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Research**

Migration, Return and Development in West Africa

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Transrede Research Project

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List of acronyms

DFID	Department for International Development (UK)
ESCOR	Economic and Social Research Committee (DFID, UK)
ILO	International Labour Organization
IOM	International Organization for Migration
IPPR	Institute for Public Policy Research
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
OAU	Organization of African Unity
RQN	Return of Qualified Nationals
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 The 'Transrede' Project

This 'Transrede' research project aims to address a major area of concern in current international policy on globalisation and poverty – the relationship between international migration, return and development. Focusing on both poor, unskilled migrants, and more highly skilled migrants who are likely to have a role as 'agents of change', the study will 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. Impacts on the promotion of capacity to implement effective policies and improve efficiency of government are also addressed.

The study draws on a cross-national and multi-method study approach, and covers Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire, countries which have contrasting development histories, political institutions, and cultures. The findings will strengthen the knowledge base necessary to enhance appropriate policy measures on international migration and mobility in both sending and receiving countries.

The research team is headed by Richard Black (r.black@sussex.ac.uk) and Russell King (r.king@sussex.ac.uk), co-Directors of the Sussex Centre for Migration Research. It includes Susan Harkness (s.harkness@sussex.ac.uk), Julie Litchfield (Director, Poverty Research Unit at Sussex - j.a.litchfield@sussex.ac.uk), Savina Ammassari (sammassari@yahoo.com), and Richmond Tiemoko (r.tiemoko@sussex.ac.uk).

The project commenced in January 2001. This first workshop was convened in order to present the initial outputs of background study on migration and return in West Africa.

1.2 The Workshop

The workshop was attended by a broad-based group of those with interests in migration and development in an African context, including policy makers, NGO practitioners, academics and students, as well as representatives from organisations working with migrants from West Africa in the UK. In addition to the research team, representatives from collaborating institutions in Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire were also present.

The workshop was opened by Dr John Humphrey, Head of the Globalisation and Poverty Unit at the Institute of Development Studies based at Sussex. He explained that the Transrede project is one of fourteen included in a three-year programme of ESCOR that was established in response to the UK government White Paper issued (2000) on globalisation and poverty. One of the key aspects of this programme is to influence policy through research. Many projects within this area of concern focus on the movement of capital and goods, but an important aspect of the Transrede project is that its focus is instead on the mobilisation of labour. In this context, it may highlight positive aspects of migration and return in both sending and receiving countries.

Dr Richard Black then provided an overview of the project, outlining the rationale, objectives and methodology. After an open discussion Savina Ammassari presented a draft of the first of the planned series of working papers, followed by comments from Professor Ron Skeldon who acted as discussant. Representatives from DFID and IOM then made presentations regarding migration policy, after which further general discussion took place. After lunch the participants were divided into three groups to discuss the topics of financial, human and social capital respectively. Representatives from each group then reported back to the workshop as a whole with their conclusions. Finally, Professor Russell King provided a wrap-up to the workshop, outlining achievements of the day and how the project may benefit from the discussions, questions and conclusions of the workshop. This document provides a summary of these presentations, discussions and conclusions.

2 PRESENTATIONS

2.1 Project Overview

Dr Richard Black

The background of the project can be summarised as follows:

- There is mounting interest in relationships between migration and development;
- Efforts have been made to promote 'return of skills' to reverse the 'brain drain';
- There is growing awareness of emerging 'transnationalism' as part of 'globalisation';
- There are also differing national/international policies for 'skilled' and 'unskilled' migrants.

Within this context, the main objectives of the project are described as to 'Enhance the knowledge base, and promote improved policy on the link between international migration and poverty reduction/sustainable development.'

More specifically, the project aims to:

- Identify evidence of the impact of migration and return on poverty reduction and sustainable development;
- Provide policy recommendations on how to overcome the constraints to reintegration of return migrants and investment of their resources;
- Generate new alternative strategies to mobilise emigrants' knowledge and expertise in support of development.

