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RETURN MIGRANTS TO THE MAGHREB COUNTRIES

REINTEGRATION AND DEVELOPMENT CHALLENGES

Jean-Pierre Cassarino (Ed.)

General Report 2008



EUROPEAN UNIVERSITY INSTITUTE, FLORENCE
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RETURN MIGRANTS TO THE MAGHREB
REINTEGRATION AND DEVELOPMENT CHALLENGES

Jean-Pierre Cassarino (ed.)

MIREM

**COLLECTIVE ACTION TO SUPPORT THE REINTEGRATION OF RETURN MIGRANTS IN
THEIR COUNTRY OF ORIGIN**

GLOBAL REPORT, MIREM, 2008

BADIA FIESOLANA, SAN DOMENICO DI FIESOLE (FI)

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MIREM, *Migration de Retour au Maghreb*

Le projet MIREM, ou «Action collective de soutien à la réintégration des migrants de retour dans leur pays d'origine», a été lancé en décembre 2005, grâce au concours financier de l'Union Européenne et de l'Institut Universitaire Européen. Il est hébergé au sein du Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies (Florence, Italie). L'objectif majeur du projet MIREM vise à assurer une meilleure prise en compte des enjeux propres à la migration de retour et à mieux en valoriser l'impact à des fins de développement. Il s'agit, en premier lieu, de produire des outils d'analyse et de compréhension du phénomène de la migration de retour vers les pays du Maghreb (Algérie, Maroc, Tunisie) et, en second lieu, de rendre librement accessible l'ensemble des informations produites.

* * *

The 'Collective Action to Support the Reintegration of Return Migrants in their Country of Origin', henceforth the MIREM project, was created in December 2005, thanks to the financial support of the European Union and the European University Institute. It is hosted at the Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies (Florence, Italy). The main objective of the MIREM project lies in taking into better consideration the challenges linked to return migration as well as its impact on development. Analytical tools will be employed to better understand the impact of return migration on the Maghreb countries (Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia). All the data produced will be made freely available in order to stimulate a constructive debate on this issue.

MIREM PROJECT

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FOREWORD AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This analytical report is aimed at furthering the dissemination of data analysed and collected in the framework of the MIREM Project (Return Migration to the Maghreb), or «Collective Action to Support the Reintegration of Return Migrants in their Country of Origin» (<http://www.mirem.eu>). The Mirem survey was made possible thanks to the financial support of the European Union and the European University Institute (IUE).

The MIREM team consists of a Co-ordination Unit, hosted by the *Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies* (Florence, Italy), as well as four institutional partners located in the Maghreb countries:

- ❖ The *Association Marocaine d'Etudes et de Recherches sur les Migrations* (AMERM, Rabat). Responsible for the MIREM project: Mohamed Khachani.
- ❖ The *Centre de Recherche en Economie Appliquée pour le Développement* (CREAD, Alger). Responsible for the MIREM project: Mohamed Saib Musette.
- ❖ The *Institut National de Statistique et d'Economie Appliquée* (INSEA, Rabat). Responsible for the MIREM project: Mehdi Lahlou.
- ❖ The *Office des Tunisiens à l'Etranger* (OTE, Tunis). Responsible for the MIREM project: Raja Chaieb and Abderrazak Bel Haj Zekri.

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Jean-Pierre Cassarino
Scientific Director of the MIREM Project
European University Institute
June 2008

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

FOSTERING A NEW APPROACH TO THE RETURN OF MIGRANTS

The MIREM survey allows several profiles of return migrants to be identified. Return migrants differ from one another in terms of levels of preparedness and capacity to mobilise the adequate resources needed to sustain their reintegration.

The main conclusions drawn from the analyses can be summarised as follows:

- ❖ Return is a process that requires time. Its degree of preparedness varies with factors inherent in the migrant's experience, as well with factors external to it (i.e. circumstances and changes taking place in the countries of immigration and origin). All these elements are key to understanding migrants' patterns of reintegration in their country of origin;
- ❖ Less than one migrant out of ten declared to have benefited from the support of public authorities in his/her home country after return;
- ❖ The distinction between migrants who chose to return home and those who were compelled to do so constitutes an explanatory variable of the opportunities for socio-professional reintegration of the interviewed returnees;
- ❖ The sudden interruption of the migration cycle, owing to unfavourable circumstances, or as a result of a removal order, has a negative impact on the professional reintegration of the returnees to the Maghreb. In fact, more than a quarter of the interviewed migrants who were compelled to return were unemployed at the time of the survey, as opposed to only 6.2% of the migrants who decided to return;
- ❖ The duration of the migration experience is only one of the variables explaining migrants' capacity to invest in their home country after return;
- ❖ The changes and reforms taking place in the country of origin do have an impact on migrants' choice to return home;
- ❖ The majority of the interviewees were not unemployed before their first departure. Their motivation to emigrate was not to find a job abroad, but to seek higher wages and better living conditions;
- ❖ The level of education is higher among migrants who were compelled to return than among those who chose to return to their homeland.
- ❖ 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;

- ❖ 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;
- ❖ The propensity to invest in the home country is much higher among migrants who decided to return on their own initiative;
- ❖ As far as the sustainability of return is concerned, the desire to re-emigrate is stronger among the interviewed migrants who were compelled to return than among those who returned on their own initiative.

In addition to their analytical relevance, the data presented in this report shed light on several variables impacting on returnees' patterns of reintegration and explaining their variety. More importantly, the analysis also shows that there are certain **prerequisites which need to be considered in order to further understand the challenges linked to return migration** and to the temporary or permanent reintegration of return migrants to the Maghreb countries.

The debates that took place in the framework of the Euro-African Ministerial Conferences on migration and development, held in Rabat, July 2006, and in Tripoli, November 2006, enabled several south Mediterranean and African countries to defend their own vision in terms of international migration management, including the return of migrants. They expect cooperation with the EU-27 and its Member States to respond more effectively to their needs in terms of development aid and initiatives aimed at reducing under-employment and poverty.

There is no doubt that a **new approach to the linkage between return and development** will have to be considered as a prerequisite to fostering the adoption of joint actions. This new approach will have to take into account the influence of pre- and post-return conditions on migrants' temporary or permanent reintegration patterns and on their capacity to contribute to the development of their country of origin.

The introduction of temporary migrant schemes, whether skilled or unskilled, and of circular migration schemes is gaining momentum in current migration talks involving Europe and its neighbours. The efficacy of these schemes depends on the capacity of both destination and origin countries to adopt concrete measures aimed at supporting the reintegration of migrants and at **optimising their levels of return preparation**.

The analyses presented in this volume provide an initial set of information which, hopefully, should be helpful in initiating a **constructive debate on return and development**.

METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH¹

1. Definition

The definition of the returnee, used in the framework of the research activities of the MIREM project 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. It may be independently decided by the migrant or forced by unexpected circumstances.

This definition partially draws on that recommended by the United Nations² and on the sociological essay of Frank Bovenkerk³. It refers specifically to migrants who returned to their country of origin in the course of the last ten years, 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 interviewees belong to various occupational categories, namely employees, entrepreneurs/businessmen, self-employed people, the unemployed, students and those who are retired.

1.1. Filling in the knowledge gap and sampling method

The information to be collected was identified following a thorough inventory of the existing statistical and documentary data relating to return migration in Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia.

¹ Methodological approach written by Antonella Guarneri.

² United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Recommendations on Statistics on International Migration Revision 1, Statistical Paper Series M, no. 58, Rev 1, United Nations, New York, 1998.

³ Bovenkerk, Frank, The Sociology of Return Migration, Martinus Nijhoff, The Hague, 1974.

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 sample method, determining the categories of returnees, and for identifying the sex distribution as well as the geographical stratification in each Maghreb country. This was done collectively during the working sessions organised at the European University Institute.

Various versions of the questionnaire were circulated and exchanged among the partners, as a result of these working sessions, with a view to producing a final draft. The questionnaire is a result of collective cooperation between all the partners of the project with the main aim being to optimise its efficacy in its application on the field. The last version of the questionnaire comprises close-ended questions. However, open-ended questions have been included in the questionnaire, particularly regarding the degrees and occupations 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 the ensuing data processing. In addition, this allowed for the complexity of certain issues, such as the family composition, the occupational class and sectors 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 the return motivations.

Filter questions have been used in the questionnaire to highlight the variety of the migratory experiences and the manifold patterns of reintegration.

The Eurostat nomenclature of country codes has been used and the occupational ISCO codes have been simplified for the purposes of the survey.

1.2. A three-stage questionnaire

The questionnaire is structured in three different migratory stages:

Stage 1	Stage 2	Stage 3
Before leaving the country of origin	Experience in the main country of immigration	Return to the country of origin – Post-return conditions
<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; - Professional situation. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Experience of migration ; - Reasons for having lived in the country(ies) of immigration; - Duration of stay; - Social and financial conditions in the immigration country(ies); - Composition of the household (if any); - Education and skills acquired abroad; - Professional and financial situation; - Relationships with host institutions and society; - Links with the origin country. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Return journey; - Return motivations; - Expected duration of the return; - Social and financial conditions after return; - Composition of the household after return; - Education and skills acquired after return; - Professional and financial status after return; - 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.

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 a changing 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 which have motivated and shaped the migratory stages.

2. Preparation of the Survey

Once a consensus had been reached regarding the variables, a pilot survey was organised and carried out in each Maghreb country. The questionnaire was presented directly to the respondents in a face to face interview. The face to face approach allows for a much higher response rate than other methods such as postal surveys or a central deposit point.

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 field data acquired were then processed using a common template which was prepared with the SPSS software. The pilot survey was critical for the enhancement of the wording of the questionnaire and in correcting its shortcomings. The online questionnaire is the result of a series of amendments.

The fact that each partner institution in Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia has a proven knowledge of the field and several contacts with migrant-aid associations and networks was essential for the identification of potential respondents. Interviews were carried out in public and private places, sometimes in people's homes. They were conducted mostly in Arabic but French was also used.

- Each partner institution was in charge of recruiting interviewers in the selected regions of inquiry. Training sessions especially for 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.

3. Geographical Stratification

992 interviews were carried out at the level of the three countries. 332 interviews were collected in Algeria, 330 in Morocco, and 330 in Tunisia:

In Algeria, the wilayas of Algiers, Bejaia in Kabylie and Setif eastwards of the capital and Tlemcen westwards of the country were covered.

Wilayas	N	%
Algiers	104	31,3
Sétif	82	24.7
Bejaïa	75	22.6
Tlemcen	71	21.4
Total	332	100

In Morocco, the region of Tadla-Azilal and the coastal regions of Casablanca, Chaouia-Ourdigha and Rabat-Salé-Zemmour-Zaër were favoured.

Regions	N	%
Tadla-Azilal	111	33,6
Casablanca	99	30,0
Chaouia-Ourdigha	57	17,3
Rabat-Salé-Zemmour-Zaër	50	15,2
Other regions	13	3,9
Total	330	100

In Tunisia, the northern governorates of Tunis, Ariana, La Manouba, and Nabeul were covered as well as the governorates of Soussa and Sfax in the centre of the country, and of Medenin in the south.

Governorates	N	%
Tunis	122	37,0
Ariana	40	12,1
Sfax	40	12,1
Sousse	40	12,1
Nabeul	28	8,5
Medenin	25	7,6
Mahdia	20	6,1
La Manouba	15	4,5
Total	330	100

The surveys started simultaneously, in the three countries, in September 2006 and ended in January 2007.

4. Data processing

From the preparation of the fieldwork, all the partners agreed to use a common template which necessarily drew on the structure of the questionnaire (see Annex at the end of the report). Moreover, new variables were included in order to capitalize on the processed data and its analysis.

In order to avoid any delay, the processing of the field data started as it was collected, validated and checked. The simultaneous collection and processing of the data allowed the geographical stratification and sex distribution of the sample to be monitored on a regular basis.

What is more, each partner forwarded the processed data to the Coordinating Unit so as to ensure the harmonised codification and treatment of the field data. Once all the data had been gathered together, a final check was carried out in order to optimise the processing of the data.

5. Data capitalization and analysis

A common set of cross-tabulations was employed 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 length of the experience of migration;
- The impact of the experience of migration on the patterns of professional reintegration of the returnees in their country of origin and on the welfare of their households;
- The returnees' projects before and after return;
- The skills acquired abroad and in the country of origin;
- The financial resources of the returnees and their patterns of reintegration at home;
- The returnees' links with their former country or countries of immigration;
- The assistance which the interviewees may have benefited from when returning to their country of origin;
- The types of investments made by the interviewees in their former country or countries of immigration and 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. Two different basic categories have been considered: migrants who decided to return on their own initiative to their country of origin and those who were forced to do so owing to unfavourable circumstances. (See Section 1.1) This distinction is a constant feature in the following chapters based on each of the three Maghreb countries. These three chapters are structured around the following six thematic areas:

- Socio-demographic characteristics of the interviewed returnees;
- Socio-professional situations and skills;
- Resources: Social and financial capital;
- Migratory experiences abroad;
- Return and patterns of reintegration;
- Post-return conditions and perspectives.

Moreover, in order to further 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, whilst living abroad, and after return. 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.

CHAPTER 1

RETURN MIGRANTS TO THE MAGHREB: PATTERNS OF REINTEGRATION AND DEVELOPMENT CHALLENGES¹

Since the 1960s, return migration and development in migrants' countries of origin have been subject to contrasting approaches, from different disciplines and schools of thought. A variety of empirical inquiries regarding this issue have tried to explain the manifold factors shaping migrants' patterns of reintegration in their country of origin.

Admittedly, as Rosemarie Rogers² stressed, returnees differ substantially in terms of return motivations. Her seminal paper has in fact demonstrated that not only are reasons to return highly varied but that they also tend to overlap.

Today, as new categories of returnees are taken into consideration, return motivations have become more diverse. In fact, scholarly approaches to return motivations do not only concern labour migrants³, migrant-students⁴, highly skilled migrants⁵

¹ Chapter written by Jean-Pierre Cassarino, Scientific Director of the MIREM project, Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, European University Institute.

² Rogers, Rosemarie, "Return Migration in Comparative Perspective", In Kubat, D., ed., *The Politics of Return: International Return Migration in Europe*, Centre for Migration Studies, New York, 1984, p. 277-299.

³ Kubat, Daniel (ed.), *The Politics of Return: International Return Migration in Europe*, Centre for Migration Studies, New York, 1984. King, Russell, ed., *Return Migration and Regional Economic Problems*, Croom Helm London, 1986. Stark, Oded, "On the Microeconomics of Return Migration", *Occasional Papers* n. 1/1996, University of Vienna, ZIIS, Vienna, 1996.

⁴ Glaser, William. A. & G Christopher Habers, "The Migration and Return of Professionals", *International Migration Review* 8 (2), 1974, pp. 227-244.

⁵ Thorn, Kristian & Lauritz B. Holm-Nielsen, "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, 2006. McLaughan, Gail & John Salt "Migration Policies towards Highly Skilled Foreign Workers", Migration Research Unit, University College London, 2002. Lowell, B. Lindsay, *Policy Responses to the International Mobility of Skilled Labour*, International Migration Branch, ILO, Geneva, 2001. Vertovec, Steven, *Transnational Networks and Skilled Labour Migration*, ESRC University of Oxford, Oxford, 2002. Cervantes, Mario & Dominique Guellec, "The Brain Drain: Old Myths, New Realities", *OECD Observer*,

and entrepreneur-returnees¹, but also refugees and asylum seekers², as well as illegal or clandestine migrants subject to a removal order.

Furthermore, this gradual broadening of the return migration spectrum has not only led to a growing complexity in the reasons for return, but also diversity in the methods of reintegration and in the patterns of mobilisation of resources necessary for their resettlement in their homeland. These patterns are most certainly reflective of the returnees' migration experiences in their former country of immigration. They are also shaped by the post-return social, economic, institutional and political conditions at home. 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 understand the prerequisites to strengthening the linkage between return migration and development.

There is little or no official statistical data allowing returnees' patterns of reintegration to be compared and assessed. Census data usually only allow the composition and geographical distribution of the stocks of return migrants to be estimated.³

The MIREM analytical reports on the official statistical data related to returnees to the Maghreb countries (Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia)⁴ demonstrated that these data do not provide a comprehensive vision of the sociodemographic characteristics of return migrants. Nor do they provide adequate tools for the analysis of the link between return migration and development in the Maghreb countries. Moreover, official statistical data remain too fragmentary to convey the whole picture of return migration; they do not take into account the motivations and the circumstances that encouraged migrants to return home, nor the resources they mobilised in their homeland. Consequently, it is necessary to fill this knowledge gap. To do so, we first need to set aside dominant taxonomies as applied to return and returnees.

Paris, May 2002. Wickramasekara, Piyasiri, "Policy Responses to Skilled Migration : Retention, Return and Circulation", Perspectives on Labour Migration series 5E, International Labour Organisation, Geneva, 2003.

¹ Cassarino Jean-Pierre, *Tunisian New Entrepreneurs and their Past Experience of Migration in Europe: Networks, Resource Mobilisation, and Hidden Disaffection*. Ashgate Publishers, London, 2000. Iredale, Robin & Fei Guo, "The Transforming Role of Skilled and Business Returnees: Taiwan, China and Bangladesh", Centre for Asia Pacific Social Transformation Studies, University of Wollongong, Wollongong, 2001. McCormick, Barry & Jacqueline Wahba, "Return International Migration and Geographical Inequality: The Case of Egypt", *Journal of African Economies* 12 (4), pp. 500-532..

² Allen, Tim & Hubert Morsink (eds.), *When Refugees Go Home*, UNRISD, James Currey, London, 1994.

³ Ammassari Savina & Richard Black, "Harnessing the Potential of Migration and Return to Promote Development: Applying Concepts to West Africa". IOM Migration Research Series (5). Geneva: IOM, 2001, p. 18. Black, Richard & Saskia Gent, "Defining Measuring and Influencing Sustainable Return", Development Research Centre on Migration Globalisation and Poverty Briefing Paper n. 3, University of Sussex, 2005.

⁴ See, Chaieb, Raja, "La Migration de retour en Tunisie : Informations statistiques" MIREM Analytical Report, RSCAS/EUI, Florence, May 2006. Khachani, Mohamed, "Statistiques sur les migrants de retour au Maroc" MIREM Analytical Report, RSCAS/EUI, Florence, June 2006. Musette, Mohamed Saib et al., "Statistiques sur les migrants de retour en Algérie" MIREM Analytical Report, RSCAS/EUI, Florence, mai 2006. These statistical reports are available on Internet: http://www.mirem.eu/datasets/statistics/statistiques?set_language=en

1. Notions and approach

It is important to stress that return may be temporary or permanent. In addition it cannot be viewed as the end of the migration cycle. For over a decade, this assumption has been thoroughly investigated by the advocates of Transnationalism and network theory, who have demonstrated that return constitutes one stage in the migration cycle.

Both of these theories emphasise the extent to which the returnees' reintegration process may be shaped by their involvement in cross-border networks of relationships maintained between the receiving and sending countries. However, their respective approaches substantially differ. Transnationalism tends to focus on the examination of familial solidarity and kinship to analyse the impact of social networks. Meanwhile, the network theory focuses on the formation of links and relationships by analysing the mutually valuable items that are exchanged between the network members to assist in the institutional aspect of reintegration.¹

These considerations are far from being fortuitous, for they are reflective of the existence of various approaches to return migration and migrants' processes of reintegration, which have emerged over the last decades.

Despite the various levels of analysis that distinguish these scholarly approaches, they all share the assumption that migrants' patterns of reintegration are shaped by three interrelated elements: firstly, the place of reintegration, secondly the duration and type of migration experience, and, finally, the factors and circumstances that motivated return and shaped migrants' patterns of reintegration in their country of origin.

Taking into account the respective impact of the abovementioned elements is a prerequisite to defining ad hoc policies aimed at strengthening the link between return migration and development in migrants' country of origin.

At the same time, other key elements need to be taken into consideration with regard to explaining the motivations and factors shaping returnees' patterns of reintegration as well as their ability to contribute to development in a variety of ways.

1.1. Chosen return

Return is not necessarily the outcome of a "calculated strategy"². Return can also be the outcome of unfavourable and unexpected circumstances abroad, constraining the

¹ Cassarino, Jean-Pierre, "Theorising Return Migration: The Conceptual Approach to Return Migrants Revisited", *International Journal on Multicultural Societies* 6 (2), 2004, pp. 253-279.

² According to Stark and Bloom, migration is viewed as a calculated strategy defined at the level of the migrant's household. The migrant leaves for abroad with a view to provide for the needs of his/her family living in the homeland. Return, in the view of the advocates of the New Economics of Labour Migration, is part of the migration cycle. It occurs only once the migrant considers his goals have been successfully met, in terms of

individual to return home. This situation occurs, in particular, as a result of restrictive and selective immigration and mobility policies, and owing to the reinforced control of borders between countries of origin and destination.

Taking into account whether return is undertaken by choice or not is crucial for the identification of additional factors characterising pre- and post-return conditions. As the collected data were gradually analysed and processed, it became clear that the distinction between migrants who decided on their own initiative to return to their country of origin and those who were compelled to do so constituted one key variable explaining returnees' prospects of socio-professional reintegration back home.¹

It is important to note that decided or chosen return should not be confused with "voluntary" return. In the return action programme put forward by the Council of the European Union, voluntary return actually refers to "assisted or independent departure to the country of origin, transit or another third country based on the will of the returnee"². In contrast with voluntary return, chosen return is mainly based on the migrants' own decision to return to their country of origin, on a temporary or permanent basis, without the assistance of a public body.

The definition of decided or chosen return, used in the framework of the research activities of the MIREM project (see glossary), avoids any possible misunderstanding which could arise from the way the term "voluntary return"³ has been used employed during the last decade. This term has been increasingly applied to return which is not entirely based on the free will of migrants. Decided return highlights the free will of migrants who, as individuals, judge and assess the pros and cons of their return.

1.2. Various patterns of reintegration

From an analytical point of view, the emphasis on the type of return (decided vs. compelled return) allows important dissimilarities between patterns of reintegration back home to be identified. Actually, at the level of the whole sample, which consisted of 992 interviewed return migrants (namely, 761 migrants who said they decided or chose to return home against 231 who were compelled to do so), various differences in terms of type of return could be stressed. These pertain, among others, to the following topics:

capital accumulation, remittances and savings. Stark, Oded & David E. Bloom, "The New Economics of Labor Migration", *The American Economic Review* 75 (2), 1985, p. 175.

¹ Guarneri, Antonella & Jean-Pierre Cassarino, "Quando la decisione individuale di tornare nel proprio paese fa la differenza", *NeoDemos: Popolazione, società e politiche*, September 2007.

² Council of the European Union, Proposal for a Return Action Programme, 14673/02, 25 November 2002, p. 29.

³ Incidentally, as stated in a recent report written by the Brussels-based 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, "Return Migration", EMN Synthesis Report, EMN, Brussels, May 2007, p. 6. See also Brad Blitz, Rosemary Sales, Lisa Marzano, "Non-Voluntary Return? The Politics of Return to Afghanistan", *Political Studies* 53 (1) 2005, pp. 182-200.

1. Age group: the empirical data, aggregated at the level of the three countries (Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia), denote a predominantly male population (87.4% of the whole sample). This distribution can be observed equally in all the Maghreb countries, among migrants who decided to return to their country of origin, as well as among those who were compelled to return. However, when analysing the sample according to age groups, the abovementioned categories differ from one another. Whereas more than half (65%) of the returnees who decided to return were over 40 and over 65 years old (18%), only 12% of the migrants who were compelled to return were in this age group. The latter migrants were younger – under 40 years of age – (under 35 in Morocco). These data show that the abrupt interruption of the migration cycle mainly concerns young migrants.

Table 1: Returnees' average age at the time of the survey (years)

	Type of return		Total
	Decided	Compelled	
Return migrants to Algeria	51.7	39.1	49.1
Return migrants to Morocco	43.9	34.1	40.9
Return migrants to Tunisia	49.0	38.1	46.9
Average age	48.2	37.1	45.7

Source: MIREM, © EUI

2. Civil status: important differences arise, in terms of type of return, when focusing on the civil status. Whereas over two thirds of the interviewees were single before leaving their country, only 21% of them were still single when they returned to their homeland at the time of the survey. This same rate rises to 42% for returnees who were compelled to return (see Table below).

Table 2: Return migrants to the Maghreb by marital status at the time of the survey

Marital status at the time of the survey	Type of return		Total
	Decided	Compelled	
Single	14.2	42.9	20.9
Married before migrating	28.6	19.9	26.6
Married abroad	27.1	10.8	23.3
Married after return	21.6	17.7	20.7
Other status	7.8	8.7	8.0
No reply	0.8	0.0	0.6
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

3. Level of education before migrating: The sample reveals a relatively high level of education among the interviewees (Table 3). Approximately, half of them had a secondary or higher education, especially among those who were compelled to return to their homeland. On the contrary, over 18% of the migrants who decided to return to their country of origin had no qualifications at the time of migration, in contrast to only 3.5% of the migrants who were compelled to return.

Table 3: Level of education of returnees to the Maghreb before migrating

Level of education before migrating	Type of return		Total
	Decided	Compelled	
No education	18.1	3.5	14.7
Pre-school education	4.9	2.2	4.2
Elementary school	16.2	17.3	16.4
High school	7.9	16.5	9.9
Secondary school	24.3	35.9	27.0
University studies/Master	21.0	19.0	20.6
Doctoral studies	5.5	5.2	5.4
Other	0.8	0.4	0.7
No reply	1.3	0.0	1.0
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

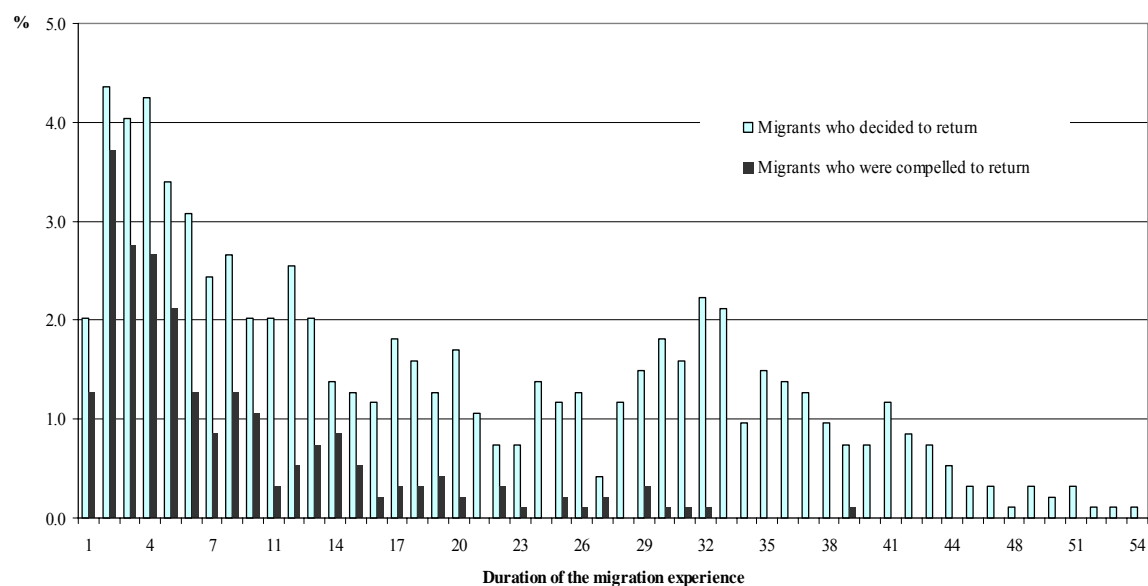
4. Average duration of the migration experience: Considering the sample as a whole, the average duration of the migration experience is 15.7 years; but the average duration for the migrants who were compelled to return is much shorter, especially regarding Moroccan returnees (7.3 years). These contrasts are of paramount importance when evaluating the impact of the migration experience abroad on returnees' patterns of reintegration. The next chapters focusing on each country individually confirm this assumption.

Table 4: Average duration of the migration experience

	Type of return		Total
	Decided	Compelled	
Return migrants to Algeria	20.1 years	8.2 years	17.7 years
Return migrants to Morocco	15.3 years	7.3 years	12.7 years
Return migrants to Tunisia	18.6 years	9.0 years	16.8 years
General average	18.0 years	8.2 years	15.7 years

Source: MIREM, © EUI

The graph below supports the argument that differences exist, in terms of duration of the migratory experience, between migrants who decided to return home, and those who were compelled to. Actually, the graph allows two distinct time periods to be identified. The first migration period spans from 1 to 8 years and includes both types of return. This demonstrates that the choice to return does not necessarily constitute an explanatory variable of the duration of the migration experience. The second time period refers to returnees whose migration experience was longer than 20 years, namely, senior migrants who returned on their own initiative, in order to enjoy their retirement in their homeland. The analysis of the empirical data highlighted that this situation mostly concerned Algerian returnees and, to a lesser extent, Tunisian returnees, whose duration of migration experience was respectively 20.1 and 18.6 years.

Graph 1: Duration of the migration experience by type of return (N=992)

Source: MIREM, © EUI

5. **Occupational status:** the abrupt interruption of the migratory cycle has a significant bearing on returnees' prospects for socio-professional reintegration. The table below demonstrates the extent to which the occupational status varies according to the type of return. Over a quarter of the number of migrants who were compelled to return were unemployed at the time of the survey, against only 6.2% of the North African migrants who decided to return home on their own initiative. Other significant contrasts appear in the category of the "entrepreneurs/employers", for around 21% of the migrants who decided to return to their country of origin belonged to this occupational category, against only 7.8% of the interviewees who were obliged to return.

Table 5: Occupational status of return migrants to the Maghreb at the time of the survey

	Type of return		Total
	Decided	Compelled	
In permanent employment	21.4	16.5	20.3
Employed on a short-term basis	3.5	2.6	3.3
Employed on a part-time basis	0.3	2.2	0.7
Seasonal worker	2.0	8.2	3.4
Employer/entrepreneur	21.2	7.8	18.0
Legal independent contractor	10.4	12.1	10.8
Illegal independent contractor	2.9	9.5	4.4
Family helper	0.5	2.2	0.9
Unemployed	6.2	25.1	10.6
Student	0.5	0.9	0.6
Housewife	2.9	3.5	3.0
Retired	21.9	4.3	17.8
Other	4.1	4.3	4.1
No reply	2.2	0.9	1.9
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

6. Return motivations: factors motivating return are diverse. The migrants interviewed who decided to return home mentioned three main motivations. The first one was the hope of enjoying retirement in their homeland, the second was the desire to set up a business, and the third was homesickness.

Table 6: Return motivations of the North African migrants who decided individually to return to their country of origin, N=992

Main motivations	First motivation	Second motivation	Third motivation
Job precariousness in the host country	3.6	2.2	2.9
To benefit from a return grant	0.4	0.7	0.7
Family problems in the country of origin	8.9	4.2	2.7
Family problems in the immigration country	4.0	1.7	1.7
Health problems	4.0	3.9	2.3
Difficulties of integration in the immigration country	2.6	3.7	2.3
Retirement	14.4	1.6	1.4
To run my business at home	6.1	7.6	5.3
To set up a business at home	9	9.5	5.1
Termination of my job contract in the immigration country	3.7	1.7	1.5
End of my studies in the immigration country	4.3	1.6	0.7
To finish my training	0.4	0.6	0.9
Homesickness	8.1	19.5	15.4
Difficult socio-cultural environment in the immigration country	1.5	4.3	9.5
Other	5.0	4.2	5.1
Compelled return	23.3	23.3	23.3
<i>No reply</i>	0.5	9.6	19
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

Unsurprisingly, such return motivations differ from those mentioned by the interviewed migrants who were compelled to return. The latter referred to external obstacles to their migratory itinerary, namely, expulsion or the removal enforced by the public authorities of the destination country, the non-renewal of the residence permit and family problems.

Table 7: Return motivations of the North African migrants who were compelled to return to their country of origin (N=231)

Which factors compelled you to return to your country? (Multiple-choice question)	Compelled return
My residence permit was not renewed	20.2
I lost my job	12.6
I had to interrupt my studies	7.2
I was expelled by the authorities of the host country	48.0
Serious health problems	8.1
Tax/administrative problems	16.6
Family problems	25.6
Total valid answers	100

Percentages are not cumulative

Source: MIREM, © EUI

7. Financial situation in the country of origin: other similar contrasts also appear when migrants are asked to compare their current financial situation with that in the former immigration country. 48% of the migrants who decided to return to their country of origin considered their financial situation to have improved since their return. While, more than 47% of the migrants who were compelled to return stated that their financial situation had worsened. This situation is closely connected with the real difficulties facing migrants after return, as well as with their consequential desire to re-emigrate (see below).

Table 8: Financial situation of returnees to the Maghreb at the time of the survey N=992

Has your current financial situation improved compared with your financial situation when abroad?	Type of return		Total
	Decided	Compelled	
Much better	15.6	6.1	13.4
Better	31.3	17.7	28.1
Unchanged	26	21.2	24.9
Worsened	21.8	47.2	27.7
No opinion	4.9	6.9	5.3
No reply	0.4	0.9	0.5
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

8. Difficulties after return: the two categories of migrants show significant contrasts regarding the difficulties they had to face in their country of origin. As regards migrants who decided to return home, these difficulties were mainly related to administrative constraints, problems of readaptation and the inefficiency of the Public Healthcare System in the country of origin, especially for those returning to Morocco (see the chapter on Moroccan returnees). Conversely, the main obstacles reported by the migrants who were compelled to return were mainly related to continuing unemployment in their country of origin, low salaries, difficulties in readapting, and problems with the public authorities of the origin countries. Such difficulties partly explain why more than half of the migrants who were compelled to return showed signs of distress in their country of origin (see Table below).

Table 9: North African returnees' living conditions at the time of the survey

Has your current living conditions improved compared with the ones you had when you were living abroad?	Type of return		Total (N=992)
	Decided (N=761)	Compelled (N=231)	
Very much	52.4	23.4	45.7
Unchanged	14.1	14.7	14.2
A little worse	21.8	24.7	22.5
Much worse	3.0	26.0	8.4
I do not know	6.8	10.4	7.7
No reply	1.8	0.9	1.6
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

9. Intention to re-emigrate: return temporariness concerns both types of return. However, when the compelled returnees were asked whether they planned to leave their country again, they were quite clear regarding their desire to re-emigrate (see glossary). There is no question that the abovementioned socio-professional reintegration obstacles, added to the abrupt interruption of the migration cycle, had a strong impact on these migrants' desire to re-emigrate. In fact, more than half of the migrants who were compelled to return said they contemplated leaving again; 32.6% of them replied they would definitely re-emigrate.

Table 10: North African returnees' intention to re-emigrate(N=992)

Type of return	Definitely	Probably	Not now	Never	Does not know	Total
Decided	15.5	20.5	16.0	26.5	21.6	100
Compelled	32.6	20.1	15.2	14.3	17.9	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

Migrants who decided to return were mainly motivated to re-emigrate because they already knew the former immigration country and wished to remain there and also because they wanted to renew their documents. Likewise, migrants who were compelled to return expressed their desire to re-emigrate because they already knew the destination country. However, the latter also mentioned push factors such as problems of reintegration and the absence of any future in their country of origin.

