wife, young children and friends showing the same intensity, followed by siblings (Figure 3).

In the case of the “migration networks” of the returnees with an incomplete or interrupted migration cycle, it is worth noting the greatest intensity observed for husband/wife and young children, potentially “the strongest ties”.

These percentages decrease – and subsequently the strength of the ties – when we consider household members that arrive in the destination country after the interviewees.

5. The migration experience

Finding a job abroad does not seem to have been very problematic. Around 46 per cent found a job immediately after, or even before, emigrating. The family is frequently mentioned as an asset when the interviewees were looking for a job abroad or when they needed help in the broadest sense. Social capital, here mostly represented by family bonds, gives us essential information regarding the strength of social ties in the host country (Cassarino, 2004).

“The main reason for choosing the Russian Federation as my main country of immigration was that my uncle was already there and had promised to get me a job as a cook.” (Male return migrant, born in 1989 in a village 20 km away from Yerevan).

Or

“I received some money from my parents, but also from my uncle in the Russian Federation to pay for my trip. I moved to Moscow and lived with my uncle in the same apartment.” (Male return migrant, born in 1980 in Yerevan).

migration cycle, see the introductory chapter of the report (Chapter 1).

Or again,

“It was extremely helpful to have a relative abroad. Without my husband’s uncle we would have faced many more difficulties. He provided us with a room in his apartment and my husband with connections”. (Female return migrant, born in 1970 in a village in the Ararat region).

The proportion of migrants who found a job abroad was naturally higher (62 per cent) than that of those who had a job in the stage before emigration (57 per cent). 31 per cent of the interviewees found a temporary job. The proportion of housewives also increased (23 per cent, with respect to 12 per cent in the pre-emigration period). Only a few interviewees invested in a business project while abroad (6 per cent). The proportion of students was negligible (5 per cent), approximately the same observed in Armenia before emigration (6 per cent). For 2 in 10 migrants, professional training continued abroad in the form of on-the-job training (with respect to the 37 per cent registered before emigration). Whereas a substantial share (31 per cent) could benefit from social protection whilst abroad, only 13 per cent of the whole sample enjoyed social security rights on their return.

“In the Russian Federation, I had no friends and my social contacts were restricted to other Armenians.” (Female return migrant, born in 1974 in a village in the Shirak region).

Or

“I did not have a lot of friends in Massachusetts, but my husband had many Armenian and American friends. I felt quite isolated in Massachusetts, alone with my two children. At my workplace, I got along very well with my American colleagues, but never really made friends.” (Female return migrant, born in 1985 in Yerevan).

This tendency of Armenians to form friendships most of all with co-nationals – which becomes clear from the in-depth interviews – is largely confirmed by the survey data. Whilst abroad, almost the totality of the interviewees mentioned that they had good relationships with the host society, even including those who were then compelled to return to Armenia. Interestingly, most of the interviewees mentioned they had daily contacts with their co-nationals and with the host society whilst abroad, but very few contacts with other immigrants from the Caucasus (Table 6). Again, it was mainly through the family network that they were able to meet new people while abroad, followed by friendship channels.

Table 6: Frequency of Armenian returnees' contacts with friends in the MCI, by country of origin of friends. N=-349

Frequency of contacts	Friends from Armenia	Friends from countries neighbouring Armenia	Friends from the MCI	Other migrants
	%	%	%	%
Every day	43.1	5.2	36.6	40.6
At least once a week	35.3	7.5	29.7	20.7
At least once a month	12.4	5.2	10.4	7.5
Several times a year	3.7	3.8	6.3	5.2
Once a year	1.4	1.7	2.6	1.4
Never	4.0	76.6	14.4	24.5
Total (%)	100	100	100	100

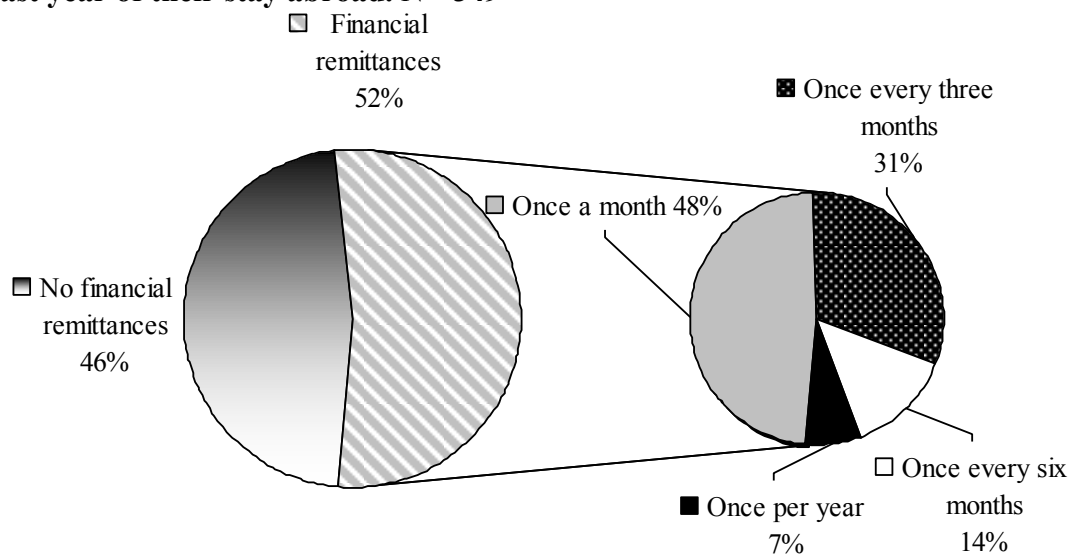
Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI

Considering the whole experience from a social point of view, few problems in the host society were reported. Only 12 per cent of the interviewees experienced any form of discrimination abroad. Moreover, relationships with the public authorities in the destination country were unproblematic for most respondents (for 73 per cent of them).

Contacts with family or relatives left behind in Armenia were frequent for as much as 66 per cent of the whole sample. This information contrasts starkly with the low number of interviewees who physically visited Armenia whilst abroad (only 17 per cent). This may be explained by the relatively short duration of their experiences of migration, as mentioned before. Almost half of the sample regularly remitted money to Armenia while abroad (Figure 4).

More than half of those who did so transferred money to their parents and 29 per cent to their partner. More than 30 per cent of those who remitted sent an average of 1000 Euros a year. Most migrants channelled their remittances through money transfer companies. In-kind transfers were not frequently made.

Figure 4: Frequency of financial remittances sent by Armenian returnees' during the last year of their stay abroad. N=349



Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI

6. Return to Armenia

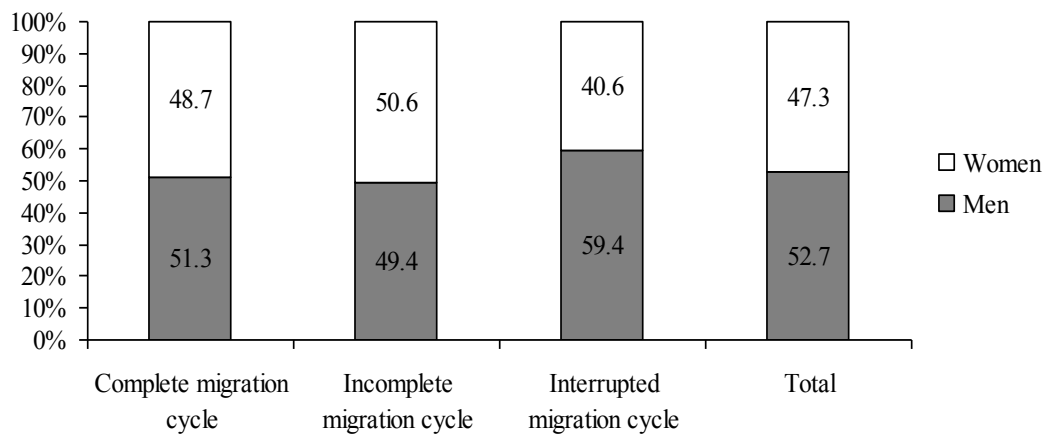
The extent to which the returnees' migration cycle was complete impacts on their reintegration pattern. In the case of a complete migration cycle – when a migrant decides on his own initiative to go back to his country of origin without any form of pressure – his expectations can be presumed to be more likely to be satisfied. The other two types of migration cycle are: an incomplete migration cycle – when a migrant returns because compelled to do so by some unfavourable circumstances – and an interrupted migration cycle – when a migrant is forced to return by administrative or judicial acts performed in the destination county. In both these cases there are more problems in finding appropriate employment.

In the analysis of the survey data, the type of migration cycle is used as a key variable to

study the reintegration of the returnees. Considering the whole sample, only 22 per cent of the interviewees experienced a migration cycle which can be classified as complete. Incomplete migration cycles affected roughly half of the sample (Figure 5). 2 in 10 migrants returned on “return assistance programmes”. Above all, these were among those with an interrupted migration cycle (71 per cent).

Men more often than women reported difficulties in terms of both the regularity of their stay and their job. The role of primary migration actor that men are usually called on to play presumably places them in a position more at risk. Those who experienced an interrupted migration cycle are mostly men (6 in 10). In the other two types, the genders are more balanced (Figure 5).

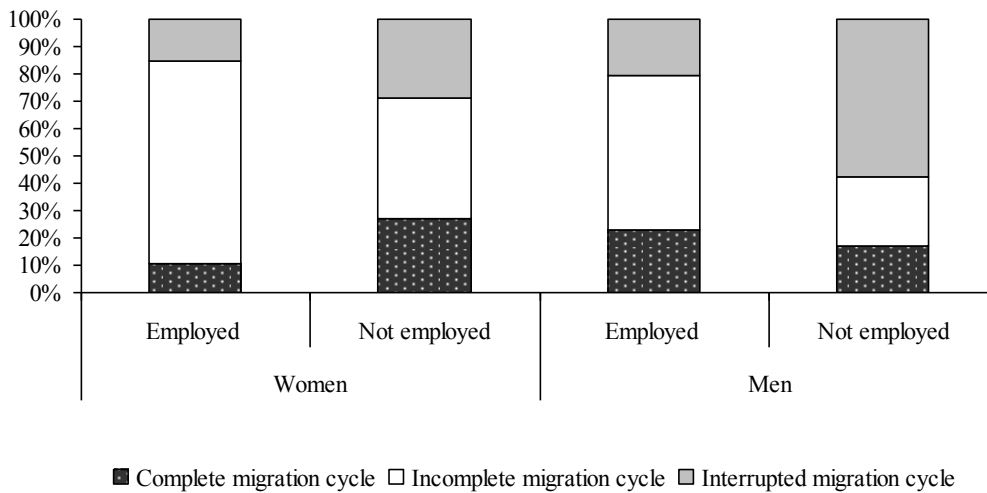
Figure 5: Types of migration cycle of the Armenian returnees interviewed by sex. N=349



Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI

Considering the professional status in the MCI among the not employed the category of interrupted migration cycle is predominant: 6 in 10 have interrupted their migratory experience (Figure 6).

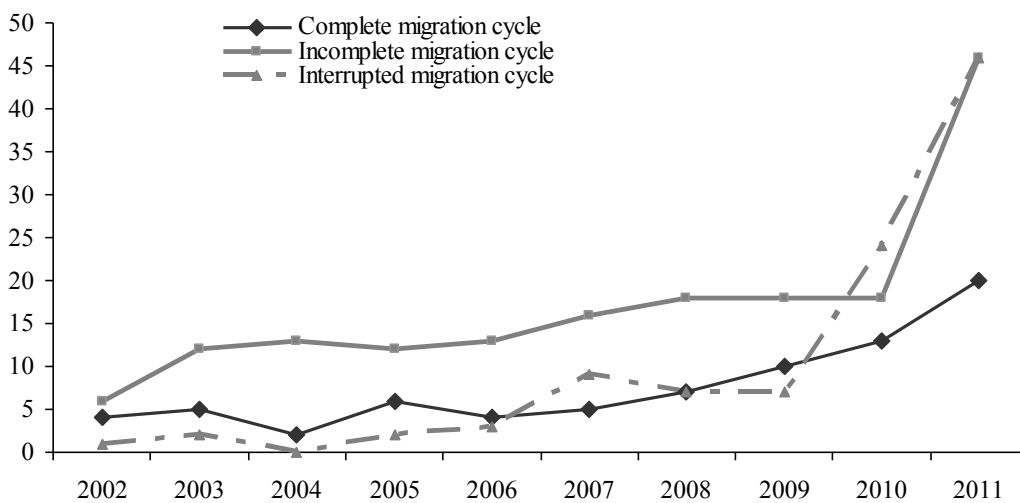
Figure 6: Professional status in the MCI of the Armenian returnees interviewed by sex and types of migration cycle. N=349



Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI

Analysing the time distribution of the returns, the first aspect that catches the attention is that in the last two years of the period considered (2010 and 2011) the percentage of returns increased. In this context, information about the migration cycle is crucial, because the two types of migration cycle most involved in these recent returns are definitely the two most problematic: interrupted and incomplete (Figure 7). The Armenian returnees that experienced a complete migration cycle, on the other hand, show a much more linear trend. Furthermore, increasing attention to the security dimension, particularly in European countries, could have affected this recent peak.

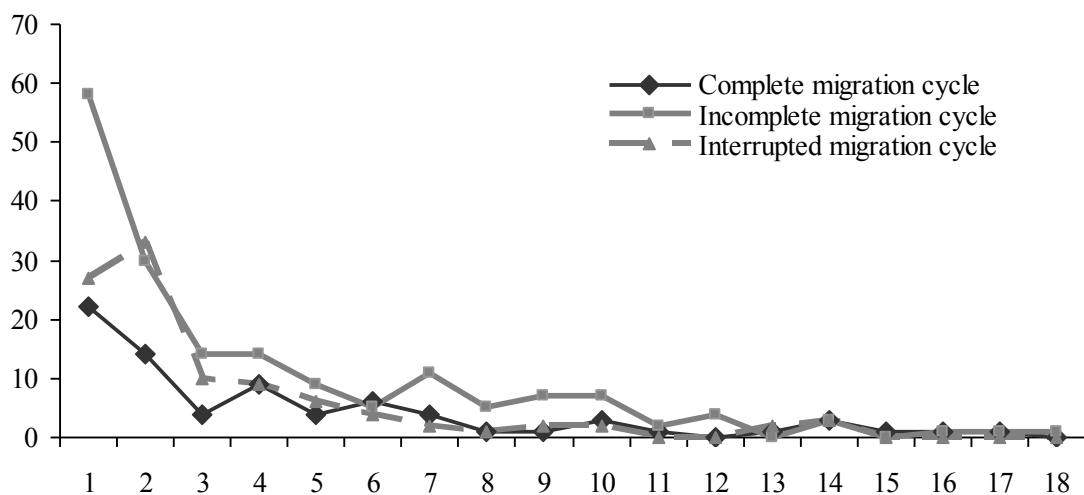
Figure 7: Armenian returnees' year of return by type of migration cycle. N=349



Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI

This information about the year of return is essential to calculate the duration of the period passed abroad. Most of the interviewees stayed abroad for less than 4 years (65 per cent). Women stayed abroad for longer periods of time than men. Unsurprisingly, the migrants who stayed abroad for shorter periods are the ones whose migration cycle is interrupted or incomplete (Figure 8). 15 per cent of those who decided to return to Armenia on their own initiative stayed abroad for more than five years, a percentage more than double that of the returnees with an interrupted migration cycle. There is no ideal timing for coming back home: preparation for returning is not only a question of migrants' willingness to return but also of their readiness to return home. Almost 6 in 10 migrants planned to stay abroad only temporarily. This finding is consistent with the evidence that most interviewees were officially temporary residents whilst abroad. It is worth noting the relatively high share of interviewees who were uncertain about whether they intended to stay abroad on a temporary or permanent basis before emigrating and the significantly higher proportion of men than women who planned to stay abroad permanently.

Figure 8: Types of migration cycle by duration of stay abroad. N=349



Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI

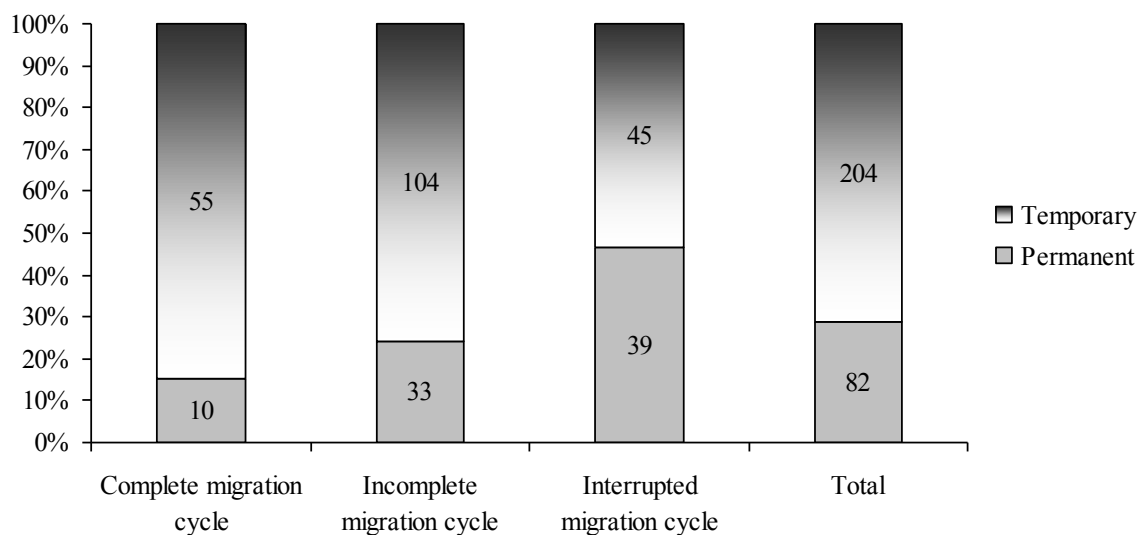
Another interesting point to consider is a comparison between the migration intentions at the time of emigration and the three types of migration cycle considered. There is a higher share of Armenians who intended to stay abroad permanently among those who experienced an abrupt interruption of their migration experience (Figure 9).

On the other hand, the smallest proportion of those intending to stay away permanently is observed among the Armenians who completed their migration cycle. In general, it is notable that the Armenians seem to predominantly emigrate temporarily rather than permanently, at least in their intentions.

“I was working as a cook in a small restaurant in Yerevan before I left the country. My intention was to stay temporarily in another country to work and earn some money”. (Male return migrant, born in 1989 in a village 20 km away from Yerevan).

Family links and homesickness were the main reasons the interviewees decided to return on their own initiative (27 and 19 per cent respectively indicated these as their first reason), whereas non-renewal of residence permits (39 per cent) together with expulsion (32 per cent) were the main reasons mentioned by those who declared they had been compelled to go back to Armenia.

Figure 9: Types of migration cycle by migration intention on a temporary or permanent basis, at the time of emigration. N=349



Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI

More than a third of the interviewees returned with their partners and/or children. This proportion increases when one considers the women interviewees (Table 7).

Table 7: People accompanying the Armenian returnees on their return to Armenia, by sex. N=349

Did you return with family members?	Women	Men	Total
	%	%	%
Yes, with spouse or/and children	47.3	22.8	34.4
Yes, with other household members/friends	7.3	7.6	7.4
Yes, both (family, household members/friends)	1.8	2.2	2.0
No	43.6	67.4	56.2
Total (%)	100	100	100

Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI

Again, the family played a key role in helping the interviewees to collect information about their return situation. Among those who declared that had taken advantage of sources of information concerning the return process, the family was the main resource for 8 Armenian returnees in 10. This becomes nearly 9 in 10 if we consider those with an incomplete migration cycle. As mentioned above, family problems constituted the main reason prompting migrants to return.

“In 2003, my parents-in-law asked my husband and me to return to take care of them. They were old and needed somebody to help them in the house and in their agricultural business. I returned with my children and my husband remained an additional year in the Russian Federation.” (Female return migrant, born in 1970 in a village in the Ararat region).

The typology and timing of the migration cycle may not be the same for all the members of a household. However, the survey data cannot substantiate this assertion. The role of caregiver, which women played more often than men, may also include care of elderly parents or members of the family who are sick.

7. Occupational status and financial situation after the return

Returning, regardless of whether or not it was planned, implies a complex reintegration process. Conditions change over time. However, in the typical Armenian case studied here, the short duration of the interviewees’ stays abroad helped to smooth this process, at least in terms of the maintenance of contacts in the period of absence. However, it is

inclusion in the labour market that seems to drive this reintegration process, and unfortunately this was often not without difficulty. Indeed, it was after returning that finding work generally became more difficult: 27 per cent did not find a job and 28 per cent took more than three months to find one. Only 49 per cent found a job after their return, whereas 62 per cent were employed during the stay abroad (Table 8).

Regarding the sector of employment, a relative majority of the migrants were employed in the health and social sectors before their emigration. The trade, automobile and education sectors also figured quite highly. Once abroad, their distribution by sector changed somewhat. Indeed, 37 per cent of the interviewees were employed in the construction and building industry abroad, while after their return this share fell to 14 per cent (Table 9). Once back in Armenia, trade, car and domestic appliance repair and manufacturing industries became the most relevant sectors of employment (with shares of 16.4 and 15.8 per cent respectively).

Table 8: Evolution of the Armenian returnees' occupational status. N=349

Occupational status	Before leaving to go abroad	In the MCI, before returning	At the time of the survey
	%	%	%
Employed on a permanent basis	29.3	17.5	20.6
Temporary employment	12.5	31.3	8.9
Part-time employment	1.4	2.3	1.7
Seasonal work	0.3	0.6	0.0
Entrepreneur, manager	1.2	1.4	2.3
Self-employed in the formal sector	2.9	3.2	6.9
Self-employed in the informal sector	9.3	5.7	8.6
Registered unemployed	2.3	0.6	3.7
Unregistered unemployed	18.6	6.9	21.2
Student	6.4	4.9	3.2
Housewife	12.2	23.3	14.6
Retired	3.8	2.3	8.3
Total (%)	100	100	100

Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI

Table 9: Employment sectors where the interviewed Armenian returnees are employed. (a)

Employment sectors	Before leaving for abroad	In the MCI, before returning	At the time of the survey
	%	%	%
Agriculture, hunting, forestry	7.1	1.9	9.4
Fishery, aquaculture	0.0	0.0	0.0
Mining industries	0.0	0.0	0.6
Manufactory industries	5.7	12.5	16.4
Electricity, gas and water prod. & supply	1.4	0.9	0.0
Construction/building industry	7.1	37.0	14.0
Trade, car and domestic appliance repair	15.7	15.3	15.8
Hotel/catering industry	2.9	7.9	4.1
Transport and communications	4.3	2.8	3.5
Financial services	2.9	0.9	2.3
Real estate, renting and business services	0.0	0.5	0.0
Public administration	0.0	0.5	2.3
Education	14.3	3.7	4.7
Health sector and social activities	17.1	1.4	5.3
Public, social and private services	8.6	5.1	9.9
Home services	0.0	4.6	1.2
Extraterritorial services	0.0	5.1	9.4
Arts/handicraft	1.4	0.0	0.0
Other	11.4	0.0	1.1
Total	100	100	100

Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI

(a) For the indication of the sector before the emigration the respondents are 196, for the one in the MCI 216 and, finally, for the one after return 171.

At time of survey, the situation turned out to be somewhat similar to that observed before emigration: many interviewees were employed with permanent job contracts and others were unregistered unemployed. Incidentally, those compelled to return seem to perform worse than those who decided to. It is worth noting that a certain number of the compelled returnees became self-employed, both in the formal and the informal sectors, and that the proportion of self-employed compelled returnees was higher than that of the self-employed returnees with a complete or incomplete migration cycle. This paradox stems from a fieldwork bias. Many self-employed compelled returnees were Armenians who were repatriated through “assisted voluntary return” (AVR) programmes. This, however, informs more about the nature of their return conditions than about their skills

for self-employment. These self-employed AVRers viewed their return situation in Armenia negatively.

Overall, 50 of the returnees invested in a business concern in Armenia. Self-financing remained by far the main source of funding this. Most of these business concerns were set up in the service sector, followed by the primary sector. Almost 40 per cent were very small businesses employing only the interviewee, and almost 6 in 10 of these projects were set up thanks to the support (not necessarily financial) of an institution.

The Armenian returnees who did not invest when they arrived back home explained that lack of capital was the most recurrent obstacle to getting involved in business. Others simply did not consider this option or were not interested in investing back home. Others still mentioned corruption as a deterrent to investment. Consequently, when asked what should be done to foster investment in Armenia, the returnees mentioned, in order of priority, easier access to bank loans, tax exemptions and a business-friendly environment.

Overall, migration had a positive impact on the interviewees' monthly wages. Before their emigration, 38 per cent earned below the minimum wage, and 33 per cent earned around the average wage. At the time of the survey, 40 per cent of the returnees earned around the average wage and 24 per cent much more than the average. Moreover, during their migration experience up to 67 per cent of the interviewees earned between 200 and 1000 euros a month.

Table 10: Evolution of Armenian returnees' financial situations. N=349

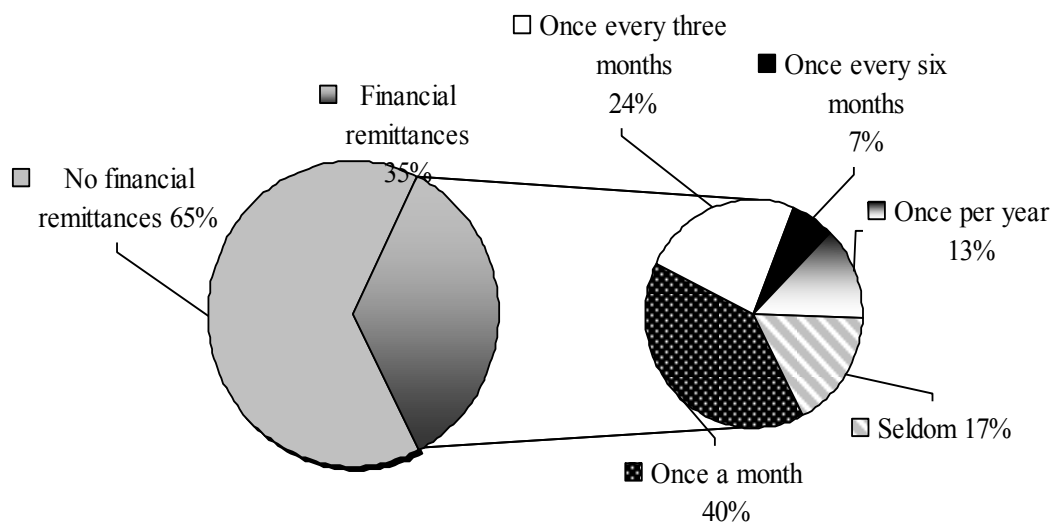
Evaluation of financial situation	In the MCI compared to the situation in Armenia before departing	In Armenia, after returning, compared to the situation in the MCI
	%	%
Improved considerably	52.9	4.1
Slightly improved	28.7	11.3
Remained unchanged	12.6	23.0
Worsened	3.5	36.3
Worsened considerably	1.8	25.3
No opinion	0.6	0.0
Total (%)	100	100

Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI

The data show a curvilinear trend when it comes to the interviewees' perception of their financial situation across the three stages of the migration cycle. It improved abroad and worsened after their return (Table 10).

Concerning the standard of living, another variable we have considered is the type of goods owned by the migrants before their emigration and after their return. The data show that the quantity of durable goods owned by the migrants increased after their return, but the proportion of those who did not own durable goods also increased (from 4 to 11 per cent). The share of migrants owning non-durable goods increased too. After their return, up to 35 per cent of the Armenian returnees continued to receive money remitted from abroad; and 40 per cent of these recipients received remittances on a monthly basis (Figure 11). This may reflect a substantial dependency on the resources of other household members. These remittances received after the migrants' return were predominantly aimed at providing for family needs.

Figure 11: Frequency of financial remittances received by Armenian returnees. N=349



Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI

Various interviewees maintained frequent contacts with family members and friends living abroad (Table 11). Considering all these contacts (including the less frequent ones) the most dynamic category of Armenian returnees is that of those who completed

their migration cycle (61 per cent), followed by those who experienced an incomplete migration cycle (81 per cent). This percentage represents about 77 per cent of the total sample. If we consider the frequency of these contacts, the returnees who interrupted their migration cycle have contacts with family members at least once a month in 82.3 per cent of cases, compared to 76.1 percent with a complete migration cycle.

Table 11: Contacts maintained with family members and friends in the MCI by Armenian returnees after their return to Armenia, by type of migration cycle. N=349

Frequency of contacts during the last year in the MCI	Interrupted migration cycle		Incomplete migration cycle		Complete migration cycle		Total	
	% of total sample	% of total contacts	% of total sample	% of total contacts	% of total sample	% of total contacts	% of total sample	% of total contacts
At least once a week	22.8	37.1	37.4	46.0	40.0	44.8	33.7	43.7
Several times a month	17.8	29.0	17.5	21.6	12.0	13.4	16.4	21.3
Once a month	9.9	16.1	12.3	15.1	16.0	17.9	12.4	16.0
Several times a year	7.9	12.9	10.5	12.9	14.7	16.4	10.7	13.8
Once a year	0.0	0.0	0.6	0.7	2.7	3.0	0.9	1.1
Seldom	3.0	4.8	2.9	3.6	4.0	4.5	3.2	4.1
Total contacts	61.4	100	81.3	100	89.3	100	77.2	100
Never	33.7		16.4		8.0		19.6	
No family/friends left in the MCI	5.0		2.3		2.7		3.2	
Total	100		100		100		100	

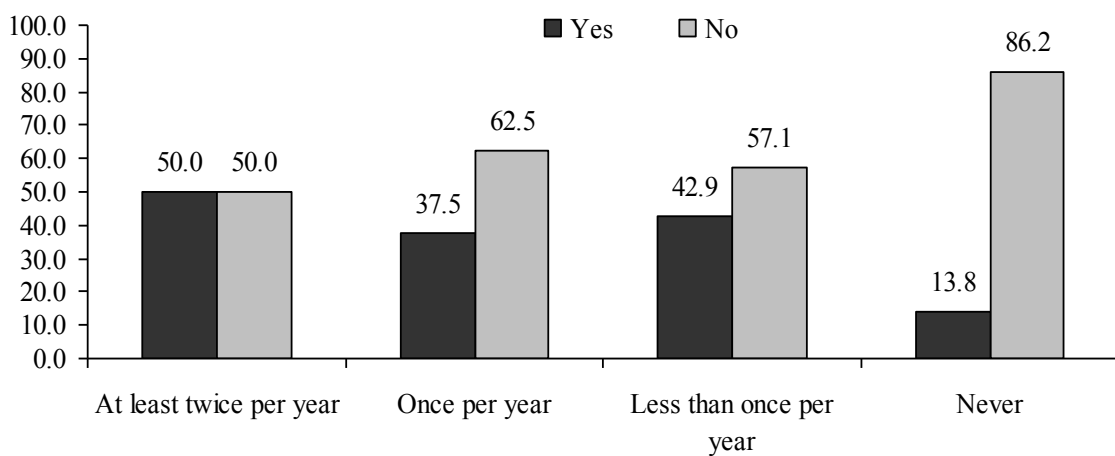
Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI

Conversely, 90 per cent of the returnees had not visited their former country of emigration since their return. However, this option is not always a real option because it depends on the possibility of moving without restrictions in other countries. Another interesting element to consider is the share of Armenian returnees who maintained their residence permits (Figure 12). Overall, this proportion is 17 per cent considering the whole sample, but in the case of those who make frequent visits abroad (at least twice a year) it reaches 50 per cent, compared to 14 per cent in the case of those who make no visits at all. Furthermore, holding residence documents is obviously also linked to the different types of migration cycle. It ranges from 4 per cent for those who interrupted

their migration cycle to 22 per cent of those who succeed in completing their migration experience.

In general, the Armenian returnees have a strong sense of belonging to their own village or city of origin, as well as Armenia in general. It is worth noting that most migrants also expressed a strong sense of belonging to their former country of destination (28 per cent very strong and 31 per cent strong). However, the Armenian returnees were not very active in civic and political organizations upon returning to Armenia. Even abroad, their participation in civic and political action was limited. After their return, only 52 per cent of the returnees interviewed voted in political or administrative elections in Armenia. Their involvement in other forms of civic and political action (demonstrations, public gatherings, strikes, signing a petition) was negligible.

Figure 12: Visits abroad made by Armenian returnees in the last year. Comparison between those who hold residence documents and those who do not. N=349



Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI

Almost 8 in 10 migrants considered their migration experience an advantage; men being slightly more positive than women. Very few problems regarding the family and Armenian society in general were reported once back in their country of origin. Problems such as “jealousy and suspicion from family, friends, etc.” and “high family expectations” were a little more frequent but only in the early stages of their return.

Even after returning, the family was of great support to the returnees interviewed, both financially and emotionally.

Problems occurred more frequently after the migrants' return. Major post-return problems were linked to the "way things are done" in Armenia, as well as to the insufficient welfare system, the inefficiency of the public administration, bribery, corruption and nepotism.

"Armenia has many problems. Most of them are economic problems, corruption and bribery. At the moment, I don't have much hope for my country. I don't see things improving. It is sad, but it is the truth. Young people are leaving their country. It is not good. What we need here are proper laws and regulations, more jobs, and first and foremost equality. The main problem is that a few people control the entire country and the rest live in poor conditions." (Male return migrant, born in 1980 in Yerevan)

8. Analysis of future intentions

"Armenians belong to Armenia. They need to live in their country and not abroad, but it is difficult. Now it is already much better than 10 years ago, but still it is hard for young people to find work and earn some money...Living abroad can be good for some years, but not for a long time." (Female return migrant, born in 1970 in a village in the Ararat region).

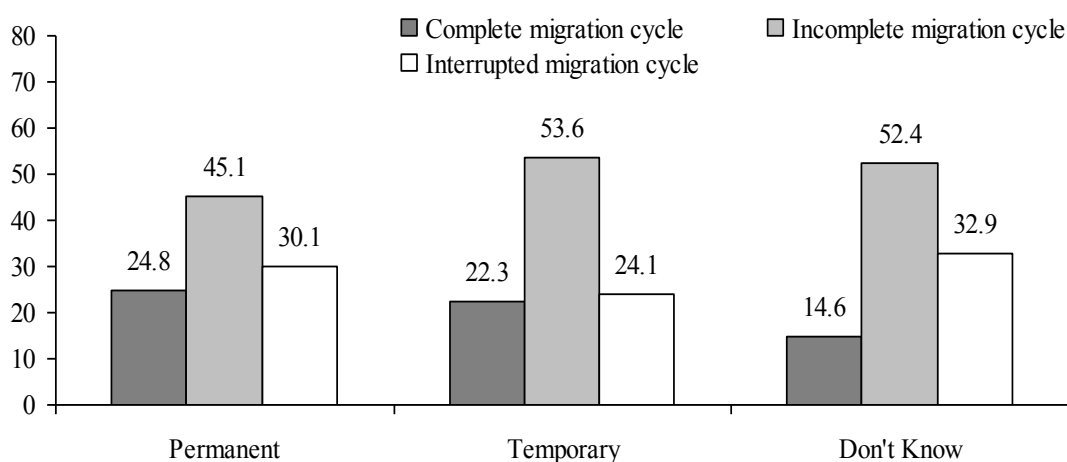
"I am an orphan here, left alone by the state. The Armenian state does nothing for its people. Nobody is standing behind me in Armenia. The state does nothing for me. In Austria the state cared for me. There I felt protected by the state." (Male return migrant, born in 1973 in a village in the north of the country, Shirak region).

"I would leave my country again in the case of war" (Female return migrant, born in 1985 in Yerevan).

These short narratives reflect a sense of belonging to Armenia mixed with the respondent's attachment to the destination country, which seems to be deep-rooted in his experience. In this framework the concepts of the migration cycle and its different types help us to go into the future intentions of the Armenian returnees in depth. Which ones are more willing to migrate again and which are the factors that influence this decision more?

Intentions at the beginning of the migration cycle (regarding whether the migration experience would be permanent and temporary) and intentions to re-emigrate once the migrants came back have been analyzed simultaneously. Different profiles of returnees can be identified involving different combinations of intentions. Considering the second aspect, their return was intended to be permanent for almost 4 in 10 migrants, against 36 per cent who expressed a wish to remain only temporarily. However, there is a high proportion of interviewees who “do not know” whether to stay or to emigrate again (24 per cent).