This will be achieved by a focus on both poor, unskilled migrants, and more highly skilled migrants (agents of change?); consideration of inter-continental migration, from West Africa to Europe (France, UK) and North America (US); and a cross-national and multi-method study approach.

The definitions to be used within the project are not seen as absolute, but working definitions are as follows:

'Highly skilled' migrants

- Those who in their country of origin belong to the "elite" ... a group of people with relatively high status in terms of education, occupation, wealth and/or power
- Are often in top positions of responsibility and authority and therefore have a fair ability to influence the course of events in different spheres of society

'Unskilled' migrants

- Those who have little or no formal education ... usually from the lower strata of society, but may become socially mobile through migration

The research envisages a three-stage field study, involving, first, the collection of documentary evidence, key interviews, testing of a questionnaire, and the training of researchers; second, the administration of a survey with 400-600 returnees in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana; and finally, in-depth interviews and focus groups with returnees and migrants considering return from UK, France and US.

A process of analysis will examine data collected through the empirical questionnaire survey, and through transcribed interviews, as well as existing data sources. In particular, analysis of the LSMS survey will

be used to test relationships between migration, remittances and poverty.

Dissemination of the project's activities will take place through workshops in Abidjan (January 2002) and the UK (September 2002, March 2003), as well as policy briefings, working papers and academic papers.

Even though the Transrede project is only at its initial stages, significant progress has already been achieved. A survey instrument for use with highly skilled returnees has already been developed and interviews initiated. The questionnaire was amended from an existing questionnaire used in a study by the Asia-Pacific Migration Network, which should ensure heightened comparability of the data. The target group for these interviews has been selected through a 'snowball' method, and intercontinental migrants to Gulf and other African destinations are currently excluded. Highly skilled migrants in the public and private sectors are included, and work is focused on the capital cities of Abidjan and Accra.

A survey of unskilled returnees was still to be initiated at the time of the workshop, with opportunities remaining for the questionnaire to be further amended, and the target group to be defined and selected. One problem with the latter is the fact that no returnee lists are available, so identification of potential respondents needs to start through migrant/returnee organizations, leading to selection by sectors or in geographical areas where return is common.

In developing these survey instruments, and the research more broadly, the Transrede team has taken into account a range of factors affecting potential of return to favour development, which include (from Bovenkerk, 1974): the number of returnees; their concentration over time; duration of absence; social class; motives for return; degree of difference between home/host countries; the nature of acquired training and skills; the organisation of return; and the political relationship between the home and host countries. In addition, the following factors can also be identified:

- Country of origin conditions: fiscal, legislative, economic, social
- The appropriateness of any skills acquired
- Ability to mobilise further transnational funds, possibly through re-emigration
- Facilitative role of national and transnational institutions, networks, etc.

2.1.1 Points of discussion

General discussion focused in the workshop around the issues of definition (especially relating to 'skilled' and 'unskilled') and research design, with the following points being made:

Definitions: The terminology of 'skilled' and 'unskilled' may be ambiguous: not only do some in the 'unskilled' category become skilled, similarly others become 'deskilled'. It was generally agreed that both groups are broad. It was clarified that, for the purposes of this study, such definitions are not based on the level of skill, but on shared characteristics, i.e. the 'unskilled' category includes those with some skills. However, other definitions may also prove useful, such as an analysis of different forms of development, which could provide a basis for identification of groups, e.g. by analysing causal linkages.

Research design: Concern was expressed that migrants who do not envisage return, who may otherwise be potential "dynamic actors", may be missed. However, such cases should be captured in the study if not in the questionnaire survey.

It was acknowledged that electronic communications have radically altered the nature of the establishment of networks between migrants and home; this has been included in the questionnaire as an example of social capital.

The study focuses on the return of the 'skilled' group to capital cities, as they are the primary location for elite returns. For the 'unskilled' group this is not the case, which is taken in to account in the research design.

