

**Transrede Research Project**

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# **Transnational Migration, Return and Development in West Africa**

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Final Research Report

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Richard Black  
Russell King  
Julie Litchfield

with

Savina Ammassari  
Richmond Tiemoko

Sussex Centre for Migration Research, University of Sussex

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## Executive Summary

This project aimed to explore the role of mobility abroad, development of transnational networks, and return migration, in enhancing progress towards the international development targets of poverty reduction and sustainable development. After an initial phase of consultation with key stakeholders, a questionnaire survey was conducted with a total of 604 'elite' and less-skilled returnees from Europe and North America to Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire, whilst in-depth interviews were conducted with Ghanaian and Ivorian migrants in London and Paris. The research framework, key research findings and policy recommendations were discussed at four workshops, held in Sussex, Abidjan and Accra.

The main outputs of the research are:

- An analytical framework for the study of transnational migration, return and development impacts;
- A series of findings on the relationship between migration, return and development amongst both 'elite' and less-skilled returnees to Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire, which are being disseminated in the form of working papers, academic articles and policy briefings;
- A series of policy implications drawn from the research findings, which are being disseminated to a range of regional and international stakeholders; and
- Four workshops involving these stakeholders, two held in the West African region.

The analytical framework and research findings highlight the need for a differentiated approach to migration and return, in which different types of returnees and potential returnees are considered separately, and account is taken of different home contexts.

Evidence was found of significant transfers of financial, human and social capital back to the two countries, and especially to Ghana. Key variables influencing these flows, and the propensity of returnees to invest in businesses include the skill level of migrants, the length of time they spend abroad, the work experience they gain and working conditions they experience, as well as the maintenance of contacts with friends and relatives back home. In contrast, age, sex, destination, marital status and the role played by the migrant's family in migration decisions were not found to be significant factors.

Once they had returned, migrants faced a range of re-integration problems, although these did appear to have declined over time. However, they also reported making significant contributions to 'development' back home. Whilst elite returnees emphasised changes in the workplace and their influence in public life, less-skilled returnees were more likely to cite their contributions to change in the family.

Finally, evidence was found from existing datasets that there is also a 'migration premium' with respect to internal migration in Ghana, although internal migrants had not done as well as international returnees. However, this premium appeared to decline significantly in the 1990s, as non-migrants' level of well-being rose.

The project contributes to DFID's goals of promoting poverty reduction and sustainable development by providing information to policy-makers on how migration and return can influence development-related outcomes. Continuing engagement with policy-makers in the region will seek to build on this understanding to promote policy change which facilitates the beneficial impacts of migration.

## List of acronyms

DFID	Department for International Development
ENSEA	École Nationale Supérieure de Statistique et d'Economie Appliquée
GLSS	Ghana Living Standards Survey
IMF	International Monetary Fund
ISSER	Institute for Statistical, Social and Economic Research
LSMS	Living Standards Measurement Survey
NGO	Non-governmental Organisation
NIDI	Netherlands Interdisciplinary Demographic Institute
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development

## Disclaimer

The UK Department for International Development (DFID) supports policies, programmes and projects to promote international development. DFID provided funds for this study as part of that objective but the views and opinions expressed are those of the author(s) alone.

## 1 Background and objectives

### 1.1 Introduction

It is currently estimated that some 130 million people worldwide are living outside the country of their birth, and in the context of globalisation the number of migrants is generally presumed to be growing. Such population mobility has important implications for meeting international development targets such as the reduction of poverty and the promotion of sustainable development. On the one hand, global remittances by migrants are estimated to benefit poor countries to the tune of around \$80 million each year, through formal channels alone<sup>1</sup>, whilst additional sums are sent through a variety of informal channels.<sup>2</sup> At the same time, however, concern has often been expressed about the potential loss to poor countries of skilled individuals who may have a critical role to play in both poverty reduction, and the promotion of development more widely. For example, migration of the highly-skilled – the so-called ‘brain drain’ – may take away government personnel who might otherwise design and implement anti-poverty programmes, and civil society actors who might press for such programmes, whilst the loss of doctors, teachers and nurses can be expected to have an impact on the provision of health care and education, and hence the ability to meet development targets in this area.

In this context, the return of migrants to developing countries might also be expected to have both positive and negative effects. Clearly, the return of substantial numbers would be likely to have a negative impact on the level of remittances, although there is some evidence from previous studies that remittances tend to decline over time, especially when individual migrants send for their families to join them, or gain secure residence status in their country of destination.<sup>3</sup> However, return may also provide an opportunity to mobilise different forms of financial, human and social capital brought with the returnee to promote development outcomes. At the same time, skilled returnees in particular may be able to make a valuable contribution to the home economy and/or society, although a number of barriers may exist to the application of their skills, knowledge and experience on their return.

### 1.2 Existing research on transnational migration, return and development in West Africa

Much of the existing available research evidence for Africa as a whole, and West Africa in particular, confirms the reservations expressed above about the impact of return migration on poorer economies<sup>4</sup>, although some studies have provided a more positive picture.<sup>5</sup> However, recent research evidence on the developmental impact of West African migration more generally is relatively limited, especially in relation to material that is available in English<sup>6</sup>, and whilst there has been a growth of interest in the African diaspora, this has tended to focus more on questions of identity in the North, than on the diaspora’s involvement in and impact on ‘development’.<sup>7</sup>

One reason may be that international migration in Africa – and especially migration from Africa to Europe and North America – is relatively low by global standards<sup>8</sup>. Indeed, it is worth noting that an analysis of African migration trends by two leading economists suggests that continued poverty in Africa has constituted a major constraint on international migration, since many in the continent are simply too poor to migrate.<sup>9</sup> Nonetheless, the departure of qualified personnel is certainly significant, and viewed with alarm in some quarters. For example, a fairly dated estimate is that as many as 30 per cent of the most highly qualified African nationals live outside their country of origin, mainly in Western Europe and North America.<sup>10</sup> The worsening economic, social, and political situation in many African countries and the widening South-North gap in living standards may well have exacerbated this loss of human capital.