Figure 13: Types of migration cycle of the Armenian returnees interviewed by their return intentions once returned. N=349



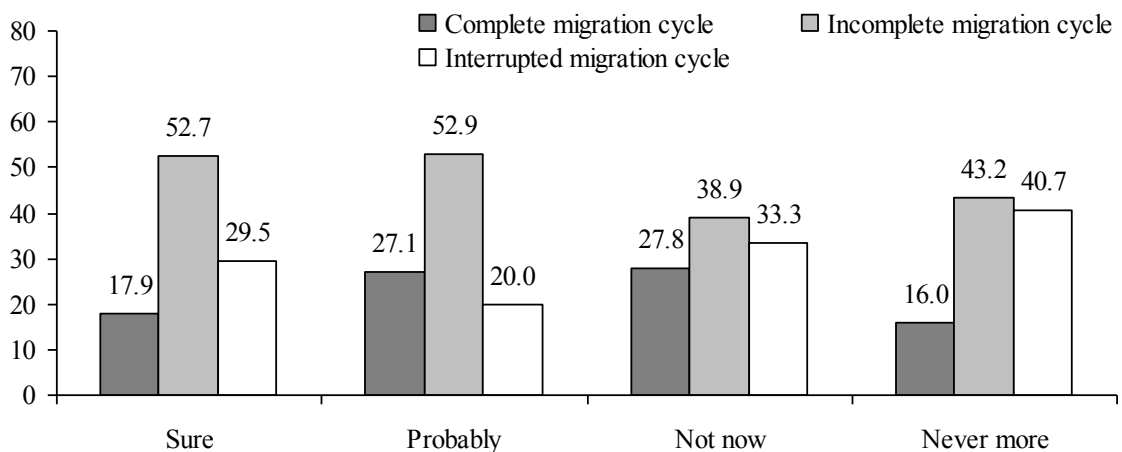
Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI

The breakdown of these different intentions by typology of migration cycle may suggest some interesting hints (Figure 13). An incomplete migration cycle is most common, but of the people who had experienced this, “only” 45 per cent intend to remain in Armenia permanently compared to 54 and 52 per cent respectively for those who want to stay in

their own country temporarily and those who are still undecided. On the contrary, for those with a complete migration cycle an intention to remain in Armenia permanently is the most common (25 per cent).

Considering the likelihood of re-emigrating, the aspects just described appear confirmed (Figure 14). For the two options “sure” and “probably” the proportion of Armenian returnees with an incomplete migration cycle is particularly high (53 per cent), similar to that registered considering the view of their return being temporary. It is worth noting that the percentage of interviewees who completed their migration experience is particularly small (16 per cent) with reference to the item “never more”. For these returnees the migration parenthesis seems to be really closed.

Figure 14: Types of migration cycle of the Armenian returnees interviewed by their intention to re-emigrate. N=299 (a)



Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI
(a) Excluded those who do not know.

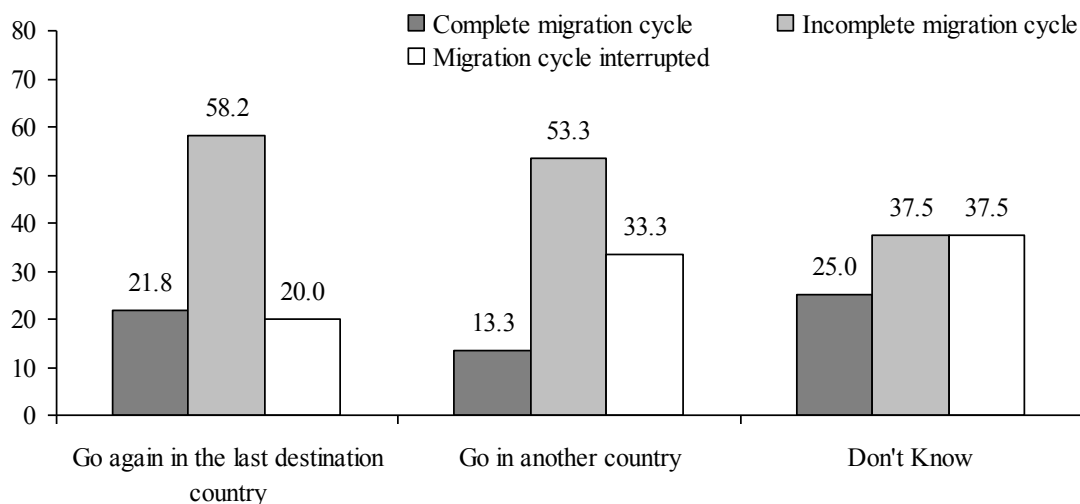
“I do not see my future in this country. Don’t get me wrong, I love Armenia and it is my country, but it is simply impossible to survive here. I need to leave again to work and earn some more money...There are no jobs in Armenia and if you manage to get a job, you can hardly live on the salary.” (Male return migrant, born in 1989 in a village 20 km away from Yerevan).

Among the first reasons indicated for wishing to leave Armenia again, the most important is a “lack of prospects” (28 per cent), followed by the items “I already know the destination country” and “There is no job in my country” (both 18 per cent).

“At the moment, I would like to leave again if possible for Europe, but if that is not possible again then to the Russian Federation. The main reason for my intention to leave Armenia again is that I can’t find a regular job, that I can’t adapt to being in Armenia and that I see no future in Armenia.” (Male return migrant, born in 1973 in a village in the north of the country, Shirak region).

The experience had in the main country of emigration also seems to affect the future intentions expressed about the choice of the country to re-emigrate to (Figure 15). 1 in 3 of the Armenians who indicated a preference towards another country of destination interrupted their migration cycle. As can be imagined, this percentage is much higher in this last case compared to the item “go to the last destination country again”, which for this group is only 2 in 10.

Figure 15: Types of migration cycle of the Armenian returnees interviewed by the country they wish to re-emigrate to. N=180 (a)



Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI

(a) This item is filtered on the basis of the number of affirmative respondents to the question about who would like to re-emigrate.

9. Conclusion

In sum, what are the main characteristics of the Armenian returnees? What are their specificities?

“I can no longer live somewhere else. It has been a long and difficult time abroad and now I am very happy to be back and to support the development of Armenia ... When you live outside your country, you want to return. You can only be happy in your country, no matter what. It is my country and I need to live here. As a foreigner, you will always be a foreigner abroad. That’s why you have to return, because you know your country, the rules and regulations.” (Male return migrant, born in 1968 in Yerevan).

Despite homesickness, migration is largely viewed as an advantage. Almost 8 in 10 migrants considered their migration experience an advantage. The advantages of a migration experience cover different dimensions. Of course, the migration experiences investigated differ substantially in terms of country of destination, duration, motivation and resources. Nonetheless, it is possible to identify several common factors:

- a substantial balance between men and women;
- a high level of education (more than 80 per cent of the sample completed secondary education);
- a high share of the interviewees were married before their emigration;
- almost 50 per cent of the migrants emigrated for the first time after 2005;
- more than 8 interviewees in 10 emigrated only once;
- a short duration of the stay abroad;
- the most important country of destination was Russia (59 per cent);
- migration often involved families;
- almost half of the sample regularly remitted money to Armenia while abroad;
- a clear propensity to form friendships abroad, most of all with co-nationals;
- only a small share of people were self-employed after their return (people mostly repatriated through AVR programmes);
- 90 per cent of the returnees have not visited their former country of destination since their return;

- Armenian returnees were not very active in civic and political organizations either abroad or after their return;
- returning was intended to be permanent for almost 4 in 10 migrants.

The interrelation between these different factors and dimensions suggests, once more, that the migration experience should be considered as a whole, observing and describing the evolution of the returnees' situations over the three phases (before emigration, the period lived abroad and after the return). The concept of the migration cycle has mostly been considered here from the individual perspective and not within the wider context of societal processes. The evolution of Armenian society has been instead observed in the background, affecting decisions and influencing migrant behaviours.

RETURN MIGRANTS IN MALI

Davide Calenda

1. Introduction

The interest of Mali as a case study is twofold. Firstly, it allows us to look at the specificities of south-to-south migration and clarify these when investigating return migration and reintegration. In fact, most Malian migrants have emigrated to and returned from African countries. Hence, the inclusion of Mali among the countries analysed by the RDP research platform, which mostly deals instead with north-south and east-west migration pathways, enriches the information and comparison. Secondly, research on Mali contributes to filling the gap in information and evidence-based knowledge on return migrants there (Calenda 2012).

This chapter illustrates and discusses the results of interviews carried out in Mali in 2012 with 350 return Malian migrants. It aims to analyse the main features of their migration experiences and their social and professional reintegration in Mali. The data analysis presented in this chapter is mainly descriptive; a deeper examination of the many aspects of reintegration is provided in the comparative chapters. The first section describes the socio-demographic characteristics of the sample and the second one analyses the migration cycles of the respondents. Section three focuses on social

integration in the destination country and reintegration in Mali after return, section four analyses the employment situation of the respondents and their professional reintegration, and the last section provides some concluding remarks.

2. Socio-demographic characteristics

The fieldwork was carried out in the southern regions of Mali, i.e. Bamako, Kayes, Koulikoro and Sikasso. The northern regions were excluded for security reasons.

Table 1: Geographic distribution of the Malian returnees interviewed. N=350

Regions	Women	Men	Total
	%	%	%
Bamako	11.7	28.9	40.6
Sikasso	16.0	13.1	29.1
Kayes	1.1	14.0	15.1
Koulikoro	3.7	11.4	15.1
Total (%)	32.6	67.4	100

Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI

The majority of the return migrants interviewed consisted of men, but a large number of women were interviewed as well. The sample is mainly composed of young adults aged between 24 and 44. Seven in 10 of the return migrants were aged less than 44 at the time of the survey (Table 2). Overall, the gender difference is minimal, although among the younger interviewees men predominate.

Table 2: Malian returnees, by age group and sex. N=350..

Age groups	Women	Men	Total
	%	%	%
15-24 years old	9.6	7.6	8.3
25-34 years old	25.4	37.7	33.7
35-44 years old	36	24.6	28.3
45-54 years old	16.7	19.1	18.3
55-64 years old	10.5	7.2	8.3
65 +	1.8	3.8	3.1
Total (N)	114	236	350

Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI

Most of the return migrants emigrated during their childhood and young adulthood – 62 per cent were aged between 15 and 24 at the time of emigration – which means that, although they stayed abroad for quite a long period of time (on average 12 years, see Figure 2), they were still relatively young when they returned.

The age of the interviewees is reflected in the change of marital status over the three migration stages considered in the questionnaire (1/before departure, 2/whilst abroad, 3/at the time of the survey). Table 3 shows that most of the return migrants were single before going abroad and that the majority got married abroad or after their return. The share of married women migrants before emigration was higher than the share of married male migrants. This explains why a large number of women interviewees motivated their emigration from Mali with reference to family reunification.

Table 3: Malian returnees' marital status by sex, %. N=350

Marital status	Before leaving for abroad			At the time of the survey		
	Women	Men	Total	Women	Men	Total
Single	41.2	76.7	65.1	23.7	35.6	31.7
Engaged	12.3	5.1	7.4	13.2	5.9	8.3
Married	43.9	16.5	25.4	51.8	53.8	53.1
Divorced	2.6	1.7	2.0	5.3	3.8	4.3
Widowed	0.0	0.0	0.0	6.1	0.8	2.6

Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI

The majority of the interviewees lived in large households (Table 4). The difference between the size of the household before emigration and at the time of the survey is negligible. This lack of difference suggests that having an extended family remained a predominant feature of the Malian migrants across the migration stages. Additionally, polygamous marriage, which is still legal and a widespread cultural practice in Mali (DHS, 2006, 84; Marcoux, 1997), was also found to be a common practice among our respondents (approximately 75 per cent of marriages).

Table 4: Malian returnees' households during the migration cycle. N=350

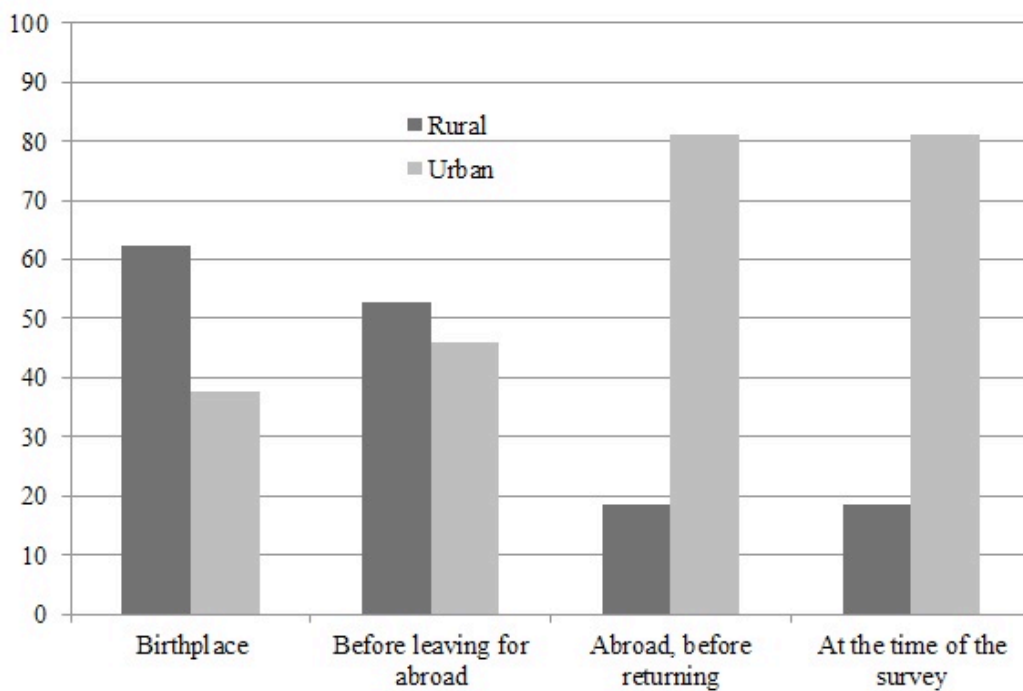
Household size	Before leaving for abroad	Abroad	At the time of the survey
	%	%	%
Single	0.3	1.4	0
2 persons	5.4	9.4	1.7
3 persons	5.1	13.1	7.7
4 persons	5.7	13.4	9.7
5 persons	9.1	12.6	9.7
6 persons	6.6	8.9	10.3
7 persons +	67.7	41.1	60.9
Total (%)	100	100	100

Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI

As far as reproduction is concerned, 7 in 10 women returnees had had children in their country of immigration, whereas the men mostly had children after their return.

The fieldwork provided evidence of the fact that migration influenced the dispersion of the family and community ties of the Malian returnees. The change of place of residence delineates, for instance, a gradual but clear transition from rural to urban areas across the migration cycle (Figure 1). In other words, most of the migrants interviewed settled in a place different to their birthplace after their return. Previous surveys have indicated a positive relation between internal migration and urbanization in Mali (e.g. CERPOD, 1996); our evidence suggests that international migration and return migration to Mali are also contributing to urbanization.

Figure 1: Malian returnees' place of residence during the migration cycle, N. N= 350



Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI

Overall, only a quarter of the sample resettled in their birthplace after their return. Women seem more affected by change of residence, probably because of their status as dependent on the husband's family, which is a widely diffused practice in Mali (Barten 2009).

Change of residence after return may stem from decisions of the migrants and their families, and be considered as part and parcel of the family livelihood strategy (de Haan et al. 2000). Members of the extended family are often asked to engage in different business activities across urban as well as rural areas of the country. This was the case of return migrants who lived in cities and were self-employed in trade activities. The interviews showed that a significant number of them were providing family members who lived in rural areas with financial resources to invest in agricultural activities. At the same time, change of residence after return also reflects a gradual social and economic emancipation of the migrants from their family of origin. What is clearer still is the fact that distance between the returnee and the community/family of origin does not result in separation.

Links between returnees, their families and their communities of origin remain quite strong after their return and, overall, across the migration cycle. For instance, the sense of belonging to their village of origin was still strong among the migrants after their return. 44 per cent of the returnees maintained links with their former country of destination, especially by keeping up frequent contacts with family members and friends living abroad. Many of the returnees left a family member behind in the immigration country, usually the eldest child. Additionally, data on the interviewees' sense of belonging towards their former country of immigration¹ as well as data on their propensity to re-emigrate there² provide additional evidence that cross-border links were still strong among the respondents after their return.

Overall, this situation seems to fit quite well with that described in previous studies (Cordell et al. 1996; Findley 1997), showing that in West Africa personal mobility is part and parcel of the integration mechanisms between families, communities and territories.

¹ See the table reporting Malian returnees' sense of community belonging at: <http://rsc.eui.eu/RDP/research-projects/cris/survey-on-return-migrants/dataset/field-data-on-malian-returnees/table-g4/>

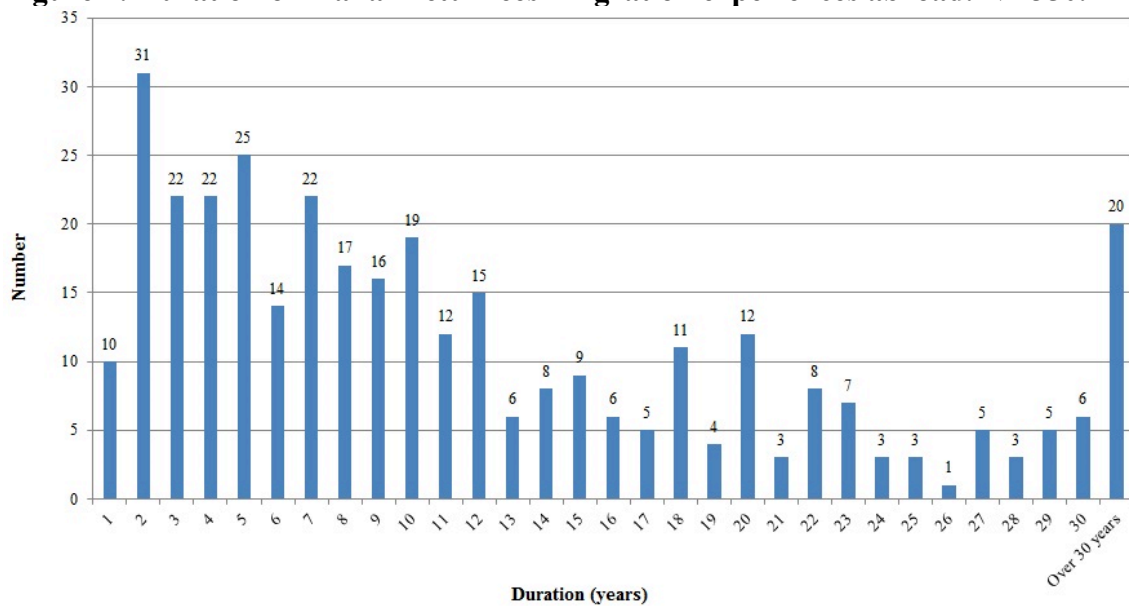
² See the table reporting the country where Malian returnees wish to re-emigrate to at: <http://rsc.eui.eu/RDP/research-projects/cris/survey-on-return-migrants/dataset/field-data-on-malian-returnees/table-b22/>

3. The migration itinerary

In terms of migration cycles, two sub-groups of returnees can be identified. The first sub-group emigrated before 2000 and comprises around 76 per cent of the whole sample, whereas the second sub-group of 24 per cent left Mali from 2001 onwards. In this second sub-group, men turned out to be more numerous than women. The average duration of the migration experience is 11.2 years for men and 13.8 years for women.

Most migrants left Mali only once, but there was a substantial share of interviewees (approximately 40 per cent) who experienced more than one emigration. Malian migrants going to Cote d'Ivoire are a case in point. The data on the duration of the migration experience are evenly distributed in two groups: migrants who stayed abroad for less than ten years and migrants who stayed abroad for more than ten years.

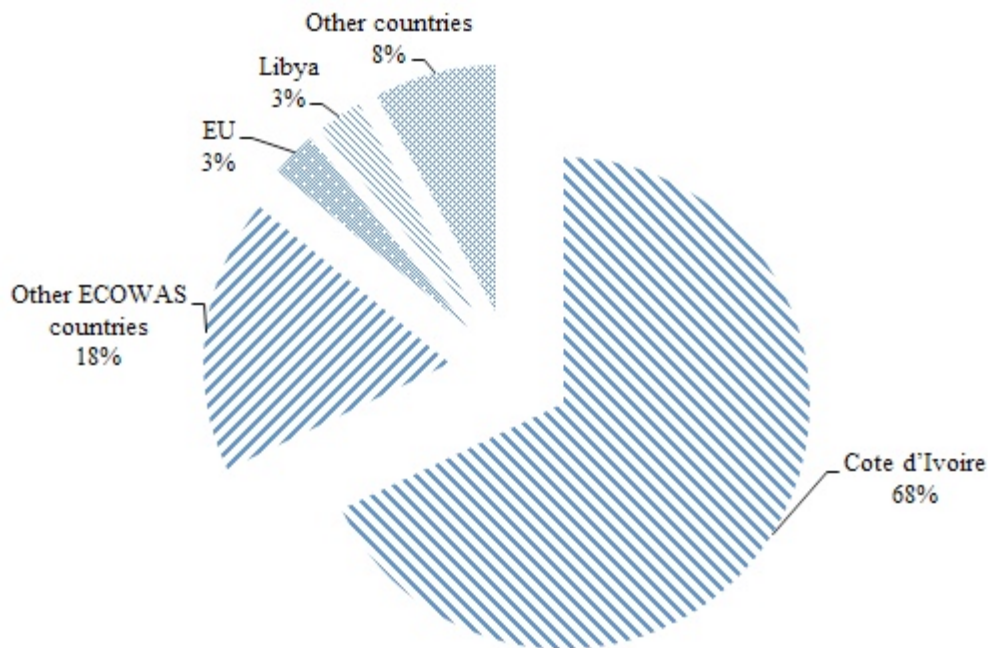
Figure 2: Duration of Malian returnees' migration experiences abroad. N= 350.



Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI

The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) was the main geographic area of destination (85.7 per cent). Cote d'Ivoire was by far the main country of destination for most of the interviewees (Figure 3). Only 4 per cent of the sample had lived in non-African countries.

Figure 3: Malian returnees' main countries of destination. N= 350



Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI

Travelling in the ECOWAS area is relatively easy and cheap for Malian citizens compared to other destinations. There are no special legal constraints: ECOWAS citizens can cross borders with an identity card or just with a birth certificate (and a yellow fever vaccination certificate). In fact, 72 per cent of the sample left Mali legally. Problems with visa and travel documents were experienced by approximately 30 per cent of the interviewees, and especially by those who emigrated to non-ECOWAS countries. Country accessibility, job opportunities and the presence of family and friends were the main reasons for which the interviewees chose their countries of destination. Family and community networks constituted a key resource for the migrants during the first step of their migration experiences. All the migrants were supported to some extent by relatives and friends who were already settled in the destination country, mostly with help in finding accommodation and work³.

Emigration was predominantly driven by economic and family reasons, as Table 5 clearly shows.

³ Additional information on the Malian returnees who declared that they had benefited from the support of relatives and friends whilst abroad can be retrieved at: <http://rsc.eui.eu/RDP/research-projects/cris/survey-on-return-migrants/dataset/field-data-on-malian-returnees/table-c5/>

Table 5: Malian returnees' three main reasons for emigrating, in order of priority, %. N=350

	First	Second	Third
Economic reasons	63.1	72.5	72.0
Family reasons	28.9	21.2	17.2
Study	4.3	0.9	1.7
Personal reasons	2.9	2.9	5.0
Conflict/war	0.3	0.0	0.3
No future/ lack of prospects	0.3	2.3	2.0
Other	0.3	0.3	1.5
Political reasons	0.0	0.0	0.3
Total	100	100	100

Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI

The main financial resources that the migrants used to prepare for their emigration journey were personal and household savings. The majority of the migrants emigrated alone but in most cases family members and friends joined them while they were abroad. Breadwinners – generally men – tended to leave first and they were followed by their family members.

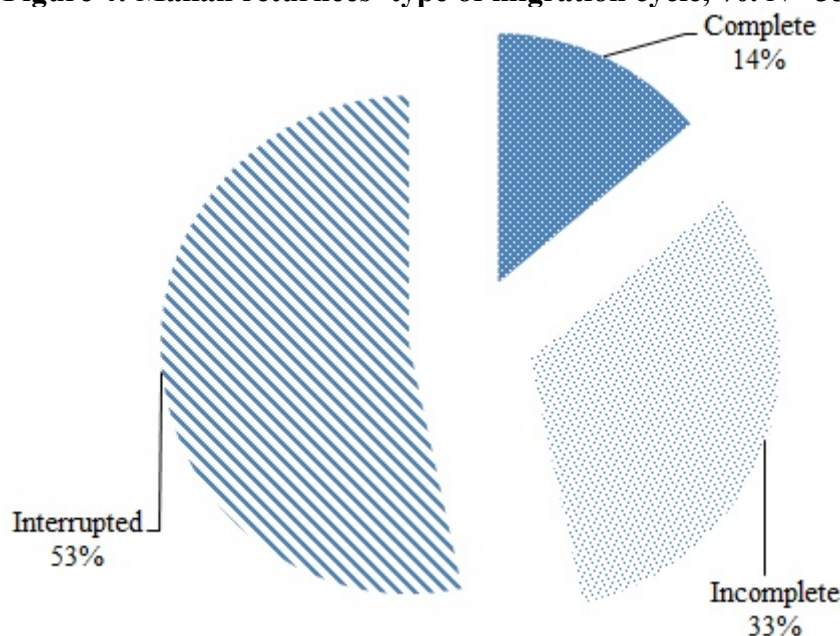
Emigration was clearly a temporary option for 77 per cent of the Malian interviewees. Previous studies have demonstrated that most migration cycles in Mali and West Africa are characterized by temporariness and circularity (Cordell et al. 1996). Despite being temporary, the duration of migration turned out to be quite long for most of the respondents. Temporariness also characterizes the migration trajectory of the interviewees who emigrated to European countries and North America.

48 interviewees intended their emigration to be permanent, but for 45 of these the migration cycle was eventually interrupted. Overall, only a small share of the interviewees had completed their migration cycle. For many interviewees the migration cycle was abruptly interrupted by armed conflicts in the destination country. Unfavourable circumstances – e.g. family problems – both in the immigration country and at home also led to incomplete migration cycles (Figures 4 and 5).

War and conflict affected many of the migrants who emigrated to Cote d'Ivoire. The Malian government organized a massive repatriation of Malian nationals from Cote d'Ivoire in the period 2002-2004; our data show that 37 per cent of the interviewees who were compelled to return returned in that period, whereas only 5.5 per cent of the

compelled returnees returned before 2001. This event provoked changes in domestic policy perceptions and priorities as applied to and by return migrants (Ouattara 2010: 13). Starting with this event, repatriated and expelled migrants gradually influenced the political agenda as well as the mindset of Malian institutions concerned with return migration. Repatriation and return assistance programmes were deployed starting from the mid-2000s, and especially during the last Ivorian crisis in 2011. During this period, the pressure from Malian civil society, including many associations created by Malians who had returned from Cote d'Ivoire, was particularly effective in pushing the Malian government to take action (Ouattara 2010)⁴. However, only a few interviewees (7.5 per cent) in our sample benefited from these programmes.

Figure 4: Malian returnees' type of migration cycle, %, N= 350

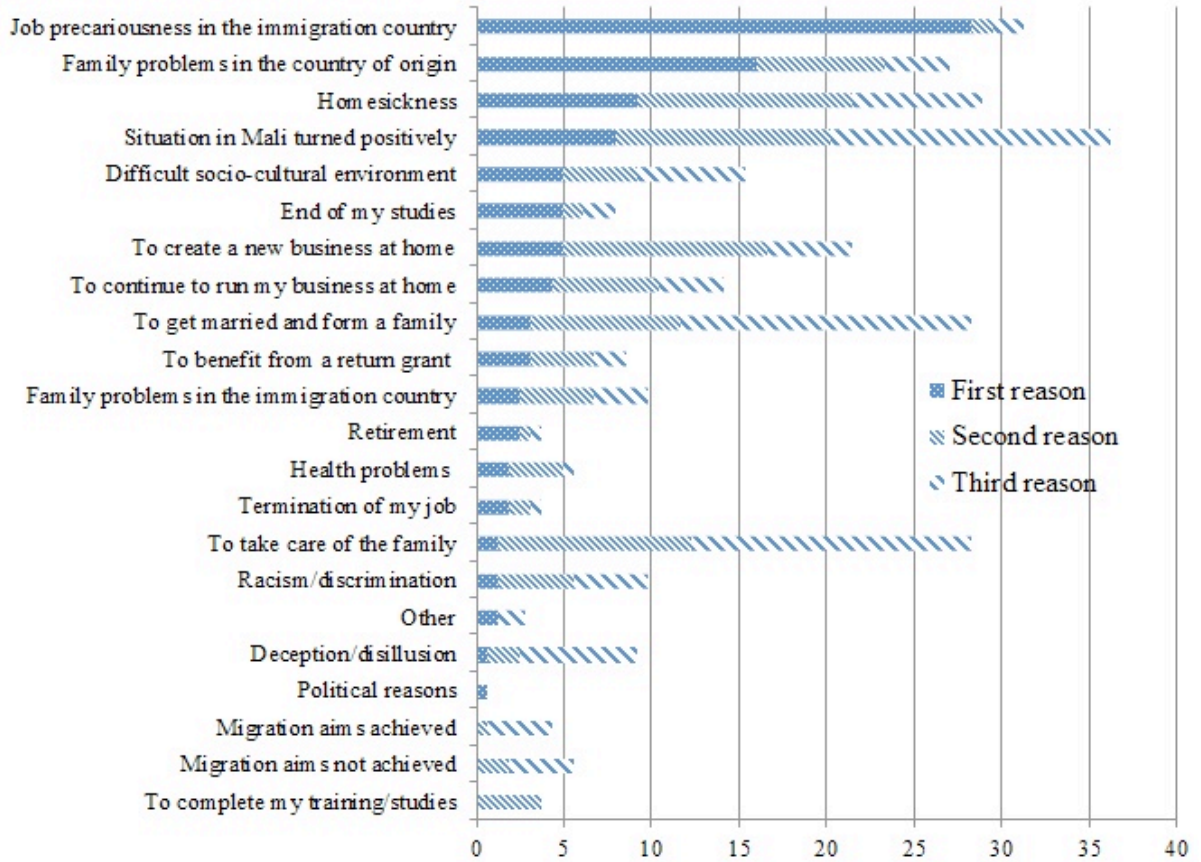


Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI

The return decision of the interviewees who planned to return and finally returned was mainly motivated by economic and family factors, as Figure 5 shows.

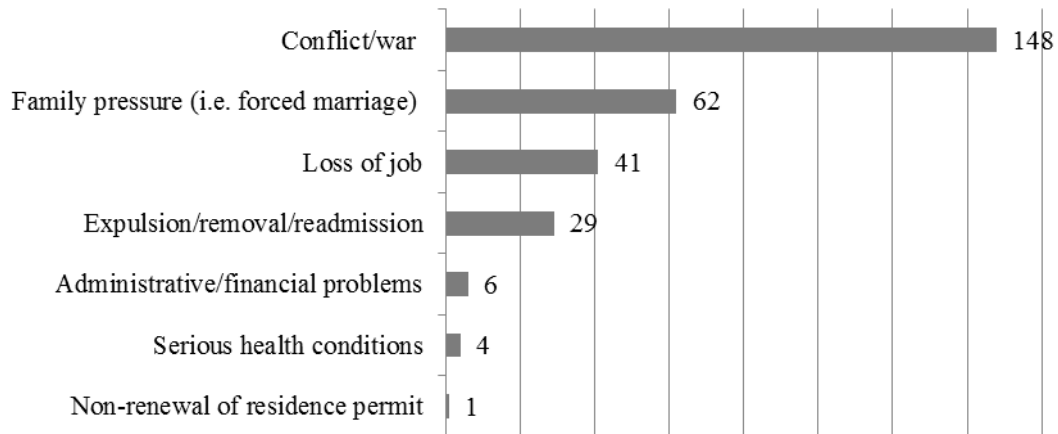
⁴ Ouattara estimated in 9.000 thousands the members of associations created in Mali by Malian returnees from Cote d'Ivoire after the 2002 Ivorian crisis (Ouattara 2010: 14). A coordination of many of these associations - Coordination des Maliens Rapatriés de la Côte d'Ivoire – was very effective during the last Ivorian crisis in 2011 in pressing the Malian government to take action in order to facilitate the return of Malians living in that country (Ouattara 2010; on the role of Malian associations in Côte d'Ivoire see Bredeloup 1994). See also the narratives available on the RDP's web site at: <http://rsc.eui.eu/RDP/narratives/>

Figure 5: Malian returnees' reasons for returning back home (those who declared they had decided to return), %. N=163



Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI

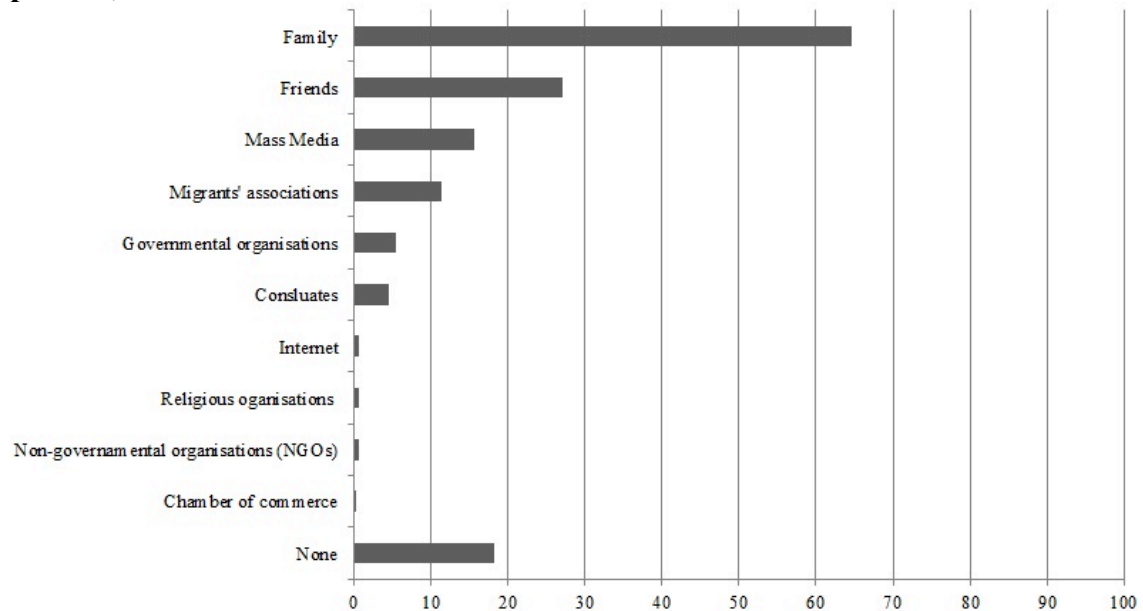
Figure 6: Malian returnees' reasons for having been compelled to return, numbers. N= 187



Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI
 Note: Question with multiple replies.

For the preparation of their return, 8 in 10 interviewees used several channels of information (Figure 7) but the family was by far the major channel of information. The intention to return was discussed at the family level.

Figure 7: Main source of information used by Malian returnees about the return process, %. N=350



Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI
 Note: Question with multiple replies.

The data show a form of polarization regarding the migrants' intentions to re-emigrate as well as a high degree of hesitation. Among those who wished to re-emigrate, the compelled returnees are the most determined and they clearly express their re-emigration intentions. The main motivations to re-emigrate include uncertainty in Mali and links maintained with the former country of destination. The presence of family members and friends in the former destination country seem to constitute an incentive to re-emigrate⁵.

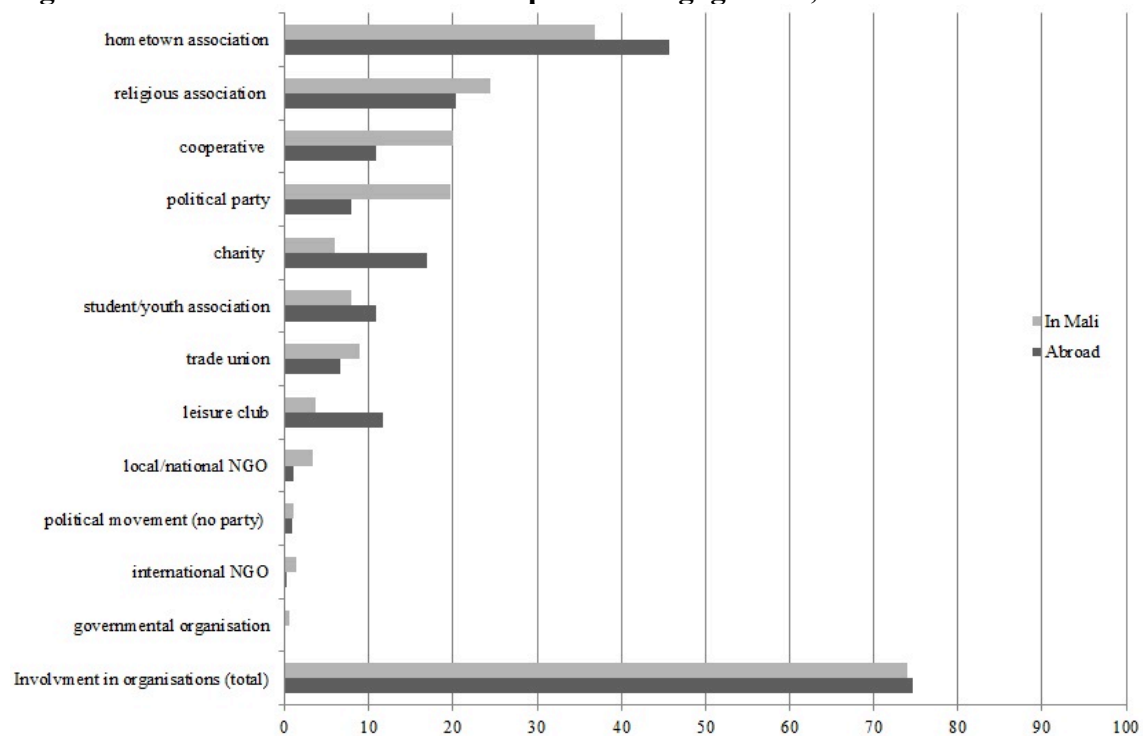
⁵ See the Migration Itinerary section on the RDP web site at: <http://rsc.eui.eu/RDP/research-projects/cris/survey-on-return-migrants/dataset/field-data-on-malian-returnees/>

4. Social integration abroad and reintegration after return

Overall, social integration and reintegration did not turn out to be challenging for the Malian returnees, although hostility against migrants in the immigration country was experienced by several and some also had to face a hostile environment after their return.

