

**THE RETURN MIGRATION, WAS IT A FORCED CHOICE OF MOBILITY AFTER THE
FINANCIAL CRISIS?**

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ABSTRACT :	الملخص:
The financial crisis of 2008 had an impact on international migrants especially in receiving countries which were affected more by the deterioration of their economies following this crisis, this situation suggests a possible slowdown in migration flows and an increase in return migration. Since people go where jobs are we will try through this paper to speak about the mobility of migrants after the financial crisis by focusing on return migration to see if the recession affects the decisions of mobility or not. And we will try to answer the key questions : - Did the financial crisis have an impact on the mobility of migrants affected by the deterioration of the economy? And was the return migration considered as the best choice of mobility? KEY WORDS : Financial crisis , return migration , mobility of migrants JEL CLASSIFICATION : F22	لقد كان للأزمة المالية أثر على المهاجرين الدوليين خاصة في الدول المستقبلة لهم والتي تأثرت بشدة بفعل تراجع اقتصادياتها عقب الأزمة، هذه الأزمة أوجدت احتمال تراجع في تدفقات المهاجرين وارتفاع في هجرة العودة، و بما أن الأفراد يتنقلون حسب فرة عنصر العمل فإننا سنحاول من خلال هذا المقال التحدث عن إمكانية تنقل المهاجرين بالتركيز على هجرة العودة و ذلك م أجل معرفة ان كانت الأزمة قد أثرت على قرار التنقل أو لا و بالتالي نحاول الاجابة على الاشكال التالي: - هل كان للأزمة أثر على تنقلات المهاجرين المتأثرين بالتراجع الاقتصادي؟ و هل تعتبر هجرة العودة الخيار الأمثل للتنقل؟ الكلمات المفتاحية : الأزمة المالية، هجرة العودة، تنقلات المهاجرين JEL: F22 تصنيف

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INTRODUCTION :

Theoretical models of return migration postulate that if migration is temporary, the decision to move will not only be based on immediate and future incomes in the destination, but also on the expected future returns in the country of origin.

Generally, migrants are usually highly responsive to economic cycles and it's the case of the last international financial crisis where the effect of the crisis on migration flows has been remarkable especially in the EU. According to Eurostat net migration flows to the EU countries close to 1.5 million until 2008, decreased to 700.000 in the years 2009-2011.

The impact of the economic crisis has been particularly hard on the Spanish economy. Because the economy is overly dependent on construction and tourism the labor market has suffered a severe contraction.

Spain had attracted an extraordinarily high inflows of migration ,In the years previous to the Great Recession, It received massive migration inflows: an average of 1.4% of its total domestic population each year between 2000 and 2007. In fact, these inflows continued during the first phase of the crisis, at a rate of around 1.2% of the total domestic

In this paper we will study the situation of the migrants in receiving countries during the economic recession in order to know its impact on them especially on the labour market. because the migrants tended to be the first to lose their job, then we will see if the migrants were in the obligation to leave the receiving country and go back home in the context of return migration , so we will try to answer the key questions:

- *Did the financial crisis have an impact on the mobility of migrants affected by the deterioration of the economy? And was the return migration considered as the best choice of mobility?*

This question bisects to the following partial interrogation :

- What are the determinants of the return migration in the theoretical models?
- What was the impact of the financial crisis on migrants in the labour market ?
- Had the financial crisis an impact on the decision of migrant to return back home ?

GOALS OF PAPERS : this paper aims fundamentally at revealing the following points :

- showing the conceptual background of the return migration
- Understanding the impact of the financial crisis on migrants in the labour market
- Showing the impact of the financial crisis on mobility decision of migrants by taking Spain as case of study

METHODOLOGY OF RESEARCH :

In view of covering the entire subject and answering the main question we have adopted the historical method through discussing the origin of the financial crisis 2008 also we have followed an analytic descriptive method through treating the decisions of migrants which were affected by the financial crisis.