Various recent attempts have been made to study the patterns and consequences of international migration in Africa. A large study was recently completed by the

<sup>4</sup> See, for example, Stahl, C., 1989, ‘Overview: economic perspectives’, in Appleyard, R., *The Impact of International Migration on Developing Countries*, OECD, Paris, on Asia.

<sup>5</sup> Adepoyu, A. 1991, ‘South-north migration: the African experience’, *International Migration*, 29(2); Russell, S.S. et al., 1990, *International migration and development in sub-Saharan Africa*, World Bank Discussion Papers, Washington DC

<sup>6</sup> There is an extensive French literature on the notion of ‘co-development’, but this notion has hardly entered the English literature. See Grillo, R., 2002, Transnational migration, multiculturalism and development, *Focaal*, 40: 9-27.

<sup>7</sup> See Adi, H., 2002, The African diaspora, development, and modern African political theory, *Review of African Political Economy*, 29(92): 237-51

<sup>8</sup> UN Population Division, 2002, *International Migration Report 2002*, UN, New York

<sup>9</sup> Hatton T. and Williamson, J., forthcoming, Out of Africa? Using the past to project African emigration pressure in the future, *Journal of International Economics*, 10(3):556-73. See <http://post.economics.harvard.edu/faculty/jwilliam/papers/ooafrica-apr2000.pdf>

<sup>10</sup> Stalker, P., (1994) *The Work of Strangers: A Survey of International Labour Migration*, ILO, Geneva; World Bank, 2000, *World Development Report 1999/2000*, p.39

<sup>1</sup> World Bank, 2003, *Global Development Finance 2003: Striving for Stability in Development Finance*. World Bank, Washington DC. See <http://www.worldbank.org/prospects/gdf2003/>

<sup>2</sup> IMF and World Bank, 2002, Informal funds transfer systems: an analysis of the Hawala system, mimeo, 27 November 2002.

<sup>3</sup> De la Garza, R. And Lowell, B.L., 2002, *Sending Money Home: Hispanic Remittances and Community Development*, Rowman and Littlefield, Oxford

Netherlands Interdisciplinary Demographic Institute (NIDI) on the 'Push and Pull Factors in International Migration' funded by the European Commission, the results of which were published in 2001.<sup>11</sup> The project included a single-round household survey of migrants and non-migrants, and analysis of contextual data at national, regional, and local or community levels in five sending (Ghana, Senegal, Morocco, Egypt and Turkey) and two receiving countries (Spain and Italy). The study found that emigration from these countries was overwhelmingly for economic reasons, and specifically from Ghana it found that migrants had travelled to a wide range of European and non-European countries. However, this study did not explore the developmental impact of this migration in any depth.

A specific study of the brain drain by researchers at the IMF has also included Ghana as a case study, which estimated that by 1990, 15 per cent of Ghanaians with tertiary education had migrated to US, and a further 10 per cent to other OECD countries. In contrast, less than one per cent of Ghanaians with secondary education were found to have moved to OECD countries.<sup>12</sup> This study also suggests that just over 50 per cent of Ghana's migrants now go to the US. However, again, the consequences of this migration for Ghana, and the prospects for return of these migrants, remained outside the scope of the study.

## 1.4 Objectives

In this context, the main purpose of this research was to enhance the knowledge base and promote improved policy on links between international migration, poverty reduction and sustainable development. This was to be achieved through:

- The collection and analysis of existing information regarding migration and return to West Africa.
- Gathering of qualitative and quantitative survey data in Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire.
- Processing and analysis of this data, and the production of working papers and reports.
- Conducting in-depth interviews and focus groups in UK, France and US.
- Organising workshops for Government and NGOs to promote adoption of policy recommendations.

## 2 Methods

The choice of Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire as study countries reflected a desire to focus on two sending states with contrasting development histories, political institutions and cultures. Thus whilst Ghana was traditionally characterised by international migration mainly to the UK, Côte d'Ivoire has historically sent migrants to France<sup>13</sup>. Nonetheless, both countries are now seeing an increasingly diverse range of destinations, including a strong increase in the number moving to the US.

Fieldwork was carried out in three phases:

- In the first phase, key stakeholders in the UK, Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire were consulted, and documentary evidence and existing data were collected and reviewed, including Living Standards Measurements Surveys (LSMS) for Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire, which were conducted in 1987-88, 1991 and 1998, and 1985-88 respectively.
- Then, in the second phase, a questionnaire survey was administered face-to-face to a sample of 302 'elite' highly-skilled returnees in Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire, and 302 other returnees considered to be 'less-skilled'. Interviewees were selected through contact with consular offices, institutions of higher education, migrant associations, and other bodies where return migrants were expected to concentrate, through a 'snowball' sampling procedure. The survey explored the actual practice of migration; the extent of involvement in transfers of various kinds of capital either whilst away or on return; the uses to which this capital is put; as well as perceptions of constraints to, and opportunities for the involvement of migrant and 'transnational' communities in the development of their home countries.
- In the third phase, a series of in-depth interviews and focus groups were conducted with returnees in each country of origin, as well as with potential returnees in London and Paris. These interviews sought to gather information on the attitudes of returnees and those who remain abroad towards the relationship between migration and poverty reduction. Other key informants, such as CEOs of private companies, high-level officials in government and international organizations, heads of NGOs, religious and political leaders, and others were also interviewed. An initial proposal to interview additional returnees in the US was dropped, in response to concerns over the time

<sup>11</sup> See <http://www.nidi.nl/pushpull/>

<sup>12</sup> Carrington, W. and Detragiache, E (1998) How big is the brain drain? IMF Working Paper 98/102

<sup>13</sup> Robin, N., 1996, *Atlas des migrations ousé-africaines vers l'Europe, 1985-1993*, Paris: Eurostat/ORSTOM

involved, and resources destined for this fieldwork were reallocated to data analysis.

The main survey of returnees was carried out by partner researchers based at the Institute for Statistical, Social and Economic Research (ISSER) at the University of Ghana, and the École Nationale Supérieure de Statistique et d'Economie Appliquée (ENSEA) in Abidjan, in collaboration with researchers at the University of Sussex. Analysis was conducted both at these two institutes, and at the University of Sussex by Savina Ammassari and Richmond Tiemoko.

