

Back home, sweet home?
The post-return mobility of Senegalese and Congolese migrants

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Short abstract

This paper aims to study the post-return mobility of Senegalese and Congolese migrants who returned from Europe to their origin country. New departures are often considered as an indicator to assess the success or failure of the reintegration of returnees in their country. It is often assumed that a failure of the reintegration of return migrants leads to a new migration, while the return is permanent in the case of success. However, measuring new departures for installation abroad after return is not evident given the lack of quantitative data. Thanks to biographic data from the MAFE surveys (Migration between Africa and Europe), we are able (1) to quantify the permanence of Senegalese and Congolese return migrants who spent more than one year in Europe and who have returned to their origin country in a long-term perspective, and (2) to investigate the determinants of new departures for installation to Europe of these return migrants. It is expected that the successful reintegration depends on the willingness to return, on the economic and political context, on the migrants' life after their return, and on their situation since their return in comparison with the one they had in Europe.

Introduction

Over the past decade, return migration has become increasingly relevant in the academic literature of international migration (Carling, Mortensen, & Wu, 2011). However, the post-return mobility is not well documented. The literature insists on the fact that return migration must not be considered as definitive and that return migrants have the possibility to leave their origin country and to migrate again (Jeffery & Murison, 2011). The question of the permanence of return migrants in their origin country is also high on the policy-agenda of origin and destination countries. The European policy perspective of return migration is the one of a permanent return, especially if migrants have been removed. Origin countries share the same perspective, but only if return migrants invest in their national economic development. Return migrants themselves will choose to stay or to migrate again according to their personal situation (Sinatti, 2012). The possibility of a new departure after return is especially mentioned by studies concerned about the reintegration of voluntary return programs beneficiaries. New departures are often considered as an indicator to assess the reintegration of returnees in their country of origin. In this way, it is assumed that a failure of the reintegration of return migrants often leads to a new migration, while the return is permanent in the case of success (Black et al., 2004; Daum, 2002). However, as Black et al. (2004) assert, measuring new departures after return is not evident given the dearth of quantitative data.

This paper aims to study the post-return mobility of Senegalese and Congolese migrants who returned from Europe to their origin country. Previous work on return migration in Africa has shown that return migration is a significant even if it tends to regress in times of higher border control (Schoumaker, Vause, & Mangalu, 2009). The quantitative biographic data of the MAFE project (Migration between Africa and Europe), which collected life-histories of Senegalese and Congolese individuals in origin and destination countries, allow to study the patterns and determinants of new departures among migrants having returned. Senegal and DR Congo are interesting to compare as they are two countries which have known very different political and economic evolutions, and where social norms and migratory traditions are not the same.

2. Objectives and hypotheses

This paper has two objectives. Firstly, it aims to quantify the permanence of Senegalese and Congolese return migrants who spent more than one year in Europe and who have returned to their

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origin country in a long-term perspective. Secondly, it investigates the determinants of new departures for installation to Europe of these return migrants. It is expected that the reintegration depends on the willingness to return, on the economic and political context, on the migrants' life after their return, and on their situation since their return in comparison with the one they had in Europe. The hypotheses are the following:

- *H1: New departures of return migrants are be more likely to occur if the return was not planned.* Indeed, the willingness to return is an important element to take into account in the reintegration process (Cassarino, 2004, 2008). Empirical qualitative work on removed Cameroons migrants emphasizes their intention to migrate again because they are socially under pressure since they returned (Chappart, 2008). A quantitative study on migrants in the Netherlands shows that those who migrated for study reasons (thus in a temporary perspective) are less likely to migrate again and those who migrated for family reasons (thus in a more permanent perspective) are more likely to do it (Bijwaard, 2007).
- *H2: Return migrants have more chances to leave their origin country again if their return took place after 1990, especially in the case of those from DR Congo.* It aims to reflect the context in the origin country previous, favorable or not. Previous work on Congolese migration has showed that this migration from and to DR Congo had been greatly affected by political turmoil and economic crisis in the 1990s (Schoumaker et al., 2009).
- *H3: The duration since return has a negative effect on the probability to do a new migration.* It is expected that the chances to leave the origin country again diminishes over time.
- *H4: (a) Migrants who are active at their skills level have less chance to migrate again compared to those who are inactive or working below their skills. (b) Those whose professional status improved compared to the one they had the last year of their migration in Europe are be less likely to migrate again.* These hypotheses reflect the role of professional success for the reintegration process.
- *H5: (a) Migrants who have enough to live are more likely to migrate again. (b) Those whose the economic situation has improved in comparison with their situation the last year of their stay in Europe are less likely to migrate again.* Indeed, an amelioration of the economic status reflects the success of the return, but migrants should afford to migrate again.
- *H6: (a) Return migrants who have left a family behind in Europe have more chances to migrate again. (b) Those who were alone in Europe during their migration and who know an improvement of their family situation by living in family after their return would be more likely leave their origin country again.*

3. Data

This study is based on quantitative data of the biographic MAFE-Senegal and MAFE-Congo surveys (Migration between Africa and Europe), collected in 2008 and 2009 using almost exactly the same questionnaires. Therefore, they are strictly comparable. These data provide two major advantages for studying the determinants of post-return mobility of Senegalese and Congolese towards Europe. Firstly, they are transnational, which means that they have been collected in both origin and destination countries. Senegalese migrants were surveyed in France, Italy, Spain, and in the Dakar region, while data on Congolese migrants were collected in Belgium, the UK, and the Kinshasa region. Secondly, the MAFE data are biographical. Questionnaires allow the collection of retrospective individual trajectories of migrants, revealing year by year, their housing, family, administrative, professional situation, etc. These data make possible our analysis, which requires information both on the life course of migrants who already have migrated again after their return and on the trajectories of those who are still in their origin countries. The samples comprises of 111 return migrants, among whom 51 migrated again in the case of Senegal, and of 99 Congolese return migrants, among whom 51 migrated again (spending 1127 and 1326 person-years in their origin country after their return).

4. Methodology

Both descriptive and multivariate methods will be used in the analysis. An initial descriptive analysis

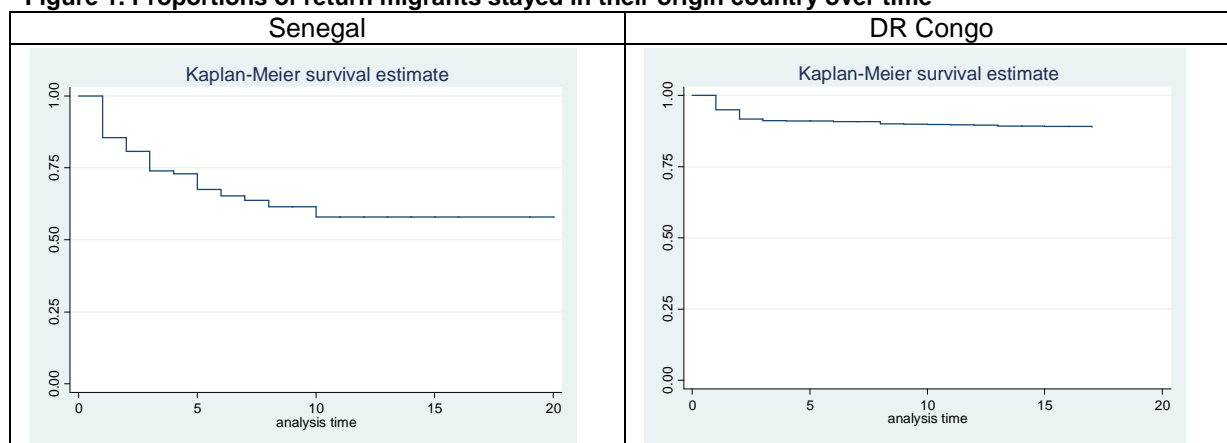
provides a quantification of new departures to Europe among Senegalese and Congolese return migrants. In a second step, we carry out discrete time logistic regressions to test the hypotheses about the determinants of new departures to Europe. This type of regression, possible with biographic data, has regard for the fact that not all migrants have had the opportunity of experiencing the event of new departure.