I. RETURN MIGRATION A CONCEPTUAL BACKGROUND

According to the definition offered by the United Nations Statistics Division for collecting data on international migration (UNSD, 1998), returning migrants are *"persons returning to their country of citizenship after having been international migrants (whether short-term or long-term) in another country and who are intending to stay in their own country for at least a year."*^[1] So the return migration is described as a "situation where the migrants return to their country of origin, by their own will, after a significant period of time abroad" (Dustmann & Weiss, 2007)

A number of international instruments refer to the rights of migrants and to return. The most important reference is in the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, article 13, which states : « *every one has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to this country* » ^[2]

Returns broadly occur in three different ways regardless of the individual's status in the country of destination. Return may be :

- **Voluntary without compulsion** : when migrants decide at any time during their sojourn to return home at their own volition and cost
- **Voluntary under compulsion** : when persons are at the end of their temporary protected status, rejected for asylum, or are unable to stay and choose to return at their own volition .
- **Involuntary** : as the result of authorities if the host state ordering deportation ^[3]

Cassarino (2004) distinguishes between five different theoretical paradigms in the study of return migration: neoclassical economics, the new economics of migration, structural approach, transnationalism, and social network theory. In our paper, we will discuss only the economical approach which contain Neoclassical Economics and New Economics of labor migration, Structural approach.

Starting by the *neoclassical economics*, the most basic one comes from the neoclassical model of migration itself. Migration takes place because there is a wage differential between two regions. Workers in the low wage economy find it optimal to migrate to the high wage economy because the expected value of their lifetime income, net of costs, is higher in the high wage country. If the expected value of their lifetime income becomes higher in the original country after migration takes place then we can have return migration. This can happen in two ways; the first one is when the conditions in the original country (or in the receiving country) change and the

wage differential disappears or reverses. The second case arises when the worker's expectations about the host country's wages are too high. He realizes that his expected value of lifetime income is lower than that in the original country and returns.

According to Borjas and Bratsberg (1996) the migrant might return because of two reasons: Failure, low wages or unemployment or success. The migrant finds it optimal to return because of the higher purchasing power in the original country of his savings; this is, even if the wage is higher in the host country, the lifetime value of consumption is lower^[4]

The theory *New Economics of Labour Migration (NELM)* perceives return as a rational result of a calculated strategy for the household as well as a consequence of a successful achievement of the intended migration. Therefore, NELM extends the context of economic analysis, incorporating the individual within his/her family unit and blending income maximization with risk aversion. Furthermore, unlike Neoclassical Economics which assumes that migration is permanent in nature so as to maximize earnings, NELM assumes that people move temporarily^[5]

The structural approach, similar to NELM, emphasizes the significance of the financial and economic resources brought back to the country of origin following the return decision and reintegration of the migrants. However, the structural approach does not perceive return as the mere individual experience of the migrant, but argues that return migration should also be analyzed with reference to the social and institutional context in the country of origin^[6]. A variety of typologies are available to summarize the different modes of return migration. An oft-cited one is that of Cerase (1974): return migration is characterized here as retirement, failure, conservatism, or innovation, and we will explain it much more in the following table :

**TABLE 01 : THE DIFFERENT KINDS OF RETURNNESS ACCORDING TO THE
STRUCTURAL APPROACH**

KIND	CARACTERTISQUES
RETURN OF FAILURE	occurs when the immigrants can not adapt to the destination countries due to social or political factors. The difficulties in integrating to the immigration context (e.g., discrimination, language issues) motivate them to return. Those returnees are perceived to make little developmental impact on the countries of origin..
RETURN OF CONSERVATISM	pertains to the migrants with an initial return intention after saving some money during the migration period. They tend to stay longer in the migration context than the previous group, transfer remittances, and realize their financial plans like buying properties in the country of origin. They stick to the values of the home society; therefore, rather than changing the social structure, they reinforce it back at home.
RETURN OF RETIREMENT	as reflected in the name, refers to returnees who aim to spend their old age in the home countries after they ended their working life. They are considered to make almost no developmental impact back at home.
RETURN OF INNOVATION	occurs when immigrants are fairly well integrated abroad, having acquired new skills and being involved more in the society of the host country. The returnees constitute a dynamic group perceiving themselves as

'agents of the change' and aim to return and change the homeland, bringing new ideas and values as well as using the knowledge and skills acquired in the host country.