Almost 8 in 10 migrants judged their relationships with the host society to have been good or very good, without significant differences in terms of gender or type of migration cycle (i.e. complete, incomplete or interrupted). Overall, in the destination country the Malian respondents had daily contacts with locals, other nationals and persons of different origins. Informal networks, the workplace and family are the main channels through which the migrants met new people whilst abroad.

Figure 8: Malian returnees' civic and political engagement, %. N=350



Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI

Almost 75 per cent of the interviewees were engaged in civic and political activities whilst abroad and almost the same proportion were members of organizations in Mali at the time of the survey. Involvement in hometown associations was common among the returnees interviewed (45.7 per cent abroad and 36.9 per cent in Mali). Membership of

religious associations and cooperatives was also frequent. The evidence suggests that returning to Mali provided opportunities for more political participation as well as participation in workers' cooperatives. It is worth noticing that multiple memberships are common: a large number of the migrants were involved in more than one organization. Electoral participation was the most common form of political involvement among the interviewees. Finally, more than 30 per cent of the migrants also participated in collective initiatives organized by migrant groups.

It is worth noting that the Malian migrants felt they were part of society in their destination countries even though more than half of them declared they had suffered from discrimination and racism. These problems were mostly mentioned by the Malian migrants who had been to Cote d'Ivoire, i.e. by those who had had a direct experience of political violence stemming from the post-electoral crises in 2002 and 2010-2011 (Whitaker 2005: 120).

Almost half of the sample maintained monthly contacts with their families while abroad. Men contacted family members more frequently than women. The same contrast applies to migrants who decided to return on their own initiative and to those who were compelled to do so. A similar trend is observed when it comes to the number of visits back to Mali. A large number of the interviewees did not visit Mali during their stay abroad. Those who did did so for family reasons and to attend events such as weddings or funerals during their stay abroad.

Table 6: Type of family support received by Malian returnees who declared they had been helped when they returned. N=153

Type of support	Very much	Somewhat	A little	No support	Total
	%	%	%	%	%
Psychological	81.0	12.4	5.2	1.3	100
To find accommodation	62.4	18.8	8.7	10.1	100
To provide contacts/networks	52.7	16.7	16.7	14.0	100
Update on the situation in Mali	44.9	27.2	15.0	12.9	100
To find a job	43.9	23.0	10.8	22.3	100
To manage administrative/legal issues	32.7	21.8	15.0	30.6	100
Other	35.3	0.0	11.8	52.9	100

Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI

Note: Question with multiple replies.

The data show that support from family and friends was important at the beginning of the migration cycle and that it gradually decreased in importance after return. The interviewees declared that this support was predominantly psychological, moral, and emotional, but also concerned practical things such as finding accommodation (Table 6).

Overall, both family and social networks in the country of origin were supportive, but a significant share of the interviewees faced difficulties in terms of social re-integration. The difficulties were mostly social. Table 7 shows that, overall, although less than half of the sample suffered from social problems, many of them declared that these problems continued over time. The main problems concerned family expectations, child-rearing, envy and suspicion from family, friends and neighbours, and problems related to the acceptance and sharing of the new lifestyle and interests acquired by the migrants when abroad.

Table 7: Social and family problems faced by Malian returnees in Mali after their return. N=350

Type of problem	Only at the beginning	I still have this difficulty	Non problematic	Total
	%	%	%	%
Sharing the same interests with relatives	25.3	6.9	67.8	100
Envy and suspicion from family, friends	22.6	22.1	55.3	100
Find a partner-spouse	8.4	14.2	77.3	100
Child-rearing	7.2	26.8	66	100
Personal lifestyle changed while abroad	17.9	13.6	68.5	100
Establishing a meaningful relationship	2	11.3	86.6	100
High family expectations -i.e. gifts,	2.6	52.3	45.1	100

Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI

Note: Multiple response questions.

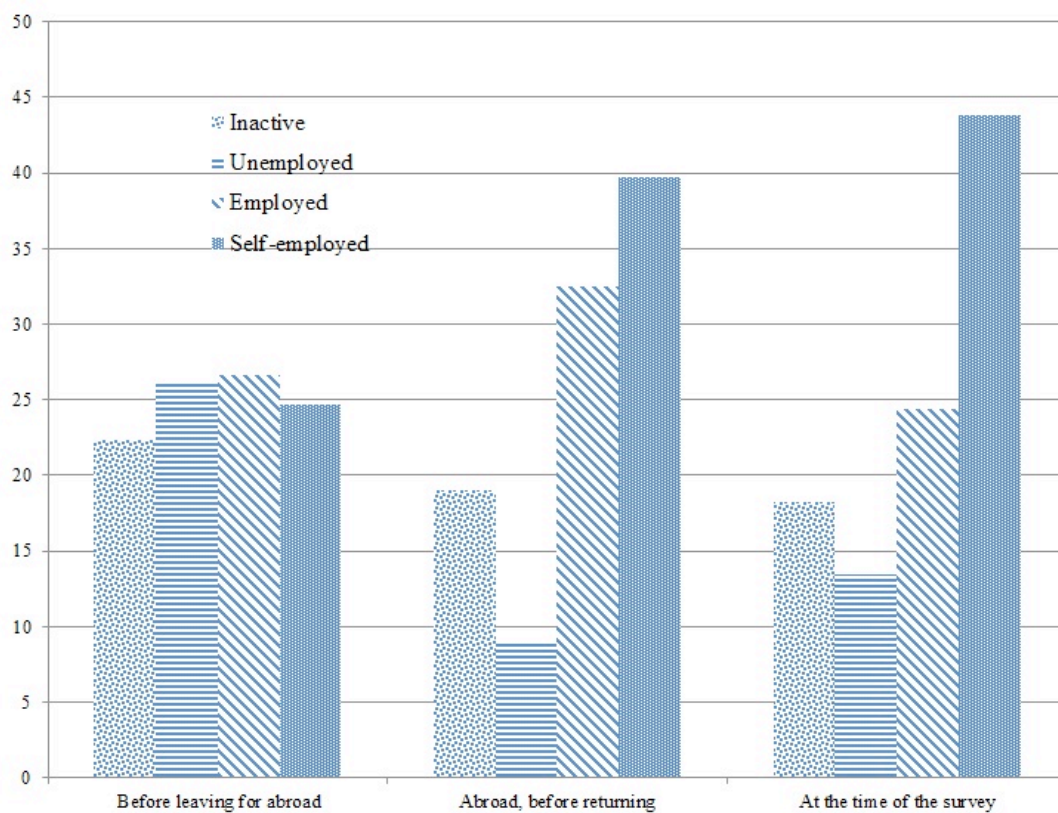
The proportion of the interviewees who experienced re-integration problems is high among those who did not receive family support after their return. However, half of the interviewees who did receive support also experienced re-integration problems. Strong family expectations – e.g. of gifts, favours, financial support – constituted by far the major difficulty the returnees experienced.

5. Professional reintegration

When analysing the interviewees' employment situations and how they changed across the migration cycle, two main trends emerge:

- The number of migrants employed in the informal sector increased during the migration cycle;
- Numbers in self-employment tended to increase and those in seasonal occupations tended to decrease.

Figure 9: Evolution of Malian returnee's occupational status, %. N=350



Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI

When comparing the overall distribution of occupational status across the three stages of the migration cycle, it is evident that the number of interviewees employed whilst abroad was higher than the number of interviewees employed after their return. Unemployment after their return affected women more than men. Looking at the employment sector of those working, there is a gradual shift from agriculture, before emigration, to trade (mainly informal), building and the car industry after their return.

Table 8: Main employment sectors of employed Malian returnees.

Job sectors	Before leaving for abroad	Abroad before returning	At the time of the survey
	%	%	%
Agriculture, hunting, forestry	40.1	15.5	11.8
Fishery, aquaculture	0.0	0.4	0.8
Mining industries	0.6	8.0	7.1
Manufacturing industries	0.6	4.0	3.8
Electricity, gas and water prod. & supply	2.3	4.0	1.7
Construction/building industry	5.6	7.6	10.1
Trade, car and domestic appliance repair	25.4	39.8	39.9
Hotel/catering industry	1.7	5.6	8.0
Transport and communications	7.3	10.8	11.8
Financial services	0.6	0.8	0.4
Real estate, renting and business services	0.0	2.0	1.7
Public administration	1.7	0.4	1.3
Education	2.3	2.8	4.2
Health sector and social activities	1.1	2.4	1.7
Public, social and private services	1.7	5.6	9.7
Domestic services	2.8	1.2	0.4
Extraterritorial services	0.0	0.0	0.0
Arts/handicraft	6.2	0.0	0.0
Other	0.0	0.0	0.0
Number of employed respondents (N.)	177	251	237

Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI

Note: The data reported in the above table are based on multiple response questions.

The predominance of unstable and informal labour led to a scenario where most migrants were excluded from social security systems both in the country of destination and in Mali after their return (86.2 per cent and 91.7 per cent respectively).

Why did some interviewees reintegrate into the Malian labour market better than others? Both gender and type of migration cycle matter; both women and compelled returnees turned out to be the most vulnerable groups in terms of professional reintegration. They faced more problems in finding a job after their return. Table 9 shows that, overall, interviewees took a longer time to find their first job after their return to Mali than when they were living abroad, but migrants whose return was compelled were the most disadvantaged.

Table 9: Malian returnees: Time needed to find the first job, by type of return.
N=350

When did you find your first job?	Abroad			After return		
	Decided	Compelled	Total	Decided	Compelled	Total
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Before my arrival	1.8	2.7	2.3	4.4	2.7	3.5
Immediately after my arrival	25.8	30.5	28.3	16.9	14.7	15.7
Less than three months after my arrival	29.4	17.1	22.9	20.6	12.5	16.3
More than three months after my arrival	26.4	18.7	22.3	32.5	29.9	31.1
Did not find for a job	7.4	16.0	12.0	12.5	26.6	20.1
Did not look for a job	9.2	15.0	12.3	13.1	13.6	13.4
Total (%)	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI

There is also evidence that compelled returnees and women had less secure and less qualified jobs compared with men and with interviewees who decided to return on their own initiative. It is worth noting that women prevail among the compelled returnees. Women thus turned out to be affected by an accumulation of drawbacks: by gender inequalities in the labour market and by the fact that they did not have the possibility and/or the time to mobilize the resources needed to foster their reintegration back home.

Education is often correlated to professional reintegration. Our data show that skilled migrants tended to reintegrate better than others, but the proportion of them in the sample is too small to draw firm conclusions. Only 1 in 2 of the migrants had been to school. Among those who had attended formal education, the majority had left school after primary school or did not complete secondary school. Only a minority studied while they were abroad (9.2 per cent).

However, the migration experience provided many migrants with opportunities to acquire new skills such as learning a second language and new ways to transform and produce goods. For instance, 55.4 per cent did not speak any foreign language before their emigration but almost 70 per cent were able to speak at least one foreign language after their return. As a matter of fact, the returnees interviewed positively evaluated their migration experience: 8 in 10 migrants viewed their experience as an asset. Men seemed to be more positive than women.

The narratives provided in Mali by a few of the return migrants clearly showed that new informal skills and business ideas were developed through the migration experience.

These skills and ideas, however, could not be easily developed after their return due to problems in accessing financial resources, basic goods and training⁶.

Even though we do not observe radical changes in the employment situations of the interviewees, they became far less dependent on financial support provided by their families. As already said, the migration experience played a key role in reinforcing the financial situation of the returnees and of their families. On average, the monthly income of the interviewees increased from the time when they emigrated to the time when they returned to Mali, even though this increase remained somewhat limited. This may be explained by the fact that most migrants lived in developing sub-Saharan countries. The monthly average income earned abroad was less than 500 Euros for almost 90 per cent of the interviewees, and 55.7 per cent earned less than 200 Euros.

Despite the limited increase in their monthly foreign-earned incomes, over 80 per cent of the interviewees considered that their financial situation improved slightly or considerably whilst they were abroad (Table 10)

Table 10: Malian returnees' subjective assessment of their financial situation across the migration stages. N=350

Evaluation of financial situation	Abroad compared with the situation in Mali before	After return, compared with the situation abroad
	%	%
Improved considerably	28.0	7.4
Slightly improved	54.6	41.8
Remained unchanged	6.9	21.8
Worsened	3.2	16.9
Worsened considerably	3.5	8.6
No opinion	3.8	3.4
Total (%)	100	100

Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI

Conversely, after their return 63 per cent declared that their financial condition remained unchanged or slightly improved (compared with their financial situation whilst abroad), whereas around 25 per cent responded that it worsened. The impact of migration on standard of living needs further research. We see, for instance, that the number of goods owned by the migrants increased over the migration cycle, although

⁶ See the Visualising return section on the RDP web site at: <http://rsc.eui.eu/RDP/contribute/visualizing-return/>

non-durable goods (such as electronic devices) featured predominantly and the ownership of means of production remained at a low level.

A minority of the migrants invested in projects both in their country of destination and in Mali (15.1 per cent and 18 per cent respectively). Men invested more frequently than women; and returnees who decided to return invested in Mali more than returnees who were compelled to return. Self-financing was by far the main source of investments, followed by loans from relatives living abroad and in Mali.

When asked about the problems Malian entrepreneur-returnees were faced with during the creation of their business concerns, an array of problems ranging from insufficient capital, lack of domestic market and corruption were often mentioned. Malian returnees who did not invest back home explained that a lack of capital and their poor experience and training were the most recurrent obstacles to business creation. Others did not consider this option or were not interested in investing back home. Others still mentioned the obstacles of a lack of a network and useful contacts, together with market and administrative uncertainties.

6. Conclusion

The main characteristics of the Malian returnees interviewed can be summarized as follows:

Socio-demographic characteristics

- The majority of the return migrants interviewed were men, but a large number of women were interviewed as well. The sample mainly consists of young adults;
- A low level of education;
- Most interviewees formed a family abroad or after their return;
- Large households and the migrants' extended families remained predominant features across the migration stages;
- The change of the interviewees' place of residence delineates a gradual transition from rural to urban areas across the migration cycle.

Migration itinerary

- The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) was the main geographic area of destination; Cote d'Ivoire was by far the main country of destination for most of the interviewees;
- Emigration was predominantly driven by economic and family reasons;
- The interviewees stayed abroad for quite a long period of time (an average of 12 years);
- Only a small share of the Malian interviewees had a complete migration cycle. The migration cycle of many interviewees was abruptly interrupted by armed conflicts in the destination country.

Social integration and reintegration

- Many interviewees had a rich social life abroad – i.e. social networks, engagement in community life and associations;
- The links between returnees, their families and communities of origin remained strong along the migration cycle;
- Family and social networks in the country of origin were supportive, but a significant share of the interviewees faced difficulties in terms of social re-integration; the main problems concerned family expectations, child-rearing, and envy and suspicion from family, friends and neighbours.

Professional integration and reintegration

- The number of migrants employed in the informal sector increased during the migration cycle;
- Self-employment tended to increase and seasonal occupations tended to decrease;
- Unemployment after return affected women more than men;
- There was a gradual shift from the agricultural sector before emigration to the trade sector (mainly informal) and the building and car industries after return;

- Most migrants were excluded from social security systems both in the country of destination and in Mali after their return;
- Returnees who were compelled to return had less secure and less qualified jobs compared with returnees who decided to return on their own initiative;
- Over 80 per cent of the interviewees considered that their financial situation improved slightly or considerably whilst they were abroad but 63 per cent declared that their financial condition after their return remained unchanged or slightly improved (compared with their financial situation whilst abroad).

Structural conditions and the institutional context in both the countries of origin and destination – i.e. the labour market structure, welfare system, credit and financial system, and the political system – constituted major constraints when the migrants tried to realise their aspirations and improve their situations. Difficult access to land, credit, training and social security protection were widely mentioned problems among the respondents. Most of them had no other choice but to become self-employed in the informal sector, which exposed them to higher uncertainty and vulnerability.

Few returnees benefited from state-led support after their return, whereas family and community engagement – i.e. through associations and workers' cooperatives – turned out to be the main instruments to foster the interviewees' social and professional reintegration.

The return migrants interviewed were also exposed to uncertainty and insecurity provoked by the instability of their destination countries (i.e. Libya, Nigeria and Cote d'Ivoire) and, most recently, of Mali itself. Conflicts in Cote d'Ivoire provoked the abrupt interruption of the migration cycle for many respondents, among which the majority were women. Overall, these events had a negative impact on reintegration.

The increased instability and lack of security in the region had negative consequences for individual migrants. In a similar vein, they negatively impact on the conditions allowing Malian return migrants to contribute to social and economic development.

RETURN MIGRANTS IN TUNISIA

Jean-Pierre Cassarino

1. Introduction

This chapter sets out to analyse the social and demographic characteristics of Tunisian return migrants. Analyses are not only based on the data collected in the framework of the CRIS survey (396 interviews collected in 2012), but also on those which were collected in the framework of the MIREM survey (316 interviews collected in 2006).

Each survey corresponds to two radically different sets of political conditions in the history of Tunisia. Whereas the MIREM survey was carried out under the former regime of President Ben Ali, the CRIS survey was conducted in 2012 after the December 2010/January 2011 upheavals leading to the ouster of Tunisian presidential leadership. As shown, the political transformations that occurred as of 2011 in Tunisia had a certain bearing on the motivations of some Tunisian migrants to return to their country. In a similar vein, at a regional level, the unstable political situation in Libya also impacted on the return flows to Tunisia, following the collapse of the regime of Muammar El-Qaddafi.

These different conditions will be addressed in this chapter. However, conditions back home constitute just one explanatory variable. Attention also needs to be paid to an array of other factors closely linked to the personal experiences of the returnees in their countries of destination and of origin that significantly impact on their likelihood to reintegrate. Consequently, in an attempt to explain how patterns of reintegration differ from one another, the analysis will also focus on the extent to which differences in the returnees' migration cycles (i.e. whether the migration cycle is complete, incomplete or interrupted) impact on their opportunities to reintegrate and to contribute to development. The three types of migration cycles have been described in the introduction to the report.

2. Tunisian migrants' socio-demographic characteristics

From an analytical point of view, the emphasis on type of migration cycle allows important dissimilarities between patterns of reintegration back home to be identified. In fact, at the level of the sample as a whole, stark contrasts could be identified.

- Tunisian returnees' sex distribution and former countries of immigration:

The composition of the whole Tunisian sample (N=712) shows that male returnees significantly outnumber women, and that the sex distribution remains more or less the same in each type of migration cycle. Against this backdrop, it is scarcely possible to determine whether sex has an impact on the type of migration cycle or on the individual decision to return or not. Table 1 shows the interviewees' sex distribution.

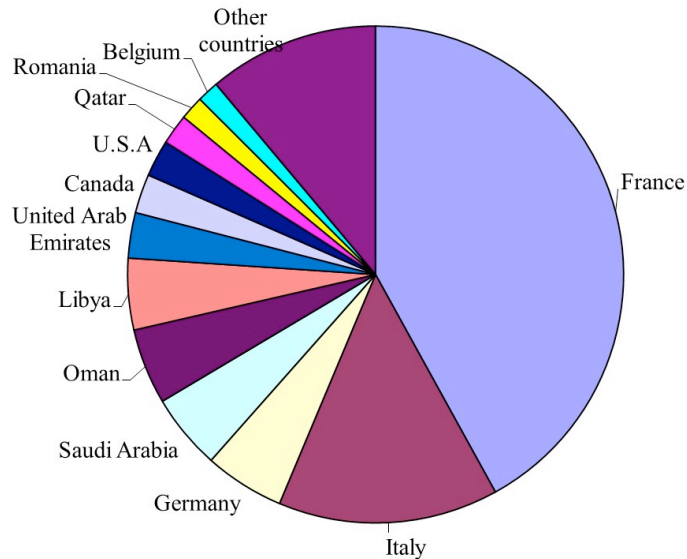
Table 1: Tunisian return migrants by sex and types of migration cycle, %, N=712

Sex	Types of migration cycle			Total
	Complete	Incomplete	Interrupted	
Men	85.0	78.8	87.1	83.8
Women	15.0	21.2	12.9	16.2
Total	100	100	100	100

Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI

- Former countries of immigration:

More than half of the sample lived in the European Union before returning. France, Italy and Germany were consistently the main European countries of immigration across the 2006 MIREM survey and the 2012 CRIS survey. It is important to note that return flows from the Gulf states (Oman, Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, and Qatar) increased in 2012. These flows included, among others, migrants who decided to return to Tunisia on their own initiative, as a result of the dramatic political changes taking place in the country. At the same time, a substantial number of Tunisian migrants returned from Libya in 2012. The latter fled Libya due to the country's instability. These migrants did not choose freely to return to Tunisia, and their interrupted migration cycle had a certain bearing on their patterns of reintegration back home. These migrants had lived many years in Libya before returning to Tunisia.

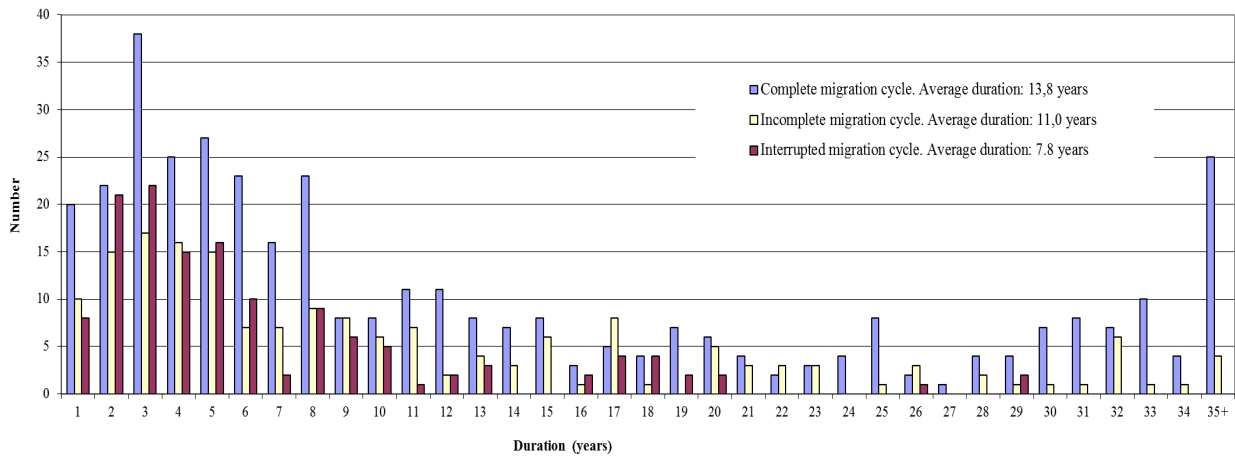


Graph 1: Tunisian returnees' former countries of immigration. N=712

Libya in 2012. The latter fled Libya due to the country's instability. These migrants did not choose freely to return to Tunisia, and their interrupted migration cycle had a certain bearing on their patterns of reintegration back home. These migrants had lived many years in Libya before returning to Tunisia.

These specific circumstances explain why some interviewees with a rather long experience of migration abroad (≥ 8 years) had an interrupted migration cycle (see Figure 2). On average, migrants with an interrupted migration cycle lived abroad for 7.8 years, whereas those with a complete and incomplete migration cycle lived abroad for 13.8 years and 11.0 years respectively.

Figure 2: Duration of Tunisian migrants' experience of migration, by types of migration cycle. N=712



Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI

In Tunisia, the duration of one's migration experience is a key variable explaining why some returnees reintegrated better than others. With that being said, duration also needs to be correlated with a large number of additional variables. These include, among many others, age group, motivations to emigrate and to return, and occupational status in the country of immigration and in Tunisia upon return.

- Age groups:

When examining the field data with reference to age groups, it is apparent that up to 80 percent of the sample is comprised of return migrants from 25 to 54 years old, whereas senior returnees (over 55 years old) amount to 16 percent of the sample as a whole. Moreover, the distribution by types of migration cycle shows that only 4.8 percent of the senior returnees experienced an interrupted migration cycle. By contrast, a large share of “younger” returnees, from 25 to 34 years (43 percent) and from 35 to 44 years old (32 percent), had their migration cycle interrupted by adverse circumstances. Most of these younger returnees were labour migrants in France and Italy, who had to return to Tunisia because their job permits were not renewed, or because they were expelled from Europe. Others were Tunisian migrants living in Libya, who were repatriated in order to escape violence in 2011.

More than 65 percent of the interviewed returnees who did not complete their migration cycle were aged between 25 and 44 years at time of survey. Meanwhile, returnees who had a complete migration cycle belonged to various age groups at time of survey. These initial observations lend support to the findings that factors prompting migrants to return were diverse, and that interviewees whose migration cycles were interrupted were young and at a working age at time of survey.

Table 2: Tunisian return migrants by age group and type of migration cycle, %, N=712

Age group	Type of migration cycle			Total
	Complete	Incomplete	Interrupted	
15-24	1.0	1.7	3.4	1.7
25-34	23.8	30.2	42.9	29.7
35-44	35.8	35.2	32.0	34.8
45-54	17.6	19.6	17.0	18.0
55-64	10.9	12.3	4.8	10.0
65 +	10.9	1.1	0.0	5.8
Total (%)	100	100	100	100
Total (N)	386	179	147	712

Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI

- Marital status:

Does the marital status of the Tunisian returnees interviewed differ in terms of migration cycle? To answer this question, we also need to take into consideration the ways in which marital statuses have evolved from time of emigration, to immigration, to return and beyond. Emigration, immigration and return are fundamental stages of a migration cycle.

The table below shows that there are many discrepancies between migration cycles and across the three migration stages (i.e. before leaving for abroad, while abroad, and after return). At the most general level, it can be seen that the number of single migrants reduced to a quarter of the whole sample between the time of emigration and return to Tunisia. Logically, this observation is closely linked to the growing number of migrants who got married across the three migration stages. Indeed, the share of married migrants shifted upwards from 25 percent before emigration to almost 70 percent after return. Not all migrants have equally contributed to this radical change in marital status.

Married Tunisian returnees get progressively more numerous across the three migration stages. However, migrants who had a complete migration cycle have predominantly shaped this increase. On the other hand, Tunisian returnees who had an interrupted migration cycle are more likely to remain single than those who had the other two types of migration cycles. It is interesting to note that they are also more likely to get divorced (although the percentages remain quite contained in absolute terms).

Table 3: Evolution of the marital status of Tunisian return migrants, by types of migration cycle and across the three migration stages, %, N=712

Migration stages	Types of migration cycle			Total
	Complete	Incomplete	Interrupted	
Before leaving for abroad				
Single	71.8	70.9	83.0	73.9
Married	27.7	27.4	15.6	25.1
Divorced	0.5	1.1	1.4	0.8
Widow/widower	0.0	0.6	0.0	0.1
Total	100	100	100	100
While abroad				
Single	45.2	47.8	61.6	49.2
Married	54.0	50.0	37.7	49.6
Divorced	0.8	1.7	0.7	1.0
Widow/widower	0.0	0.6	0.0	0.1
Total	100	100	100	100
After return				
Single	18.1	27.4	44.1	25.8
Married	79.0	64.8	49.0	69.3
Divorced	2.3	6.1	6.9	4.2
Widow/widower	0.5	1.7	0.0	0.7
Total	100	100	100	100

Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI

The above table does not only show a possible correlation between types of migration cycle and marital status of the interviewees. It also leads us to explore additional variables which may impact on their bioFigureies and determine, at the same time, their social and economic conditions before and after return. These include the financial and human capital acquired abroad prior to return, and the evolution of professional status across the three migration stages (before leaving for abroad, while abroad, and after return).

3. Motivations to emigrate and motivations to return

When correlating the types of migration cycle with Tunisian migrants' motivations to emigrate, it appears that interviewees were, in general, motivated by better living and working conditions as well as by the fact that some of them already had job offers from foreign employers. Whereas those returnees who had an interrupted migration cycle were motivated by better working conditions, those who had a complete migration cycle were mainly motivated by better living conditions and by the need to complete their education abroad. Few respondents replied that their emigration was motivated by family reunification or by the need to help their family or relatives left behind in Tunisia. Emigration was mainly motivated by personal social and economic factors, regardless of the type of migration cycle.

Table 4: Tunisian migrants' first motivations to emigrate, by types of migration cycle, %. N=712

	Types of migration cycle			Total
	Complete	Incomplete	Interrupted	
Better living conditions	18.9	13.5	17.0	17.2
Job offer abroad	14.2	14.6	15.6	14.6
Better working conditions	12.4	16.9	29.3	17.1
Higher salary	13.5	11.8	6.8	11.7
To study abroad	27.7	14.6	11.6	21.1
To join my family	3.1	4.5	5.4	3.9
To join my spouse	6.2	11.2	4.8	7.2
To join friends	0.0	0.0	0.7	0.1
To help my family left behind	0.8	2.2	2.7	1.5
Health reasons	0.0	0.6	0.0	0.1
No specific reason	0.5	2.8	0.0	1.0
Lifestyle abroad	0.3	3.4	2.0	1.4
I have no future here in Tunisia	0.5	2.8	1.4	1.3
Political reasons	0.0	0.6	1.4	0.4
Family pressure	0.3	0.6	0.7	0.4
Others	1.6	0.0	0.7	1.0
Total	100	100	100	100

Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI

However, when it comes to return motivations, stark contrasts appear across the different types of migration cycle. As shown in the table below, returnees who had a complete migration cycle explained their return by replying that they completed their education and, therefore, decided on their own initiative to go back home. Others replied that they wanted to set up a business concern in Tunisia, or live their retirement back home.

Table 5: Return motivations of Tunisian migrants (those who decided on their own initiative to return), %. N=565.

Motivations	Types of migration cycle					
	Complete		Incomplete		Total	
	First reply	Second reply	First reply	Second reply	First reply	Second reply
Job precariousness in the host country	0.3	1.5	17.9	5.8	5.8	2.9
To benefit from a return grant		1.8	0.6		0.2	1.2
Family problems in the country of origin	2.6	4.9	23.5	8.3	9.2	6.0
Family problems in the immigration country	1.0	2.1	11.2	2.6	4.2	2.3
Health problems		4.9	6.7	2.6	2.1	4.1
Difficulties of integration in the immigration country		0.3	2.8	1.9	0.9	0.8
Retirement	15.8	0.9		1.3	10.8	1.0
To run my business back home	4.7	7.0		4.5	3.2	6.2
To set up a business back home	16.8	11.0		1.9	11.5	8.1
Termination of my job contract in the immigration country	14.8	3.1		4.5	10.1	3.5
End of my studies in the immigration country	19.9	3.7		2.6	13.6	3.3
To complete my training	2.6	4.0			1.8	2.7
Homesickness	7.5	21.1	7.3	21.2	7.4	21.1
Difficult socio-cultural environment in the immigration country		4.0	4.5	10.3	1.4	6.0
Better conditions in the country of origin	1.3			1.9	0.9	0.6
Political reasons	1.0	5.5	0.6	3.8	0.9	5.0
To get married and make a family	0.3	6.1	7.3	1.9	2.5	4.8
To take care of my family		6.7	9.5	9.6	3.0	7.7
I did not achieve my objectives		0.3	3.9	1.9	1.2	0.8
I achieved my objectives	6.5	4.3		3.8	4.4	4.1
Disappointment		0.9	3.4	6.4	1.1	2.7
Other favourable reasons	4.9	5.5	0.6	1.9	3.5	4.3
Other unfavourable reasons		0.3	0.6	1.3	0.2	0.6
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Termination of job contracts was another recurrent reason motivating the decision to return. Homesickness is commonly cited by Tunisian respondents who had complete and incomplete migration cycles, albeit as a secondary motivation. In contrast to Tunisian migrants who had a complete migration cycle, those who had an incomplete migration cycle mentioned different motivations, e.g. family problems in the country of immigration and of origin, job precariousness in the country of immigration, and the need or moral duty to take care of their family left behind. These motivations stem from exogenous factors that clearly impacted on their patterns of reintegration.

Table 6: Tunisian migrants’ return motivations (those who were compelled to return), %. N=147.

Which factors compelled you to return to Tunisia? (Multiple-choice question)	Interrupted migration cycle
My residence permit was not renewed	17.0
I lost my job	10.9
I had to interrupt my studies	5.4
I was expelled	34.7
Serious health problems	2.7
Tax/administrative problems	4.8
Family pressures	29.3
Forced marriage	0.7
War and deteriorated conditions in the country of immigration	17.0
Total (N)	147

Note: Percentages are not cumulative.

Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI

Finally, and unsurprisingly, Tunisian migrants who had a migration cycle interrupted by adverse circumstances replied that they were compelled to return by expulsion, family pressures, deteriorated conditions in their country of immigration (conflict, war), and the non-renewal of job contracts.

Motivations have a decisive impact on Tunisian returnees’ propensity to find a job, to transfer their skills acquired abroad to the domestic labour market, and to have a decent living back home. These issues are addressed in the next section.

4. Occupational status

Before leaving for abroad, more than 60 percent of Tunisian interviewees were employed, either on a permanent or temporary basis. Others were seasonal workers. Few interviewees were employers or self-employed. Field data confirm that looking for a job was not the primary motivation of their migration. Rather, having better working and living conditions was a major factor motivating their departure from Tunisia.

Abroad, more than 70 percent of the whole sample was employed. Tunisian migrants worked in specific sectors of industry, including (by order of statistical significance):

- the construction sector;
- the hotel industry;
- the education sector;
- the trade sector;
- the health sector;
- and the manufacturing industry.

Back in Tunisia, migration had a positive impact on professional advancement (Table 7). The number of employers and self-employed (i.e. legal independent contractors) increased substantially throughout all three migratory stages. Taken together, these two categories of investors accounted for up to 6.7 percent of the whole sample before emigrating, and up to 26.3 percent at time of survey. Entrepreneur-returnees and their respective economic sectors are examined in detail in a separate chapter of this report.

Additionally, we observe that up to 28 percent of the returnees were employed on a permanent basis at time of survey. This specific occupational status includes Tunisians who studied and worked abroad, and subsequently became civil servants in the public administration. It also includes returnees who were employed on a permanent basis in the health sector (both public and private institutions).

Table 7: Evolution of Tunisian migrants' occupational status, across the three migration stages %. N=712

Occupational status	Migration stages, %		
	Before emigration	While abroad	At time of survey
In permanent employment	24.0	20.4	28.2
Employed on a short-term basis	8.7	25.3	7.0
Employed on a part-time basis	4.1	3.2	1.1
Seasonal worker	10.3	4.1	1.5
Employer	1.5	4.5	17.5
Self-employed (legal)	5.2	5.8	8.8
Self-employed (illegal)	7.4	5.8	5.0
Unemployed (registered)	8.3	5.1	9.0
Unemployed (not registered)	1.4	0.7	3.6
Student	22.7	15.0	3.4
Housewife	4.0	4.5	4.5
Retired	0.0	3.6	9.1
Other	1.2	1.7	0.7
Total	98.9	99.7	99.4
No reply	1.1	0.3	0.6
Total	100	100	100

Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI

Again, returnees who have a complete migration cycle are more likely to have a stable occupation back home. However, those who had incomplete and interrupted migration cycles are more likely to be unemployed, even if up to 28 percent and 20 percent respectively found a permanent job back in Tunisia. Similar discrepancies emerge with regard to entrepreneurship. Such contrasts are invariably connected with an array of explanatory variables, including duration and type of migration experience, motivations, context and opportunities back home, level of preparedness, and human and financial capital, to mention but a few.