Other dimensions that may be considered during the study are:

- The differing migration policies of sending and receiving countries
- A sectoral approach; interviewing is being done on this basis, with a different questionnaire for each group which, while this makes for ease of gathering information, is not restrictive
- Gender
- The notion of fluidity amongst 'transnational migrants'; i.e. to and fro movements
- The relationship between remittances and development

It was however acknowledged that, as in any other study, trade-offs have to be made in order to keep the study manageable, with regards to both study design and the number of interviewees. It was also clarified that the focus for this study is on 'voluntary', as opposed to 'forced' returnees.

Finally, the significance of return to both Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire was briefly assessed. There are problems concerning data recording of migrants, and more so with returns, and consequently there is no comprehensive list. It is clear, however, that the

numbers of returns are increasing to both countries; in the case of Ghana this is partly explained by the easing of the crisis over the last several decades.

2.2 Harnessing Migration Potential for Development in West Africa

Savina Ammassari

Ms Ammassari presented the draft of the first of the planned series of Working Papers for the project (available as 'Migration Working Paper no. 4', on the website of the Sussex Centre for Migration Research). This was followed by an overview of the paper by discussant Professor Ronald Skeldon.

2.2.1 Response by Professor Ron Skeldon

General comments about the paper were that it was a well-written review of the literature concerning migration, return and development in West Africa. Regarding return specifically, there is an important debate between rural and urban returns. Returns are a consequence of, amongst other things, migration due to changes in labour markets. Although there is a lot of discussion on returns in general, what is perhaps more important is the fact that people are moving in transnational networks. If, as has been said, 30% of skilled Africans are outside their country of birth, where did they acquire these skills? The paper refers to the fact that labour shortages can stimulate development. What is clear is that there can be no easy generalisations made, indicating that there are no options for a single blanket policy. Other issues that may be important contributors to the debate include:

- The political dimension; this was not addressed (perhaps the researchers were told not to address it?) yet is important in changing policies to promote poverty reduction.
- Student return: this is also tied up with governments.
- Different developmental impacts at different levels of return, e.g. household, national.

In addition, Professor Skeldon made two general points:

1. **The uniqueness of African migration:** The report stresses that "Social ties are particularly strong in a West African context" (Page 8), and that Africans are more mobile than other migrants. There is also a whole literature based on migrants from the Far East whom have migrated to take advantage of capitalist economies. This literature is not merely of academic interest, as it and other similar bodies of literature may provide models that can be applied to a West African context.

2. How can we harness migration? Can governments or private corporations in the region or the diaspora tap into global markets? Perhaps a pro-active approach can be employed, as in the case of the Philippine government, which is currently identifying labour needs abroad with the intent of training at home to fill those needs. This approach may be said to be promoting transnationalism, and may also be a viable option for West Africa.

2.2.2 Discussion

A general discussion about the working paper revolved around the following points:

- The draft contained no specific references to the historical dimension of migration from each of the two countries.
- The project is DFID-funded, and therefore should come from a policy perspective, yet a stronger link could be made between historical and political factors.
- The paper was criticised for not containing much of the contemporary discourse regarding African migration specifically, and a suggestion made that, in line with Professor Skeldon's recommendations to import models from elsewhere, literature from Southern Africa may prove especially relevant.
- Training: the importance of training, both on an external/internal basis and a formal/non-formal basis was stressed, as a crucial factor to gain perspectives on return.
- Many returnees take a change in values back with them, which may prove either helpful (as in the context of democratic values) or unhelpful. Typically, values can be assessed by reference to the various forms of financial, human and social capital, but what could also be included is the idea of cultural capital/values; for inclusion in this group may be values of the Anglophone/Francophone worlds, capitalist values, hegemonic values, etc.
- From an economic perspective, migrants or returnees may actually damage the local economy as, for example in the case of Bosnia, where rents were increased by landlords to attract returnees which led to the displacement of others. Also, as in the case of Iran, rents may become too high for locals if higher rents are paid by migrants abroad. This can act as a disincentive to return.
- Success or failure: if migrants do not meet expectations they may be reluctant to admit this to themselves, their families or interviewers. Also, migration can lead to resentment from those

whom are left back home. This issue will however be dealt with in some detail in subsequent working papers.