SOURCE : Filiz Kunuroglu Fons van de Vijver Kutlay Yagmur / Return Migration Unit 8 Migration and Acculturation Subunit 2 Migration Article -2016

A more straight forward approach is found in Piore (1979), who distinguishes between different types of success and failure. Migrants often arrive with the intention to return after having met a goal (again, usually financial e.g. accumulation of savings), and return can then be an indication of success. In other instances migrants intend their move to be permanent, but economic hardships in the destination lead to return as a matter of failure.

Research on return migration also considers its implications for development in the country of origin. The contribution of migrants to the development of their origin country results from a combination of the resources they transfer upon their return, and the returns obtained from those resources. Those resources can be of three kinds :

1. migrants bring back with them the education and working experience they acquired abroad.
2. they may come back with financial capital, in the form of savings accumulated during their stay abroad, which they may repatriate in various degrees of liquidity.
3. they have specific social capital obtained from their migration experience^[7].

In an older perspective rooted in neo-classical economics, return migration was expected to catalyze development insofar as migrants returned with useful skills and experience acquired in a developed country. Many scholars have long been sceptical of this claim, noting that migrant workers were often employed in unskilled jobs in the

destination and sometimes experienced downward occupational mobility via migration; they might even have been skilled workers prior to emigration, such that their departure was a loss for the local economy. Other research has produced more optimistic results: Conway and Potter (2007) find that migrants (even those at or near retirement age) often return with relevant human capital that contributes to the local economy^[8]. . Ammassari (2004) reached a similar conclusion about elite migrants who returned to West African countries and used connections developed while abroad to support their entrepreneurial efforts. In some instances, governments in sending countries encourage emigration with the expectation of eventual return; migration can even be part of a diaspora-building strategy, with governments and other actors encouraging development of transnational ties among emigrants and their descendants, with these links perhaps leading to various types of remittances.^[9]

II. THE IMPACT OF THE FINANCIAL CRISIS ON MIGRANTS

A. Examples of Countries Which Were Worst Affected by the Crisis:

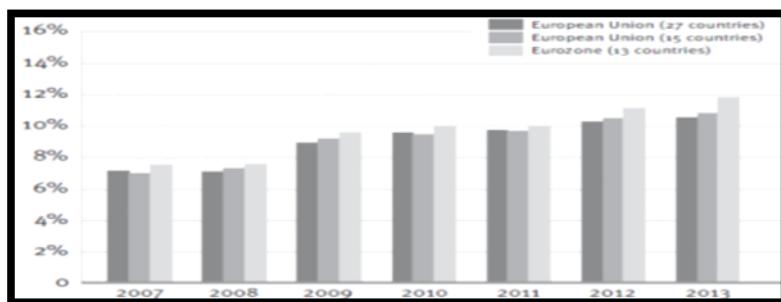
The economic and financial crisis starting in 2007 had a major impact on the countries of the eurozone. The consequences for the labour market are impossible to overlook. Thus, the unemployment rate for the eurozone as a whole rose from 7.5% to 11.9% in the period from 2007 to 2013. The average unemployment rate in the eurozone was above the average rate in EU-15 and EU-27 countries in all years.

There were, however, major differences between the member states. While the rate remained below 6% in Luxembourg during the whole period from 2007 to 2013 and fell from 8.7% to 5.3% in Germany, it rose from 8.2% to 26.1% in Spain over the same

period. In Greece, it climbed from 8.5% to 27.3% and in Ireland from 4.7% to 13.1%. In these last three countries, the rate roughly tripled, while doubling in Portugal from 8.9% to 16.4%. All in all, the regional disparities between states badly affected by the crisis (Spain, Greece, Ire land, Italy and Portugal) and countries less heavily affected (like Germany, Luxembourg and the Netherlands) became ever more marked across the crisis [10].