Table 11 : North African returnees' motivations to re-emigrate by type of return (%)

Main motivations	First motivation		Second motivation		Third motivation	
	Type of return		Type of return		Type of return	
	Decided (N=761)	Compelled (N=231)	Decided (N=761)	Compelled (N=231)	Decided (N=761)	Compelled (N=231)
I already know the immigration country and would like to stay there	7.4	14.3	2.1	5.2	2.8	6.1
I cannot re-adapt in my country of origin	2.4	8.2	3.0	9.1	1.4	5.6
I have no future in my country of origin	2.1	11.3	4.1	14.3	1.7	10.8
To renew my documents	8.7	2.6	3.7	3.5	2.1	1.3
I cannot find a job here	1.3	7.4	0.8	9.5	1.2	7.4
New job opportunities abroad	3.5	3.5	2.1	3.0	3.8	7.4
For family reasons	4.1	3.9	7.0	4.3	3.0	3.9
For health reasons	2.4	0.9	4.3	0.0	4.2	0.9
For other reasons	2.8	0.0	2.6	1.7	5.1	5.2
I do not plan to leave again	65.0	47.6	65.0	47.6	65.0	47.6
No reply	0.4	0.4	5.3	1.7	9.6	3.9
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

1.3. Return preparation

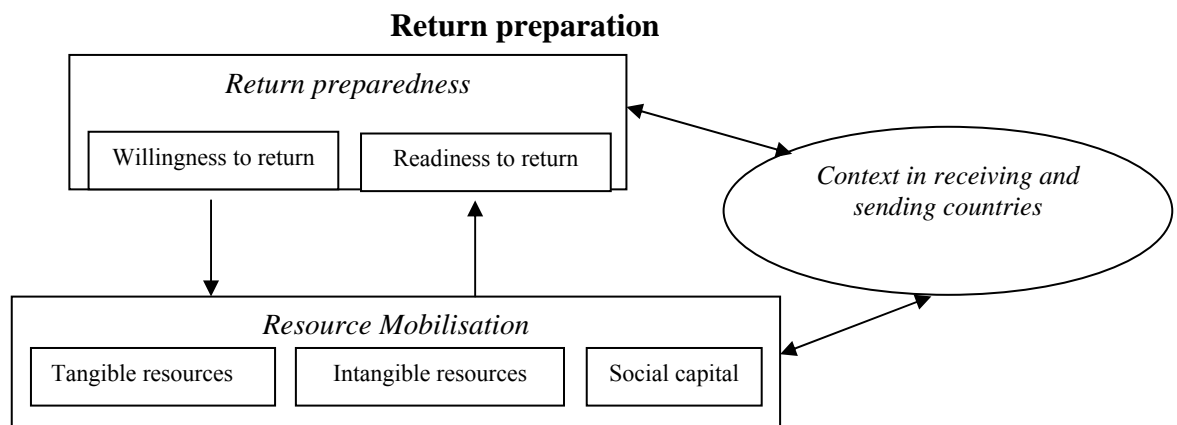
A brief analysis of the data is sufficient to show that the free choice to return home constitutes one of the key explanatory variables of migrants' reintegration patterns. However, preparation for return is another crucial variable that emerged during the analysis.

Preparation requires time. It refers to a process through which migrants succeed in gathering the necessary information and resources to sustain return. Various levels of preparedness exist which differ from one another in terms of migrants' willingness to return and capacity to mobilise sufficient resources.

Return preparation not only refers to migrants' willingness to return but also to their readiness to return home. In other words, preparation is not only an issue of wanting to return. Rather, it is also an issue of gathering sufficient resources and information about post-return conditions, in order to sustain the reintegration process at home. Thanks to this notion, return is not only an issue of free will. It also refers to a process through which migrants assess the available resources, according to the specific circumstances in the sending and receiving countries, in order to ensure their reintegration.

Resource mobilisation refers to tangible (i.e. financial capital) and intangible (i.e. human and social capital) resources that migrants gather and organize before and after their return to the country of origin. Clearly, patterns of resource mobilisation vary with the returnees' past experiences of migration.

The diagram below clarifies the way in which these factors interact with each other, whilst also being reflective of circumstances in host and home countries.



Consequently, return is a process that requires time. Levels of return preparedness vary according to factors pertaining to the individual migration experience, as well as to other external issues (i.e. circumstances and changes taking place in receiving and sending countries). These elements are key to understanding migrants' manifold patterns of reintegration in their country of origin.

Three different levels of return preparedness can be identified. These levels differ from each other in terms of patterns of resource mobilisation, pre- and post-return conditions, the duration of the experience of migration and the factors motivating migrants' return.

- The first level refers to returnees whose optimal degree of preparedness enables them to organise their own return while mobilising the necessary tangible and intangible resources. These migrants had enough time to evaluate the changes that had occurred in their homeland, e.g., as a result of liberal reforms that encouraged investments in the private sector.
- The second level refers to returnees who had a rather low level of preparedness. This category includes migrants whose length of stay abroad was too short to allow the necessary resources to be mobilised to secure their successful reintegration. For these migrants, the cost of staying abroad is higher than that of returning home.
- The third level pertains to returnees who did not prepare themselves or did not succeed in preparing themselves for return owing to unfavourable events or factors which abruptly interrupted their stay abroad. Their level of preparedness is non-existent, for their return abruptly interrupted their migration cycle.

During the analysis of the field data, the level of preparedness has been shown to be a very important factor. The analyses presented in the following chapters, relating to returnees in Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia, draw a constant comparison between decided and compelled return. This comparison shows the importance of free will in the return process. It also sheds light on various levels of return preparation and, consequently, on the existence of various patterns of reintegration. The most emblematic case is certainly the one related to returnees who made productive and job-creating investments in their home country.

1.4. Return and investments back home

The previous sections have shown that the type of return may impact on returnees' occupational status in their country of origin. Furthermore, the duration of the migration experience has also been presented as an explanatory variable of returnees' socio-professional reintegration. Despite their unquestionable analytical relevance, the type of return and the duration of the experience of migration constitute two variables that cannot be isolated from an analytical framework including pre- and post-return conditions. These contextual factors are part and parcel of the process of return preparation.

In this case, the evolution of the interviewees' occupational status may be of great interest. Several trends can be identified in the table below. Some of them are reflective of the standard evolution of the migration cycle. For instance, the category of retired migrants, before leaving for abroad, was insignificant; then as the migration process moved on it increased, and reached around 18% of the whole sample at the time of the survey.

Interestingly, the table below shows that the unemployed did not constitute the majority of migrants leaving for abroad: they only accounted for 12% of the whole sample. More than half of the interviewees were already employed before emigrating. This is not surprising given the reasons for which the interviewees initially left their country of origin. During the interviews, the most recurrent motivations for emigration were to seek better living and working conditions, followed by the desire to acquire vocational training and to earn higher wages. Before they emigrated, 43% of the whole sample of interviewees judged their financial situation to be pretty poor or even bad (36%).

The table below clearly demonstrates that migration had a positive impact in terms of professional advancement, especially among migrants who decided to return (see above Table 5). Entrepreneurs and independent contractors are the professional categories which increased the most throughout all three migratory stages. Taken together, these two emblematic categories of investors accounted for up to 8.6% of the whole sample before emigrating, and up to 29% at the time of the survey.

Table 12: Evolution of North African returnees' occupational status, N=992

	Before leaving for abroad	In the MCI	At the time of the survey
In permanent employment	21.2	28.1	20.3
Employed on a short-term basis	6.3	18.0	3.3
Employed on a part-time basis	2.8	5.6	0.7
Seasonal worker	12.3	8.0	3.4
Employer/Entrepreneur	1.2	3.9	18.0
Legal independent contractor	7.4	5.3	10.8
Illegal independent contractor	7.1	5.9	4.4
Family helper	3.5	0.7	0.9
Unemployed	12.0	4.7	10.6
Student	16.4	6.3	0.6
Housewife	2.8	2.9	3.0
Retired	0.2	4.3	17.8
Other	3.4	5.0	4.1
No reply	3.4	1.3	2.1
Total (N=992)	100	100	100

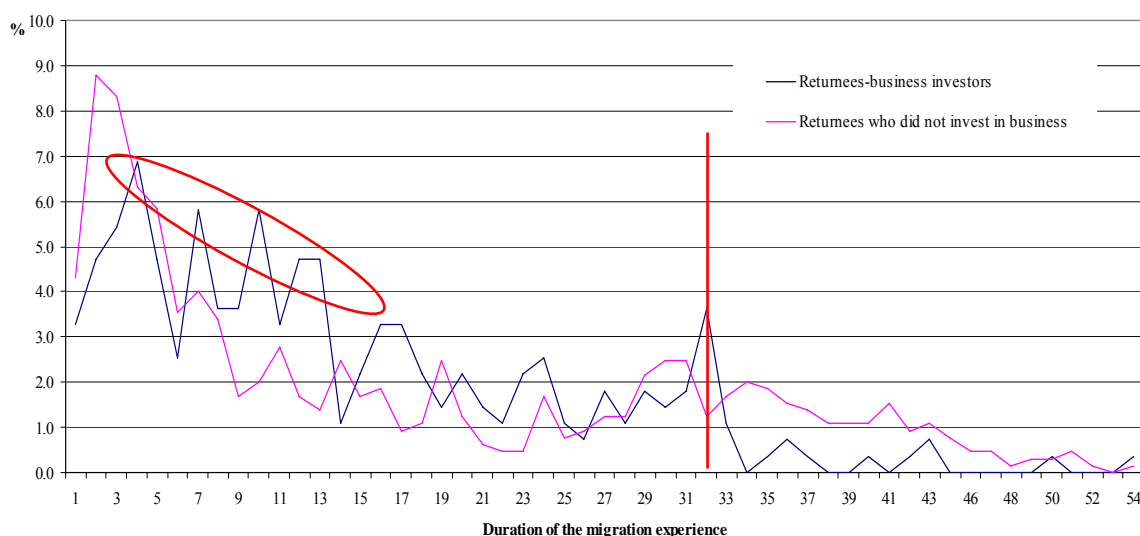
Source: MIREM, © EUI

The duration of the migratory experience may account for this significant increase. Many scientific studies have already demonstrated that migrants try to optimize their stay abroad in order to acquire the necessary skills and resources to reintegrate in their country of origin.¹ As far as the optimal migration duration is concerned, Russell King highlights that “if [the duration of stay abroad] is very short, say less than a year or two, the migrant will have gained too little experience to be of any use in promoting modernisation back home. If the period of absence is very long, returnees

¹ Dustmann, Christian, “Return Migration, Wage Differentials, and the Optimal Migration Duration”, Discussion Paper n. 264, Institute for the Study of Labour, Bonn, 2001.

may be so alienated from their original society, or they may be so old, that again the influence they can exert will be minimal. Somewhere in between, an optimum length of absence might be found whereby the absence is sufficiently long to have influenced the migrant and allowed him to absorb certain experiences and values, and yet sufficiently short that he still has time and energy upon return to utilise his newly acquired skills and knowledge”.¹ In the same vein, it is possible to show how the duration of the migration experience of the entrepreneur-returnees is different from that of returnees who did not invest after their return to their country. The graph below shows that an optimal duration of migration seems to exist as applied specifically to entrepreneur returnees.² This optimal duration seems to go from 4 to 13 years. It is also interesting to note that returnees’ propensity to invest their financial and human capital in a business concern is almost non-existent when the length of stay abroad exceeds 32 years.

Graph 2: Duration of the migration experience of the returnees who invested back home (N=296) compared with those who did not (N=696)



Source: MIREM, © EUI

Importantly, the duration of the experience of migration constitutes only one explanatory factor in a migrants’ ability to invest in business concerns after their return.

In fact, when considering the number of returnees who set up business concerns in each country of the Maghreb, different types of optimal duration of migration can be identified. The below graphs 3, 4 and 5 are reflective of different trends. If an optimal duration of migration actually exists, we learn from the graphs below that this optimal

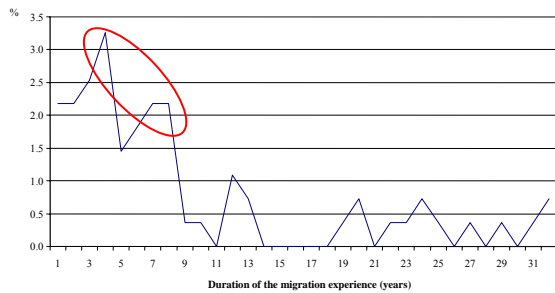
¹ King, Russell, ed., *Return Migration and Regional Economic Problems*, Croom Helm, London, 1986, p. 19.

² As to the bearing of the migration experience abroad on the propensity to be a returnee entrepreneur or not, see also Kilic, Talip & Gero Carletto, Benjamin Davis, Alberto Zezza, “Investing Back Home: Return Migration and Business Ownership in Albania”, Policy Research Working Paper n. 4366, The World Bank, 2007.

duration varies depending on the country of return. In other words, the optimal duration of migration also correlates with the way in which migrants perceive the changes and reforms that have taken place in their country of origin.

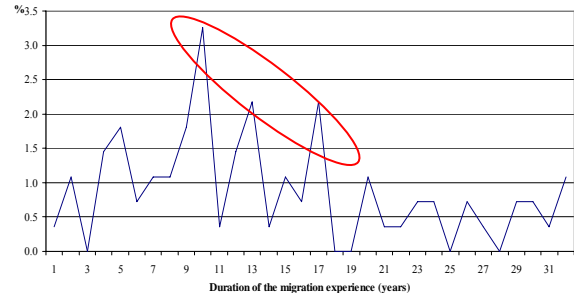
Post-return conditions, the level of liberalisation of the economy, the openness of the domestic market to private investments, institutional reforms and a business-friendly legal environment are all key factors that explain the abovementioned trends. In other words, return is not solely a personal but also a contextual issue. Consequently, this argument explains why the optimal duration of migration varies substantially. In Algeria, the optimal duration ranges from 2 to 8 years for the entrepreneur-returnees in Algeria, from 10 to 17 years in Morocco and from 3 to 19 years in Tunisia. The characteristics of the market economy, the actual investment opportunities in the private sector, as well as the provisions adopted respectively by Algeria Morocco and Tunisia to attract the productive investments of their émigré communities differ substantially. Such contextual and institutional differences partially explain the peaks shown in the graphs below.¹

Graph 3: Algerian entrepreneur returnees, N=74



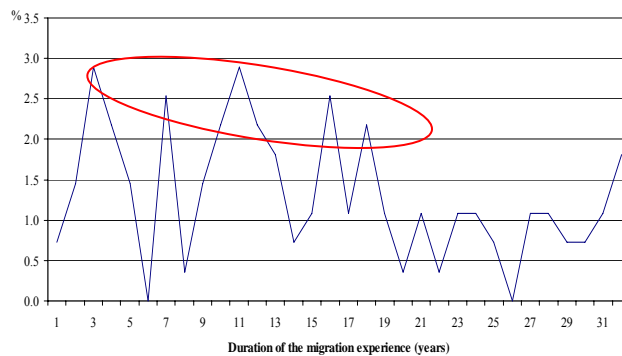
Source: MIREM, © EUI

Graph 4: Moroccan entrepreneur returnees, N=98



Source: MIREM, © EUI

Graph 5: Tunisian entrepreneur returnees, N=124



Source: MIREM, © EUI

¹ See Lahlou, Mehdi, “Migration de retour au Maroc: Une Approche socioéconomique et institutionnelle”, MIREM Analytical report, RSCAS/EUI, October 2006. Musette, Mohamed Saib et al., “Migrants de retour en Algérie: Une nouvelle stratégie en perspective?”, MIREM Analytical Report n. 2007/01, RSCAS/EUI, Florence, 2007. Bel Haj Zekri, Abderrazak, “La Migration de retour en Tunisie: Etude du cadre législatif, du contexte socioéconomique et des processus de réinsertion des migrants”, MIREM Analytical Report n. 2007/04, RSCAS/EUI, Florence, 2007.

The model of logistic regression presented below supports the argument that the duration of the migratory experience abroad has an impact on the likelihood or otherwise for an entrepreneur to become a returnee. Nonetheless, the model below shows that context in the country of origin also has an impact on migrants' inclination to set up a business concern after return.¹

For instance, it is worth noting that the returnees who had lived abroad for ten years were more likely to start a business concern after their return, than those who remained abroad for more than twenty years.

Similarly, this same model shows that Tunisian returnees are more likely to invest at home than Moroccan returnees. This situation may stem from the existing relationships between the governments of the Maghreb countries and their respective expatriate communities.² It may also result from the measures adopted by the Tunisian government to facilitate the investments of the émigré community, in the framework of liberalization, economic reforms and the development of the private sector.

Table 13: Logistic regression model. Dependent variable: “Being an entrepreneur-returnee in the country of origin”

Independent variables	Sig.	Exp.(B)
Country of origin (ref. Morocco)		
Tunisia	***	1.834
Algeria	-	1.251
Duration of stay abroad (ref. 20 years or more)		
From 1 to 4 years	***	2.466
From 5 to 9 years	***	2.165
From 10 to 19 years	-	1.533
Investments in the last hosting country (ref. No)		
Yes	***	4.894
Frequency of remittances (ref. Never)		
Once a month	***	2.655
Once every three months	***	1.987
Once every six months	*	1.842
Once a year	-	0.983
Irregularly	**	1.721

The category of reference is “Not being an entrepreneur returnee”

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

Source: MIREM, © EUI

These liberal reforms were associated with measures encouraging direct foreign investments, with a view to promoting private enterprises in job-creating sectors; their aim was also to foster the investments of the migrant community and the returnees

¹ The used dependent variable is “Being an entrepreneur returnee in the country of origin”. Many models have been tested using a descending elimination process, in order to create a sparing model that only contains the more significant independent variables.

² Brand, Laurie, *Citizens Abroad: Emigration and the State in the Middle East and North Africa*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2006.

wishing to repatriate. The thorough analysis of these business-friendly measures, accompanied by *ad hoc* legal provisions, go beyond the scope of this report. However, it is important to note that the reforms which have been implemented and the official recognition of Tunisian returnees' contribution to national development, in the framework of Tunisia's five-year economic development plans, may account for the higher propensity of the Tunisian interviewees to invest back home compared to their Algerian and Moroccan counterparts.

Other variables provide additional information about the returnees' tendency to invest in business concerns. The model shows that migrants who already invested in the main country of immigration (or MCI, the former host country) have a higher propensity to invest in a business activity back home than migrants who did not invest in the MCI.

The survey data also highlight that those who transferred money from abroad, on a regular basis, have a higher propensity to invest in a business activity than those who did not. Conversely, the regression model highlights the existence of an average level of significance regarding the category of migrants who sent remittances less than once a year. This is due to the fact that some interviewed entrepreneur-returnees preferred to accumulate large amounts of money or savings before repatriating them back to the country of origin.

As previously mentioned, the frequency of remittances may have an impact on returnees' propensity to invest back home. Nonetheless, this cause-and-effect relationship has to be qualified, insofar as up to 38% of the entrepreneur-returnees, who employed more than ten workers, declared that they never remitted money when they were living abroad. Similarly, 19% of the entrepreneur-returnees, who employ less than ten people, never sent remittances.

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

Self-financing, family support, and networks of acquaintances or mutual-aid relationships in the sending and receiving countries, are all additional resources that have to be taken into consideration. In fact, less than 14% of the returnees benefited from bank loans to set up their business concerns. This extremely low proportion of respondents is due to the reportedly high interest rates in these countries.

Table 14: Resources used to support investments made by the entrepreneur-returnees

Financial resources (Multiple reply)	Algeria	Morocco	Tunisia	Total
Self-financing	58.1	77.6	85.5	76.0
Bank loans	9.5	15.3	15.3	13.9
Loan from a relative	12.2	7.1	9.7	9.5
Other	4.1	6.1	7.3	6.1
No reply	0.0	1.0	29.0	12.5

Percentages are not cumulative

Source: MIREM, © EUI

Furthermore, the professional skills acquired abroad, as well as the frequency of the visits to the country of origin, may also impact on the prospect of investing in the homeland. In fact, the model below refers to intangible resources that were gathered together by the interviewed by migrants during their preparation for return.

Such data demonstrate that returnees' patterns of reintegration can only be studied with reference to the individual migratory itinerary and to pre and post- return conditions. The below regression model also shows that the vocational training acquired abroad and the possibility to benefit from a form of public assistance from the authorities of the country of origin increase the likelihood of returnees investing in their country of origin.

Finally, and most importantly, the choice to return remains a significant independent variable in the possibility of a returnee to becoming an entrepreneur.

Table 15: Logistic regression model. Dependent variable: "Being an entrepreneur-returnee in the country of origin"

Independent variables	Sig.	Exp(B)
Frequency of visits to the country of origin during the stay in the MCI (ref. Never)		
Twice or more per year	***	2.964
Once a year	-	0.671
Less than once a year	-	1.283
Irregularly	-	1.747
Type of return (ref. Compelled)		
Decided	**	1.751
Support from your own country's authorities (ref. No)		
Yes	***	2.268
Last occupational status in the MCI (ref. Unemployed)		
Employed with a contract	*	2.697
Seasonal worker	*	3.282
Employer/Entrepreneur	***	21.841
Illegal independent contractor	***	8.753
Student	-	1.074
Inactive (housewives/ retired)	-	0.942
Other	-	1.586
Vocational training courses attended in the MCI (ref. No)		
Yes	***	1.868

The category of reference is "Not being an entrepreneur-returnee"

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

Source: MIREM, © EUI

2. Return and development: challenges and implications

A wide variety exists in returnees' profiles, which differ from one another in terms of level of preparedness and capacity to gather the resources necessary for their reintegration. Return is not a phenomenon, but rather a process that requires time. The linkage between return and development varies according to the returnees' level of preparedness.

The data analysed in this report show that returnees' patterns of reintegration are shaped by the place of reintegration, the duration and type of migration experience, and the factors and circumstances motivating return.

Additionally, as previously demonstrated, pre- and post-return conditions and the choice to return are also of paramount importance: these elements are part and parcel of the return preparation process. The individual's free will greatly influence the returnees' preparation process as well as their capacity to mobilise the resources needed for their socioprofessional reintegration at home. The next chapters relating to returnees in Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia support this argument.

The analyses presented in this report shed light on the existence of numerous explanatory variables influencing returnees' patterns of reintegration and explaining their intrinsic diversity. More importantly, the consideration of these variables is a precondition for the understanding of the actual challenges linked with return migration, particularly with returnees' temporary or permanent reintegration in the Maghreb countries.

2.1. Towards a new approach to the link between return and development

Since the beginning of the 1990s, numerous dialogues, and interregional and multilateral consultations have taken place on the link between migration and development.¹ These migration talks have increased, to a great extent, the awareness of stakeholders of the contribution of international migration and migrants to economic development in sending and receiving countries. Migrants' contribution to development has been emphasised in these talks and development is no longer viewed as being antithetical to migration and mobility as it was by policy-makers a decade ago.

In the wake of these consultative processes, the Tunis Declaration adopted at the October 2002 Ministerial Conference on migration (Dialogue 5+5), gathering the Heads of State and Government of the Western Mediterranean countries², reflected

¹ Olesen, Henrik, "Migration, Return, and Development: An Institutional Perspective", *International Migration*, Special Issue 2 40 (5), 2002, p. 125-150.

² The 5+5 Dialogue, launched in Rome in 1990, following a high-level meeting of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of France, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Malta, Mauritania, Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia and Libya, is aimed at fostering a regional political and economic cooperation process in the Western Mediterranean. Owing to the civil war in Algeria and the embargo on Libya, the 5+5 Dialogue actually only started in 2001, when Portugal decided to revitalise it. Since then, cooperation on the management of migration flows and the fight against illegal migration have been an integral part of the 5+5 Dialogue agenda.

the need to intensify interregional fora on the joint management of migration. The declaration is aimed at “improving the conditions to enable migrants to fully play their rightful role in the development of their country of origin, in particular through savings and investment”¹.

A few years later, the Euro-African Ministerial Conferences on migration and development, held in Rabat² and Tripoli³, in July and November 2006 respectively, allowed representatives of countries of origin to place the link between migration and development in a broader framework of multilateral cooperation aimed, among other things, at reducing the differentials between sending and receiving countries, in terms of growth, living standards, education and good governance. These structural elements were also highlighted on the occasion of the United Nations High-Level Dialogue on international migration and development organized in September 2006.

There is no question that migrants’ contribution to development in destination and origin countries is recognised by migration stakeholders. However, their contribution has mainly been considered through the impact of remittances and the need to reduce transfer costs, as well as through the need to reinforce the relationships between the émigré communities (the “*diasporas*”) and their countries of origin, or else to tackle the brain drain.

Scant attention has been paid so far to the contribution of returnees to development, as well as to the link between return migration and development, in multilateral talks on migration and development. This is paradoxical considering the fact that the issues of circular migration⁴ and the introduction of temporary labour migrant schemes are gradually gaining momentum in bilateral and multilateral negotiations between the Europe Union and its neighbours⁵, particularly since the introduction of the EU global approach to migration at the December 2005 Brussels European Council.⁶

¹ Excerpt from Point 14 of the Tunis Declaration, available online (English version):

http://www.old.iom.int//DOCUMENTS/OFFICIALTXT/EN/Declaration_e.pdf

² This conference was jointly organised on 10-11 July 2006, by Morocco, Spain and France. It gathered the Member States of the European Union, and Central, Western and Southern African countries. 57 countries signed the Rabat Declaration, whose aim was to reinforce partnership in the management of legal and illegal migration. For more information (English version), see <http://www.maec.gov.ma/migration/En/>

³ Tripoli Ministerial Conference led to a joint Euro-African declaration whose content is available at the following Internet address:

http://www.eu2006.fi/news_and_documents/other_documents/vko47/en_GB/1164354155373/

⁴ Commission of the European Communities, On Circular Migration and Mobility Partnerships between the European Union and Third Countries, Communication from the Commission, COM (2007) 248 final, Brussels, 16 May 2007.

⁵ Angenendt, Steffen, “Circular Migration: A Sustainable concept for migration policy?” SWP Comments n. 11, German Institute for International and Security Affairs, June 2007.

⁶ Council of the European Union, Brussels European Council: Presidency Conclusions 15-16 December 2005, 15914/1/05, Brussels, 30 January 2006. See also, Commission of the European Communities, The Global Approach to Migration One Year On: Towards a comprehensive European migration policy, COM(2006) 735 final, Brussels, 30 November 2006.

Furthermore, the gradual implementation of these provisions calls for further awareness of the preconditions for migrants' temporary and permanent reintegration in their country of origin, as well as of the different levels of return *preparedness* (see section 1.3). The way in which policy-makers in countries of origin and destination implement such provisions will determine their impact and effectiveness.

Admittedly, official statistical data on return stocks and flows remain too fragmentary to effectively raise awareness on the need to support migrants' reintegration in their country of origin for developmental ends. This timely issue concerns both sending and receiving countries equally. However, there are two additional reasons that explain this paradoxical lack of attention.

Firstly countries of origin continue to view migration as a safety valve to relieve pressure on domestic unemployment and to offset imbalances in the domestic labour market.¹ This vision explains the lack of institutional mechanisms available to support their nationals' reintegration.

The table below, based on the data collected during the MIREM field survey, shows that less than one migrant out of ten benefited from institutional support from the public authorities of his/her country of origin, whether return was chosen or not.

Table 16: Return migrants to the Maghreb and institutional support

Have you benefited from any public assistance when you returned?	Type of return		
	Decided	Compelled	Total
Algeria			
Yes	4.9	9.0	5.7
No	95.1	91.0	94.3
Total	100	100	100
Morocco			
Yes	3.9	3.0	3.6
No	90.9	94.9	92.1
No reply	5.2	2.0	4.2
Total	100	100	100
Tunisia			
Yes	19.2	1.5	15.8
No	80.8	98.5	84.2
Total	100	100	100
Maghreb (average)			
Yes	9.6	4.3	8.4
No	88.8	94.8	90.2
No reply	1.6	0.9	1.4
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

¹ In this regard, Stephen Castles refers to a “structural dependence from migration”, see Castles, Stephen, “Why Migration Policies Fail”, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 27 (2), 2004, p. 210.

The second reason stems from a specific international context where states' security concerns have gradually shaped patterns of bilateral cooperation on migration management. The issue of return is no exception. Most EU Member States have adopted return policies which are mainly aimed at securing migrants effective departure from a national territory, without paying any attention to their post-return conditions.

Similarly, the EU policy on return is part of a large-scale programme aimed at fighting illegal and clandestine immigration; also, it is mostly based on merely operative aspects of return. In fact, return is the act of "going back to one's country of origin, transit or another third country, including preparation and implementation. Return may be voluntary or enforced"¹. This definition of return was first introduced in the return action programme put forward by the Council of the European Union in November 2002 following the April 2002 Green Paper on a Community return policy on illegal residents.² Since then, this definition has shaped the vision as well as the understanding of return as such. As mentioned before, return merely refers to the act of removing an illegal or irregular person from the European territory. It does not take into account migrants' post-return conditions, let alone their human and financial potential as actors of development. This operational approach to return is enshrined in the draft directive on common standards and procedures for returning illegal immigrants from third-countries³. This EU directive should be adopted in 2008.

Admittedly, the Commission has recognised that the return of persons who decide to go back to their countries of origin on their own initiative deserves further attention, owing to its potential impact on migrants' countries of origin. The Commission also stated that it should be "subject to further reflection, at a later stage"⁴. However, since 2002, no systematic and in-depth approach to the link between return migration and development in migrants' countries of origin has been proposed, although, in its communication on migration and development, dated September 2005, the Commission noted that "the return of migrants to their country of origin may have a significant positive impact in development terms."⁵ This statement has not, however, led to the adoption of any concrete provisions facilitating the participation of return migrants in the development of their country of origin.

¹ Council of the European Union, Proposal for a Return Action Programme, 14673/02, 25 November 2002, p. 29.

² Commission of the European Communities, Green Paper on a Community Return Policy on Illegal Residents, Communication from the Commission, COM (2002) 175 final, Brussels, 10 April 2002.

³ Commission of the European Communities, Proposal for a Directive of the European Parliament and of the Council on Common Standards and Procedures in Member States for Returning Illegally Staying Third-country Nationals, Communication from the Commission, COM (2005) 391 final, Brussels, 1 September 2005.

⁴ Commission of the European Communities, Green Paper on a Community Return Policy on Illegal Residents, Communication from the Commission, COM (2002) 175 final, Brussels, 10 April 2002, p. 7.

⁵ Commission of the European Communities, Migration and Development: Some Concrete Orientations, Communication from the Commission, COM (2005) 390 final, Brussels, 1 September 2005, p. 7.

The battle against illegal immigration has progressively strengthened a narrow and operational approach to migrants' return. This dominant vision is compatible with short-term security concerns, but not necessarily consistent with long-term development objectives.

South Mediterranean countries have been reluctant to cooperate on the issue of return because of this security-oriented vision. Even though sending countries have progressively taken part in joint maritime actions aimed at patrolling the external borders of the European Union, in the framework of a bilateral and multilateral¹ police and judicial cooperation, they are reluctant to cooperate on forced and voluntary return. Among other things, their reluctance stems from the fact that they view the current community policy on return as responding predominantly to the interests of the EU and its member states. In their opinion, it does not reduce the development differentials between the north and the south of the Mediterranean, which constitute one of the main root causes of illegal migration.²

The conclusions of the abovementioned Euro-African ministerial conferences on migration and development allowed several south Mediterranean and African countries to defend their own views on joint migration management, including the issue of return migration. These countries expect the partnership with the EU-27 and its Member States to be more responsive to their concerns regarding development aid and the fight against underemployment and poverty. Such expectations have been clearly expressed during the African Union's experts meeting on migration and development, dated April 2006, which took place in Algiers. In their conclusions, the African Union experts denounced the impact of the "recent measures adopted in Europe which encourage selective migration and target African expertise. [These measures] constitute an additional threat to African economies and show, needless to say, the lack of political will on the part of European countries to commit themselves to a genuine partnership with Africa based on respect for mutual interests."³

There is no doubt that a new approach to return, based on concrete measures aimed at facilitating return migrants' participation in the development of their country of origin, is needed.⁴ This new approach should consider the impact of pre- and post-

¹ See Lutterbeck Derek, "Policing Migration in the Mediterranean", *Mediterranean Politics* 11 (1), 2006, pp. 59-82.

² Cassarino Jean-Pierre, "Informalising Readmission Agreements in the EU Neighbourhood", *The International Spectator* 42 (2), 2007, p. 179-196.

³ African Union, Experts Meeting on Migration and Development, "Element for an African Common Position on Migration and Development", Algiers, 3-5 April 2006, http://www.african-union.org/root/au/Conferences/Past/2006/April/SA/Apr5/Elements_for_an_African_Common_Position.pdf. See point 25 of the first section of the document.

⁴ This point is also stressed in the programme of priority actions of the Portuguese Presidency of the European Union: "an approach to migration issues wholly centred on illegal immigration would be simplistic". Priorities of the Portuguese Presidency of the Council of EU (July-December 2007); this document can be consulted on line (English version): http://www.eu2007.pt/NR/rdonlyres/6C297B28-6A54-4C76-9E70-DDFD4C1B1B21/0/CadernoPrioridades_Ingles.pdf, see p.8.

return conditions on migrants' patterns of reintegration and on their capacity to contribute to the development of their country of origin.

This new approach should also take place in the framework of a concerted effort involving sending and receiving countries. This will be made possible by the dissemination of analyses and informative data enhancing the understanding of the challenges linked to migrants' temporary and permanent return.

The analyses contained in this report are based on field data collected during a survey carried out in Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia. They provide a first set of informative data which should contribute to a much-needed constructive dialogue on return and development

CHAPTER 2

RETURN MIGRANTS TO ALGERIA¹

Introduction

This chapter analyses the results of the survey of the MIREM project which was carried out among 332 returnees in the governorates of residence of Algiers, Bejaia, Setif and Tlemcen. The main variable taken into consideration is the type of return, which can be either decided (80% of the sample) or compelled by the law-enforcement authorities of the destination country or by unfavourable circumstances (20%). The analysis allows for the identification of four factors.

Firstly, the age of migrants seems to be a significant variable according to the type of return. All returnees over 64, whose return took place in the 1970s, came back to their home country as a result of their own decision.

Secondly, young migrants have mostly been involved in compelled return, especially since the beginning of the 1980s. This contrast explains the existing differences in the marital and housing status as well as in the level of education of the interviewees.

Moreover, whereas the migration experience had a positive effect on migrants' standard of living, it had very little effect on their professional training: many illiterate migrants who left their home country were still uneducated on their return, in spite of a prolonged stay abroad. The accumulation of resources abroad allowed returnees to improve significantly their financial situation after their return. Yet, return to the country of origin is the final move for only some returnees. The idea of re-emigrating arises, when there are family members both in the home country and abroad. Keeping the residence permits therefore allows migrants, especially senior migrants, to maintain their family relations as well as their healthcare entitlements.