Apart from the strong analytical significance of the migration cycles in relation to professional reintegration, we also observed strong discrepancies relating to periods of first emigration. For example, when correlating periods of first emigration with first occupational status after return, we observe a form of generation gap between “senior” and “young” Tunisian migrants.

Table 8: Tunisian returnees' professional status at time of survey, %. N=712

Occupational status	Types of migration cycle			Total
	Complete	Incomplete	Interrupted	
In permanent employment	31.8	28.1	19.9	28.4
Employed on a short-term basis	6.0	9.0	8.2	7.2
Employed on a part-time basis	0.0	1.7	3.4	1.1
Seasonal worker	1.0	2.8	1.4	1.6
Employer	25.0	9.6	8.2	17.7
Self-employed (legal)	6.5	9.6	15.1	9.0
Self-employed (illegal)	2.1	5.1	12.3	4.9
Unemployed (registered)	4.7	11.8	15.1	8.6
Unemployed (not registered)	2.3	6.7	2.7	3.5
Student	2.9	4.5	3.4	3.4
Housewife	3.1	6.7	6.2	4.7
Retired	13.8	3.9	3.4	9.1
Other	0.8	0.6	0.7	0.7
Total	100	100	100	100

Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI

Table 9 clearly demonstrates that migrants who left Tunisia before 1980 were more likely to be employed or self-employed after their return. As the period of first emigration becomes more recent, the total share of employed Tunisian returnees gradually decreases. In other words, the share of unemployed returnees (whether these are registered or not) increases substantially for young emigrants. In a similar vein, this gap is perceptible as applied to entrepreneur-returnees. In other words, younger returnees are also less likely to be entrepreneur-returnees.

There is no question that these findings confirm that the duration of returnees' experience of migration significantly impacts on their (first) occupational status back home. This point was mentioned and explained earlier.

Of course, the average duration of the experience of migration considerably decreases as the date of first emigration becomes more recent. At the same time, however, the data reported on Table 9 lend support to the argument that conditions of emigration and of reintegration have changed over the last three decades or so.

Table 9: Tunisian migrants' occupational status just after return, by periods of first emigration, %. N=657

Returnees' occupational status in Tunisia (just after return)	Periods of first emigration from Tunisia					Total (%)	Total (N)
	Before 1980	From 1980 to 1989	From 1990 to 1999	From 2000 to 2004	From 2005 to 2011		
In permanent employment	7.8	27.3	29.1	40.0	19.4	27.4	180
Employed on a short-term basis	1.3	4.5	6.4	8.4	6.5	6.1	40
Employed on a part-time basis	2.6	0.0	1.4	0.5	0.7	0.9	6
Seasonal worker	5.2	1.8	2.8	1.1	0.7	2.0	13
Employer	40.3	26.4	14.9	7.4	4.3	15.4	101
Self-employed (legal)	11.7	11.8	7.8	3.7	6.5	7.5	49
Self-employed (illegal)	7.8	4.5	3.5	3.7	5.0	4.6	30
Unemployed (registered)	13.0	10.0	13.5	20.5	31.7	18.7	123
Unemployed (not registered)	1.3	3.6	3.5	4.7	10.8	5.2	34
Student	0.0	2.7	5.7	7.9	9.4	5.9	39
Housewife	9.1	4.5	7.1	1.6	5.0	4.9	32
Other	0.0	2.7	4.3	0.5	0.0	1.5	10
Total (%)	100	100	100	100	100	100	-
Total (N)	77	110	141	190	139	-	657

Note: The table does not consider migrants who retired after return to Tunisia.

Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI

Temporary migration has become more and more common over the last few decades, owing to more restrictive immigration policies in major destination countries in the West. In this context, young emigrants have increasingly been confronted with conditions that induced them to emigrate on a temporary basis, and to return subsequently. These conditions invariably determine:

- their capacity to acquire sufficient skills, human capital and knowledge as to be productively re-invested back home;
- the realization of their migration objectives;
- the acquisition of social rights;
- their social and professional reintegration;
- their ability to contribute to development back home.

Compared to senior emigrants, young generations of Tunisian emigrants seem to be confronted more often with temporariness, and with risk of unemployment back home.

Out of 100 Tunisians who emigrated from 2005 to 2011, approximately 42 were unemployed immediately following their return (Table 9). For returnees who had emigrated prior to 1989, this figure was around 14 out of 100. These data may indicate that the capacity of the Tunisian labour market to absorb return migrant workers has decreased substantially over the last two decades or so.

5. Occupational sectors and skills portability

Having analysed the occupational status of Tunisian return migrants, this section sets out to explore whether there is consistency between migrants' occupational sectors before their return and at time of survey. We take consistency to mean Tunisian migrant workers having worked in the same occupational sectors while abroad as at time of survey.

To investigate the above-mentioned consistency (1/ before return, and 2/ at time of survey), we choose to focus exclusively on respondents who were active across the two migration stages. We assume that the more consistency there was across the two migration stages, the more the skills acquired abroad, in a particular sector of activity, were successfully invested in the same sector back home.

Before addressing consistency, we need to specify that before their return to Tunisia, return migrant workers were mostly employed in five major economic sectors (by statistical relevance):

- 1- Education;
- 2- Construction;
- 3- Hotels and restaurants;
- 4- Wholesale and retail trade;
- 5- Health and social work.

After return, these sectors continued to be the most important ones in which Tunisian return migrants were active either as employees or as entrepreneurs (employers and self-employed). More precisely, Table 10 (below) shows that back in Tunisia at time of survey, the major occupational sectors were (by statistical relevance):

- 1- Education: 86 percent of those working in this sector at time of survey were working in the same sector while abroad;
- 2- Wholesale and retail trade: 43 percent of those working in this sector at time of survey were working in the same sector while abroad;
- 3- Hotels and restaurants: 53 percent of those working in this sector at time of survey were working in the same sector while abroad;
- 4- Health and social work: 86 percent of those working in this sector at time of survey were working in the same sector while abroad.

Such data are crucial to identifying the major occupational sectors of the interviewees. They are also important in demonstrating that across occupational sectors there are strong discrepancies in degrees of consistency of the type described above. In fact, return migrants who worked in education and in the health sector while abroad seem to have a higher propensity to transfer their skills back to the same occupational sectors upon their return to Tunisia. Conversely, there seems to be a higher degree of occupational inconsistency across the two migration stages for Tunisian return migrant workers in the trade, hotel and restaurant sectors. Such differences may stem from the characteristics inherent in the above-mentioned major occupational sectors in which Tunisian returnees were working at time of survey. For example, the education and health sectors require the acquisition of specific skills, validated by diplomas, which can be subsequently reinvested in the Tunisian labour market if conditions are suitable. The trade and hotel/restaurant sectors also require specific professional skills, but these two sectors have a higher capacity to absorb manpower regardless of skills acquired abroad. This explains why there is more sector dispersion in the trade and hotel/restaurant sectors. Return migrants working in these two sectors in Tunisia at time of survey, had been working in a variety of occupational sectors while abroad. On the other hand, the professional trajectories of returnees working in the sectors of education and health, before return and at time of survey, were much more linear and structured. The latter emigrated through technical cooperation programmes and subsequently returned to Tunisia to work in the public and private sectors. These structured professional trajectories are typical of occupational sectors requiring a high degree of professionalization and expertise.

Table 10: Tunisian return migrants' occupational sectors before return and at time of survey, %. N=379

	Occupational sectors	In which sector do you currently work (at time of survey)?																	
		Agriculture hunting and forestry	Fishing	Mining and quarrying	Manufacturing	Electricity, gas and water supply	Construction	Wholesale and retail trade	Hotels and restaurants	Transport, storage and communications	Financial intermediation	Real estate	Public administration and defence	Education	Health and social work	Community, social service activities	House-keeping	Extra-territorial organizations	Total (%)
In which sector did you work before return?	Agriculture, hunting and forestry	53.3						1.4	2.2	8.3					16.7			2.4	
	Fishing		100.0					2.5										0.5	
	Mining and quarrying	3.3		80.6														2.0	
	Manufacturing				59.0			5.2	2.2	20.0			6.7	0.7				6.2	
	Electricity, gas and water supply					63.9			5.2	4.2								2.7	
	Construction	40.0		11.1	20.8	16.7	91.5	11.0	17.7	4.2	25.0		16.7	2.8	6.3	16.7	25.0	33.3	16.9
	Wholesale and retail trade				8.6	11.1		42.8	10.5	7.5			16.7	2.1		8.3			12.8
	Hotels and restaurants	3.3		8.3	6.1			21.3	52.8	3.3		33.3		7.6	2.6		25.0		14.8
	Transport, storage and communications					8.3	4.8	1.4		40.8	30.0	16.7		0.7					5.2
	Financial intermediation				5.6			1.4	4.2		35.0	8.3							1.8
	Real estate							6.9			10.0	41.7				8.3		33.3	3.0
	Public administration and defence							3.0					42.2						2.4
	Education						3.7			8.3			11.1	85.5	5.8			33.3	17.9
	Health and social work														85.4	11.1			7.8
	Community, social service activities								5.2					0.7		27.8			1.5
	House-keeping							3.0		3.3						11.1	50.0		1.7
	Extra-territorial organizations												6.7					0.0	0.3
	Total (%)	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
	Total (N)	22	1	8	22	9	22	72	47	22	7	7	13	77	35	9	3	3	379

Note: N=379 because data combine exclusively respondents who were working abroad, just before return, with respondents who were employed at time of survey.

Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI

6. Financial situation

Unsurprisingly, the professional status of Tunisian returnees impacts on their available financial resources as well as their ability to make up a living back home. For example, the CRIS survey revealed that their type of migration cycle is directly correlated with the level of Tunisian returnees' monthly salaries; returnees who had a complete migration cycle are more likely to earn much more than the average salary in Tunisia, i.e. approximately 500 Tunisian Dinars (TD), or around 250 euros, per month. Conversely, half of those whose migration cycle was interrupted by adverse circumstances had no salary at all, or earn less than the average monthly salary. These data in turn explain why the latter were more likely than other Tunisian returnees to be dependent on the financial support of their family back in Tunisia. 30 percent of the returnees who had an interrupted migration cycle declared that they still depended on family support back home to make ends meet. Moreover, the precarious financial situation experienced by returnees who had an interrupted migration cycle explains why 70 percent of these considered that their financial situation back home at time of survey was unchanged or worsened compared with their former financial situation in their country of immigration.

Table 11: Tunisian returnees' declared monthly incomes, by types of migration cycle, %. N=396

Monthly incomes	Types of migration cycle			Total
	Complete	Incomplete	Interrupted	
No salary	13.9	27.8	27.5	21.2
Less than the minimum subsistence salary (\leq 125 TD)	3.3	6.3	2.5	4.1
More than the minimum subsistence salary (\geq 125 TD)	2.8	7.1	21.3	8.0
More than the average salary (\geq 500 TD)	28.3	19.1	26.3	24.9
Much more than the average salary (++ 500 TD)	51.7	39.7	22.5	41.7
Total (%)	100	100	100	100
Total (N)	185	131	80	396

Note: Calculation is based on data collected in the framework of the CRIS survey only. 1 Tunisian Dinar (TD) \approx 0.50 Euro.

Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI

These considerations are important to understanding the impact of the various types of migration cycle on Tunisian returnees' patterns of social and professional reintegration.

Table 12: Tunisian returnees' financial situation across the three migration stages, by type of migration cycle (subjective assessment), %. N=712.

Did your financial situation abroad improve compared with that before emigration?				
	Types of migration cycle			
	Complete	Incomplete	Interrupted	Total
Improved considerably	36.7	41.3	36.6	37.9
Slightly improved	40.1	35.2	40.7	39.0
Unchanged	16.4	12.8	8.3	13.8
Worsened	3.6	8.9	13.8	7.1
No opinion	3.1	1.7	0.7	2.3
Total	100	100	100	100
Has your current financial situation improved compared with that while abroad?				
	Complete	Incomplete	Interrupted	Total
Improved considerably	21.7	15.8	2.7	16.3
Slightly improved	28.5	17.5	21.2	24.2
Unchanged	27.4	27.7	26.0	27.2
Worsened	18.8	36.2	43.2	28.2
No opinion	3.7	2.8	6.8	4.1
Total	100	100	100	100

Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI

It has to be said, however, that laying emphasis on various types of migration cycle is not constantly relevant when it comes to understanding Tunisian migrants' remittance behaviours, or their respective perceptions as applied to their institutional and social environment back home. This can easily be explained by the fact that both remittance behaviours and perceptions are predominantly shaped by factors that do not depend on the completeness of the migration cycle; rather they depend on whom and how many people receive remittances (as far as remittance behaviours are concerned) and on how public institutions in Tunisia have addressed the return and reintegration of Tunisian migrants (as far as the perceptions of their institutional environment back home are concerned).

7. Perceptions of the institutional context back home

Against this backdrop, it comes as no surprise that all the return migrants interviewed in Tunisia, regardless of their type of migration cycle, shared the same problems and difficulties in their interactions with public authorities. Corruption and irresponsiveness

of the bureaucracy were consistent problems that 40 percent of the return migrants interviewed in Tunisia mentioned at time of survey.

Table 13: Priorities and actions mentioned by Tunisian return migrants as supporting return to and reintegration in Tunisia, %. N=712.

Priorities mentioned by Tunisian returnees	Order of priorities		
	First	Second	Third
Facilitation of procedures/better institutional environment	27.0	22.1	17.7
Subsidized bank loans	15.4	7.6	4.8
Provision of land	12.1	5.1	1.5
Investment premium	9.9	8.0	5.8
Customs exemption	8.5	11.3	11.3
Tax exemption	6.1	10.7	9.9
Provision of project banks	4.3	8.3	7.6
Family support	4.0	1.9	1.9
Adequate infrastructures	3.0	5.9	9.5
Technical assistance/advice	2.9	9.6	6.5
Legal assistance	0.8	1.0	1.4
Enhanced mobility	0.1	0.4	2.6
Trade agreements	0.0	0.1	0.6
Others	2.3	0.4	1.1
Total	96.6	92.4	82.1
Missing	3.4	7.6	17.9
Total	100	100	100

Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI

There is no question that such institutional and contextual issues shape the relationships between Tunisian migrants and public authorities back home, as well as their propensity to reintegrate and contribute to development in their country of origin. In the opinion of Tunisian interviewees, one major priority to be tackled in Tunisia would be facilitating administrative procedures and improving the institutional bureaucratic environment - followed by access to subsidized loans, the provision of land, and the need for investment premiums.

8. Conclusion: Heading towards policy coherence

In a rather intuitive manner, the data reported in this chapter confirm that the reintegration process of Tunisian migrants lies at the intersection of contextual factors (both in the country of immigration and in the country of origin) and personal factors. That said, both factors are closely interlinked, for conditions invariably determine

migrants' opportunities to gather the adequate tangible and intangible resources needed to ensure reintegration.

This study emphasised various factors motivating migrants' return to Tunisia. These factors shaped their types of migration cycles. In turn, the types of migration impacted on their patterns of social and professional reintegration back into Tunisian life. Having highlighted the significance of the types of migration cycles on Tunisian migrants' social and occupational reintegration, we can see that the most daunting challenge facing migration and development stakeholders lies in defining the necessary provisions to offset the social and economic implications of an incomplete or interrupted migration cycle.

As a prerequisite to defining such provisions, a clear distinction between return, repatriation and removal must be made, both practically and politically. This distinction is essential to addressing an array of needs, opportunities to reintegrate as well as pre- and post-return conditions that starkly differ from one another. With reference to Tunisia, this chapter has demonstrated that many migrants decide to organise and prepare for return, and that their motivations impact on the completeness of their migration cycles.

In North Africa, Tunisia was a forerunner in the adoption of legal provisions aimed at facilitating the return of its own nationals. These legal provisions responded to specific conditions in the country marked by economic liberalization (or *Infitah*). As of the mid-1970s, Tunisians wishing to return on a temporary or permanent basis were entitled to tax exemption and other advantages granted by the state authorities. Return was viewed by the state authorities as a stage in the migration process of Tunisian migrants. Some returned on a temporary basis, others returned permanently. As a result of the adoption of restrictive immigration policies in European countries, especially following the introduction of visas, opportunities for cross-border mobility changed radically, leading to the drive for the temporariness of labour migration from Tunisia to Europe (Tunisian migrants' major region of destination). The drive for temporariness raises a host of new challenges that Tunisian authorities will have to address at one point or another.

Today, younger generations of returnees tend to be exposed to temporariness more than ever before. Temporariness is directly linked with time, or the duration of migration needed to successfully complete one's own migration cycle. Implications are multifarious. Today's returnees to Tunisia are clearly more susceptible to having incomplete or interrupted migration cycles. They are more likely to be unemployed and jobless when they return to Tunisia than their predecessors. Table 9 showed that the cohort of entrepreneur-returnees (employers and self-employed) is mainly comprised of migrants who left Tunisia before 2000, and who then returned to the country after a rather long experience of migration abroad.

Such unprecedented conditions account for the variety of migration cycles analysed in this study. Tunisian authorities have a key role to play in responding to their respective implications. There are short- and long-term solutions that need to be considered:

- The need for effective monitoring mechanisms: Tunisia should undertake a comprehensive evaluation of its bilateral labour migration programmes promoted in cooperation with European countries. Insofar as temporariness implies return migration, Tunisian authorities should develop monitoring mechanisms aimed at understanding whether and how Tunisian migrants have reintegrated back home. These mechanisms are essential to assessing the real costs and benefits of each bilateral labour migration programme. Evaluation criteria should reflect and respond to Tunisia's development priorities;
- Promotion of sponsorship: Tunisian authorities should by law promote initiatives whereby return migrants are encouraged to sponsor or accompany other return migrants in their reintegration process. There is no question that the institutional implementation of such sponsorship programmes would require substantial efforts on the part of the public administration. At the same time, the state-led promotion of sponsorship might lead to positive spillover effects in terms of reintegration;
- Enhanced institutional responsiveness: The Tunisian return migrants interviewed mentioned an array of measures that need to be considered in order to sustain reintegration back home (Table 13). There is no question that, out of the three surveyed countries, Tunisia has been most proactive in adopting legal provisions addressed specifically to its nationals returning on a temporary or permanent

basis. However, these provisions can no longer be limited to tax exemption on imported goods. A whole spectrum of new provisions aimed at sustaining and fostering the social and occupational reintegration of Tunisian return migrants should be considered - especially given the above-mentioned drive for temporariness that is now predominant. The ministries for vocational training, social affairs, and economic development have key roles to play in the definition of such legal provisions;

- The drive for temporariness, combined with the selective acceptance of highly-skilled labour migrants, will continue to characterise migration flows to Europe. This is a *fait accompli* that needs to be taken into consideration. In this light, Tunisia will at a certain stage need to seek diversified channels of international mobility for its expatriates. Strengthening diplomatic relations and concluding bilateral (technical and cooperative) agreements with non-European emerging economies (in Africa, Asia and Latin America), with less restrictive immigration policies, may represent a necessity.

Finally, the above-mentioned measures are inseparable from the necessities for economic conditions favouring the expansion of the private sector, investment in infrastructure and education, and regional development in the broadest sense. Their definition and concretization will also need to be part of a sovereign Tunisian policy on migration matters, responding to the country's priorities.

THEMATIC ANALYSES

5

RETURN MIGRANTS' EMPLOYMENT TRAJECTORIES

Davide Calenda

1. Introduction

This chapter analyses and discusses the employment trajectories of the return migrants interviewed. The first two sections focus on the evolution of their occupational status and investigate how this correlates with their sectors of employment across the different stages of the migration cycle. A large majority of the migrants' employment trajectories moved across eight employment sectors. An accurate analysis of the characteristics of the migrants employed in these sectors and their migration cycles enables us to identify different patterns of employment. These patterns differ mainly in terms of skills and the degree to which the migrants were able to use them across the migration cycle. How these factors correlate with type of migration cycle will be clarified in the third section. The results clearly show that complete migration cycles foster better professional reintegration.

2. Return migrants' occupational status across the migration cycle

The share of employed migrants increases across the migration cycle. It goes from 57.9 per cent before emigrating to 64.2 per cent at the time of the survey (Table 1). This growth mainly stems from the entry of students into the labour market. That is, migration provided a substantial proportion of workers and students with an opportunity to develop skills, have new work experiences, and engage in entrepreneurial activities. Nevertheless, not all the migrants had the same opportunities or the ability to move along their employment trajectories in a linear way across the migration cycle, and this had an impact on their professional reintegration, as will be shown. For instance, the share of employed migrants drops sharply in the first period after their return, meaning that many returnees faced problems in reintegrating in the domestic labour market.

Table 1: Occupational status across different stages of the migration cycle, %. N= 1425

	In the country of origin	In the country of immigration		In the country of origin	
	Before emigrating	Abroad, on arrival	Before returning	Upon return	At the time of the survey
Employed on a permanent basis	20.1	13.9	16.4	15.1	21.3
Employed on a temporary basis	8.0	22.3	23.0	5.4	7.0
Part-time employment	3.5	3.9	4.1	1.6	2.0
Seasonal work	9.7	5.7	4.2	3.1	2.7
Employer, manager	1.1	1.1	3.2	8.4	10.5
Self-employed in the formal sector	4.7	5.2	7.0	6.6	9.4
Self-employed in the informal sector	10.7	10.3	10.3	8.0	11.3
Registered unemployed	9.3	4.9	4.9	15.7	8.4
Unregistered unemployed	7.1	5.7	2.0	13.4	7.4
Student	16.5	13.7	10.3	4.2	3.0
Housewife	7.6	12.2	11.2	11.8	9.7
Retired	0.9	0.6	2.5	6.0	6.9
Other	0.7	0.5	0.8	0.7	0.4
Total (%)	100	100	100	100	100
Missing (N)	8	5	2	11	4
Total (N)	1425	1425	1425	1425	1425
Percentage working	57.9	62.5	68.2	48.1	64.2

Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI

The data show a trade-off between permanent and temporary employment across the migration cycle. That is, permanent employment predominated among the working migrants before their emigration and at time of survey, whereas temporary employment

prevailed in the country of immigration. This result may reflect an increased importance of temporary employment in the operations of both the labour markets and migration policies in the receiving countries. Temporary employment correlates with the migrants' type of legal status in the country of immigration and with the duration of the migration experience (Tables 2 and 3).

Table 2: Migrants' legal status in the country of immigration, by type of occupational status, %. N= 1094

	Permanent stay	Temporary stay	Undocumented	Total (%)
Employed on a permanent basis	48.1	42.9	9.0	100
Employed on a temporary basis	24.6	60.2	15.3	100
Part-time employment	47.5	35.0	17.5	100
Seasonal work	20.5	20.5	59.1	100
Employer, manager	73.9	21.7	4.3	100
Self-employed in the formal sector	60.0	22.7	17.3	100
Self-employed (undeclared)	51.9	19.5	28.6	100
Registered unemployed	27.8	27.8	44.4	100
Unregistered unemployed	10.3	75.9	13.8	100
Student	25.2	73.3	1.5	100
Housewife	32.7	55.3	12.0	100
Retired	53.8	38.5	7.7	100
Other	0.0	0.0	100.0	100
Total (%)	36.6	46.1	17.4	100
Total (N)	400	504	190	1094

Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI

Note: The information on the migrants' legal status in the country of immigration is not available for the Tunisians interviewed in 2006 (MIREM)

Table 3: Average duration of the migration experience, by type of occupational status, %. N= 1423

Duration of the migration experience (years)	Mean	N	Std. Deviation
Employed on a permanent basis	11.3	233	10.1
Employed on a temporary basis	7.8	327	8.5
Part-time employment	7.8	59	7.8
Seasonal work	9.6	60	8.4
Employer, manager	18.9	46	10.9
Self-employed in the formal sector	15.3	99	10.8
Self-employed in the informal sector	10.5	146	9.0
Registered unemployed	7.1	70	7.8
Unregistered unemployed	3.0	29	2.1
Student	5.8	147	4.4
Housewife	8.2	160	8.7
Retired	27.5	35	14.3
Other	11.9	12	7.0
Total	9.8	1423	9.7

Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI; Missing values = 2.

The number of seasonal workers sharply decreases across the migration cycle. Most of these workers were employed in agriculture. This trend reflects a gradual transition of the residence of these workers from rural to urban area across the migration cycle.

The number of employers, managers and self-employed people in the formal sector increases during the period abroad and significantly after the migrants' return. Discussion of this result and an analysis of the characteristics of the entrepreneur-returnees are provided in Chapter 6.

The share of undeclared self-employed migrants remains somewhat stable across the migration cycle. This result seems to depend more on the structural conditions of the domestic labour markets in both the sending and receiving countries than on individual preferences. The Malian interviewees, who constitute the majority of the undeclared self-employed in the sample, are a case in point. They emigrated and returned from Sub-Saharan countries, which are characterized by a widespread informal economy.

In the next sections, occupational status is factored into the analysis of the employment trajectories across the sectors.

3. Employment sectors and skills portability

The migrants found work in certain sectors more than in others and their employment trajectories tended to move more linearly in some sectors than in others. This section aims to identify the factors that explain why some migrants moved in a more linear way than others in the labour market across the migration cycle, and the possible implications for their professional reintegration¹³.

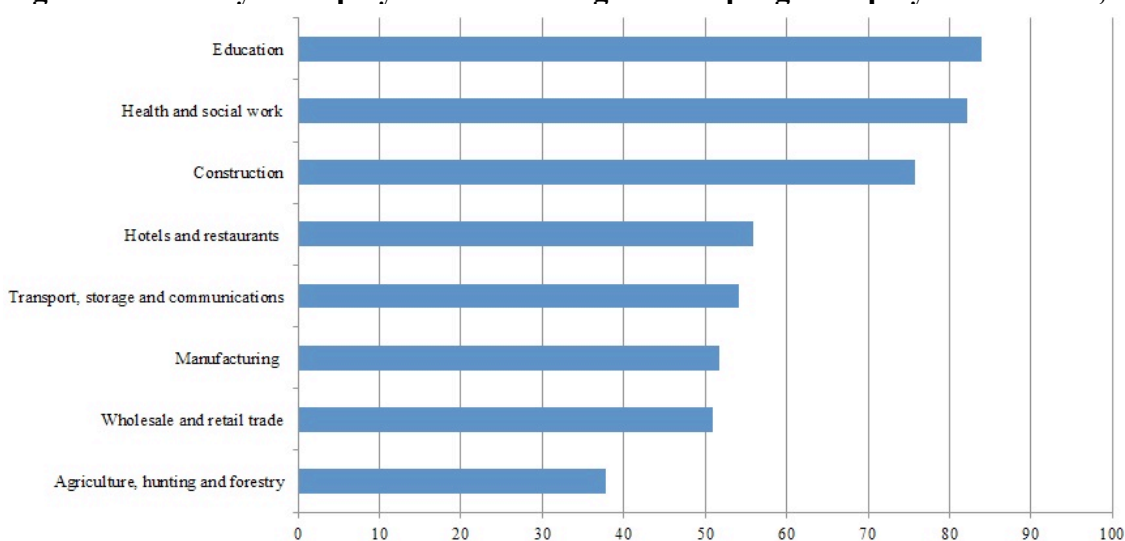
¹³ The concept usually applied in this type of analysis is skills portability. According to the International Labour Organisation (ILO), skills portability refers to skills which can be productively used in different jobs, occupations, and industries (ILO Human Resources Development Recommendation, 2004 No. 195). This concept is not easy to operationalize and to apply it meaningfully a micro-level analysis would be required. This chapter aims to explore patterns of employment trajectory for which an analysis of aggregated data of the migrants interviewed is more suitable. Skills portability is central in this chapter, however, and it will be factored into the analysis through the observations of the migrants' transitions between occupational statuses and employment sectors as well as by considering the migrants' subjective assessment of the possibilities they had to re-use the skills they had acquired abroad after their return.

The following table reports the proportions of employment by sector in each migration stage. A large majority of the migrants worked continuously or discontinuously in eight sectors. The top eight sectors in order of importance are: wholesale and retail trade; construction; education; agriculture, hunting and forestry; hotels and restaurants; manufacturing; transport, storage and communications; and health and social work. These sectors rank differently according to the stage of the migration cycle considered. However, wholesale and retail trade, and construction and education can be found among the top five in each stage of the migration cycle.

Table 4 reports the results of a cross-tabulation between the employment sector of the migrants before emigrating and after their return, i.e. at the time of the survey. It aims to show the extent to which the migrants stayed working in the same sector and the sectors in which employment trajectories moved more linearly. This analysis provides important indications of the skills portability of the migrants, i.e. of whether the migrants were able to transfer their skills across the migration cycle.

Table 4 shows that a substantial proportion of the migrants worked in different sectors across their migration cycles. The next Figure ranks the top eight sectors listed above according to the proportions of migrants who were employed in them both before emigrating and after their return.

Figure 1: Stability of employment in the migrants' top eight employment sectors, %



Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI

Table 4: Employment sector before emigrating and after return, at the time of the survey

	Occupational sectors	In which sector do you currently work (at time of survey)?																	
		Agriculture hunting and forestry	Fishing	Mining and quarrying	Manufacturing	Electricity, gas and water supply	Construction	Wholesale and retail trade	Hotels and restaurants	Transport, storage and communications	Financial intermediation	Real estate	Public administration and defence	Education	Health and social work	Community, social service activities	House-keeping	Extra-territorial organizations	Total (%)
In which sector did you work before return?	Agriculture, hunting and forestry	37.8		8.3			1.6	5.4	4.4	4.2					11.1				5.4
	Fishing		100.0					1.2											0.4
	Mining and quarrying	6.7		75.0	1.8		3.2												3.4
	Manufacturing	2.2		4.2	51.8			4.8	2.9	8.3			5.6	2.3				15.4	7.1
	Electricity, gas and water supply	2.2			1.8	66.7		3.0	2.9	4.2	10.0					2.8			3.0
	Construction	24.4		8.3	19.6	8.3	75.8	8.4	10.3	6.3	10.0		16.7	1.1	4.4	8.3	16.7	7.7	15.3
	Wholesale and retail trade	13.3			14.3	16.7	9.7	50.9	10.3	8.3	20.0		22.2	3.4	4.4	16.7		15.4	19.4
	Hotels and restaurants	8.9		4.2	5.4			10.8	55.9	2.1		12.5		6.9	2.2	2.8	33.3		10.8
	Transport, storage and communications					8.3	3.2	3.0	2.9	54.2	30.0	37.5		1.1		2.8			6.2
	Financial intermediation				3.6			0.6	1.5	4.2	20.0	12.5	5.6						1.4
	Real estate						1.6	3.0	1.5		10.0	37.5	5.6			2.8		7.7	2.0
	Public administration and defence	2.2						1.2	1.5				27.8						1.3
	Education						1.6	2.4		2.1			11.1	83.9	6.7	8.3		7.7	12.5
	Health and social work				1.8					2.1					82.2	2.8			5.7
	Community, social service activities							1.2	4.4					1.1		33.3		7.7	2.7
	House-keeping	2.2						1.6	2.4		4.2					2.8	50.0	7.7	1.8
	Extraterritorial organizations							1.6	1.8	1.5				5.6		5.6		30.8	1.7
Total (%)	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
Total (N)	45	1	24	56	12	62	167	68	48	10	8	18	87	45	36	6	13	706	

Note: The table only includes migrants who were employed before emigrating; hence the total number reported in the table is lower than the total number of migrants employed at time of survey.

Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI

Education and healthcare are sectors which are highly regulated by national laws, and qualifications, skills and recruitment procedures have been progressively standardized. These factors also have an impact on skills portability at the international level. This may help explain why most of the education and healthcare workers interviewed easily found a job in their sectors across the migration cycle. Most of these people are graduates and they were recruited either before leaving to go abroad or they found a job immediately after their arrival in the destination country, as well as after their return. More specifically, they were recruited through state-owned employment agencies or directly by foreign employers. A number of them were also recruited within the framework of bilateral agreements between the sending and receiving countries. Tunisian teachers (n. 26) who went to the Persian Gulf Region – i.e. Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and United Arab Emirates – through the *Agence Tunisienne de Coopération Technique* (ATCT) are a case in point. Overall, almost all the workers in this sector had a complete migration cycle.

Employment trajectories in the construction sector appear somewhat linear across the migration cycle, although a deeper analysis in fact shows that this sector comprises two types of workers. One is characterized by precariousness of employment, especially in the country of immigration. This precariousness reflects the high proportion of incomplete and interrupted migration cycles that can be observed among these workers. The second type of workers comprises skilled migrants, many of whom created their own enterprises in this sector whilst abroad and especially after their return. Many of these workers benefitted from professional training before emigrating or in the country of immigration. Another feature of these workers is their ability to use their skills in the manufacturing sector, as an analysis of sector transitions shows.

The evolution of employment in hotels and restaurants shows that a substantial proportion of migrant workers in this sector had linear employment trajectories across the migration cycle, but more interestingly the proportion of employment in this sector increased significantly while the migrants were abroad and also remained high after their return. This result indicates that many of them acquired skills abroad that they were then able to use after their return to find a job in the same sector. A substantial share of these people, however, felt dissatisfied about the real possibility of transferring

what they had learned abroad in their country of origin (see Table 6). Unlike what one may expect, most of these migrants had secondary education or a university degree (35 and 11 out of 75 respectively). A substantial number of these migrants set up their own businesses whilst abroad and/or after their return. Overall, at the time of the survey 34 out of the 75 migrants employed in this sector were employers or managers, 11 were self-employed and 7 were undeclared self-employed. That is, most of these entrepreneur-returnees created new jobs in hotels and restaurants in their country of origin. Overall, the migration cycle is complete for half of the migrants employed in this sector, a proportion which sharply increases for the entrepreneurs.

Transport, storage and communications include both highly and poorly educated migrants. The proportion of employment in this sector slightly increases across the migration cycle. This increase was mostly contributed to by students who entered this sector. Analysis of the ISCO¹ codes shows that the migrants in this sector did a range of jobs, e.g. managerial, clerical, in mechanical engineering etc. – depending on their level of education and skills. However, two-thirds of the migrants in this sector did manual jobs, among which driving and moving equipment predominate. Most of these manual jobs are somewhat specialized in terms of skills, although they do not require high levels of education. This may have fostered skills portability across the migration cycle. It is worth noting that after the migrants' return employment on a permanent basis prevailed in this sector.

The share of employment in manufacturing remains somewhat stable across the migration cycle. This result suggests that many migrants who worked in this sector before emigrating or whilst abroad were able to transfer their skills after their return. Most of these workers are highly skilled. 50 per cent of them went to high school and 18 per cent obtained a university or higher degree. A large majority of the workers in this sector found a job before departing or just after their arrival in the destination country. There are also many migrants who moved in and out of this sector across the migration cycle. An analysis of transitions shows a strong correlation between manufacturing and construction. That is, the data show a high compatibility between jobs in these two sectors. However, the data suggest that the quality of employment in

¹ <http://www.ilo.org/public/english/bureau/stat/isco/>

the two sectors is significantly different. Open-ended employment contracts prevail in manufacturing, whereas, as has been shown, temporary employment and self-employment prevail in construction. This result may indicate that construction constituted a temporary option for migrants who were employed in manufacturing before emigrating but did not find a job in this sector whilst abroad. On the other hand, some workers in construction succeeded in reusing their skills or reskilling in manufacturing whilst they were abroad or after their return.

The main observation that can be drawn from an analysis of the employment trajectories in agriculture, hunting and forestry is that the proportion of workers in this sector before emigrating was significantly high but it dropped sharply across the migration cycle. This result somewhat correlates with the gradual movement of the migrants from rural to urban areas and the decrease in the number of seasonal workers, many of which were employed in agriculture. The fall in employment in agriculture mainly involved Malians and Tunisians.

Table 5: Main characteristics of migrants employed in the wholesale and retail trade

	Migrants employed in wholesale and retail trade		
	Before emigrating	Whilst abroad	At the time of the survey
Graduates (%)	8.8	13.0	12.0
Primary school (%)	43.1	47.5	47.5
Employed on a permanent basis	21.3	12.8	12.5
Employed on a temporary basis	9.9	25.6	8.0
Employers/mangers	2.8	4.4	16.0
Self-employed	16.3	20.0	26.0
Self-employed (undeclared)	36.2	32.2	33.5
Total (N)	141	180	202

Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI

Wholesale and retail trade is the sector that employed the highest number of the interviewees. This sector comprises various types of activities, but overall it is characterized by being labour intensive². This characteristic makes it highly accessible for low-skilled migrants, but working in this sector can constitute a viable alternative for

skilled migrants who experience constraints in accessing their preferred profession. Additionally, many entrepreneur-returnees worked in this sector, as will be shown. Given these characteristics, it is not surprising that the sector shows a high degree of transitions and involves various types of migrants. That is, many migrants transitioned through it at some stage in their migration cycle.

Two patterns clearly emerge: a high proportion of migrants with low education levels and a high proportion of the undeclared self-employed. Conversely, a significant variation can be observed with regard to migrants employed on a permanent and on a temporary basis. The proportion of the former halved across the stages whereas the proportion of the latter sharply increased whilst the migrants were abroad and decreased after their return. That is, after returning the proportion of employees in this sector constitutes a minority. Many migrants who were employed in this sector before returning in fact started their own business either regularly self-employed or as employers after their return.