It is important to note that in neither country do these surveys constitute a statistically representative sample of returnees, nor would such a sample be possible, since the total population of returnees is not known. However, through a variety of cross-checking mechanisms, we are confident that the survey of elite returnees in particular is reasonably representative of this group of returnees, whilst the 'less-skilled' survey covers a broad range of other types of returnee. The latter survey contained a significantly larger proportion of relatively educated individuals than the Ghanaian or Ivorian populations as a whole, with 20 per cent having already achieved a university degree, and over half having completed High School.<sup>14</sup> However, this needs to be set against the conclusions of Carrington and Detragiache that over 70 per cent of Ghanaian migrants in the US in 1990 were tertiary educated, and less than one per cent had only primary-level education or no education at all. In this context, the sample is clearly less educated on average than Ghanaian migrants in the US, even if it is rather more educated than the average Ghanaian or Ivorian populations. For logistical reasons, both surveys also concentrated solely on urban areas, with an emphasis on the capital cities of Accra and Abidjan. A total of 71 per cent of the less-skilled, and 83 per cent of the elite interviewees were male.

### 3 Findings

#### 3.1 The migrants' experience abroad

Unsurprisingly, the return migrants interviewed in our survey of returnees had primarily gone to the UK and US (from Ghana) and to France (from Côte d'Ivoire), although some had ventured to other countries, especially those from Ghana (Table 1). The survey included migrants who had left at various dates from the 1960s to the late 1990s, whilst the bulk (nearly 80 per cent) had returned since 1990. In general, the sample included returnees who had spent relatively

short periods abroad, as well as others who had spent much of their working lives abroad. However, over half of the less-skilled Ivorians interviewed had spent less than 5 years abroad, whilst nearly half of the elite Ghanaians had spent more than 15 years abroad (Table 2).

Table 1: First destinations of surveyed migrants

Country	Ghana Less-skilled	C. Ivoire Less-skilled	Ghana Elite	C. Ivoire Elite
UK	61 (40%)	4 (3%)	71 (47%)	2 (1%)
France	7 (5%)	114 (76%)	0 (0%)	99 (66%)
US/Canada	32 (21%)	13 (9%)	47 (31%)	23 (15%)
Other Eur.	38 (25%)	18 (12%)	23 (15%)	23 (15%)
Other	14 (9%)	1 (1%)	11 (7%)	3 (2%)
Total	152 (100%)	150 (100%)	152 (100%)	150 (100%)

Source: Field survey, 2001

Table 2: Time spent abroad by surveyed migrants

Years abroad	Ghana Less-skilled	C. Ivoire Less-skilled	Ghana Elite	C. Ivoire Elite
1-4 yrs	49 (32%)	77 (51%)	26 (17%)	49 (33%)
5-9 yrs	44 (29%)	37 (25%)	26 (17%)	53 (35%)
10-14 yrs	31 (20%)	17 (11%)	35 (23%)	28 (19%)
> 15 yrs	27 (18%)	18 (12%)	65 (43%)	20 (13%)
Missing	1 (1%)	1 (1%)	-	-
Total	152 (100%)	150 (100%)	152 (100%)	150 (100%)

Source: Field survey, 2001

#### Migration, capital transfer and poverty reduction

A first question we raised was whether migrants of different types acquire the ability or desire to contribute towards poverty reduction and development initiatives in their home communities whilst overseas. One way of measuring this is to consider the financial, human and social capital accumulated by migrants during their stay abroad and transferred back home, as a measure of their ability to contribute. Overall, we found that financial capital transfers were greater to Ghana than to Côte d'Ivoire amongst both elite and less-skilled returnees. However, human and social capital transfers were more important amongst the elite group, regardless of which country they were from.

Looking first at transfers of financial capital, it is clear that the vast majority of the returnees interviewed had both sent some remittances, and had returned with savings. However, whilst 42 per cent of both elite and less-skilled Ghanaians sent remittances on a regular basis (annual or more frequently), only 31 per cent of the less-skilled Ivorians, and just 11 per cent of the elite Ivorians had done this. Similarly, a third of elite and less-skilled Ghanaians reported returning with more than \$10,000 in savings, whereas under 10 per cent of Ivorians in either category had returned with this level of savings.

<sup>14</sup> In contrast, the Ghana Living Standards Survey of 1998-99 shows only 3 per cent of the population with a university degree, and 76 per cent with primary education or less.



In contrast, in terms of education and the acquisition of work experience, the differences between the two countries were much smaller, but a difference did emerge between the elite returnees and the less-skilled returnees (Table 3).

*Table 3: Human capital gained by surveyed migrants*

Human capital gained	Less-skilled	Elite
Studied abroad	206 (68%)	265 (88%)
Attended higher level of education than at home	94 (31%)	239 (79%)
Worked abroad	242 (80%)	258 (85%)
Reported gaining work experience abroad	184 (61%)	254 (84%)

Source: Field survey, 2001

Thus, whilst both groups had worked *and* studied abroad, those in the elite group were significantly more likely to have studied abroad at a higher level than at home, and to report gaining work experience. Amongst Ghanaians, this commonly involved those with an undergraduate degree going on to take a Masters degree abroad, whereas amongst Ivorians, the more common trajectory was from a Masters in the home country to a PhD abroad. Meanwhile, whilst Ghanaians often reported that they then returned because they hit a ‘glass ceiling’ in their careers abroad,

#### *Box 1: Migration and poverty: internal migration*

In addition to using the survey of returnees, we explored the relationship between migration and poverty through analysis of the Ghana Living Standards Survey (GLSS) of 1991/92 and 1998/99.

This analysis showed that migration is a major feature of household behaviour in Ghana, with over 50 per cent of individuals migrating at some point in their lives, although this proportion has declined slightly over the 1990s. Analysis suggests that households whose head has migrated have statistically higher living standards (in terms of income poverty) than those whose head is a non-migrant, although this ‘premium’ in living standards has also declined by a half during the decade. International returnees generally perform better than internal migrants and non-migrants, whilst those who migrated between 1981 and 1986 are least likely to be poor.

However, if we extend our analysis to non-monetary indicators of living standards, such as educational enrolment, there appears to be no differences between migrants and non-migrants. This suggests that although migration represents an important self-improvement or coping strategy in Ghana, the benefits of this strategy may have declined, at least relatively, over the 1990s.

for Ivorians it was much more common for the return to be at the end of a planned period of study.

