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**Temporary versus Permanent Migration**

Migration interrupted - moving beyond the forced-voluntary dichotomy in analyzing economic difficulties post return

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## Migration interrupted - moving beyond the forced-voluntary dichotomy in analyzing economic difficulties post return

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### **Abstract:**

*This paper examines conditions of voluntariness in international return migration and its relation to risks of experiencing economic difficulties post return. Relying on unique survey data among Senegalese and Romanian returnees that allows examining the complex nature of voluntariness, we move beyond the political dichotomy of 'forced' vs 'voluntary' returns. We build on the theoretical notion of return preparedness, involving aspects of willingness and resource mobilization, and provide an empirical examination that contributes to the specification of the concept. Whilst emphasizing the complexity of voluntariness, the findings show that semi-involuntary returns, compelled by external circumstances or negative return motivations, are associated with higher risks of economic difficulties. Compared to non-migrants, all returnees in Senegal experience decreased risks of experiencing economic difficulties, except those forced back to return. Both time to prepare return and acquiring entrepreneurial skills in destination are also important in lowering the risks of economic difficulties after return in both countries.*

*Keywords: return migration, return preparedness, voluntariness, forced return, re-integration*

## Introduction

Return migration is an important feature of international migration, with more than one out of four contemporary international migration movements being a return to one's country of birth (Azone & Raftery 2019). Moreover, return is a phenomenon with strong political connotations. On the one hand, return migrants have been interpreted, both by policy makers and academic scholars, as important actors for development in their origin societies (Sinatti & Horst 2015; GFMD 2008), repatriating not only financial resources and skills improving the lives for themselves, their families and local communities, but also new ideas and social norms (Grabska 2015). On the other hand, an increasingly security oriented political migration management, not the least within the EU (Hansen & Hager 2012), has taken on return migration as one of its main means for repatriating non-desirable migrants, promoting government- and organization-led 'voluntary' return assistance as an alternative to more forceful removal (Black & Gent 2006; Flauhaux 2017; Gibney 2008; Koch 2013; Kuschminder 2017; Webber 2011). Understanding what determines re-integration of return migrants is important for the socioeconomic development in origin countries, and for improving policy-making efforts involving return movements, and generally the living conditions for these migrants.

Although providing important insights, traditional models of return migration have paid little or no attention to the conditions of return and its consequences, whereas more recent studies on forced return have been insufficient in the analysis of the diversity of factors underlying the return decision. The aim of this study is to gain further knowledge on how the migration experience and return conditions relate to the re-integration process, and more specifically, to the probability of experiencing economic difficulties after return. Our overarching research question is: *How do conditions of return, in terms of voluntariness, relate to the risk of experiencing economic difficulties post return?*

As argued in the qualitative work of Van Houte et al 2016, our underlying assumption is that returning migrants face restrictions to varying degrees beyond political or administrative forces

expelling or removing the individual, all of which might potentially bear impact on their preparedness to return. In our empirical examination we draw upon Cassarino's (2004; 2008; 2016) concept of return preparedness and its two central aspects, willingness and resource mobilization, to establish the mechanisms through which voluntariness impacts on returnees' reintegration. We rely on unique survey data that enable us to conceptualize different aspects of these mechanisms, including detailed information on the main motives behind return. By comparing different specifications of voluntariness, and considering the different mechanisms that connect voluntariness and reintegration, we unveil the complexity and multi-layered nature of the notion of 'voluntary return'. Specifically, we contribute to existing literature by moving beyond the political dichotomy of forced and voluntary return, considering also "semi-involuntary" migrants, the majority of which have been interpreted as voluntary migrants in previous studies.

Additionally, the survey data employed allow us to compare two different contexts of origin, involving external migration to the EU (Senegal) and intra-EU migration flows (Romania) – the latter largely absent from previous analyses of the return preparedness framework. Senegalese migrants are particularly exposed to EU's migration management policies with third countries (Flahaux et al 2014; Hansen & Hager 2012; Webber 2011) while Romanian migrants can freely move within the EU. These different positions, as well as their different social and economic landscapes, and migratory traditions, provide a broader empirical testing of how conditions of return impact on re-integration. Finally, the data also allow us to examine the role of migration as a mechanism to lower risks of experiencing economic difficulties by comparing the results of sampled returned migrants and non-migrants.

### **Theoretical perspectives on return**

Return to the country of origin has traditionally been framed within the economic development literature (Constant 2020; Hagan & Wassink 2020), with a majority of studies relying on econometric models and economic arguments, many of them tracing back to New Economics of Labor Migration theory (NELM) (Stark & Bloom 1985). Within the NELM framework, return

is expected where migration objectives of acquiring economic capital are met and fulfilled (Stark & Bloom 1985). This stands in contrast to neoclassical economists (NE) viewing return never as a goal within the migration project but as the result of a failed attempt at permanent migration in order to maximize one's life earnings (Todaro 1976). Scholars have been primarily interested in understanding *why* and *when* migrants eventually return, leading to theories of return in terms of *failure* or *success*, as well as the search for the 'optimal duration' of migration (e.g. Borjas & Bratsberg 1996; Constant & Massey, 2002, 2003; Dustmann 2001; King 1986). In search for empirical evidence eventually supporting any of these theories, numerous empirical studies have considered the double selectivity of return migrants: selection out of those not migrating in the first place and out of those migrants staying abroad (e.g. Borjas & Bratsberg 1996; Constant & Massey, 2002, 2003; Rooth & Saarela 2007, Whaba 2015). Generally, empirical research has supported theories of both positive and negative selection in terms of human capital and economic success, suggesting return as a truly heterogeneous process (for a more extensive overview of these research strands, see Constant 2020).

Through financial and human capital accumulation (in line with NELM theory), migration is generally seen as an important mechanism leading to higher probabilities of economic improvement and entrepreneurial activity, contributing to local and regional development in the country of origin (Sinatti & Horst 2015; GFMD 2008). However, the assumptions underlying this argumentation have been questioned. For example, Hagan & Wassink (2020) argue that the predominant econometric methodology in the economic development framework has forced scholars to view the migration experience as a homogenous process, in which migrants accumulate similar resources at a similar speed and mobilize these in a similar way upon an assumed voluntary return. The fact that migration might not always improve economic outcomes after return has moreover complicated the political discourse seeing returned migrants stand as the ultimate actors of developmental change (Åkesson & Baaz 2015).

In his theoretical work on return preparedness, Cassarino (2004, 2008) pushes for a more complex theorization of return migration. According to Cassarino and others, like Battistella

(2008), return migration needs to be understood as a process unfolding over time, and its analysis needs a more thorough inclusion of diversified migration experiences, as well as the pre- and post-conditions of return, including the evolving contextual settings in the origin country. The concept of preparedness describes how prepared individual migrants are, at the time of return, to successfully undertake their reintegration in the country of origin. Although the concept was originally conceived in relation to migrants' capacity to become 'agents of development', here we will limit our consideration and examination to its relevance for the migrant's successful reintegration.

Cassarino's (2004) theoretical elaboration of return preparedness revolves around two main aspects: willingness and resources. The notion of *willingness* describes whether the individual had the possibility to *autonomously* choose to return at a *certain time*, or whether external events or obstacles *compelled* her or *forced* her to do so. This aspect of preparedness has to do with the subjective ownership of the decision, which is expected to have a positive impact upon reintegration, as the migrant has come up with the decision, meaning she is 'mentally prepared' to return. The concept of *resources* refers to the process of mobilizing *tangible*, i.e. financial, and *intangible* resources, i.e. skills and social networks (both in the host- and origin country). These economic assets and skills, as well as the support and information provided by contacts at origin, are assumed to provide better opportunity structures for re-integration.

For the purpose of understanding the process of re-integration, the concept of return preparedness has an undeniable value. However, it has remained unclear how aspects of willingness and resources are mutually related, and how they together relate to economic outcomes. Within the theory of return preparedness (Cassarino 2004), an implicitly assumed positive relationship exists between willingness and resources. In later work Cassarino (2016) further develops categorizations of "complete", "incomplete" or "interrupted" migration cycles, with cycles referring to each migration having a pre-, during- and post migration stage. However, although emphasizing that return preparedness might come in a plurality of forms, aspects of willingness, resources and time (in terms of migration duration and time to prepare

return) are still presented as simultaneously present or absent. A voluntary returnee is for example assumed to have had higher possibilities to obtain higher amounts of both financial and human capital assets, as well as having had more time to prepare return and possibilities to return at a chosen moment. Additionally, in the rapidly growing literature on return migration, empirical specifications of return preparedness and its relation to post return outcomes are still lacking. In the following sections we discuss other existing theoretical notions and empirical findings on willingness to return, resource mobilization and time aspects of preparedness. We also present the hypotheses that we aim to examine.