- Transnational dimension: it is normative in some societies for a family member to be sent abroad and, on their return, to send someone else abroad who may pick up the contacts, prospects, property etc. established by the first person. In this way a migration life cycle is perpetuated which, in a developmental context could be seen as negative development for the sending society. On the other hand, this mechanism can be seen as ensuring the security of remittance flows long-term, and of guarantee supplements to household incomes across the generations. Whilst this issue too will be the subject of subsequent working papers the project research could encompass case studies of this type to analyse this phenomenon.
- Overall, the trend in Africa is still for outward migration. There is an upcoming summit to be held in Ghana focusing on return of the diaspora, and talks are scheduled between the Ghanaian government and the diaspora on how best to harness the resources of migrants. This could set an agenda for migration, return and development in the region. Information on these talks can be obtained at www.homecoming.com.gh.
- Although the primary emphasis of the study is on return, there are other aspects of development to which the diaspora can contribute, such as associations/networks. An example of these is the Alumni Associations, which play a role in promoting camaraderie, building schools etc. The project will also consider other elements besides return, with particular relevance to the literature on transnationalism. Most such literature is written from the perspective of the receiving countries; yet there is little written on those migrants whom do not want to return, yet are unable to assimilate within the host country. A significant obstacle to such returns is the existence of restrictions on re-emigration for returnees; therefore if migrants were able to acquire a certain status in the host country return might be easier.

2.3 Policy Perspectives on Return and Development

2.3.1 A DFID Perspective (Jeff Chinnock, DFID)¹

Mr Chinnock started by noting that there is an ongoing shift in debates and political opinion within the EU concerning migration, from a position of

¹ Mr Chinnock was speaking in a private capacity, and not necessarily on behalf of DFID

limiting the flow of economic migrants and minimising the number of asylum seekers to one which is more concerned with tackling the problems of a shrinking workforce, an ageing population and the practice of illegal trafficking. These approaches are being reflected in changes in policy making, in order to attract skilled workers from developing countries.

The second White Paper on International Development "Making Globalisation Work for the Poor" (December 2000) addresses related issues and makes some recommendations:

- The integration of economies means that, as well as the movement of capital, goods and information, the free movement of people is a critical component of globalisation.
- Whilst the policies of developed countries should not unfairly restrict the movement of people, they should also consider the negative effects of the 'brain drain' on developing countries.
- Some developing countries benefit from migration, in the form of remittances, improved global links and the transfer of new skills.
- The Government should undertake further research and policy development.

DFID currently faces two major challenges:

1. To develop a relevant response to attract skilled workers from developing countries by understanding the effects on poverty caused by migration, and to aim to maximise the positive benefits on development.
2. To ensure that the aid budget is not distorted by calls for it to be used to help stem the flow of migrants or to help in the reintegration of migrants or failed asylum seekers.

In both areas there is an urgent need to ensure that movement across borders does not impact negatively on development.

Whilst recognising the potential benefits of migration on development, DFID also acknowledges that such benefits are not straightforward: the lack of reliable banking systems may discourage remittance payments; reduced chances of re-emigration on return may delay initial return; corruption or poor infrastructure act as disincentives to invest. Moreover, development is not evenly spread out, meaning that poor families rarely benefit, not least because migrants generally come from families of wealthy backgrounds. Finally, the 'brain drain' arguments are well documented and, although DFID is concerned about the negative impacts on development, why shouldn't skilled people migrate if there are no opportunities for them at home?

DFID is actively engaged in developing policy responses to all these issues in order to maximise development potential and poverty reduction. There is ongoing research being carried out by DFID in consultation with ILO and academic advisors in order to devise policies that could harness the benefits of skilled migration for development without the potential for negative impacts on development. This research will be encompassed in an IPPR seminar in mid June on the impact of skilled migration on developing countries.

2.3.2 An IOM Perspective (*Frank Lazka, IOM*)

IOM has a mandate to deal with migration issues across the world, included in which is the provision of assistance to migrants to return to their country of origin. Often however, IOM is unaware of the consequences of return. Within the EU, member states are encouraged to develop migration policies in partnership with countries of origin, which can encourage the formation of networks and so highlight the positive elements of migration.