It is more difficult to assess the acquisition of social capital, both because this concept is difficult to define in quantitative terms, and because the questions asked to elite and less-skilled returnees varied slightly. However, if we consider whether the returnees had joined an association whilst they were abroad, 61 per cent of elite returnees reported doing so, compared to just 43 per cent of less-skilled returnees. Nonetheless, for those less-skilled returnees who had joined an association, there is some evidence that this did increase their social capital, since in 90 per cent of cases people reported that these associations included ‘more qualified’ people than them, and in over half of cases they included people from countries other than their own.<sup>15</sup>

Acquiring the ability to influence development and reduce poverty is not, of course, the same as actually having such an influence: this issue is explored in more depth below.

#### *The gendered experience of migration*

It is important in analysing the role played by migration to disaggregate the experiences of men and women. However, amongst our surveyed respondents, the basic migration experiences of men and women do not appear to have differed greatly. For example, they spent similar amounts of time abroad, and reported receiving similar reactions from residents of the countries to which they migrated. They were equally likely to work whilst abroad, and to join an association. One small difference was that whilst the destinations of men and women were generally similar, Ghanaian women were more likely than their male counterparts to have travelled to the UK, and less likely to have gone to other European destinations. This suggests that the diversification of destinations that has occurred in Europe is a phenomenon pioneered mainly by men rather than women.

In terms of the capital transferred, women were slightly less likely than men to have sent remittances, with this difference being slightly more apparent for the elite returnees, where less than half of women sent remittances compared to 63 per cent of men. Similarly, whilst 21 per cent of men reported bringing back more than \$10,000 in savings, only 15 per cent of women reported bringing back this much (here, the proportions were the same for the elite and less-skilled groups). Perhaps the most striking difference, however, was that women were much less likely to have gone abroad to study – or to have studied whilst they were abroad – compared to men. Thus, whilst 82 per cent of men had either migrated in order to study,

<sup>15</sup> Similar evidence is not available for the skilled returnees, since this question was not asked.



or had studied whilst they were away, this was true of only 65 per cent of women.

### *Initiatives from abroad to promote development*

Some examples were found during both the quantitative survey of returnees, and in qualitative interviews with migrants in London and Paris, of initiatives to promote development amongst migrants and potential returnees living abroad. For example, interviews in Paris revealed significant interest amongst Ivorian migrants in supporting the health care of their relatives back home – with one report suggesting that £1.5 million is remitted each year by Ivorians in France specifically for this purpose.<sup>16</sup> The fact that this money did not always lead to the intended health benefits led to an initiative in which 5,000 Ivorian migrants now pay into a health insurance fund in France, which in turn covers the medical bills of insured relatives in Côte d'Ivoire.<sup>17</sup> Meanwhile, as noted above, many migrants interviewed had been members of associations abroad, with the most common being hometown associations, which frequently play a developmental role. A further 50 were members of alumni associations, whilst 11 reported being a member of a philanthropic organisation specifically orientated to development activities. Twenty-six reported that they had actually set up a community-based organisation.

In addition, a number of individuals made private transfers that were destined towards investment in small businesses or other development-related activities. This was particularly the case amongst less-skilled returnees to Ghana, where just over half (56 per cent) had returned to self-employment (Table 4), with most of these returnees also employing other workers in a new business venture. These businesses were concentrated in the service and retail sectors, but did include several that had made a significant employment or development impact locally, including a brokerage firm that has helped to develop capital markets in Ghana, a firm promoting internet content on Ghana, a radio and TV syndication company, through to a new company making wooden window frames, and a large experimental farm in Côte d'Ivoire.

The factors which influenced propensity to invest in businesses are explored further below.

*Table 4: Employment status of surveyed migrants*

Employ't status	Ghana Less-skilled	C. Ivoire Less-skilled	Ghana Elite	C. Ivoire Elite
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<sup>16</sup> 'Une assurance des soins médicaux financée par la diaspora ivoirienne,

[www.abidjan.net/actualites/article/imprimer.asp?n=24856](http://www.abidjan.net/actualites/article/imprimer.asp?n=24856)

<sup>17</sup> The scheme (MEDIREX-France) has been running for three years, and currently insures 12,000 family members in Côte d'Ivoire.

Salaried emp.	44 (29%)	69 (46%)	92 (61%)	124 (83%)
Self-emp.	16 (11%)	13 (9%)	5 (3%)	11 (7%)
Employer	69 (45%)	35 (23%)	55 (26%)	15 (10%)
Not working	23 (15%)	32 (21%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
No reply	0 (0%)	1 (1%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Total	152 (100%)	150 (100%)	152 (100%)	150 (100%)

Source: Field survey, 2001

## 3.2 Return and the transfer of resources

The previous section has already touched on some of the ways in which financial, human and social capital have been transferred back to their home country by Ghanaian and Ivorian migrants who have since returned. This section is concerned more with what underpins the return decision, and how public policy and the nature of return might influence the extent of these transfers.

### *Why do migrants return?*

In general, the migrants interviewed in this study were positive about their return, especially those in the elite group, 98 per cent of whom cited at least one positive expectation that they had on their return. Nearly 80 per cent of this group, and nearly 40 per cent of the less-skilled returnees reported that they hoped to apply what they had learned abroad on their return, whilst nearly two-thirds of both groups across both countries anticipated that business or job opportunities would await them.

When asked what motivated their return, roughly a third of the return migrants interviewed in all of the categories had returned either for family or work reasons, but beyond this, some variations were observed within our dataset (Table 5).