### **Willingness to return**

In much of the existing empirical literature, willingness is underspecified and presented as a forced vs voluntary dichotomy. Compared to 'voluntary' returnees, forced returnees – suffering deportation – are more often found in precarious labor market positions and experiencing economic difficulties. Forced returnees have been found with higher risks of unemployment (David 2017; Flahaux 2017), compulsion into unsuccessful self-employment (Kveder & Flahaux 2017), inability to pay back debts which financed their migration, and poverty related to intensified family obligations and shame (Schuster & Majidi 2013). Moreover, deported migrants have been found with lower chances of economic well-being in terms of sufficiency and stability of income and housing (Flahaux 2017) as well as improved living conditions post migration (Bilgili et al 2018) as compared to non-deported returnees. Additionally, part of the return literature has looked specifically into the impact of Voluntary Assistance Return Programs implemented by state actors and organizations, which are found to have low take-up rates, providing limited, short term help with no to little effect on re-integration related issues (Blitz et al 2005; Flahaux 2017; Ruben et al 2009; Hooper 2019). The lack of feasible alternatives has led scholars to question the voluntariness of these programs, some involving legal restrictions of re-entering the destination country (Webber 2011; Blitz et al 2005; Hooper 2019).

But more thorough assessments of voluntariness have remained limited in the return literature. In Van Houte et al's (2016) paper, based on autobiographical narratives of Afghani migrants

returning to Kabul, the authors find no clear-cut boundary between what should be considered forced and voluntary return. Instead, family pressure, economic needs or socio-cultural difficulties were found as a basis of return decisions that, through a mere legal perspective, would be defined completely voluntary. Similar findings are reported in the paper of van Meeteren et al 2014, where analysis of qualitative interviews of Moroccan returnees show how specific return motives, such as family obligations, unemployment or ostracism in the destination country were related to a lower degree of willingness, even in the absence of political force. We aim to further this perspective by considering the multiple sources and the gradual nature of involuntariness.

Based on the theoretical notions discussed and on existing findings, we hypothesize that:

*H1. Involuntariness (or willingness) is related to higher risks of economic difficulties, meaning that semi-involuntary, and especially completely involuntary returnees, experience higher risks of economic difficulties post return compared to voluntary returnees.*

### **Resource mobilization**

The importance of resource mobilization during migration has been found important for reintegration outcomes in several studies. For instance, in a study of Mexican deported returnees, Hagan et al (2019) find the initial disruption changes over time, as migrants re-familiarized themselves in the local labor market, for those deported migrants who were nonetheless successful in the acquisition and mobilization of human and financial capital. Kleist (2017) also finds that, for Ghanaian returnees, migration success was evaluated by the amount of money and skills brought back, rather than by the occurrence of deportation. And Hamdouch and Whaba (2015) find that skills acquired and successful social inclusion in destination outweighs the importance of financial capital acquired and migration duration.

Notwithstanding, the acquisition of resources in destination cannot be taken for granted based simply on migration duration. Kveder and Flahaux (2012) and Åkesson (2015) find returning



migrants from Europe to Senegal and Cape Verde, respectively, were hindered from successful self-employment or skilled wage work upon return due to under-qualified work positions abroad and inability to acquire financial capital. Similar results apply in the US-Mexican case. As a consequence of low-skilled work in the US and few opportunities to learn new skills, Lindström (2013) finds that cumulative US work experience did not necessarily mean upward occupational transitions back in Mexico. Rather, Lindström notes, returnees faced higher risks of downward transitions over their life time. Difficulties also may exist for the transfer of acquired skills to the origin context, compounded by a lack of local specific skills and social contacts. In Åkesson's (2015) study, difficulties at destination were accompanied by weakened local labor market knowledge and networks. The importance of maintained local ties is additionally noted in studies by Dingeman (2017), Kleist (2017) and Ruben et al (2009), who show how emotional affiliations to the origin country, the maintenance of social ties whilst abroad and access to supportive social network, enable an easier social reception upon return, although not necessarily related to improved economic situation (Dingeman 2017).

The lack of local specific social and human capital has been discussed as possible reasons for why returnees are more likely to become self-employed entrepreneurs (Lindström 2013; Martin & Radu 2012; Whaba 2015; Whaba & Zenou 2012). Under these circumstances, and in lack of attractive employment, establishing a business or purchasing farmland might be the only viable options, and this is facilitated by the acquisition of entrepreneurial skill and financial savings during migration. Hamdouch and Whaba (2015), for instance, find that access to skilled work abroad increases the probabilities of entrepreneurship among Moroccan migrants returning from Europe. Similarly, Croitoru (2020) finds those returning to Romania with a high accumulation of economic capital and those with longer migration durations had a higher propensity to become entrepreneurs. However, although self-employment in some cases is indeed related to better economic conditions, this is not always the case, and self-employment may constitute a "last resort" but still precarious (Wassink & Hagan 2018; Kveder & Flahaux 2013).

Based on the theoretical and empirical notions of the importance of both skills and maintained local attachment we hypothesize that:

*H2. Skills acquired during migration and ties with origin maintained during time abroad are aspects that all relate to lower risk of experiencing economic difficulties.*

### **Migration duration and time to prepare**

Within the theoretical framework of return preparedness, two main mechanisms have been identified connecting voluntariness and reintegration: ownership of the decision and availability of relevant resources (money, skills, contacts). In Cassarino's work (2004, 2008, 2016) both mechanisms are presented as tied to the time dimension. On the one hand, migration should be long enough to enable a sufficient acquisition of financial resources and skills at destination, but not too long as to weaken relevant ties at origin. On the other hand, the interruption or shortening of the migration duration relative to individual's desires hinders both the ownership of the decision and the capacity to mobilize resources. In short, it is relevant that the individual has 'time to prepare'. However, these time aspects should be evaluated as separate (mediating) factors from willingness and resource mobilization. It might be the case, for instance, that a migrant is forced to return (interruption), but that she had already acquired sufficient resources and maintained ties at origin.

The first aspect to consider then is the duration of migration. What is an 'optimal' duration for the acquisition and maintenance of resources, as discussed by Cassarino (2004), has not been established and is likely to vary across individuals and migration experiences. Empirically, both shorter (Bilgili et al 2018; Mensah 2016) and longer (Martínes et al 2018) migration durations have been related to increased risks of socioeconomic difficulties post return. The second aspect to consider is the interruption or shortening of the migration duration relative to expectations (rather than relative to individual's desires at the time of return, as in the willingness aspect of preparedness). Although these interruptions may be the product of a number of circumstances, also involving the migrant's willingness to return at that point, or

even the successful acquisition of sufficient resources sooner than expected, it is assumed that interruptions are mostly the result of negative external circumstances imposing (i.e. deportation) or compelling (e.g. family problems) the return. But the unplanned and possibly sudden occurrence of return might have an impact on the preparedness to return that goes beyond pure aspects of willingness and resource acquisition. Expected return has been found to be related to a more positive subjective re-integration experience (van Meeteren et al 2018) and social inclusion (David 2017). Due to hasty returns, migrants returning in fear of their lives as a result of political conflict from Libya to Ghana during the Arabic Spring similarly witnessed of lost incomes and assets, debts and difficulties finding new jobs (Mensah 2016), as well as uncertainty and socioeconomic marginalization (Kleist 2017)

We consider both the occurrence of return sooner than (initially) expected, and whether the migrant had time to prepare return to capture the unplanned and sudden nature of return, respectively. Based on previous theory and empirical findings we hypothesize that:

*H3. Shorter migration durations than initially expected and lack of time to prepare return are related to increased risks of economic difficulties post return.*