¹ Mohamed Saib Musette (CREAD) wrote this chapter concerning the return migrants to Algeria. in collaboration with Hamid Khaldoun. Nacer Eddine Hammouda. Hocine Labdelaoui.

Finally, migrants who were compelled to return belong to a young population, of mostly single and educated city dwellers. The nature of these returns is complex, a removal order may be the initial cause, but they can also be linked to family and/or health problems.

This initial analysis paves the way to more in depth investigations into how returnees' skills are reinvested at home, the patterns of money transfers and the role they can play in supporting re-integration.

1. Socio-demographic characteristics

The evaluation of the socio-demographic data of the respondents allows three other levels of analysis to be identified. Firstly, the returnees' must be evaluated according to their age and sex group. Secondly, marital status should be examined (which modify the family composition), as this could explain the type of return involved. Thirdly, the impact of the place of residence and the housing and occupancy status upon the type of return should be considered, in order understand returnees' migratory itinerary.

All senior returnees decided to go back to Algeria. Compelled return only concerns returnees under 64 years of age.

Age seems to be a key factor in the decision to return. Almost 14% of the respondents returned to their home country in old age (65+). These senior citizens all decided to return home. The category of returnees under 31 represents 22.3% of the total sample of return migrants to Algeria. At this point it should be noted that returnees under 30-years old account for nearly 48% of the migrants who were compelled to return.

Table 1: Algerian returnees by age group at the time of return

	Type of return		Total
	Decided	Compelled	
Up to 30 years old	15,8	47,8	22,3
31-40 years old	24,5	22,4	24,1
41-50 years old	13,2	16,4	13,9
50-64 years old	29,1	13,4	25,9
65+	17,4	0	13,9
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

The percentage of interviewed women is relatively low owing to the difficulties in approaching this segment of returnees.

Table 2: Sex distribution of Algerian returnees

	Type of return		Total
	Decided	Compelled	
Male	87,2	83,6	86,4
Female	12,8	16,4	13,6
Total	100	100	100
Total	79,8	20,2	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

Compelled return is more pronounced among single than married returnees

Data on civil status show that over 23% of the whole population maintained their single status both in the host and in the home country, after their return to Algeria. The rate of single migrants is distinctly higher among those who were compelled to return to Algeria than among the returnees who decided to return on their own initiative (48% against 17%). Conversely, the percentage of migrants who got married abroad or at the time of their return to Algeria is higher among those who returned to Algeria on their own initiative (42.3% against 20.08%).

Table 3: Evolution of the Algerian returnees' marital status during the migratory itinerary

Civil status	Type of return		Total
	Decided	Compelled	
Single	17,4	47,8	23,5
Married before leaving for abroad	30,6	26,9	29,8
Married abroad	20,8	10,4	18,7
Married after returning	21,5	10,4	19,3
Other civil status (widow/widower hood/divorce/separation)	9,8	4,5	8,7
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

The shift from an “extended family” before emigrating to a “nuclear family” after return

Similarly, the data related to migrants' family situations show that over 72% of the interviewed returnees, before leaving Algeria, used to live in “nuclear ascending” households and/or in “extended” families (with parents and/or brothers and sisters). These types of households barely accounted for 6% of the total number after emigration, but they rose up to approximately 30% after the return to Algeria.

Conversely, the “nuclear descending” family type (namely, a household including a couple with or without children) accounted for only 22% of the total number of households before migration. It increased to 33% in the host country and reached over 60% of the whole sample after their return to Algeria. These data actually reveal a fairly clear logic in the behaviour of migrants who having lived mostly with their

parents, brothers and sisters before leaving Algeria, in the host country lived alone or with other members of the family, or else with friends, or in a couple.

The return to Algeria involves significant changes in family structure. Two diametrically opposed features may be observed. On the one hand, the share of “nuclear descending” households (i.e. couples with or without children), which amounted to 33% abroad, reached 61% after their return to Algeria. This situation mostly concerns migrants who decided to return home (68%) rather than those who were compelled to return (34%). On the other hand, “extended families” (i.e. households including parents and/or brothers and sisters), which barely accounted for 6% of the whole sample abroad, increased by over 30% after their return to Algeria. The proportion of migrants who, on returning to Algeria, returned to live with their parents, brothers and sisters is more significant among those who were compelled to leave the host country, than among those who returned on their own initiative (63% against 22%).

Table 4: Household composition of Algerian returnees before leaving for abroad, just before leaving the main country of immigration (MCI) and at the time of the survey

Household composition	Type of return					
	Decided			Compelled		
	Before leaving	MCI	Currently	Before leaving	MCI	Currently
Single	0,8	24,2	3,1	0,0	22,4	1,5
With spouse	2,3	8,7	11,5	3,0	7,5	4,5
With spouse and children	14,0	25,8	45,8	12,1	10,4	25,4
With spouse, children and others	7,5	1,9	11,1	1,5	1,5	4,5
With parents	3,8	1,1	3,1	3,0	3,0	7,5
With brothers and sisters	0,0	2,7	0,4	1,5	4,5	3,0
With parents, brothers and sisters	47,9	0,8	11,1	56,1	1,5	40,3
With parents, brothers, sisters and others	18,9	0,8	8,0	19,7	0,0	11,9
Other family members or friends	1,1	27,3	0,8	3,0	43,3	1,5
Other compositions	3,8	6,8	5,3	0,0	6,0	0,0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

Migrants who were compelled to return used to live in villas and/or flats

As far as housing is concerned, the data collected show that just before leaving Algeria, most migrants lived in flats (37%) or in traditional houses (31%); others lived in villas (12%) and in rural houses (14%). Only a small proportion of the households under survey (2.4%) lived in slums. It is necessary to highlight that:

- (i) The share of those who lived in villas and flats is much higher among the migrants who were compelled to return (+67%) than among those who decided to return to their homeland (44%);

- (ii) The proportion of the migrants who lived in traditional or rural houses is higher among those who decided to return than among those whose return was compelled (49% against 30%).

The situation of migrants in the host country is quite different. Nearly 62% of households were living in flats, only a minority (6%) in villas and almost 27% lived in “state-owned accommodation”.

Table 5: Housing situation of the Algerian returnees before emigrating and in the main country of immigration (MCI)

Housing situation	Before leaving for abroad			In the MCI		
	<i>Type of return</i>			<i>Type of return</i>		
	Decided	Compelled	Total	Decided	Compelled	Total
Private villa	10,6	17,9	12,0	5,7	9,0	6,3
Flat	33,6	49,3	36,7	61,9	61,2	61,7
Traditional house	33,2	22,4	31,0	0,4	1,5	0,6
Rural house	15,8	7,5	14,2	0,8	3,0	1,2
State accommodation	0,0	0,0	0,0	27,5	23,9	26,8
Makeshift shelter/slum/shack...	2,3	3,0	2,4	1,5	1,5	1,5
Other	4,5	0,0	3,6	2,3	0,0	1,8
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

The housing situation shows a growth in the number of home owners. Their rate shifted upwards from 3% at the time of their arrival in the main country of immigration (MCI) to over 10% just before returning to Algeria. It is important to note that the percentage of those who bought their house abroad is higher among the migrants who decided to return on their own initiative (11.7% against 6%).

The same observation applies to migrants who were renting a house. Actually, the percentage of tenants increased from 66% to 71% between the time when they settled abroad and the time when they left the host country to return to Algeria. This rate shifted upwards from 70% to 73% among the migrants who decided to return to their homeland and from 51% to nearly 63% among those who were compelled to return.

Table 6: Accommodation status of Algerian returnees

Type of occupancy	On arrival in the MCI			Just before leaving the MCI		
	<i>Type of return</i>			<i>Type of return</i>		
	Decided	Compelled	Total	Decided	Compelled	Total
Home owner	3,0	3,0	3,0	11,7	6,0	10,5
Tenant	70,2	50,7	66,3	73,2	62,7	71,1
Free accommodation	23,4	38,8	26,5	12,8	26,9	15,7
Job-related accommodation	2,6	3,0	2,7	1,9	4,5	2,4
Other	0,8	4,5	1,5	0,4	0,0	0,3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

Algerian returnees lived mainly in cities just before emigrating

Just before leaving Algeria, both categories of migrants (i.e., those whose return was decided and those whose return was compelled) show that their place of residence was mainly urban, as opposed to a minority who lived in the country (70% against 30%).

It must be highlighted that migration prompted a shift amongst almost all households from rural towards urban areas in the host country (93%). This shift is more evident among the migrants who decided to return to Algeria than among those whose return was compelled (95% against 85%).

When returning to Algeria, a relatively significant number of households resumed living in rural areas with reference to the situation in the country of immigration (17% against 7%). This data mostly applies to the migrants who returned on their own initiative, as the percentage of those living in the rural areas increased from 5% to 18% between the two migratory steps. It is important to highlight that no notable change took place among the migrants who were compelled to return.

Table 7: Last place of residence in the main immigration country (MCI) and current residence in Algeria

	Last place of residence in the MCI			Current residence in Algeria		
	Decided	Compelled	Total	Decided	Compelled	Total
Rural	4,9	14,9	6,9	17,7	14,9	17,2
Urban	95,1	85,1	93,1	82,3	85,1	82,8
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

In short, when focusing on the type of return, this data brings to light a logical socio-demographic contrast. Decided returns are actually more frequent among elderly and married migrants, who used to live in small families. While compelled returns mostly concern young, mainly single, migrants who lived with their parents before leaving. In the country of immigration, these young people often lived alone and then resumed living with their family on their return.

2. Professional situation and skills

Migrants' professional situation, as well as the skills they acquired abroad, is evidence of a "successful" migration, not only from an economical point of view, but also with regard to human capital.

Migrants who were compelled to return were employed on a short-time basis abroad

Before leaving Algeria, most migrants had a job. They had permanent employment contracts (29%), short-term or part-time employment contracts (8.7%), or they were seasonal workers (12%). Professionals and independent contractors account for 15% of the whole, while entrepreneurs hardly amount to 1.8%. It is worth noting that over 17% of migrants were unemployed and 10% were students.

Table 8: Professional status of Algerian returnees before leaving the country of origin

Labour status	Type of return		Total
	Decided	Compelled	
In permanent employment	28,3	29,9	28,6
Employed on a short-term basis	6,0	4,5	5,7
Employed on a part-time basis	3,0	3,0	3,0
Seasonal worker	13,2	9,0	12,3
Employer/Entrepreneur	1,9	1,5	1,8
Legal independent contractor	7,2	10,4	7,8
Illegal independent contractor	6,4	10,4	7,2
Family helper	2,6	0,0	2,1
Unemployed	18,1	13,4	17,2
Student	9,8	11,9	10,2
Housewife	2,6	6,0	3,3
Retired	0,4	0,0	0,3
No reply	0,4	0,0	0,3
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

In the country of immigration, several significant changes occurred. 59% of migrants were wage earners (35% in permanent employment and over 24% with short-term or part-time employments). The percentage of employed migrants was much larger among those who decided to return to Algeria than among the others (64% against 40%). In this context, it is useful to highlight the fact that short-term employment and seasonal work mostly concerned the migrants who were compelled to return rather than those who decided to return on their own initiative (25% against 10%).

The proportion of unemployed migrants dropped from 17%, or more, just before leaving Algeria, to 6% in the host country. The percentage of unemployed migrants and students is much more considerable among the returnees who were compelled to return than among the other type of return migrants (nearly 27% against 13.6%).

Table 9: First professional status of the Algerian returnees in the main country of immigration

Labour status	Type of return		Total
	Decided	Compelled	
In permanent employment	39,6	10,4	33,7
Employed on a short-term basis	14,3	13,4	14,2
Employed on a part-time basis	7,9	11,9	8,7
Seasonal worker	5,3	11,9	6,6
Employer/Entrepreneur	1,1	1,5	1,2
Legal independent contractor	2,3	1,5	2,1
Illegal independent contractor	3,0	6,0	3,6
Family helper	0,4	0,0	0,3
Unemployed	5,3	13,4	6,9
Student	15,5	22,4	16,9
Housewife	4,5	4,5	4,5
Retired	0,4	0,0	0,3
Other	0,4	0,8	1,1
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

Return migrants and retirement in the homeland

Only 26% of migrants were employed, once they resumed living in Algeria (21% of them had a permanent job, whereas less than 5% had a short-term or part-time job). The percentage of migrants in permanent employment is higher among those who were compelled to return (26.9% against 19.6%).

Table 10: Occupational status of Algerian returnees just before returning from the main country of immigration (MCI)

Labour status	Type of return		Total
	Decided	Compelled	
In permanent employment	38,9	17,9	34,6
Employed on a short-term basis	17,0	10,4	15,7
Employed on a part-time basis	8,3	11,9	9,0
Seasonal worker	2,3	13,4	4,5
Employer/Entrepreneur	1,9	1,5	1,8
Legal independent contractor	2,6	1,5	2,4
Illegal independent contractor	3,4	6,0	3,9
Family helper	0,4	0,0	0,3
Unemployed	4,2	11,9	5,7
Student	9,4	14,9	10,5
Housewife	4,5	4,5	4,5
Retired	6,8	0,0	5,4
Other	0,4	6,0	1,5
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

We observe a growing appeal for independent professions, as over 26% of migrants (against only 8% in the country of immigration) invested in independent activities. 11% of migrants started their own businesses and worked as managers, whilst their percentage was considerably lower (1.8%) before and during migration. 15% of migrants had independent jobs: 12.5 % of them were migrants who returned on their own initiative. It is worth noting, on the other hand, that the percentage of managers is twice as high among the migrants who decided to return autonomously than among those whose return was compelled (12% against 6%).

Moreover, almost one third (31.3%) of migrants were retired, while their rate only amounted to 0.3% before their departure for abroad and 5.4% in the host country. This situation concerns to a greater extent the migrants who decided to return to the homeland (38% against 6.8% in the immigration countries) than those who were compelled to return (6%, whereas none of them were retired before leaving Algeria, nor during their stay abroad).

Annex: Senior Returnees in Algeria

Senior return migrants (65 years old or more) accounted for 24% of the whole sample; 5% of this segment consisted of women. These elderly migrants decided to return to their homeland on their own initiative; they had left Algeria before 1970. The average age of this segment of the population was 25 years old at the time of emigration, and 71 years old at the time of the survey. They lived abroad for an average period of 40 years, and most of them stayed for 30-40 years in the main country of immigration.

Before leaving for abroad, these migrants were mostly illiterate or barely educated (95%); they lived in rural areas (59%). Yet, 70% of them could speak a foreign language relatively fluently.

As far as their occupational status was concerned, 62% of them had a job before leaving, mostly in agriculture or in the building industry, 32% were in permanent employment and 29% were seasonal workers. Only 10% had some professional training and 21% were unemployed.

For 87% of them the financial situation was below average, or very bad. Some (36%) were landowners, but mostly possessed less than 3 ha. Only 3% of them had some cattle, 26% owned their own traditional house, without many comforts. Most of them emigrated alone (70%), 27% were married when they emigrated. Some emigrated with their family (5%) or were later joined by their brothers/sisters and friends (17%). Nearly all (99%) left with official documents. Almost 34% benefited from their family's help to emigrate, either to organize or pay for the travel. The majority travelled by boat (80%).

Senior migrants emigrated to find a job; 63% had a working visa, 11% had a tourist visa and 4% had a visa for family reunification, as their family already lived abroad.

The main country of immigration for 95% of senior migrants was France. The leading motivations for the choice of country were geographical closeness (easy access), migratory traditions (their family already lived there) as well as the desire to find a better job and better working conditions. Within the first 3 months abroad, 82% of them had already found a job. They usually had good relationships with the French institutions and the host society. Even though they had daily and close relationships with other Algerian immigrants and with some people of the host country, they hardly had any contact with migrants from the Maghreb or

from other countries. They usually met new people through common friends (90%), at work (88%) or through family relations (68%).

97% of them declared that their social and financial conditions improved in the host country. Despite many difficulties, mainly related to housing and discrimination, 39% got married abroad with women of Algerian origin and 49% had children in the host country.

Only a small percentage (3%) managed to make some investments abroad, mostly in the hotel industry and trade. On arrival in the host country, only 5% owned their house, but just before returning to their homeland, 17% were home owners, 95% lived in an urban environment. Yet, with regard to the human capital, very few of them benefited from furthering their education (5%) or from some vocational training (10%).

They maintained their social relationships with the country of origin throughout their stay abroad: 80% sent remittances of 1000 Euros or more on a regular basis (mostly once a year), to meet their family's needs, to build a house, to ensure children's schooling or to contribute to some collective project. Nearly 88% did in-kind transfers on their visits to the family, at least once a year.

During the last year abroad, they had only occasional contacts with their family. The majority visited their homeland only once, for family reasons or during holidays. They dealt with the consular institutions mostly for administrative reasons (97%) and at election time (79%).

After their return to Algeria, almost all senior returnees (98%) owned their house. Most of them (90%) were very pleased to be back in their homeland, where they mainly lived in cities (73%). Some resumed living in their birthplace, but 70% chose to live in a different place of residence.

The main motivation to return was the wish to enjoy retirement in their homeland, but some returned owing to homesickness, or because they had socio-cultural problems in the host country. It is worth noting that, at the time of return, 75% were planning to stay permanently in the home country and only 5% thought that this was just a temporary return; 20% were uncertain. However, 84% of senior returnees kept their residence permit in the host country. In 2006, the percentage of permanent returns fell by 7 points and 11% had the intention to re-emigrate, mostly to the same host country (97%) and in a year's time, to renew their documents or for health reasons.

As far as the social situation is concerned, 22% of senior returnees changed their marital status. Some (14%) got married at the time of return; some divorced or lost their spouses. At the time of the survey, the majority lived with their spouses and children (mostly adults), or else with some relatives or brothers and sisters. Nearly 20% of them had children after return. As for their occupational status, 87% of senior returnees were already retired just before returning. Only 7% still ran some business activities. The return to the homeland generally resulted in an improvement in their financial situation, as 68% thought their conditions were much better at the time of the survey than in the last country of immigration, whereas 15% declared their conditions had remained unchanged. On returning, they also benefited from the advantages resulting from the change of residence: 68% brought cars back, 42% furniture and 36% equipment.

Only 10% managed to carry out some investment projects in Algeria, especially in the hotel industry and trade, and mostly in small and medium-sized companies, for a total initial amount that varies from 3,000 to 90,000 Euros. For most investments, they resorted to self-financing, with the exception of only one senior returnee who benefited from institutional support to buy some land. The majority of senior returnees resorted to family support, or to the help of friends in Algeria, 55% still received remittances (500 Euros or more) from abroad at the time of the survey, usually on a monthly basis. They mostly used them to meet family

needs or to build a house. Retired returnees maintained their relationships with their family or friends abroad, mostly for administrative reasons.

More than half of senior returnees had problems of re-adaptation in their homeland. Still, 68% declared they had a better life in Algeria at the time of the survey, than in the last country of immigration, whereas 20% declared their life had slightly worsened after return. Only one senior returnee had benefited from the support of the Algerian authorities to find a house. As for the measures designed to support return, only 22% of senior returnees thought them to be adequate, whereas 25% declared that some improvements were necessary. The rest of the sample had no opinion or were not aware of the existence of such measures.

Return migrants tend towards modern rather than traditional sectors

It is worth highlighting that for many returnees the migratory experience promoted a shift from the so-called traditional sectors, to employment in more modern sectors, which evidently call for some expertise.

Agriculture, construction, fishing and aquaculture are sectors that became less popular. In fact, it is worth noting that over 14% of the whole sample left the agricultural sector (their rate dropped from 21.4% before emigrating to 6.9% after their return to Algeria). The hotel and catering industries, education sector and particularly trade and craft have become the most popular sectors of employment in Algeria. These three last sectors alone actually currently occupy 43% of returnees to Algeria, against 24% before emigration.

Table 11: Sectors of industry of the last occupation of Algerian returnees in the home country

Sectors of industries	Type of return		Total
	Decided	Compelled	
Agriculture, hunting, forestry	5,3	11,4	6,9
Mining industry	0,0	2,3	0,6
Manufacturing industry	11,5	9,1	10,9
Electricity, gas and water production and supply	2,3	0,0	1,7
Building industry	9,2	9,1	9,1
Trade, car and domestic appliance repairing	17,6	29,5	20,6
Hotel/catering industry	4,6	2,3	4,0
Transports and communications	3,8	6,8	4,6
Financial activities	4,6	2,3	4,0
Real estate, renting and business services	0,8	2,3	1,1
Civil service	5,3	6,8	5,7
Education	21,4	9,1	18,3
Health sector and social activities	6,9	0,0	5,1
Public, social and private services	4,6	4,5	4,6
Home services	2,3	4,5	2,9
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

Migration hardly contributed towards migrants' professional training

Before going abroad, 23% of migrants had “no education”, nearly 15% had a “pre-school and elementary education”, 27% had an “average and secondary education” and 34% had higher education.

Table 12: Level of education of Algerian returnees when leaving for abroad

Level of education	Type of return		Total
	Decided	Compelled	
No education	28,3	3,0	23,2
Pre-school education	4,5	1,5	3,9
Elementary school	11,7	7,5	10,8
High school	9,1	16,4	10,5
Secondary school	12,8	31,3	16,6
High school /Master	21,5	25,4	22,3
Doctorial studies	10,9	14,9	11,7
Other	1,1	0,0	0,9
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

This distribution changed very little during the stay abroad. Young migrants are more educated than seniors, especially those who were compelled to return. This also applies to the foreign languages spoken, as 44% of the migrants who were compelled to return (against 31.8% of the migrants who decided to go back to the homeland) already spoke two or more foreign languages just before leaving Algeria. With regard to professional integration, 16% of migrants (particularly those who were compelled to return) attended training courses in the main country of immigration, whereas once they returned to Algeria, only 3% of them turned to vocational training.

Table 13: Vocational training acquired in the main country of immigration by Algerian returnees

Did you attend any vocational training courses in the main country of immigration?	Type of return		Total
	Decided	Compelled	
Yes	16,2	14,9	16,0
No	83,8	85,1	84,0
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

Table 14: Vocational training of Algerian returnees in the country of origin

Did you attend any professional training courses in your country after your return?	Type of return		Total
	Decided	Compelled	
Yes	1,9	9,0	3,3
No	98,1	91,0	96,7
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

3. Resources: social and financial capital

Migrants not only contribute to fulfilling the needs of their own families, who are still living in Algeria, but they also achieve some self-advancement by investing abroad. Besides financial capital, social capital gives us precious information regarding the strength of social bonds in the host country and about the existing links with the country of origin.

A significant improvement in the financial situation emerges from the migratory experience

With regard to the socio-economic conditions of the population under survey, 25% of migrants owned agricultural land before leaving for abroad (26% of those who returned on their own initiative against 19% of those who were compelled to return).

Table 15: Algerian returnees: ownership of agricultural land before leaving for abroad

Did you own any land before emigrating?	Type of return		Total
	Decided	Compelled	
Yes	26,0	19,4	24,7
No	74,0	80,6	75,3
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

Moreover, whereas over a third of the respondents thought their financial situation to be “average” before emigrating, almost 19% of them considered it to be “good” while over 44% of them regarded it as “bad”.

Table 16: Financial situation of Algerian returnees before leaving for abroad

Opinion	Type of return		Total
	Decided	Compelled	
Very good	3,4	6,0	3,9
Good	13,6	19,4	14,8
Average	33,6	37,3	34,3
Bad	21,1	17,9	20,5
Very bad	25,7	17,9	24,1
No opinion	2,6	1,5	2,4
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

The interviewees’ situation seems to improve in the country of immigration, as 55% of the whole sample considered it to be “better” and 27% “much better”. This improvement is felt to a greater extent by the migrants who returned on their own initiative than by those who were compelled to return (85% against 70%). A significant percentage of the latter (over 22%) stated that they did not notice any change with respect to the situation before emigrating (against only 9% of those who decided to return).

Table 17: Financial situation in the last country of immigration

In your opinion, your financial situation in the MCI...	Type of return		Total
	Decided	Compelled	
Improved very much	28,3	22,4	27,1
Slightly improved	56,6	47,8	54,8
Remained unchanged	8,7	22,4	11,4
Worsened	4,2	4,5	4,2
No opinion	2,3	3,0	2,4
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

Migrants who returned on their own initiative are more inclined to send remittances

The collected data show that 53% of the whole sample used to send remittances to Algeria (60% of them sent over 500 Euros), whereas 47% never sent money during the last year before return.

Table 18: Frequency of the Algerian returnees remittances sent to the origin country

How often did you send money to your family?	Type of return		Total
	Decided	Compelled	
Once a month	9,7	3,1	8,5
Once every three months	18,8	37,5	22,2
Once every six months	20,8	25,0	21,6
Once a year	30,6	21,9	29,0
Irregularly	20,1	12,5	18,8
Total	100	100	100
Never	45,7	52,2	47,0

Source: MIREM, © EUI

Over 81% of migrants sent remittances on a regular basis (the frequency being respectively annual, quarterly, semi-annual and monthly: 29%, 22%, 21.6% and 8.5%) and 19% of them only occasionally. It is worth highlighting three main elements:

- (i) the percentage of migrants who never sent remittances to their home country was higher among those whose return was compelled than among the migrants who returned on their own initiative;
- (ii) regular quarterly or semi-annual remittances were the most common among the migrants who were compelled to return (37% and 25% against 18.8% and 30.8% among the migrants whose return was decided);
- (iii) on the other hand, the migrants whose return was decided show a preference for annual remittances (30.6%). Conversely, in-kind transfers seem to be a common practice. In fact, over 65% of the whole sample employed the latter, especially the migrants who were compelled to return (47% against 31.3%). These transfers were undertaken mainly to meet the family needs in the country of origin, for both types of return.

Table 19: Frequency of in-kind transfers done by Algerian returnees when living abroad

How often did you make in-kind transfers when living abroad?	Type of return		Total
	Decided	Compelled	
Once a month	5,5	0,0	4,6
Once every three months	6,6	14,3	7,8
Once every six months	7,1	11,4	7,8
Once a year	53,8	45,7	52,5
Irregularly	26,9	28,6	27,2
Total	100	100	100
Never	31,3	47,8	34,6

Source: MIREM, © EUI

Besides remittances, some returnees managed to invest in more than one business start up project

It must be specified that, on their return to Algeria, only 17% of migrants could carry out investment projects (79% of them only realized one project, 21% of them two projects or more).

Table 20: Number of investment projects implemented by Algerian returnees in their country of origin

Number of investment projects realized	Type of return		Total
	Decided	Compelled	
Only one project	78,7	80,0	78,9
<i>Two projects</i>	8,5	10,0	8,8
<i>Three projects</i>	4,3	10,0	5,3
<i>More than three projects</i>	8,5	0,0	7,0
Total	100	100	100
% None	82,3	85,1	82,8
% One project at least	17,7	14,9	17,2
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

The implementation of three projects or more was only achieved by migrants who returned to Algeria on their own initiative (7% of the whole investors). It is worth noting that 96% of the migrants who decided to return turned to self-financing in order to carry out their projects, against only 50% of migrants who were compelled to return, who mostly had to rely on bank credits.

Table 21: Financial resources used to support the investments carried out by Algerian returnees in their country of origin

Main financial support	Type of return		Total
	Decided	Compelled	
Self-financing	95,7	50,0	87,7
Bank credits	8,5	30,0	12,3
Borrowed money from a relative	12,8	30,0	15,8
Other	8,5	0,0	7,0

Source: MIREM, © EUI

Institutional assistance for the realization of projects applies to only a few returnees who wished to carry out investments in their country of origin

Only 21% of investors (namely 12 returnees out of every 57) were able to benefit from institutional assistance, 77% of them had to resort to the support of their family members. Support from friends living in Algeria and from parents, or else from friends living in the last country of immigration, concerned 35% and 14% of all investors respectively. Returnees generally considered that, in order to encourage migrants to return and invest in their home country, the simplification of administrative procedures, as well as the facilitation of access to credit and land ownership and tax exemptions are all essential.

Table 22: Additional measures necessary to encourage migrants to return to Algeria and undertake investments (Average score)

Additional necessary advantages	Type of return		Total
	Decided	Compelled	
Access to land	10,6	13,4	11,1
Facilitated bank loans	13,1	13,9	13,3
Investment premiums	5,2	7,0	5,5
Simplification of the procedures	17,9	18,9	18,1
Technical assistance/advice	4,2	3,0	3,9
Access to project banks	4,7	5,5	4,8
Tax exemptions	7,0	4,0	6,4
Customs advantages	6,3	4,0	5,8
Infrastructure	13,0	8,5	12,0
Better institutional infrastructure	9,4	6,5	8,8
Other	3,4	6,5	4,0
No reply	5,4	9,0	6,1
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

Family solidarity is a pillar of migration, when leaving for abroad and returning home

As for the migration project, 43% of the sample benefited from family support to pay their travel and over 56% to organize it. It is worth noting that in both cases, the percentage of migrants who received support is significantly higher among those who were compelled to return to Algeria.

Table 23: Algerian returnees: use of family support to emigrate (% Yes)

Use	Type of return		Total
	Decided	Compelled	
To pay for the travel	41,9	49,3	43,4
To organize the travel	55,1	62,7	56,6

Source: MIREM, © EUI

Table 24: Algerian returnees: family support to leave for abroad

Have you benefited from family support to pay/prepare the travel for abroad?	Yes	No	Total
Yes	64,9	15,3	43,4
No	35,1	84,7	56,6
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

The frequency of contact between migrants living abroad and their families in Algeria was significantly more regular among those who were compelled to return (88%) than among the migrants who decided to return to their homeland (73%). The visits undertaken in the last year of migration were mostly for family reasons (77%), holidays (64%) and, to a lesser extent, celebrations (23.3%). Generally, migrants had come into contact with the Algerian diplomatic or consular authorities abroad only during election time and when they needed some information. In fact, elections allowed 59% of the migrants who decided to return to get closer to their families, whereas this is true for only 26% of those who were compelled to return.

Table 25: Frequency of contacts of Algerian returnees with their family in the country of origin while living in the MCI

How often were you in contact with your family in your country?	Type of return		Total
	Decided	Compelled	
At least once a week	34,7	43,9	36,6
A few times a month	22,3	25,8	23,0
Once a month	15,9	18,2	16,4
Several times a year	12,0	3,0	10,1
Once a year	0,8	0,0	0,6
Irregularly	14,3	9,1	13,2
Never	5,6	1,5	4,7
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

Table 26: Frequency of visits to the country of origin of Algerian returnees during the year preceding their return

How often did you pay a visit to your country of origin during the year preceding your return?	Type of return		Total
	Decided	Compelled	
Twice or many times a year	22,5	27,6	23,2
Once every year	56,4	37,9	54,1
Less than once a year	9,3	10,3	9,4
Irregularly	11,8	24,1	13,3
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

Table 27: Algerian returnees: purposes of the visits to the country of origin when they were living abroad (%Yes)

For which purpose did you visit your country?	Type of return		Total
	Decided	Compelled	
Family	77,9	72,4	77,3
Business reasons	6,4	6,9	6,4
Celebration (Ramadan...)	23,0	27,6	23,6
Holiday	67,2	44,8	64,4
Administrative reasons	4,9	13,8	6,0
Other	1,5	6,9	2,1

Source: MIREM, © EUI

Table 28: Algerian returnees: contacts with the diplomatic authorities of the country of origin when living abroad

When abroad, did you have any contacts with the diplomatic authorities of your country of origin?	Type of return		Total
	Decided	Compelled	
Yes	73,6	40,3	66,9
No	26,4	59,7	33,1
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

4. Migratory experience before return

The migratory experience is one of the key elements in understanding return and patterns of re-integration of Algerian returnees. This experience can be identified by taking into consideration the duration of the stay abroad and also the choice of the host country.

The intention to emigrate and live permanently abroad was more significant among the migrants who were compelled to return to their homeland than among those who decided independently to return (48% against 27.5%).

Table 29: Intentions of Algerian returnees before leaving for abroad

Before emigrating, did you plan to stay...	Type of return		Total
	Decided	Compelled	
Permanently	27,5	47,8	31,6
Temporarily	37,4	25,4	34,9
Did not know	34,7	26,9	33,1
No-reply	0,4	0,0	0,3
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

The duration of the stay abroad is a key element, as it reveals that over 83% of the migrants who were compelled to return had a relatively short migratory experience (they mostly emigrated around the 1990s), against 49% of the migrants who returned to their country of origin on their own initiative. During the 1970s/1980s the percentage of migrations abroad was relatively similar for both types of return (between 15% and 17%). Conversely, before and during the 60s the situation had been quite the opposite, as 34% of the returnees who decided to return had left their hometowns at that time, against only 3% of the migrants who were compelled to return.

Table 30: Dates of first emigration of Algerian returnees

When did you leave your country of origin for the first time?	Type of return		Total
	Decided	Compelled	
Before the 1960s	12,5	1,5	10,2
During the 1960s	21,5	1,5	17,5
During the 1970s	7,9	9,0	8,1
During the 1980s	9,1	6,0	8,4
During the 1990s	27,2	47,8	31,3
Since 2000	21,9	34,3	24,4
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

The above data show that long-term migrations mainly concerned migrants who returned on their own initiative. As for the migratory experience, the data show that 87% of the latter migrants (against 75% of those who were compelled to return) left their country of origin only once to live abroad, whereas the other segment, i.e. 13% (25% of the migrants who were compelled to return), emigrated at least twice, to different countries.

Table 31: Mobility of Algerian returnees

How often did you leave your country to live abroad?	Type of return		Total
	Decided	Compelled	
Once	86,8	74,6	84,3
Twice	8,3	14,9	9,6
Three times or more	4,9	10,4	6,0
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

France remains the main earlier host country of Algerian returnees

Over 75% of migrants (77% of those who decided their return and 70% of those who were compelled to return) lived in France before returning to Algeria. The other European countries, the Arabian countries and North America hosted, to a far lesser extent, nearly 25% of returnees. It must also be highlighted that the percentage of those who chose other European countries is more significant among the migrants who were compelled to return than among the other segment (22.4% against 13.6%). Eventually, while the returnees who were compelled to return preferred, after Europe, the “Arabian countries” (6%), those who decided to return on their own initiative almost equally chose the Arabian countries (4.5%) and North America (4.2%).

Table 32: Main countries/areas of immigration of Algerian returnees

Main countries (MCI)/areas of immigration	Type of return		Total
	Decided	Compelled	
France	77,0	70,1	75,6
Other European countries	13,6	22,4	15,4
Arabian countries	4,5	6,0	4,8
North America	4,2	1,5	3,6
Rest of the world	0,8	0,0	0,6
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

Nearly all Algerian migrants left their country of origin with official documents

Most migrants left Algeria with official documents (over 95%), whereas only a minority used forged ones. This minority amounts to over 10% of the returnees who were compelled to return.