In an African context, IOM's assisted return programme for Qualified Nationals (RQN), which was in operation for sixteen years, has now ended, due to lack of donor support from the EU as its primary donor. Encompassing eleven countries at its height, most of which were Anglophone, numbers assisted (approx. 2000) were deemed to be too low. Additionally it was thought that the programme was supply-orientated rather than being focused on needs 'back home'. Most returnees remained more than two years but it is not known whether they would have done so anyway, without additional support.

Currently IOM is developing a programme of Migration for Development in Africa, exploring the potential for the African diaspora to contribute to development: through either temporary or permanent return, transfer of capital etc. Although programming details are yet to be specified, it is clear that there will be a greater focus in Francophone countries, and on working with migrant associations and other groups. So far twenty-one African countries are involved in discussions, and it is expected that the programme will be formally submitted for OAU endorsement in July 2001.

2.3.3 Discussion

Various points of each of the above two presentations were expanded on through group discussion:

- The Home Office is looking to alter visa requirements to attract the 'right' type of immigrants. DFID is aiming to promote the development potential component of such a policy.

- The Home Office is also working with IOM on the issue of return: although IOM possesses data on return programmes there have so far been few assessments post-return. The organisation is however commissioning a research project to assess return projects in Europe.
- The importance of distinguishing between policies adapted by northern countries as opposed to southern countries was stressed, as it may make a substantial difference in the field of return. IOM, as well as implementing programmes for return from northern to southern countries, also works on return programmes intra-Africa, generally in partnership with UNHCR.

3 GROUP DISCUSSIONS

This section summarizes the group discussions, and their responses to a series of questions posed by the workshop organizers. Participants were asked to draw out implications for policy on migration and return.

Group A: Financial Capital

Much of the discussion focused on the distinction between cash and non-cash sources of financial capital. Within this distinction, there may also be the need to differentiate between formal and non-formal forms of financial capital. The group developed a matrix in an attempt to simplify definitions:

	Cash	Non-cash
Formal	Cash sent via banks. There can be poverty/ inequality problems if people are unable to access a bank	e.g. Cars, goods, etc.
Informal	Cash in pocket (may be illegal)	e.g. Consumer goods, other supplies

Cash delivery: The length and mode of transport from the migrant to the target was discussed: options include a direct transfer, i.e. to a bank or physically delivered as cash, and indirect transfers, e.g. money being paid to someone else in lieu.

Access to cash: In the case of bank transfers there are numerous ways for the recipient to access cash; if transferred to a local bank any cash would be automatically exchanged, however if the money is paid into a foreign bank account it is possible to leave it in foreign currency and access it directly, exchanging sums as needed. Similarly, with direct cash deliveries,

due to the existence of the 'black-market', it is possible to exchange foreign currency as necessary.

Savings and remittances: Terminology of financial capital in this way may be limiting, as it was recognised that savings may become remittances, and subsequently be transferred back in to savings. Furthermore, savings may not necessarily be sent home at all, but remain in the host country, in varying forms, e.g. cash, property etc., for subsequent migrants.

If looking at the orthodox definition of remittances several issues were raised:

- The individual economic situation is the most important factor that determines how remittance money is spent, whether regular or not. An indicator may be provided if it were possible to assess what proportion of the household income is provided as remittance: the lower the standard of living of the recipient family, the more likely they will be to spend any monies received on food and general subsistence.
- Women are often more reliable remitters than men
- Other dimensions of variance include the stage of the life-cycle of the migrant; to whom the remittance is being sent (e.g. parents, spouse); the skill level of the migrant (which determines occupation and salary); and the legal status of the migrant (which may affect both the occupation and the method of receipt of salary)

It was agreed that there are problems with the gathering of data on the movement of financial capital, particularly if attempting to assess varying forms (as included in the matrix).

Repayment of loans: As to whether migrants' financial capital affects loan repayments: in Côte d'Ivoire this is not significant as there is no Central Bank, whilst in Ghana it may be significant on an individual level.