*Table 5: Stated reasons for return amongst surveyed migrants*

Reason	Ghana Less-skilled	C. Ivoire Less-skilled	Ghana Elite	C. Ivoire Elite
Family	58 (38%)	61 (41%)	51 (34%)	44 (29%)
Work at home	51 (34%)	67 (45%)	44 (29%)	41 (27%)
No choice	44 (29%)	18 (12%)	18 (12%)	4 (3%)
End of study	39 (26%)	49 (33%)	11 (7%)	110 (73%)
Unemploy't	15 (10%)	15 (10%)	14 (9%)	10 (7%)
Earn respect	10 (7%)	12 (8%)	54 (36%)	58 (39%)
Retired	8 (5%)	8 (5%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Government incentive	0 (0%)	2 (1%)	20 (13%)	5 (3%)
Total	152 (100%)	150 (100%)	152 (100%)	150 (100%)

Source: Field survey, 2001

Drawing on this data, it is possible to begin to assemble a typology of returnees, which goes beyond the simple typology of Cerase<sup>18</sup> based on length of time spent abroad. For example, our dataset seems to include:

<sup>18</sup> Cerase, F.P., 1970, Nostalgia or disenchantment: considerations on return migration, in S.M. Tomasi and M.H. Engel (eds.) *The Italian Experience in the United States*, New York: Center for Migration Studies, 217-39

- *Return of students:* Nearly three-quarters of the elite Ivorian returnees interviewed had returned at the end of a period of study abroad. This group had a highly-focused migration strategy and always intended to return;
- *Return of rejection:* This is a variation on Cerase's 'return of failure', with nearly a third of less-skilled returnees to Ghana saying they had returned simply because they had no choice; however, few Ivorians or elite migrants from either country had returned for this reason, suggesting that the circumstances of a return of failure can be context-specific;
- *Return for respect:* Elite migrants were found to be much more likely than the less-skilled to report that they returned to 'earn respect'. This group seem to have made a positive lifestyle choice to return, which is about more than meeting a 'glass ceiling' in their country of destination.

In terms of the information sought about the conditions for return, friends and relatives were the main source of information sought by around two-thirds of those interviewed prior to their return, although amongst Ivorian respondents, newspapers, radio and TV were also reported as important sources of information by over half of the respondents<sup>19</sup>, whilst nearly 40 per cent of elite respondents reported that they gained information from personal visits prior to the return.<sup>20</sup>

### *The role of public policy in influencing return*

It is striking in the statistics presented in Table 5 that government incentives were negligible in influencing return, with the exception of a small group of elite returnees to Ghana who benefited from relocation schemes. Moreover, under 10 per cent of the returnees in each group reported that they had any expectation of support from the government, or that they could benefit in any way from government policy on return, whilst only around 10 per cent reported that information about return provided by governments was useful.

One reason for this appears to be that people did not know what government support might have been on offer. For example, only around 30 per cent of the elite returnees interviewed were aware of government schemes to promote return, and just 6 per cent could actually name a scheme – fewer than reported that government incentives were the reason they returned!<sup>21</sup>

<sup>19</sup> In contrast, only 22 per cent of Ghanaian respondents reported that information from newspapers, radio or TV was influential.

<sup>20</sup> The comparable figure for the less-skilled was 20 per cent.

<sup>21</sup> Of the less-skilled group, 8 per cent were aware of a scheme, although all of these were able to name the scheme.

Meanwhile, just 27 per cent of the elite, and 4 per cent of the less-skilled could think of a way in which a government scheme could help them.

### *Permanency of return and capital transfers*

Overall, the majority of returnees interviewed reported that their return was 'permanent', but this masks differences between groups and to a certain extent between countries. Thus, when asked whether they intended to return abroad, over half of the less-skilled respondents replied that they did, even though two-thirds of this group had said that they had returned permanently (Table 6). In contrast, the elite group did not on the whole wish to re-emigrate.

The reasons given for wishing to return abroad are themselves interesting. In Côte d'Ivoire, fewer respondents initially described their return as permanent, and only a tiny minority said they wished to go abroad again because of the situation in Côte d'Ivoire. Rather, the opportunity to work and develop a business abroad was the most important factor. In contrast, in Ghana, over half of those who felt that they had no choice but to return were now planning to re-emigrate, even though they had described their return as 'permanent'.

*Table 6: Permanency of return amongst surveyed migrants*

Return	Ghana Less-skilled	C. Ivoire Less-skilled	Ghana Elite	C. Ivoire Elite
Permanent	116 (76%)	84 (56%)	126 (83%)	124 (83%)
Temporary	28 (18%)	51 (34%)	21 (14%)	18 (12%)
Come-and-go	8 (5%)	12 (8%)	4 (3%)	8 (5%)
Plan to re-emigrate	88 (58%)	77 (51%)	17 (11%)	19 (13%)
Total	152 (100%)	150 (100%)	152 (100%)	150 (100%)

Source: Field survey, 2001

### *Investments made by migrants*

Building on the results noted above, the project has sought to explore whether particular migration experiences or types have influenced the accumulation, transfer and investment of capital, and specifically the propensity to become self-employed and establish a small business. Independent variables that might influence these capital transfer and investments include the reasons for migration and return, the length of time spent abroad, the sex and educational level of the migrant, whether migrants studied or worked abroad, the permanency of return, and the influence of government policy. We have also included capital accumulation and transfer as independent variables, to look at their influence on specific investments and the permanency of return.

The process of modelling these relationships is still ongoing, but some preliminary findings can be reported. First, analysis of the less-skilled datasets for Ghana and

Côte d'Ivoire<sup>22</sup> shows that those who went abroad to work, returned recently after a long period abroad, and brought back relatively large amounts in savings (over \$10,000) were significantly more likely to have established a small business. In addition, for this group, membership of an association abroad with members from other nationalities was also negatively associated with return to small business.<sup>23</sup>

Secondly, we have constructed a logistic regression model to predict the likelihood of remittances by less-skilled migrants whilst they were abroad, and a two-stage linear regression model to predict the amount of money remitted. Both models show that those who worked whilst abroad, had better jobs, stayed abroad longer and maintained contact with their families were more likely to remit money home, and remitted larger amounts. Those who were less educated before they left were also more likely to remit money. The logistic regression model was also fitted to the elite returnee data, and again showed that those who worked were more likely to remit, although for this dataset, the model was a poor fit ( $r^2=18\%$ ; overall classification 62%).