Table 33: Legal status of the Algerian returnees when leaving for abroad

Did you leave your country with...?	Type of return		Total
	Decided	Compelled	
Official documents	97,4	88,1	95,5
Without official documents	1,9	1,5	1,8
Falsified documents	0,8	10,4	2,7
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

29% of the migrants who left Algeria possessed a document ensuring a certain safety abroad (a visa with a job contract and/or a visa for family reunification), whereas the majority of other migrants (41%) left for abroad either with a tourist visa or by other means (30%)

Table 34: Types of travel documents used by Algerian returnees to emigrate

Did you leave your country with...?	Type of return		Total
	Decided	Compelled	
A tourist visa	35,3	66,1	41,0
A job contract (working visa)	24,4	3,4	20,5
A visa for family reunification	9,3	6,8	8,8
Other	31,0	23,7	29,7
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

Difficulties in emigrating

Before their departure from Algeria, nearly a quarter of the whole sample claimed to have had to face administrative constraints and problems with the delivery of the visa (the percentage of the migrants who had to face such difficulties is higher among the returnees who were compelled to return than among the other segment).

Table 35: Difficulties faced by Algerian returnees in emigrating

Did you have problems to go abroad?	Type of return		Total		Total
	Decided	Compelled	Yes	N0	
Visa delivery	25,3	37,3	27,7	72,3	100
Administrative problems in the country of origin	30,6	25,4	29,5	70,5	100
Problems with the public authorities of the destination country	6	7,5	6,3	93,7	100
Administrative problems in the destination country	23,4	23,9	23,5	76,5	100
Other	2,3	3	2,4	97,6	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

Only 6% of the sample claimed to have had problems with the public authorities of the host country. Whereas the percentage of migrants who declared to have had difficulties in the main country of immigration are very similar for both types of return, with regard to work related problems (i.e. difficulties in securing a permanent job) the percentage of migrants who were compelled to return is higher than the other segment (55% against 39.6%).

Among all the migrants who declared to have had difficulties, 50% mentioned housing problems, 43% obstacles in finding a permanent job, 41% discrimination and racism, 34% problems of integration, 34% administrative constraints, 22% low salaries and 5% an unsatisfactory health system. Among the migrants who chose to resume living in Algeria, over 45% declared to have had problems with the institutions of the host country (against only 37% of the migrants who were compelled to return). Conversely, only 18% of them declared they had had problems with the host country society (against 24% of the migrants who were compelled to return).

Table 36: Difficulties faced by Algerian returnees in the main country of immigration (MCI)

Did you have difficulties in your last country of immigration?	Type of return		Total
	Decided	Compelled	
Housing (rent too expensive)	50,6	47,8	50,0
Problems of integration	34,0	32,8	33,7
Discrimination/racism	42,3	37,3	41,3
Could not find a job	39,6	55,2	42,8
Low salaries	21,9	23,9	22,3
Unsatisfactory health system	4,9	7,5	5,4
Administrative constraints	34,0	35,8	34,3
Other	3,0	1,5	2,7

Source: MIREM, © EUI

Table 37: Algerian returnees' relationships with the public institutions of the main country of immigration

How were your relationships with the public institutions of the MCI?	Type of return		Total
	Decided	Compelled	
Very good	24,2	26,9	24,7
Quite good	47,9	28,4	44,0
I had some problems	19,2	19,4	19,3
I had a lot of problems	2,7	17,9	5,7
No opinion	6,0	7,5	6,3
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

Table 38: Algerian returnees' relationships with the host society of the MCI

How were your relationships with the host society of the MCI=	Type of return		Total
	Decided	Compelled	
Very good	24,9	31,3	26,2
Quite good	54,3	38,8	51,2
I had some problems	14,0	16,4	14,5
I had a lot of problems	3,8	7,5	4,5
No opinion	3,0	6,0	3,6
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

5. Post-return and re-integration patterns

Return is an important step within the migratory project: it is the result of a pondered decision. A “decided” return is a project that requires great preparation (psychological and economical). When return takes place under constraint this preparatory process is interrupted. The undertaking of research before leaving seems to be one of the key variables for migrants who decided to return on their own initiative.

Returnees mostly go back to the place of previous residence

When returning to Algeria, over 46% of the respondents returned to the same place of residence where they lived just before emigrating (61.2% of those who were compelled to return against 42.6 % of those who returned on their own initiative). The data show that 34% chose to resettle in different places. Eventually, over 19% of returnees chose to go back to their birthplace (24% of the compelled returnees against 18.5% of those who decided their return independently).

Table 39: Place of resettlement of returnees to Algeria

Did you return to...	Type of return		Total
	Decided	Compelled	
Your birthplace	18,5	23,9	19,6
Your place of residence before leaving for abroad	42,6	61,2	46,4
Another place	38,9	14,9	34,0
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

Family: the main source of information before returning

Over 61% of returnees gathered the information they needed to organize their return from family members (52%) and, to a far lesser extent, from friends (9%). Only a small minority (3.3%) collected information from governmental organizations, consulates and other media. The remaining migrants, i.e. over 35%, planned their return without resorting to any source of information.

Table 40: Return migrants to Algeria: main source of information in the return process

Who gave you information regarding your post-return conditions?	Type of return		Total
	Decided	Compelled	
Family	52,8	49,3	52,1
Friends	9,8	6,0	9,0
Governmental organizations	1,9	0,0	1,5
Consulates	0,8	3,0	1,2
Media	0,0	1,5	0,3
Internet	0,4	0,0	0,3
None	34,3	40,3	35,5
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

Discussions on return

It is worth noting that 60% of returnees (65% of those who decided independently to return to their homeland against 40% of those who were compelled) used to talk about their return project on a regular basis. Only 16% of them (10% of those who decided to return against 36% of those whose return was compelled) never mentioned the subject before their actual return.

Table 41: Algerian returnees: talking about returning home

How often did you talk about your return before coming back to your country of origin?	Type of return		Total
	Decided	Compelled	
Often	64,9	40,3	59,9
Sometimes	18,9	16,4	18,4
Seldom	5,7	7,5	6,0
Never	10,6	35,8	15,7
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

A significantly improved financial situation in Algeria

47% of returnees declared that their financial situation improved in Algeria. This upgrading is more evident among the migrants who decided to return to their homeland than among those whose return was compelled (51.4% against 29.8%). Conversely, 22% of the interviewees considered that their financial situation worsened (39% of the respondents whose return was compelled against 18% of those who decided to return).

Table 42: Financial situation of Algerian returnees at the time of the survey

Has your current financial situation improved compared with your financial situation when abroad?	Type of return		Total
	Decided	Compelled	
Very much	17,4	10,4	16,0
Quite	34,0	19,4	31,0
Unchanged	24,5	20,9	23,8
Worsened	17,7	38,8	22,0
No opinion	6,0	10,4	6,9
No reply	0,4	0,0	0,3
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

A slight increase in the number of house owners

The data related to the accommodation status show that migrants' situation generally improved in the homeland after return, as the number of house owners increased. In fact, while the percentage of migrants who rented their house in their country of origin (before their emigration) remained unchanged (15%), the segment of migrants who benefited from free housing in the host country slightly decreased (shifting downwards from 21% to 17.5%) and the proportion of house owners grew from 61.7% to 66%.

Table 43: Occupancy status of Algerian returnees when returning from abroad

Occupancy status	Type of return		Total
	Decided	Compelled	
Home owner	66,8	41,8	61,7
Tenant	13,6	19,4	14,8
Free accommodation	17,0	37,3	21,1
Job-related accommodation	0,4	0,0	0,3
Other	2,3	1,5	2,1
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

Return motivations

As for the migrants who decided to return to their country of origin, the two main motivations to return were firstly, the wish to live one's retirement in the homeland (28.7%) and secondly, family problems in the country of origin (12.5%). The other motivations were mostly related to homesickness – migrants missed their country and its traditions – and to integration problems in the former country of immigration.

Table 44: Return motivations of the Algerian migrants who decided to return to their country of origin

Main reasons	1 st reason	2 nd reason	3 rd reason	Average
Job precariousness in the host country	6,8	2,3	6,8	5,3
To benefit from a return grant	0,0	0,8	0,4	0,4
Family problems in the origin country	12,5	5,3	5,7	7,8
Family problems in the immigration country	8,7	3,8	3,0	5,2
Health problems	4,5	5,7	2,6	4,3
Difficulties of integration in the immigration country	2,6	10,2	4,5	5,8
Retirement	28,7	3,4	3,0	11,7
To run my business at home	5,7	8,7	6,8	7,0
To create a business at home	3,8	9,1	5,3	6,0
Termination of my job contract in the immigration country	2,6	1,5	1,5	1,9
End of my studies in the immigration country	8,7	1,9	1,5	4,0
To finish my training	0,4	0,8	1,9	1,0
Homesickness	7,5	33,2	21,5	20,8
Difficult socio-cultural environment in the immigration country	4,2	6,4	24,2	11,6
Other	3,4	3,4	4,2	3,6
No reply	0,0	3,8	7,2	3,6
Total	100	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

Removal is the main motivation for compelled returns

The migrants who were compelled to return to Algeria mentioned as the main motivation the removal order (37%), followed by family problems (over 28%), non-renewal of the residence permit (22%) and termination of the job contract (22%) in the former immigration country. Moreover, the motivations of compelled returnees are complex, often interwoven with administrative and tax problems (16%), interruption of studies (15%) and health problems (10%).

Table 45: Return motivations of the Algerian migrants who were compelled to return to their country of origin

Main motivations	Yes	No	Total
Non-renewal of the residence permit	22,4	77,6	100
Loss of job	22,4	77,6	100
Interruption of my studies	14,9	85,1	100
Expulsion	37,3	62,7	100
Health problems	10,4	89,6	100
Administrative/tax problems	16,4	83,6	100
Family problems	28,4	71,6	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

6. Post-return conditions and prospects

This last chapter regarding returnees' behaviour contains information which is key to the evaluation of the level of success of both types of return. Some migrants do not exclude the possibility of re-emigration.

The consideration of re-emigration

Two thirds of returnees to Algeria, who had returned on their own initiative, expressed their intention to stay permanently in their homeland. Whereas, two-thirds of the migrants who were compelled to return considered re-emigrating.

Table 46: Returnees to Algeria: expected duration of stay in the country of origin on returning

When you returned, did you intend to stay...	Type of return		Total
	Decided	Compelled	
Permanently	66,4	35,8	60,2
Temporarily	9,4	29,9	13,6
Does not know	24,2	34,3	26,2
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

It is interesting to note that more than 34% of those who were compelled to return did not know whether they would re-emigrate, either in the short or the long term.

Table 47: Returnees to Algeria: intention to leave the country of origin, at the time of the survey

Today, do you intend to leave for abroad?	Type of return		Total
	Decided	Compelled	
Yes, definitely	12,5	32,8	16,6
Maybe	18,1	17,9	18,1
Not now	14,0	10,4	13,3
Never	27,2	17,9	25,3
I do not know	28,3	20,9	26,8
Total	100	100	100
No reply	69,4	49,3	65,4

Source: MIREM, © EUI

41% of the returnees who had decided to go back to their homeland on their own initiative stated that they had no intention to re-emigrate, at least not in the short term (the proportion of those who were compelled to return only amounts to 28%). The rest of the sample, i.e. over 50% of the returnees whose return was compelled and 30% of those who decided to return, considered re-emigrating. Moreover, among all the respondents who expressed their wish to re-emigrate, 60% considered leaving again for the last immigration country, whereas only 21% planned to leave again for another foreign country.

Table 48: Returnees to Algeria: destination for re-emigration, at the time of the survey

Do you plan to...	Type of return		Total
	Decided	Compelled	
Leave again for the last country of immigration	65,4	50,0	60,9
Leave again for another country	13,6	38,2	20,9
Do not know	21,0	11,8	18,2
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

As far as the motivations to re-emigrate are concerned, the migrants whose return was compelled declared they had no future in Algeria (23.5%), or that they could not adapt to being in their country of origin (15.7%), or else they already knew the host country and they wished to stay there (15.7%). Conversely, the migrants who returned on their own initiative had to re-emigrate to renew their documents (16%), for family reasons (13.6%), or for health problems (13.2%).

Table 49: Returnees to Algeria: motivations to re-emigrate (Average score)

Reasons for leaving again the country of origin	Types of return		Total
	Decided	Compelled	
I already know the immigration country and wish to stay there	10,7	15,7	12,2
I cannot adapt to being in my country of origin	7,0	15,7	9,6
I have no future in my country of origin	7,4	23,5	12,2
To renew my documents	16,0	2,9	12,2
I cannot find any job here	4,1	14,7	7,2
New job opportunities abroad	10,7	10,8	10,7
For family reasons	13,6	7,8	11,9
For health reasons	13,2	2,0	9,9
For other reasons	8,6	3,9	7,2
No reply	8,6	2,9	7,0
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

Health system and administrative constraints

The main difficulties faced by all returnees in their homeland were the inadequacy of the healthcare system (48%) and administrative constraints (47%). On the other hand, when taking into consideration the difficulties of re-adaptation, mentioned by 37% of the whole sample, they concerned 45% of the returnees who were compelled to return against 35% of those who decided to return. Salary and occupational problems respectively involved 29% and 21% of the whole sample, thus affecting to a far greater extent the returnees who were compelled to return than the other segment (37% and 51% against only 26% and 14%).

Table 50: Difficulties faced by the Algerian returnees since their return to their country of origin (% Yes)

Did you have difficulties in your country of origin?	Types of return		Total
	Decided	Compelled	
Housing (rent too expensive)	21,9	20,9	21,7
Re-integration	22,3	34,3	24,7
Re-adaptation	35,1	44,8	37,0
Difficulties with job seeking	13,6	50,7	21,1
Low salaries	26,4	37,3	28,6
Inadequate health system	49,1	44,8	48,2
Administrative constraints	45,7	50,7	46,7
Other	1,5	4,5	2,1

Source: MIREM, © EUI

Inadequacy of post-return measures or provisions

When taking into consideration the high percentage of respondents who had no opinion about the public support to returnees in their origin country, or else who thought that it was non-existent, the data highlight the lack of concern shown by the Algerian public authorities regarding this issue. There is no denying that less than one Algerian returnee out of ten benefited from the assistance of public authorities.

Table 51: Public assistance received by Algerian returnees in their country of origin since return

Have you benefited from any public assistance or support when you returned?	Types of return		Total
	Decided	Compelled	
Yes	4,9	9,0	5,7
No	95,1	91,0	94,3
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

Table 52: Algerian returnees' opinion regarding the measures to be adopted to support return

What is your opinion regarding the measures or provisions to be adopted in order to foster return?	Types of return		Total
	Decided	Compelled	
They are adequate	9,4	7,5	9,0
They should be improved	27,9	10,4	24,4
They are non-existent	17,0	19,4	17,5
I am not aware of such provisions	10,9	17,9	12,3
No opinion	34,7	44,8	36,7
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

After return, returnees still receive remittances from abroad

Only 28% of the whole sample declared to have received remittances from abroad after their return. Such remittances were mainly sent on a monthly (32%) and quarterly (20%) basis. The proportion of the migrants who received money on a more regular and frequent basis (monthly, quarterly and semi-annual) is far more significant among the returnees who decided to go back to their homeland (81% against 36%). As regards the amounts, over 41% of returnees received over 1,000 Euros, 29% 500-1,000 Euros, 20% 200-500 Euros and almost 10% less than 200 Euros. The percentage of returnees who received more than 500 Euros is far more significant among those who decided to go back to their homeland than among those whose return was compelled (75% against 36%). 95% of the whole sample used the remittances to provide for family needs, to build or purchase a house or to ensure children's schooling.

Table 53: Frequency of the remittances received from abroad by Algerian returnees

Over the last 12 months, how often did you receive remittances from abroad?	Types of return		Total
	Decided	Compelled	
Once a month	34,9	9,1	31,9
Once every three months	20,5	18,2	20,2
Once every six months	25,3	9,1	23,4
Once a year	12,0	36,4	14,9
Irregularly	7,2	27,3	9,6
Total	100	100	100
Receives remittances	31,3	16,4	28,3
Does not receive remittances	68,7	83,6	71,7

Source: MIREM, © EUI

Table 54: Amounts of the remittances received from abroad by Algerian returnees

How much money did you receive from abroad?	Types of return		Total
	Decided	Compelled	
Less than 200 Euros	8,4	18,2	9,6
From 200 to 500 Euros	16,9	45,5	20,2
From 501 to 1000 Euros	31,3	9,1	28,7
Over 1000 Euros	43,4	27,3	41,5
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

Table 55: Use of the remittances received from abroad by Algerian returnees (% Yes)

How did you use the remittances received from abroad?	Types of return		Total
	Decided	Compelled	
To provide for my family at home	95,2	90,9	94,7
To ensure my children's schooling	26,5	18,2	25,5
To buy/build a house	33,7	9,1	30,9
To invest in a business concern	16,9	9,1	16,0
To buy agricultural land/goods	6,0	9,1	6,4
To update agricultural equipment	1,2	9,1	2,1
To support the building of public monuments	9,6	9,1	9,6
Other	3,6	9,1	4,3

Source: MIREM, © EUI

CHAPTER 3

RETURN MIGRANTS TO MOROCCO

The purpose of this chapter is to analyse the demographic and socio-economic profile of return migrants to Morocco. Since emigration and return constitute two parts of one migratory movement, the analysis ought to consider the conditions and characteristics of returnees before leaving for abroad, during their stay in the host country and at the time of return. Therefore, the first section of the chapter will investigate these three migratory steps by studying the sample according to age and sex, marital status, place of birth and residence, housing conditions and household composition. The second section will examine the returnees' occupational status and skills.

1. Socio-Demographic Characteristics¹

1.1. Returnees' distribution by age and sex

The distribution of the 330 interviewed returnees to Morocco by sex refers to a predominantly male population. In fact, the data show that only 12.7% of the whole sample consisted of women (Table 1). The presence of a small number of women can be observed equally in both types of return (decided and compelled). The male numerical superiority can be explained, on the one hand, by the customary presence of a lesser percentage of women in migration experiences and, on the other hand, by the difficulties in approaching the female population of returnees at the time of the survey.

Table 1: Return migrants to Morocco (%) by sex and type of return

Sex	Type of return		Total
	Decided	Compelled	
Male	85,3	91,9	87,3
Female	14,7	8,1	12,7
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

¹ Sections 1 & 2 of this chapter about return migrants to Morocco were written by Mohamed Mghari (Member of AMERM).

It is worth noting that decided return (70%) is more common than compelled return (30%). These proportions amount to 68.4% and 31.6% respectively for the male population and to 80.9% and 19.1% for the female population. Thus, women seem to be less involved in compelled return than men.

The interviewees are relatively young, 55.1% of the Moroccan returnees are under 40 years old (31.8% are 31-40 years old and 23.3% are under 30 years old). On the other hand, the older generations only represent 7% of the whole sample (over 65) and 15.2% (50-64). When focusing on the type of return, we notice that young returnees mainly consist of migrants who were compelled to return (Table 2). Conversely, senior returnees mainly consist of individuals who decided to return. In fact, nearly 75.7% of the migrants who were compelled to return are under 40 years old; more than half (53.6%) of the other category of returnees are over 40 years old. It is worth highlighting that only 1% of the migrants who were compelled to return are 65 or more, against 9.5% of those who decided to return. The migrants whose decision to return was compelled are comparatively young, whilst the migrants who decided to return are relatively mature.

Table 2: Return migrants to Morocco (%) by age group and type of return

Age group	Type of return		Total
	Decided	Compelled	
Until 30	15,6	41,4	23,3
31-40 years old	30,7	34,3	31,8
41-50 years old	24,2	19,2	22,7
50-64 years old	19,9	4,0	15,2
65 +	9,5	1,0	7,0
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

1.2. Marital status of returnees

As far as the household composition is concerned, the study of the returnees' marital status (Table 3) shows that 67.9% of the sample were single before migrating, whereas only 23% were still single after their return to Morocco. With regard to the return decision, the two categories differ greatly from one another. The percentage of single migrants is higher among those who were compelled to return (43.3%) than among those who returned on their own initiative (14.3%). On the other hand, the proportion of marriages abroad is significantly higher among the migrants whose return was decided (30.3%) than among those who were compelled to return to Morocco (6.1%).

Table 3: Marital status of return migrants to Morocco (%) before leaving for abroad

Family situation just before leaving	Type of return		Total
	Decided	Compelled	
Single	65,4	73,7	67,9
Married	28,1	24,2	27,0
Divorced	1,7	2,0	1,8
No reply	4,8	0,0	3,3
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

On the other hand, it is worth highlighting that the percentage of migrants, who married before leaving and after returning are the same for both categories of the population. Finally, regarding divorce and widow/widower hood, the proportion (9%) remains unchanged during the entire migratory itinerary for both types of return.

1.3. Family composition before leaving for abroad, in the host country and after returning

When considering the evolution of the household composition throughout the three steps of the migratory process (i.e. before leaving, during the migratory experience abroad and after returning), the empirical data show that, before migrating, almost all returnees lived in extended families with their parents, brothers and sisters and other family members (nearly 93%). Most of the sample lived in an extended family with their parents, brothers and sisters (48.2%), followed by those who lived with their parents, brothers and sisters and other family members (20.5%). No significant differences can be observed between the two types of return (Table 4).

Table 4: Household composition of return migrants to Morocco (%) before leaving for abroad

Household composition before leaving for abroad	Type of return		Total
	Decided	Compelled	
Alone	3,2	2,0	2,8
With spouse	1,8	2,0	1,9
With spouse and children	5,0	4,0	4,7
With spouse, children and others	6,0	3,0	5,0
With parents	9,2	7,1	8,5
With brothers and sisters	3,7	1,0	2,8
With parents, brothers and sisters	46,8	51,5	48,3
With parents, brothers and sisters and others	17,0	28,3	20,5
Other family members or friends	1,8	0,0	1,3
Other household composition	5,5	1,0	4,1
Total	100	100	100

Source : MIREM, © EUI

During their long-term stay abroad (Table 5), returnees' household composition changed significantly, as 27.8% of the whole sample actually had a family and lived with their wife/husband and children (19.9%), or with their wife/husband (7.9%), 13.6% migrated alone. 30.8% lived with other family members or friends. The latter situation is much more evident among the migrants whose return was compelled than among those who returned on their own initiative. In fact, more than 46% of the latter lived with family members or friends abroad.

Table 5: Household composition of return migrants to Morocco (%) just before leaving the main country of immigration (MCI)

Household composition before leaving the main country of immigration	Type of return		Total
	Decided	Compelled	
Alone	14,0	12,6	13,6
With spouse	9,7	4,2	7,9
With spouse and children	25,6	7,4	19,9
With spouse, children and others	1,4	2,1	1,7
With parents	0,5	0,0	0,3
With brothers and sisters	5,3	7,4	6,0
With parents, brothers and sisters	3,4	3,2	3,3
With parents, brothers and sisters and others	1,4	8,4	3,6
Other family members or friends	23,7	46,3	30,8
Other household composition	15,0	8,4	12,9
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM. © EUI

At the time of the survey (Table 6), we note the predominance of nuclear families, for nearly 52% of the whole sample said they were living with their spouse and children and nearly 35% in an extended family with their parents, brothers and sisters in their country of origin. The complete nuclear family, i.e., the household composed of the returnee his/her spouse and children is the most common (38%).

Table 6: Household composition of return migrants to Morocco (%) at the time of the survey

Household composition at the time of the survey	Type of return		Total
	Decided	Compelled	
Alone	5.7	3.1	4.9
With spouse	12.3	0.0	8.4
With spouse and children	46.2	20.8	38.3
With spouse, children and others	5.7	5.2	5.5
With parents	6.6	5.2	6.2
With brothers and sisters	0.9	2.1	1.3
With parents, brothers and sisters	6.6	35.4	15.6
With parents, brothers and sisters and others	8.5	19.8	12.0
Other family members or friends	2.4	2.1	2.3
Other household composition	5.2	6.3	5.5
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

When focusing on the type of return, significant discrepancies arise. At the time of the survey, the majority of migrants whose return was compelled lived in an extended ascending family, with their parents and brothers and sisters (62.5%), rather than in a nuclear family, i.e. with a spouse and children (26%). On the other hand, these proportions are reversed among the migrants who decided to return to their homeland (respectively, 22.6% and 64.2%).

1.4. Housing situation

As far as the housing conditions are concerned, the empirical data show that before migrating (Table 7) the interviewees mostly lived in “traditional houses” (46.7%) or in “rural houses” (25.2%). 14,5% of the sample lived in flats and a very small proportion (6.4%) lived in villas. Only an extremely small minority of migrants lived in precarious or makeshift shelters or in slums (1.8%).

Table 7: Housing situation of return migrants to Morocco (%) before leaving for abroad

Housing situation before leaving for abroad	Type of return		Total
	Decided	Compelled	
Villa	8,7	1,0	6,4
Flat	17,3	8,1	14,5
Traditional house	42,4	56,6	46,7
Rural house	22,1	32,3	25,2
Institutional accommodation	0,9	0,0	0,6
Makeshift shelter/slum/shack...	1,7	2,0	1,8
Other	2,2	0,0	1,5
No reply	4,8	0,0	3,3
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

It is worth noting that the percentage of returnees who lived in flats and villas before leaving for abroad is significantly higher among the migrants who chose to return to Morocco (respectively, 17.3% and 8.7%) than among those whose return was compelled (8.1% and 1%). What is more, the accommodation in a “traditional house” and in a “rural house” concerns to a greater extent the latter group of migrants (respectively, 56.6% and 32.3%), rather than those who returned on their own initiative (respectively, 42.4% and 22.1%).

During the stay in the host country, housing conditions improve significantly and migrants seem to enjoy good accommodation. In fact, just before returning to Morocco, most migrants lived in flats (69.9%) in the main country of immigration. Some lived in traditional houses (7.6%), in rural houses (7.3%), and in “institutional accommodation” (4.5%). A very small minority lived in villas (2.7%).

Table 8: Housing situation of return migrants to Morocco (%) in the MCI

Last type of accommodation in the MCI	Type of return		Total
	Decided	Compelled	
Villa	3,5	1,0	2,7
Flat	72,7	62,6	69,7
Traditional house	6,1	11,1	7,6
Rural house	4,8	13,1	7,3
Institutional accommodation	4,3	5,1	4,5
Makeshift shelter/slum/	0,9	4,0	1,8
Other	3,5	1,0	2,7
No reply	4,3	2,0	3,6
Total	100	100	100

Source : MIREM, © EUI

Here again, the migrants who were compelled to return are disadvantaged, as far as housing is concerned. The percentage of them living in the poorer types of accommodation, such as makeshift shelters and slums (4%), rural and traditional houses (13.1% and 11.1%) is significantly higher

The data regarding accommodation status (Table 9) show that in the MCI (the former host country) nearly all returnees were tenants (73.3% on arrival, against 64.2% just before returning to the homeland), while there is an increase in the number of home owners (5.5% on arrival, against 10.9% just before returning to Morocco).

Table 9: Accommodation status of return migrants to Morocco (%) on arrival in the MCI

Type of occupancy on arrival in the MCI	Type of return		Total
	Decided	Compelled	
Home owner	4,8	7,1	5,5
Tenant	77,9	62,6	73,3
Free accommodation	11,3	24,2	15,2
Job-related accommodation	1,3	2,0	1,5
Other	0,9	2,0	1,2
No reply	3,9	2,0	3,3
Total	100	100	100

Source : MIREM, © EUI

It is worth noting that the proportion of returnees who owned their own house in the former host country, just before returning to Morocco (Table 10), is actually double among those who decided to return compared to those whose return was compelled (13% against 6.1%).

Table 10: Accommodation status of return migrants to Morocco (%) in the MCI, just before returning

Accommodation status in the MCI just before returning	Type of return		Total
	Decided	Compelled	
Home owner	13,0	6,1	10,9
Tenant	66,7	58,6	64,2
Free accommodation	5,6	16,2	8,8
Job-related accommodation	0,4	3,0	1,2
Other	0,9	4,0	1,8
No reply	13,4	12,1	13,0
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

1.5. Returnees' birthplace and place of residence

The analysis of the interviewees' birthplace shows a significant predominance of city-born migrants (50.4%) over country-born migrants (40%) (Table 11). With regard to the place of residence just before leaving their homeland, the migrants under survey (Table 11) show a similar distribution, i.e. 65.5% of migrants from urban areas and 29.4% from rural areas. At the time of return to Morocco this tendency can be observed in both types of return.

The data still reveal a predominance of city-dwellers in the MCI, since almost all migrants (85.2%) lived in cities just before returning to Morocco (Table 11).

It is worth highlighting that, in the host country, this urban predominance mainly concerns the migrants who decided to return (88.3%, against 77.8% of those who were compelled to return). On the contrary, the latter are the majority in rural areas (respectively, 21.1% and 8.7%) just before their return to Morocco.

After returning to their homeland (Table 11), the interviewees mostly resumed living in an urban environment (84.2%). This is mainly true for the migrants who decided to return to Morocco, (87.4% against 76.8% of those who were compelled to return); the latter resume living in a rural environment.

Table 11: Birthplace and place of residence of return migrants to Morocco (%)

	Type of return		Total
	Decided	Compelled	
Birthplace			
Rural	38,1	44,4	40,0
Urban	61,0	55,6	59,4
No reply	0,9		0,6
Total	100	100	100
Place of residence before leaving for abroad			
Rural	28,6	31,3	29,4
Urban	66,7	62,6	65,5
No reply	4,8	6,1	5,2
Total	100	100	100
Place of residence before leaving the MCI			
Rural	8,7	21,2	12,4
Urban	88,3	77,8	85,2
No reply	3,0	1,0	2,4
Total	100	100	100
Place of residence at the time of the survey			
Rural	12,6	23,2	15,8
Urban	87,4	76,8	84,2
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

2. Professional situation and skills of returnees to Morocco

2.1. Professional situation before leaving for abroad

The data of the MIREM survey regarding professional status show that, before leaving for abroad, a relatively significant percentage (nearly 55.5%) of returnees to Morocco belonged to the working population, 46.6% of them had a job and 9.1% were officially unemployed. The rest of the sample, i.e. nearly 37%, were mainly non-working migrants, essentially students (26.7%) (Table 12).

Nearly 23.7% of the whole sample were permanently employed wage-earners, legal independent contractors, family helpers or employers. It is worth noting that 22.7% of them had precarious occupations, mainly as seasonal workers.

When considering the return decision, the returnees' occupational status before leaving for abroad was nearly identical for both types of return. Conversely, unemployment mostly concerned the migrants whose return was compelled (16.2% against 6.1% of those who decided to return); this also applies to precarious occupations, such as seasonal work (15.2% against 6.1%) and domestic help (11.1% against 2.6%).

Table 12: Occupational status (%) of returnees to Morocco before leaving for abroad

Occupational status before leaving for abroad	Type of return		Total
	Decided	Compelled	
In permanent employment	10,4	5,1	8,8
Employed on a short-term basis	6,5	6,1	6,4
Employed on a part-time basis	2,6	2,0	2,4
Seasonal worker	6,5	15,2	9,1
Employer/Entrepreneur	0,9	0,0	0,6
Legal independent contractor	10,8	5,1	9,1
Illegal independent contractor	4,8	5,1	4,8
Family helper	2,6	11,1	5,2
Unemployed	6,1	16,2	9,1
Student	29,4	20,2	26,7
Housewife	0,9	1,0	0,9
Retired	0,0	1,0	0,3
Other	8,2	11,1	9,1
No reply	10,4	1,0	7,6
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

2.2. Occupations before leaving for abroad

The data concerning the sectors in which returnees were found, before leaving for abroad, (Table 13) show that most of them (28.8%) were working in the primary sector and mainly in agriculture. The next sector is trade, with 17.8% of the sample, before emigration. Industry and craft employed 7.7%, followed by the services sector, with 7.2%, and the construction industry, with 4.8%. The remaining sectors only concern 4.8% of the whole sample.

Table 13: Sectors of industry (%) of the working returnees to Morocco before leaving for abroad

Sectors before leaving	Type of return		Total
	Decided	Compelled	
Agriculture, hunting, forestry	25,9	36,1	28,8
Fishing, aquaculture	1,4	1,6	1,4
Mining industries	2,7	1,6	2,4
Manufacturing industry	6,1	3,3	5,3
Electricity, gas and water production and supply	2,7		1,9
Construction industry	4,1	6,6	4,8
Trade, car and domestic appliance repairing	17,7	18,0	17,8
Hotel and catering industry	4,1	3,3	3,8
Transports and communications	2,0	6,6	3,4

Financial activities	0,7	0,0	0,5
Public administration	4,8	4,9	4,8
Education	5,4	3,3	4,8
Health sector and social activities	1,4	1,6	1,4
Public, social and private services	0,7	3,3	1,4
Home services	0,0	3,3	1,0
Extraterritorial activities	0,0	1,6	0,5
No reply	20,4	4,9	15,9
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

It is worth noting that the occupational sector varies according to the type of return. Before leaving for abroad, the migrants who were compelled to return to Morocco mainly worked in agriculture (36.1%), as this sector offers valuable openings for unskilled people, against 25.9% of the migrants who decided to return.

2.3. Occupational status in the main country of immigration

When comparing the data concerning the professional situation of returnees on arrival in the MCI and just before returning to Morocco, a significant upgrading becomes evident. In fact, 73.5% of returnees found a job shortly after their arrival in the last country of immigration, and 75.1% of them had a job just before returning to Morocco. The percentage of unemployed returnees was very low, especially before returning to the country of origin (2.1% and 3.9% on arrival and just before returning, respectively). The non-working segment dropped significantly from 22.7% to 6.6% between these two migratory steps.

The proportion of returnees in permanent employment remains approximately the same at the beginning and at the end of the stay in the last immigration country (22.4% and 26.4%, respectively). Seasonal workers (17.9% and 14.5%, on arrival in the host country and just before returning, respectively) are second, followed by the segment of illegal independent contractors (respectively, 13.3% and 10%). Finally, we have the returnees with short-term contracts (nearly 11% in both migratory steps).

It should also be noted that in the last country of immigration, at the beginning of the stay abroad and shortly before returning home, unemployment mainly concerned the migrants who were compelled to return to Morocco, especially just before return. In fact, in the latter situation, unemployment involved 10.1% of the migrants whose return was compelled, against 1.3% of those who decided to return. This is also true for precarious occupations, such as seasonal and illegal independent work; in fact, when considering seasonal work, the discrepancy between the two categories of migrants is evident (30.3% against 12.6% and 25.3% against 10%, at the beginning and the end of the stay abroad, respectively).

On the other hand the number of students is higher among those who decided to return compared to among those who were compelled, especially on their arrival in the last country of immigration (17.3% against 6.1%).