Finally, it is important to realise that there are major differences between the two countries being studied, not the least of which are the historical differences due to their colonial legacies. For instance, Ghana has a comparatively long history of migration, with migrants accounting for a significant percentage of its population. Ghanaian migrants abroad are well organised and generally have good connections with their host countries. Ivorians migrate primarily to French speaking countries. Within the last two years in particular, due to political instability within Côte d'Ivoire, political groups are attempting to establish connections with migrant groups abroad, in order to influence the political situation at home.

Group B: Human Capital

Human capital was defined as including:

- Acquisition of knowledge and know-how
- Possession of formal qualifications
- Experience of training
- Professional/employment experience
- Experience of adapting to a new environment and coping with new situations
- Cultural capital (ideas and values)

Acquisition of skills abroad: the potential is affected by the manner of entry in to the host country. Whilst some people go abroad to study or to gain specific work experience, e.g. doctors, others go simply to work to earn money. This last group therefore may not only be unable to learn new skills but very often may become deskilled. In development terms this could be improved with the formulation of policies to address this.

Possibilities to invest enhanced human capital in development: A key to capitalising on the application of skills is to invest in the infrastructure of the professional sectors from whence the migrants originally came. For example, the lack of infrastructure and investment in the health sector means that Ghanaian nurses who have qualified abroad are unable to find employment, yet their skills are necessary. Some doctors from Ghana spend a period of time in the West in order to gain both experience and capital, which they then use to set up private practices on their return. Recommendations for policy initiatives included the linking of IOM's RQN programmes to structural investment and capacity building programmes, in order to both capitalise on new skills and at the same time to reinvest in local communities.

The impact of emigration on development in the context of human capital: The group concluded that migration is a reflection of under-development and that the migration of skilled people impacts negatively on development as well as on family situations. Positive impacts include the application of newly acquired skills.

Voluntary/involuntary returns: This may be an important issue in the study but it would be difficult to design research methods to ensure it is accounted for at the current stage of the project, as this is not an assessable criterion prior to an interview.

Effects on children and households: On a basic level it was concluded that there are positive effects on

children: if they too migrate they may benefit from improved education abroad; if they remain at home they also stand to benefit from an increased amount of money being spent on their education. Negative effects may include the unwillingness to return; however the notion of transnationalism implies that return is not necessarily a permanent state.

Group C: Social Capital

Three definitions of social capital were initially put forward for discussion:

'[T]he sum of the resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition' (Bourdieu 1986)

'[F]eatures of social organisation such as trust, norms and networks that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated actions for mutual benefit' (Putnam 1993)

Granovetter's notion of 'the strength of weak ties' (1975)

However, the group felt that none of these definitions of social capital were able to fully encompass or to capture the particular types of social capital of interest to the project (in that they related to migration and development).

Then, the following issues were discussed:

Measurement: The difficulties of measuring social capital were acknowledged, not least because it can be measured on numerous levels, each of which may require different methods. A useful tool is the World Bank's Social Capital Assessment Tool (SCAT). Likewise the impacts of social capital are difficult to measure, but the interface between the three forms of capital discussed is interesting to note.

Memberships and groups: These may facilitate the reintegration and/or transfer of assets. There is no doubt that associations are important, e.g. alumni associations and their potential to instigate development, as already mentioned. In a broader political context, both on migration and return, migrant associations are approached for assistance on exerting their influence on certain political initiatives. However, it should be remembered that migrants also have their own agendas which may affect the impact of social capital.

Negative aspects: It was pointed out that there is also a "dark side" of social capital, which manifests itself in social exclusion or corruption. For this reason there exists the need for migrants to make the 'right' connections.

Attitudes of non-migrants: It was recognised that the relationships between migrants and non-migrants may be hostile, which could negate some positive impacts. Certainly there are some trade-offs necessary if migrants are to be held in esteem by non-migrants, and yet attitudes can vary over time depending on the ongoing creation and re-creation of social capital.