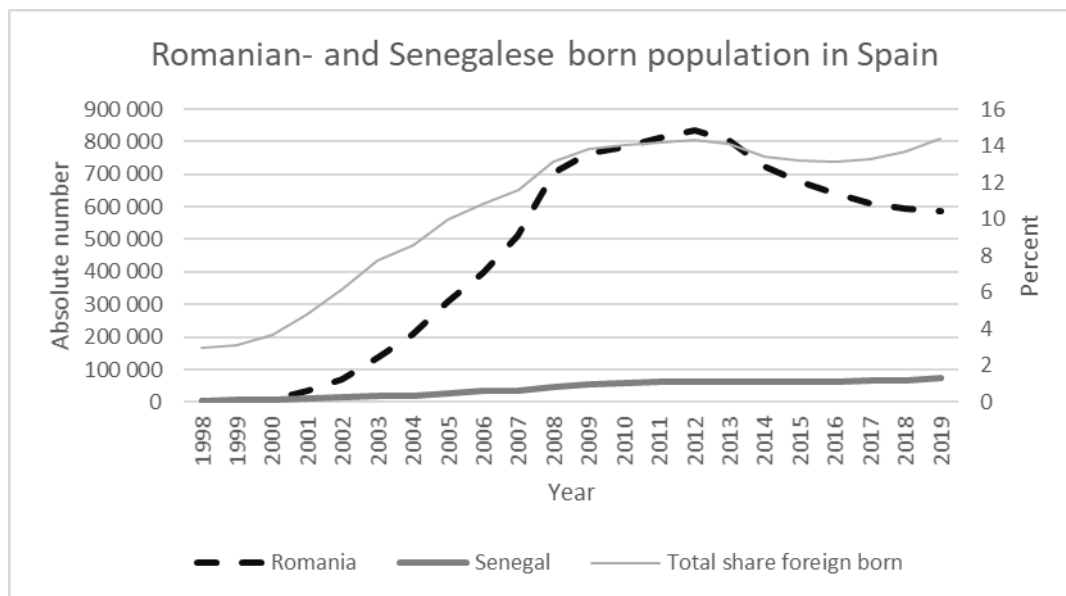
### **Geographical contexts**

The local conditions back at origin are empirically proven to be crucial for the re-integration process success (Arowolo 2000; Cobo et al 2010; Hagan & Wassink 2016; Thomas 2008; Åkesson 2015). As mentioned, this applies to the local labor market conditions and the transfer of skills (Mensah 2016), as well as local perceptions about those who return. Studies with deported migrants find, for instance, that they are seen as valuable labor in Brazil (Golas-Boza 2015) but as criminal offenders in El Salvador, Dominican Republic and Jamaica (Maginot 2019). In short, different levels and types of preparedness might differently impact reintegration in different contexts, which can only be appreciated with a comparative perspective.

In this paper we analyze the economic conditions post return among Senegalese and Romanian returnees. In Senegal, international migration traces back to the earliest years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, when imposed colonial taxes urged a search for wages in France and other surrounding French colonies. In the 1990's and 2000's Spain began attracting Senegalese workers and it soon became the third most common destination for Senegalese emigrants (Beauchemin et al 2014). Migratory decisions do not usually correspond to an individual logic, but target minimizing risks within the extended family, much in line with NELM theory. Furthermore, families in Senegal are characterized by a strong hierarchy principle, with a strong moral obligation towards parents, and parents frequently decide whether and to where their children migrate (Diop 2012; Vazquez-Silva 2014). Within this context, temporal and circular mobility remains a widespread strategy among Senegalese migrants for improving economic prospects (Flahaux et al 2014), and upon return self-employment frequently becomes a "last resort" strategy (Kveder & Flahaux 2013). Immigration restrictions in Europe have not decreased these inflows, but rather increased unauthorized migration and led to fewer returns (Beauchemin et al 2020). This is reflected in Figure 1, where a decrease in the share of Senegalese born population in Spain is absent during the crisis years.

Romanian emigration started rising with the fall of communism, and by the end of the 1990's, emigration was a widespread phenomenon. In 2002, the EU abolished visa requirements for Romanian citizens and in 2007, the country became an EU member state. An EU passport not only made it easier to travel but entitled Romanian migrants to increasing economic, social and political rights as citizens in other EU states (Anghel et al 2016). This has led to increased levels of circular migration of Romanian citizens and made Romanian migration one of the largest intra-EU flows (Ambrosini et al 2015; Croitoru 2020), with Italy, Spain and Germany as main destinations, and with 40% of their migrants having returned after ten years (Ambrosini et al 2015). Like Senegal, economic motivations are central to the understanding of Romanian migration to Spain, and there are great expectations about their transformational force as entrepreneurs upon return (Croitoru 2020).

Figure 1. Absolute numbers of Romanian- and Senegalese born population in Spain, together with total share of foreign-born population.



Source: Figure made by authors using statistics from Instituto Nacional de Estadística 2020. <https://www.ine.es/dynt3/inebase/index.htm?type=pcaxis&path=/t20/e245/p08/&file=pcaxis>

Migrant workers in Spain, including Senegalese and Romanian, largely occupied low-skilled positions in the construction, agriculture, and services sectors during the 2000s economic boom. These positions are the least protected and were the most affected by the recession starting in 2008, including those within the domestic service industry often employing female migrants (Gonzalez-Ferrer & Cebolla 2013; Hellgren & Serrano 2019).

As a majority of the migration from both Senegal and Romania is economically motivated, following NELM theory (e.g. Stark & Bloom 1985), which establishes that return migration generally leads to improved economic prospects for both individual migrants and their families, we hypothesize that:

*H4. Returning migrants experience lower risks of economic difficulties compared to non-migrants, independently of the willingness to return.*

## Data

The data consist of 1715 face-to face individual structured interviews with both migrant returnees and non-migrants, at the time of the interview all living in their country of birth, Senegal or Romania.<sup>1</sup> Finalized in autumn 2018, they cover full migration and work trajectories comprising all migration and activity periods lasting for at least three months. In the case of returnees, individuals were eligible if they had migrated to Spain no earlier than 1996 and then returned to the origin country since year 2000; if they were between 20-65 years of age at the time of return, and if they had spent at least three months in Spain, and at least three months in the origin country after return. Over 80% of the sampled migrants had returned in 2008 or later, which means a large proportion of the sample did experience the economic crisis in Spain. The median age in both origin countries is about 40 years, and a majority is partnered and has at least one child.

The data used is unique in its large sampling of returnees at origin and after return. Returnees are a considerably hard-to-reach population since they constitute a tiny proportion of the population in countries of origin – selected from the already selected population of migrants – and registries and information on them are usually lacking (Serrano et al 2018). The survey employed selected methodologies in order to obtain the best samples possible in terms of national-level representativeness. For this, high incidence areas (departments or counties) were selected in each country, followed by a sub-selection of communes ensuring representation of the rural/urban divide in these areas. In Senegal, selected departments involve the population dense capital department of Dakar and surrounding Thiés and Diourbel, together with the more sparsely populated department of Louga. In Romania, the northern county of Bistrita-Nasaud was selected, later on widened to neighboring counties of Alba, Cluj and Mures.

Returnees were selected through a snowballing sampling following three principles aimed at

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<sup>1</sup> Data were produced within the TEMPER project (Temporary versus Permanent Migration), <http://www.temperproject.eu/>), funded by the European Commission's Seventh Framework Programme for research, technological development and demonstration under grant agreement no 613468.

maximizing the representativeness of the samples and minimizing its biases. These principles were: maximize the number and heterogeneity of sources and seeds; limit the number of seeds that each particular source could provide; and limit the number of referrals that respondents could provide. Each country used specific strategies adapted to each particular context, but primary seeds were mainly obtained in all cases from key informants and gatekeepers. In the case of Senegal, door-to-door visits similar to random walks were also employed. The non-migrants included in both country samples have been selected from the same areas as the returnees. In Romania, the non-migrants are representative of the general population in these localities. In Senegal, the non-migrants are individually selected to match the returnees. These are individuals from the same street or neighborhood and a maximum difference of two years of age. Because of the mainly male dominated migration flows from Senegal, the Senegalese sample consists of males only.

However, it is not possible to get a complete representative sample of the entire returnee population, partly since some individuals might have already re-migrated again. The relative low limit of time since return required to be part of the returnee population (three months) should though lower this bias. On the other hand, we are less able to study the long-term risks. Another limitation is the lack of information on how returning migrants differ from those still in Spain. These problems illustrate longstanding difficulties in studying returning migrants. Given existing difficulties, the TEMPER project data used in this paper is a valuable contribution on the research of returning populations. Another relevant feature of the survey is the detailed semi-biographical questionnaire, which provides rich information on life trajectories and multiple perspectives on the experience of migration and return, including several questions on return motives and circumstances with alternative and complementary formulations.

## **Method**

### **Variables**

#### *Economic difficulties*

The dependent variable of experiencing economic difficulties is operationalized using a

question on the individual's current financial situation ("Thinking about the current financial situation of your household, would you say it is sufficient to cover your basic needs and those of the people who depend economically on you (if that is the case)?"). Since a majority of respondents opted for the two mid categories among five possible options ("More than sufficient", "Sufficient", "Sometimes sufficient, sometimes not" and "Insufficient"), the question was recoded into a binary variable, where those answering that they sometimes have sufficient financial means but sometimes not, and those answering insufficient, are both interpreted as experiencing economic difficulties.