The figure below shows the rate of unemployment in EU members during the crisis:

Fig. 1 The unemployment rates between (2007-2013)



Sources: Eurostat (2014 a) [11].

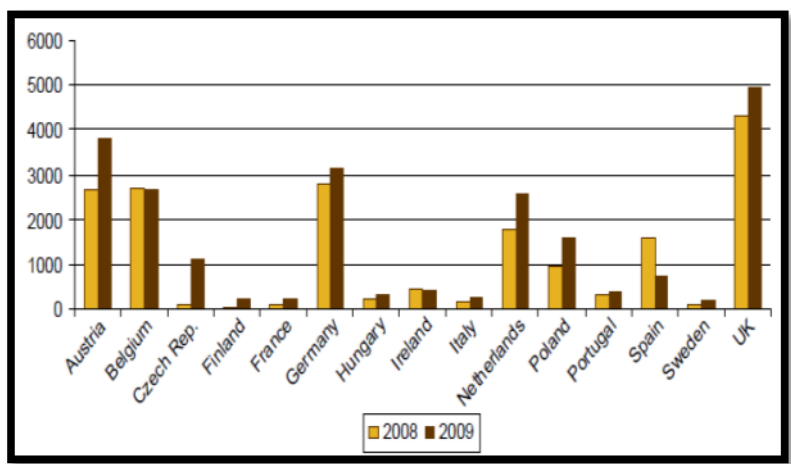
B. Return and Emigration

Linked to the issue of rising unemployment among both native and migrant populations is the question of return of migrants. This issue is at the forefront in both countries of destination implementing voluntary return schemes and countries of origin concerned with the return and reintegration of their nationals to situations of unemployment back home.

It is important to recognize that not all migrants can or will return home, especially those coming from countries where prospects for employment are worse, those with strong social protection in the country of destination, those who have resided in the

destination country for a long period of time, and those with strong social networks. In addition, unemployed migrants may adopt a “wait-and-see” approach, preferring to overstay on their current visa while waiting for an economic upturn.

Fig. 2 Assisted voluntary returns from selected countries in Europe, 2008-2009



Source: IOM 2010 [12].

III. THE RETURN MIGRATION FROM SPAIN (CASE STUDY)

A. Migrants in Spain from Diverse Origins

Spain’s immigrant population is extremely diverse, and the top countries of origin as of 2009 include four European countries, four Latin American countries, and one country in North Africa (see Figure 4). In 2009, Romanians (758,823 or 13.4 percent) constituted the largest single group of foreigners in Spain, followed by Moroccans (627,858 or 11.1 percent), Ecuadoreans (409,328 or 7.2 percent), nationals of the United Kingdom (355,988 or 6.3 percent), Colombians (296,674 or 5.2 percent), Bolivians (223,455 or 4.0 percent), Argentines (195,572 or 3.4 percent), Germans (174,374 or 3.1 percent), and Bulgarians (158,160 or 2.8 percent). Though the

rankings may have changed, these countries also were the top sending countries for immigrants to Spain in 2001. Among recent immigrants, the numbers of Paraguayans, Chinese, Peruvians, Brazilians, Ukrainians, and Pakistanis have grown dramatically [13].

B. The Impact of the Economic Crisis on Migrants in Spain

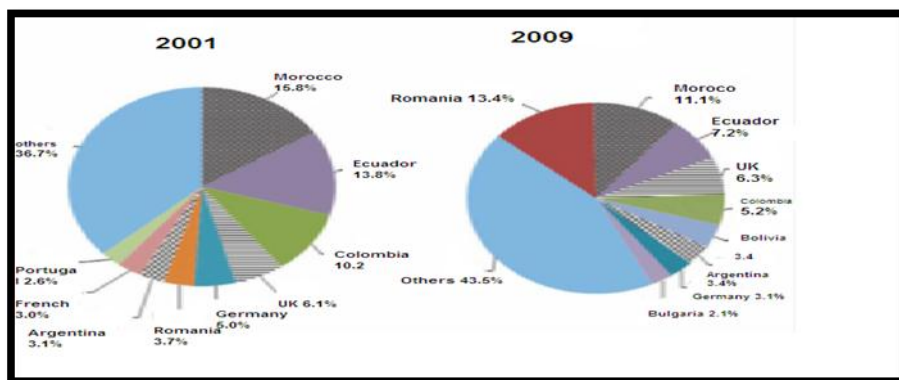
By the 2000 Spain's economic growth came to rely more on a handful of labor-intensive sectors, including services, tourism, and construction. Scholars and policymakers are increasingly concluding that Spain's dependence on these sectors structurally weakened the country's economy and created a growing productivity gap relative to other European economies. This dependence is also at the root of Spain's current malaise.