Thirdly, we have used a specific analysis of the less-skilled returnees to Ghana to explore the extent of, and reasons for job improvement amongst this group of migrants.<sup>24</sup> Amongst this group, although there had been a lowering of occupational level whilst the migrants were abroad, there was a significant improvement in occupational level after return. However, regression analysis provided little evidence that this improvement is related to the human capital gained by migrants whilst they were abroad. Thus the only skills that had a significant impact on job improvement were computer and organisational skills, and the achievement of degrees or work experience had no significant relationship with job improvement. What was more influential was the migrants' age – those who were younger when they migrated showed most improvement – and the extent of contacts they had maintained with their friends at home.

Finally, correspondence analysis conducted on the dataset of elite returnees suggests that the migrants'

home country, duration of absence and length of work experience abroad explained 60 per cent of total variation in the contingency matrix. This is consistent with the findings of the regression models for the less-skilled group.

## 2.3 The migrants' experience on return

After a substantial period of time abroad, it is to be expected that returnees will face some difficulties on their return. This section explores these difficulties, and the extent to which they problematise the transfer of migrants' capital and its investment in development activities.

### *Adaptation and readjustment of migrants back home*

Around two-thirds of the respondents to our survey reported some problems at the time of their return, with the less-skilled reporting more problems than the elite. However, as might be expected, these problems had declined over time, with just under half reporting problems now. The problems encountered on return were highly varied. These included the lack of services (52 per cent of respondents), the lack of a work ethic (39 per cent), family expectations of support (36 per cent) and problems in setting up a business (33 per cent), with the first three being mentioned more by the elite group, and the last one, interestingly, representing a greater problem for the less-skilled group. Those returning to Côte d'Ivoire reported more problems than those returning to Ghana, with the problem of theft and personal security being mentioned by over 80 per cent of the less-skilled Ivorians, compared to virtually no Ghanaians.

### *Obstacles to utilisation of newly acquired capital*

The problems mentioned above give an idea of the general circumstances facing return migrants, but we were also interested to examine the specific problems they had in terms of reintegrating into the labour force and using their newly-acquired capital. In response to this question, it was the less-skilled group who, unsurprisingly, reported many more problems than the elite group. Thus, 22 per cent of less-skilled returnees had problems finding a job, whilst 22 per cent also had problems with the social environment of business, although these were hardly problems at all for elite returnees. In contrast, elite returnees again cited the problem of a lack of work ethic amongst other workers (20 per cent) as their major complaint.

### *Returnees as agents of change*

Returnees were also asked more generally how they felt their time abroad had influenced their work, their interactions within the family, and their contribution to wider society. Overall, a majority of returnees

<sup>22</sup> Some problems with data compatibility between the datasets have led us to conduct regression analyses separately for the skilled and less-skilled.

<sup>23</sup> Black, R., King, R. and Tiemoko, R. (in draft) 'Migration, return and small enterprise development in Ghana: a route out of poverty', submitted to special issue of *International Journal of Population Geography* on 'Transnational Migration, Return and Development in West Africa'

<sup>24</sup> Sjenitzer, T. and Tiemoko, R. (in draft) 'Do developing countries benefit from migration? A study on the acquisition and usefulness of human capital for Ghanaian return migrants', *Sussex Migration Working Paper*, no 12, forthcoming. This dataset was chosen for this analysis, since it contained the lowest job and educational levels for migrants prior to departure.

interviewed said they now worked differently compared to those who had never been abroad, with the elite group noting a much greater difference. Meanwhile, around two-thirds also reported that their consumption patterns were different, whilst a majority of both groups were able to give examples of how they had contributed to change in family and public life (Table 7).

Table 7: *Changing practices since return*

Changed practice	Less-skilled	Elite
<u>Do you consider the way you work different to those who have never lived abroad?</u>		
Yes, very much	75 (25%)	160 (53%)
Yes, to some extent	82 (27%)	107 (35%)
No, not really	89 (29%)	35 (12%)
No response	56 (19%)	0 (0%)
<u>Does your consumption patterns differ from those who have never lived abroad?</u>		
Yes	200 (66%)	193 (64%)
No	97 (32%)	107 (35%)
No response	5 (2%)	2 (1%)
<u>Able to give examples of 'how you have used what you learned to contribute to bring about change'</u>		
In work environment		
In family life	203 (67%)	270 (89%)
In public sphere	213 (71%)	203 (67%)
	151 (50%)	194 (64%)
Total	302 (100%)	302 (100%)

Source: Field survey, 2001

In table 8, the top three examples cited by the less-skilled and elite groups of returnees respectively are listed. Both groups reported improving management at work, advising family members and introducing new approaches at home, and supporting and advocating for their communities in public life. Perhaps unsurprisingly, the elite returnees were more likely to provide financial support at home, and to contribute to the motivation and training of staff in the workplace, although their greater contribution to church activities is less obvious. In contrast, the less-skilled respondents focused more on knowledge, professionalism (promoting a 'work ethic'), and setting a good example. They also paid special attention to children, investing more time and resources in their education.<sup>25</sup>

Table 8: *Specific changes introduced at work, home and in public life (top three choices for each group)*

Contributions	Less-skilled	Elite
<u>Contributions at work</u>		
Improved management	55 (18%)	119 (39%)
New knowledge/technology	66 (22%)	-
Strengthened professionalism	25 (8%)	-
Training personnel/projects	-	79 (26%)
Motivate staff	-	49 (16%)

<sup>25</sup> In tables 7 and 8, what is reported is the migrants' own perception of the changes they have been able to introduce. However, we were generally unable to seek specific collaborative evidence of the truth of these claims.

<u>Contributions in family life</u>		
Advise family members	79 (26%)	61 (20%)
Introduce new approaches	53 (18%)	26 (9%)
Special attention to children	65 (22%)	-
Financial support	-	61 (20%)
<u>Contributions to public sphere</u>		
Support community dev.	24 (8%)	53 (18%)
Advocate for community	21 (7%)	61 (20%)
Set a good example	41 (14%)	-
Contribute to church	-	21 (7%)
Total	302 (100%)	302 (100%)

Source: Field survey, 2001

### 3.4 Summary

A summary of the major findings of this study is contained in Annex 1, along with their policy implications.

