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Comparative Report on the Impacts of Circular and Non-Circular Migration (Argentina, Romania, Senegal, Ukraine)

Cris Beauchemin, Audrey Lenoël, Ognjen Obucina, Adrien Vandebunder

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WORKING PAPER SERIES

Temporary versus Permanent Migration

Comparative Report on the Impacts of
Circular and Non-Circular Migration

CRIS BEAUCHEMIN, AUDREY LENOËL, OGNJEN OBUĆINA
AND ADRIEN VANDENBUNDER



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Grant Agreement: 613468

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WARNING

The results presented in this document correspond to the databases as they were right after closing the fieldwork, when cleaning was still underway.

Accordingly, the results should be considered as preliminary and may not fully correspond to the results from the final databases used in publications.

The databases and their documentation will be available to the wider public in early 2020.

Comparative report on the impacts of circular and non-circular migration

Cris Beauchemin, Audrey Lenoël, Ognjen Obucina, and Adrien Vandembunder

Abstract: The aim of this report is to present a comparative view on the possible impacts of return migration in Argentina, Romania, Senegal and Ukraine. It provides preliminary insights on four questions:

- (1) What is the economic contribution of returnees to their households and countries?
- (2) To what extent are returnees better-off than non-migrants?
- (3) Are some sorts of migration experiences (e.g. circular, temporary or involuntary migration) more influential on the well-being of migrants and their families?
- (4) Does migration benefit more those from humble families or from wealthy origin?

Keywords: Return migration, circular migration, temporary migration, involuntary migration, employment, investment, well-being

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1 Introduction

1.1 Objectives and content of the report

This report offers a synthetical account of the TEMPER Origin survey results on the economic and non-economic impacts of return migration from Western Europe (France, Germany, Italy, Poland and Spain) to two Eastern European countries (Romania and Ukraine) and two non-European countries (Argentina and Senegal). It is exclusively based on the detailed results provided in previous thematical reports (Deliverables D9.1, D9.2 and D9.3); in which readers will also find literature reviews.

Results presented are preliminary under several respects. First, at the time of results computing, fieldwork was still on-going in Romania and Argentina, so that some numbers are provional (however, the samples used in the analyses are large enough to make us believe that the percentages will not change much with the final datasets). Second, the statistical analyses in this report remain very descriptive. They do give some insights on the possible impacts of return migration, but they do not allow to infer causal relationships between different indicators. More thorough analyses, based on cutting-edge multivariate techniques, will be implemented in the future. For now, three approaches are used to assess the possible effects of return migration. The first rests on respondents' opinions regarding changes induced by migration. The second consists in a comparison of returnees with non-migrants at the time of the survey. The last consists in following returnees over time by comparing their situation at key moments (age 15, last year before migration, first year abroad, last year abroad, time of the survey).

Although mainly addressing economic topics, this report also explores some non-economic indicators (such as life satisfaction). In all cases, it aims at providing very preliminary answers to three questions:

1. Is there a premium for returnees and their families? Are those who lived in Western European countries in a situation of advantage when comparend to non-migrants? Are they economically better off? Are they, in general, more satisfied with life?
2. Are some sorts of migration experiences more influential on the well-being of migrants and their families? To what extent do the outcomes of circular or temporary migrants differ from

those of the other migrants (see definitions in Box 1)? To what extent are involuntary returnees disadvantaged by comparison with those who freely decided to return home?

3. Who takes the better advantage of migration? Is migration a way for individuals to overcome an initial socio-economic disadvantage? Does migration benefit more those from humble families than the wealthier? In other words, does migration have an equalization effect in the society or does it increase initial inequalities?

Box 1. Definitions of migrants' categories

Return migrants are migrants who moved back to their birth country since at least 3 months from one of the TEMPER EU destinations (eg. Spain or France for Senegalese), after having spent there at least 3 months, for whatever reason. Exception: Time since return was reduced to 2 months in Ukraine to capture short-term migrations between Poland and Ukraine (in this case, it was required that the person declared study/work reasons for going abroad in order to exclude tourists).

Circular migrants are return migrants who moved back at least twice to their birth country from any EU country in a period of 10 years. Note: results are presented only for Senegal; the number of circular migrants being too small in other countries.

Temporary migrants are return migrants who spent less than a year in their country of last destination.

Involuntary migrants are the returnees who replied “Completely non-voluntary” to the question: “In your case, would you say that your return from [last destination country] in [year of last return] was completely voluntary, completely non-voluntary or something in between?”.

Non-migrants are individuals who never lived out of their birth country for more than 3 months.

The report is comparative in that it presents exactly the same results for the four countries involved in the project. However, any reader should keep in mind that many factors may explain observed differences between countries, among which the following:

- Differences in the composition of the national samples, the two main differences being that (a) only men were surveyed in Senegal, while both men and women were targeted in the other countries; and (b) only urban areas were covered in Argentina while all kinds of places, from small villages to cities, were included in the other countries¹;
- Differences in the general economic and political contexts in the origin and former destination countries;
- Selection in the process of migration, both at departure and upon return.