Table 6: Difficulties experienced by return migrants in reusing the skills acquired abroad after their return, by main employment sector, %. N=503

Employment sector at the time of the survey	Since your return, did you have any difficulties in using the skills acquired abroad?			
	Only after	Difficulties persisting at the time of the	No difficulties	Total
	%	%	%	N
Agriculture, hunting and forestry	10.6	19.1	70.2	47
Manufacturing	0.0	29.8	70.2	47
Construction	10.9	16.4	72.7	55
Wholesale and retail trade	8.9	23.6	67.5	157
Hotels and restaurants	11.4	31.4	57.1	35
Transport, storage and communications	11.1	14.8	74.1	54
Education	9.4	16.5	74.1	85
Health and social work	8.0	14.0	78.0	50
Total (N)	47	109	374	530

Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI

Note: The table only includes the eight principal employment sectors of the migrants. This data is not available for the Tunisians interviewed in 2006 (MIREM).

² For more details on the activities included in this sector, see the NACE code list, at <http://www.export.gov.il/files/EEN/ListNACEcodes.pdf>.

The return migrants were asked if they had experienced difficulties in using the skills they acquired abroad after they returned to their country of origin. Overall, the majority of the return migrants did not experience difficulties, although workers in some sectors did so more than others, as was previously suggested. The persistence of difficulties over time, which is more considerable in some sectors than others (see central column in Table 6), may indicate structural constraints of sectors in integrating innovations that may have been brought back by return migrants.

A similar analysis, but from the perspective of the occupational status of the migrants at the time of the survey, provides additional insights. Table 7 shows that employees, the regular self-employed and employers experienced fewer difficulties in reusing the skills they had acquired abroad. Unemployment seems to correlate strongly with difficulties in skills portability.

Table 7: Difficulties experienced by return migrants in reusing the skills they acquired abroad after their return, by occupational status, %. N=877

Occupational status at the time of the survey	Since your return, have you had any difficulties in using the skills you acquired abroad?			
	Only after	Difficulties persisting at the time of the	No difficulties	Total (N)
Employed on a permanent basis	5.7	15.7	78.7	230
Employed on a temporary basis	4.7	20.9	74.4	86
Part-time employment	12.0	32.0	56.0	25
Seasonal worker	31.3	21.9	46.9	32
Employers, managers	7.1	26.8	66.1	56
Self-employed in the formal sector	9.7	13.6	76.7	103
Self-employed (undeclared)	19.0	25.4	55.6	142
Registered unemployed	1.0	43.4	55.6	99
Unregistered unemployed	1.0	51.9	47.1	104
Total (N)	73	231	573	877

Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI

Note: This data is not available for the Tunisians interviewed in 2006 (MIREM).

4. The impact of type of migration cycles on professional reintegration

The results discussed in the previous section suggested that the type of migration cycle – i.e. complete, incomplete or interrupted – is an important factor to consider for an understanding of the employment trajectories of the migrants. Its importance emerges

most clearly in an analysis of the post-return employment situation of the migrants compared with their situation before returning.

The following table correlates the type of migration cycle of the migrants with their last occupational status before returning and their first occupational status after returning.

Table 8: Occupational status of the migrants before returning and after their return, by type of migration cycles, %.

	Occupational status before returning												Total (N)
	Employed on a permanent basis	Employed on a temporary basis	Part-time employment	Seasonal work	Employer, manager	Self-employed (legal)	Self-employed (undeclared)	Registered unemployed	Unregistered unemployed	Student	Housewife	Retired	
Complete	43.3	40.4	22.4	28.3	65.2	34.0	7.6	13.2	17.9	66.4	11.7	73.3	479
Incomplete	36.2	39.5	25.9	43.3	15.2	34.0	38.6	30.9	46.4	16.1	37.0	20.0	464
Interrupted	20.5	20.1	51.7	28.3	19.6	32.0	53.8	55.9	35.7	17.5	51.3	6.7	429
Total (%)	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	1372
	Occupational status upon return												
Complete	59.3	38.2	9.1	43.2	75.2	32.6	9.8	18.3	16.1	46.6	13.1	67.5	472
Incomplete	24.9	39.5	45.5	43.2	12.8	37.0	33.9	37.2	50.6	25.9	38.8	19.5	462
Interrupted	15.8	22.4	45.5	13.6	12.0	30.4	56.3	44.5	33.3	27.6	48.1	13.0	433
Total (%)	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	1365

Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI

Missing cases: 53 – occupational status before returning; 60 – occupational status after returning.

Three main observations can be made from the table:

- Overall, the highest proportions of complete migration cycles are among employers, managers, and employees on a permanent basis.
- The correlation between complete migration cycles and employers/managers becomes even stronger if we consider occupational status after the migrants' return. That is, most of the migrants who became employers and managers after their return had in fact complete migrant cycles.
- The proportions of complete migration cycles among unemployed people, housewives, part-time workers and the undeclared self-employed are considerably low. We do not observe any substantial variation before and after return in these occupational categories in terms of type of migration cycle.

Table 9 shows the same correlation but considers the last employment sector of the migrants before returning and the last employment sector after their return³. The analysis focuses on the main employment sectors discussed in the section above.

Table 9: Employment sectors of the migrants before returning and after returning, by type of migration cycle, %.

	Employment sector upon return								Total (N)
	Agriculture	Manufacturing	Construction	Wholesale and retail trade	Hotels and restaurants	Transport, and communications	Education	Health	
Complete	18.5	39.1	35.4	21.3	47.1	31.6	56.7	50.0	337
Incomplete	33.3	37.5	41.7	37.4	36.3	29.8	26.8	40.5	345
Interrupted	48.1	23.4	22.9	41.4	16.7	38.6	16.5	9.5	280
Total (%)	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	962
	Employment sector before returning								
Complete	30.5	33.9	23.9	22.9	52.7	36.4	63.6	58.5	342
Incomplete	23.7	35.5	41.8	32.3	28.4	28.8	21.5	40.0	289
Interrupted	45.8	30.6	34.3	44.8	18.9	34.8	14.9	1.5	263
Total (%)	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	894

Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI

Three main observations can be made:

- The highest proportions of complete migration cycles are among workers in education, healthcare and hotels and restaurants. These proportions significantly increase for workers who were employed in these sectors after their return.
- Most of the workers in manufacturing also have a complete migration cycle and a low proportion of interrupted migration cycles.
- Workers in agriculture and wholesale and retail trade turn out to be the most affected by an interruption of the migration cycle.

Finally, we check if the correlation between the type of migration cycle and the employment situation of the migrants also reflects the migrants' subjective perception of their working conditions, levels of earnings and social security coverage after their return. Table 10 shows the results of the analysis.

³ Information on the first employment sector after return is not available.

Table 10: Migrants' self-assessment of their working conditions and earnings after their return, %

Since your return, did you experience:	Complete	Incomplete	Interrupted	Total (N)
Poor working conditions				
Yes	18.0	43.2	57.7	486
No	82.0	56.8	42.3	775
Total (N)	461	403	397	1261
Poor earnings				
Yes	27.4	57.6	61.5	604
No	72.6	42.4	38.5	659
Total (N)	460	403	400	1263
Difficult access to social security/social protection system				
Yes	19.8	32.2	40.1	417
No	80.2	67.8	59.9	958
	481	460	434	1375
Do you benefit from social security/social protection system*				
Yes	57.1	25.9	19.3	315
No	42.9	74.1	80.7	18
Total (N)	273	410	367	717

Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI

*This information is not available for the Tunisians interviewed in 2006 (MIREM).

The results clearly show that migrants whose migration cycle was complete are more satisfied with their working conditions, earnings and access to the welfare system than migrants whose migration cycle was incomplete or interrupted.

5. Conclusion

Migration provided a substantial proportion of the migrants with an opportunity to develop skills, to have new work experiences and to engage in entrepreneurial activities. Nevertheless, not all the migrants had the same opportunities to make linear moves in their employment trajectories across the migration cycle and this had an impact on their professional reintegration.

Our analysis of employment trajectories across the migration cycle has enabled us to break down the general block of 'migrant workers' into a number of typologies. A sector-based perspective was particularly useful for identifying patterns of employment

trajectories. We have investigated eight employment sectors that account for the largest share of working migrants across the migration cycle in depth. The results of this analysis can be summarized as follows:

- Education and healthcare workers had the most linear employment trajectories. These migrants differ from others mainly in being highly educated and in working in highly regulated sectors that facilitate skills portability.
- The construction sector comprises unskilled migrants who did precarious jobs as well as skilled migrants who were able to reuse their skills and also set up their own enterprises.
- Numbers of workers in hotels and restaurants increased significantly while the migrants were abroad and remained high after their return. A substantial number of these migrants created their own businesses; most of these entrepreneur-returnees created new jobs in their country of origin.
- Transport, storage and communications includes both highly and poorly educated migrants. Despite low education levels, many manual workers in this sector enhanced their skills across the migration cycle and reintegrated well after returning.
- Manufacturing provides another example of the importance of skills portability for professional reintegration. Most of the workers in this sector were highly educated and highly skilled. A large majority of them were recruited before departing or just after their arrival in the destination country. Most of them did not face difficulties in finding a good job after their return.
- The proportion of workers in agriculture, hunting and forestry dropped significantly after the migrants' return. This result correlates with the gradual move of the migrants from rural to urban areas, which mainly involved Malians and Tunisians.
- Wholesale and retail trade employed the highest number of interviewees and comprises migrants with different individual characteristics and employment

trajectories. Overall, however, temporary jobs and incomplete migration cycles predominate among the workers in this sector.

These employment trajectories indicate that the possibility for migrants to acquire new skills and their ability to use them in different stages of the migration cycle constituted key factors of empowerment in the labour market. Such empowerment process can be better understood when factoring in an analysis of the type of migration cycle. The importance of this variable emerged most clearly when analysing professional reintegration. Complete migration cycles corresponds to better occupational status, more linear moves along employment trajectories and better professional registration of the migrants.

Migrants whose migration cycle was complete were clearly more satisfied with their professional situation, earnings and social protection rights after their return.

6

RETURN MIGRANTS’ ENTREPRENEURSHIP

Jean-Pierre Cassarino

1. Introduction

By all accounts, “entrepreneurship” involves more than the act of financially investing in industry, be it in the formal or informal sector. It also acquires a social dimension that, in turn, impacts on entrepreneurs’ patterns of resource mobilisation and strategies for survival.

This social and economic dimension is perceptible when analysing entrepreneurship through the lens of return migration. Not all return migrants have the opportunity to become entrepreneurs following their return to their countries of origin. Nor do they have the same resources (e.g. human and financial capital), market opportunities or conditions conducive to the creation and maintenance of their business activities back home. This is a truism.

There are, however, common denominators or fundamental attributes that can be identified when comparing returnees' business activities. Addressing these attributes is the primary objective of this chapter. To do so, various levels of entrepreneurship among return migrants interviewed in Armenia, Mali and Tunisia are compared in this chapter. The first comparison concerns employers, namely economic actors who set up their own employment-generating business concerns upon return. The second level of entrepreneurship pertains to self-employed returnees, namely economic actors who set up their business concerns without hiring employees. This category refers to returnees running business concerns in the formal and informal sectors.

A second objective of this chapter lies in identifying the factors that optimally contribute to the entrepreneurship of some returnees: i.e. to their being entrepreneur-returnees or not. This aspect is crucial to understanding how some factors and conditions combine to account for returnees' business types at the time of survey.

2. Various levels of entrepreneurship

Out of 1425 interviews carried out in Armenia, Mali and Tunisia, 443 were made with entrepreneur-returnees (i.e. 31 percent of the sample as a whole). This high proportion stems from the fact that we adopted a broad definition of "entrepreneurship" that includes employers and the self-employed (whether legal or undeclared). Using this broad definition stems from the desire to illustrate a situation that reflects as much as possible various business trajectories in both the formal and informal sectors. Introducing a distinction between employers, and the self-employed exclusively active in the formal sector, would have been biased, given the importance of the informal economy in the three surveyed countries, especially in Mali. In fact, more than 60 percent of the Malian entrepreneur-returnees interviewed were active in the informal economy at time of survey; their share ranged up to 48 and 15 percent in Armenia and Tunisia respectively.

Moreover, with specific reference to the surveyed countries, being self-employed in the informal sector does not always mean that investments in business will be made upon return. Rather, being self-employed in the informal sector refers to a status that some respondents themselves defined during interviews. More specifically, it relates to an

occupational situation: respondents were not employers in the sense that they did not invest in employment-generating business concerns. Nor were they unemployed or looking for a job back home. They were simply involved in occasional business opportunities in their countries of origin and abroad, trying to make ends meet for themselves, their families and communities.

Table 1: Number of entrepreneur-returnees, at time of survey. N=443

	Entrepreneur-returnees			Total (N)	Total out of the sample in each country, %
	Employers	Self-employed (legal)	Self-employed (undeclared)		
Armenia	8	24	30	62	17,8
Mali	14	45	95	154	44,0
Tunisia	127	64	36	227	31,3
Total (N)	149	133	161	443	31,1

Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI

Lack of contacts in the local economy of the country of origin, insufficient capital, lack of market outlets and corruption, were, by order of significance, the most recurrent reasons for which self-employed returnees in the informal sector did not invest in employment-generating business activities back home. However, as will be explained, these aspects also need to be correlated with return motivations and return conditions. In fact, there seems to be a strong significance between levels of entrepreneurship and different types of migration cycles (Table 2). This correlation is important in realising that structural and institutional factors back home are not only explanatory of the business conditions and attitudes of self-employed returnees in the informal sector. The types of migration cycle, including the extent to which return was compelled, or decided, by entrepreneur-returnees, also impacts on their likelihood to invest in employment-generating business concerns or not.

Table 2: Entrepreneur-returnees by types of migration cycle, %. N=443

	Entrepreneur-returnees			Total
	Employers	Self-employed (legal)	Self-employed (undeclared)	
Complete migration cycle	70,7	27,1	8,8	35,1
Incomplete migration cycle	15,0	36,1	28,9	26,4
Interrupted migration cycle	14,3	36,8	62,3	38,5
Total (%)	100	100	100	100
Total (N)	149	133	161	443

Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI

Whereas 90 percent of the self-employed returnees in the informal sector had incomplete and interrupted migration cycle, more than 70 percent of the employer-returnees had a complete migration cycle. This sharp difference clearly shows that favourable preconditions (e.g. deciding freely to return home, being prepared for return, having enough time to gather social, human and financial capital¹) have certain bearings on the propensity to contribute to development, and on the likelihood to set up employment-generating business concerns.

3. Employers

To further develop this point it is important to understand who those interviewed employer-returnees, who experienced complete migration cycles, were. 85 percent were Tunisian returnees who lived, more often than not, in France, Italy and Germany (Table 3). They lived abroad for 14.9 years on average, and ran their own business or were employed on a short- and long-term basis.

Table 3: Employer-returnees' occupational status before return and at time of survey, by countries of return. N=149

	Employers % N=149	Main countries of immigration	Main occupational status while abroad	Main sectors of industry while abroad, by relevance	Average duration of the experience of migration (years)	Main sectors of industry at time of survey, by relevance
Armenia	5,9	Russia; France; Ukraine	Entrepreneurs; Employed (short- and long-term)	Trade; Construction; Hotel/restaurant	5,9	Manufacturing; Hotel/restaurant; Extraterritorial activities
Mali	9,4	Cote d'Ivoire; Burkina Faso; Senegal	Entrepreneurs; Employed (short- and long-term)	Mining and quarrying; Trade; Construction	17,6	Trade; Construction; Manufacturing
Tunisia	84,7	France; Italy; Germany	Entrepreneurs; Employed (short- and long-term)	Hotel/restaurant; Construction; Trade	14,9	Hotel/restaurant; Trade; Manufacturing; Health

Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI

¹ Our surveys based on 1425 interviews show that, as a whole, entrepreneur-returnees (N=443) lived abroad for 12.1 years on average. Migrants who did not become entrepreneur-returnees back home (N=982) lived for 9.4 years abroad, on average.

Whilst abroad, they were active in the hotel/restaurant sector, as well as in the construction and trade sectors. Back in Tunisia, they set up their own business concerns in four main sectors of industry: the hotel/restaurant, trade, manufacturing, and health sectors. Those mentioned are small-and-medium sized enterprises (SMEs) employing less than 10 persons.

Table 4: Logistic regression model. Dependent variable: “Being an employer in the country of origin”

Independent variables	Sig.	Sig.	Exp(B)
Countries of return (ref. Armenia)			
Tunisia	**	0,01	3,650
Mali	n.s.	0,32	0,556
Age at time of survey (ref. 25-34 years old)			
15-24 years old	n.s.	0,44	2,231
35-44 years old	**	0,04	0,449
45-54 years old	**	0,04	0,405
55-64 years old	n.s.	0,33	1,735
More than 65	n.s.	0,11	0,296
Frequency of visits in the country of origin while abroad (ref. Never)			
Twice a year or more	***	0,00	5,397
Once a year	n.s.	0,13	1,943
Less than once a year	*	0,07	2,528
Types of migration cycle (ref. Interrupted migration cycle)			
Incomplete migration cycle	n.s.	0,44	1,376
Complete migration cycle	***	0,00	6,253
Last occupational status while abroad (ref. Unemployed)			
Waged employee (short- and long-term)	n.s.	0,59	0,713
Seasonal worker	n.s.	0,31	0,363
Employer	***	0,01	11,826
Self-employed (legal)	*	0,08	0,278
Self-employed (undeclared)	n.s.	0,73	0,788
Student	n.s.	0,84	1,198
Housewife	n.s.	0,35	0,295
Other	n.s.	0,47	0,458

The category of reference is “Being a self-employed returnee (legal and undeclared combined), in the country of origin.”

Significance levels (Sig.): ***=<0.01; **=<0.05; *=<0.1; - = no significance (n.s.)

Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI

There is no question that employer-returnees differ from the self-employed-returnees. Firstly, there seems to be a continuum between their being employers in a former host country (that is, whilst working abroad), and their being employer-returnees when back home. The logistic model presented above supports this argument. According to this

model, migrants who were employers abroad had a very high probability of becoming employers after return.

The model also confirms that having a complete migration cycle increases the probability of becoming an employer when compared with other entrepreneur-returnees who had their migration cycle interrupted. Finally, and equally interestingly, the frequency of short visits to the host-country made before return appears to be a significant variable impacting on the probability of becoming an employer-returnee back home. Compared with migrants who do not visit their country of origin while abroad, migrants are more likely to become employers back home when they have the opportunity to frequently visit their country of origin while abroad.

Beyond these analytical considerations, the likelihood of being an employer- as opposed to a self-employed-returnee lies at the intersection of significant variables pertaining to pre- and post-return conditions:

- Willingness to return;
- Readiness to return (if we assume that visits are aimed at collecting information about market opportunities in the country of origin, which is indeed the case of employer-returnees);
- Frequency of visits to the country of origin, while abroad;
- Most recent occupational status while abroad;
- Institutional context/conditions in the country of return and abroad.

The above-mentioned model (Table 4) also shows that Tunisian returnees were more prone to become employers than self-employed compared with Armenian returnees. This result may be explained with reference to the liberal economic reforms that Tunisia adopted over the last decades aimed at facilitating business investments of its émigré community. These liberal economic reforms led to the gradual, albeit limited expansion of the private sector in Tunisia. Among other factors, they are based on the adoption of legal provisions that encourage direct foreign investments, as well as employment-generating enterprises in various sectors of industry. Also, they are aimed at encouraging the investments of Tunisian nationals living abroad, including Tunisian migrants wishing to return on a temporary and permanent basis. The thorough analysis of these state-led initiatives, as well as their concrete implications goes beyond the

scope of this study. Nonetheless, it is important to note that the reforms that have been implemented, with the recognition of Tunisian returnees' contribution to national development, may have generated an opportunity-structure that enhances the capacity of Tunisian entrepreneur-returnees to set up their own employment-generating business concerns in their country of origin.

4. Returnees' self-employment

As Table 2 suggests, self-employed returnees, especially those working in the informal economy are predominantly characterized by having incomplete and interrupted migration cycles. 62 percent of undeclared self-employed experienced an interrupted migration cycle. What does this imply, and how can we account for it?

Essentially, various factors before return impacted to various degrees on the opportunities for the establishment of business concerns back home. Motivations to return, conditions in both the countries of immigration and of origin, occupational status while abroad, and time spent abroad are all factors that altogether shaped the entrepreneurship of the self-employed. Many individuals were involved in the trade and business sectors at the time of survey. Others were, to a lesser extent, involved in the sectors of transport, agriculture and construction.

Table 5 roughly plots the evolution of the occupational status, along with the former host countries of self-employed returnees, by country of return. This table is important in highlighting that self-employment was already the occupational status of this group before return. Moreover, those who were legally self-employed remained so after return. This is particularly the case of Tunisian self-employed returnees who were active in the trade sector and who chose, on their own initiative, to return to their country of origin. Others, however, did not have the same option. In fact, Malian self-employed returnees who were living in Cote d'Ivoire were confronted with adverse circumstances that prompted them to return for their own safety.

Table 5: Self-employed returnees' occupational status, before return and at time of survey, by countries of return. N=294.

Self-employed returnees (legal), N=133						
	Self-employed (legal) % N=133	Main countries of immigration	Main occupational status while abroad	Main sectors of industry while abroad, by relevance	Average duration of the experience of migration (years)	Main sectors of industry at time of survey, by relevance
Armenia	18,0	Russia; France	Employed (short- and long-term)	Construction; Manufacturing	3,8	Trade
Mali	33,9	Cote d'Ivoire; Senegal; Guinea	Self-employed (legal); Employed (short- and long-term)	Trade; Transport	14,2	Trade; Transport
Tunisia	48,1	France; Italy; Libya	Self-employed (legal); Employed (short- and long-term)	Trade; Construction	10,7	Trade
Self-employed returnees (undeclared), N=161						
	Self-employed (undeclared) % N=161	Main countries of immigration	Main occupational status while abroad	Main sectors of industry while abroad, by relevance	Average duration of the experience of migration (years)	Main sectors of industry at time of survey, by relevance
Armenia	18,6	Russia; France	Employed (short- and long-term); Housewives	Manufacturing; Construction	4,0	Agriculture; Trade
Mali	59,0	Cote d'Ivoire	Self-employed (legal and undeclared); seasonal workers	Trade; Construction; Agriculture	13,1	Trade; Construction; Agriculture
Tunisia	22,4	France; Italy; Libya	Self-employed (undeclared); Employed (short-term)	Trade; Construction	11,0	Trade; Construction; Services

Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI

In Cote d'Ivoire, the majority of the Malian interviewees were self-employed in the trade and construction sectors, or employed in agriculture as seasonal workers. Becoming self-employed upon return may have been a logical decision for some given their skills and acquired experience. Their range of options also requires study in relation to the characteristics of the labour market in Mali, where the formal and informal economies coexist.

5. Becoming an entrepreneur-returnee

Having highlighted various levels of entrepreneurship with reference to a set of variables, this section briefly analyses the main factors that contribute to being an entrepreneur-returnee (including employers and self-employed).

Interesting features emerge from a different model of logistic regression. The model shows that migrants who were already entrepreneurs while abroad have a higher propensity to become entrepreneur-returnees than those who were unemployed abroad.

While abroad, migrants who were students and housewives were less likely than unemployed migrants to become entrepreneur-returnees in the country of origin. This unexpected outcome stems from the fact that some self-employed returnees, above all those who were undeclared, were unemployed abroad. This probability does not apply to employer-returnees.

Entrepreneur-returnees are also migrants who tend to remit money from abroad on a regular basis. This assumption should, however, be qualified, for regular remittance is not a constant for all entrepreneur-returnees (see chapter 7). For example, before their return, employer-returnees demonstrate a tendency to accumulate large savings, which they consequently bring home. This explains why some entrepreneur-returnees did not send money at all (namely up to 40 percent of the cohort of entrepreneur-returnees). Other reasons that explain why some entrepreneur-returnees do not send money home whilst abroad are directly linked to: their occupational status, return motivations, and length of stay abroad.

Table 6: Logistic regression model. Dependent variable: “Being an entrepreneur-returnee in the country of origin”

Independent variables	Sig.	Sig.	Exp(b)
Countries of return (ref. Armenia)			
Tunisia	***	0,002	1,910
Mali	***	0,000	2,629
Frequency of remittances (ref. Never)			
Once a month	***	0,006	1,769
Once every 3 months	n.s.	0,212	1,302
Once every 6 months	n.s.	0,943	0,982
Once a year	n.s.	0,705	0,925
Age at time of survey (ref. 25-34 years old)			
15-24 years old	**	0,039	0,395
35-44 years old	n.s.	0,996	0,999
45-54 years old	*	0,053	1,457
55-64 years old	*	0,094	0,645
More than 65	**	0,019	0,411
Frequency of visits in the country of origin while abroad (ref. Never)			
Twice a year or more	***	0,005	1,779
Once a year	*	0,081	0,710
Less than once a year	n.s.	0,616	0,893
Last occupational status while abroad (ref. Unemployed)			
Waged employee (short- and long-term)	n.s.	0,471	0,821
Seasonal worker	n.s.	0,201	0,590
Employer	***	0,000	7,809
Self-employed (legal)	***	0,000	6,157
Self-employed (undeclared)	***	0,000	4,541
Student	**	0,038	0,486
Housewife	**	0,018	0,431
Other	n.s.	0,400	0,661

The category of reference is “Not being an entrepreneur-returnee in the country of origin.”

Significance levels (Sig.): ***=<0.01; **=<0.05; *=<0.1; - = no significance (n.s.)

Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI

In other words, the sending, or not, of remittances cannot be viewed as an indicator of whether or not a migrant will become an entrepreneur-returnee. Remittances constitute by definition a significant and valuable financial resource. However, they do not suffice to illustrate the overall resources on which entrepreneur-returnees capitalized upon after return.

Family support and networks of acquaintances or mutual-aid relationships in the country of origin constitute additional resources that have to be taken into consideration to understand the link between entrepreneurship and return. Moreover, when it comes to

understanding the kind of financial support used by entrepreneur-returnees when setting up their business concerns, self-financing remains by far the most important source of funding, followed by bank loans and family support. As Table 7 shows, sources of funding differ in terms of level of entrepreneurship. Whereas employer-returnees seem to rely more on self-financing and bank loans, the self-employed cohorts tend to rely more on self-financing and loans from relatives or parents and, finally, on the financial contribution of a business partner.

Table 7: Entrepreneur-returnees' main sources of funding, %. N=443 (multiple reply)

	Entrepreneur-returnees			Total
	Employers	Self-employed (legal)	Self-employed (undeclared)	
Self-financing	88,7	73,5	55,9	78,8
Bank loans	22,7	16,3	5,9	18,0
Loans from parents/relatives	14,4	19,8	14,7	16,3
Return grants	5,4	6,6	9,7	7,0
Business partnerships	8,1	11,5	16,1	11,6

Percentages are not cumulative

Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI

Furthermore, the frequency of the visits to the home country may also impact on the prospect of becoming an entrepreneur-returnee in a given country of origin (Table 6). However, this assumption is contingent on the factors that motivated visits to the country of origin. This data supports the argument, that, whilst abroad, migrants who became employer-returnees upon return visited their countries of origin more frequently than migrants who became self-employed upon return. The former visited their countries for family, recreational, *and* business reasons; their visits lasted from 15 to 30 days. The latter visited their countries for family reasons exclusively; their visits averaged 30 days. This difference is essential to gain a sense of the factors that contributed to the preparation for return of employer-returnees. Unsurprisingly, these contrasts are starker when comparing entrepreneur-returnees with the rest of the return migrants interviewed (namely those who did not become entrepreneurs back home).

6. Conclusion

Making a distinction between various levels of entrepreneurship is necessary to illustrate the various conditions and factors, both in the countries of immigration and of origin, that allowed return migrants interviewed in Armenia, Mali and Tunisia to become entrepreneur-returnees or not. The study displays that employers (mostly in Tunisia) tend to experience complete migration cycles, which allows them to prepare for return and to optimise their conditions back home, despite the persistence of institutional hindrances in the country of origin.

Conversely, the migration itinerary of the self-employed returnees interviewed (be they legal or undeclared) is mostly characterised by the unfavourable circumstances abroad that prompted their return; hence we see incomplete and interrupted migration cycles. This means that motivations to return constitute a significant factor shaping entrepreneurship. Migrants who were repatriated from abroad (for example Tunisian returnees from Libya and Malian returnees from Cote d'Ivoire) had fewer opportunities to become employers upon return than those who were not. In a similar vein, migrants who were removed from abroad had fewer opportunities to become employers, even if some of them benefited from assisted voluntary return programmes implemented by NGOs and intergovernmental agencies.

The entrepreneurship of return migrants has been a recurrent topic in recent migration talks, both at bilateral and multilateral levels. Assisted voluntary return (AVR) programmes addressed to migrants who were subject to a removal order on the part of the authorities of receiving countries, above all in the West, have gained momentum over the last fifteen years or so. AVR programmes are aimed at addressing the so-called *sustainability of return* for migrants, by implementing projects aimed at fostering the reintegration of migrants removed from abroad, including the creation of business activities in various sectors of industry.

In the framework of our survey, 43 percent of all the entrepreneur-returnees in Armenia were assisted by Western NGOs or by governmental and intergovernmental organizations to set up their own business concerns back home (henceforth “AVR entrepreneur-returnees”). Very few of them set up employment-generating business concerns and up to 60 percent of them ended up in Armenia as self-employed returnees

working in the informal economy at the time of survey. While recognising the need for assistance back in Armenia, the social and economic conditions they were faced with upon return were too disruptive to be offset by this kind of assistance programme. Armenian AVR entrepreneur-returnees tend to fare worse than their non-AVR counterparts, in terms of: business skills, resource mobilisation and, last but not least, available financial resources. 52 percent of Armenian AVR entrepreneur-returnees (against 32 percent for Armenian non-AVR entrepreneur-returnees) earned around the minimum wage, whereas 18 percent of them (against 34 percent for Armenian non-AVR entrepreneur-returnees) earned much more than the average wage at time of survey.² These considerations are important in underlining that, regardless of the scope of the assistance programme, there exist preconditions in the country of origin that need to be taken into consideration to foster the credible reintegration of return migrants involved in entrepreneurship back home. Apart from the need to ensure the completeness of entrepreneur-returnees' migration cycles, *access* to investment opportunities in the private sector of the country of origin is a key element that cannot be ignored. Among many others, this aspect is addressed in the recommendations contained in this study.

² In Armenia, the minimum wage amounts to 32500 AMD (around 62 Euros), whereas the average wage amounts to 121065 AMD (around 230 Euros).

RETURN MIGRATION FROM A GENDER PERSPECTIVE

Antonella Guarneri

1. Introduction

For many years the study of migration had mostly concerned men, but since the 1970s the situation has radically changed following the onset of gender studies in general.

Nowadays there is a vast literature on the role of women in migration. In the 1970s, feminist historians of migration at this time concentrated their efforts on criticizing an approach that was approximate to the equation of "migrant = man". From the mid nineteen-eighties, research on migration has acquired more international significance, launching an interdisciplinary dialogue involving anthropologists, sociologists, and historians (Sinke 2006).

The gendered approach to the study of migration has found a place in pioneering works that compare men and women in emigration scenarios (Morokvasic 1983) and has been widely adopted and developed in subsequent years. Particularly interesting is the classification of Lim (1994) who analyses migration and gender by considering various

areas of interest, such as work, family, social and cultural systems, as well as migratory choices (Birindelli, Farina 2003).

Interest spread in the nineteen-nineties in approaches of the study of migration, highlighting its global, international and transnational nature, also expanding the range of analyses of gender studies in migration. We move from a fulcrum that, until then, represented the United States. A second avenue of research that allows the use of synchronic comparisons has focused attention on labour migration at the end of the nineteen-nineties toward the beginning of the new millennium. In some of these works migrant women working in care work were studied.

In addition, the opportunity to contextualize emigrant women and men in the various cultural, social and economic areas should be taken. Clarification of the role of women in differing areas should help to establish the real influence of migration. In fact, there is no automatic equivalence between women who migrate, and the acquisition of greater empowerment (improvement in relative position compared with men). Here, there is always the risk of falling into an ethnocentric approach that imputes as a factor of migration an act that inevitably attributes to Western culture a discriminatory value less than a given culture of origin.

From a statistical-demographic perspective one notices a growing process of adaptation to the preparation and analysis of statistics and indicators as being gender-sensitive, or at least not gender-neutral (D'Agata, Malgioglio Tomaselli 2005).

Returnee women are firstly migrants, yet by the decision to partake in migration experiences they have to manage different aspects of every stage.

2. Various profiles of migrant women

Traditionally, migrant men have played the role of breadwinners. They migrate first, and if they have a family, they can decide to work in the destination country and send remittances to the family in the country of origin, or bring the family to the destination country later. A second option can be to further the integration process in the destination

country when conditions are improved from the moment of arrival (e.g. in terms of housing), and when there are adequate financial resources to rely on.

For women the situation is completely different. First of all there is large variability of behaviour and choices according to the citizenship, of a sense of belonging, and to the cultural framework existing in the country of origin. Whereas the socio-demographic characteristics of women who decide to move can have a crucial impact, the importance of family ties can influence this decision in a fundamental way. The different roles that women are typically said to play are most often connected with care activities, which they do first in the family of origin, and consequently in their new families. Within this framework, significant involvement in the labour market is not always considered a viable option.

Upon emigration all certainties disappear, and the traditional roles within families tend to lose their importance. A new family balance can lead to women finding work that adds the role of worker to more traditional activities already performed.

Viewing three countries where the CRIS survey was carried out, three entirely different realities emerge. In this chapter we will try to describe these three contexts in which women play a different role both in everyday life, and in the migration experience. Furthermore, constant comparison with characteristics of the migration of males allows us to better understand the differences between male and female migration.

As mentioned already in the chapters specifically dedicated to each country, our sample is mostly composed of males (almost two-thirds); the share of women becomes even less in the case of Tunisian returnees (19.7 percent). Return migration in Armenia seems to be more balanced, and the share of women here is 47.3 percent. In an intermediate position we find the Malian case, where women are 32.6 percent of the total sample (Table 1).

Table 1: Returnees interviewed, by sex and country of citizenship, %. N=1095

	Armenia	Mali	Tunisia	Total
Men	52.7	67.4	80.3	67.4
Women	47.3	32.6	19.7	32.6
Total	100	100	100	100

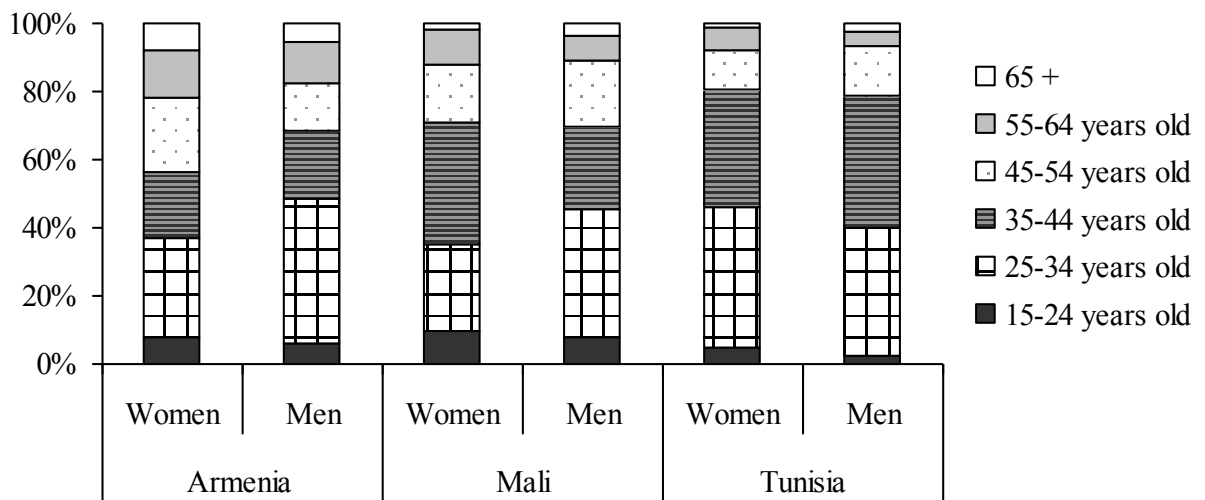
Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI

The unbalanced composition by sex of the migrant returnees reflects in a large way an unbalanced composition of migrants coming, in particular, from Mali and Armenia.

In this first descriptive part, the comparison of women’s profiles with those of men allows us to appreciate the specificities of female migration. At the same time, the different nationalities considered in the project is a variable that is impossible to neglect because of the inherent characteristics that different backgrounds can imply.