## 4 Dissemination

The outputs of this research comprise:

- Analytical framework. This is discussed in detail in a working paper, published on the web by the Sussex Centre for Migration Research, and subsequently as a Working Paper by the International Organization for Migration.
- Fieldwork findings. In addition to the summary of findings in section 3 above, these are written up in more detail in the form of a series of working papers, two of which are submitted with this report, draft papers for publication, and a DPhil thesis. Key findings are summarised below in Annex 1.
- Policy implications. A series of policy briefings was planned as part of this research, and to date, two such briefings have been prepared, the first highlighting the overall objectives of the research, and the second dealing with the use of the Living Standards Measurement Survey (LSMS) as a tool to investigate migration. Further briefings are planned, in what is to become an on-going series. In addition, a contribution on 'new issues in remittances' is to be published on-line on the 'Migration Information Source' ([www.migrationinformation.org](http://www.migrationinformation.org)) in June 2003.
- Dissemination workshops. Four workshops were held, during the research design and data analysis phase, both to inform data collection and analysis, and to involve policy-makers and other stakeholders in discussion of the research findings. Further details are provided below.



## 5. List of publications

### 5.1 Research publications

#### *Academic articles*

Ammassari, S. and Black, R. (2001) 'Harnessing the Potential of Migration and Return to Promote Development: Applying concepts to West Africa', *IOM Migration Research Series*, 5, International Organization for Migration, Geneva

Ammassari, S. (in draft) 'From nation-building to entrepreneurship: the impact of élite return migrants in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana', submitted to special issue of *International Journal of Population Geography* on 'Transnational Migration, Return and Development in West Africa'

Tiemoko, R. and Black, R. (in draft) 'Migration, return and socio-economic change in West Africa: the role of family', submitted to special issue of *International Journal of Population Geography* on 'Transnational Migration, Return and Development in West Africa' (revised version of working paper below)

#### *Working Papers*

Black, R., King, R. and Tiemoko, R. (2003) 'Migration, return and small enterprise development in Ghana: a route out of poverty' *Sussex Migration Working Paper*, no 9, March 2003

Litchfield, J. and Waddington, H. (2003) 'Migration and poverty in Ghana: evidence from the Ghana Living Standards Survey', *Sussex Migration Working Paper* no. 10, March 2003

Tiemoko, R. (2003) 'Migration, return and socio-economic change in West Africa: the role of family', *Sussex Migration Working Paper*, no 14, March 2003

Sjenitzer, T. and Tiemoko, R. (in draft) 'Do developing countries benefit from migration? A study on the acquisition and usefulness of human capital for Ghanaian return migrants', *Sussex Migration Working Paper*, no 12, forthcoming

Anarfi, J.K. and Ahiadeke, C. (in draft) 'Decision to return and the return process of transnational migrants: a West African experience with emphasis on Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire', mimeo

#### *Briefings*

These briefings have been widely circulated to academics and policy makers interested in migration:

1. Harnessing migration potential for development: examples from West Africa, Sussex Migration Briefing no 1, July 2002

2. Using LSMS to measure inter-relationships between migration and poverty, Sussex Migration Briefing no 2, October 2002

### 5.2 Presentations to workshops, conferences, etc.

Presentations have been made on the findings of the study at the following workshops and seminar series:

Workshop on 'Transnational Migration, Return and Development in West Africa', University of Sussex, May 2001 (entire team)

University of Oxford Transnational Communities Seminar Series, November 2001 (Black)

Atelier sur 'Les migrations transnationales, retour et développement en Afrique de l'Ouest', Abidjan, 11 January 2002 (Ammassari, Black, King, Tiemoko, Waddington)

Presentation to Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, Paris, February 2002 (Ammassari, Tiemoko)

First International Conference on Population Geographies, University of St Andrews, June 2002 (Black, King, Tiemoko)

Workshop on 'Migration, return and development in West Africa', Accra, 29 August 2002 (Black, Tiemoko, Waddington)

University of Sussex Migration Seminar Series, November 2002 (Tiemoko)

International Workshop on 'Migration and Poverty in West Africa', University of Sussex, March 2003 (Anarfi and Ahiadeke, Black, King, Tiemoko)

### 5.3 Plans for further dissemination

Detailed analysis of the survey of elite migrants in the two countries has been conducted by Savina Ammassari for her doctoral dissertation on 'Intercontinental mobility and return of elites to Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire', and it is anticipated that further publications will arise from this work.

An article on 'New Issues in Remittances', drawing on the analysis conducted for this study, has been submitted to the Migration Information Source ([www.migrationinformation.org](http://www.migrationinformation.org)) for on-line dissemination. Analysis of factors influencing the scale of remittances has been calculated for this report, and will be worked up into a paper for publication, and a briefing note.

Further 'Sussex Migration Briefings' on other findings of the research are planned, whilst papers from the March 2003 conference at Sussex are to be published as a special issue of the *International Journal of Population Geography* in early 2004, guest edited by King and Black.

## Annex 1: Key findings and their policy implications

<i>Key finding</i>	<i>Policy implication/recommendation</i>
<u>Overall findings:</u>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Significant contributions by migrants and returnees to broad development goals have been identified in this study. These cut across a wide range of types of migration and return.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The potential developmental role of migrants and returnees should be taken seriously by policy-makers in West Africa: migration can be a positive strategy both for individuals and society</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>It is possible and valuable to disaggregate financial, human and social capital transfers made by migrants and returnees, since these play different roles and are produced in different circumstances</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>These types of transfers need to be disaggregated in policy planning</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Significant differences were found in the size and nature of capital transfers between returnees to Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire, and broadly between 'elite' and less-skilled migrants. A number of other variables were significant in predicting particular forms of capital transfer and investment of capital.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The context of migration and characteristics of migrants are important.. A distinction needs to be made between elite and less-skilled migrants because they have different migration experiences and development potential.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>However, age, sex, destination, and whether migrants were married, and influenced in their migration decision by their families, were generally not significant predictors of migration outcome.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Policies to mobilise the potential of migrants need to avoid common stereotypes</li> </ul>
<u>Specific relationships from the survey of returnees:</u>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Within our sample, financial capital transfers (remittances and savings) were greater to Ghana than Côte d'Ivoire amongst both the elite and less-skilled respondents</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The macro-economic and political context in the sending country appears to be an important factor in financial capital transfers.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Amongst less-skilled returnees in general, those who worked whilst abroad, had better jobs, stayed abroad longer and maintained contact with their families were found to remit more, and more regularly</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Policies could focus on improving the employment conditions and prospects of international migrants, and communication with the home country</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The acquisition of human and social capital was generally more significant amongst the elite returnees interviewed, and to a large extent dependent on their duration of absence and working experience abroad</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Policies could build on demand for education by higher skilled migrants to promote courses of relevance to the home context. Policies should target migrants who have not only studied abroad but also gained relevant work and life experience</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Amongst less-skilled returnees to Ghana, although there was significant improvement in their job prospects on return compared to before they left, there was little evidence that this was related to the acquisition of human capital. Rather, those most likely to improve their job prospects were young when they left, and maintained contacts with Ghana whilst they were away.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>It may be worthwhile to focus on facilitating communication between migrants and their home country.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Migrants were found to have returned for both family and work reasons – in roughly equal measure. Distinct 'types' of returnee can also be distinguished from the dataset</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>It is important to avoid a 'one-size-fits-all' approach to return migration. Policies towards those who went abroad to study might differ from policy towards those who went to work, whilst special attention needs to be paid to a variety of personal, family and social factors underpinning return.</li> </ul>