Over the past decade, immigrants filled jobs in many of the rapidly growing sectors. But immigrants also filled jobs in stagnating or contracting industries such as agriculture that were increasingly shunned by Spanish workers as education levels and employment expectations increased. Many formerly booming industries have contracted sharply over the course of the recession: of the 1.6 million jobs lost in Spain between March 2007 and December 2009, over half were in the construction sector. The agricultural sector actually has gained jobs during the recession, and in contrast to the past, emerging evidence suggests that many Spanish workers appear to be willing and available for these jobs. As a result, immigrants in the Spanish labor market have been particularly affected by the economic crisis.

- *Unemployment:*

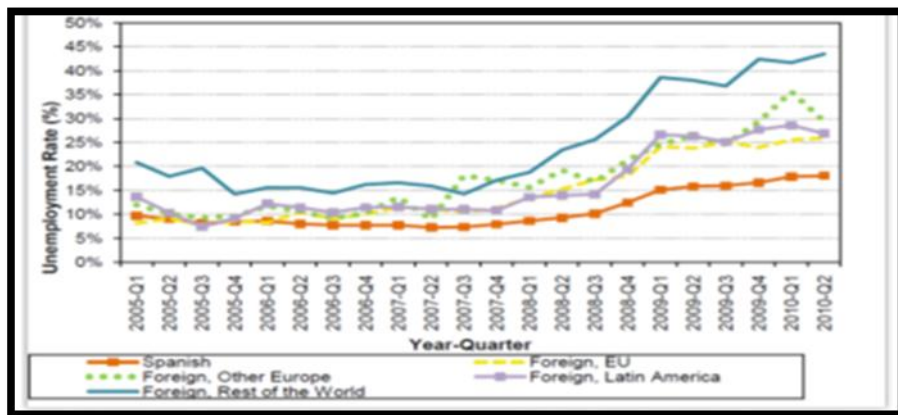
Rising unemployment has had profound impacts on the immigrant population. Between the fourth quarter of 2007 and the second quarter of 2010, the immigrant unemployment rate increased from 12.4 percent to 30.2 percent, while it increased from 7.9 percent to 18.1 percent among native-born Spaniards. Prior to the recession, unemployment among immigrants was higher than among natives, and the gap has grown since the recession began, particularly during the first year of the recession. Immigrants represent one in six workers in Spain's labor force, but now account for nearly one in four unemployed. All immigrant groups have experienced rising unemployment, but the increase has been particularly severe for the category ("Rest of the World") comprised of immigrants from Asia, Africa (dominated by Moroccans), and Oceania, who saw unemployment increase from 17.1 percent to 43.5 percent [14].

Fig. 3 Stock of foreign population in Spain by nationality, 2001 and 2009



Source: Migration and immigrants; two years after the collapse: where do we stand by Demetrios G. Papademetriou; Madeleine Sumption, and Aaron Terrazas with Carola Burkert; Stephen Loyal and Ruth Ferrero-Turrion[10].