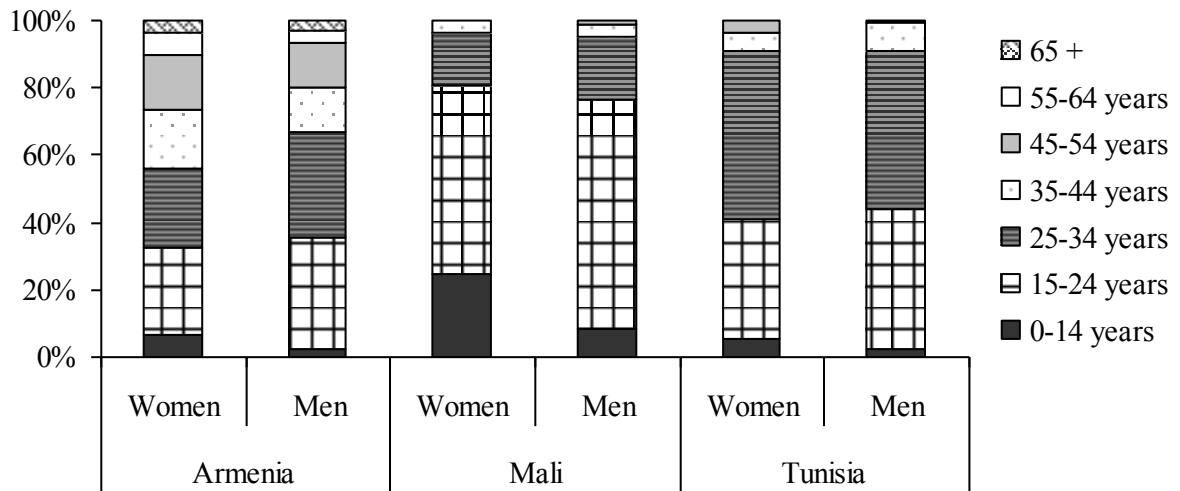
Considering age structure, Armenian women are the oldest; more than 40 percent of these individuals are over 45, compared to 28.9 of the Malians, and to 19.2 of the Tunisians. Whereas there are no great differences between male and female age distribution for Malians and Tunisians, Armenian men are younger than women (Figure 1). However this age distribution can be observed also at the moment of emigration. Here the age structure is remarkably younger; in particular there were no Malian women older than 44 years of age (Figure 2).

Figure 1: Returnees interviewed by sex, age group at the interview and country of citizenship. N=1095



Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI

Figure 2: Returnees interviewed by sex, age group at time of survey. N=1095



Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI

Another characteristic of women, that is important to analyse, are levels of education. This variable gave us useful information about human capital on which migrants rely. The level of education of Armenian women is undoubtedly the highest one. By contrast, we find the Malian women, who in 58.4 percent of cases have no education whatsoever (Table 2). It is also possible to observe whether the women have studied in the country of destination. Those who study abroad are mostly Armenian women who in the country of origin had completed the Bachelors or Masters Degree (22.2 percent), Malian women with an incomplete secondary education (33.3 percent), and Tunisian women with completed secondary education, or a Bachelor or Masters (36.4 percent) Degree.

Table 2: Women returnees interviewed, by level of education. A comparison between those who studied broad and those of who di not. N=357

Education before emigration	Studied or not while abroad								
	Armenia			Mali			Tunisia		
	Studied	Did not study	Total	Studied	Did not study	Total	Studied	Did not study	Total
No education	16.7	0.0	1.8	8.3	64.4	58.4	3.0	4.5	3.9
Primary/elementary school	0.0	1.4	1.2	8.3	1.0	1.8	6.1	25.0	16.9
Incomplete secondary education	11.1	0.7	1.8	33.3	15.8	17.7	3.0	4.5	3.9
Completed secondary education	16.7	9.5	10.3	8.3	11.9	11.5	36.4	22.7	28.6
Bachelor/Master	22.2	61.2	57.0	41.7	4.0	8.0	36.4	34.1	35.1
Doctoral degree	33.3	27.2	27.9	0.0	3.0	2.7	15.2	9.1	11.7
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI

Having described the different structure by age and level of education, it is useful to also consider the marital status of women during interview. Most of them are married, but the share of singles is higher for Tunisians (Figure 3).

It is also possible to individuate different profiles of women according to their emigration experience. In the next paraFigure these profiles will be crossed with similar categories built-up, taking into account in particular the migration cycle.

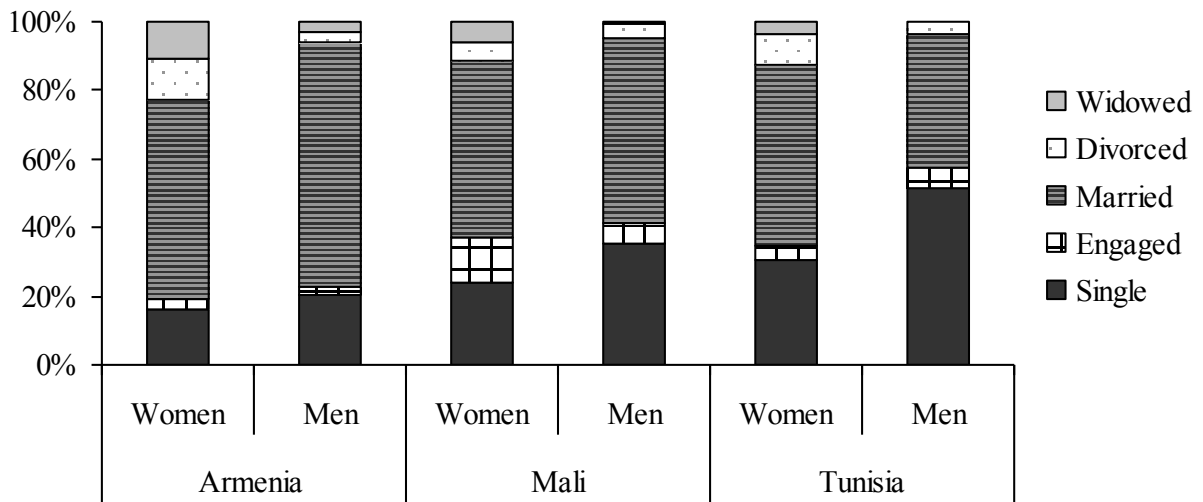
To create these profiles we considered simultaneously marital status, household composition, and whether migration experience was shared together, with other household components, or alone (Figure 4). We refer to three different profiles:

1. Women married or not that emigrated alone and did not have family members who followed them (label: single);
2. Unmarried women who emigrated with another family member, or have some family members who followed them (label: married);

3. Married women who emigrated with other family members or have family members who followed them (label: not in couple).

The comparison of women's profiles with those of men allows us to appreciate the specificities of women.

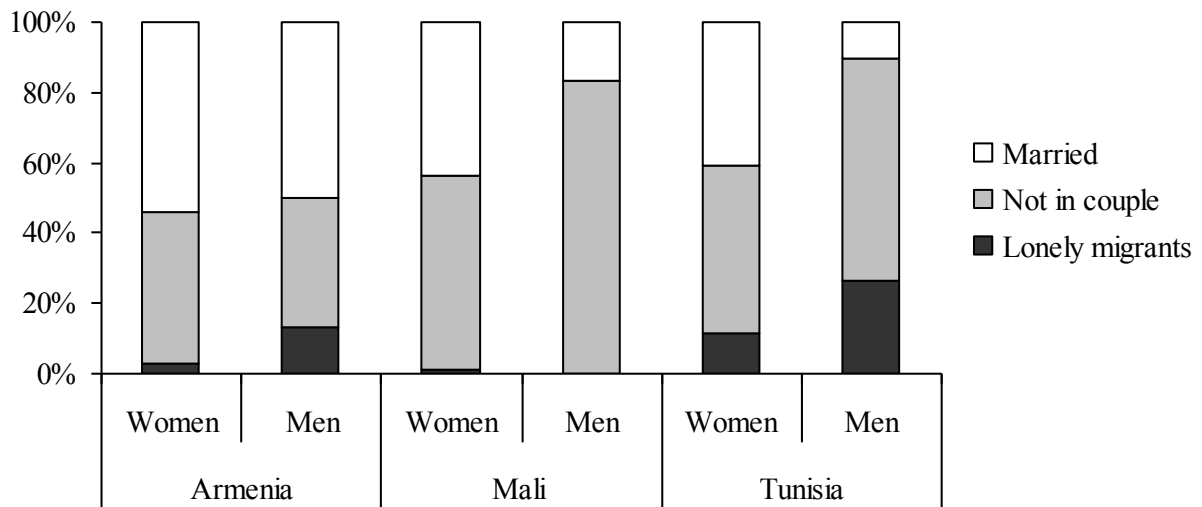
Figure 3: Returnees interviewed by sex, marital status at time of survey. N=1095



Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI

Observing these different profiles, the share of “lonely” migrants is definitely more a characteristic of Tunisian women (11.5 percent), but even more so in the case of men (26.4 percent). Facing this, the share of married women who emigrated with other members of their families is highest in the case of Armenia (53.9 percent).

Figure 4: Returnees interviewed by sex, family profile and country of citizenship. N=1095



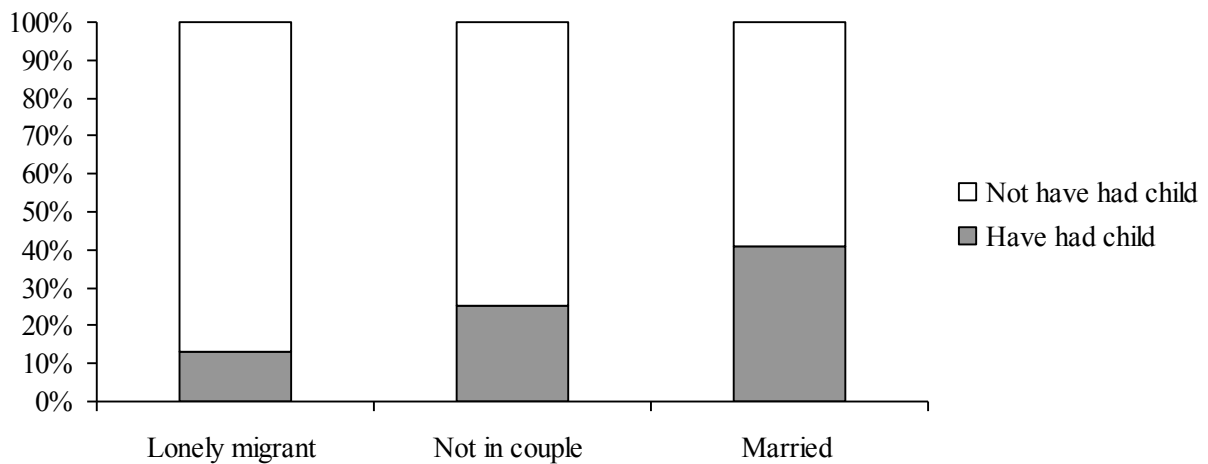
Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI

3. Family and work during the emigration period

Commitment required of migrant women is not only physical, or measured in terms of time, but also affects relationships. Family patterns that are created in migration vary, but a family in immigration is essentially a broken family. In fact, changing patterns of family and marriage often distorts the role of breadwinner, especially in single-parent families where the woman is the only parent present. In addition, behaviour that these new family patterns tend to take oscillates between the fear of losing their cultural roots, and the choice to undergo lengthy process of adopting the culture of the destination country.

Having had one or more children in the destination country represents a signal of stability in the destination country, even if in the cases considered here, all the women returned to the country of origin. Combining the information between the family profiles individuated in the previous paraFigure, and information about children that women had in the destination country, the condition of “lonely” emigration is not favourable to family coherence (Figure 5).

Figure 5: Returnee women interviewed, by family profile, and whether they had children abroad. N=357



Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI

On the other hand, the analysis of the professional status of women interviewed before the departure from the MCI shows different distribution by country of origin. The Armenian women seem to possess the most favourable profiles. In fact, they are employed on a permanent contract in 11.5 percent of cases, compared to the around 6 percent of women coming from the other two countries (Table 3). Malian women largely hold the status of student (38.5 percent), whereas the condition of housewife is mostly a prerogative of Armenian (45.5 percent) and Malian women (38.6 percent).

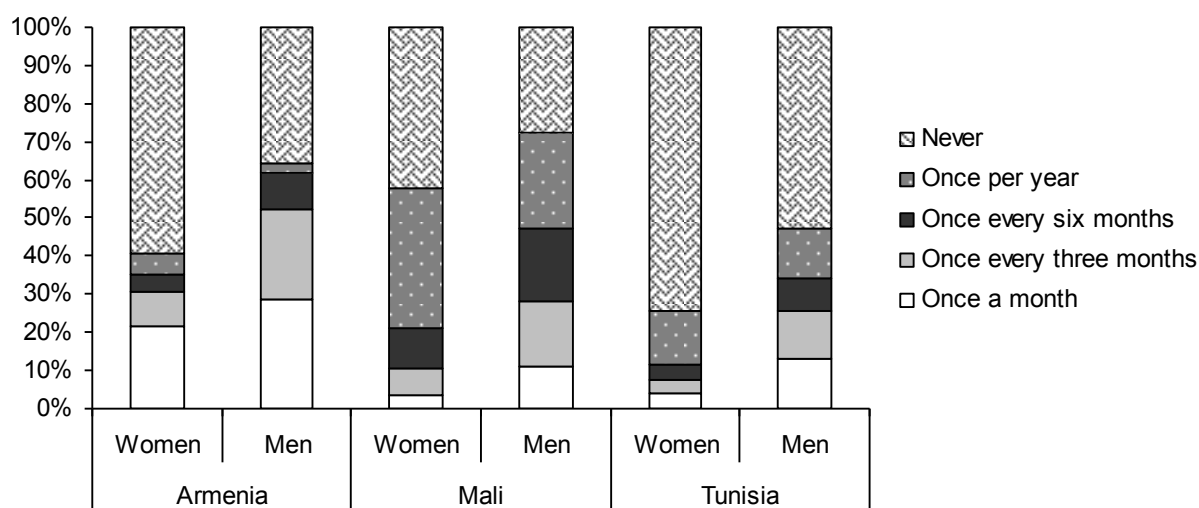
Table 3: Returnee women interviewed, by professional status before the departure from the MCI and country of citizenship. N=357

Occupational status	Armenia	Mali	Tunisia
Employed on a permanent contract	11.5	6.1	6.4
Temporary employment	9.7	3.5	16.7
Part-time employment	1.8	1.8	2.6
Seasonal work	0.0	0.9	2.6
Self-employed in the formal sector	1.2	7.9	3.8
Self-employed in the informal sector	3.6	10.5	2.6
Registered unemployed	0.0	8.8	1.3
Unregistered unemployed	13.3	11.4	2.6
Pupil/Student	10.3	10.5	38.5
Housewife	45.5	38.6	23.1
Retired	3.0	0.0	0.0
Total	100	100	100

Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI

Another aspect that allows us to evaluate the importance of family for migrants is linked to the possession of financial resources, and the sharing of these resources. This allows analysis of the frequency with which remittances are sent to the country of origin during their experience abroad (Figure 6). Although obviously linked to professional status, the female propensity to send money is lower than that of men. However, in the case of Armenian women the high frequency of money transfers is quite relevant (21.8 of the total; almost half of the women who sent money did so monthly).

Figure 6: Interviewed returnees' frequency of financial remittances sent from abroad to the country of origin, by sex and country of origin. N=1095

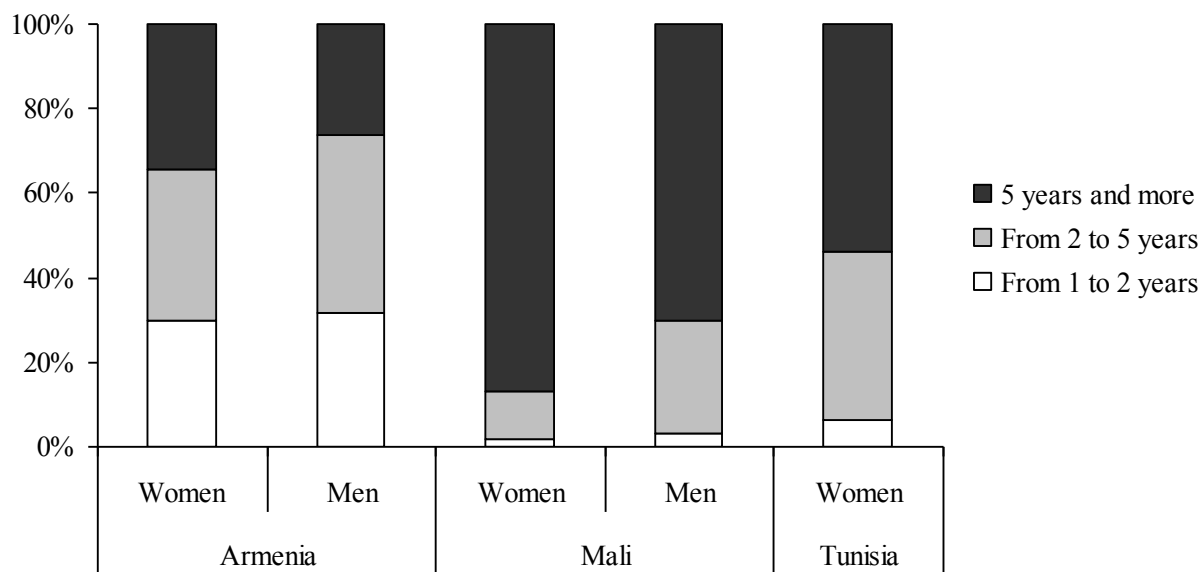


Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI

4. Migration itineraries and migration cycles

To analyse the migration itinerary of these women the duration of the experience abroad shows large variability by country of origin more than by sex. The longest duration is for Malian citizens, in particular women: around 90 percent of whom stayed for a duration of at least of 5 years. By contrast, we find the shortest duration of migration experienced by Armenians (Figure 7).

Figure 7: Returnees interviewed by sex, duration of the migration and country of citizenship. N=1095

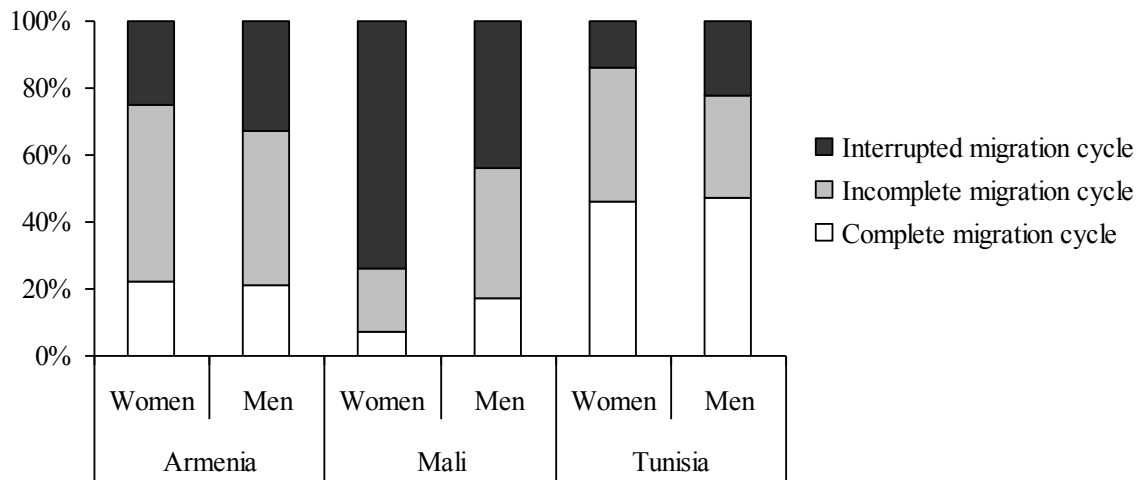


Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI

In addition to the duration of migration, another variable of great interest is the migration cycle. A complete migration cycle is one in where a migrant decides on his own initiative to go back to his country of origin without any form of pressure. The other two types of migration cycle are: an incomplete migration cycle, when the migrant returns because he or she is compelled to do so by unfavourable circumstances, and an interrupted migration cycle, where a migrant is forced to return by administrative or judicial acts performed in the destination county.

73.7 percent of Malian women had an interrupted migration cycle, compared to 14.1 percent of Tunisian women (Figure 7). These differences are also linked with the different countries where women travelled, and also different migration legislation and the occupations they found there.

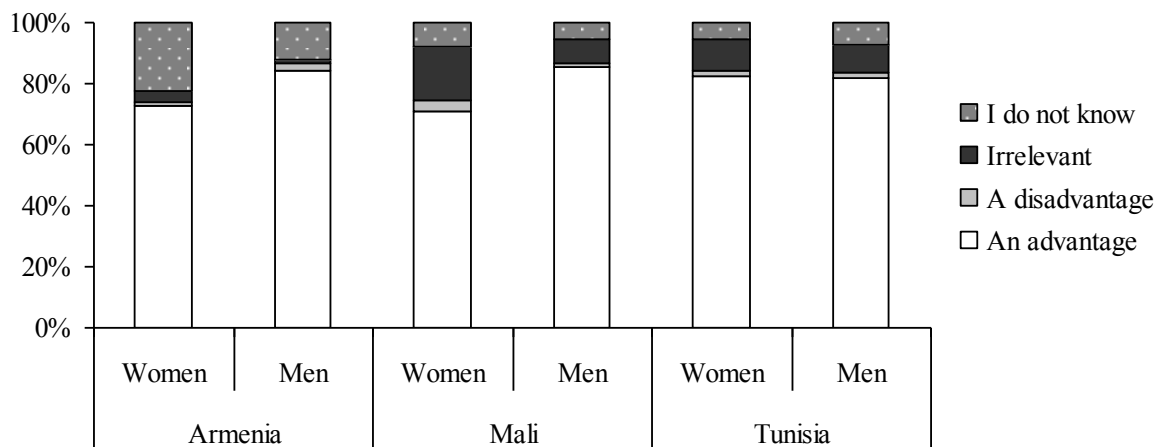
Figure 8: Types of migration cycle of the returnees interviewed, by sex and country of citizenship. N = 1095



Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI

The definitions and results that emerge from the consideration of the migration cycle are directly linked also to another feature: the opinion held about the experience acquired through migration: Armenian women are more undecided on this topic than men (22.4 percent respect to 12 percent); for 17.5 of Malian women, opinion is indifferent (in respect to 7.6 of Malian men). Tunisian women seem to show the strongest attitudes to the experience (82.7 percent), almost the same as their male counterparts (Figure 9).

Figure 9: Interviewed returnees' opinions on the experience acquired through migration, by sex and country of citizenship. N = 1095



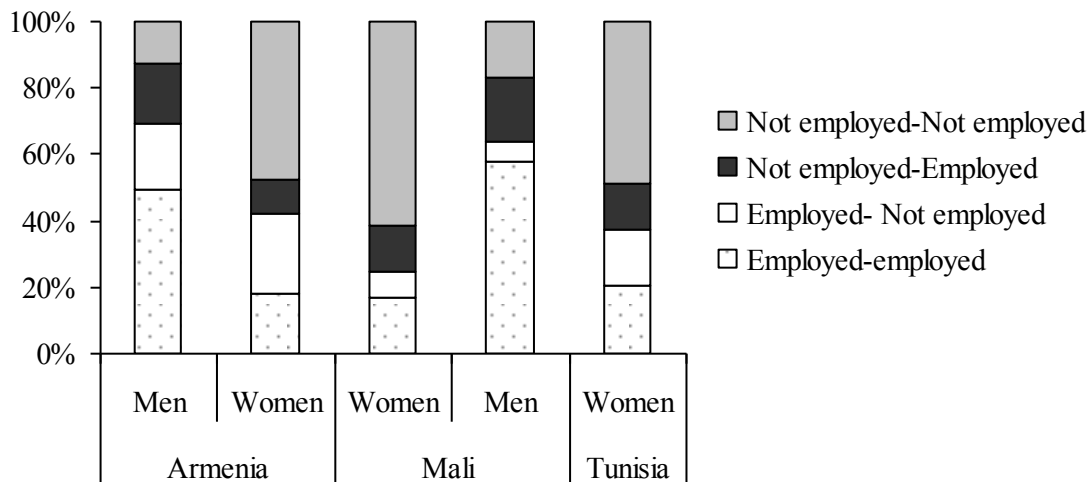
Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI

5. The empowerment of returnee women

Measuring the empowerment of women is not a simple task. When we consider migrant women this task becomes even more difficult to accomplish. We can only speak about empowerment of migrant women as empowerment can be measured in the transition between emigrant and return migration stages.

Inclusion in the labour market can constitute one sign of this process, but not necessarily. To better evaluate the condition of employment it is necessary to study the professional transitions between different stages of migration. First of all, considering the transition between professional status, pre-emigration, and that found abroad, more than 70 percent of Malian women remained unemployed (unemployed or inactive). Around 20 percent of Armenian women passed from a status of being employed to one of being unemployed, even if the transition “not employed-Not employed” is the prevalent category (Figure 10).

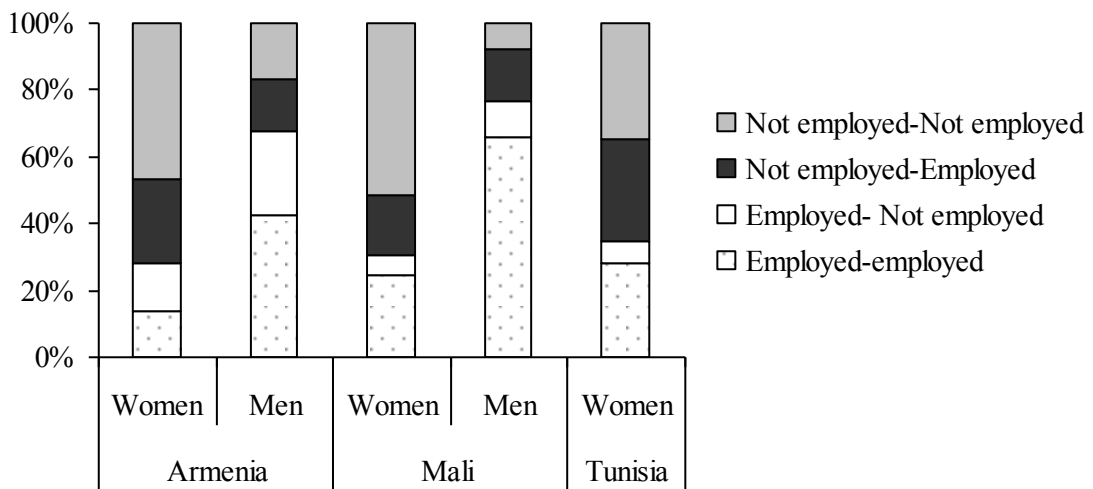
Figure 10: Occupational transition between status before emigration and abroad, by sex and country of return. N = 1095



Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI

Considering the transition between the occupation abroad, and after return, more than 50 percent of Armenian and Malian women remained unemployed (unemployed or inactive). Around 20 percent of Armenian and Tunisian women passed from a status of employment to one of unemployment even if the transition “not employed-Not employed” is the prevalent category (Figure 11).

Figure 11: Occupational transition between status abroad and upon return, by sex and country of citizenship. N = 1095



Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI

Another aspect to consider is the investment projects carried out by women. There are few of these projects where women are involved both abroad and after return. For Armenian and Malian women the share of these projects is growing after return, whereas for Tunisians the share slightly decreases (Table 4).

Table 4: Returnee women’s investments in business projects abroad and after return, by country of citizenship. N=357

	While abroad		Upon return	
	Female	Male	Female	Male
	%	%	%	%
Armenia				
Yes	3.6	7.6	9.7	18.5
No	96.4	92.4	90.3	81.5
Mali				
Yes	1.3	6.0	12.8	21.1
No	98.7	94.0	87.2	78.9
Tunisia				
Yes	11.4	16.9	9.7	20.3
No	88.6	83.1	86.8	79.7
Total (%)	100	100	100	100

Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI

6. Risk of job exclusion

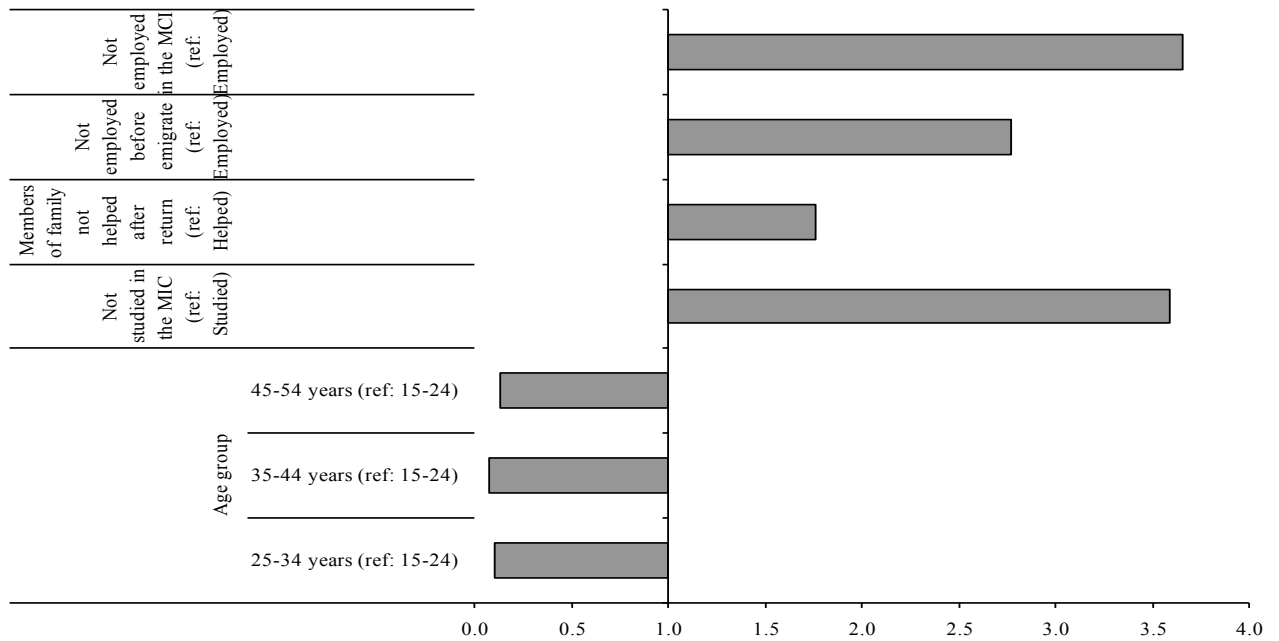
With a logistic model¹ we will evaluate the simple effects of some determinants of the risk of exclusion from employment after return; we can only speak approximately of ‘exclusion’ from the workplace, as we do not know if exclusion is voluntary or not. The variables included in the analysis cover different angles:

- Socio-demographic variables (age groups, who have studied or not while abroad);
- Professional variables (employed or not before emigration, employed or not while abroad);
- Migration steps (opinion about the migration experience, type of country of destination, duration of migration, migration cycle)
- General characteristics (country of origin, help from family members after return, family profile)

In figure 12 there are displayed the probability-ratios of the variables included in the model. The probability to be unemployed after return increases when the women had not studied, nor were employed while abroad. Even if we included in the analysis variables referred to in the different steps of the migration cycle, the situation experienced abroad seems to play the most important role in terms of influence. With a slighter influence on the risk of job exclusion, we can also find the status of being unemployed before emigration, and the absence of help from members of family after return. On the other hand, the probability decreases when the women are at least 25 years old.

¹ The *stepwise* procedure was used as a selection criterion.

Figure 12: The risk of workplace exclusion for returnee women, after return. N=357 (Odds ratios) (a)



Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI

(a) Only items with level of significance < 0.1 are displayed.

7. Conclusion

Despite the strong discrepancies in terms of sex distribution in each country sample, some key aspects can be identified. To begin with, Armenian women returnees seem to have the highest level of education compared with Tunisian and Malian women returnees (this may be correlated with their average older age). The former also had a high-level occupational status while abroad. Back to Armenia, a large shared of Armenian women returnees became unemployed or inactive. The same observation applied to Malian women returnees who found it difficult to professionally reintegrate back, especially those who were repatriated from Cote d'Ivoire. Repatriation from Cote d'Ivoire abruptly interrupted their migration cycle having severe implications for their reintegration.

Finally, and beyond the cross-country comparative approach, our models showed that women returnees are more likely to remain unemployed back home when they did not study or work while abroad.

RETURN MIGRANTS' REMITTANCE BEHAVIOUR

Davide Calenda

1. Introduction

The magnitude of remittance flows to developing countries has gathered momentum in the last two decades. An extensive specialized literature on this has now developed, and several initiatives have been implemented aimed at making data and facts on remittances more accessible to stakeholders¹. Such efforts have helped in understanding patterns of remittances and spill-over effects that they may generate benefitting migrants as well as local and national economies. However, there is still no consensus among researchers in this regard. On the one hand, patterns of remittances and their correlation with development are not easily assessable owing to difficulties in collecting data and indicators (Arnold, 1992). On the other hand, there may be many variables influencing the propensity and the motivations to remit which are not easy to factor into an analysis. Individual characteristics, economic and political conditions in both

¹ See, for instance, Remittances Information Library, available online at: <http://www.moneymove.org/English/httpdocs/dril0.cfm>.

sending and receiving countries, and market regulation mechanisms may combine in different ways to shape remittances and their effects in specific modes.

This intrinsic variety has constituted a fertile ground for social enquiry. Social scientists have pointed out that remittances are more than monetary transactions. They argue that patterns of remittances and their economic and social effects should be interpreted as part and parcel of household strategies and should be analysed within the framework of migration processes. This approach has enabled scholars to break down the general block of 'remittances' into a number of patterns and sociological typologies (e.g. Goldring, 2004: 805-806; Rahman and Fee, 2012: 691-693; Arnold, 1992; Glick Schiller, 2012).

Following this approach, the aim here is to investigate return migrants' behaviours in terms of remittances. The specificity of return migrants in terms of remittances is twofold. First, they have a higher propensity to remit compared with other types of migrants. Second, they also have a higher propensity to use part of their remittances to foster their social and economic reintegration in their country of origin. This allows some light to be shed on the link between remittances, post-return reintegration and development.

Studies on remittances have often treated return migrants as a homogeneous category and therefore assumed their behaviours to be similar. Conversely, our research shows that return migrants are highly differentiated in terms of their individual characteristics and migration experiences. These differences influence their propensity to remit and their motivations to do so. Additionally, intentions to return rather than the actual return of migrants have often been the focus of analysis in the literature on remittances (Collier et al., 2011). Such an approach has usually been adopted to estimate the effect of the return decision on the propensity to remit. It therefore tends to assume the return of the migrant will actually take place at a certain stage. This assumption is hardly sustainable. In fact, returning is not always the result of migrants' autonomous decisions, and not all migrants who intend to return in fact do so. Different propensities to remit may therefore stem from different type of migration cycles.

We aim to analyse patterns of remittances by considering the socio-demographic characteristics of the return migrants interviewed, their migration processes and their employment situation while abroad. For this purpose, we use a dataset on return migrants interviewed in Armenia and Mali in 2012, and in Tunisia in both 2006 and 2012. The sample allows for comparison across countries and across different types of remitters, i.e. irregular remitters, regular remitters and non-remitters.

Three main general observations can be drawn from the analysis:

- Individual and family characteristics shape the propensity to remit. Such factors have been assessed by previous studies; our research provides new first-hand evidence.
- The propensity to remit is also correlated to motivations to emigrate and to the employment situation of the migrants whilst abroad. Investigation of these factors enables us to better clarify the meanings of remittances to the return migrants interviewed.
- Cross-country patterns of remittances emerge. However, country specificities emerge as well. This indicates that there are cultural, political and economic factors that mould the nexus between remittances, reintegration and development. A comparative analysis of the use of remittances for productive investments provides a case in point.

The chapter is organised in six sections. In the first section, the methodology is explained. The second section aims to analyse the differences between regular remitters, irregular remitters and non-remitters in terms of their socio-demographic characteristics. The third section analyses the motivations to emigrate and the employment situations of remitters and non-remitters whilst abroad. A regression model is also presented in this section. The fifth section is dedicated to an analysis of the remittance patterns in each of the selected countries. The last section provides some concluding remarks.

2. Method

The structured questionnaire used for the interviews with the return migrants contained several questions on remittances. These explicitly referred to money remitted by

migrants whilst abroad. That is, migrants were asked if, how frequently and how much they had remitted during their last year abroad. We also collected information on the channels used by migrants to remit, to whom they remitted and for which purposes.

Drawing on these variables, several typologies of remittances may be drawn up. We decided to adopt a basic typology based on the frequency of remittances, by means of which respondents can be categorised into three groups:

- Regular remitters: respondents who remitted every month or every three months in their last year abroad;
- Irregular remitters: respondents who remitted once or twice in the last year;
- Non-remitters: respondents who never remitted in their last year abroad.
- The overall frequency of remittances and the country distributions are plotted in the following tables.