Table 14: First occupational status (%) of returnees to Morocco in the main country of immigration

First occupational status in the MCI	Type of return		Total
	Decided	Compelled	
In permanent employment	27,3	11,1	22,4
Employed on a short-term basis	11,7	11,1	11,5
Employed on a part-time basis	2,2	2,0	2,1
Seasonal worker	12,6	30,3	17,9
Employer/Entrepreneur	1,7	1,0	1,5
Legal independent contractor	2,6	4,0	3,0
Illegal independent contractor	10,8	19,2	13,3
Family helper	1,3	3,0	1,8
Unemployed	1,3	4,0	2,1
Student	17,3	6,1	13,9
Housewife	1,7	1,0	1,5
Other	7,4	7,1	7,3
No reply	2,2	0,0	1,5
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

Table 15: Last occupational status (%) of returnees to Morocco in the main country of immigration

Last occupational status in the MCI just before leaving to the homeland	Type of return		Total
	Decided	Compelled	
In permanent employment	32,5	12,1	26,4
Employed on a short-term basis	9,5	14,1	10,9
Employed on a part-time basis	1,7	3,0	2,1
Seasonal worker	10,0	25,3	14,5
Employer/Entrepreneur	3,9	1,0	3,0
Legal independent contractor	7,4	4,0	6,4
Illegal independent contractor	8,7	13,1	10,0
Family helper	1,7	2,0	1,8
Unemployed	1,3	10,1	3,9
Student	5,2	3,0	4,5
Housewife	1,3	1,0	1,2
Retired	1,3	0,0	0,9
Other	12,1	11,1	11,8
No reply	3,5	0,0	2,4
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

2.4. Employment sectors in the main country of immigration

The distribution of returnees to Morocco according to the sector in which they worked in the MCI (Table 16) shows that most of them worked in trade (26.1%), as this sector offers more opportunities to migrants who have no particular skills. Agriculture is also significant, occupying 11.9% of the sample, followed by the construction industry (10%) and hotel/catering industry (8.5%).

When considering the type of return, the data show significant discrepancies. The migrants who decided to return seem to prefer agriculture (25.9%), trade (23.5%) and building industry (11.8%). On the other hand, the migrants whose return was compelled turned to trade (27.1%), the building industry (10%) and the hotel/catering industry (9.5%). However, in some sectors both categories of migrants show similar percentages (manufacturing industry, etc.)

Table 16: Sectors of industry (%) of Moroccan returnees' last occupation in the MCI

Sectors of industry of the last occupation in the MCI	Type of return		Total
	Decided	Compelled	
Agriculture, hunting, forestry	6,2	25,9	11,9
Fishing, aquaculture	1,0	0,0	0,7
Mining industries	2,9	1,2	2,4
Manufacturing industry	7,1	7,1	7,1
Electricity, gas and water production and supply	1,9	1,2	1,7
Building industry	10,0	11,8	10,5
Trade, car and domestic appliance repairing	27,1	23,5	26,1
Hotel/catering industry	9,5	5,9	8,5
Transports and communications	5,2	7,1	5,8
Financial activities	3,3	1,2	2,7
Real estate, renting and business services	1,4	3,5	2,0
Public administration	1,4		1,0
Education	4,8		3,4
Health sector and social activities	4,3	1,2	3,4
Public, social and private services	1,9	2,4	2,0
Home services	0,5	1,2	0,7
Extraterritorial activities	0,0	2,4	0,7
No reply	11,4	4,7	9,5
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

2.5. Occupational status of migrants when returning to Morocco

The professional situation when returning to Morocco (Tables 17 and 18) shows that the percentage of the working population (56% at the time of return and 61.2% at the time of the survey) decreased significantly with respect to the situation abroad, whereas the number of returnees who were unemployed or not working increased. The percentages of the latter grew considerably and reached 18.2% at the time of return, and 14.2% at the time of the survey. However, in both situations unemployment mainly affects the migrants who were compelled to return (39.4% and 38%, respectively, when returning and at the time of the survey).

Among the returnees who were not working, the percentage of retired migrants increased significantly, although it never went over 5.2% at the time of return, and over 5.5% at the time of the survey. The percentage of retired returnees is higher among the migrants who decided to return, than among the other segment.

It is also worth noting that, as far as independent occupations are concerned, whereas the proportion of employers/entrepreneurs amounted to only 3.3% abroad, it reached 11.5% when returning to Morocco, and 15.2% at the time of the survey. On the other hand, the migrants who decided to return appear to be far more resourceful than those who were compelled to return. At the time of the survey, the segment of employers/entrepreneurs amounted to 19.5% for the former type of return, against only 5.1% for the latter.

Table 17: Occupational status (%) of returnees to Morocco at the time of return

Occupational status at the time of return	Type of return		Total
	Decided	Compelled	
In permanent employment	20,3	4,0	15,5
Employed on a short-term basis	4,3	4,0	4,2
Employed on a part-time basis	1,3	0,0	0,9
Seasonal worker	2,6	18,2	7,3
Employer/Entrepreneur	16,0	1,0	11,5
Legal independent contractor	14,3	6,1	11,8
Illegal independent contractor	3,9	5,1	4,2
Family helper	0,0	2,0	0,6
Unemployed	9,1	39,4	18,2
Student	2,2	2,0	2,1
Housewife	3,9	2,0	3,3
Retired	6,5	2,0	5,2
Other	13,0	9,1	11,8
No reply	2,6	5,1	3,3
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

Table 18: Occupational status (%) of returnees to Morocco at the time of the survey

Occupational status at the time of the survey	Type of return		Total
	Decided	Compelled	
In permanent employment	23,8	6,1	18,5
Employed on a short-term basis	3,0	0,0	2,1
Employed on a part-time basis	3,9	18,2	8,2
Seasonal worker	19,5	5,1	15,2
Employer/Entrepreneur	14,7	10,1	13,3
Legal independent contractor	2,6	5,1	3,3
Illegal independent contractor	0,0	2,0	0,6
Family helper	3,9	38,4	14,2
Unemployed	0,4	1,0	0,6
Student	3,5	2,0	3,0
Housewife	6,9	2,0	5,5
Retired	11,7	9,1	10,9
Other	6,1	1,0	4,5
No reply	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

The data concerning the sector of employment, at the time of the survey (Table 19), demonstrate that returnees shift from the primary to the secondary and tertiary sectors. Trade alone actually occupies over 24.9% of returnees to Morocco, followed by agriculture (13.8%) and the transport and hotel/catering industries (12.6%). The building industry concerns 7.9% of the whole sample.

Table 19: Sector of industry (%) of the working returnees to Morocco, at the time of the survey

Sector of industry at the time of the survey	Type of return		Total
	Decided	Compelled	
Agriculture, hunting, forestry	9,6	28,6	13,8
Fishing, aquaculture	1,0	0,0	0,8
Mining industries	1,5	0,0	1,2
Manufacturing industry	3,6	3,6	3,6
Electricity, gas and water production and supply	0,5	0,0	0,4
Building industry	6,1	14,3	7,9
Trade, car and domestic appliance repairing	25,4	23,2	24,9
Hotel/catering industry	6,6	1,8	5,5
Transports and communications	7,1	7,1	7,1
Financial activities	4,1	1,8	3,6
Real estate, renting and business services	5,6		4,3
Public administration	3,6	1,8	3,2
Education	4,6	1,8	4,0
Health sector and social activities	3,6	0,0	2,8
Public, social and private services	3,0	3,6	3,2
Home services	0,5	1,8	0,8
No reply	13,7	10,7	13,0
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

2.6. Returnees' level of education

The presence of migrants who achieved various levels of education or benefited from some vocational training is a recent trend, as in the past nearly all the migrating population was uneducated or unskilled. Returnees are now increasingly well educated, as shown by the data of the MIREM survey (Table 20). Nearly half (47.9%) have completed secondary school or university studies, whereas the percentage of uneducated people only amounts to 17.3%. The migrants who have a primary education are 17.6% and those with a high-school education amount to 13.3%.

At the beginning of their migratory experience, the migrants who decided to return to Morocco were less educated (14.3% of the sample), than those who were compelled to return (5.1%). On the other hand, the latter segment shows a lesser proportion of returnees who achieved a superior level of education.

Table 20: Level of education (%) of returnees to Morocco before leaving for abroad

Level of education before leaving for abroad	Type of return		Total
	Decided	Compelled	
No education	14,3	5,1	11,5
Preschool education	6,5	4,0	5,8
Elementary school	14,7	24,2	17,6
High school	9,5	22,2	13,3
Secondary school	23,4	29,3	25,2
University studies/Masters	22,5	14,1	20,0
Doctoral studies	3,5	1,0	2,7
Other	1,3	0,0	0,9
No reply	4,3	0,0	3,0
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

Moreover, nearly half (42.4%) of the returnees who had a degree (Table 21) before leaving for abroad, declared that their qualifications were recognized abroad (54% of the migrants who returned to the homeland on their own initiative against 18.2% of those whose return was compelled).

Table 21: Recognition (%) in the main country of immigration of the university degree acquired by returnees to Morocco in their country of origin

Was your degree recognised in the main country of immigration?	Type of return		Total
	Decided	Compelled	
Yes	54,0	18,2	42,4
No	23,0	28,8	24,9
No reply	23,0	53,0	32,7
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

It is worth noting that staying abroad generally resulted in an upgrading of professional training: a considerable percentage of migrants who studied in the host country (Table 22) acquired further education (65.8%). This situation is more

significant among the migrants who decided to return on their own initiative, than among those who were compelled to return (67% and 29.9%, respectively). Conversely, a significant percentage of the migrants who were compelled to return reached the secondary level of schooling (29.4 % against 2% among those who decided to return).

Table 22: Level of education (%) of returnees to Morocco in the main country of immigration

Level of education acquired in the MCI	Type of return		Total
	Decided	Compelled	
High school	2,0	5,9	2,6
Secondary school	2,0	29,4	6,0
University studies/Master	26,0	23,5	25,6
Doctorate	41,0	5,9	35,9
Other	29,0	35,3	29,9
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

Within the segment of return migrants who benefited from some education abroad (35.4%), more than half (53%) were able to have the degree they achieved abroad recognized in their country of origin (Table 23). This applies, to a greater extent, to the group of migrants who decided their return, than to those whose return was compelled.

Table 23: Validation (%) in their country of origin of the degree that returnees to Morocco acquired abroad

If you obtained a degree while living abroad, was it recognised in your country of origin?	Type of return		Total
	Decided	Compelled	
Yes	56,0	35,3	53,0
No	15,0	29,4	17,1
No reply	29,0	35,3	29,9
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

2.7. Returnees' professional training

The data of the survey reveal that return migrants to Morocco had very little access to vocational training in the main country of immigration (16.1%). The segment who benefited most from this training were the migrants who decided to return. It is worth noting that, after return, the percentage of migrants who turned to vocational training is very insignificant (4.2%).

Table 24: Professional training (%) of returnees to Morocco in the main country of immigration and in the country of origin after return

	Type of return		Total
	Decided	Compelled	
Did you obtain any vocational training in the MCI?			
Yes	18,2	11,1	16,1
No	72,3	88,9	77,3
No reply	9,5	0,0	6,7
Total	100	100	100
Did you obtain any vocational training in your country of origin after return?			
Yes	5,2	2,0	4,2
No	88,3	96,0	90,6
No reply	6,5	2,0	5,2
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

3. The resources of returnees to Morocco: social and financial capital¹

As migration is a project that is essentially prompted by economic motivations, this survey tries to evaluate the returnees' financial and social capital

3.1. Financial situation before leaving for abroad

Finances are a key indicator of the motivations behind the migratory decision. When considering migrants' expectations, the main conclusion to be drawn is that the economic factor is only one of the possible reasons for emigration. In fact, before leaving for abroad, 17% of the sample had a good, or very good financial situation. Even among those who were later to be compelled to return, 9% had a good or very good financial situation. Actually, for only approximately a quarter of them (27%) was the situation considered to be not good or very bad. This applies to more than a third (37.4%) of those who were compelled to return.

Table 25: Financial situation of returnees to Morocco before leaving for abroad

Financial situation before leaving for abroad	Type of return		Total
	Decided	Compelled	
Very good	3,9	3,0	3,6
Good	16,5	6,1	13,3
Average	49,8	52,5	50,6
Not good	15,6	28,3	19,4
Very bad	6,5	9,1	7,3
No opinion	2,2	1,0	1,8
No reply	5,6	0,0	3,9
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

¹ Sections 3 & 4 of this chapter about returnees to Morocco were written by Mohamed Khachani (AMERM).

Nearly half of the sample owned agricultural land before leaving for abroad (46%); 43% of them were migrants who were compelled to return. There is a simple explanation for why these landowners chose to emigrate as the lands were actually in non-irrigated areas, and the recurring droughts had significantly reduced the appeal of farming. These conclusions seem to corroborate the results of other surveys that were carried out about Moroccan migration¹.

3.2. The financial result of the migratory project

The financial result is connected with the financial situation of return migrants. The survey data show that for three quarters of returnees, the financial situation had significantly improved. However, it must be noted that for nearly 20% of the sample, the financial situation in the last host country remained unchanged, or even worsened, thus proving that for this segment of returnees the migratory project, from a financial point of view, was a failure.

Table 26: Financial situation (%) in the last country of immigration

In your opinion, your financial situation in the last country of immigration ...	Type of return		Total
	Decided	Compelled	
Improved considerably	37,2	13,1	30,0
Slightly improved	39,0	60,6	45,5
Remained unchanged	14,7	20,2	16,4
Worsened	2,6	3,0	2,7
No opinion	3,5	2,0	3,0
No reply	3,0	1,0	2,4
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

The frequency of the remittances sent by migrants to their homeland is another key indicator of returnees' financial situation.

Frequency of the remittances

During their last year abroad, nearly a quarter (23%) of the sample declared they did not send any remittances to family members; only 22% sent remittances on a regular monthly basis, 19% of which were migrants whose return was compelled. This fact seems to confirm some migrants' disillusion.

¹ See Eurostat: Facteurs d'attraction et de répulsion à l'origine des flux migratoires internationaux. National report-Morocco. written by par Fadlollah. A. Berrada. A. et Khachani. M. 2000. Mohamed Khachani. La migration marocaine dans le monde arabe: le cas des pays pétroliers. In Les Marocains de l'Extérieur. In the press by Fondation Hassan II for the Moroccans who reside abroad.

Table 27: Frequency of the Moroccan returnees' remittances to family members during the year before return

Frequency of remittances	Type of return		Total
	Decided	Compelled	
Once a month	23,4	19,2	22,1
Once every three months	15,6	17,2	16,1
Once every six months	5,2	6,1	5,5
Once a year	9,5	8,1	9,1
Irregularly	16,0	27,3	19,4
Never	24,2	20,2	23,0
No reply	6,1	2,0	4,8
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

Among the migrants who sent remittances to their homeland, 28% sent more than 1,000 Euros and 16.5% less than 200 Euros per year. In the first segment, we find a relatively significant proportion of migrants who were compelled to return (nearly 25%), a fact that confirms the widespread tendency of returnees to save money and the determination to send it home just before leaving to return to their country of origin, in spite of their difficult situation.

Table 28: Amounts of remittances sent per year by returnees to Morocco

Amounts of the remittances sent per year	Type of return		Total
	Decided	Compelled	
Less than 200 Euros	14,9	20,3	16,5
From 200 to 500 Euros	22,3	31,6	25,2
From 501 to 1,000 Euros	21,7	17,7	20,5
Over 1,000 Euros	29,7	25,3	28,3
No reply	11,4	5,1	9,4
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

3.2.1. Use of the remittances

Moroccan migration is essentially a migration undertaken for economic reasons, the as represented in migrants': their income is mainly earmarked to meet the basic needs of the migrants themselves and their families, who live with them or who have remained in the homeland. A part of this income is saved and invested, in order to prepare for re-integration in the country of origin.

The survey data confirm the statements mentioned above. Over 80% of the respondents sent money to provide for their family's needs, 24% to pay for children's schooling, 25% to build/purchase a house, 14% to invest in a business project, 12% to buy farming land/goods, 3.5% to update agricultural equipment and 2% to support the building of public monuments (mosques, hospitals).

Nearly a third of returnees did not send any in-kind transfers (goods) in their country of origin (31%). The majority of in-kind transfers were undertaken on a yearly basis (27.6%), namely, just before going back to their homeland for a holiday.

3.3. Investments

When returning to Morocco, over half of the sample did not undertake any investments (57%), against 43% of the returnees who invested in carrying out at least one project.

Table 29: Number of investment projects carried out by returnees to Morocco

Number of implemented investment projects	Type of return		Total
	Decided	Compelled	
None	48,5	76,8	57,0
Only one project	30,3	18,2	26,7
Two projects	15,2	5,1	12,1
Three projects	3,9	0,0	2,7
More than three projects	1,7	0,0	1,2
No reply	0,4	0,0	0,3
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

The high number of returnees who did not invest in their homeland may stem from three factors:

- Insufficient of savings, which limits the availability of financial resources needed to start a business;
- Institutional constraints in Morocco, which do not facilitate investments;
- Successful integration in the host country and alignment with a certain way of life leading to greater consumerism.

Among the investing migrants, 62% realized only one investment project, 28% two, and less than 10% declared to have realized at least three projects.

With regard to the decision to return, the data show that over half (51%) of the migrants who returned on their own initiative carried out investment projects, 60% of them realized only one project. 11% three projects. On the other hand, less than a quarter of the returnees whose return was compelled (23%) carried out any investments.

3.3.1. The main source of financial support for investment projects

The main source of financial support for projects is still personal savings. In fact, 88% of the sample declared that self-financing was their main financial support.

16.3% referred to bank loans, which implies a certain reticence among local banks with regard to financing projects set up by returnees. This reticence sometimes forces migrants to resort to a loan from a relative or from a family member: this is true for 6% of the migrants who decided to return and 22% of those who were compelled to return; the latter rate clearly denotes the difficulties aggravating migrants' financial situation and return conditions.

Institutional support is almost non-existent for most returnees who wish to carry out some investment. Only 8.5% of the migrants who decided to return declared to have benefited from institutional support. None of those whose return was compelled benefited from this kind of support, owing to a lack of communication on the part of the official institutions. Economic investments could be supported by Regional Investment Centres and thus enjoy several advantages within the investment charter, or the SME (small and medium enterprise) charter.

Family support in the homeland is essential; it was mentioned by over 45% of the sample (against only 6.4% in the former country of immigration) and it concerns the migrants who were compelled to return to a larger extent (48%) than those who returned on their own initiative (45%). Family support proves the lasting and unyielding solidarity between returnees and their families residing in the home country.

The importance of this social capital in the country of origin is also reinforced by friendly support, which concerns 13% of returnees in their homeland; among the migrants who were compelled to return, this percentage amounts to 17.4%, and 10% in the former country of immigration.

3.3.2. Fostering and promoting investments

When focusing on the measures that could motivate migrants to return to Morocco and to invest in their origin country, the data allow the following priorities to be identified:

- Firstly, the facilitation of access to land (28.5%), proving the importance of land ownership in the investment process and the lack of areas earmarked for investment.
- Secondly, the simplification of administrative procedures (24.5%), in order to alleviate the bureaucratic slackness and other associated problems (corruption, etc.)
- Thirdly, granting tax exemptions and advantages (17.6%); this particular request highlights the existence of a relatively heavy burden of taxation.

With regard to the main reasons for not being in a position to carry out any investment projects after return, some Moroccan migrants declared they had no intention to invest (11.7%), whereas nearly 19% of them did not even consider the

possibility of investing. The migrants who were intending to invest were discouraged by a series of constraints related to:

- Lack of capital (57%): this obviously concerns to a far greater extent those migrants whose return was compelled (over 80%) than those who decided to return (41%).
- Lack of experience and training: this concerns nearly a third of the whole sample (30.3%). since there are no “entrepreneurs by birth”, and it is mainly a matter of experience and preparation, for both types of return.
- Administrative and institutional constraints (nearly a quarter of the sample): this aspect is more significant among the migrants whose return was compelled (27.6%).
- Other constraints, such as market restrictions (6.4%), family or health problems (6.9%): this last proportion is higher among the migrants who were compelled to return (9.2%).

4. Migratory experience before returning to the country of origin

4.1. The context of the departure

The context in which migration is undertaken has an impact on the living conditions in the country of immigration and may prompt the idea of returning. We have several parameters at our disposal to approach this issue.

Nearly 71% of the sample stated they had left Morocco to move abroad only once; only 15.8% left on two or more occasions. Yet, before leaving, the planned duration of the migratory project was not perceived in the same way by all migrants.

Table 30: The Moroccan returnees’ migratory intentions when leaving for abroad

Intention to migrate	Type of return		Total
	Decided	Compelled	
Permanently	22,1	43,4	28,5
Temporarily	52,8	35,4	47,6
Does not know	20,3	21,2	20,6
No reply	4,8		3,3
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

28.5% of the sample expressed their initial intention to stay permanently in the host country, whereas 47.6% were planning to stay for a limited amount of time. Strangely enough, most of the respondents migrated in the 1990s, namely, when Schengen agreement’s provisions were implemented in many EU countries, entailing severe restrictions on the entry of persons in the Schengen area.

The choice of destination involves a considerable number of countries (Table 31). However, the most frequently selected country is still Italy (43% of the sample); this

is due to the fact that the survey was mainly carried out in the regions of Chaouia Ourdigha and in the Centre of Morocco, i.e. areas that are known to be the main geographical sources of migration to this European country. Italy is followed by France (28.5%) and Spain (7.9%).

Table 31: Main countries of immigration (%) of returnees to Morocco

Countries of immigration	Type of return		Total
	Decided	Compelled	
France	36,8	9,1	28,5
The Netherlands	1,3	1,0	1,2
Germany	3,0	5,1	3,6
Italy	38,1	54,5	43,0
United Kingdom	1,0	0,0	0,9
Greece	0,4	0,0	0,3
Spain	4,3	16,2	7,9
Belgium	1,7	2,0	1,8
Sweden	0,4	1,0	0,6
Finland	0,4	0,0	0,3
Switzerland	1,3	1,0	1,2
Mauritania	0,4	0,0	0,3
Canada	2,2	0,0	1,5
No reply	7,8	10,1	8,5
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

There is a particularly high percentage of migrants whose return was compelled from certain countries, such as Italy and Spain, as these European countries are both very active in the field of readmissions.

With regard to the motivations lying behind the choice of the main country of migration, the three major reasons mentioned by returnees are:

- Easy access to the country of destination, thanks to geographical proximity; this motivation is shared by 32.4% of the sample, as Morocco is close to the European borders.
- Better job opportunities.
- Higher income: for 24.2% of the sample.

What is more, the choice of the country of destination is also motivated by the presence of networks of fellow-citizens abroad, consisting of family members, friends and acquaintances

The duration of the stay abroad can extend over a period of 5-30 years. The MIREM project provides the following breakdown:

1. 5 to 10 years: 20.9% ;
2. 11 to 20 years: 24.8% ;

3. 21 to 30 years: 11.5%, (only 1% among the migrants whose return was compelled).

With regard to the travel documents possessed by migrants at the time of departure, over 70% left with official documents. This percentage concerns 80.5% of the migrants who returned on their own initiative, and only 47.5% of those who were compelled to return. A proportion of the latter group probably became illegal migrants after the expiration of the legal residence permit.

Table 32: Legal status of the Moroccan returnees when leaving for abroad

How did you leave your country...?	Type of return		Total
	Decided	Compelled	
With official documents	80,5	47,5	70,6
Undocumented	14,7	46,5	24,2
With falsified documents	0,4	6,1	2,1
No reply	4,3	0,0	3,0
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

It is worth noting that nearly a quarter of the interviewees left their country of origin without official documents. Some even left with forged documents (2.1%); 6.1% of these were migrants who were compelled to return.

Among those who left under legal conditions, 26.2% did so with a tourist visa, 28% of the legal migrants declared to have had difficulties in obtaining a visa, especially those who were compelled to return (54%), a factor that might explain the occurrence of illegal migration.

14.2% of the sample had problems with the authorities in the host country, especially those whose return was compelled (over a quarter). The percentage of migrants who faced administrative constraints is quite significant (19.7%); 36% belong to the group of migrants who were compelled to return.

4.2. Relationships in the main country of immigration

The data regarding relationships in the main country of immigration shed light on the significant role played by the pre-existing networks of people in the host country, with whom the respondents had contacts during their migratory experience.

The frequency of relationships with fellow-citizens of Morocco denotes the importance of the social capital that has been achieved or strengthened in the host country, as well as the solidity of these networks. Nearly half of the whole sample declared to have made daily visits, and nearly 70% paid weekly visits to friends. This is clear evidence of the key role that good-neighbourhood and/or public places, such as cafés and mosques can play in reinforcing these social networks. In fact, the

habitual visits to these public places may explain how the social network is able to extend to migrants from other Maghreb countries, given that one third of the sample declared to have had contact with people from the Maghreb at least once a week.

The high frequency of relationships with citizens of the host country, i.e. once every two days for 44.2% of the whole sample, denotes either good-neighbourhood, or working relations, or else a relatively high level of integration.

The habitual relationships with migrants of other nationalities indicate a certain open-mindedness of Moroccan migrants towards different cultures: 28% of the respondents stated that they had socialised with other foreign people at least once a week.

4.2.1 Relationships with the host society of the MCI

When considering the relationships with the institutions of the main country of immigration (MCI) during the stay abroad, nearly 44% declared they were good, 24% quite good. Only 2.4% declared that they had had significant problems with the institutions.

The relationships with the society of the host country were thought to be very good by 41.5% of the sample and quite good by 36%. Only 9.7% declared that they had had problems. The latter were mainly related to the difficulty of finding a house (over 44%) and problems of integration (32.7%), this concerned 51.1% of the migrants who were compelled to return, 28.5% acknowledged that they had been victims of discrimination and racism. Discrimination is a key factor in the employment market, as over 36% of the sample could not find a permanent job and 12.1% declared their salary was too low. In the end, almost 1/5 of the sample faced administrative constraints.

4.3. Relationships with the family residing in the country of origin and visits to Morocco

Family ties were always fairly strong for Moroccan returnees, since over half of them (49.1%) visited their homeland at least once a week and nearly a quarter several times every month. The frequency of visits to Morocco, during the last year abroad before return, confirms these strong ties.

Table 33: Frequency of the visits to Morocco during the last year abroad before return

Frequency of the visits to Morocco	Type of return		Total
	Decided	Compelled	
Twice or several times per year	37,2	5,1	27,6
Once a year	33,3	23,2	30,3
Less than once a year	5,6	5,1	5,5
Occasionally	7,8	9,1	8,2

Never	11,7	56,6	25,2
No reply	4,3	1,0	3,3
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

Nearly 38% of the respondents said they had visited Morocco twice or several times a year; over 30% went back to their homeland once a year. The geographical proximity facilitated these visits, as well as the strong attachment of new migrants to their family.

The segment of migrants who declared they never visited Morocco (nearly a quarter of the sample) probably consists of returnees who were illegal immigrants and/or who had to face financial problems: nearly 57% of these respondents were migrants whose return was compelled.

The main motivations for visiting Morocco were the following:

- Family reasons, for over three quarters of the sample ;
- Holidays, for over 61% ;
- Business, for over a quarter of the sample ;
- Celebrations , for 25.1% ;
- Administrative reasons, for 12% of the sample.

Furthermore, over 60% of the interviewees said they had been in contact with the Moroccan diplomatic or consular authorities, mainly for administrative reasons (97%), for national celebrations (9.5%), to obtain information (6%) or at election time (5%).

4.4. Talking about return

The place of return: for more than a third of the sample (36%) the place of return is the birthplace, the place of residence just before migrating for nearly a quarter of the sample(24.2%), and some other place for 38%. This last percentage concerns 45% of the migrants who decided to return, a clear sign that return is considered as a “geographical” upgrading. In fact, migrants who lived in rural areas settle in urban areas and those who lived in small towns chose larger cities. On the other hand, the relatively high percentage of migrants whose return was compelled, who then go back to their birthplace or to the previous place of residence, is probably due to the difficulties they faced and their need of family support.

The main source of information in the return process was family (39%), friends (9.4%); however 29.4% of those who decided to return do not mention any source of information.

Before return, 33% of the sample declared to have often talked about their return project, 24% sometimes, nearly 12% very seldom and 26% said they never discussed the matter. This frequency differs according to the type of return. In fact, 40% of the

migrants who decided to return to their homeland declared to have mentioned this project before, whereas only 16% of the other segment of returnees spoke about their project. The large segment (50%) of returnees to Morocco who affirmed never to have talked about the return project understandably belongs to the category of migrants whose return was compelled.

4.5. Main return motivations

As far as return motivations are concerned, the data gathered among the migrants who decided to return to their country of origin allow four main reasons to be identified:

- Business management: the geographical distance is undoubtedly a negative factor when having to manage a business in the country of origin (14.7%);
- Starting a business in Morocco also requires the return of migrants to their country of origin (12.6%);
- Homesickness, i.e. the longing for one's country and traditions, (12%) validate the saying "you leave Morocco, but Morocco doesn't leave you": Moroccans are recognisable by a strong attachment to their country;
- Family problems in the country of origin (10.4%), for the migrants whose family stayed in the homeland.

On the other hand, the return motivations of the Moroccan migrants whose return was compelled are different:

- Removal order, for nearly 57% of the sample;
- Tax and administrative problems, for over 20% of the sample;
- Family problems, for over 17% of the sample;
- Non-renewal of the residence permit, for over 16% of the sample;
- Serious health problems, for 8% of the sample.

5. Re-integration and post-return conditions of returnees to Morocco¹

It is necessary to investigate the pre-return conditions of returnees in order to understand the patterns of socio-professional re-integration in the country of origin. The process of re-adaptation in the homeland is affected by the factors that prompted return itself, and by the migratory experience of the Moroccan returnees in the main country of immigration (MCI).

¹ The sections 5 & 6 of this chapter about returnees to Morocco were written by Mehdi Lahlou (INSEA).

5.1. Re-integration patterns in Morocco

The data which demonstrate the level of real integration of returnees are those concerning their professional and the financial situations, as well as the realisation of financial projects.

Professional situation

The occupational status of the interviewees changed during the migratory experience. This change actually signified an improvement, as shown by two positive indicators, i.e. the increase in permanently employed migrants and in the number of employers/entrepreneurs.

Those in permanent employment amounted to 8.8% of the sample, before leaving for abroad, and increased to 18.48% at the time of the survey (as shown in the following table); the percentage of employers/entrepreneurs increased considerably, from 2% just before migration to 50% at the time of the survey.

Table 34: Occupational status of returnees to Morocco

Occupational status	Before leaving for abroad	Just before the return	At the time of the survey
In permanent employment	8,8	26,3	18,4
Employed on a short-term basis	6,3	10,9	2,1
Employed on a part-time basis	2,42	2,1	0,0
Seasonal worker	9,1	14,5	8,1
Employer/Entrepreneur	0,0	3,0	15,1
Legal independent contractor	9,1	6,3	13,3
Illegal independent contractor	4,8	10,0	3,3
Family helper	5,1	18,1	0,6
Unemployed	9,1	3,9	14,2
Student	26,6	4,5	0,6
Housewife	0,9	12,1	3,0
Retired	0,0	0,9	5,5
Other	9,1	11,8	10,9
No reply	7,5	2,4	4,5
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

This general advancement results from the experience acquired by migrants during their stay abroad and from the financial resources they were able to gather. It is also the outcome of the relative improvement of the economic and social situation that has taken place in Morocco in the last four or five years. In fact, since 2002, the gross domestic product (GDP) has increased by 3.5%-4% every year, whereas before this date it only grew by less than 3% a year.

This favourable trend is mainly due to the tourist industry, which has benefited from a significant increase in visitors (over 6 million in 2006). What is more, direct

investments have considerably progressed in the last two years, thus adding their positive effect to the high increase in returnees' remittances. This general improvement is also the outcome of the 16% decrease in the rate of unemployment, registered in Morocco between 1998 and 2000. By the end of 2006 unemployment in Morocco was at 8%. (source: *Haut Commissariat au Plan*, Rabat, Morocco).

However, the positive effects of the factors mentioned above on returnees are significantly minimized by two opposing elements, namely, the increase in the unemployment rate in the whole sample and the high percentage of returnees among those who were compelled to return with precarious occupations.

Before leaving for abroad, the sample showed an unemployment rate of 9.1%, while at the time of the survey it amounted to 14.2%, 6 points over the official national unemployment rate. Unemployment mostly concerns the migrants whose return was compelled. In this segment, 39 respondents declared they were unemployed, against 9 respondents among the migrants who decided to return; the total population of unemployed returnees amounts to 80% of the whole sample.

A large segment of the migrants who were compelled to return are also engaged in precarious employments. Among the 38 unemployed migrants mentioned above, 27 were employed as seasonal workers and 18 out of this 27 (i.e. 75% of the whole sample) were those who had been forced to return. In addition, 8 returnees out of 11 declared themselves to be illegal independent contractors.

The occupational status of Moroccan returnees inevitably affects their financial situation. The latter is a key element to illustrate returnees' level of integration following their return to Morocco.

Financial situation and re-integration patterns of returnees to Morocco

40.3% of the interviewees declared that their financial situation was "better", or "much better" after their return to Morocco. This percentage amounts to 48.4% among the migrants who decided to return on their own initiative. When comparing these results with the data showed in Table 26 (see section 3.2.), it provides evidence of the relative success of the migratory experience, in the main country of immigration (MCI) and, after return in the country of origin.

However, the average percentages illustrate quite a different financial situation when focusing on the Moroccan returnees whose return was compelled. The data actually show that the latter segment of returnees faced deterioration in their financial situations following their return, owing to serious difficulties in finding a job, a fact that further exacerbates the feeling of humiliation and failure related to return conditions.

A decrease in standard of living is mentioned by more than half of the whole sample (54.5%), whereas it concerns only 20.3% of the migrants who decided to return home.

Table 35: Financial situation (%) of returnees to Morocco at the time of the survey

Financial situation in Morocco, after return, compared with the situation in the MCI	Type of return		Total
	Decided	Compelled	
Much better	17,7	5,1	13,9
Better	30,7	16,2	26,4
Remains unchanged	25,5	20,2	23,9
Worse	20,3	54,5	30,6
No opinion	4,8	3,0	4,2
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

Realization of business projects in the country of origin

The preceding data regarding occupational status show that 50 returnees were working as employers/entrepreneurs after their return, while before leaving for abroad there were only 2. This significant increase is a result of the relatively high number of returnees (141, at the time of the survey), who carried out some investment projects in various sectors of industry after their return. 43% of the returnees who declared to have realized at least one project, and 14.5% (48 returnees) stated they had carried out 2 projects or more.

For 88% of the whole sample, the main source of financial support for these projects were their own personal savings (i.e. the money saved abroad), followed by family support from Morocco (45.4%). The intention to carry out some investment projects in the homeland is seemingly widespread among all returnees in the MCI. Among a population of 174 respondents, who declared to have sent remittances to Morocco at least once a year, 43% of them sent money home with the intention of realizing some business project.

Only a small percentage of returnees (16.3%) resort to bank loans to finance their projects. This could be due to the fact that either migrants do not wish to borrow money from banks, or that banks themselves do not consider migrants' projects as profitable, or that migrants are not able to offer sufficient guarantees of profitability and repayment to secure the loan.