Two models are performed. Both models control for the initial intention of temporary or permanent migration, for the return period (before or after 1990) and for the time since the return (1-2 years, 3-5 years, 6 years and more). The first model takes into account the migrants' situation since his return (time-varying), in particular their professional situation (active without professional downgrade, inactive, active with professional downgrade, student), their economic situation (sufficient, not sufficient) and their family situation (family at origin, family at destination, single without children, family both at destination and origin, family elsewhere). The second model focuses on the comparison between the professional, economic and family return migrants' status the last year of their migration in Europe and after their return (Improvement, deterioration, status quo). The results are expressed in odds ratios.

5. Preliminary results

A first descriptive analysis reveals that Senegalese return migrants are more likely to do a new departure to Europe (45%) than Congolese return migrants (12%). Survival analyses (Figure 1) show that, in both cases, the new migration is more likely to take place in the first years following the return..

Figure 1. Proportions of return migrants stayed in their origin country over time



Then, we briefly comment the results of the models (Figure 1).

They firstly reveal that the time passed since the return has a strong impact on the probability of new departure among both Senegalese and Congolese migrants. In the case of DR Congo, the new departures are very likely to happen during the first or the second year following the return.

The first model shows that migrants having their family in Europe while they are back in their origin country are more likely to migrate again to Europe, especially in the Congolese case.

Finally, the second model reveals that Congolese migrants have a higher probability to leave again if they do not improve their professional situation once they are back to DR Congo, while the new departures are less selective in the case of Senegalese return migrants.

Table 1. Determinants of new departures (odd ratios)

	Variables	Modalités	Senegal		DR Congo	
			Gross effects	Net effects	Gross effects	Net effects
Model 1 (the results of these variables for the model 2 are very similar)	Initial intention of the last migration	Permanent migration	1	1	1	1
		Temporary migration	0,295***	0.370	0,221	1.080
	Period of return	Before 1990	1	1	1	1
		After 1990	1,747	1,009	4,164	3.099
	Duration since return	1 -2 years	1	1	1	1
		2-5 years	0,524	0.570	0,060***	0.0492***
6 years and more		0,140***	0.173***	0,022***	0.0492***	
Model 1	Professional situation after return	Active without prof. downgrade (ref)	1	1	1	1
		Inactive	1,935	0.733	1,355	8.441
		Active with prof. downgrade	1,537	1.398	0,285**	0.293
		Student	1,974	0.734	2,249	35.79**
	Economic situation after return	Sufficient (ref)	1	1	1	1
		Not sufficient	1,065	0.745	0,316	0.0905
	Family situation after return	Family at origin (ref)	1	1	1	1
		Family at destination	8,322**	3.397	257,153***	78.29**
		Single without children	1,108	0.933	2,367	0.471
		Family both at destination and origin	1,566	1.826	2	0.382
Model 2	Professional situation since their return in comparison with the one they had in Europe	Improvement (ref)	1	1	1	1
		Deterioration	2,283	1.753	10,742	36.19***
		Status quo	2,284	1.741	5,314**	5.648*
	Economic situation since their return in comparison with the one they had in Europe	Improvement (ref)	1	1	1	1
		Deterioration	0,198	0.307	0,075	0.452
		Status quo	0,594	1.273	0,505	3.227
	Family situation since their return in comparison with the one they had in Europe	Improvement (ref)	1	1	1	1
		Deterioration	0,534	0.481	0,723	0.226
		Status quo	1,174	0.701	1,775	2.180

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