Fig. 4 Unemployment rates by nativity (2005-2010)



Note : Foreigners from Romania and Bulgaria were categorized with “Other Europe” prior the first quarter of 2007 and are grouped with “European Union” for subsequent quarters

Source: Migration and immigrants; two years after the collapse: where do we stand by Demetrios G. Papademetriou; Madeleine Sumption, and Aaron Terrazas with Carola Burkert; Stephen Loyal and Ruth Ferrero-Turrion /p111[10]

C. Migration Outflows During the Crisis

Migration outflows started to increase in 2007 when GDP growth in Spain started to decelerate. Since 2010, outflows have totalled more than 400 thousand per year (slightly less than 10 per thousand of the total domestic population), which is, both in absolute and relative terms, the highest level of emigration in Spanish history. This is mostly due to the high mobility of foreign nationals. Indeed, they make up the great majority of migration outflows: in 2012 approximately 50 per thousands of foreigners residing in Spain left the country, while less than 1 per thousands of Spaniards born in Spain emigrated. For the latter, migration outflows are still smaller than those registered in the 1960s. After the crisis, the share of females and older and more highly

educated workers increases in each group of migrants. This is not surprising, since the crisis was particularly harsh on young males with low educational levels. since 2007 there is also net emigration of Spanish-born Spaniards; the numbers are low, but migration outflows for this population group are accelerating.

Table I shows the continent of destination both for foreigners residing in Spain and Spanish migrants. Most foreign emigrants are Europeans and South Americans, whereas Africans represent a smaller share. Spaniards born in Spain overwhelmingly decide to migrate to Europe. Although the crisis has had little impact on the choice of destination countries for foreign migrants, in the case of Spaniards born in Spain it has increased the share of outflows to Europe (mostly Germany and the UK) and the USA

[15]. TABLE 2 :CHARACTERISTICS OF EMIGRANTS 2008-2012 (AGED 16-64) BY NATIONALITY AND PLACE OF BIRTH

		2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Spaniards born in Spain						
	Europe	58,5%	59,0%	61,6%	60,9%	62,2%
	America	29,2%	28,1%	25,6%	25,3%	25,6%
	Asia	6,4%	6,6%	6,9%	8,2%	7,5%
	Africa	4,7%	5,1%	4,6%	4,2%	3,1%
	Oceania	1,1%	1,1%	1,4%	1,3%	1,6%
	Male	51,2%	51,6%	25,5%	52,1%	54,1%
	Female	48,8%	48,4%	47,5%	47,9%	45,9%
Foreigners						
	Europe	42,9%	44,7%	43,2%	37,7%	41,3%
	America	37,6%	36,9%	36,3%	37,6%	36,0%
Destination	Asia	5,1%	5,2%	6,0%	8,2%	7,3%
	Africa	14,4%	13,1%	14,5%	16,5%	15,3%
	Oceania	0,1%	0,1%	0,1%	0,1%	0,1%

Source: Estadística de migraciones [16].

D. Creating Incentives for Voluntary Return:

Spain was among the fastest-growing immigration countries in Europe throughout the 2000s. The immigrant population in Spain grew by an average of 500,000 people a year between 1999 and 2008 [17]

- The Voluntary Return Program For Immigrants In Socially Precarious Situations (PREVIE) And The Early Payment Of Unemployment Benefits To Foreigners Program (APRE)

The first program of this kind in Spain was launched in 2003, known as the voluntary return program for immigrants in socially precarious situations (PREVIE). This program is directed at non EU immigrants without resources who are living in a precarious social situation. The majority of the applicants have been immigrants who have not successfully integrated into Spanish society and who have left relatives under their protection back in their countries of origin. The voluntary return program provides them a ticket back to their country of origin, as well as covering other travel expenses. From 2003 more than 6,000 people have taken advantage of this program and the number of applicants has increased significantly in 2008 and 2009. The number of people who have used this program in the first 6 months of 2009 is equal to that of all 2008 and almost double the number in 2007. The immigrants who have used this program are primarily Argentineans, Bolivians, Brazilians and, to a lesser degree, Ecuadorians and Columbians. Although initially this program was used more often by women, over the last two years the economic crisis has increased the number of men applying to the program [18]

- **“Pay-To-Go” Programs:**

As the Spanish economy deteriorated rapidly in late 2008, the Spanish government began exploring mechanisms to encourage immigrants to return to their countries of origin.