### *Conceptualizing willingness*

Willingness to return is operationalized through self-declared feelings of voluntariness, corresponding to one of the survey questions: "In your case, would you say that your return from Spain [...] was completely voluntary, completely non-voluntary or something in between?". No further elaboration was offered to interviewees on the notion of voluntariness, so answers were based on pure self-assessment of the concept and its application to personal circumstances.

In order to examine the robustness of the self-assessed concept of voluntariness, as well as to capture some of the nuances of such complex notion, we take advantage of the richness of the survey data to additionally examine two alternative specifications. The first alternative operationalization ("compulsion") adds the perspective of autonomy of the decision by considering the absence of external compulsion. Respondents were asked whether several circumstances helped describe their return. These included whether they were "expelled or deported"; "felt compelled to return", for instance, due to family expectations, need to reunify with family, etc.; and/or, whether they "had to return for other reasons" such as financial difficulties, expiration of their permits, etc. Voluntary returnees in this operationalization are those that did not meet any of these circumstances and thus declared their return to be free from external compulsion – a majority of these also stated they made the return decision entirely by themselves, whereas a fifth of the voluntary returnees in both countries decided to return in collaboration with others. Those feeling compelled or having to return for other



reasons constitute the semi-involuntary category in this operationalization, in contrast to those deported or expelled migrants, which constitute the involuntary category.

In a third operationalization (“motives”), willingness is represented by individuals’ main return motive. In the questionnaire, returnees were asked to describe their main return motive in their own words. Trained interviewers then ticked the best corresponding alternative among 67 stated alternatives, grouped under larger categories to facilitate identification. We have categorized these return motives into three groups: 1) “neutral” returnees, i.e. migrants whose main motive to return was not characterized by any negative condition or even due to positive reasons, e.g. family reunification or a business startup, 2) “unfavorably motivated” returnees, i.e. migrants returning due to some kind of explicitly stated negative motivation, such as family pressure to return, economic or work-related problems in the host country such as job precariousness or lack of work, and 3) “forced” returnees, i.e. deported migrants and those returning due to administrative reasons, including visa expiration, non-renewal of residence- or work permit.

Through the examination of these different and overlapping operationalizations of willingness we expect to extend the understanding of “voluntariness” in the context of return.

### *Conceptualizing resource mobilization*

Resource mobilization in this paper reflects acquired skills during migration as well as maintained origin country ties. The acquisition of skills is operationalized with a variable reflecting the self-assessed skill level required by the work realized in Spain (if any at all), with categories “At my level or above”, “Below my level” and “Missing info”. The variable reflects the skill level in which one has worked the longest, taking all activity episodes during last migration into account. The questionnaire also asked interviewees whether they had acquired different sets of skills while in Spain, including entrepreneurial-, social-, vocational- and IT-skills. These are included as dummy variables in order to analyze which type of skills are relevant for

reduced risks of economic difficulties. The maintenance of ties to the country of origin is measured as a dummy variable where a positive value is given to those either remitting money or speaking with family members at least once a week during the time in Spain.

The particular aspect of financial resources is not included in the final models. It was initially included using the information available in the questionnaire on the returned migrants' self-evaluation of their household's financial situation at the time of return. Although this variable does not specify where or when these resources were accumulated, it comes close to reflecting the financial resources available to the migrant. However, since a large share of the sampled returnees had returned relatively recently, the variable suffers from collinearity with the dependent variable describing the economic situation at the time of the survey.

#### *Conceptualizing time aspects of preparedness*

Whether the migration duration turned out shorter than expected is coded into a dummy variable, where "no" includes those not expecting to return at all. More directly reflecting return preparedness, we include a variable on whether the returnee had time to prepare his/her return. In Senegal, almost half of those returning sooner than expected had time to prepare return, compared with two thirds among those not returning sooner than expected. Among the Romanian returnees the two aspects were uncorrelated. Actual migration duration is included as a control.

#### *Control variables*

Not all individuals experience similar risks of migration, and since initial selection into migration is plausibly related to different migration experiences and economic outcomes, controls are included for demographic and socio-economic characteristics prior migration: whether the respondent was living in a household with economic difficulties at age 15, whether she studied, worked or was inactive at age 15, and main residential area type during childhood. Additional socio-demographic controls are included: highest attained education, gender (Romania only),

age at survey, having a working partner and having at least one child. In models restricted to return migrants, additional controls include: experience of previous migrations, business ownership (Senegal only) prior to migration, main migration motive, year of last migration, migration duration, and years since return. In these models, attained education and self-assessed work experience (with alternatives “No work experience”, “Low skilled work experience” and “Skilled work experience”) are measured prior migration. However, in terms of education, the difference to the level measured at time of the survey is almost non-existent. All control variables are further presented in Appendix Table 1 .

Respondents not answering or not knowing how to answer the question on economic difficulties were excluded from the analysis. Additionally, in the Romanian sample only five individuals declared their return was completely involuntary, as their main reason of return was administratively motivated, and only two people said they were deported. The low number of respondents in these categories disables any multivariate analysis and they were hence not included in multivariate analysis. In total, this leaves us with a sample consisting of 1712 individuals, in Senegal represented of 297 returnees and 501 non-migrants, and in Romania represented of 296 returnees and 616 non-migrants.

### **Models**

We first describe levels of self-declared voluntariness in Senegalese and Romanian returns, and examine these in relation to feelings of compulsion and return motives. Next, we perform logistic regressions to analyze the link between the propensity of experiencing economic difficulties at the time of the survey and different aspects of return preparedness – willingness, resources and time aspects (H1, H2 and H3). Whilst our main model operationalizes willingness using self-declared voluntariness, we present additional regression models using the alternative specifications of willingness to return. Regressions are run separately by origin country and using a stepwise approach. Time to prepare return is included in the main model but, since it is collinear with the category of forced returnees in Senegal –more than 90% of those forced to return did not have time to prepare (Appendix Table 1), we present the models first excluding

and then including this variable. Models were fitted using the help of Akaike - and Bayesian information criterion (AIC/BIC) as well as theoretical justifications. Some collinearity exists between variables measuring different skills, but it does not affect the model estimates. To enable comparison across models (see Mood 2010) and facilitate interpretation, logistic regression results are presented in as Average Marginal Effects. Full models presented in terms of odds ration can be found in Appendix Table 2.

Next, we compare risks of economic difficulties between returnees and non-migrants (H4). The comparisons are made between non-migrants and specific returnee groups by levels of willingness. The two alternative specifications of willingness are also used to shed further light into this comparison. Since selection into migration is likely to relate to the outcome of economic difficulties, we use propensity score models for this comparison, matching returnees to non-migrants on the probability of becoming a migrant in the first place. The matching approach is valuable especially in the Romanian case, where non-migrants were not individually matched to returnees during sampling, unlike the Senegalese case. Propensity score models operate by matching treated individuals (i.e. returnees) to non-treated individuals (i.e. non-migrants) but with similar propensities of being treated. Hence, in the propensity score models, the outcomes of migrant returnees are compared to the outcomes of non-migrants who had similar probabilities of experiencing migration and return. Theoretically, it is a comparison of the outcomes of the migrant returnees, with the outcome of the migrant returnees if they had not migrated and returned. Several matching methods exists. Here, results from the Kernel matching method are presented as it uses more information from the un-treated control group, and hence enables lower variance (Caliendo & Kopeinig 2008). Bootstrapped standard errors were used, as well as the option of common support, i.e. excluding eventual observations without any good matches. As a robustness check, also nearest neighbor-, radius-, and stratification matching were used. These other matching methods all showed similar results and are not presented. The matching of individual returnees to non-migrants was based on propensity scores of becoming a migrant returnee, stemming from a probit model including the variables of gender (Romania), age, residential area, education, and whether lived in a

household of economic difficulties at age 15. Results from the propensity score models are presented as Average Treatment Effects on the Treated (ATT's).

## Results

### *Return conditions*

We find that a majority of returnees in the two analyzed countries considered their return to be voluntary (see Figure 2). This majority is larger in Romania (81%), although still significant in Senegal (59%). Conversely, a sizeable portion (29%) of the Senegalese sample declares their return to be involuntary, as expected, whereas these are only marginal cases in Romania. The share of self-declared semi-involuntary returnees is similar across both samples (13% and 17%). In order to better understand the nuances of these self-declared categories, we examine their bivariate association with the two alternative operationalizations of willingness (see Table 1), which are statistically significant, except for the 'motives'-based operationalization in Romania. The category of involuntary returnees is quite clear-cut, corresponding overwhelmingly (89%) to deported individuals in Senegal (the only country with deported individuals). The few remaining involuntary returnees mostly suffered from external circumstances pushing them to return, quite in line with what could be expected. In contrast, self-declared voluntary and semi-involuntary return are, in both countries, ambivalent categories with relevant nuances.