Returnees and social capital: For potential returnees the bureaucracy at home may frustrate efforts for innovation, although some migrants may retain appropriate network connections that could ease this transition. The existence of RQN programmes can promote resentment against returnees due to the perceived high salaries. This is of course different for so-called 'unskilled' migrants.

International communications: Although there may be a differential between skilled and unskilled migrants when considering access to the internet, the improved access to telephone networks, at least for the migrants themselves, would indicate this differential is minimal.

Overall it was acknowledged that generalisations are not easy to make, not least because migrants themselves need to possess the relevant capacity and willingness to instigate change.

Conclusions

Professor Russell King

After thanking all participants for their input, Professor Russell King identified the major issues that the workshop had succeeded in raising and outlined some recommendations made:

Issue 1: Distinguishing the 'skilled' and 'unskilled'

A number of questions and points arose in relation to this issue, including:

- Do the unskilled have to be poor?
- There is mobility between groups and also a group of 'semi-skilled'; there is not simply a polarised society
- The skilled group could be further broken down to distinguish between professionals in different sectors, contract workers, etc.
- There is a need to think through the hypothesized links between return and development as between the two groups

Issue 2: Questions of research design

There is an overall need to question and justify the validity of the comparison between Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana; the two countries have very different histories and migration processes, which are independent of their Francophone/Anglophone colonial histories.

In addition, emphasis needs to be placed not only on the two countries' capital cities, but also on regional towns and rural areas.

Issue 3: The emphasis on return

The workshop had focused primarily on return, but the project team recognizes that more attention needs to be paid to flexible transnational mobilities, virtual mobilities, and 'normative transnationalism'.

Issue 4: Questions of context

In developing this and other research on migration, return and development in Africa, it is important to bear more strongly in mind the historical dimension to contemporary processes. In this context, it was clear that more attention needed to be paid to existing African and Asian literatures, as well as to other datasets (e.g. IOM), existing policies, and other ongoing research.

Issue 5: Questions of 'success' and 'failure'

The concepts of 'success' and 'failure' in migration and return are relative, and oversimplify the nature of transnational mobility from West Africa (and elsewhere). They must be measured against expectations – both migrants' and their home communities'.

Issue 6: The political nature of return

Return is not only a socio-economic process, but it is also immensely political. When people return is often a crucial political issue, whilst the economic and political settings for social capital are often embedded in political ideologies and strategies, including changes in governments.

Issue 7: The values of returnees

Our research should focus on the values that returnees bring back to their home countries. How are these deployed in the local social system? Do returnees bring back specific cultural capital, or understandings of how things should be done and models of society and development?

Issue 8: Generalisations

There are no easy generalisations to be made, no easy conclusions to be drawn, and no simple policy formations. However, one possible outcome would be to assess how governments and/or private corporations could tap into African migration processes and diasporas, both in order to encourage a fruitful return, and also to open up new market opportunities in the global labour market. This could provide a scenario in which migrants go shopping for opportunities, and governments and employers go shopping for migrants with particular training or skills.

Issue 9: The need for measurement

There is a need to identify and quantify impacts on development. In particular, there may be multiplier effects of return in a positive sense (e.g. the transfer of social capital, financial capital), but measurement also needs to take into account the negative effects of return (e.g. financial capital may be destructive, by increasing the import of luxury goods, leading to social inequality or polarization). Of course, one consequence of return may be that further emigration is stimulated.

4 FURTHER INFORMATION

The University of Sussex, in cooperation with the Institute for Statistical, Social and Economic Research (ISSER) in Ghana and the Ecole Nationale Supérieure de Statistique et d'Economie Appliquée (ENSEA) in Abidjan, Côte d'Ivoire is planning to publish a series of policy briefings on the research carried out by the Transrede project team. The working paper referred

to in section 2.2 is available on the Sussex Centre for Migration Research website, at:

<http://www.sussex.ac.uk/Units/CDE/research/migration.html>

To obtain hard copies of Transrede publications, or to provide feedback to the Transrede research team, please contact: Dr Richard Black, School of African and Asian Studies, University of Sussex, Falmer, Brighton BN1 9SJ, United Kingdom.

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