In addition to the minor contribution of banks in financing returnees' projects in their homeland, only 7% of the sample declared to have benefited from public support, a fact that indicates a distinct lack of interest in returnees' projects on the part of the institutions. This percentage shrinks still further, when it comes to interviewing the whole sample, including the returnees who had no projects in mind.

Table 36: Institutional support to returnees after their return to Morocco

Have you benefited from support by the Moroccan institutions after your return?	Type of return		Total
	Decided	Compelled	
Yes	4,1	3,1	3,8
No	95,9	96,9	96,2
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

What is more, the returnees who did have some projects in mind seem to have faced serious administrative constraints on their return, especially when trying to start up their projects. Over half of the interviewed returnees to Morocco, who achieved some projects declared that they had experienced problems with the public administration. This explains why more than half of the returnees who started a business in Morocco mentioned administrative constraints as one of the main difficulties they faced, followed by competition and lack of capital.

6. Expected duration of stay in Morocco before and after return

The intention to stay in the homeland permanently or temporarily after return can be positively influenced by factors such as being successful in finding a job, having a good standard of living and the feeling of being a valued member of society among fellow citizens, with no sense of rejection or marginalization. On the other hand potential negative influences could be a lack of prospects for socio-professional re-integration in the country of origin and, in case of re-emigration, the feeling of having failed in the return process.

Aside from the difficulties of re-integration, the decision to re-emigrate can also reflect migrants' feeling of dissatisfaction after return. The change of attitude of Moroccan returnees, which occurs between their return and the time of the survey, reveals widespread disappointment, with an additional feeling of failure and humiliation, as previously mentioned, for the migrants who were compelled to return.

6.1. Expected duration of stay in the country of origin at the time of return

Nearly one in two migrants (almost 44% of the whole sample) declared their intention to stay permanently in Morocco on their return, regardless of the nature of the return, whereas only one in four (24.2%) wished to stay on a temporary basis. In this regard, Table 37 below highlights a significant contrast between migrants who decided to return and those who were compelled. .

53% of the migrants who decided to return stated their intention to remain on a permanent basis, against only 22% of those who were compelled to return. On the other hand, over 76% of the latter said they came back with the aim of staying in Morocco only temporarily (38.4%).

Table 37: Returnees to Morocco: expected duration of stay in the country of origin, when returning (%)

Intention to stay in Morocco...	Type of return		Total
	Decided	Compelled	
Permanently	53,2	22,2	43,9
Temporarily	18,2	38,4	24,2
Do not know	24,7	38,4	28,8
<i>No reply</i>	3,9	1,0	3,0
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

It is most likely that the predisposition to re-emigrate stems from the type of return, either decided or compelled, as well as from the degree of disappointment felt by the migrants who were forced to give up their migratory project. Therefore, this tendency to re-emigrate seems to grow, as shown in the table below. These data also point to the difficulty of re-integration in the Moroccan society and economy (especially for the migrants who were compelled to return).

Table 38: Re-emigration perspectives of returnees to Morocco at the time of the survey (%)

Do you plan to leave again for abroad?	Type of return		Total
	Decided	Compelled	
Definitely	17,3	35,4	22,7
Probably	18,2	18,2	18,2
Not for now	19,9	17,2	19,1
Never again	19,0	14,1	17,6
Does not know	22,5	15,2	20,3
<i>No reply</i>	3,0	0,0	2,1
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

This table actually highlights that, at the time of the survey, more than half (53%) of all the migrants whose return decision was compelled, planned to leave again for abroad. Among them, 35.4% were certain that they would re-emigrate, and 18.2% said that this was a likely eventuality, 14% of them declared they did not wish to leave again, whereas 22% intended to stay permanently in the homeland immediately after their return (Table 37).

When focusing on the migrants who returned on their own initiative, more than half said they wished to stay permanently in Morocco at the time of return. However, they constituted only 19% at the time of the survey. Such a change of mind regarding the intention to stay in the country of origin definitely relates to living conditions in Morocco, the employment situation and the projects realized in the homeland. The financial situation and difficulties of re-integration are also contributory factors.

6.2. Difficulties faced by returnees to Morocco

More than half of the sample (54.5%) declared to have faced administrative constraints when returning to Morocco. It is worth noting that this is true for both types of return.

The difficulties of re-integration and/or re-adaptation also involve both segments of migrants. However, it is worth highlighting that these problems are mostly felt by the migrants who were compelled to return. This is due to several factors: firstly, as previously mentioned, the migrants who did not choose to return to their homeland suffer from a feeling of humiliation or failure, as mentioned before. Secondly, they mostly live in a situation of unemployment or uncertainty, and therefore have a very delicate financial situation, unlike those who returned on their own initiative. These remarks are clarified by the data shown on the table below, which highlights a clear discrepancy between the two categories of returnees to Morocco.

57.3% of the whole sample of interviewees declared themselves to be happy to be back in Morocco, against 23.9% who were dissatisfied. However, the latter percentage was almost twice as much as the average (57.6%) among the migrants whose return was compelled, whilst only 10% of the migrants who returned to Morocco on their own initiative were not content. Seemingly, 69.3% of the migrants who decided to return declared themselves as being satisfied with their current situation, whereas this percentage only amounts to 29.3% among those who were compelled to return.

Table 39: The Moroccan returnees' degree of satisfaction regarding their post-return conditions in their country of origin, at the time of the survey

Are you happy to be back?	Type of return		Total
	Decided	Compelled	
Yes	69,3	29,3	57,3
No	9,5	57,6	23,9
Indifferent	17,3	12,1	15,8
<i>No reply</i>	3,9	1,0	3,0
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

6.3. Re-emigration

Returnees' dissatisfaction is closely related to the difficulties they face in their country of origin, regardless of the motivations for and type of return.

One of the most frequently mentioned difficulties concerns the Moroccan healthcare system. In fact, 55.4% of the whole sample expressed their discontent with this aspect of life in Morocco. This strikingly high percentage is not surprising given that a better healthcare system is one of the most appealing aspects of life abroad for Moroccan emigrants. The healthcare issue is one which precedes administrative

constraints, mentioned by more than half of the sample, and the difficulties of re-integration/re-adaptation.

The problems mentioned above – together with difficulties in accessing the employment market – have a significant bearing on the migratory experience of Moroccan returnees, as well as on their intention to re-emigrate. In fact, whereas three out of five migrants (59.1%) did not plan to re-emigrate at the time of the survey, a far higher percentage of the migrants who were compelled to return expressed their wish to leave again for abroad.

Table 40: Intention to re-emigrate of returnees to Morocco

Where do you plan to re-emigrate to?	Type of return		Total
	Decided	Compelled	
To the last immigration country	28,1	31,3	29,1
To another country	5,2	15,2	8,2
Do not know where	1,7	7,1	3,3
Do not plan to leave again	64,5	46,5	59,1
No reply	0,4	0,0	0,3
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

When focusing on the motivations to re-emigrate, the data show a great discrepancy between the two segments of migrants. Those whose return was intentional mentioned the fact that they already knew the immigration country where they wished to go again, and that they needed to renew their documents. On the other hand, migrants who were compelled to return mentioned the fact that they had no future in Morocco, owing to poor employment prospects and problems in accessing the employment market.

Table 41: Moroccan returnees' motivations to re-emigrate (%)

Reasons for leaving again the country of origin	First reason		Second reason		Third reason	
	Decided	Compelled	Decided	Compelled	Decided	Compelled
I already know the immigration country and would like to stay there	10,3	14,3	1,2	5,2	3,9	6,1
I cannot adapt to being in my country of origin	4,2	8,2	5,5	9,1	2,4	5,6
I have no future in my country of origin	5,8	11,3	8,5	14,3	4,5	10,8
To renew my documents	8,5	2,6	4,5	3,5	2,1	1,3
I cannot find a job here	3,9	7,4	4,2	9,5	4,5	7,4

New job opportunities abroad	2,7	3,5	1,8	3,0	3,9	7,4
For family reasons	3	3,9	7	4,3	3,6	3,9
For health reasons	0,9	0,9	1,8	0	4,5	0,9
For other reasons	0,9	0,0	2,1	1,7	3,6	5,2
I do not plan to leave again	59,1	47,6	59,1	47,6	59,1	47,6
<i>No reply</i>	0,6	0,4	4,2	1,7	7,6	3,9
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

The various issues considered above illustrate that the motivations of the returnees who wish to re-emigrate are set out in three interdependent levels of analysis.

- The first level regards institutions and their function. It applies to the administration, its patterns of intervention and to relationships with the whole population and, more specifically, with migrants. It also refers to the health and welfare systems. The role played by the State is decisive, in order to ascertain the prior mechanisms necessary to effectively support returnees' re-integration.
- The second level involves the employment market, its economic drive and its capacity to absorb labour and create new opportunities.
- The third level is closely related to the first two: it involves the more personal and subjective aspect of returnees' migratory experience and their capacity for re-adaptation and re-integration in the employment market, in their families and in society. The public institutions and society have a key role to play in discouraging social and occupational marginalisation. In order to achieve this aim, the prerequisites to fostering the process of re-integration of Moroccan returnees are a well functioning education system and better opportunities for vocational training.

CHAPTER 4

RETURN MIGRANTS TO TUNISIA¹

The purpose of this chapter is to analyse the data from the survey carried out among 330 Tunisian returnees. Two main analytical approaches have been employed.

The first involves the examination of the variables according to a one-dimensional analysis, in order to understand return migration to Tunisia as a whole. In addition, this investigation aims to outline the profiles of Tunisian migrants and to describe their migratory experience through the comparative study of the three main migratory steps, namely, when leaving for abroad, during the stay in the country of immigration and after the return to the country of origin.

The second approach involves a two-dimensional analysis, whose purpose is to understand whether the return decision – either decided or compelled – of Tunisian returnees represents an explanatory variable in their re-integration patterns. The sample consists of 265 migrants who decided to return to Tunisia on their own initiative and 65 migrants who were forcibly removed.

The scientific team of the MIREM project identified six main issues, which are presented in the following six sections. As nearly all the variables are nominal and ordinal, we used statistical tests such as Pearson chi-squared test and Spearman's rank coefficient, in order to identify the key variables having a direct and significant correlation.

1. Analysis of the socio-demographic characteristics

The analysis of the socio-demographic data allows the Tunisian returnees' profile to be defined according to age, sex, marital status, household composition, type of housing and occupational status, in order to highlight the impact of these variables upon migrants' decision to return to their country of origin.

¹ Raja Chaieb and Abderrazak Bel Haj Zekri (OTE) wrote this chapter concerning return migrants to Tunisia.

1.1. Compelled return is non-existent among “senior returnees”, but significant in the other age groups

When examining the data by age group, it is important to note a similar distribution of adult return migrants from 31 to 40 years old (26.7%), from 41 to 50 years old (26%) and from 50 to 64 years old (36.4%). The abovementioned groups significantly outnumber “young” migrants up to 30 years old and “senior” returnees over 65 years old, who amount to 9.7% and 11.5% of the whole sample, respectively.

Table 1: Returnees to Tunisia by age group (%)

Age	Type of return		Total
	Decided	Compelled	
Age groups - (Significance level of chi-squared test = 0%)			
Up to 30	6,0	24,6	9,7
31-40 years old	22,6	43,1	26,7
41-50 years old	27,2	20,0	25,8
50-64 years old	29,8	12,3	26,4
65 +	14,3	0,0	11,5
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

Thanks to the Pearson chi-squared test, the data show that age has an impact on the return decision, especially among the senior migrants who decided to return on their own initiative (none of the senior migrants was actually compelled to return). However, many migrants under 65 years old experienced compelled return, to various degrees, especially adult returnees from 31 to 40 years old (43.1%).

1.2. Does gender have an impact on the choice to return to Tunisia?

The statistical data of returnees’ analysis by sex distribution shows that men (88.5%) significantly outnumber women (11.5%). Considering that our sample mainly consists of male migrants, it is difficult to determine whether sex actually has an impact on return decision or not. The table only gives information about the distribution of returnees by sex.

Table 2: Sex distribution of return migrants to Tunisia

Sex	Type of return		Total (%)
	Decided	Compelled	
Male	88,7	87,7	88,5
Female	11,3	12,3	11,5
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

1.3. When is civil status a decisive factor in the return decision?

The analysis of the data concerning the Tunisian returnees' marital status allows a radical change in their family situation to be observed. After their return to the country of origin, the percentage of single migrants reduced to a quarter, shifting downwards from 67% to 16.1%. Conversely, the proportion of married migrants was three times as much ($\approx 2,77$ times), shifting upwards from 32.1% before leaving, to 77.9% after their repatriation in Tunisia (28.2% were married before leaving for abroad, 28.2% in the country of immigration and 21.5% on return).

Table 3: Marital status of return migrants to Tunisia (%)

Family situation	Type of return		Total
	Decided	Compelled	
When leaving for abroad - (Significance level of chi-squared test = 2.1%)			
Single	63,0	83,1	67,0
Married	35,8	16,9	32,1
Divorced	0,8	0,0	0,6
Widow/widower	0,4	0,0	0,3
Total	100	100	100
On return - (Significance level of chi-squared test = 0%)			
Single	10,9	36,9	16,1
Married before leaving	32,1	12,3	28,2
Married abroad	30,6	18,5	28,2
Married on return	21,9	20,0	21,5
Other civil status	4,5	12,3	6,1
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

When testing the influence of marital status on the return decision, it appears that the family situation had a more significant and decisive bearing when leaving for abroad than in the host country. Furthermore, compelled return is more significant among single migrants than among married ones (83.1% against 16.9%).

1.4. Migration has prompted the formation of nuclear families

The data concerning the household composition illustrate perfectly the development of Tunisian returnees' family configuration. Before leaving their homeland, 51% of them lived in "extended families" (household made up of parents and/or brothers and sisters) and 20.3% of the whole sample lived in a "nuclear family" (household made up of a couple with or without children).

In the country of immigration, the household composition of Tunisian migrants radically changed: a small percentage of migrants (1.2%) still lived in the same "extended" family structure, whereas 45.3% were in a "nuclear" family (a couple–

with –38.8% – or without – 6.5% children). What is more, the data allow two other household compositions to be identified:

- the first regards the migrants who were “single” in the main country of immigration (MCI), (13.8%);
- the second consists of migrants living with other family members (32%).

When considering the household composition, the situation on returning to Tunisia appears to be very similar to that abroad. 10.2% of returnees resumed living with their parents and brothers and sisters. This segment of the sample is higher among the migrants whose return was compelled (27.4%). Yet, the majority of the migrants who chose to live in a nuclear family, independent from the parents and/or brothers and sisters (9.3% without children and 53.7% with children, for a total 63%), belong to the group of migrants who returned on their own initiative (61.5% against 9.6% of the migrants whose return was compelled).

When analysing the relationship between the household composition of the Tunisian returnees and return decision, there is a 0% margin for error. Therefore, these two factors are closely related, especially at the time of migration. At the time of return to the country of origin, the data show a different distribution of migrants whose return was compelled in every household typology listed in the table below.

Table 4: Return migrants to Tunisia by household composition

Household composition	Type of return		Total (%)
	Decided	Compelled	
Before leaving for abroad - (Significance level of chi-squared test = 15,8%)			
Single	1,1	0,0	0,9
With wife/husband	5,3	8,1	5,8
With wife/husband and children	16,7	4,8	14,5
With wife/husband, children and others	4,9	0,0	4,0
With parents	5,7	6,5	5,8
With brothers and sisters	0,8	0,0	0,6
With parents, brothers and sisters	47,9	64,5	51,1
With parents, brothers and sisters and others	4,9	6,5	5,2
Other family members or friends	4,2	3,2	4,0
Other household composition	8,4	6,5	8,0
Total	100	100	100
When leaving the MCI - (Significance level of chi-squared test = 0%)			
Single	15,6	6,5	13,8
With wife/husband	3,8	17,7	6,5
With wife/husband and children	43,7	17,7	38,8
With wife/husband, children and others	1,1	3,2	1,5
With parents	1,5	0,0	1,2
With brothers and sisters	1,5	4,8	2,2
With parents, brothers and sisters	1,5	0,0	1,2
Other family members or friends	30,0	40,3	32,0
Other household composition	1,1	9,7	2,8
Total	100	100	100

At the time of the survey - (Significance level of chi-squared test = 1,6%)			
Single	2,3	11,3	4,0
With wife/husband	9,6	8,1	9,3
With wife/husband and children	61,5	21,0	53,7
With wife/husband, children and others	7,7	9,7	8,1
With parents	2,7	8,1	3,7
With brothers and sisters	0,4	3,2	0,9
With parents, brothers and sisters	6,2	27,4	10,2
With parents, brothers and sisters and others	2,7	3,2	2,8
Other family members or friends	2,3	3,2	2,5
Other household composition	4,6	4,8	4,7
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

1.5. Migration facilitated an increase in house owners and the near disappearance of precarious housing abroad

The bearing of the Tunisian returnees' housing conditions upon their return decision can be examined according to two factors: their occupancy status where they are living and the type of accommodation. When considering the first factor, the data highlight a significant improvement in the housing situation between the arrival in the host country and the return to the country of origin with the number of home owners rising from 3% to 13%. This particularly applies to migrants who returned on their own initiative.

Table 5: Accommodation status (%) of return migrants to Tunisia

Type of occupancy	Type of return		Total (%)
	Decided	Compelled	
In the MCI (Significance level of chi-squared test = 0,6%)			
Home owner	3,0	4,6	3,3
Tenant	72,8	75,4	73,3
Free accommodation	12,1	9,2	11,5
Job-related accommodation	7,5	1,5	6,4
Other	0,8	7,7	2,1
No reply	3,8	1,5	3,3
Total	100	100	100
Before return - (Significance level of chi-squared test = 0%)			
Home owner	14,0	9,2	13,0
Tenant	65,3	56,9	63,6
Free accommodation	7,9	7,7	7,9
Job-related accommodation	6,4	3,1	5,8
Other	0,4	12,3	2,7
No reply	6,0	10,8	7,0
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

As far as the second factor is concerned, the data illustrate the change that occurred between the returnees' type of accommodation before and after migrating. In the host country, most households lived in flats (75.5%), against 13.9% before leaving Tunisia. Nearly 13.3% lived in villas, against 24.5% before migrating. A small percentage of migrants lived in rural houses during their stay abroad (2.4% in the host country).

It must also be highlighted that in the host country the proportion of households living in makeshift shelters/slums is almost non-existent (0.6%), whereas it amounted to 3.3% before leaving for abroad.

Table 6: Housing situation (%) of return migrants to Tunisia

Kind of housing	Type of return		Total (%)
	Decided	Compelled	
Before leaving for abroad - (Significance level of chi-squared test = 23,2%)			
Private villa	24,2	26,2	24,5
Flat	13,6	15,4	13,9
Traditional house	41,1	50,8	43,0
Rural house	15,1	6,2	13,3
Institutional accommodation	1,1	0,0	0,9
Makeshift shelter/slum/shack...	4,2	0,0	3,3
Other	0,4	1,5	0,6
No reply	0,4	0,0	0,3
Total	100	100	100
In the MCI - (Significance level of chi-squared test = 10%)			
Private villa	14,3	9,2	13,3
Flat	77,0	69,2	75,5
Traditional house	0,4	0,0	0,3
Rural house	1,9	4,6	2,4
Institutional accommodation	4,2	6,2	4,5
Makeshift shelter/slum/shack...	0,8	0,0	0,6
Other	1,5	9,2	3,0
No reply	0,0	1,5	0,3
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

2. Professional situation and skills

2.1. The occupational status of Tunisian returnees seems to improve in the host country

Before migrating, most respondents were employed in their country of origin. The statistical data show a predominance of wage earners (35.8%, namely, 26.1% employed permanently and 10.7% on a short term or part-time basis). The distribution of the other occupational situations can be summarised as follows: 15.5% were seasonal workers, 14.3% independent contractors and 1.2% employers/entrepreneurs.

It is worth noting that over 9% of all returnees were unemployed and 12.4% were students.

In the host country, the professional situation changed significantly. The percentage of employed migrants was still predominant, and even increased by 1,6 times (shifting from 35.6% before leaving Tunisia, to 56.8% in the MCI); within this segment, 23.3% had a permanent job and over 33% a short-term or part-time job.

The data also indicate a significant development in the percentage of employers/entrepreneurs, who increased from 1.2% to 7%. Furthermore, there is a slight increase in the proportion of legal independent contractors (from 5,2% before migrating to 7.3% in the MCI). Conversely, the segment of illegal independent contractors decreased from 9.1% before migrating to 3.9% in the MCI.

Table 7: Occupational status of returnees to Tunisia, before migrating and in the MCI

Occupational status	Type of return		Total (%)
	Decided	Compelled (%)	
Occupational status before leaving for abroad - (Sign, level of chi-squared test = 15,8%)			
In permanent employment	27,2	21,5	26,1
Employed on a short-term basis	5,7	10,8	6,7
Employed on a part-time basis	3,4	1,5	3,0
Seasonal worker	15,1	16,9	15,5
Employer/Entrepreneur	1,5	0,0	1,2
Legal independent contractor	5,3	4,6	5,2
Illegal independent contractor	8,3	12,3	9,1
Family helper	3,8	1,5	3,3
Unemployed	8,7	13,8	9,7
Student	12,8	10,8	12,4
Housewife	5,3	0,0	4,2
Other	1,5	0,0	1,2
No reply	1,5	6,2	2,4
Total	100	100	100
Occupational status in the MCI - (Sign, level of chi-squared test = 0%)			
In permanent employment	24,5	18,5	23,3
Employed on a short-term basis	29,4	20,0	27,6
Employed on a part-time basis	3,8	13,8	5,8
Seasonal worker	4,5	6,2	4,8
Employer/Entrepreneur	7,5	4,6	7,0
Legal independent contractor	8,7	1,5	7,3
Illegal independent contractor	1,1	15,4	3,9
Family helper	2,6	12,3	4,5
Unemployed	4,2	1,5	3,6
Student	3,4	1,5	3,0
Retired	8,3	0,0	6,7
Other	1,9	1,5	1,8
No reply	0,0	3,1	0,6
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

When referring to Pearson chi-squared test, the occupational status in the host country seems to have a significant bearing on Tunisian migrants' return decision (with a 0% margin of error). It is also worth noting that wage earners are predominant (nearly 58%) among the migrants who decided to return.

On the other hand, among the migrants whose return was compelled, or forced due to certain circumstances, the majority are illegal independent contractors (15.4%, instead of 1.1% among the migrants who returned on their own initiative), then unemployed (12.3% against only 1.1% among the migrants who decided to return) and seasonal workers (6.2%).

It is worth highlighting that the occupational status of working migrants abroad improved with regard to their status just before leaving Tunisia. What is more, migration halved the unemployment rate of the whole sample.

2.2. Return migrants undertaking investments in Tunisia

The professional experience acquired abroad by Tunisian returnees enhanced their skills from an economical and personal point of view. Migrants' occupational status after their return to Tunisia constitutes an indicator of this improvement.

After return the percentage of migrants in regular employment was overtaken by the sector concerning independent contractors. Therefore, in Tunisia only 26.3% of all returnees were employed, with a majority (21.2%) in permanent employment. Meanwhile the number of independent contractors who came back to carry out some investments and set up their own business in their country of origin increased significantly to 41.6% of the whole sample. Nearly 28% of them achieved this aim, thus becoming managers, in contrast with their extremely low percentage before migration and in the MCI (1.2% and 7%, respectively; see table above); 13% became independent contractors. The observations above encourage greater reflection on how to foster and encourage investments in Tunisia.

Table 8: Occupational status (%) of Tunisian returnees when returning to their country of origin

Occupational status	Type of return		Total (%)
	Decided	Compelled	
Occupational status at the time of the survey - (Sign, level of chi-squared test = 0%)			
In permanent employment	21,1	21,5	21,2
Employed on a short-term basis	3,4	6,2	3,9
Employed on a part-time basis	0,0	6,2	1,2
Seasonal worker	2,3	0,0	1,8
Employer/Entrepreneur	31,3	13,8	27,9
Legal independent contractor	7,9	12,3	8,8
Illegal independent contractor	2,6	13,8	4,8
Family helper	1,5	4,6	2,1
Unemployed	5,7	9,2	6,4

Student	0,0	1,5	0,3
Housewife	2,3	1,5	2,1
Retired	19,2	6,2	16,7
Other	1,5	1,5	1,5
Filter question	1,1	1,5	1,2
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

2.3. Sectors of industry: the modernization of the services sector after return to Tunisia

Migration has made a scarce contribution to the modernization of the sectors of activity related to the Tunisian returnees' occupation. The data show a predilection for the service industry: trade and car and domestic appliance repair (13.6%), hotel industry (12.1%) and education (11.5%). On the other hand, the traditional sectors, such as agriculture and the building industry, amounted to 21.5% just before migrating, this figure remained almost unchanged abroad (18.2%), and then fell after return (7.5%).

Table 9: Sectors of industry (%) of return migrants to Tunisia

Sectors of industry	Type of return		Total (%)
	Decided	Compelled	
Sector of industry of the last occupation in the MCI (Sign, level of chi-squared test = 0,1%)			
Filter question	18,5	15,4	17,9
Agriculture, hunting, forestry	2,3	4,6	2,7
Fishing, aquaculture	1,1	0,0	0,9
Mining industry	2,6	1,5	2,4
Manufacturing industry	4,9	4,6	4,8
Electricity, gas and water production and supply	2,3	1,5	2,1
Building industry	17,0	9,2	15,5
Trade, car and domestic appliance repairing	9,1	7,7	8,8
Hotel/catering industry	15,5	9,2	14,2
Transports and communications	2,3	13,8	4,5
Financial activities	0,8	0,0	0,6
Real estate, renting and business services	1,1	1,5	1,2
Public administration	1,1	3,1	1,5
Education	10,2	10,8	10,3
Health sector and social activities	5,3	0,0	4,2
Public, social and private services	1,9	1,5	1,8
Home services	0,0	3,1	0,6
No reply	4,2	12,3	5,8
Total	100	100	100
Sector of industry of the last occupation (at the time of the survey) - (Sign, level of chi-squared test = 3,6%)			
Filter question	27,2	18,5	25,5
Agriculture, hunting, forestry	4,2	1,5	3,6
Fishing, aquaculture	1,1	0,0	0,9
Mining industry	1,5	1,5	1,5

Manufacturing industry	5,7	6,2	5,8
Electricity, gas and water production and supply	1,9	3,1	2,1
Building industry	3,8	4,6	3,9
Trade, car and domestic appliance repairing	10,6	26,2	13,6
Hotel/catering industry	13,6	6,2	12,1
Transports and communications	2,6	9,2	3,9
Financial activities	0,4	1,5	0,6
Real estate, renting and business services	1,9	0,0	1,5
Public administration	1,9	1,5	1,8
Education	11,7	10,8	11,5
Health sector and social activities	5,7	0,0	4,5
Public, social and private services	2,6	4,6	3,0
Extraterritorial activities	0,8	0,0	0,6
No reply	3,0	4,6	3,3
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

The occupation in the host country has a strong bearing on Tunisian migrants' return decision. There is a higher percentage of migrants whose return was compelled in the tertiary sector (13.8% in transports and communications, 10.8% in education and 7.7% in trade), whereas the migrants whose return was decided are predominant in the building industry (17% against 9.2% of the migrants whose return was compelled).

3. Resources: financial and social capital

One of the fundamental elements in the analysis of the nature of Tunisian migrants' returns are the socio-economic conditions which convey the success of the migratory experience and illustrate clearly the role of returnees in the development of their country of origin.

3.1. Financial situation

Before emigrating, 44.2% of the respondents considered their financial situation to be "average", 15.4% considered it "good", whereas 36.5% thought it "bad" (23.3% "not good" and 14.2% "very bad").

Table 10: Financial situation of return migrants to Tunisia

Financial situation	Type of return		Total (%)
	Decided	Compelled	
Before leaving for abroad - (Significance level of chi-squared test = 19%)			
Very good	3,0	3,1	3,0
Good	13,2	9,2	12,4
Average	44,2	44,6	44,2
Not good	24,9	16,9	23,3
Very bad	11,7	24,6	14,2
No opinion	2,6	1,5	2,4
No reply	0,4	0,0	0,3
Total	100	100	100

In the last country of immigration - (Significance level of chi-squared test = 0%)			
Much better	37,0	35,4	36,7
Better	52,8	43,1	50,9
Unchanged	8,3	7,7	8,2
Worse	0,4	10,8	2,4
No opinion	1,5	3,1	1,8
Total	100	100	100
At the time of the survey (Significance level of chi-squared test = 0,2%)			
Much better	12,1	3,1	10,3
Better	29,1	18,5	27,0
Unchanged	27,9	23,1	27,0
Worse	27,2	44,6	30,6
No opinion	3,8	9,2	4,8
No reply	0,0	1,5	0,3
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

Significant changes occurred in the immigration countries: 87.6% of the respondents declared that their financial situation had improved considerably; among them, 36.7% said it was “much better” and 50.9% “better”. On the other hand, 8.2% of the whole sample saw their situation as being unchanged, and only 2.4% declared it had worsened with regard to the situation before emigrating.

At the time of return, the contrast between the two types of return intensifies. Whereas 41.2% of the migrants who decided to return declared that their current situation in the homeland had improved with regard to their condition abroad, 44.6% of the migrants who were compelled to return said their situation had worsened.

3.2. In-kind transfers and remittances

The data on remittances show that more than half of the sample (54.5%) sent money to their family on a regular basis (29.4% once a month, 19.1% every three months, 2.7% every six months and only 3.3% once a year) and nearly 22% occasionally.

Table 11: Frequency of the Tunisian returnees’ remittances and in-kind transfers to their family

	Type of return		Total (%)
	Decided	Compelled	
Frequency of remittances during the last year before return (Significance level of chi-squared test = 11,1%)			
Once a month	30,9	23,1	29,4
Once every three months	19,2	18,5	19,1
Once every six months	1,9	6,2	2,7
Once a year	2,3	7,7	3,3
Irregularly	22,3	18,5	21,5
Never	22,6	26,2	23,3
No reply	0,8	0,0	0,6
Total	100	100	100

Frequency of in-kind transfers during the last year before return (Significance level of chi-squared test = 0,1%)			
Once a month	3,0	3,1	3,0
Once every three months	6,8	6,2	6,7
Once every six months	7,5	9,2	7,9
Once a year	44,9	24,6	40,9
Irregularly	23,0	18,5	22,1
Never	14,7	38,5	19,4
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

The remittances were employed in the following manner: providing for the needs of the family living in the homeland (62.7%), paying for the building or the purchasing of a house (30.9%), ensuring children's schooling and education (20.3%), investing in a business project (10.6%), and buying some agricultural land/updating agricultural equipment (7.3%).

Table 12: Use of the remittances sent from abroad by the Tunisian returnees

Use of the remittances	Type of return		Total (%)
	Decided	Compelled	
Providing for the needs of the family – (Significance level of chi-squared test = 19,4%)			
Never sent remittances	22,6	26,2	23,3
Yes	61,9	66,2	62,7
No	15,1	6,2	13,3
No reply	0,4	1,5	0,6
Total	100	100	100
Ensuring children schooling – (Significance level of chi-squared test = 23,6%)			
Never sent remittances	22,6	26,2	23,3
Yes	22,3	12,3	20,3
No	54,7	60,0	55,8
No reply	0,4	1,5	0,6
Total	100	100	100
Building/purchasing a house- (Significance level of chi-squared test = 34,1%)			
Never sent remittances	22,6	26,2	23,3
Yes	33,2	21,5	30,9
No	43,0	50,8	44,5
No reply	1,1	1,5	1,2
Total	100	100	100
Investing in a business concern - (Significance level of chi-squared test = 17,8%)			
Never sent remittances	22,6	26,2	23,3
Yes	12,5	3,1	10,6
No	63,8	69,2	64,8
No reply	1,1	1,5	1,2
Total	100	100	100
Buying land/Farming equipment - (Significance level of chi-squared test = 44,4%)			
Never sent remittances	22,6	26,2	23,3
Yes	6,0	1,5	5,2
No	70,6	70,8	70,6

No reply	0,8	1,5	0,9
Total	100	100	100
Upgrading agricultural equipment - (Significance level of chi-squared test = 55,7%)			
Questions filtres (NRP)	22,6	26,2	23,3
Yes	2,6	0,0	2,1
No	73,6	72,3	73,3
No reply	1,1	1,5	1,2
Total	100	100	100
Supporting the building of public monuments- (Significance level of chi-squared test = 57,3%)			
Never sent remittances	22,6	26,2	23,3
Yes	0,4	1,5	0,6
No	76,2	70,8	75,2
No reply	0,8	1,5	0,9
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

Tunisian returnees show a preference for in-kind transfers: nearly 59% of the sample sent them on a regular basis, against 22.1% who did so only occasionally.

When it comes to analysing the impact of remittances and in-kind transfers on the Tunisian migrants' return decision, it is worth highlighting that remittances actually have no significant effect, as their margin of error exceeds 5% (in a confidence interval at the 95% level). Conversely, in-kind transfers are linked to the type of return (margin of error =0.1%), as shown by the higher number of migrants who decided to return having made in-kind transfers, with respect to those who were compelled to return (respectively, 44.9% and 24.6%).

3.3. Self-financing is the main source of financial support for the returnees who manage to make some investments

After returning to Tunisia, nearly 41% of the sample carried out some investment projects in the homeland (91% of the investors realized only one business project and 9% two or more).

Table 13: Number of investment projects carried out in the country of origin by Tunisian returnees

Number of investment projects carried out in the country of origin	Type of return		Total (%)
	Decided	Compelled	
Did you carry out any projects in your country of origin after return? – (Significance level of chi-squared test = 0,2%)			
No	56,6	67,7	58,8
Yes	40,0	26,2	37,3
Yes, two projects	3,4	1,5	3,0
Yes, three projects	0,0	3,1	0,6
No reply	0,0	1,5	0,3
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

It is important to note that nearly 92% of the returnees who carried out investments resorted to self-financing. This kind of financial support has a significant bearing (margin of error = 0,8) on the return decision: the data show 41.1% of investors among the migrants who decided to return and only 23.1% among those who were compelled to return.

Table 14: Financial support received by Tunisian returnees to carry out their investments

Main financial support after return	Type of return		Total (%)
	Decided	Compelled	
Self-financing - (Significance level of chi-squared test = 0,8%)			
Did not carry out any investment	56,6	69,2	59,1
Yes	8,3	1,5	7,0
No	29,8	23,1	28,5
No reply	5,3	6,2	5,5
Total	100	100	100
Bank credits (Significance level of chi-squared test = 12,5%)			
Did not carry out any investment	56,6	69,2	59,1
Yes	41,1	23,1	37,6
No	1,5	3,1	1,8
No reply	0,8	4,6	1,5
Total	100	100	100
Loan from a family member - (Significance level of chi-squared test = 23,7%)			
Did not carry out any investment	56,6	69,2	59,1
Yes	3,8	4,6	3,9
No	34,3	21,5	31,8
No reply	5,3	4,6	5,2
Total	100	100	100
Other sources - (Significance level of chi-squared test = 16,9%)			
Did not carry out any investment	56,6	69,2	59,1
Yes	3,0	3,1	3,0
No	34,3	20,0	31,5
No reply	6,0	7,7	6,4
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

3.4. The Tunisian migrants who decided to visit their home country more frequently

41% of the whole sample visited their homeland only once a year, 28.2% twice or more and 7% less than once a year. When it comes to analysing the frequency of visits with regard to the type of return, the data show that frequency and return decision are closely linked. In fact, the migrants who returned to Tunisia on their own initiative visited their homeland at least once (77.4%) in the last year before their return. On the other hand, more than half of the migrants who were compelled to return never visited their homeland in the year before their return.