Many self-declared voluntary returnees, notwithstanding, declare the presence of some external pressure pushing them to return. Interestingly, the intensity of this combination varies per country: it is much more frequent in Senegal (74% of voluntary returnees vs 39% in Romania), denoting a larger compatibility of the sense of voluntariness and the perception of external compulsion in the Senegalese case. This is congruent with a social context where communal and family responsibilities and hierarchies are pronounced in migratory decisions. In such context, if responsibilities compel to return, this might not be perceived so much as a limitation on the migrant's autonomy, but as an inherent part of his migratory endeavor. In fact, the most common motive to return among migrants feeling compelled to is, in fact, family related (in both countries). Additionally, the proportion of Senegalese voluntary returnees

declaring 'negative' motives in the second alternative operationalization is much smaller (down to 22%), meaning that the circumstances compelling them to return were not expressed in negative terms. In contrast, both percentages remain at similar levels for Romanians (33%), suggesting that external compulsion is interpreted in terms that can be characterized as negative (e.g. family pressure instead of missing/taking care of the family), in line with what we would initially expect.

The category of semi-involuntary return is, in contrast, very similarly interpreted in both countries. A majority of these returnees declare some sort of external compulsion (66% and 63%), but still almost or over one third of them did not experience such compulsion, suggesting the existence of a more subjective interpretation of the semi-voluntary notion, which we could interpret as simply having mixed feelings about the return decision. The return motives behind these semi-involuntary returns include positive and negative ones in Senegal, as well as deportation, which is indicative of how administrative return may coincide with personal circumstances otherwise conducive to return. In contrast, in Romania a majority of semi-involuntary returnees declare neutral/positive motivations, such as taking care of or reuniting with family members or for career plans.

Overall, the results show that self-declared voluntariness is inherently complex, withholding aspects of compulsion and unfavorable return motives, and that it carries different connotations according to specific social contexts. Self-declared semi-involuntariness is mostly the product of some kind of external compulsion, but a more subjective interpretation also exists in both contexts. Finally, involuntary return largely corresponds to administrative returns, but not only.

Figure 2. Percentage of self-declared return voluntariness among returnees in Senegal (N=297) and Romania (N=303).

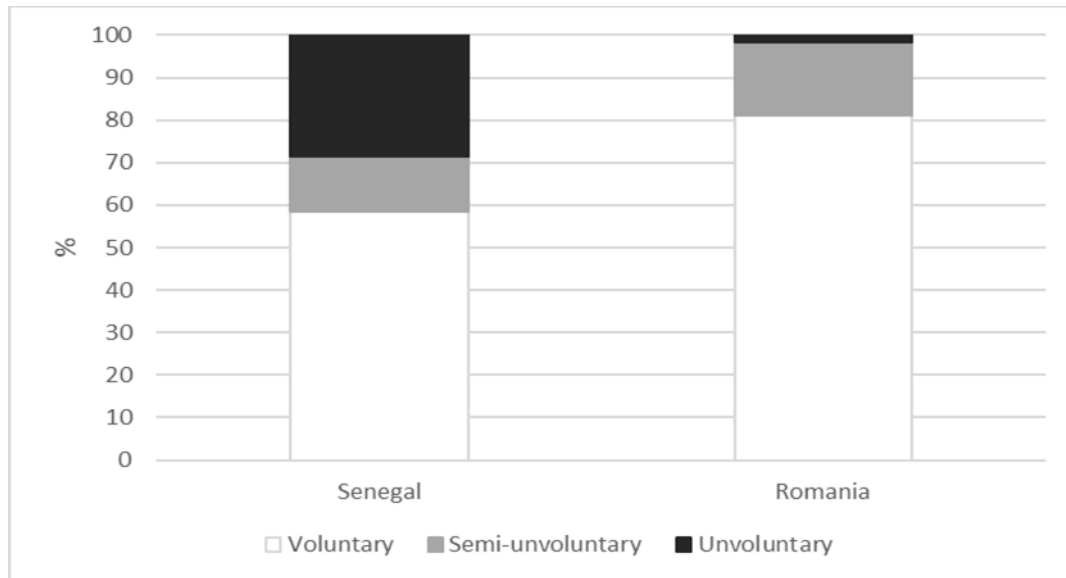


Table 1. Self-declared voluntariness by two other specifications of willingness.

	Senegal			Romania		
	Vol.	Semi.	Invol.	Vol.	Semi.	Invol.
<b>Compulsion</b>						
Voluntary, w/o compulsion	26	29	2	61	37	20
Semi-involuntary or compelled	74	66	8	38	63	80
Deported	0	5	89	1	0	0
Chi2, p-val:			0.00			0.01
<b>Return motive</b>						
Neutral or positive	75	39	8	68	67	40
Unfavorable	22	47	6	32	33	60
Forced	2	13	86	0	0	0
Chi2, p-val:			0.00			0.04
Total, %	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total, N	174	38	85	246	52	5

*Willingness and reintegration*

Figure 3 shows the results of the main logistic regressions on the risk of experiencing economic difficulties post return for the different operationalizations of willingness. Remarkably, looking

at the full models, we find that self-declared semi-involuntary and involuntary returns are associated with lower risks of economic difficulties as compared to voluntary returns. The result holds for both Senegal and Romania and is significant in the case of involuntary returns in Senegal. The result is unexpected and contradicts our first hypothesis. But this could be explained by the nuances of the concept of voluntariness discussed above, and more specifically by the presence or absence of external compulsion or negative motives to return. When using the ‘compulsion’-based operationalization instead, compelled returns show a higher risk of economic difficulties than non-compelled ones, significant in Senegal at the 10% level. As for deportation, (in Senegal only) is again found to decrease the risk, but such effect is far from being statistically significant. When using the ‘motives’-based operationalization, negative motivations are associated with a 10 percentage points higher risk in Senegal (significant at the 10% level) 15 percentage points higher risk (significant at the 1% level) in Romania. In this case, being administratively forced to return has a small increasing effect, but this is again non-significant. Significantly, in all specifications, when not controlling for the time to prepare return (also shown in Figure 3), being deported has yet a larger increasing effect of the risk of economic difficulties, which reveals that this is the category most clearly affected by the sudden interruption of their migration, which affected a vast majority of those forced to return.

Thus, on our first stated hypothesis, self-declared voluntariness seems to be problematic to measure the relevant mechanism linking willingness and reintegration. Instead, operationalizations of willingness involving external compulsion and/or negative motivations reveal that semi-involuntary returnees on average experience higher risks of economic difficulties compared to voluntary ones. Against expectations, we find no clear effect for deportation and administratively forced returns. This finding underlines the importance of individual circumstances, beyond administrative labels, for understanding return preparedness and reintegration dynamics. This is in line with Van Houte et al’s (2016) paper discussed above, where the authors call for a more actor-based rather than bureaucratic perspective on the question of voluntariness pertaining return.