Table 1: Frequency of remittances sent by Armenian, Malian and Tunisian respondents in the last year whilst abroad. N=1425

	Frequency	%	Valid %	Cumulative %
Once a month	261	18.3	18.3	18.3
Once every three months	213	14.9	15.0	33.3
Once every six months	121	8.5	8.5	41.8
Only once a year	248	17.4	17.4	59.2
Never	580	40.7	40.8	100.0
Total	1423	99.9	100.0	-
Missing	2	0.1	-	-
Total	1425	100.0	-	-

Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI

Table 2: Types of remitters by country, %. N=1423

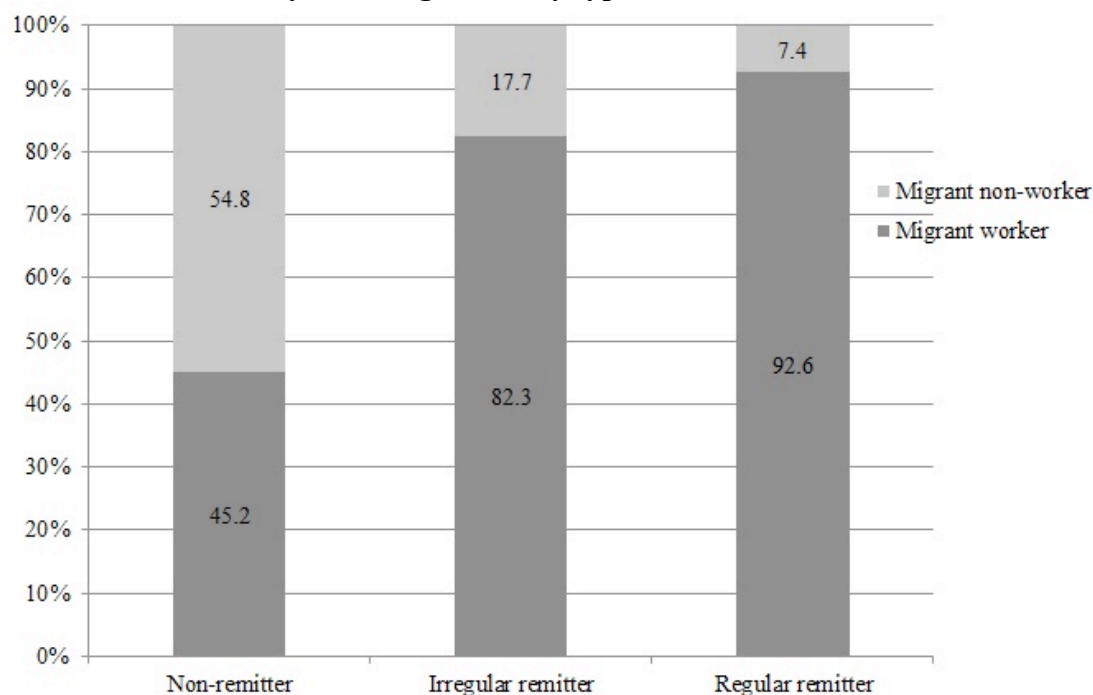
	Armenia	Mali	Tunisia	Total (%)
Regular remitters	47.0	32.3	41.9	40.8
Irregular remitters	10.9	45.1	23.9	25.9
Non-remitters	42.1	22.6	34.3	33.3
Total (N)	349	350	724	100

Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI

The distribution in this sample is somewhat polarized between regular remitters and non-remitters. This polarization is particularly notable in the Armenia sample and is

explained by a high proportion of respondents who were unemployed or not working, e.g. housewives – whilst abroad these people remit little for the obvious reason that they lack financial resources². It is widely known that migrant workers account for the largest share of remittances worldwide. Our data confirm that the propensity to remit firstly depends on employment status (Figure 1).

Figure 1: Share of migrant workers and migrants who were unemployed or inactive in the country of immigration, by types of remitters, %. N= 1421



Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI

Note: The table reports data on the occupational status of respondents before they returned. Retired people – 2.5 per cent of the whole sample – were included in the category of migrant workers because they worked abroad and were income earners before they returned. Inactive people include housewives and students.

Drawing on this finding, we decided to include in the analysis only respondents who were employed abroad before returning. This choice enabled us to reduce possible bias resulting from the different compositions of the working population in the three samples while keeping a variety of information with regard to patterns of remittances. Table 3

² 35 per cent of Armenian respondents did not work while abroad. They are mostly housewives but they also include students, people who emigrated for health reasons and asylum seekers. In the Malian and Tunisian samples, the proportions of respondents who did not work while abroad are 27.1 per cent and 25.4 per cent respectively.

reports the results of this selection procedure. It shows that the polarization previously observed in the Armenian sample has smoothed significantly whereas the proportion of regular remitters has increased.

Table 3: Types of remitters by country (only respondents who worked whilst abroad), %. N=968

	Armenia	Mali	Tunisia	Total (%)
Regular remitters	61.1	30.2	42.4	43.4
Irregular remitters	13.9	48.8	28.8	30.7
Non-remitters	25.0	21.0	28.8	25.9
Total (N)	216	252	500	100

Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI

The patterns of remittances from the three ‘types of remitters’ will be analysed with reference to several variables, including:

- Socio-demographic characteristics and education;
- Reasons for emigrating;
- Employment;
- The beneficiaries and the motivations of remittances.

3. Socio-demographic and educational characteristics

Several features of remitters and non-remitters can be sketched from an analysis of their socio-demographic characteristics and education. Some of these help in explaining their propensity to remit whereas others shed light on their motivations to remit.

The first variable considered is gender. Previous studies have indicated that gendered patterns of remittances may stem from factors such as household head status, income disparity and cultural norms. These factors tend to shape motivations more than the propensity to remit (see, e.g., Guzmán et al., 2008; Niimi and Reilly 2008). It is widely known that although male migrant workers account for the largest share of remittances worldwide, remittances from female migrant workers are growing in importance. Migrant domestic workers, healthcare assistants and nurses are a case in point (Buchan et al., 2005). Our data seem to confirm this trend. On the whole, most women remitted, although they remitted less frequently than men (Table 4).

Gender differences in terms of propensity to remit are more or less pronounced depending on changes in marital status and household head status across the three stages of the migration cycle. However, both men and women whose earnings abroad constituted the main source of income in the household were equally inclined to remit. This result supports the hypothesis that the gender factor has a minor impact on the propensity to remit.

Overall, respondents remitted to support their families' consumption needs, but gender-specific motivations to remit also emerged. Firstly, men turned out to be more inclined than women to use remittances for investments in housing and other assets, e.g. business concerns. Secondly, women had a higher propensity to remit to a wider circle of family members than men. This is especially true in the case of women who lived with their spouses in the country of immigration. Previous studies have found a similar trend (see, e.g., Orozco et al., 2006).

Table 4 summarizes the main socio-demographic characteristics of the three types of remitters. The data clearly suggest that being married before emigration and leaving the family behind in the country of origin increase the propensity to remit. Eight in ten married migrants who left their spouses behind in the country of origin were regular remitters. Similar correlations have also been found in previous studies (Arnold, 1992). Conversely, there is no evidence of a correlation between size of household and the propensity to remit.

Table 4: Socio-demographic characteristics of regular remitters, irregular remitters and non-remitters, %. N=968

	Regular remitters	Irregular remitters	Non-remitters	Total
Men	44.7	30.8	24.5	100
Women	37.4	30.2	32.4	100
Married migrants who lived with their spouses whilst abroad	32.8	40.3	21.5	100
Married migrants who left their spouses behind in the country of origin	74.4	10.4	15.2	100
Single	34.7	31.1	34.7	100
Average household size (number of people)	5.8	6.51	5.41	-

Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI

The data on the migrants' level of education reported in Table 5 indicate a curvilinear correlation between frequency of remittances and education. To be exact, regular remitters predominate among migrants with secondary education, whereas both higher and lower educational levels seem to be associated with a lower propensity to remit. This hypothesis will be checked using a regression model in the next section.

Table 5: Types of remitters by educational level, %, N. 960

	Non-remitters	Irregular remitters	Regular remitters	Total
Non-formal education	11.8	24.7	10.3	15.1
Pre-school education	2.4	1.4	1.9	1.9
Primary/elementary school	9.3	15.6	15.3	13.9
Incomplete secondary education	11.4	11.9	10.3	11.0
Completed secondary education	32.1	27.1	40.6	34.3
Bachelor/Master	28.0	16.9	19.1	20.7
Doctoral degree	4.9	2.4	2.6	3.1
Total	100	100	100	100

Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI
Missing cases = 8.

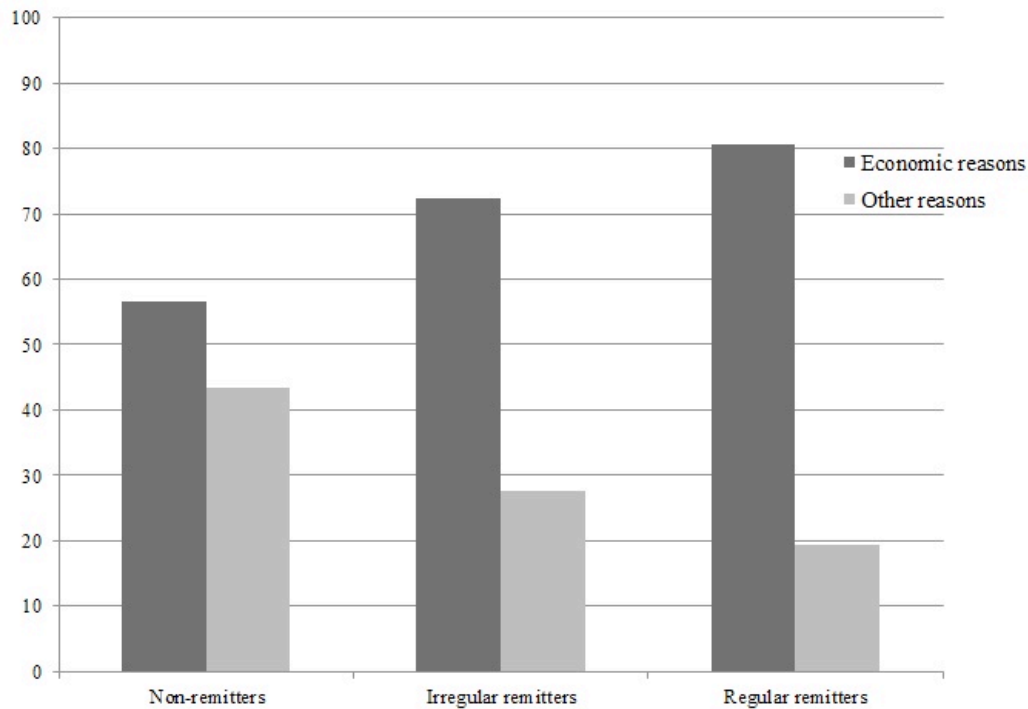
4. Motivations for emigration and employment situation abroad

It has been argued that the type of migration process shapes the propensity to remit (Arnold 1992). In this section we will check this argument by investigating two aspects of the migration process of the return migrants interviewed: their motivations to emigrate and their employment situation whilst abroad³.

The frequency of remittances correlates with motivations to emigrate. Emigration motivated by economic factors – e.g. to look for a job, to increase earnings, to help the family in the country of origin etc. – is positively correlated with the frequency of remittances. Conversely, emigration primarily motivated by other reasons – e.g. study, family reunification, health reasons etc. – is negatively correlated.

³ In addition, the type of migration cycle is also checked in the regression model presented at the end of this section and in the next section.

Figure 2: Migrants' first reasons for emigrating, number of observations. N= 968



Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI

Note: The Figure refers to the first reason to emigrate selected by the interviewees in order of priority.

This finding is not surprisingly. Most of the regular remitters emigrated to increase their earnings and the standard of living of their families in their country of origin; remitting was therefore an essential objective for them. Among these migrants, temporary workers predominate (Table 6). Many migrants who left their family behind in their country of origin and for whom remittances constituted the main income of the household can be found in this group. Armenian interviewees who emigrated to the Russian Federation are a case in point. For them, the Russian Federation constituted a relatively easy destination – e.g. easy access, presence of family members and friends already settled there – and one that was somewhat attractive in terms of earnings. Some scholars have argued that earnings, and more precisely wage differentials, may in fact constitute a key factor shaping both the decision to emigrate and other important decisions migrants and their households make across the different stages of the migration process (see, e.g., Galor and Stark, 1990; Dustmann, 2001).

Employers also emigrated for economic reasons, and they also remitted frequently. This turns out to be clearer when we looked at the occupational status of the migrants after

their return. To be exact, most of the employers in our sample became such only after their return. Most of them remitted regularly whilst abroad and many explicitly said they partly used their remittances to invest in business concerns. Their wish to become entrepreneurs after their return may therefore have pushed them to save out of their income for remittances. Malian and Tunisian entrepreneur-returnees turned out to be particularly inclined to do this.

In Table 6 data are reported on the last occupational status of the migrants before returning by reason for emigration. Regular remitters, as has been mentioned, predominate among employees and employers who emigrated for economic reasons. The undeclared self-employed seem to have a lower propensity to remit regularly. This result may stem from the precariousness that usually characterizes this type of profession.

Table 6: Migrants' last occupational status in the country of immigration, number of observations. N = 968

Emigration motivated by economic reasons	Non-remitters	Irregular remitters	Regular remitters	Total
Employed on a permanent basis	38	47	80	165
Employed on a temporary basis	46	47	153	246
Part-time employment	4	20	12	36
Seasonal workers	12	21	16	49
Employers, managers	4	7	21	32
Self-employed	8	28	32	68
Self-employed (undeclared)	30	45	25	100
Total	142	215	339	696
Emigration motivated by other reasons	Non-remitters	Irregular remitters	Regular remitters	Total
Employed on a permanent basis	28	20	19	67
Employed on a temporary basis	36	18	26	80
Part-time employment	9	5	9	23
Seasonal workers	7	4	0	11
Employers, managers	6	4	4	14
Self-employed	11	11	9	31
Self-employed (undeclared)	12	20	14	46
Total	109	82	81	272

Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI

The correlation between the occupational status and the frequency of remittances is less clear for migrants who emigrated for non-economic reasons. This group comprises an array of profiles which are highly variegated in terms of socio-demographic characteristics, education, profession and also personal aspirations. These factors combine in different ways to shape their propensity to remit. Students are a case in point. They emigrated to continue their studies, generally in post-secondary education, and started to work after completing their studies. However, not all of them remitted. A deeper analysis of their employment trajectories suggests that their diverse propensity to remit stems from the fact that they were in different stages of their career development.

As far as the financial situation of migrants is concerned, it seems to correlate with the frequency of remittances. There is a higher share of regular remitters among the migrants who reported that they had considerably improved their financial situation whilst abroad.

Table 7: Respondents' financial situation whilst abroad compared to that before emigrating (self-assessment), number of observations. N = 961

	Non-remitters	Irregular remitters	Regular remitters	Total
Improved considerably	93	129	226	448
Slightly improved	104	151	166	421
Remained unchanged	32	9	12	53
Worsened	12	3	7	22
Worsened considerably	4	3	2	9
Do not know	4	1	3	8
Total	249	296	416	961

Missing cases: 7

Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI

The logistic regression model presented below supports the hypotheses developed above with regard to the impact of socio-demographic characteristics, motivations for emigration and occupational status on the likelihood of a migrant becoming a regular remitter.

Table 8: Logistic regression model. Dependent variable: “Being a regular remitter”

Independent variables	Sig.	Exp(B)
Marital status and family mobility (migrants who were married and who lived with their spouses whilst abroad)		
Married migrants with spouses in the country of origin	***	5.100
Single	-	0.888
Other	*	1.780
Education (non-formal education)		
Pre-school education	-	2.272
Primary/elementary school	***	2.157
Incomplete secondary education	*	1.623
Completed secondary education	***	2.385
Bachelor/Master	-	1.424
Doctoral degree	-	1.125
Reasons for emigration (non-economic reasons)		
Economic reasons	***	2.059
Financial situation abroad compared with that before emigrating (did not improve)	**	1.669
Last occupational status before returning (undocumented self-employed)		
Employed on a permanent basis	**	1.734
Employed on a temporary basis	***	2.797
Part-time employment	-	1.649
Seasonal workers	-	0.703
Employers, managers	***	3.354
Self-employed	**	1.916
Constant	***	0.068

The category of reference is “Not being a regular remitter”.

Significance levels (Sig.): *** =<0.01; ** =<0.05; * =<0.1; - = no significance.

Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI

In a nutshell, the likelihood of migrants becoming regular remitters depends on the following factors:

- Being married and leaving the spouse behind in the country of origin;
- Emigrating for economic reasons;
- Having attended school, but after a certain level – i.e. post-secondary education – the likelihood to remit regularly decreases.
- Having improved their financial situation whilst abroad.
- Having a stable full-time regular occupational status.

Given that gender, as was shown before, does not turn out to be significant as a factor shaping the likelihood of becoming a regular remitter, it was excluded from the regression model. Other factors were also excluded from the regression model, such as type of migration cycle – complete, incomplete or interrupted – and the duration of the migration experience. These factors may indirectly shape the motivation for remittances, however. Targeting remittances towards investments in business projects after the migrants' return, for instance, may require migrants to prolong their period of stay abroad and their migration cycle may not be interrupted. Some evidence of this is provided in the next section, which aims to analyse how remittances were used by the migrants. The analysis is made at the country level because it is at this level that the importance of country specificities in shaping patterns of remittances and their possible implications for development emerges most clearly.

5. Patterns of remittances at the country level

Armenian remitters:

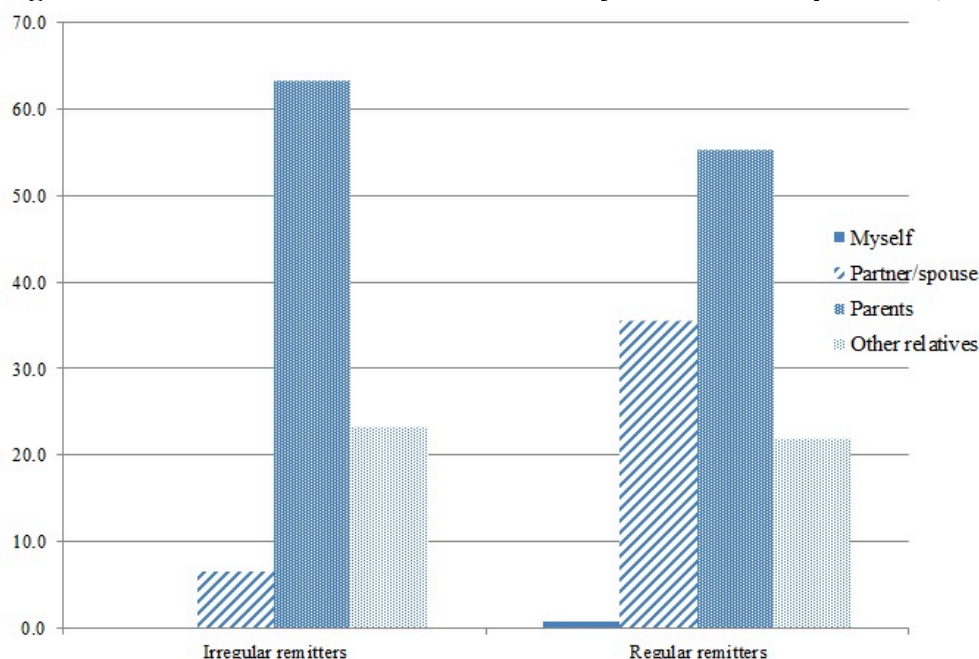
According to the World Bank, Armenia lists among the top remittance-receiving countries; in 2009 remittances as a share of Armenian GDP constituted 9 per cent and increased to 21.4 per cent in 2013⁴. Previous studies have shown that recent migrants play a key role in remittances, especially seasonal and temporary workers that go back and forth to the Russian Federation (e.g. Ghazaryan and Tolosa, 2012, 4; Roberts and Banaian, 2005).

Most of the Armenians interviewed went to the Russian Federation as temporary workers and remitted regularly. Most of them increased their income there and could remit a substantial amount of money during the last year before returning. Empirical evidence clearly demonstrates that remittances constituted the main source of their households' income.

⁴Armenia is also among the top emigration countries: information retrieved from the web site of the World Bank. In particular, see: <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTPROSPECTS/Resources/334934-1199807908806/Top10.pdf>

Figure 3 shows that remittances were targeted mainly towards parents and spouses, but the latter were notably more important as remittance-receivers for regular remitters compared with irregular remitters. This outcome mainly stems from a gender difference: regular remitters were mostly males and they remitted to their wives and parents. Women, many of whom were irregular remitters, principally remitted to parents and other relatives.

Figure 3: Beneficiaries of remittances sent by Armenian respondents, %. N= 162



Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI
 Note: Multiple response questions.

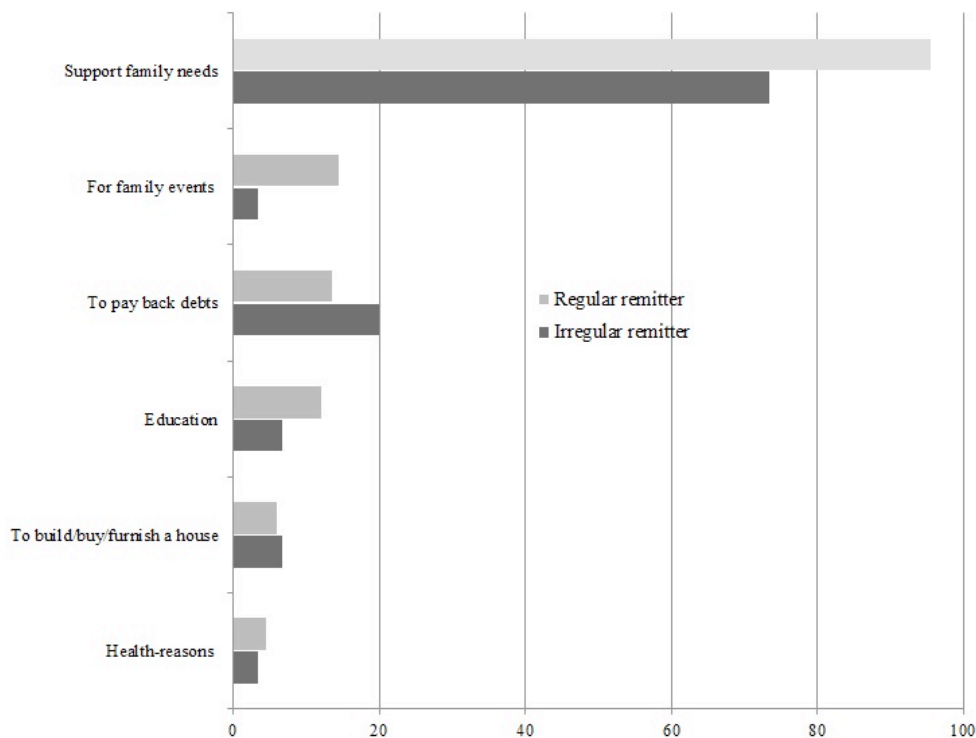
There is a sharp difference between regular and irregular remitters in terms of the amount remitted. Seven in ten Armenian regular remitters sent more than 1000 Euros in the period considered – the last year abroad – whereas the proportion is less than one in ten among irregular remitters.

Armenian remitters used money transfer companies and bank transfers much more than Malian and Tunisian remitters, who, as will be shown, largely opted for informal channels to remit, e.g. the *hawala* system. This finding may be explained by several factors, among which the relatively low fees charged by money transfer companies in the Russian Federation should not be overlooked. The World Bank indicates that the

Russian market benefits from relatively low fees charged by providers when compared to the other G8 countries (World Bank, 2013: 5).

Overall, only a very small proportion of remittances was used for 'productive' investments (Figure 4). This aspect particularly characterizes Armenian remitters when compared with Malian and Tunisian ones, among whom the share of migrants who invested in business concerns is not negligible. A lack of opportunities in Armenia seems to discourage investments (see Chapter 6). Repaying debts was also a somewhat important motivation to remit, especially for irregular remitters.

Figure 4: Use of remittances sent by Armenians, %. N= 162



Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI
Note: Multiple response questions.

The return of most of the Armenian respondents was not motivated by favourable circumstances but instead was due to family problems or homesickness. The empirical evidence also indicates that Armenian returnees faced many problems in reintegrating after return and that the return, for most of them, was considered temporary. For many

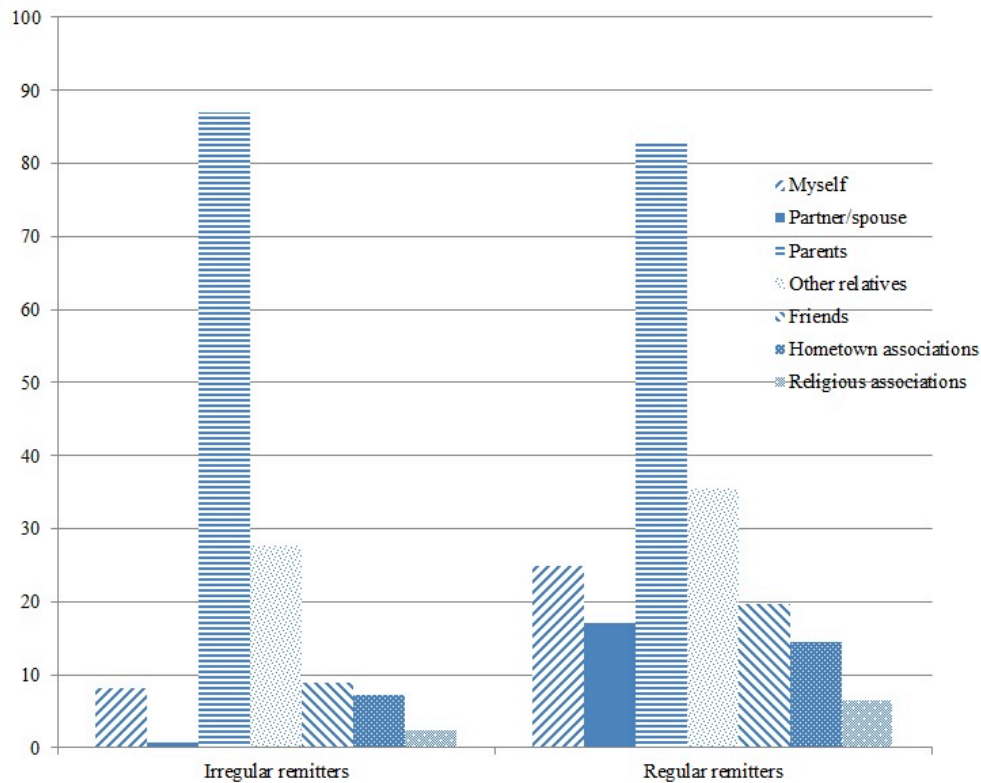
respondents it took a long time to find a job after their return and many did not find one or did not even look for a job. Almost seven in ten respondents declared that their financial situation after their return compared with that in their country of immigration worsened; no significant difference was observed between types of remitters. At the time of the survey, six in ten regular remitters and almost five in ten irregular remitters were planning to re-emigrate. These results suggest that remittances had little impact on the professional reintegration of the migrants. Under such circumstances, doubts arise about the impact that remittances may have on development (see, e.g., Gevorkyan and Mashuryan 2008).

Malian remitters:

Remittances constitute 4.6 per cent of the GDP in Mali. It should, however, be mentioned that statistics may underestimate the real magnitude of remittances because informal channels of transfer are not considered. The survey shows that most Malian migrants opted for the *hawala system* to transmit their remittances.

The patterns of Malian remittances appear to be different from those observed among Armenians. There is a stark difference in terms of the beneficiaries of remittances. In the Armenian case, parents and spouses were the main beneficiaries, whereas Malian respondents remitted to an array of persons (Figure 5). Helping their parents was important for Malian remitters, but remittances were also driven by obligations deriving from the extended family, which is still the dominant structure in Mali. These obligations seem relevant when it comes to understanding why a wider circle of family members and friends pictured as important beneficiaries of remittances sent by the Malians interviewed. A share of remittances was also used as personal savings (i.e. to ‘myself’, Figure 5).

Figure 5: Beneficiaries of the remittances sent by Malian interviewees, %. N= 199



Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI
 Note: Multiple response questions.

A substantial share of the respondents remitted to hometown and religious associations. This type of remittance is frequently referred to as ‘collective remittances’, i.e. “money raised by a group that is used to benefit a group or community with which it is affiliated” (Goldring 2004, 807). Collective remittances can be considered a form of community obligation. Collective remittances usually go to investments in both social and productive projects in the migrant’s community of origin. Since the 1990s, several states have paid growing attention to the potential benefits of collective remittances for local development and have attempted to channel them. A well-known case is that of the ‘3x1 Program’ instituted in various Mexican municipalities and coordinated by the Mexican Government, through which several public infrastructures and services have been developed (Aparicio and Meseguer, 2011).

Involvement in associations, especially in hometown associations, migrants’ associations and workers’ cooperatives, was widespread among the interviewees both

whilst abroad and after their return⁵. These associations may have played a role in channelling part of the remittances. Previous studies have demonstrated that the Malian diaspora is remarkably active worldwide, well organized, and particularly effective in fostering the maintenance of ties with the community of origin, which may serve as a channel for collective remittances (Ouattara, 2010; Pérouse de Montclos, 2012; Martin et al., 2002). A case in point can be found in a narrative collected from a Malian return migrant. He is the coordinator of an association that was created in Côte d’Ivoire in the aftermath of a conflict there at the end of 1990s. His association involves Malian returnees mostly from the region of Dogon (*Pays Dogon*) and its main aims are to support the socio-professional reintegration of return migrants and to foster development in the region.

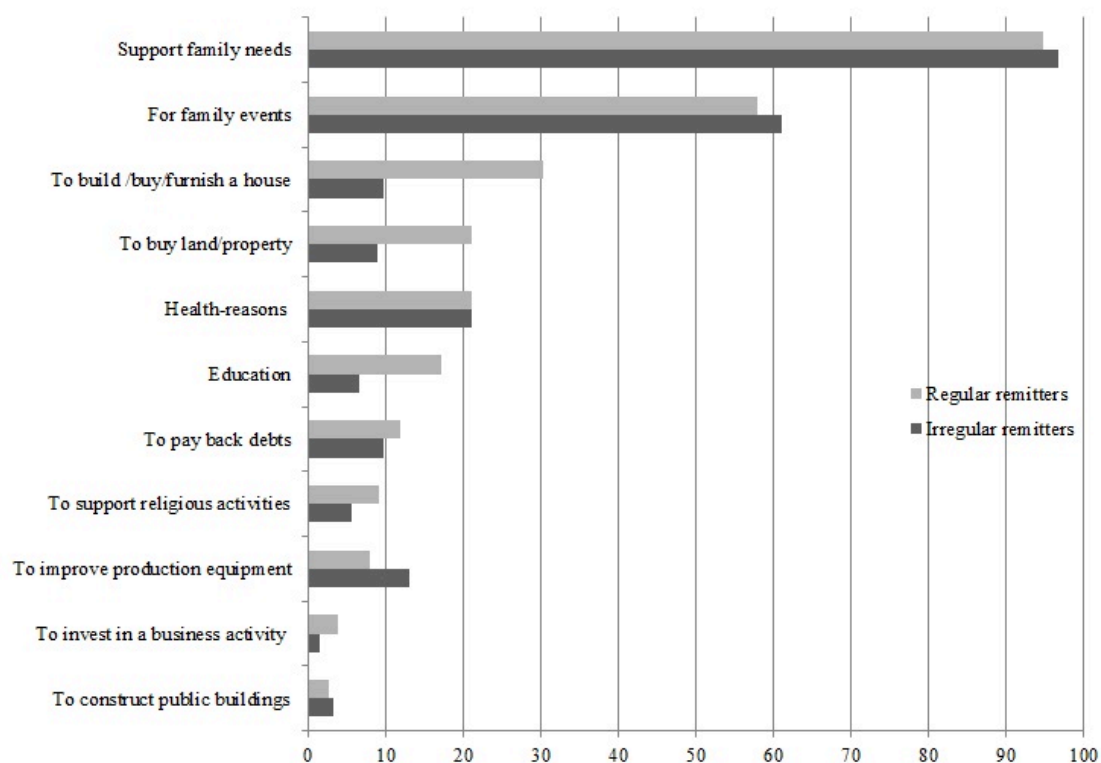
“We succeeded in mobilizing many persons in a campaign against poverty in the Dogon region [...] We built houses and delivered water in some villages of the Dogon region. Other villages in the region could benefit from such intervention. The association was created without external support. The main financial resource comes from membership – the monthly subscription is 500 Francs CFA.”⁶

Remittances were used for various purposes, although they tended to provide for the needs of the household and the community (Figure 6).

⁵ Detailed data can be accessed in the section ‘Civic and political participation’, available at: <http://rsc.eui.eu/RDP/research-projects/cris/survey-on-return-migrants/dataset/field-data-on-malian-returnees/>

⁶ The whole interview is available at: <http://rsc.eui.eu/RDP/narratives/>

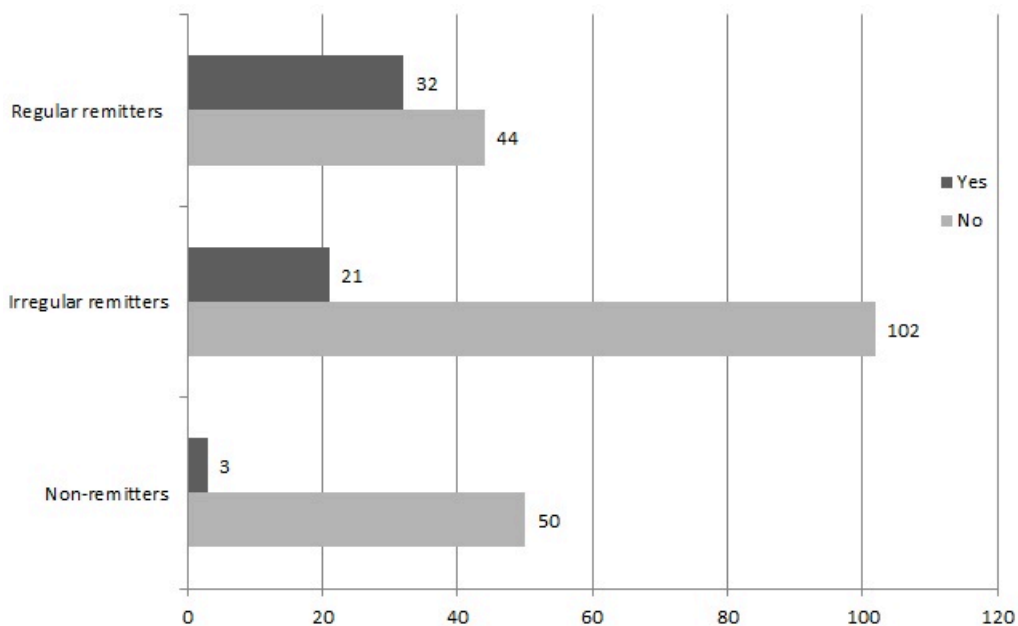
Figure 6: Use of remittances sent by Malian remitters, %. N= 199



Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI
 Note: Multiple response questions.

Regular remitters invested in housing, land, education and business activities more than irregular remitters. Additionally, information collected on investments undertaken by respondents after their return clearly shows a positive correlation between levels of remittances and investments in business concerns.

Figure 7: Investments in business concerns after return, by type of remitters, number of observations. N= 252



Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI

There seems to be a correlation between the type of migration cycles and levels of remittances. Overall, the share of complete migration cycles is significantly higher among regular remitters than irregular remitters and non-remitters. Their return was autonomously decided by 63 per cent of regular remitters, whereas the rate is 41 per cent among non-remitters and 49 among irregular remitters.