Table 15: Visits to the home country undertaken by Tunisian returnees when living abroad

Frequency of the visits	Type of return		Total (%)
	Decided	Compelled	
Frequency of the visits to the country of origin in the last year before return - (Significance level of chi-squared test = 0%)			
Twice or more a year	30,6	18,5	28,2
Once a year	46,8	16,9	40,9
Less than once a year	6,8	6,2	6,7
Irregularly	9,1	3,1	7,9
Never	6,4	55,4	16,1
No reply	0,4	0,0	0,3
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

3.5. Family reasons and holidays are the main motivations for visiting the homeland for migrants who decided to return

The data concerning the motivations for returnees' visits to Tunisia show that 61.2% of the whole sample made visits for family reasons, followed by 58.2% for holidays and celebrations. Only 4.8% mentioned administrative reasons.

Table 16: Tunisian returnees' motivations for visiting the home country when living abroad

Main motivations	Type of return		Total (%)
	Decided	Compelled	
Family reasons - (Significance level of chi-squared test = 0%)			
No visits	6,4	55,4	16,1
Yes	66,8	38,5	61,2
No	26,8	6,2	22,7
Total	100	100	100
Business reasons - (Significance level of chi-squared test = 0%)			
No visits	6,4	55,4	16,1
Yes	17,0	6,2	14,8
No	76,6	38,5	69,1
Total	100	100	100
Celebrations (Ramadan. etc.) - (Significance level of chi-squared test = 0%)			
No visits	6,4	55,4	16,1
Yes	35,1	15,4	31,2
No	58,5	29,2	52,7
Total	100	100	100
Holidays - (Significance level of chi-squared test = 0%)			
No visits	6,4	55,4	16,1
Yes	65,7	27,7	58,2
No	27,9	16,9	25,8
Total	100	100	100
Administrative reasons - (Significance level of chi-squared test = 0%)			
No visits	6,4	55,4	16,1
Yes	4,9	4,6	4,8
No	88,7	40,0	79,1
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

4. Migratory experience before return

The analysis of the migratory experience allows significant data to be gathered, concerning the Tunisian returnees' relationship with their country of origin (before emigrating) and with the host country; it also highlights the difficulties that the migrants had to face and their effect on the return decision.

4.1. Various patterns of return

The data concerning the Tunisian returnees' distribution abroad show that France is their main country of immigration (47,9%) followed by Italy (13,3%). Germany (8,2%), then Arabian countries (Saudi Arabia being the most significant, with 7,6%).

Table 17: Tunisian returnees' main country of immigration (MCI)

Main country of immigration	Type of return		Total (%)
	Decided	Compelled	
Main country of immigration - (Significance level of chi-squared test = 0,1%)			
France	51,3	33,8	47,9
Italy	9,8	27,7	13,3
Germany	8,3	7,7	8,2
Saudi Arabia	7,9	6,2	7,6
Oman	3,8	1,5	3,3
Arabian Emirates	3,4	0,0	2,7
Libya	1,9	1,5	1,8
Belgium	1,9	0,0	1,5
The Netherlands	0,8	3,1	1,2
The U.S.A	1,5	0	1,2
Canada	1,1	1,5	1,2
Djibouti	0,0	4,6	0,9
Qatar	1,1	0,0	0,9
United Kingdom	0,4	1,5	0,6
Sweden	0,8	0,0	0,6
Switzerland	0,8	0,0	0,6
Romania	0,8	0,0	0,6
Bahrain	0,4	1,5	0,6
Greece	0,4	0,0	0,3
Portugal	0,4	0,0	0,3
Norway	0,4	0,0	0,3
Austria	0,4	0,0	0,3
Ukraine	0,4	0,0	0,3
Morocco	0,0	1,5	0,3
Algeria	0,4	0,0	0,3
Lebanon	0,4	0,0	0,3
Syria	0,4	0,0	0,3
Iraq	0,0	1,5	0,3
Palestinian occupied territory	0,0	1,5	0,3
Kuwait	0,0	1,5	0,3
No reply	1,1	3,1	1,5
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

When it comes to analysing the influence of the immigration country on the return decision, it is worth noting that Italy hosted a greater number of migrants who were compelled to return (27.7%), a fact which is due to the significant flow of clandestine migrants to this Mediterranean area. On the other hand, there are no compelled returns among returnees from Norway, Belgium, Sweden, Canada and the majority of the Arabian countries.

4.2. Travel documents and returnees

The statistical data concerning the conditions when leaving for abroad, show that most Tunisian returnees (89.9%) emigrated with official documents (23.9% with a tourist visa, 34.5% with a visa for family reunification) and that 10.3% emigrated with falsified documents (20% of which were migrants who were compelled to return). It is useful to highlight that compelled return also concerned the migrants who possessed official travel documents, especially those who had a tourist visa (32.3%). It is likely that the latter returnees became illegal migrants abroad, after the expiration of their tourist visa.

Table 18: Legal status and types of documents used by Tunisian migrants when leaving for abroad

	Type of return		Total (%)
	Decided	Compelled	
Did you leave your country... - (Significance level of chi-squared test = 0,2%)			
With official documents	92,1	78,5	89,4
Without official documents	7,9	20,0	10,3
No reply	0,0	1,5	0,3
Total	100	100	100
Did you leave your country... - (Significance level of chi-squared test = 0,2%)			
Without official documents	7,9	21,5	10,6
With a tourist visa	21,9	32,3	23,9
With a job contract (working visa)	36,6	26,2	34,5
With a visa for family reunification	8,7	9,2	8,8
Other	16,6	9,2	15,2
No reply	8,3	1,5	7,0
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

4.3. Difficulties when return is compelled

A significant number of respondents declared to have had difficulties before emigrating. These difficulties are mostly related to visa delivery (15.2%), administrative constraints just before leaving for abroad (12.7%) and on arrival in the host country, (11.5%). The difficulties that migrants had to face in Tunisia seem to have a considerable bearing on their return decision. Migrants compelled to return mostly had difficulties with visa delivery.

Table19: Difficulties faced by the Tunisian returnees in their country of origin and in the main country of immigration (MCI)

Did you have problems leaving for abroad?	Type of return		Total (%)
	Decided	Compelled	
Visa delivery - (Significance level of chi-squared test = 0%)			
Yes	9,8	36,9	15,2
No	89,8	63,1	84,5
No reply	0,4	0,0	0,3
Total	100	100	100
Administrative problems in the country of origin – (Significance level of chi-squared test = 0%)			
Yes	8,3	30,8	12,7
No	91,3	69,2	87,0
No reply	0,4	0,0	0,3
Total	100	100	100
Problems with the public authorities of the destination country – (Sign, level of chi-squared test = 0%)			
Yes	3,4	20,0	6,7
No	96,2	80,0	93,0
No reply	0,4	0,0	0,3
Total	100	100	100
Administrative problems in the MCI - (Significance level of chi-squared test = 0%)			
Yes	6,8	30,8	11,5
No	92,8	69,2	88,2
No reply	0,4	0,0	0,3
Total	100	100	100
Other - (Significance level of chi-squared test = 4,7%)			
Yes	5,3	13,8	7,0
No	94,3	86,2	92,7
No reply	0,4	0,0	0,3
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

Nearly all the respondents declared they had had good relationships with the host society, especially migrants who chose to return. Conversely, 35.4% of the migrants who were compelled to return declared they had had problems with the public authorities of the immigration country, against only 7.9% of the migrants who returned on their own initiative.

Table 20: Relationships of the Tunisian returnees with the host society and the institutions of the main country of immigration (MCI)

Relationships with the host society and the institutions of the MCI	Type of return		Total (%)
	Decided	Compelled	
Relationships with the institutions of the MCI - (Significance level of chi-squared test = 0%)			
Very good	58,9	32,3	53,6
Quite good	30,9	27,7	30,3
I had some problems	7,5	18,5	9,7

I had a lot of problems	0,4	16,9	3,6
No opinion	1,9	4,6	2,4
No reply	0,4	0,0	0,3
Total	100	100	100
Relationships with the host society - (Significance level of chi-squared test = 0%)			
Very good	58,1	38,5	54,2
Quite good	35,1	40,0	36,1
I had some problems	5,3	6,2	5,5
I had a lot of problems	0,8	10,8	2,7
No opinion	0,8	4,6	1,5
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

When focusing on the whole sample, the data reveal a number of problems during the stay abroad. Whilst abroad, migrants had to face difficulties with, for example, housing, discrimination, integration, racism, access to the job market and low salaries, as well as health problems. These difficulties had varying effects on the decision to return from abroad. For example, obstacles to integration, racism and low salaries were not the most important motivations for returning home in contrast with difficulty in accessing the job market.

Table 21: Difficulties faced by Tunisian return migrants in the main country of immigrations (MCI)

Difficulties in the MCI	Type of return		Total (%)
	Decided	Compelled	
Housing (rent too expensive) - (Significance level of chi-squared test = 0,5%)			
Yes	18,5	33,8	21,5
No	80,0	61,5	76,4
No reply	1,5	4,6	2,1
Total	100	100	100
Problems of integration - (Significance level of chi-squared test 26,2%)			
Yes	17,4	26,2	19,1
No	80,4	72,3	78,8
No reply	2,3	1,5	2,1
Total	100	100	100
Discrimination/racism - (Significance level of chi-squared test = 15,5%)			
Yes	18,5	29,2	20,6
No	79,2	69,2	77,3
No reply	2,3	1,5	2,1
Total	100	100	100
Could not find a job - (Significance level of chi-squared test =0%)			
Yes	9,8	30,8	13,9
No	86,4	67,7	82,7
No reply	3,8	1,5	3,3
Total	100	100	100

Low salary - (Significance level of chi-squared test = 7,6%)			
Yes	6,0	13,8	7,6
No	90,2	84,6	89,1
No reply	3,8	1,5	3,3
Total	100	100	100
Inadequate health system - (Significance level of chi-squared test = 0%)			
Yes	1,9	13,8	4,2
No	94,0	84,6	92,1
No reply	4,2	1,5	3,6
Total	100	100	100
Administrative constraints - (Significance level of chi-squared test = 0%)			
Yes	9,1	36,9	14,5
No	88,7	61,5	83,3
No reply	2,3	1,5	2,1
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

5. Return and patterns of re-integration

The type of return has a considerable bearing on the Tunisian returnees' well-being and re-integration patterns.

5.1. Family support after return

More than half of the whole sample (52.7%) declared that families were the main source of information before their return journey, 14.6% turned to public institutions and consulates to gather some information for return. Over a quarter of the whole sample returned home without gathering any information whatsoever from the sources mentioned below (Table 22).

It is worth highlighting that family and friends played a key role in helping migrants to prepare for their return journey. However, a high percentage of migrants who were compelled to return (30.8%) did not gather any information before their return, owing to the abrupt interruption of their migratory experience and the lack of time to prepare for the return itself. The majority of the latter migrants were given information about return by public institutions and consulates.

Table 22: Main sources of information in the return process of Tunisian returnees

	Type of return		Total (%)
	Decided	Compelled	
Main source of information in the return process - (Significance level of chi-squared test = 0,1%)			
Family	57,7	32,3	52,7
Friends	6,0	4,6	5,8

Governmental organisations	6,0	18,5	8,5
Consulates	4,5	12,3	6,1
Media	0,8	0,0	0,6
Internet	0,4	0,0	0,3
None	23,8	30,8	25,2
No reply	0,8	1,5	0,9
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

5.2. Talking about return

Before returning to their country of origin, nearly all of those who made up the sample (84.9%) had talked about return (47% did so regularly, 25.5% occasionally and 12.4% seldom), whereas 15.2% never talked about it. When it comes to analysing the impact of the frequency of these discussions upon the return decision, it is worth noting that the more regularly migrants spoke about their return, the stronger was their decision to return (78.9% against 46.2%).

Table 23: Talking about return

Frequency	Type of return		Total (%)
	Decided	Compelled	
How often did you talk about return in the MCI? - (Sign, level of chi-squared test = 0%)			
Often	52,1	26,2	47,0
Sometimes	26,8	20,0	25,5
Seldom	12,1	13,8	12,4
Never	9,1	40,0	15,2
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

5.3. A scarcely improved financial situation in Tunisia

The data on Tunisian returnees' financial situation after their return reveal that 37.3% of the whole sample declared their situation to be improved, while 27% declared it had not changed compared to their previous situation abroad. Again, the migrants who were compelled to return are distinguishable by the fact that 44.6% of them considered their financial situation to be worse.

Table 24: Financial situation of the Tunisian returnees at the time of the survey

Financial situation	Type of return		Total (%)
	Decided	Compelled	
Has your current financial situation improved compared to your financial situation when abroad? (Significance level of chi-squared test = 0,2%)			
Much better	12,1	3,1	10,3
Better	29,1	18,5	27,0
Unchanged	27,9	23,1	27,0

Worse	27,2	44,6	30,6
No opinion	3,8	9,2	4,8
No reply	0,0	1,5	0,3
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

5.4. Retirement and decided return

With regard to the analysis of migrants' motivations for returning to their homeland, it is worth noting that retirement was one of the main reasons for returning (16.1%), followed by the creation of some business at home (15.2%) and homesickness (9.7%). The other factors inducing these migrants to return were family problems (9.4%) and the termination of a job contract in the host country (8.5%).

Table 25: Return motivations of the Tunisian migrants who decided to return to their country of origin

Main reasons	First reason (%)	Second reason (%)	Third reason (%)
Job precariousness in the host country	1,8	2,1	1,5
To benefit from a return grant	0,0	1,5	1,5
Family problems in the country of origin	9,4	6,7	1,8
Family problems in the immigration country	2,7	1,2	0,6
Health problems	2,4	4,5	2,7
Difficulties of integration in the immigration country	1,5	1,2	0,9
Retirement	16,1	1,2	1,2
To manage a business at home	3,6	8,5	6,1
To create a business at home	15,2	8,2	4,8
Termination of a job contract in the immigration country	8,5	2,7	2,7
End of studies in the immigration country	3,3	0,6	0,3
Training	0,6	0,6	0,6
Homesickness	9,7	17,9	13,0
Difficult socio-cultural environment in the immigration country	0,6	3,9	4,2
Other	4,2	4,8	5,5
Compelled return	19,7	19,7	19,7
No reply	0,6	14,5	32,7
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

When considering the migrants whose return was compelled, their main reason for returning was the removal order issued by the authorities of the last immigration country, followed by serious family problems in the country of origin and the non-renewal of the residence permit in the host country.

Table 26: Return motivations of the Tunisian migrants who were compelled to return to their country of origin (a)

Which factors forced you to return to your country? (Multiple-choice question)	%
My residence permit was not renewed	23,0
I lost my job	11,5
I had to interrupt my studies	4,9
I was expelled by the authorities of the host country	44,3
Serious health problems	4,9
Tax/administrative problems	9,8
Family problems	34,4

(a) Percentages are not cumulative

Source: MIREM, © EUI

6. Post-return conditions and perspectives

6.1. Re-emigration

More than half of the respondents (58.5%) did not consider re-emigrating. However, when focusing on the type of return, it is worth noting that the intention to re-emigrate only concerned 47.7% of the migrants who were compelled to return, against 61.1% of those who decided to return to Tunisia.

Table 27: Returnees to Tunisia: destination for re-emigration, at the time of the survey

Now, do you plan to...?	Type of return		Total
	Decided	Compelled	
Leave again for the last immigration country	34,3	35,4	34,5
Leave again for another country	3,4	9,2	4,5
Leave again but do not know where	1,1	7,7	2,4
I do not plan to leave again	61,1	47,7	58,5
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

The data show a stronger intention to re-emigrate (34.5% for the last host country and 4.5% for another country) among the migrants who were compelled to return. At the time of the survey, nearly 18% of them planned to re-emigrate (26.2% among the migrants who were compelled to return and 23% among those who returned on their own initiative).

Table 28: Returnees to Tunisia: intention to leave the country of origin, at the time of the survey

Intention to leave again for abroad	Type of return		Total (%)
	Decided	Compelled	
Today, do you intend to leave for abroad? - (Significance level of chi-squared test = 6,8%)			
Yes, absolutely	15,8	26,2	17,9
Maybe	23,0	26,2	23,6
Not for now	15,8	15,4	15,8
Never again	30,6	13,8	27,3
I do not know	13,6	18,5	14,5
No reply	1,1	0,0	0,9
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

The main motivations for re-emigration are the desire to live abroad (9.4%), the renewal of documents (nearly 7%), family problems (5.5%), better job opportunities abroad (4.2%) and difficulties of re-adaptation in the country of origin.

Table 29: Tunisian returnees' motivations to re-emigrate

Reasons for leaving the country of origin again	First reason (%)	Second reason (%)	Third reason (%)
I already know the immigration country and would like to stay there	9,4	3,9	4,5
I cannot re-adapt to being in my country of origin	4,2	4,2	1,2
I have no future in my country of origin	3,6	5,8	2,7
To renew my documents	6,7	3,3	0,6
I cannot find a job here	0,6	2,1	1,5
New job opportunities abroad	4,2	2,7	4,8
For family reasons	5,5	6,7	2,7
For health reasons	2,7	3,6	2,4
Other reasons	4,2	2,4	8,2
I do not plan to leave again	58,5	58,5	58,5
<i>No reply</i>	0,3	6,7	12,7
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

6.2. A decided return does not eliminate problems in the country of origin

89.1% of Tunisian returnees consider that the experience they have gained through migration has given them a positive advantage. At the time of the survey, 72.1% of the whole sample declared themselves to be satisfied with being back in Tunisia; yet, whereas 81.1% of the migrants who decided to resume living in Tunisia were happy to be back, only 35.4% of those whose return was compelled shared the same opinion.

Table 30: The Tunisian returnees' perception of their experience of migration

Perception of the acquired experience	Type of return		Total (%)
	Decided	Compelled	
The experience you acquired through migration abroad represents...- (Significance level of chi-squared test = 1,7%)			
An advantage	91,3	80,0	89,1
A disadvantage	1,9	6,2	2,7
Irrelevant	4,9	6,2	5,2
Do not know	1,9	7,7	3,0
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

50.3% of the respondents declared that their standard of living had improved compared with their situation abroad, whereas 13.6% declared that their living situation did not really change.

Only half of the respondents declared that they had a better standard of living in their country of origin (50.3%, see Table 31). This is most likely due to the difficulties that all migrants have to face after their return (Table 32).

Table 31: Tunisian returnees' standard of living, at the time of the survey

Current standard of living compared to the situation abroad	Type of return		Total (%)
	Decided	Compelled	
Has your current standard of living improved compared with the one you had when you were living abroad? (Significance level of chi-squared test = 0%)			
Very much	56,2	26,2	50,3
Unchanged	15,1	7,7	13,6
A bit worse	20,8	24,6	21,5
Much worse	3,0	20,0	6,4
I do not know	4,5	21,5	7,9
No reply	0,4	0,0	0,3
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

In fact, at the time of the survey, the respondents declared that the major difficulties they had to face were related to administrative constraints, low salaries and re-adaptation problems in Tunisia. The data highlight the existence of a greater degree of distress among the migrants who were compelled to return.

Table 32: Difficulties faced by the Tunisian returnees since their return to the country of origin (a)

Did you have difficulties in your country of origin? (multiple reply)	Type of return		Total (%)
	Decided	Compelled	
Housing (rent too expensive)	4,2	27,3	8,5
Re-integration	7,6	32,3	12,5
Re-adaptation	18,3	33,8	21,3
Could not find a job	8,4	32,3	13,1
Low salaries	15,2	49,2	22,0

Inadequate health system	20,1	27,3	21,5
Administrative constraints	21,7	33,8	24,1
Other	13,9	21,2	15,3

(a) Percentages are not cumulative

Source: MIREM, © EUI

6.3. The measures to support return should be improved

23.9% of the whole sample considered the measures to support return to be adequate; most of this segment consisted of migrants who decided to return on their own initiative. Only 4.5% of the migrants who were compelled to return shared this opinion.

Table 33: Tunisian returnees' opinion regarding the measures to be adopted in order to support return

	Type of return		Total (%)
	Decided	Compelled	
What is your opinion regarding the measures to be adopted in order to foster return? - (Significance level of chi-squared test = 0%)			
They are adequate	28,7	4,6	23,9
They should be improved	30,2	24,6	29,1
They are non-existent	5,7	7,7	6,1
I am not aware of such provisions	16,2	12,3	15,5
No opinion	18,1	50,8	24,5
No reply	1,1	0,0	0,9
Total	100	100	100

Source: MIREM, © EUI

It is important to note that a high percentage of respondents (29.1%) insisted on the fact that the measures and provisions to support returnees' re-integration must be improved. 15.5% of the whole sample were not aware of the existing measures to foster return and 6.1% considered such measures to be non-existent.

The analysis of the data gathered by the MIREM project allows new trends in Tunisian return migration to be identified with regard to four key factors:

1. Returnees' age group is a key variable and has a significant bearing on the return decision. All senior migrants decided to return to their country of origin on their own initiative, while younger returnees had to face many difficulties with re-integration after their return home.
2. Migration contributed to significant changes in family situations: the number of Tunisian nuclear families grew, thus having a considerable effect on the return decision and on household composition at the time of return.

3. The experience gained through migration is an advantage and can thus improve the Tunisian returnees' standard of living and improve their social and economic skills. A significant number of migrants who decided to return initiated at least one business project, and thus contributed towards the upgrading of the services sector in their country of origin.
4. Family and friends, talking recurrently about return, and regular contacts with the homeland all facilitate the re-integration process, and therefore minimize the constraints and difficulties that returnees may have to face. However, during the re-integration process itself other problems may arise inducing returnees to re-emigrate.

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ANNEXES

GLOSSARY

Chosen return	See decided return
Compelled return	In the framework of the research activities of the MIREM project, this 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	In the framework of the research activities of the MIREM project, this refers to a migrant who decides on his 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 (Coleman, 1988).

Intention to re-emigrate	In the framework of the research activities of the MIREM project this refers to a returnee who plans to leave again for abroad, whether the intention is real or not.
Main country of immigration (MCI)	In the framework of the research activities of the MIREM project, refers to the last country of immigration where the respondent lived before returning home.
Permanent return	The return to the country of origin on a long-term basis.
Post-return conditions	Factors and circumstances exclusive to the migrant's post-return experience in the country of origin, whether return is temporary or permanent.
Pre-return conditions	Factors and circumstances exclusive to the migrant's experience 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 preparation.
Return	Going back to one's own country of origin, on a temporary or permanent basis, after having lived abroad (Bovenkerk, 1974).
Returnee	See return migrant

Return migrant	In the framework of the research activities of the MIREM project, this refers to a person who has returned to his/her country of origin, in the course of 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.
Return preparation	Process taking place in the framework of the return to the country of origin. There exist various levels of return preparation shaping the migrant's socio-professional reintegration and re-adaptation in the country of origin. (see section on return preparation)
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 (Coleman, 1988).
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).¹ In the framework of the MIREM project, voluntary return differs from decided or chosen return.

¹ 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, "Return Migration", EMN Synthesis Report, EMN, Brussels, May 2007, p. 6.

Projet MIREM
(MIGRATION DE RETOUR AU MAGHREB)

Projet de recherche cofinancé par
l'Institut Universitaire Européen et l'Union Européenne



N. questionnaire

□□/□□□□

QUESTIONNAIRE

(This is the original French version as used during the fieldwork)

Cette enquête vise à recueillir les données sur les migrations de retour vers le pays du Maghreb. L'objectif de ce projet de recherche est d'assurer une meilleure prise en compte des enjeux propres à la migration de retour et à mieux en valoriser l'impact à des fins de développement. Il s'agit, en premier lieu, de produire des outils d'analyse et de compréhension du phénomène de la migration de retour vers les pays du Maghreb (Algérie, Maroc, Tunisie) et, en second lieu, de rendre librement accessibles l'ensemble des informations produites. Les données seront recueillies en respectant scrupuleusement l'**anonymat des enquêtés** et seront diffusées par agrégats.

Pays de l'enquête : Algérie

Maroc

Tunisie

Ville ou village de l'enquête : _____

Nom de l'enquêteur : _____

Date de l'enquête : □□□ □□□ □□□□□□

Heure de début de l'entretien : □□□ : □□□

Heure de fin de l'entretien : □□□ : □□□

Observations (Facultatif) :

Etape 1 – Situation dans le pays d’origine avant le départ

A – Caractéristiques démographiques et sociales

A1. Sexe

Masculin 1 Féminin 2

A2. Date de naissance

a. Mois b. Année

A3. Nationalité(s) actuelle(s)

a. _____

b. _____

A4. Pays de naissance _____

A5. Lieu de naissance

- Rural 1

- Urbain 2

B – Formation avant le départ

B1. Quel était votre niveau d’instruction avant votre départ ?

- Sans instruction 1
- Préscolaire 2
- Primaire et assimilé 3
- Collège et assimilé 4
- Secondaire 5
- Supérieur 1 (Deug) et 2 (Maîtrise) 6
- Supérieur 3 (3eme cycle) 7
- Autre (préciser) _____ 8

B2. Dernier diplôme obtenu avant votre départ (préciser) _____

B2.1. Spécialité (préciser) _____

B3. Combien de langues étrangères parliez-vous avant le départ ? | [si B3=0
passer à la question B5]

B4. Et à quel niveau ?

	Bien	Assez-bien	Elémentaire
B4.a. (préciser la langue) _____	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> 1	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> 2	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> 3
B4.b. (préciser la langue) _____	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> 1	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> 2	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> 3
B4.c. (préciser la langue) _____	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> 1	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> 2	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> 3
B4.d. (préciser la langue) _____	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> 1	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> 2	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> 3

B5. Avez-vous fréquenté des cours de formation professionnelle avant le départ ?

- Oui |1
- Non |2 [passer à la section C]

B6. Dans quelle branche d'activité ? (Réponse multiple)

- Agriculture, chasse, sylviculture |1
- Pêche, aquaculture |2
- Industries extractives |3
- Industrie manufacturière |4
- Production et distribution d'électricité, de gaz et d'eau |5
- Construction |6
- Commerce, réparations automobile et d'articles domestiques |7
- Hôtellerie/restauration |8
- Transports et communications |9
- Activités financières |10
- Immobilier, locations et services aux entreprises |11
- Administration publique |12
- Education |13
- Santé et action sociale |14
- Services collectifs, sociaux et personnels |15
- Services domestiques |16
- Activités extra-territoriales |17

C – Situation professionnelle et financière avant le départ pour le principal pays d’immigration (PPI)

C1. Est-ce que vous travailliez déjà avant votre départ ?

- Oui 1
- Non 2

C2. Quel était votre statut professionnel avant de partir à l'étranger ?

- Occupation salariale à durée indéterminée 1
- Occupation salariale à durée déterminée 2
- Occupation salariale à temps partiel 3
- Travailleur saisonnier 4
- Employeur/chef d'entreprise 5
- Travailleur autonome régulier 6
- Travailleur autonome irrégulier 7
- Aide familiale 8
- Actif au chômage 9 *[passer à la question C5]*
- Etudiant 10 *[passer à la question C5]*
- Femme au foyer 11 *[passer à la question C5]*
- Retraité/pensionné 12 *[passer à la question C5]*
- Autre (préciser) _____ 13

C3. Quelle était votre profession principale avant de partir à l'étranger ?

(préciser) _____ [ISCO CODE]

C4. Dans quelle branche d'activité ?

- Agriculture, chasse, sylviculture 1
- Pêche, aquaculture 2
- Industries extractives 3
- Industrie manufacturière 4
- Production et distribution d'électricité, de gaz et d'eau 5
- Construction 6
- Commerce, réparations automobile et d'articles domestiques 7
- Hôtellerie/restauration 8
- Transports et communications 9

- Activités financières 10
- Immobilier, locations et services aux entreprises 11
- Administration publique 12
- Education 13
- Santé et action sociale 14
- Services collectifs, sociaux et personnels 15
- Services domestiques 16
- Activités extra-territoriales 17

C5. Au moment du départ, quelle était votre situation financière ...

- Très bonne 1
- Bonne 2
- Moyenne 3
- Pas bonne 4
- Très mauvaise 5
- Sans opinion 6

C6. Quel était votre type d'habitat occupé avant votre départ ?

- Villa individuelle 1
- Appartement 2
- Maison traditionnelle 3
- Maison rurale 4
- Une pièce dans une institution 5
- Habitat sommaire/précaire/bidonville 6
- Autre 7

C7. Possédiez-vous ou votre famille des terrains agricoles ?

- Oui 1
- Non 2 *[passer à la question C8]*

C7.1 De quelle superficie ?

| Ha

C8. Possédiez-vous d'autres biens ?

- Oui 1

- Non 2 *[passer à la section D]*

C8.1. Quel type de biens ?

	<i>Oui</i>	<i>Non</i>
a. Maison/appartement	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
b. Voiture	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
c. Télévision, Hi-Fi., magnéscope, lecteur DVD	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
d. Ordinateur	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
e. Electroménagers	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
f. Equipement agricole	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
g. Equipement industriel	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
h. Bétail	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
i. Autre (préciser) _____	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2

D – Composition de la famille avant le départ
--

D1. Quelle était votre situation familiale au moment du départ ?

- Célibataire 1 [passer à la question D3]
- Marié/e 2
- Séparé/e ou divorcé/e 3 [passer à la question D2]
- Veuf/veuve 4 [passer à la question D2]

D1.1. Quelle est la nationalité (ou plusieurs) de votre époux/épouse ?

- a. _____
- b. _____

D2. Aviez-vous des enfants avant de partir ?

- Oui 1 D2.1. Combien au total ?
- Non 2

D3. Avec qui habitez-vous (ou cohabitez-vous) avant de partir ? (Réponse multiple)

- | | <i>Oui</i> | <i>Non</i> | |
|-----------------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|---|
| a. Epoux/épouse | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | |
| b. Fiancé/e | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | |
| c. Enfants adultes | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | Combien ? <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> |
| d. Enfants mineurs | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | Combien ? <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> |
| e. Frères/Sœurs | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | Combien ? <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> |
| f. Parents | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | Combien ? <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> |
| g. D'autres membres de la famille | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | Combien ? <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> |
| h. Amis/connaissances | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | Combien ? <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> |

D4. Donc, vous compris, vous étiez au nombre de :

D5. Quel nombre de personnes aviez-vous à votre charge avant de partir pour l'étranger ?

E – Raisons du départ et projets avant le départ

E1. Quelles étaient les trois principales raisons qui vous ont incité à quitter votre pays d'origine ? (*Par ordre de priorité*)

	<i>Première</i>	<i>Deuxième</i>	<i>Troisième</i>
- Amélioration des conditions de vie	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 1
- Offre d'emploi à l'étranger	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
- Recherche d'un emploi	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 3
- Recherche d'un meilleur emploi	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 4
- Recherche conditions de travail meilleures	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
- Meilleurs revenus	<input type="checkbox"/> 6	<input type="checkbox"/> 6	<input type="checkbox"/> 6
- Etudes	<input type="checkbox"/> 7	<input type="checkbox"/> 7	<input type="checkbox"/> 7
- Pour rejoindre la famille	<input type="checkbox"/> 8	<input type="checkbox"/> 8	<input type="checkbox"/> 8
- Pour rejoindre le conjoint	<input type="checkbox"/> 9	<input type="checkbox"/> 9	<input type="checkbox"/> 9
- Pour rejoindre des amis	<input type="checkbox"/> 10	<input type="checkbox"/> 10	<input type="checkbox"/> 10
- Pour aider ma famille au pays	<input type="checkbox"/> 11	<input type="checkbox"/> 11	<input type="checkbox"/> 11
- Santé/couverture sociale	<input type="checkbox"/> 12	<input type="checkbox"/> 12	<input type="checkbox"/> 12
- Sans une raison spécifique	<input type="checkbox"/> 13	<input type="checkbox"/> 13	<input type="checkbox"/> 13
- Autre (préciser) _____	<input type="checkbox"/> 14	<input type="checkbox"/> 14	<input type="checkbox"/> 14

E2. Avant de partir, vous aviez l'intention de rester dans le pays d'accueil de manière...

- permanente 1
- provisoire 2
- Ne sait pas 3

F – Départ du pays d'origine

F1. Quand avez-vous quitté votre pays, pour la première fois, pour aller vivre à l'étranger ?

Année

F1.1. Combien de fois avez-vous quitté votre pays pour aller vivre à l'étranger ?

F1.2. De quel milieu veniez-vous avant d'aller vivre à l'étranger la première fois ?

- Rural _____ 1

- Urbain _____ 2

F2. Pouvez-vous me citer tous les pays étrangers où vous avez vécu et les durées de vos séjours ?

a. (préciser le pays) _____ Nombre de mois Nombre d'années

b. (préciser le pays) _____ Nombre de mois Nombre d'années

c. (préciser le pays) _____ Nombre de mois Nombre d'années

d. (préciser le pays) _____ Nombre de mois Nombre d'années

e. (préciser le pays) _____ Nombre de mois Nombre d'années

f. (préciser le pays) _____ Nombre de mois Nombre d'années

g. (préciser le pays) _____ Nombre de mois Nombre d'années

Dans la suite on se basera sur le dernier pays d'immigration, autrement dit, principal pays d'immigration (PPI).

F3. Citer ci-dessous le principal pays d'immigration (PPI)

F4. Est-ce que les membres de votre famille vous ont aidé pour votre voyage ? (*Réponse multiple*)

	<i>Oui</i>	<i>Non</i>
a. Pour payer le voyage	<input type="text"/> 1	<input type="text"/> 2
b. Pour préparer le voyage	<input type="text"/> 1	<input type="text"/> 2

F5. Dans quelles conditions êtes-vous parti à l'étranger ?

- Avec des documents officiels 1
- Sans documents officiels 2 [passer à la question F7]
- Avec de faux documents 3 [passer à la question F7]

F6. Etes-vous parti avec...

- Un visa touristique 1
- Un contrat de travail (visa pour travail) 2
- Un visa pour regroupement familial 3
- Autre (préciser) _____ 4

F7. Avec quel moyen êtes-vous arrivé à l'étranger ? (Réponse multiple)

- | | <i>Oui</i> | <i>Non</i> |
|------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| a. Avion | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| b. Bateau | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| c. Train | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| d. Bus | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| e. Voiture | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| f. A pied | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| g. Autre | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |

F8. Quelles difficultés aviez-vous eu pour vous rendre à l'étranger ? (Réponse multiple)

- | | <i>Oui</i> | <i>Non</i> |
|--|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| a. Problèmes pour obtenir le visa | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| b. Tracasseries administratives dans le pays de départ | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| c. Problèmes avec les autorités à l'arrivée | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| d. Tracasseries administratives dans le pays d'arrivée | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| e. Autre (préciser) _____ | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |

***Etape 2 – Expérience dans le principal pays d’immigration
(PPI ou dernier pays d’immigration)***

G – Accompagnement

G1. Etes-vous arrivé seul dans le principal pays d’immigration (PPI) ?