In November 2008, the Spanish government approved a new voluntary return initiative called the Program for Early Payment of Unemployment Benefits to Foreigners (APRE). Under the program, foreigners who had worked in Spain and were eligible for social security could receive a single lump-sum payout from the Spanish social security system upon returning to their countries of origin for at least three years. On average, participants receive about 9,149 euros, the equivalent of about ten months of unemployment benefits. Not all immigrants qualified for the program. Among other limitations, the program was restricted to nationals of a dozen countries that had:

- a) signed bilateral repatriation agreements with Spain.
- b) had registered as unemployed with Spain’s Public Employment Agency.

As of April 2010, 11,419 immigrants had participated in the program. Nearly half were Ecuadoreans (5,005), followed by Colombians (1,990), Argentineans (1,113), and Peruvians (1,025); and almost all (98 percent) were from Latin America. Ukrainians (129) and Russians (46) were the largest non-Latin American immigrant group participating in the program. Notably, few Moroccans applied to the program (29), though they are the oldest community in Spain and have the most potential candidates.

The government has concluded that the program has been a success, citing the statistic that 10 percent of potential participants (around 120,000 people) have applied. Still, this is well below the government’s early estimates of participation

levels. Critics point to the small number of participants in the program relative to the overall foreign population. Regardless of the arguments for and against the program, participation is fully voluntary.

⇒ In Study entitled: "Persistence in Recession: Return migration during the economic crisis in Spain" by Zachariah Joseph Pustic[19] which effected a questionnaire on migrants, we can distinguish two categories of Responses:

1- Migrants prefer to stay:

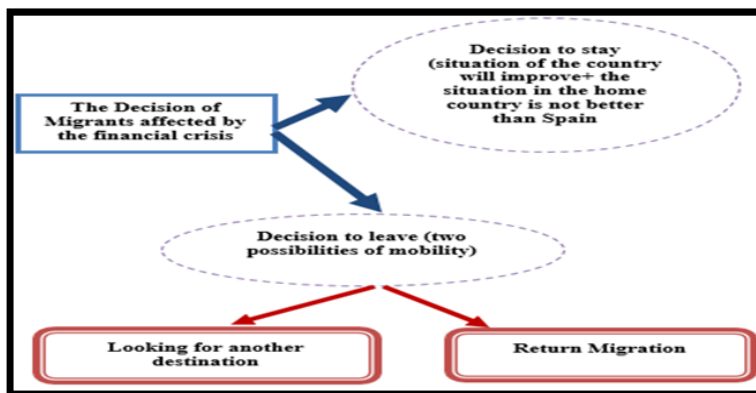
They justify their answers by the bad situation in their home countries: "If the conditions in the home country are just as bad as in Spain.... Then there is a little reason in making the effort to return and reintegrate in the country of origin". But some of them confirm that they will return after saving sufficient money.

2- Migrants prefer to leave:

Some interviewees confirm that they would leave Spain and return home or attempt new destination in order to find another job.

The following shows the forms of possible mobility for the migrants touched by the crisis in Spain:

Fig. 7 Summary of the mobility choices for migrants in Spain



Source: Own design

IV. CONCLUSION

From this study we can conclude that:

- In the economic recession, the migrants are the first to lose their jobs because of the sectors of the economy in which they are employed.
- Migrants in making their decision, they take in consideration not only their situation on the host country but also the opportunities open to them in the home country.
- The macroeconomic context in both host and home countries is a major determinant of the decision to return which confirms the NELM theory .
- Since people go where the jobs are, there are two possibilities of mobility for migrants:
 - 1- Migrants change the destination "second migration"
 - 2- Return home in the context of "return migration"
- About our case study "Spain":
 - ⇒ Spain adopted a specific policy in order to limit the new migration inflows and other policies to encourage the migrants to leave the country in case of voluntary return programs like "Pay- To-Go" program.
 - ⇒ The majority of migrants Prefer to stay or change the destination of migration rather return at home despite the encouraging policies of return migration adopted by Spain.
- We can say that the return migration is not a forced choice of mobility for the regular migrants but it can be for the irregular ones.

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