*Resources, time and reintegration*

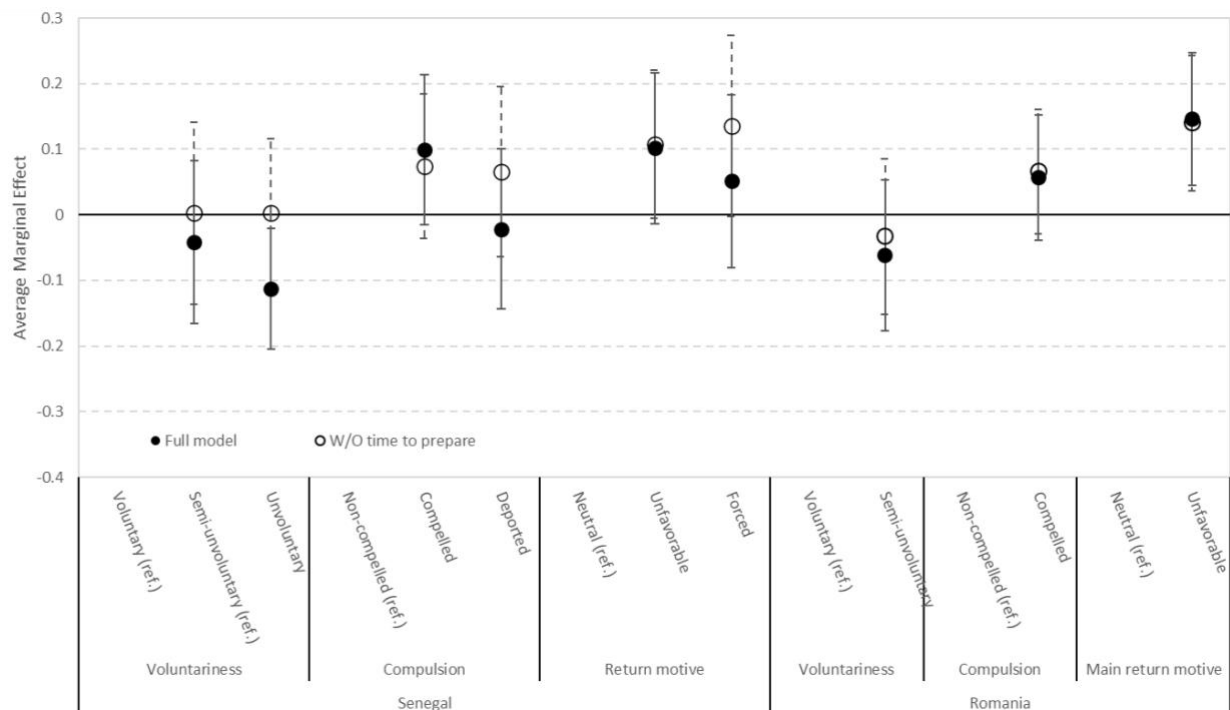
In terms of resources obtained and maintained during the time abroad, similar results are found in both countries, despite possible disparities in their local economies and labour markets. In terms of resources that are mobilized during migration, we find that return migrants who had jobs in Spain mostly below their skills level have a higher (although statistically non-significant) risk of experiencing economic difficulties, in line with findings in the literature establishing that unqualified work at destination does not carry specific benefits upon return, and might do the opposite. Among the different set of skills that return migrants may declare to have acquired in Spain, entrepreneurial skills are the only statistically significant and is estimated to lower the risk of economic difficulties in 13 percentage points in Senegal and 15 in Romania. The maintenance of ties at origin is non-significant in both countries, but this might be due to the high concentration of positive values in this variable (over 80% in all levels of voluntariness in both countries, except for involuntary returnees in Senegal with 69%, presented in Appendix Table 1).

Shorter migration durations than initially expected are found with an insignificant and close to null effect in both countries (Figure 4), both with and without controlling for actual time spent in the host country (latter not shown). In terms of actual duration, having longer migration durations (up to five years) are though related to lower risks compared to very short durations (6 months or less) among Senegalese returnees (Appendix Table 2Error! Reference source not found.). Looking at whether the migrant had the time to prepare return (Figure 4), we find relatively big effect sizes: having time to prepare reduces the risk of economic difficulties in 14 percentage points in Romania (significant at the 10% level) and in 24 percentage points in Senegal (statistically significant at a 1% level). The greater impact in the Senegalese sample could be explained by the importance of time to prepare among involuntary returnees (the majority of which are deported), as discussed above. However, time to prepare is clearly also important among Romanian returnees, who did not run the risk of deportation.

Summing up, as for our third hypothesis, not all resources and skills are found to reduce the risk

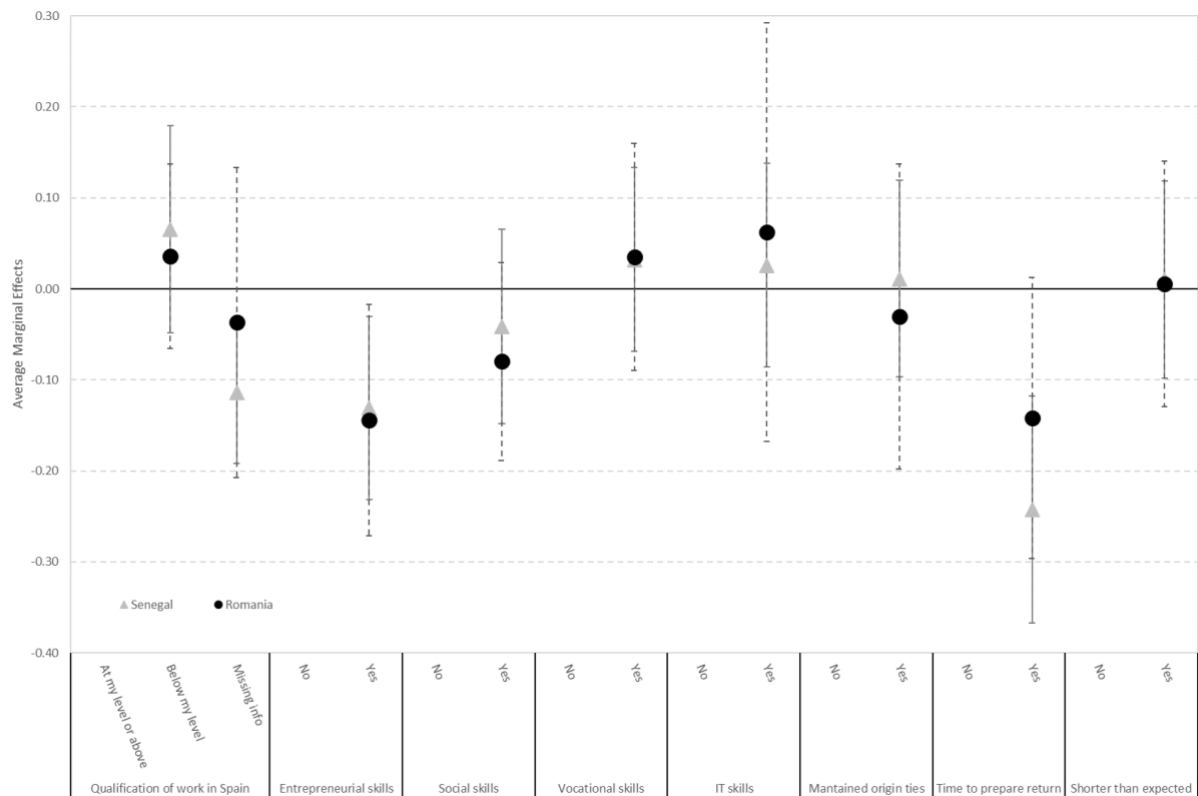
of economic difficulties post return in these particular contexts. In line with previous literature, it is obtained entrepreneurial skills specifically make a difference. Additionally, as for our fourth hypothesis, having the time to mobilize one’s resources and prepare return is indeed found important for reducing these risks post return, both in contexts of deportation and otherwise, whereas shorter migration durations are not.

Figure 3. Average Marginal Effects of the risk of experiencing economic difficulties post return depending on the three specifications of willingness: self-declared voluntariness, compulsion and return motive, for Senegal and Romania.



Note: Models are presented including and not including the variable of time to prepare return. Following variables are additionally included in all models: Qualification of main work in Spain, Entrepreneurial -, Social -, Vocational -, IT - skills, Maintained origin ties, Migration Duration, Shorter than expected migration, Previous migration(s), Economic difficulties at age 15, Rural neighborhood at age 15, Highest attained education prior migration, Work experience prior migration, Business ownership (Senegal only), Main reason of migration, Year of migration start, Years since return, Age at interview, Working partner, Children, and Gender (Romania only).

Figure 4. Average Marginal Effects on the risk of experiencing economic difficulties in Senegal and Romania post return depending on resources and time.



Note: The results stem from the two main logistic regression models, one for each country. Following variables are additionally included in all models: Voluntariness, Qualification of main work in Spain, Entrepreneurial -, Social -, Vocational -, IT - skills, Maintained origin ties, Migration Duration, Shorter than expected migration, Previous migration(s), Economic difficulties at age 15, Rural neighborhood at age 15, Highest attained education prior migration, Work experience prior migration, Business ownership (Senegal only), Main reason of migration, Year of migration start, Years since return, Age at interview, Working partner, Children, and Gender (Romania only).

*Comparison with non-migrants*

Table 2 summarizes the average treatment effects (ATT's) of being a migrant returning compared to non-migrants. First, looking at all migrant returnees independent of return willingness, we see how migration experience is indeed related to a significant decrease in the

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risk of experiencing economic difficulties back in Senegal, whilst the effect is small and non-significant in Romania. If we compare non-migrants to return migrants with specific levels of willingness (using the two alternative definitions), the same finding applies to all returnees, except for administratively forced returnees in Senegal, for whom the advantage all but disappears.