- Oui 1 *[passer à la question G3]*
- Non 2

G1.1. Etes-vous arrivé avec des membres de votre famille ou des amis ? (*Réponse multiple*)

	<i>Oui</i>	<i>Non</i>	
a. Epoux/épouse	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	
b. Fiancé/e	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	
c. Enfants adultes	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	Combien ? <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
d. Enfants mineurs	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	Combien ? <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
e. Frères/Sœurs	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	Combien ? <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
f. Parents	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	Combien ? <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
g. D’autres membres de la famille	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	Combien ? <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
h. Amis/connaissances	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	Combien ? <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>

G2. Avec lesquelles de ces personnes avez-vous vécu dans le principal pays d’immigration ? (*Réponse multiple*)

	<i>Oui</i>	<i>Non</i>	
a. Epoux/épouse	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	
b. Fiancé/e	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	
c. Enfants adultes	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	Combien ? <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
d. Enfants mineurs	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	Combien ? <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
e. Frères/Sœurs	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	Combien ? <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
f. Parents	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	Combien ? <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
g. D’autres membres de la famille	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	Combien ? <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
h. Amis/connaissances	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	Combien ? <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>

G3. Est-ce que d'autres membres de votre famille sont arrivés après vous, dans le principal pays d'immigration ?

- Oui 1 Non 2 [passer à la section H]

G3.1. Qui étaient-ils ? (Réponse multiple)

	<i>Oui</i>	<i>Non</i>	
a. Epoux/épouse	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	
b. Fiancé/e	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	
c. Enfants adultes	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	Combien ? <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
d. Enfants mineurs	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	Combien ? <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
e. Frères/Sœurs	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	Combien ? <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
f. Parents	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	Combien ? <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
g. D'autres membres de la famille	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	Combien ? <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
h. Amis/connaissances	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	Combien ? <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>

H – Raisons pour avoir choisi le principal pays d’immigration et réseaux de soutien
--

H1. Quelles sont les trois raisons principales pour avoir choisi le principal pays d’immigration ? (*Par ordre de priorité*)

	<i>Première</i>	<i>Deuxième</i>	<i>Troisième</i>
- Il est plus facile d’y accéder	_ 1	_ 1	_ 1 [<i>passer à I</i>]
- On y trouve de meilleures opportunités d’emploi	_ 2	_ 2	_ 2 [<i>passer à I</i>]
- On y trouve de meilleures conditions de travail	_ 3	_ 3	_ 3 [<i>passer à I</i>]
- Meilleurs revenus	_ 4	_ 4	_ 4 [<i>passer à I</i>]
- J’ai reçu une offre d’emploi	_ 5	_ 5	_ 5 [<i>passer à I</i>]
- Les conditions de vie y étaient meilleures	_ 6	_ 6	_ 6 [<i>passer à I</i>]
- Ma famille/mes amis étaient déjà là	_ 7	_ 7	_ 7
- Etudes	_ 8	_ 8	_ 8 [<i>passer à I</i>]
- Autre (préciser) _____	_ 9	_ 9	_ 9 [<i>passer à I</i>]

H2. Qui étaient ces membres de la famille ou ces amis que vous avez rejoint dans le PPI ? Et quel était leur nombre ? (*Réponse multiple*)

	<i>Oui</i>	<i>Non</i>	
a. Epoux/épouse	_ 1	_ 2	
b. Fiancé/e	_ 1	_ 2	
c. Enfants adultes	_ 1	_ 2	Combien ? _ _
d. Enfants mineurs	_ 1	_ 2	Combien ? _ _
e. Frères/Sœurs	_ 1	_ 2	Combien ? _ _
f. Parents	_ 1	_ 2	Combien ? _ _
g. D’autres membres de la famille	_ 1	_ 2	Combien ? _ _
h. Amis/connaissances	_ 1	_ 2	Combien ? _ _

H2.1. Est-ce que ces personnes vous ont aidé... (*Réponse multiple*)

	<i>Oui</i>	<i>Non</i>
a. à trouver un travail	_ 1	_ 2
b. à trouver un logement	_ 1	_ 2
c. financièrement	_ 1	_ 2
d. pour obtenir des documents de séjour	_ 1	_ 2
e. autre (préciser) _____	_ 1	_ 2

I – Rapport avec les institutions et la société d'accueil
--

I1. Comment définiriez-vous vos rapports avec les institutions du principal pays d'immigration (pendant votre séjour) ?

- Très bons 1
- Assez bons 2
- J'ai eu quelques problèmes 3
- J'ai eu beaucoup de problèmes 4
- Aucune opinion 5

I2. Et comment définiriez-vous vos rapports avec la société d'accueil en général ?

- Très bons 1
- Assez bons 2
- J'ai eu quelques problèmes 3
- J'ai eu beaucoup de problèmes 4
- Aucune opinion 5

I3. Au cours de votre séjour à l'étranger, avec qui et selon quelle fréquence avez eu des relations en dehors du travail ? (*Réponse multiple*)

	des amis originaires de votre pays d'origine	des amis originaires des pays du Maghreb	des amis originaires du pays d'accueil	d'autres immigrés
Tous les jours	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Au moins une fois par semaine	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Au moins une fois par mois	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Plusieurs fois dans une année	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Une fois par année	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Jamais	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

[Si à la question I3 la réponse est autre que « jamais »...]

14. Dans quel cadre les avez-vous rencontrés ? (*Réponse multiple*)

	<i>Oui</i>	<i>Non</i>
Par relations amicales interposées	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
Cadre associatif	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
Club de loisir	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
Cadre politique/syndical	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
Travail	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
Cadre familial	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
Autre (préciser) _____	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2

15. Avez-vous effectué des investissements dans le dernier pays de séjour ?

- Oui 1
- Non 2 [*passer à la question I6*]

15.1 Dans quelle branche ? (*Réponse multiple*)

	<i>Oui</i>	<i>Non</i>
a. Agriculture, chasse, sylviculture	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
b. Pêche, aquaculture	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
c. Industries extractives	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
d. Industrie manufacturière	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
e. Production et distribution d'électricité, de gaz et d'eau	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
f. Construction	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
g. Commerce, réparations automobile et d'articles domestiques	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
h. Hôtellerie/restauration	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
i. Transports et communications	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
j. Activités financières	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
k. Immobilier, locations et services aux entreprises	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
l. Administration publique	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
m. Education	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
n. Santé et action sociale	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
o. Services collectifs, sociaux et personnels	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
p. Services domestiques	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
q. Activités extra-territoriales	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2

I6. Avez-vous eu des difficultés dans votre dernier pays de séjour ? (*Réponse multiple*)

	<i>Oui</i>	<i>Non</i>
a. Accès au logement (loyer élevé)	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
b. Difficultés d'intégration	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
c. Discrimination/racisme	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
d. Pas d'emploi régulier	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
e. Niveau de salaire insatisfaisant	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
f. Système de santé insatisfaisant	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
g. Tracasseries administratives	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
h. Autres (préciser) _____	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2

K - Formation dans le dernier pays de séjour

[Seulement pour B1 = 4, 5, 6, 7]

K1. Le diplôme obtenu dans votre pays d'origine a-t-il été reconnu dans le pays de séjour ?

- Oui 1
- Non 2

K2. Avez-vous poursuivi des études dans le dernier pays de séjour ?

- Oui 1
- Non 2 [passer à la question K4]

K3. Quel niveau d'instruction avez-vous atteint dans votre dernier pays de séjour ?

- Sans instruction 1
- Préscolaire 2
- Primaire et assimilé 3
- Collège et assimilé 4
- Secondaire 5
- Supérieur 1 (Deug) et 2 (Maîtrise) 6
- Supérieur 3 (3eme cycle) 7
- Autre (préciser) _____ 8

K4. Avez-vous fréquenté des cours de formation professionnelle ?

- Oui 1
- Non 2 [passer à la section L]

K4.1 Dans quelle branche d'activité ? (Réponse multiple)

- | | <i>Oui</i> | <i>Non</i> |
|---|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| a. Agriculture, chasse, sylviculture | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| b. Pêche, aquaculture | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| c. Industries extractives | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| d. Industrie manufacturière | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| e. Production et distribution d'électricité, de gaz et d'eau | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| f. Construction | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| g. Commerce, réparations automobile et d'articles domestiques | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| h. Hôtellerie/restauration | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |

i. Transports et communications	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
j. Activités financières	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
k. Immobilier, locations et services aux entreprises	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
l. Administration publique	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
m. Education	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
n. Santé et action sociale	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
o. Services collectifs, sociaux et personnels	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
p. Services domestiques	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
q. Activités extra-territoriales	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2

L – Situation professionnelle et financière dans le dernier pays de séjour

L1. Quel était votre premier statut professionnel dans le pays de séjour ?

- Occupation salariale à durée indéterminée |1
- Occupation salariale à durée déterminée |2
- Occupation salariale à temps partiel |3
- Travailleur saisonnier |4
- Employeur/chef d'entreprise |5
- Travailleur autonome régulier |6
- Travailleur autonome irrégulier |7
- Aide familiale |8
- Actif au chômage |9
- Etudiant |10
- Femme au foyer |11
- Retraité/pensionné |12
- Autre (préciser) _____ |13

L2. Est-ce que vous travailliez déjà dans le dernier pays de séjour ?

- Oui |1
- Non |2 [*passer à la question L4*]

L3. Vous avez trouvé le premier emploi au bout de combien de temps après votre arrivée ?

- Avant mon arrivée dans le pays d'immigration |1
- Immédiatement après mon arrivée |2
- Moins de trois mois après mon arrivée |3
- Plus de trois mois après mon arrivée |4

L4. Quel était votre statut professionnel avant le retour ?

- Occupation salariale à durée indéterminée |1
- Occupation salariale à durée déterminée |2
- Occupation salariale à temps partiel |3
- Travailleur saisonnier |4
- Employeur/chef d'entreprise |5
- Travailleur autonome régulier |6

- Travailleur autonome irrégulier 7
- Aide familiale 8
- Actif au chômage 9 *[passer à la question L7]*
- Etudiant 10 *[passer à la question L8]*
- Femme au foyer 11 *[passer à la question L8]*
- Retraité/pensionné 12 *[passer à la question L8]*
- Autre (préciser) _____ 13

L5. Quelle était votre dernière profession ?

(préciser) _____ [ISCO CODE]

L6. Dans quelle branche d'activité avez-vous exercé votre dernière profession ?

- Agriculture, chasse, sylviculture 1
- Pêche, aquaculture 2
- Industries extractives 3
- Industrie manufacturière 4
- Production et distribution d'électricité, de gaz et d'eau 5
- Construction 6
- Commerce, réparations automobile et d'articles domestiques 7
- Hôtellerie/restauration 8
- Transports et communications 9
- Activités financières 10
- Immobilier, locations et services aux entreprises 11
- Administration publique 12
- Education 13
- Santé et action sociale 14
- Services collectifs, sociaux et personnels 15
- Services domestiques 16
- Activités extra-territoriales 17

[Seulement pour les actifs au chômage : L1 = 9]

L7. Durant cette période cherchiez-vous un travail ?

- Oui 1
- Non 2

L8. Selon vous, votre situation financière dans le dernier pays de séjour s'est-elle...

- Très améliorée 1
- Améliorée 2
- Maintenue (inchangée) 3
- Diminué 4
- Sans opinion 5

L9. Quel était le statut d'occupation de votre logement dans le dernier pays de séjour ?

- | | <i>A l'arrivée</i> | <i>Avant votre retour</i> |
|------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| - Propriétaire | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 |
| - Locataire | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| - Logé gratuitement | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |
| - Logement de fonction | <input type="checkbox"/> 4 | <input type="checkbox"/> 4 |
| - Autre | <input type="checkbox"/> 5 | <input type="checkbox"/> 5 |

L10. Quel était votre dernier type d'habitat occupé dans le dernier pays de séjour ?

- Villa individuelle 1
- Appartement 2
- Maison traditionnelle 3
- Maison rurale 4
- Une pièce dans une institution 5
- Habitat sommaire/précaire/bidonville 6
- Autre 7

L11. Quel a été votre dernier milieu de résidence avant de quitter le principal pays d'immigration ?

- Rural 1
- Urbain 2

M – Liens maintenus avec le pays d'origine au cours de l'expérience dans le dernier pays de séjour

M1. Lorsque vous étiez à l'étranger, selon quelle fréquence avez-vous envoyé de l'argent aux membres de votre famille, au cours de la dernière année ?

- Une fois par mois 1
- Une fois tous les trois mois 2
- Une fois tous les 6 mois 3
- Une fois par an 4
- De façon sporadique 5
- Jamais 6 *[passer à la question M4]*

M2. Quel était le montant envoyé par an ? (*En Euro*)

- Moins de 200 Euro 1
- De 200 a 500 Euro 2
- De 501 a 1000 Euro 3
- Plus de 1000 Euro (préciser) _____ 4

M3. Pour quelle utilité ? (*Réponse multiple*)

- | | <i>Oui</i> | <i>Non</i> |
|---|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| a. Subvenir aux besoins de la famille | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| b. Scolarisation des enfants | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| c. Construire/acquérir un logement | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| d. Investir dans un projet économique | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| e. Achat de terrains/biens agricoles | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| f. Moderniser l'équipement agricole | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| g. Construction de monuments publics (par ex., mosquée, | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| h. Autre (préciser) _____ | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |

M4. Lorsque vous étiez à l'étranger, selon quelle fréquence avez-vous envoyé ou ramené des biens aux membres de votre famille dans le pays d'origine, au cours de la dernière année ?

- Une fois par mois 1
- Une fois tous les trois mois 2
- Une fois tous les 6 mois 3
- Une fois par an 4
- De façon sporadique 5
- Jamais 6

M5. Lorsque vous étiez à l'étranger, selon quelle fréquence avez-vous eu des contacts (coups de téléphone, lettres, courrier électronique) avec des membres de votre famille dans le pays d'origine, au cours de la dernière année ?

- Au moins une fois par semaine 1
- Quelques fois par mois 2
- Une fois par mois 3
- Plusieurs fois par an 4
- Une fois par an 5
- De façon sporadique 6
- Jamais 7

M6. Lorsque vous étiez à l'étranger, selon quelle fréquence de visites vous êtes-vous rendu dans votre pays d'origine, au cours de la dernière année ?

- Deux ou plusieurs fois par an 1
- Une fois par an 2
- Moins d'une fois par an 3
- De façon sporadique 4
- Jamais 5 *[passer à la question M7]*

M6.1 Pour quelles raisons ? (*Réponse multiple*)

- | | <i>Oui</i> | <i>Non</i> |
|-------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| a. Familiales | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| b. Affaires | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| c. Fêtes (Aïd, Ramadan) | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| d. Vacances | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |

- | | | |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| e. Raisons administratives | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| f. Autres (préciser) _____ | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |

M7. Lorsque vous étiez à l'étranger, avez-vous eu des contacts avec les autorités diplomatiques ou consulaires de votre pays ?

- Oui 1
- Non 2 *[passer à la section N]*

M7.1 Pour quelles raisons ? (*Réponse multiple*)

- | | <i>Oui</i> | <i>Non</i> |
|--|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| a. Raisons administratives (papiers, documents) | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| b. Enseignement de la langue arabe et encadrement culturel | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| c. Raisons électorales | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| d. Pour obtenir des informations (sur le pays d'origine) | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| e. Pour les fêtes nationales | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| f. Autres (préciser) : _____ | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |

Etape 3 – Retour au pays d'origine

N – Voyage de retour

N1. Quand êtes-vous revenu dans votre pays d'origine ?

Année

N2. Quel est votre milieu de résidence actuel ?

- Rural 1
- Urbain 2

N3. Etes-vous revenu dans...

- votre lieu de naissance 1
- votre lieu de résidence avant d'émigrer 2
- un lieu différent 3

N4. Etes-vous revenu dans votre pays d'origine avec des membres de la famille ?

- Oui 1
- Non 2 *[passer à la question N5]*

N4.1. Qui étaient-ils ? (*Réponse multiple*)

	<i>Oui</i>	<i>Non</i>	
a. Epoux/épouse	<input type="text"/> 1	<input type="text"/> 2	
b. Fiancé/e	<input type="text"/> 1	<input type="text"/> 2	
c. Enfants adultes	<input type="text"/> 1	<input type="text"/> 2	Combien ? <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>
d. Enfants mineurs	<input type="text"/> 1	<input type="text"/> 2	Combien ? <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>
e. Frères/Sœurs	<input type="text"/> 1	<input type="text"/> 2	Combien ? <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>
f. Parents	<input type="text"/> 1	<input type="text"/> 2	Combien ? <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>
g. D'autres membres de la famille	<input type="text"/> 1	<input type="text"/> 2	Combien ? <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>
h. Amis/connaissances	<input type="text"/> 1	<input type="text"/> 2	Combien ? <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>

N5. Avant ou après vous, est-ce que des membres de votre famille sont revenus dans votre pays d'origine ?

- Oui 1
- Non 2 [passer à la question N9]

N6. Qui étaient-ils ? (Réponse multiple)

N6. Qui étaient-ils ? (Réponse multiple)

	1. Avant vous		2. Après vous	
	Oui	Non	Oui	Non
a. Epoux/épouse	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
b. Fiancé/e	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
c. Enfants adultes	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	Combien ? <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 2 Combien ? <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
d. Enfants mineurs	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	Combien ? <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 2 Combien ? <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
e. Frères/Sœurs	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	Combien ? <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 2 Combien ? <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
f. Parents	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	Combien ? <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 2 Combien ? <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
g. D'autres membres de la famille	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	Combien ? <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 2 Combien ? <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
h. Amis, connaissances	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	Combien ? <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 2 Combien ? <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>

[Seulement pour ceux qui ont répondu « avant vous » à la question N6]

N7. Si avant vous, dans quelle mesure leur retour a influencé votre décision ?

- Beaucoup 1
- Assez 2
- Peu 3
- Aucunement 4

[Seulement pour ceux qui ont répondu « après vous » à la question N6]

N8. Si après vous, dans quelle mesure votre retour a influencé leur décision ?

- Beaucoup 1
- Assez 2
- Peu 3
- Aucunement 4

N9. Quelle a été la principale source d'information dans le processus de retour ?

- Famille 1
- Amis 2
- Organisations gouvernementales 3
- Organisations non gouvernementales 4
- Consulats 5
- Chambres de commerce 6
- Media 7
- Internet 8
- Aucune 9

N10. Avant que vous ne retourniez au pays, selon quelle fréquence avez-vous discuté de votre retour avec des personnes de votre famille ou des amis ?

- Souvent 1
- Parfois 2
- Très rarement 3
- Jamais 4

O – Raisons et facteurs déterminant le retour et durée envisagée du retour

O1. De quelle nature a été votre retour ?

- Décidé 1
- Imposé/forcé par les circonstances 2 *[passer à la question O1.2]*

O1.1 Quelles sont les trois principales raisons pour lesquelles vous êtes rentré dans votre pays d'origine ? (*Par ordre de priorité*)

	<i>Première</i>	<i>Deuxième</i>	<i>Troisième</i>
- Précarité de l'emploi dans le pays d'immigration	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 1
- Pour bénéficier d'aides au retour	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
- Problèmes familiaux au pays d'origine	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 3
- Problèmes familiaux dans le pays d'immigration	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 4
- Problèmes de santé	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
- Problèmes d'intégration dans le pays d'immigration	<input type="checkbox"/> 6	<input type="checkbox"/> 6	<input type="checkbox"/> 6
- Retraite	<input type="checkbox"/> 7	<input type="checkbox"/> 7	<input type="checkbox"/> 7
- Gérer mes affaires	<input type="checkbox"/> 8	<input type="checkbox"/> 8	<input type="checkbox"/> 8
- Création de projets	<input type="checkbox"/> 9	<input type="checkbox"/> 9	<input type="checkbox"/> 9
- Fin de mon contrat de travail	<input type="checkbox"/> 10	<input type="checkbox"/> 10	<input type="checkbox"/> 10
- Fin de mes études dans le pays d'immigration	<input type="checkbox"/> 11	<input type="checkbox"/> 11	<input type="checkbox"/> 11
- Compléter ma formation	<input type="checkbox"/> 12	<input type="checkbox"/> 12	<input type="checkbox"/> 12
- Nostalgie de mon pays et de mes traditions	<input type="checkbox"/> 13	<input type="checkbox"/> 13	<input type="checkbox"/> 13
- Environnement socioculturel défavorable	<input type="checkbox"/> 14	<input type="checkbox"/> 14	<input type="checkbox"/> 14
- Autre (préciser) _____	<input type="checkbox"/> 15	<input type="checkbox"/> 15	<input type="checkbox"/> 15

[Seulement pour O1=2]

O1.2 Quelles circonstances vous ont contraint/forcé à retourner au pays ? (*Réponse multiple*)

	Oui	Non
a. Mon permis de séjour n'a pas été renouvelé	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
b. J'ai perdu mon travail	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
c. J'ai dû interrompre mes études	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
d. J'ai été expulsé	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
e. Problèmes graves de santé	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
f. Problèmes administratifs/fiscaux	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
g. Pour des contraintes familiales	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2

O2. Lors de votre retour, aviez-vous l'intention de rester de manière...

- permanente 1
- provisoire 2
- ne sait pas 3

O3. Envisagez-vous aujourd'hui de repartir à l'étranger ?

- Très certainement 1
- Probablement 2
- Pas pour le moment 3 [passer à la section P]
- Jamais plus 4 [passer à la section P]
- Ne sait pas 5 [passer à la section P]

O4. Vous envisagez de...

- repartir vers le dernier pays de séjour 1
- partir vers un autre pays 2
- ne sait pas 3

O5. Dans combien de temps ?

- Dans moins de six mois 1
- Dans moins d'un an 2
- Dans plus d'un an 3
- Ne sait pas 4

O6. Quelles sont les trois principales raisons pour lesquelles vous souhaitez quitter de nouveau votre pays d'origine ? (*Par ordre de priorité*)

Première Deuxième Troisième

- Je connais déjà le pays et souhaite y vivre/rester plus longtemps 1 1 1
- Je ne m'adapte pas dans mon pays d'origine 2 2 2
- Je n'ai pas d'avenir dans mon pays d'origine 3 3 3
- Pour renouveler mes papiers 4 4 4
- Je ne trouve pas d'emploi ici 5 5 5
- Nouvelles opportunités d'emploi à l'étranger 6 6 6
- Pour des raisons familiales 7 7 7
- Pour des raisons de santé 8 8 8
- Pour d'autres raisons (préciser) _____ 9 9 9

Q - Formation dans le pays d'origine après le retour

[Seulement pour K3 = 4, 5, 6, 7]

Q1. Si vous avez acquis un diplôme à l'étranger, a-t-il été reconnu dans votre pays d'origine ?

- Oui 1

- Non 2

Q2. Avez-vous fréquenté des cours de formation professionnelle dans votre pays d'origine après le retour ?

- Oui 1

- Non 2 [passer à la section R]

Q2.1 Dans quelle branche d'activité ? (Réponse multiple)

	<i>Oui</i>	<i>Non</i>
a. Agriculture, chasse, sylviculture	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
b. Pêche, aquaculture	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
c. Industries extractives	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
d. Industrie manufacturière	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
e. Production et distribution d'électricité, de gaz et d'eau	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
f. Construction	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
g. Commerce, réparations automobile et d'articles domestiques	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
h. Hôtellerie/restauration	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
i. Transports et communications	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
j. Activités financières	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
k. Immobilier, locations et services aux entreprises	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
l. Administration publique	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
m. Education	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
n. Santé et action sociale	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
o. Services collectifs, sociaux et personnels	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
p. Services domestiques	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
q. Activités extra-territoriales	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2

R – Situation professionnelle et financière actuelle

R1. Quel était votre premier statut professionnel à votre retour ?

- Occupation salariale à durée indéterminée 1
- Occupation salariale à durée déterminée 2
- Occupation salariale à temps partiel 3
- Travailleur saisonnier 4
- Employeur/chef d'entreprise 5
- Travailleur autonome régulier 6
- Travailleur autonome irrégulier 7
- Aide familiale 8
- Actif au chômage 9
- Etudiant 10
- Femme au foyer 11
- Retraité/pensionné 12
- Autre (préciser) _____ 13

R2. Est-ce que vous travailliez déjà après être revenu au pays ?

- Oui 1
- Non 2 [passer à la question R4]

R3. Vous avez trouvé le premier emploi au bout de combien de temps après être revenu au pays ?

- Avant mon retour au pays 1
- Immédiatement après mon retour 2
- Moins de trois mois après mon retour 3
- Plus de trois mois après mon retour 4

R4. Quel est votre statut professionnel actuellement ?

- Occupation salariale à durée indéterminée 1
- Occupation salariale à durée déterminée 2
- Occupation salariale à temps partiel 3
- Travailleur saisonnier 4
- Employeur/chef d'entreprise 5

- Travailleur autonome régulier 6
- Travailleur autonome irrégulier 7
- Aide familiale 8
- Actif au chômage 9 [passer à la question R7]
- Etudiant 10 [passer à la question R8]
- Femme au foyer 11 [passer à la question R8]
- Retraité/pensionné 12 [passer à la question R8]
- Autre (préciser) _____ 13

R5. Quel est votre emploi principal actuellement ?

(préciser) _____ [ISCO CODE]

R5.1. Depuis quand ?

Année ||||

R6. Dans quelle branche d'activité avez-vous exercé votre dernière profession ?

- Agriculture, chasse, sylviculture 1
- Pêche, aquaculture 2
- Industries extractives 3
- Industrie manufacturière 4
- Production et distribution d'électricité, de gaz et d'eau 5
- Construction 6
- Commerce, réparations automobile et d'articles domestiques 7
- Hôtellerie/restauration 8
- Transports et communications 9
- Activités financières 10
- Immobilier, locations et services aux entreprises 11
- Administration publique 12
- Education 13
- Santé et action sociale 14
- Services collectifs, sociaux et personnels 15
- Services domestiques 16
- Activités extra-territoriales 17

R11. Avez-vous réalisé des projets d'investissement dans votre pays d'origine ?

- Non 1 [passer à la question R19]
- Oui, un seul projet 2
- Oui, deux projets 3
- Oui, trois projets 4
- Oui, plus de trois projets 5

R12. Pouvez-vous m'indiquer le montant de l'investissement initial pour chaque projet ?

Projet 1 (devise)

Projet 2 (devise)

Projet 3 (devise)

R13. Quelle a été la source principale de financement de ces investissements ? (Réponse multiple)

- | | <i>Oui</i> | <i>Non</i> |
|----------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| a. Autofinancement | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| b. Crédits bancaires | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| c. Prêts d'un parent | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| d. Autre | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |

R14. Dans quelle branche d'activité ? (Réponse multiple)

- | | <i>Oui</i> | <i>Non</i> |
|---|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| a. Agriculture, chasse, sylviculture | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| b. Pêche, aquaculture | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| c. Industries extractives | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| d. Industrie manufacturière | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| e. Production et distribution d'électricité, de gaz et d'eau | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| f. Construction | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| g. Commerce, réparations automobile et d'articles domestiques | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| h. Hôtellerie/restauration | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| i. Transports et communications | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| j. Activités financières | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| k. Immobilier, locations et services aux entreprises | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |

- | | | |
|---|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| l. Administration publique | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| m. Education | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| n. Santé et action sociale | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| o. Services collectifs, sociaux et personnels | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| p. Services domestiques | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| q. Activités extra-territoriales | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |

R15. Combien de personnes employez-vous dans vos entreprises ? (*Réponse multiple*)

- | | <i>Oui</i> | <i>Non</i> |
|--------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| a. Moins de 10 personnes | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| b. De 11 a 50 personnes | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| c. Plus de 50 personnes | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |

R16. Avez-vous eu des difficultés dans la réalisation de ces projets ? (*Réponse multiple*)

- | | <i>Oui</i> | <i>Non</i> |
|--------------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| a. Contraintes administratives | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| b. Manque d'expérience | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| c. Trop de concurrence | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| d. Difficultés de gestion | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| e. Capitaux insuffisants | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| f. Autre (préciser) _____ | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |

R17. Est-ce que des institutions vous ont aidé dans vos projets ?

- Oui 1
- Non 2 [*passer à la question R18*]

R17.1. Si oui, avec quels types d'avantages ? (*Réponse multiple*)

- | | <i>Oui</i> | <i>Non</i> |
|-----------------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| a. Mise à disposition de terrains | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| b. Crédit bonifié | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| c. Facilitation des procédures | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| d. Assistance technique/conseil | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| e. Banque de projets | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| f. Avantages fiscaux | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| g. Avantages douaniers | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| h. Autres (préciser) _____ | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |

R18. Est-ce que votre famille ou vos amis vous ont aidé dans la réalisation de vos projets ?

(Réponse multiple)

	<i>Oui</i>	<i>Non</i>
a. Oui, ma famille dans le pays d'origine	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
b. Oui, ma famille dans le pays de dernier séjour	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
c. Oui, mes amis dans le pays d'origine	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
d. Oui, mes amis dans le pays de dernier séjour	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2

R19. Selon vous, quels sont les trois principaux avantages supplémentaires nécessaires pour inciter les personnes souhaitant revenir dans leur pays d'origine et y investir ? (Par ordre de priorité)

	<i>Premier</i>	<i>Deuxième</i>	<i>Troisième</i>
- Mise à disposition de terrains	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 1
- Crédit bonifié	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
- Prime à l'investissement	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 3
- Facilitation des procédures	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 4
- Assistance technique/conseil	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
- Mise à disposition de banques de projets	<input type="checkbox"/> 6	<input type="checkbox"/> 6	<input type="checkbox"/> 6
- Dégrèvements/avantages fiscaux	<input type="checkbox"/> 7	<input type="checkbox"/> 7	<input type="checkbox"/> 7
- Avantages douaniers	<input type="checkbox"/> 8	<input type="checkbox"/> 8	<input type="checkbox"/> 8
- Infrastructures	<input type="checkbox"/> 9	<input type="checkbox"/> 9	<input type="checkbox"/> 9
- Meilleur environnement institutionnel	<input type="checkbox"/> 10	<input type="checkbox"/> 10	<input type="checkbox"/> 10
- Autres (préciser) _____	<input type="checkbox"/> 11	<input type="checkbox"/> 11	<input type="checkbox"/> 11

[Seulement pour ceux qui ont répondu non à la question R11]

R20. Pouvez-vous m'indiquer les principales raisons pour lesquelles vous n'avez pas réalisé de projets ? (Réponse multiple)

	<i>Oui</i>	<i>Non</i>
a. Capitaux insuffisants	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
b. Manque d'expérience et de formation	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
c. Contraintes administratives et institutionnelles	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
d. Marché insuffisant	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
e. Problèmes de santé ou familiaux	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
f. Je n'avais pas envie	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
g. Je n'y ai pas pensé	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
h. Autre (préciser) _____	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2

- Non 2 [passer à la question S6]

S5.1 Dans quelle mesure ? (Réponse multiple)

	<i>Oui</i>	<i>Non</i>
a. Aide pour trouver un travail	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
b. Possibilité de compléter la formation	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
c. Pour trouver un logement	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
d. Faciliter l'accès à l'éducation	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
e. Faciliter l'accès aux soins médicaux	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
f. Faciliter des procédures d'état civil	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
g. Autres (préciser) _____	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2

S6. Etes-vous membre ou adhérent... (Réponse multiple)

	<i>Oui</i>	<i>Non</i>
a. d'une association	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
b. d'un syndicat	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
c. d'un parti politique	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
d. d'un club de loisir	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2

T – Liens avec le dernier pays de séjour

T1. Quelle est votre opinion concernant les mesures prises pour faciliter le retour ?

- Elles sont adéquates 1
- Elles devraient être améliorées 2
- Elles sont inexistantes 3
- Je n'en ai pas connaissance 4
- Sans opinion 5

T2. Est-ce que vous avez gardé vos papiers de séjour à l'étranger en cours de validité ?

- Oui 1
- Non 2

T3. Depuis votre retour, selon quelle fréquence avez-vous reçu de l'argent de l'étranger au cours de la dernière année ?

- Une fois par mois 1
- Une fois tous les trois mois 2
- Une fois tous les 6 mois 3
- Une fois par an 4
- De façon sporadique 5
- Jamais 6 *[passer à la question T4]*

T3.1. De quel montant total (en Euro/taux officiel) par an ?

- Moins de 200 Euros 1
- De 200 a 500 Euros 2
- De 501 a 1000 Euros 3
- Plus de 1000 Euros (préciser) _____ 4

T3.2. Pour quelle utilité ? (*Réponse multiple*)

- | | <i>Oui</i> | <i>Non</i> |
|---------------------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| a. Subvenir aux besoins de la famille | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| b. Scolarisation des enfants | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |

- | | | | |
|----|--|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| c. | Construire/acquérir un logement | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| d. | Investir dans un projet économique | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| e. | Achat de terrains/biens agricoles | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| f. | Moderniser l'équipement agricole | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| g. | Construction de monuments publics (par ex.,mosquée, hôpital) | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| h. | Autre (préciser) _____ | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |

T4. Depuis votre retour, selon quelle fréquence avez-vous eu des contacts (coups de téléphone, lettres, courrier électronique) avec des membres de la famille ou d'amis qui se trouvent encore à l'étranger au cours de la dernière année ?

- | | | |
|---|-------------------------------|----------------------------|
| - | Au moins une fois par semaine | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 |
| - | Quelquefois par mois | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| - | Une fois par mois | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |
| - | Plusieurs fois par an | <input type="checkbox"/> 4 |
| - | Une fois par an | <input type="checkbox"/> 5 |
| - | De façon sporadique | <input type="checkbox"/> 6 |
| - | Jamais | <input type="checkbox"/> 7 |

T5. Depuis votre retour, combien de fois vous êtes-vous rendu à l'étranger au cours de la dernière année ?

- | | | |
|---|-------------------------------|----------------------------|
| - | Deux ou plusieurs fois par an | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 |
| - | Une fois par an | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| - | Moins d'une fois par an | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |
| - | De façon sporadique | <input type="checkbox"/> 4 |
| - | Jamais | <input type="checkbox"/> 5 |
- [le questionnaire se termine ici]*

T5.1 Pour quelles raisons ? (*Réponse multiple*)

- | | <i>Oui</i> | <i>Non</i> |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| a. Familiales | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| b. Affaires | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| c. Vacances | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| d. Raisons administratives | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| e. Autres (préciser) _____ | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |

Fin du questionnaire

Merci de votre collaboration !

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**Collective action to support the reintegration of return migrants in
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