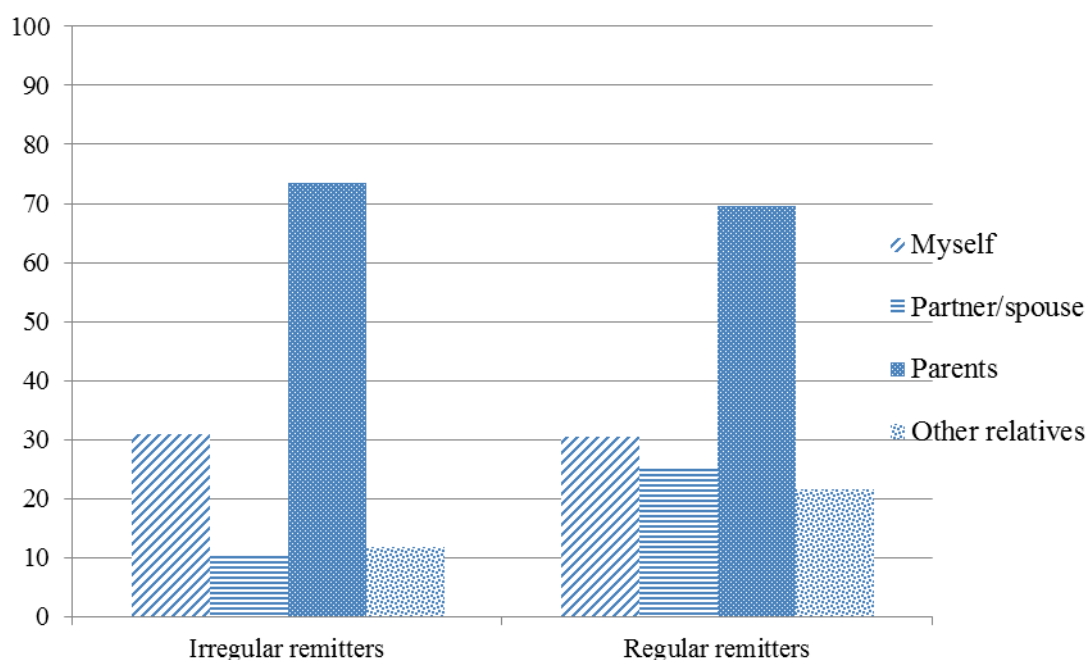
Tunisian remitters:

Tunisian remitters report diverse motivations. This is mostly due to the fact that this sample comprises a rich array of migrant profiles and migration processes. Remittances, as mentioned above, were not so important for Tunisians who moved abroad mainly to study, whereas Tunisian temporary workers remitted consistently. Entrepreneur-returns also turned out to be frequent remitters.

Remittances to Tunisia account for 5 per cent of Tunisian GPD. An increase in remittances inflows has been observed in recent years (see, e.g. World Development Indicators, 2009; Boubakri, 2010). Other sources list Tunisia as having the highest level

of remittances per capita (in 2002) among the top 30 developing countries ⁷. According to OECD (2006), there is empirical evidence supporting the ‘savings target hypothesis’ – the migrants’ goal is to return home with a certain amount of savings – for seven Mediterranean countries, including Tunisia (OECD 2006, 147-148). Our data indicate that 30 per cent of remitters used remittances as a resource meant to help parents and relatives (Figure 8).

Figure 8: Beneficiaries of remittances sent by Tunisian interviewees, %. N= 147



Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI

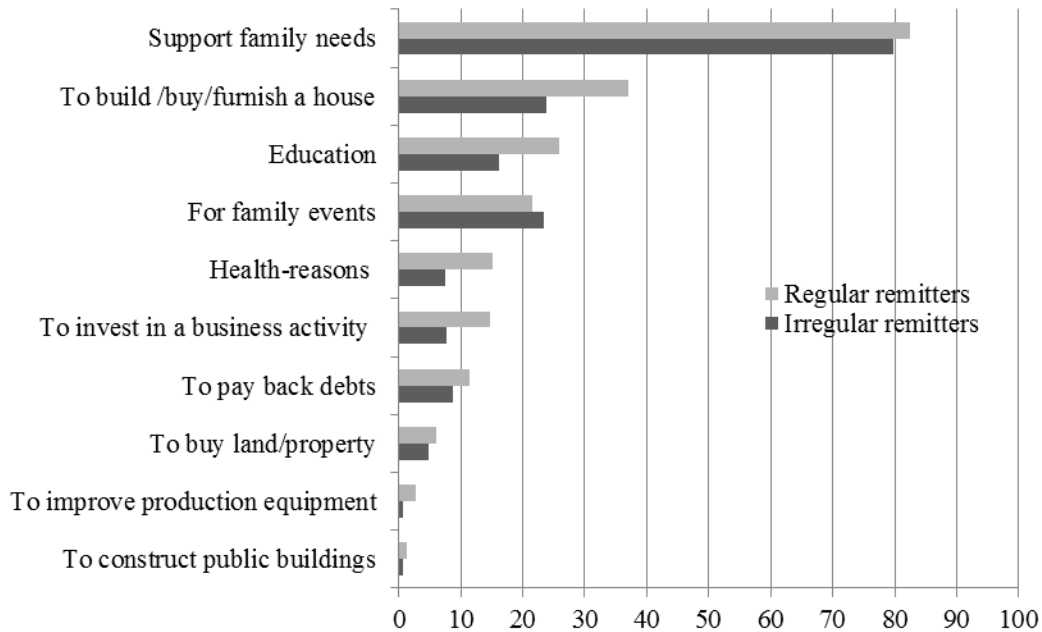
Note: Multiple response questions.

Note: This data is available for Tunisians interviewed in 2012 only.

Most remittances went to family members to support daily needs. However, a substantial share of respondents also used remittances for other purposes, including buying durable goods, education, health care and investments in business activities.

⁷ IMF, Balance of Payments Statistics Yearbook, 2003; World Bank, World Development Indicators, 2003. Information retrieved from: <http://www.oecd.org/els/mig/38840502.pdf>

Figure 9: Use of remittances sent by Tunisian interviewees, %. N= 355



Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI
 Note: Multiple response questions.

Just like Mali, the data collected in Tunisia show that there is a positive correlation between investments in business concerns and the frequency of remittances. That is, almost half of the regular remitters invested in at least one business project on their return, whereas the rate for irregular remitters and non-remitters is 31 per cent and 26 per cent respectively.

This lends support to the view that many Tunisian returnees used remittances as a resource to foster their reintegration. Nevertheless, at the time of the survey most remitters felt disappointed about their post-return financial situation. The data on intentions to re-emigrate at the time of the survey indicate that regular remitters were no less likely to re-emigrate than irregular remitters or non-remitters. Overall, 40 per cent of the respondents were planning or wishing to re-emigrate, although 50 per cent considered their return permanent. A wish to live in the former country of immigration, a lack of prospects in Tunisia and new job offers abroad were the three main reasons for re-emigrating.

6. Conclusion

Return migrants are not a homogeneous category and their patterns of remittances can vary a lot.

Not all migrants remitted money back home. Additionally, motivations may vary significantly. Our data have allowed different profiles of remitters to be identified. Family characteristics turn out to be significant factors shaping patterns of remittances. Being married and having a family back in the country of origin increases the likelihood of becoming regular remitters. Migrants who emigrated owing to economic reasons are more likely to become regular remitters, although this likelihood cannot be properly explained unless the level of education and type of occupational status of the migrants are considered. Having a secondary education, a stable full-time regular job – and earnings – increase the likelihood of becoming regular remitters.

A characteristic typically associated with return migrants is their high propensity to use remittances not only for current consumption but also to foster their reintegration back home. This may lead to using remittances for investment in business concerns, for instance. It would be naïve, however, to think that remittances will transform a return migrant into an entrepreneur. It is worth reporting what Stahl and Arnold argue in this regard:

Most migrants are workers, not risk-taking entrepreneurs, and they feel a need to be cautious in their investments. Once they return, they do not have substantial resources to fall back on if they undertake an investment which proves to be a failure. In such a case, everything would be lost, and two, three, or more years of loneliness and drudgery would have been endured for nothing. Under the circumstance it is naive to expect that the overseas work experience will transform a poor working peasant into an industrial entrepreneur. (Stahl and Arnold 1986, 914)

Only a minority of remittances were directed to ‘productive’ activities, but a positive correlation between levels of remittances and investments in business concerns was clearly observed. After controlling for employment categories, it turns out to be clear

that this correlation can mainly be explained by the high share of entrepreneurs among regular remitters. Remittances may have been an important resource for these entrepreneurs to foster their reintegration as entrepreneurs in their country of origin. Other factors seemed to be determinant, however, such as their strong motivation to return and their high level of return preparedness. These seem to be essential conditions to foster reintegration and generate spill-over effects from remittances. Malian and Tunisian entrepreneur-returnees are a case in point.

This comparative analysis has enabled us to clarify the importance of country specificities in shaping patterns of remittances and their possible implications for development. Poor wages pushed many Armenian migrants to emigrate as temporary workers and to remit to provide their families with a better standard of living. For these migrants, remittances constituted the main source of their households' income. This resulted in a high share of regular remitters. Most of them, however, wished to re-emigrate owing to the lack of prospects in Armenia. This lack of prospects in Armenia together with institutional and market constraints seem to reduce the propensity of return migrants to take investment risks.

Malian returnees' patterns of remittances were shaped by a combination of individual aspirations, altruistic attitudes and community obligations. This resulted in an array of motivations to remit, such as helping the family and contributing to projects implemented by local associations. A substantial share of remittances was also invested in business activities, although such investments turned out to be small in size and somewhat diversified. This may stem from a need to smooth investment risks owing to the uncertain and fragile political and economic conditions in Mali. In these circumstances, hometown associations emerge as important actors fostering local development, also by channelling remittances and targeting them towards the development of common goods, e.g. infrastructures and schools. Their role deserves deeper investigation and attention from policy makers.

Patterns of remittances may reflect strategies of social mobility. Tunisian respondents are a case in point. On the one hand, there was a substantial share of entrepreneur-returnees among them who turned out to be particularly inclined to use remittances to invest in business activities. On the other hand, there were many highly-skilled migrants

whose migration was motivated mainly by career advancement. Not all of them remitted, probably because remittances were not considered crucial. This finding suggests caution when considering the role of remittances in reintegration and development. Remittances are just a resource, among many others, through which return migrants may foster reintegration and contribute to development.

REFERENCES

- Agarwal, Reena, Horowitz, Andrew W. (2002) Are international remittances altruism or insurance? Evidence from Guyana using multiple migrant households, *World Development*, 30: 2033–2044.
- Allen, Tim & Hubert Morsink (1994) (eds.), *When Refugees Go Home*, London: UNRISD, James Currey.
- Aparicio, F. Javier, Meseguer, Covadonga (2011) Collective Remittances and the State: The 3x1 Program in Mexican Municipalities, *World Development*: 1-17.
- Arnold, Fred (1992) "The Contribution of Remittances to Economic and Social Development", in Mary M. Kritz, Lin Lean Lim and Hania Zlotnik, eds., *International Migration Systems: A Global Approach*. Oxford: Clarendon Press: 205-220.
- Arnold, Fred, Stahl, Charles W. (1986), Overseas Workers' Remittances in Asian Development, *International Migration Review* 20 (4): 899-925.
- Barten, Janneke (2009) "Families in movement. Transformation of the family in urban Mali, with a focus on intercontinental mobility", *African Studies Collection*, 18. Leiden: African Studies Centre.
- Birindelli A.M., Farina P. (2003). "Genere, migrazioni, genere e migrazioni" in A. Pinnelli, F. Racioppi, R. Rettaroli (a cura di), *Genere e Demografia*, Bologna: il Mulino;
- Boubakri, M. Hassan (2010) *Tunisie Migration, marché du travail et développement*. Document de travail. Organisation Internationale du Travail, Genève.
- Bovenkerk, Frank (1974), *The Sociology of Return Migration*, The Hague Martinus Nijhoff.
- Boyd M. (1989), "Family and personal networks in international migration: recent developments and new agendas" in *International Migration Review* 23 (3): 638-670.
- Bredeloup, Sylvie (1994) "Dynamiques migratoires et dynamiques associatives", *Hommes et Terres du Nord*, 4: 179-188.
- Buchan, J. Jobanputra, R., Gough, P., and Hutt, R. (2005) *Internationally Recruited Nurses in London: Profile and implications for policy*. London: King's Fund.
- Calenda, Davide (2012) "Return migration to Mali: Examining definitions and statistical sources", *CRIS Analytical Note* 02, RSCAS/EUI, Florence.
- Cassarino Jean-Pierre (2000), *Tunisian New Entrepreneurs and their Past Experience of Migration in Europe: Networks, Resource Mobilisation, and Hidden Disaffection*. London: Ashgate Publishers.

Cassarino, Jean-Pierre (2004), "Theorising Return Migration: The Conceptual Approach to Return Migrants Revisited." *International Journal on Multicultural Societies* 6 (2): 253-279.

Cassarino, Jean-Pierre (2008) ed., "Conditions of Modern Return Migrants", *International Journal on Multicultural Societies* 10 (2) Special Issue.

Cassarino, Jean-Pierre (2008) ed., *Return Migrants to the Maghreb Countries. Reintegration and Development Challenges*, General Report, EUI-RSCAS.

CERPOD - Centre d'Etudes et de Recherche sur la Population pour le Développement (1996), *Réseau Malien sur les Migrations et l'Urbanisation*, Institut Sahel/CLISS, Bamako.

Cervantes, Mario & Dominique Guellec (2002), "The Brain Drain: Old Myths, New Realities", *OECD Observer*, Paris.

Collier, W., Piracha, M., Randazzo, T. (2011) "Remittances and Return Migration", *IZA Discussion Paper* 6091.

Cordell, Dennis, Gregory, W. Joel, Piché, Victor (1996). *Hoe and Wage: A Social History of a Circular Migration System in West Africa*, Boulder: Westview Press.

D'Agata R., Malgioglio M., Tomaselli V. (2005), "Specificità di genere nei percorsi di mobilità verso la legalità", *Rivista Italiana di Economia Demografia e Statistica* 59 (1-2).

D'Ignazi P. (2004), "La morfologia della migrazione femminile" in D'Ignazi P., Persi R., *Migrazione femminile. Discriminazione e integrazione tra teoria e indagine sul campo*. Milano: FrancoAngeli.

De Bree, June (2008), *Return Migration to Afghanistan: Monitoring the Embeddedness of Returnees*. Nijmegen: Radboud University, CIDIN.

de Haan, Arjan, Brock, Karen, Carswell, Coulibaly, Ngolo, Seba, Haileyesus, Kazi Ali Toufique (2000). *Migration and Livelihoods: Case studies in Bangladesh, Ethiopia and Mali*. IDS Research Report 46. Sussex: Institute of Development Studies, Sussex.

DHS (Demographic and Health Survey), Mali, 2006.
http://www.measuredhs.com/Publications/Publication-Search.cfm?ctry_id=25&country=Mali

Dustmann, Christian (2001), Return Migration, Wage Differentials, and the Optimal Migration Duration, *IZA Discussion Paper* n.264, Institute for the Study of Labour.

European Commission (2005), *Proposal for a Directive of the European Parliament and the Council on Common Standards and Procedures in Member States for Returning Illegally Staying Third-Country Nationals*. COM (2005) 391 final, Brussels.

European Council (2002), *Proposal for a Return Action Programme*, 14673/02. Brussels.

European Migration Network (2007), "Return Migration", EMN Synthesis Report. Brussels:, EMN.

Findley, E. Sally (1997) "Migration and family interactions in Africa", in *Family, population and development in Africa*, edited by Aderanti Adepoju: 107-138. London: Zed Books.

Galor, Oded, Stark, Oded (1990) Migrants' Savings, the Probability of Return Migration and Migrants' Performance, *International Economic Review*, Department of Economics, University of Pennsylvania and Osaka University Institute of Social and Economic Research Association, 31(2): 463-67.

Gevorkyan, Aleksandr V., Mashuryan, Karine (2008) Little Job Growth Makes Labor Migration and Remittances the Norm in Post-Soviet Armenia, *Migration Information Source*. Retrieved online at: <http://www.migrationinformation.org/Feature/display.cfm?ID=676>

Ghazaryan, Armine, Tolosa, Guillermo (2012) "Remittances in Armenia: Dynamic Patterns and Drivers". International Monetary Fund. Retrieved online from: <http://www.imf.org/external/country/arm/rr/2012/062012.pdf>

Glaser, William. A. & G Christopher Habers (1974), "The Migration and Return of Professionals", *International Migration Review* 8 (2): 227-244.

Glick Schiller, N. (2012) "Unravelling the Migration and Development Web: Research and Policy Implications", *International Migration* 50 (3): 92-97.

Goldring, Luin (2004). "Family and Collective Remittances to Mexico: A Multi-dimensional Typology", *Development and Change*, 35(4): 799-840.

Guzmán, Juan C., Morrison, Andrew R., Sjöblom Mirja (2008) "The impact of remittances and gender on household expenditure patterns: evidence from Ghana". In Morrison, A.R., Schiff, M., Sjöblom, M. (eds) *The international migration of women*. World Bank and Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 125–152.

ILO, International Labour Organisation (2009), *Migration and Development. Armenia Country Study*, Moscow: ILO.

Iredale, Robin & Fei Guo (2001), "The Transforming Role of Skilled and Business Returnees: Taiwan, China and Bangladesh", Centre for Asia Pacific Social Transformation Studies. Wollongong: University of Wollongong.

King, Russell, (1986) ed., *Return Migration and Regional Economic Problems*, Croom Helm London, 1986.

King, Russell, Strachan, Alan and Jill Mortimer (1983), "Return Migration: a Review of the Literature". *Discussion Papers in GeoFigurey* n. 19. Oxford: Oxford Polytechnic.

Koser, Khalid and Richard Black (1999), "The End of the Refugee Cycle?." In Richard Black and Khalid Koser, eds., *The End of the Refugee Cycle? Refugee Repatriation and Reconstruction*. New York: Berghahn Books.

Kubat, Daniel (1984) ed., *The Politics of Return: International Return Migration in Europe*. New York: Centre for Migration Studies.

Kushminder Katie (2014), *Female Return Migration and Reintegration Strategies in Ethiopia*. PhD thesis, (unpublished manuscript). Maastricht: Maastricht Graduate School of Governance.

Lim L. L. (1994), "Effects of women's position on their migration" in Nora Federici, Karen Oppenheim Mason, and Solvi Sogner, eds., *Women's Position and Demographic Change*. Oxford: Clarendon Press;

Lowell, B. Lindsay (2001), *Policy Responses to the International Mobility of Skilled Labour*. Geneva: International Migration Branch, International Labour Organisation.

Marcoux, Richard (1997), "Nuptialité et maintien de la polygamie en milieu urbain au Mali", *Cahiers québécois de démographie* 26: 191–214.

Martin, Philip, Martin, Susan, Weil, Patrick (2002), "Best Practice Options: Mali", *International Migration* 40(3): 87-99.

McCormick, Barry and Jacqueline Wahba (2003), "Return International Migration and Geographic Inequality: The Case of Egypt", *Journal of African Economies* 12 (4): 500-532.

McLaughan, Gail and John Salt (2002), "Migration Policies towards Highly Skilled Foreign Workers", Migration Research Unit. London: University College London.

Minasyan, Anna, Poghosyan, Alina, Gevorgyan, Lilit, Chobanyan, Haykanush (2008), *Return Migration to Armenia in 2002-2008: A study*, Yerevan, Asoghik.

Morokvasic M. (1983), "Why do women migrate? Towards an understanding of the sex selectivity in the migratory movement of labour", *Studi Emigrazione* 20:132-141.

Niimi, Yoki, Reilly, Barry (2008) Gender Differences in Remittance Behavior: Evidence from Viet Nam, Asian Development Bank, *ADB Economics Working Paper Series*, 135. Retrieved online at: <http://www.adb.org/sites/default/files/pub/2008/Economics-WP135.pdf>

OECD (2006). *International Migration Outlook*. Retrieved online at: <http://www.oecd.org/els/mig/38840502.pdf>

Orozco, Manuel B., “Lowell Lindsay, Schneider Johanna (2006) Gender-Specific Determinants of Remittances: Differences in Structure and Motivation”. Report to the World Bank Group Gender and Development Group, PREM.

Ouattara, Bouraïma (2010). *La réintégration socioprofessionnelle des migrants de retour dans leur pays d'origine. L'exemple des migrants maliens de retour de Côte-d'Ivoire*. Rapport Final. Geneva: International Labour Organisation.

Pérouse de Montclos, Marc-Antoine (2012) *De l'usage politique des remises de fonds des migrants: le cas du Mali*. Centre Population et Développement, Working Paper, 26. Retrieved online at: http://www.ceped.org/IMG/pdf/ceped_wp26.pdf

Rahman, Mizanur, Kwen Fee, Lian (2012) “Towards a Sociology of Migrant Remittances in Asia: Conceptual and Methodological Challenges”, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 38(4): 689-706.

Rapoport, Hillel, Docquier, Frédéric (2005) The Economics of Migrants' Remittances. *IZA Discussion Paper* 1531. Retrieved online at: <http://ftp.iza.org/dp1531.pdf>

Roberts, Bryan W., Banaian, King (2005), Armenian International Policy Research Group, Working Paper (05/01). Retrieved online at: <http://pdc.ceu.hu/archive/00002658/01/WP0501.pdf>

Sinke S.M. (2006), “Gender and migration: historical perspectives”, *International Migration Review* 40 (1): 82-103.

Stark, Oded (1996), “On the Microeconomics of Return Migration”, *Occasional Papers* 1/1996. Vienna: University of Vienna, ZIIS.

Strand Arne et al. (2008), *Return with Dignity? Return to What? Review of the Voluntary Return Programme to Afghanistan*. Bergen: Chr. Michelsen Institute.

Sward, Jon (2009), “Assisted Voluntary Return (AVR): An Opportunity for Development?”, *Briefing note* n. 20. Sussex: DRC on Migration, Globalisation & Poverty, Sussex University.

The World Bank (2013) *An analysis of trends in the average total cost of migrant remittance services. Remittance Price Worldwide*, 8. Retrieved online at: https://remittanceprices.worldbank.org/sites/default/files/RPW_Report_Dec2013.pdf

Thorn, Kristian & Lauritz B. Holm-Nielsen (2006), “International Mobility of Researchers and Scientists: Policy options for turning a drain into a gain”, *UNU-WIDER Research Paper* n. 2006/83, World Institute for Development Economics Research.

United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (1998), *Recommendations on Statistics on International Migration Revision 1*, Statistical Paper Series M, no. 58, Rev 1. New York: United Nations.

Van Houte, Marieke and Mireille de Koning (2008), *Towards a Better Embeddedness? Monitoring Assistance to Involuntary Returning Migrants from Western Countries*. Nijmegen: Radboud University, CIDIN.

Vertovec, Steven (2002), *Transnational Networks and Skilled Labour Migration*. Oxford: ESRC University of Oxford.

Whitaker, B. Elise (2005) "Citizens and Foreigners: Democratization and the Politics of Exclusion in Africa". *African Studies Review* 48 (1): 109-12

Wickramasekara, Piyasiri (2003), "Policy Responses to Skilled Migration : Retention, Return and Circulation", *Perspectives on Labour Migration* series 5E. Geneva: International Labour Organisation.

Yeganyan, R. (2010), "Migration development, tendencies and problems in Armenia", *VEM Pan-Armenian Journal* 2(30): 11-25.

APPENDIX

METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

Antonella Guarneri

1. Definition

The definition of the returnee, used in the framework of the research activities is the following:

Any person returning to his/her country of origin, in the course of the last ten years, having been an international migrant (whether short-term or long-term) in another country. Return may be permanent or temporary.

This definition partially draws on that recommended by the United Nations (1998) and on the seminal work of Frank Bovenkerk (1974). It refers specifically to migrants who returned to their country of origin over the last ten years at time of survey, on a temporary or permanent basis (see glossary). This time limit allows the impact of the experience of migration on the interviewee's pattern of reintegration to be assessed. It also allows the respondents to recount their migratory experiences more precisely. The return migrants interviewed lived for at least one year abroad, before return. At time of survey, they were present in their country of origin for at least three months.

The interviewees belong to various occupational categories, namely employees, entrepreneurs/businessmen, self-employed people, the unemployed, students and those who are retired.

2. Sampling method

The information collected was identified following a thorough inventory of the available statistical and documentary data relating to return migration in Armenia, Mali and Tunisia.

The aim was to understand:

- The factors motivating the interviewees' departure from their country of origin;
- The impact of the migratory experience abroad on the interviewee's pre- and post-return conditions;
- The various post-return conditions of the interviewees and their prospects of reintegration.

The statistical and documentary inventory allowed various criteria to be taken into account as a prerequisite for defining the sampling method, determining the categories of returnees, and for identifying the sex distribution as well as the geographic stratification in each surveyed country.

Various versions of the questionnaire were circulated and exchanged among the partners leading to the production of a final draft. The last version of the questionnaire comprises closed-ended questions. However, open-ended questions have been included in the questionnaire, particularly regarding the degrees and occupational status of the interviewees. The modality "Other" has been inserted in the questionnaire to gather further information if necessary.

Multiple-choice entries have been included in various questions. Often, their structure is dual (Yes/No answers). This configuration was chosen in order to facilitate data processing. In addition, this allowed for the complexity of certain issues, such as the family composition, the occupational status and sectors of industry and the types of investments to be properly recorded. On various occasions the interviewees were asked to classify by order of priority their replies, particularly regarding their migration and return motivations.

Filter questions have been used in the questionnaire to address the variety of the migratory experiences and the manifold patterns of reintegration. Moreover, the Eurostat nomenclature of country codes has been used and the occupational ISCO codes have been simplified for the purposes of the survey.

3. A three-stage questionnaire

The questionnaire was structured in three distinct migration stages:

Stage 1	Stage 2	Stage 3
Situation before leaving the country of origin	While abroad	Return to the country of origin (upon return and at time of survey)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Demographic and social characteristics ; ➤ Reasons for leaving the country of origin; ➤ Social and financial conditions before leaving the country of origin; ➤ Composition of the household before leaving (if any); ➤ Education and skills before leaving; ➤ Occupational status situation. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Experience of migration; ➤ Reasons for living in the country(ies) of immigration; ➤ Duration of the experience lived abroad; ➤ Social and financial conditions in the immigration country(ies); ➤ Composition of the household (if any); ➤ Education and skills acquired abroad; ➤ Occupational status; ➤ Relationships with the local institutions abroad and the receiving society; ➤ Links/contacts with the origin country. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Return journey; ➤ Reasons and factors motivating return; ➤ Expected duration of the return; ➤ Social and financial conditions after return; ➤ Composition of the household after return; ➤ Education and skills acquired after return; ➤ Occupational status upon return and at time of survey; ➤ Relationships with the local institutions and the society in the country of origin after return; ➤ Links with the former immigration country(ies); ➤ Post-return projects.

Source: CRIS/MIREM-RDP, © EUI

These three stages allow the factors inherent in the returnees' migratory experience, as well as those that are external to it, to be identified, while viewing return as an on-going process, whether it be permanent or temporary. In other words, this approach makes it possible:

- To understand the extent to which the experience of migration, as well as the social and institutional context at home, have had an impact on patterns of reintegration;
- To analyse why and how the human, social and financial capital of the interviewee has changed over time;
- To compare diachronically the various factors shaping migration and return.

4. Preparation of the survey

A pilot survey was organised and carried out in each surveyed country. The questionnaire was presented directly to the respondents in a face-to-face interview.

The pilot survey was necessary to optimise the administration of the questionnaire and to maximise the response rate. Around ten pilot interviews were carried out. The preliminary tested field data were entered in an online form using the LimeSurvey hosting platform. Data were then processed on a common template using STATA. The pilot survey was essential to enhancing the management of the questionnaire and to correcting its potential shortcomings. The questionnaire in the Annex results from a series of amendments.

The fact that each partner institution in Armenia, Mali and Tunisia has a proven knowledge of the field and several contacts with migrant-aid associations and networks was essential to identifying potential respondents. Interviews were carried out in public and private places, sometimes in people's homes. They were conducted in the local language or dialect of the surveyed country.

Each partner institution was in charge of recruiting interviewers in the selected regions of enquiry. Training sessions addressed specifically to interviewers were organised in each country with a view to ensuring that:

- The objectives of the survey were clearly understood and that the interviewers would administer the questionnaire properly without influencing the respondent;
- The rules of confidentiality and anonymity were respected;

- The duration of each interview did not exceed 45 minutes, as far as this was possible;
- The administration of the filter questions was optimal;
- There was even regional distribution of the teams of interviewers;
- The procedures for collecting the field data were respected and verified, if need be, by the partner in charge of checking the implementation of the survey operations.

5. Data processing

Fieldwork started in February 2012 and ended in June 2012. In order to avoid any delay, data processing started as data were gradually collected, validated and checked. The simultaneous collection and processing of the data allowed the geographic stratification and sex distribution of the sample to be constantly controlled.

We introduced a technological innovation in data entry process to monitor the field survey dynamically. We organized a system aimed at double-checking the collection and transmission of field data: the questionnaire on paper and the questionnaire online.

Interviews were carried out by using the paper version of the questionnaire. As interviews were gradually made, field data were transmitted to the RDP coordinating unit at the European University Institute in a secured way via the Internet. To do so, we used the LimeSurvey hosting platform. LimeSurvey is an open source PHP web application to develop, publish and collect responses to online and offline surveys.

LimeSurvey was hosted on the EUI server to create an online version of the CRIS questionnaire (see Annex). This method ensured a better administration of data entry. In other words, it was possible to:

- a. Reduce the risk of inaccuracies when entering data;
- b. Monitor the implementation and progress of the survey at distance;
- c. Check and adapt the sampling strategy, if needed.

Moreover, new variables were included in order to foster the exploitation of the processed data as well as their analysis.

6. Geographical stratification

1095 interviews were carried out in the framework of the CRIS project, at the level of the three countries. 349 interviews were collected in Armenia, 350 in Mali, and 396 in Tunisia. In the framework of the MIREM survey, 330 interviews were carried out in 2006 in Tunisia. We chose to take into consideration these interviews given their analytical relevance. Consequently, the sample as a whole comprises 1425 interviews.

The geographic stratification was as follows:

In Armenia, more than 40 percent of the interviews were carried out in the provinces of Yerevan, followed by Ararat.

Provinces	N	%
Yerevan	142	40.7
Ararat	57	16.3
Kotayk	42	12.0
Lori	29	8.3
Shirak	28	8.0
Gegharkunik	21	6.0
Armavir	8	2.3
Vayots Dzor	7	2.0
Aragatsotn	5	1.4
Syunik	5	1.4
Tavush	5	1.4
Total	349	100

Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI

In Mali, the main regions covered by the survey were those of Bamako (more than 40 percent), Sikasso and Kayes.

Regions	N	%
Bamako	142	40.6
Sikasso	102	29.1
Kayes	53	15.1
Koulikoro	53	15.1
Total	350	100

Source: CRIS-RDP, © EUI

In Tunisia, more than 60 percent of the interviews were carried out in the Grand Tunis.

Governorates	MIREM survey (N)	CRIS survey (N)	Total (N)	Total (%)
Grand Tunis	177	292	469	64.6
Gabes	0	51	51	7.0
Sousse	40	1	41	5.6
Sfax	40	0	40	5.5
Nabeul	28	6	34	4.7
Kairouan	0	27	27	3.7
Medenine	25	1	26	3.6
Mahdia	20	0	20	2.8
Jendouba	0	11	11	1.5
Bizerte	0	7	7	1.0
Total	330	396	726	100

Source: CRIS/MIREM-RDP, © EUI

7. Data exploitation and analysis

A common set of cross-tabulations was used by all the partners with a view to capitalizing on the field data while referring to a number of dependent and independent variables. These cross-tabulations allow a comparative analysis of the following topics:

- Reasons and factors motivating or determining the departure for abroad, and the post-return conditions;
- The type and duration of the experience of migration;
- The impact of the experience of migration on the patterns of occupational reintegration of the interviewees and on the situation of their households;
- The returnees' projects before and after return;
- The skills acquired abroad and their portability in the country of origin;
- The financial resources of the returnees;
- The returnees' links with their former country or countries of immigration;
- The assistance which the interviewees may have benefited from upon return;
- The types of investments made by the interviewees in their former country or countries of immigration and in their country of origin;
- The returnees' perception of their institutional environment.

The numerous variables contained in the questionnaire allow a thorough analysis of the patterns of reintegration. Moreover, in order to further develop the processing and the analysis of the collected data, some variables were created a posteriori. In some cases, this could highlight the evolution of some variables through the three stages contained in the questionnaire, namely, before emigrating abroad, while abroad, at time of survey. Finally, in addition to descriptive analyses, some interpretative analyses were also performed using logistic models of regression. These provided considerable added value to our research endeavours.

The exploitation of the database was based on various types of analytical approaches. These were:

1. Descriptive. The analyses were based on a series of cross-tabulations highlighting the evolution of some variables compared with others, while referring to the abovementioned three-stage structure of the questionnaire. Various profiles of returnees were identified differing from one another in terms of patterns of reintegration and migration cycles (see Chapter 1).
2. Exploratory, by using factor analyses in order to explain the variability of observed and unobserved variables (simple correspondence analyses, multiple correspondence analyses) thanks to a software allowing various socio-demographic and economic variables to be crossed.
3. Interpretative. Regression models allowed the functional dependence of some elements to be analysed with reference to a series of explanatory variables or predictors. Various models were tested with a view to leading to a model highlighting the most significant independent variables.

GLOSSARY

Chosen return	See decided return
Compelled return	Refers to a migrant who returns to his/her country of origin as a result of unfavourable circumstances and factors which abruptly interrupt the migration cycle. Enforced return is a form of compelled return. Compelled return is the opposite of decided or chosen return.
Decided return	Refers to a migrant who decides on his/her own initiative to go back to the country of origin, without any form of pressure or coercion whatsoever. Decided return is based on the free will of the migrant to return. Decided return is a synonym of chosen return. It differs from voluntary return.
Enforced return	The compulsory return of a migrant to the country of origin as a result of an administrative or judicial act adopted by the public authorities of the destination country ordering the removal of a person out of the national territory.
Expulsion	Administrative or judicial procedure aimed at removing by force a person out of a national territory.
Financial capital	Capital (funds and remittances) acquired by the migrant.
Human capital	Skills, know-how, training and new values acquired by the migrants allowing him/her to act differently.

Intention to re-emigrate	Refers to a returnee who plans to leave again for abroad, whether the intention is real or imaginary.
Main country of immigration (MCI)	The last country of immigration where the respondent stayed for longer before return.
Migration cycle	With specific reference to return migrants, a migration cycle comprises three stages: Emigration, Immigration and Return. Depending on factors and circumstances, a migration cycle can be complete, incomplete or interrupted (see Chapter 1).
Permanent return	The return to the country of origin on a permanent basis.
Post-return conditions	Factors and circumstances shaping migrants' post-return experiences in the country of origin, whether return is temporary or permanent.
Pre-return conditions	Factors and circumstances shaping migrants' experiences of migration before returning to the home country.
Readmission	“Act by a state accepting the re-entry of an individual (own nationals, third-country nationals or stateless persons), who has been found illegally entering into, being present in or residing in another state.” Council of the European Union, Ref. 14673/02, 25 November 2002.
Re-emigration	When a returnee re-emigrates, he or she leaves for abroad again at least three months after returning to the country of origin.
Reintegration	Process through which a return migrant participates in the social cultural economic and political life of the country of origin.

Resource mobilisation	Process through which a migrant gathers resources, whether tangible or intangible, before and after return. This process is part and parcel of return preparedness.
Return	Going back to one's own country of origin, on a temporary or permanent basis, after having lived abroad.
Returnee	See return migrant
Return migrant	In the framework of this study, refers to a person who has returned to his/her country of origin, over the last ten years, after having been an international migrant (whether short-term or long-term) in another country. Return may be permanent or temporary.
Seasonal migrant	Person who emigrates to be employed for only part of the year because the work performed depends on seasonal conditions.
Social capital	Social relationships and family connections helping migrant to achieve their goals.
Temporary migrant	Person who emigrates for a period of at least three months in order to be employed on a short-term basis.
Temporary return	The return to the country of origin on a short-term basis and for a period of at least three months.
Visit	The short stay in the country of origin (less than three months) motivated, for example, by cultural or family reasons.

Voluntary return

In the proposal for a return action programme of the Council of the European Union, voluntary return is "the assisted or independent departure to the country of origin, transit or another third country based on the will of the returnee. (ref. 14673/02, 25 November 2002).²⁷ In the framework of this study, voluntary return differs from decided or chosen return.

²⁷ As mentioned in the report written by the European Migration Network (EMN), "it is important to note, however, that there is no clear boundary between Voluntary and Forced Return, since there are different understandings of these terms by the Member States and it sometimes depends on the legal status of a returnee (legal or illegally resident). Whether return can truly be considered as voluntary [...] is another consideration", (European Migration Network 2007: 6).

QUESTIONNAIRE

We opted not to print out the questionnaire in this report in order to save paper.

Please click on the link below to access the full version of the questionnaire used in the framework of the field surveys carried in Armenia, Mali and Tunisia:

<http://rsc.eui.eu/RDP/wp-content/uploads/2014/03/CRIS-Questionnaire-ENG.pdf>

Why do some return migrants reintegrate back home better than others? Why do patterns of reintegration vary so much? To what extent does gender impact on reintegration? Which factors shape the ability of some migrants to transfer their skills and social rights after return? Which resources (e.g., human capital, financial capital, networks and social capital) sustain returnees' reintegration processes; and to what extent? In sum, what do we know about post-return conditions and how returnees' aspirations, subjectivities and prospects back home can be analyzed and understood. From a developmental perspective?



Schweizerische Eidgenossenschaft
Confédération suisse
Confederazione Svizzera
Confederaziun svizra

**Swiss Agency for Development
and Cooperation SDC**