Table 2. Average Treatment Effects on the Treated (ATT's) of being a returning migrant compared to a non-migrant, on the risk of experiencing economic difficulties post return. Each column shows the result from one comparison, where either all migrant returnees or migrants returning due to a specific level of willingness, following the two alternative definitions of willingness, are compared to non-migrants.

Senegal														
	ATT	Std. Err.	ATT	Std. Err.	ATT	Std. Err.	ATT	Std. Err.	ATT	Std. Err.	ATT	Std. Err.	ATT	Std. Err.
<b>Non-migrants</b>	<b>ref.</b>		<b>ref.</b>		<b>ref.</b>		<b>ref.</b>		<b>ref.</b>		<b>ref.</b>		<b>ref.</b>	
All returnees	-0.15	0.03												
Non-compelled			-0.23	0.04										
Compelled					-0.19	0.03								
Deported							-0.01	0.06						
Returnees with neutral motives									-0.24	0.03				
Unfavorably motivated											-0.16	0.05		
Forced returnees													0.02	0.06
Romania														
	ATT	Std. Err.	ATT	Std. Err.	ATT	Std. Err.			ATT	Std. Err.	ATT	Std. Err.		
<b>Non-migrants</b>	<b>ref.</b>		<b>ref.</b>		<b>ref.</b>				<b>ref.</b>		<b>ref.</b>			
All returnees	-0.03	0.03												
Non-compelled			-0.04	0.04										
Compelled					-0.02	0.04								
Returnees with neutral motives									-0.06	0.03				
Unfavorably motivated											0.04	0.05		

## ***Conclusions***

Return migration has become an increasing focus of migration policy as a tool to manage unwanted migration, either through deportation or through assisted voluntary programs, and return migrants constitute an ever-larger share of international migration. However, knowledge is still limited on how varying conditions surrounding the decision to return impact the economic reintegration of migrants. Traditional models focused on the development link paid limited attention to factors surrounding the return decision, whereas recent research has frequently reduced these factors to a forced vs voluntary dichotomy, separating administratively enforced returns from others. This paper contributes to the rapidly growing literature on return and re-integration by helping establish mechanisms that connect voluntariness and reintegration, using the concept of return preparedness. Although providing thorough theoretical insights, empirical specifications of return preparedness are still lacking. Additionally, we consider different specifications of voluntariness in order to unveil the complexity and multi-layered nature of the notion of ‘voluntary return’.

Results from this paper show that self-declared voluntariness is inherently complex, withholding aspects of compulsion and unfavorable return motives, and that it carries different connotations according to specific social contexts. Thus, considering only self-declared voluntariness is problematic from an operationalization point of view, as it might obscure explicit forces at work in the decision to return, and have different connotations across contexts. The use of more specific indicators on the presence of different types of compulsion, limitations or difficulties is then desirable. Using such indicators, the concept of (self-declared) semi-involuntariness arises, when return is mostly the product of some kind of external compulsion or negative circumstances. The findings are similar to those of Van Houte et al (2016) and Van Meteren et al (2014), who have previously showed how unemployment, ostracism, and family obligations relate to lower degrees of willingness in terms of return decisions.

Following our main hypotheses, our analysis reveals that semi-involuntariness is associated with higher risks of economic difficulties than voluntary, non-compelled, returnees. A similar association is found for self-declared administratively enforced returns, in line with previous studies associating deported migrants with worse economic outcomes (Bilgili et al 2018; David 2017; Flahaux 2017; Kveder & Flahaux 2017; Schuster & Majidi 2013). However, the latter effect is partially washed away when controlling for factors such as the time to prepare and not statistically significant. The combined significance of these findings is in line with Van Houte et al's (2016) call for a more actor-based rather than bureaucratic perspective on the question of voluntariness pertaining return.

Beyond the willingness to return, we find that having time to prepare return, and thus to mobilize one's resources (Cassarino 2004), significantly reduces the risks of economic difficulties. This result is independent of origin country context, including intra-European migrants who are not politically forced to return, although we find it affects in particular the category of deported, non-EU, migrants. In terms of resources, the acquisition of entrepreneurial skills in destination is found to also decrease the risks of economic difficulties post return. The result is true in both countries, and is in line with previous research pointing towards the simultaneous loss of local specific capital in the origin context. Whilst some skills are more difficult to transfer, entrepreneurial skills are still useful in the origin (Lindström 2013; Martin & Radu 2012; Whaba 2015; Whaba & Zenou 2012) and might even be one of few resources to benefit from, as in the case of Kveder & Flahaux's study in Senegal (2013).

In line with previous literature (Kveder & Flahaux 2012; Lindström 2013; Åkesson 2015) our results imply that reduced risks of experiencing economic difficulties are not inherent features of migration, but dependent on migration experiences and return conditions. We find no general migration advantage relative to non-migrants with similar characteristics in Romania. In Senegal, the migration-related advantage disappears in the case of deported returnees. In the case of semi-involuntariness, compulsion or pushing factors diminish the risk-reducing effects of migration relative to voluntary returnees in both Senegal and Romania. However, it

does not necessarily mean that migration turns out not “worth it” – if comparing them to non-migrants, especially not in the case of Senegal where semi-involuntary returnees still experience an economic advantage.

Hence, in order to improve prospects of re-integration, our findings suggest that policy efforts should be directed towards experienced difficulties already common among economic migrants when balancing life away from family back home and that imposing restrictions and obstacles that abruptly interrupt the migration project significantly adds to the probabilities of failed economic reintegration processes.

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**Appendix Table 1. Control variable by self-declared voluntariness.**

	Senegal				Romania			
	Vol.	Semi.	Invol.	Total	Vol.	Semi.	Invol.	Total
<i>Qualification of work in Spain</i>								
At my level or above	69	37	68	65	64	58	0	62
Below my level	20	26	20	21	30	29	80	31
Missing info	11	37	12	15	5	13	20	7
<i>Chi2, p-val</i>				0.00				0.12
<i>Entrepreneurial skills</i>								
No	37	47	78	50	90	69	100	87
Yes	63	53	22	50	10	31	0	13
<i>Chi2, p-val</i>				0.00				0.00
<i>Social skills</i>								
No	22	34	55	33	63	29	40	56
Yes	78	66	45	67	37	71	60	44
<i>Chi2, p-val</i>				0.00				0.00
<i>Vocational skills</i>								
No	31	39	67	42	80	54	80	75
Yes	69	61	33	58	20	46	20	25
<i>Chi2, p-val</i>				0.00				0.00
<i>IT skills</i>								
No	62	68	88	70	95	73	80	91
Yes	38	32	12	30	5	27	20	9
<i>Chi2, p-val</i>				0.00				0.00
<i>Maintained origin ties</i>								
No	3	13	31	12	9	2	20	8
Yes	97	87	69	88	91	98	80	92
<i>Chi2, p-val</i>				0.00				0.14
<i>Time to prepare</i>								
No	13	47	91	39	7	37	100	14
Yes	87	53	9	61	93	63	0	86
<i>Chi2, p-val</i>				0.00				0.00
<i>Migration duration</i>								
6 months or less	16	13	34	21	28	27	0	27
7-12 months	18	13	14	17	11	12	20	11
Over 1, up to 5 years	36	39	27	34	33	27	0	32
Over five years	30	34	25	29	28	35	80	30
<i>Chi2, p-val</i>				0.03				0.18
<i>Duration shorter than expected</i>								
No	77	84	45	69	84	79	60	83
Yes	23	16	55	31	16	21	40	17
<i>Chi2, p-val</i>				0.00				0.26
<i>Previous migration</i>								
No	39	89	87	59	98	100	100	98
Yes	61	11	13	41	2	0	0	2
<i>Chi2, p-val</i>				0.00				0.49
<i>Economic difficulties at age 15</i>								
No	65	79	58	65	66	44	40	62
Yes	35	21	42	35	34	56	60	38
<i>Chi2, p-val</i>				0.07				0.01