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• ‘Elite’ returnees were more likely to have made a return visit prior to their definitive return. Otherwise, the bulk of respondents relied on information from friends and relatives rather than from official sources to plan their return</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Policies to facilitate return need to engage with migrants families in the country of origin, since they play a crucial role in influencing the return decision.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The return of ‘elite’ migrants was found more likely to be permanent, with this group having a much lower desire to re-emigrate. However, this may reflect a selection bias, in that those elite returnees who wished to re-emigrate may have been able to – and so were not in the sample, whereas less-skilled returnees who wished to re-emigrate may be less able to do so.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Policies focused on access to migration (where they exist) should also consider ability to re-emigrate.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A majority of those who wished to re-emigrate cited opportunities abroad, rather than difficulties at home, as their reason.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• International migration, including the re-emigration of returnees, is probably more influenced by demand in rich countries than by a ‘push’ from poor countries.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Less-skilled returnees who invested in a business were more likely to have gone abroad to work rather than to study; they were also more likely to have saved more, transferred more money home, and spent a relatively long time abroad, in comparison with those who had returned to a salaried job</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Policies to promote investment by migrants in small businesses could consider targeting this type of migrant/returnee</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Less-skilled returnees who invested in a business were more likely to have maintained social networks abroad and to continue to travel since their return.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Attention should be paid to facilitating continued access to international networks and travel opportunities by returnees who invest in business activities</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Returnees faced many problems on their return, but especially highlighted general issues such as poor quality services and the risk of crime, rather than factors specific to their status as returnees.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Macro socio-economic and political factors are as important in successful return as personal factors specific to the returnee.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A clear majority of returnees believed they had made a contribution to changed practices at work, home and in public life since their return. Whilst elite returnees emphasised changes in the field of work and public life, less-skilled returnees were more likely to cite their contributions to change in the family.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A differentiated strategy to harnessing the potential of return migrants, which acknowledges the different roles played by more and less-skilled returnees, would be valuable.</li> </ul>
<b>From the Ghana Living Standards Survey:</b>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Migrants within Ghana appeared less poor than non-migrants in 1991, but by 1998, non-migrants had caught up.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Internal migration may represent a route out of poverty, but it is not the only route, and may benefit non-migrants</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• International returnees to Ghana generally perform better than internal migrants and non-migrants</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Policies to harness the potential benefits of migration should focus on international migration</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• People who migrated in Ghana between 1981-86 are the least likely to be poor.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Need for further understanding of how migration at particular times can have particular consequences.</li> </ul>
<b>From qualitative interviews in London and Paris</b>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• There is growing interest in development issues amongst migrants abroad, including in areas such as mutual health insurance for family members</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Governments can capitalise on such interest with appropriate support for co-development. This need not involve the return of the migrants.</li> </ul>



## Highlights Summary

### MIGRATION, RETURN AND DEVELOPMENT: IS MIGRATION A ROUTE OUT OF POVERTY?

International migration and return can bring major benefits to developing countries, including significant new flows of financial, human and social capital, according to research carried out over the last two years by the Sussex Centre for Migration Research in association with partners in Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire. Based on a new survey of return migration to the two countries, and interviews with migrants in the UK and France, the study has identified a number of factors which influence the return of capital and its investment in development, including migrants' educational level, their working conditions and experience abroad, and the length of time they stay abroad.

Broadly speaking, migrants who are more educated before they leave and work in better jobs whilst they are away are more able to contribute to development back home. Unsurprisingly, the overall volume and quality of transfers is also greater when migrants spend longer periods of time overseas, although also important is the extent to which they keep in touch with their family and friends back home. In contrast, age, sex, destination, marital status and the role played by the migrant's family in the decision to migrate were not found to be significant factors.

In addition, the survey found that:

- Educated migrants placed more emphasis on further education abroad and widening their social circle, whereas less-skilled migrants prioritised work experience;
- Migrants tended to get less-skilled jobs whilst they were abroad, but witnessed a significant improvement in their job level when they returned home;
- Education abroad was not a significant factor in influencing whether returnees got good jobs back home;
- Migrants returned for both work and family reasons
- Educated migrants were more likely to have returned permanently, but over half of less-skilled migrants planned to re-emigrate.

The report suggests the following measures:

- Policies which focus on improving the job conditions of migrants whilst they abroad, and facilitating communication with friends and relatives back home, as these are two of the most significant determinants of the level of capital transfers;
- Return policies to engage with migrants' families in countries of origin, since they play a crucial role in the influencing the decision to return;
- Building on strong existing interest in civil society organisations amongst migrants, especially those who have gained work as well as educational experience abroad.

#### Contributor

Richard Black, Sussex Centre for Migration Research, University of Sussex.

#### Source

Transnational Migration, Return and Development in West Africa, Final Research Report to DFID, by Richard Black, Russell King and Julie Litchfield

#### Further information

Richard Black  
Sussex Centre for Migration Research  
University of Sussex  
Falmer, Brighton BN1 9SJ, UK

Tel +44 (0) 1273 877090

**Fax** +44 (0) 1273 620662

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