<i>Rural neighbourhood at age 15</i>									
No	78	79	73	76	23	31	100	26	
Yes	22	21	27	24	77	69	0	74	
<i>Chi2, p-val</i>				0.66				0.00	
<i>Highest attained education prior migration</i>									
Primary or missing	63	42	62	60	2	6	0	3	
Secondary	28	47	33	32	80	79	100	80	
Tertiary	9	11	5	8	17	15	0	17	
<i>Chi2, p-val</i>				0.09				0.56	
<i>Work experience prior migration</i>									
No	8	18	18	12	47	42	0	46	
Yes, lowskilled	43	32	39	40	24	37	40	27	
Yes, skilled	49	50	44	47	28	21	60	28	
<i>Chi2, p-val</i>				0.12				0.09	
<i>Business ownership</i>									
No	73	87	94	81	100	100	100	100	
Yes	27	13	6	19	0	0	0	0	
<i>Chi2, p-val</i>				0.00					
<i>Main reason of migration</i>									
Fin./work neg	47	47	65	52	60	62	80	61	
Fin./work neutr/pos	43	37	32	39	28	21	20	26	
Other	10	16	4	9	12	17	0	13	
<i>Chi2, p-val</i>				0.03				0.62	
<i>Year of migration start</i>									
-2005	18	16	26	20	35	29	60	34	
2005-2007	15	32	41	25	10	17	20	12	
2007-2014	26	42	29	29	28	29	0	28	
2015-	41	11	4	27	27	25	20	27	
<i>Chi2, p-val</i>				0.00				0.52	
<i>Years since return</i>									
Mean	4		Std. Dev.	4	5		Std. Dev.	4	
<i>Age at interviews</i>									
-29	10	16	12	11	21	25	20	22	
30-39	30	47	48	37	34	42	20	35	
40-49	36	34	34	35	27	21	40	26	
50-	24	3	6	16	18	12	20	17	
<i>Chi2, p-val</i>				0.00				0.74	
<i>Working partner</i>									
No	68	68	71	69	60	56	80	60	
Yes	32	32	29	31	40	44	20	40	
<i>Chi2, p-val</i>				0.93				0.55	
<i>Children</i>									
No or missing	23	32	35	28	51	62	40	53	
Yes	77	68	65	72	49	38	60	47	
<i>Chi2, p-val</i>				0.10				0.34	
<i>Total, %</i>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
<i>Total, N</i>	174	38	85	297	246	52	5	303	



**Appendix Table 2. Logistic regressions on the risk of experiencing economic difficulties among migrant returnees in Senegal and Romania.**

	Main model		Alternative specifications							
	Voluntariness		Compulsion				Return motive			
	Senegal	Romania	Senegal		Romania		Senegal		Romania	
	Full model	Full model	Full model	W/O time to prepare	Full model	W/O time to prepare	Full model	W/O time to prepare	Full model	W/O time to prepare
	OR	p-val	OR	p-val	OR	p-val	OR	p-val	OR	p-val
<i>Voluntariness</i>										
Voluntary	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.
Semi-involuntary	0.60	0.53	0.59	0.33	3.58	0.13	2.48	0.25	3.08	0.01
Involuntary	0.21	0.05	0.70	0.72	2.27	0.35	2.89	0.01	1.87	0.43
									4.31	0.04
<i>Qualification of work in Spain</i>										
At my level or above	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.
Below my level	1.97	0.24	1.32	0.48	1.95	0.25	2.11	0.18	2.26	0.17
Missing info	0.15	0.05	0.73	0.69	0.13	0.04	0.30	0.14	0.18	0.05
<i>Entrepreneurial skills</i>										
No	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.
Yes	0.21	0.02	0.24	0.11	0.21	0.02	0.27	0.04	0.32	0.06
<i>Social skills</i>										
No	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.
Yes	0.63	0.44	0.53	0.16	0.65	0.47	0.69	0.51	0.54	0.31
<i>Vocational skills</i>										
No	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.
Yes	1.46	0.54	1.31	0.57	1.58	0.47	1.41	0.56	1.51	0.51
<i>IT skills</i>										
No	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.
Yes	1.34	0.64	1.59	0.57	1.00	1.00	1.15	0.82	1.34	0.65
<i>Maintained origin ties</i>										
No	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.
Yes	1.14	0.84	0.79	0.71	1.23	0.76	1.07	0.91	1.24	0.75
<i>Time to prepare return</i>										
No	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.
Yes	0.08	0.00	0.37	0.05	0.07	0.00	0.37	0.05	0.17	0.01
<i>Duration shorter than expected</i>										
No	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.
Yes	1.13	0.85	1.04	0.94	1.13	0.84	1.51	0.48	0.87	0.82
									1.12	0.85
									1.01	0.98
									1.05	0.93

**Appendix Table 2. Logistic regressions on the risk of experiencing economic difficulties among migrant returnees in Senegal and Romania (continued)**

<b>Controls:</b>												
<i>Migration duration</i>												
6 months or less	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	
7-12 months	0.15	0.04	0.68	0.54	0.16	0.04	0.16	0.04	0.59	0.41	0.54	0.33
Over 1, up to 5 years	0.65	0.57	0.73	0.55	0.57	0.46	0.78	0.72	0.55	0.27	0.59	0.33
Over five years	3.05	0.30	1.66	0.53	3.19	0.29	3.64	0.21	1.39	0.69	1.65	0.54
<i>Previous migration</i>												
No	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.
Yes	1.58	0.49	2.96	0.32	1.90	0.33	0.97	0.95	3.63	0.23	2.92	0.31
<i>Economic difficulties at age 15</i>												
No	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.
Yes	3.54	0.01	2.37	0.03	3.60	0.01	3.24	0.01	2.35	0.03	2.49	0.02
<i>Rural neighbourhood at age 15</i>												
No	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.
Yes	2.25	0.07	0.66	0.33	1.81	0.19	1.85	0.15	0.67	0.34	0.59	0.20
<i>Highest attained education prior migration</i>												
Primary or missing	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.
Secondary	0.32	0.05	0.13	0.03	0.35	0.07	0.40	0.09	0.21	0.08	0.20	0.06
Tertiary	0.36	0.25	0.05	0.01	0.45	0.38	0.41	0.32	0.10	0.05	0.11	0.04
<i>Work experience prior migration</i>												
No	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.
Yes, lowskilled	0.33	0.16	1.84	0.22	0.30	0.13	0.31	0.13	2.16	0.13	2.35	0.09
Yes, skilled	1.05	0.95	2.30	0.11	0.95	0.95	1.18	0.82	2.59	0.07	2.50	0.08
<i>Business ownership</i>												
No	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.
Yes	0.10	0.03	0.12	0.03	0.12	0.03	0.15	0.05	0.08	0.02	0.12	0.03
<i>Main reason of migration</i>												
Fin./work neg	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.
Fin./work neutr/pos	0.69	0.43	0.37	0.04	0.70	0.45	0.63	0.31	0.38	0.05	0.37	0.04
Other	0.37	0.36	1.50	0.49	0.39	0.39	0.83	0.84	1.78	0.35	1.78	0.33
<i>Year of migration start</i>												
-2005	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.
2005-2007	1.99	0.35	1.55	0.54	1.63	0.50	2.03	0.30	1.00	1.00	1.14	0.86
2007-2014	2.88	0.27	2.49	0.25	2.04	0.46	1.99	0.44	1.94	0.41	2.20	0.32
2015-	6.16	0.26	5.89	0.11	4.95	0.32	6.01	0.23	5.60	0.13	6.68	0.09
<i>Years since return</i>												
continuous	1.23	0.06	1.02	0.83	1.21	0.09	1.25	0.03	1.01	0.87	1.04	0.63
<i>Age at interview</i>												
-29	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.
30-39	0.56	0.51	1.24	0.70	0.56	0.53	0.56	0.49	1.19	0.77	1.11	0.86
40-49	1.02	0.98	1.12	0.85	1.04	0.97	1.23	0.83	1.01	0.99	0.96	0.94
50-	1.00	1.00	1.20	0.79	0.87	0.91	0.87	0.90	1.04	0.96	0.95	0.94
<i>Working partner</i>												
No	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.
Yes	0.32	0.04	0.46	0.08	0.26	0.02	0.41	0.09	0.53	0.15	0.52	0.12
<i>Children</i>												
No or missing	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.
Yes	0.61	0.36	1.27	0.54	0.63	0.41	0.68	0.45	1.26	0.55	1.21	0.63
<i>Gender</i>												
Man	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.	ref.
Woman	1.04	0.91	1.04	0.91	0.94	0.88	0.87	0.71	0.94	0.88	0.87	0.71
Constant	0.68	0.84	2.06	0.66	0.30	0.57	0.04	0.08	1.02	0.99	0.42	0.58
Nr observations	297	296	297	297	296	296	297	297	296	297	296	296
Pseudo R2	0.37	0.24	0.37	0.31	0.26	0.25	0.36	0.33	0.24	0.23	0.24	0.23
LL	-82.22	-117.25	-81.27	-89.09	-113.62	-115.54	-82.77	-87.04	-117.05	-118.35	-117.05	-118.35
AIC	232.43	300.49	230.55	244.18	293.25	295.08	233.55	240.07	300.11	300.69	300.11	300.69
BIC	358.02	422.28	356.14	366.07	415.03	413.18	359.13	361.96	421.89	418.78	421.89	418.78