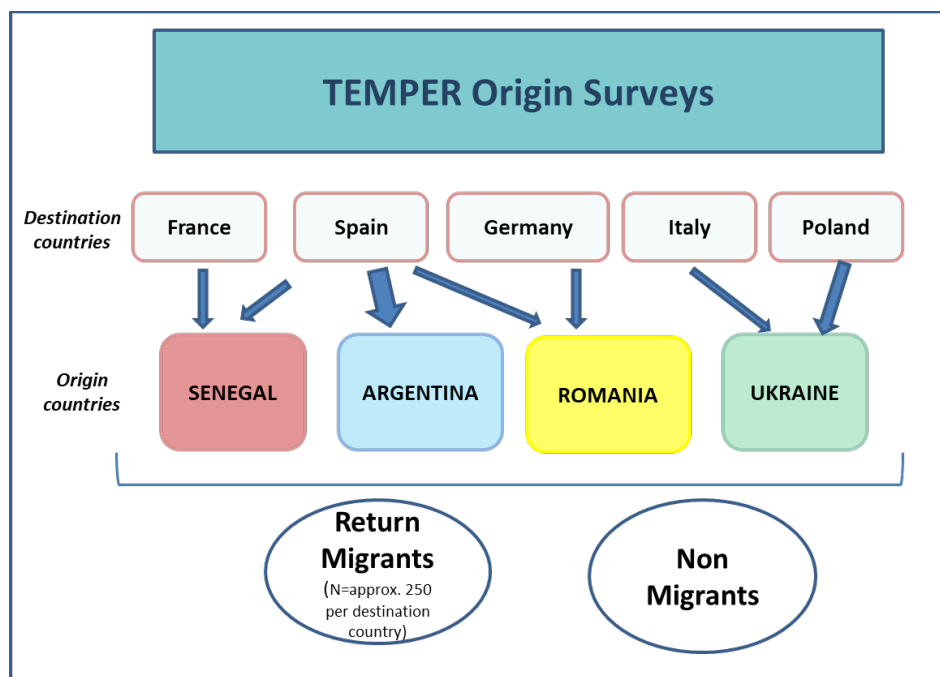
1.2 Data source

The TEMPER Origin survey is a survey conducted in 2017-18 in four countries that have experienced significant emigratory flows in recent history, and which are also characterized by migratory return movements, though in much smaller proportions: Argentina, Romania, Senegal and Ukraine. In each of these countries, a sample of migrants returning from different destinations – as shown in the figure below – were interviewed, as well as a similar number of non-migrants (i.e. people aged 20 to 75 who have never resided abroad for at least three months). Sample sizes are given in Table 1.

The TEMPER Origin surveys aimed at collecting data allowing the investigation of the determinants and of the effects of return migration, and therefore addressed a wide range of issues relating to their sociodemographic characteristics, migratory experience, professional and other activities, partners and children, investments and attitudes towards certain topics. The questionnaire addressed these topics in 10 modules, as listed in the table below. If the four countries used the same questionnaire, a slightly reduced version of it (excluding two modules on the mobility and activities of the respondents' partners and children) was used in Senegal due to fieldwork constraints.

¹ More information on sampling strategies can be found in the report dedicated to sampling.

Figure 1: Origin and destination countries included in the TEMPER origin surveys



Source: Own elaboration

Table 1: Sample sizes

	Non-migrants	Return migrants	Temporary migrants	Circular migrants	Involuntary migrants
Argentina	192	243	59	5*	8*
Romania	617	433	230	8*	13*
Senegal	503	552	202	80	128
Ukraine	509	711	465	26*	38

* In this report, results are not given for samples of less than 30 individuals.

Source: Own elaboration

Table 2: List of modules in the TEMPER Origin Surveys by origin country and type of respondents

MODULES	Argentina, Romania, Ukraine		Senegal	
	Return migrants	Non-migrants	Return migrants	Non-migrants
A. Sociodemographic characteristics	X	X	X	X
B. International migration	X		X	
C. History of partners and children	X	X	X	X
D. Economic activities (since the age of 15)	X	X	X	X
E. Skills acquired abroad	X		X	
F. Investments	X	X	X	X
G. Partners' Activity and Mobility	X	X		
H. Children's mobility	X	X		
I. Last migration to the EU and return	X		X	
J. Attitudes and values	X	X	X	X

Source: Own elaboration

2 Subjective assessments of economic impacts

2.1 Migrants contribution to the national economy

Respondents, whatever their migration status, were directly asked their opinion about the economic contribution of migrants to their home country. Interviewees were invited to provide a very general assessment (see the Box below). The idea that migration has a positive impact on the national economy is very widespread in Senegal, as well as in Romania or Ukraine. Argentina appears as an exception, where the predominant view is that migrants in general and returnees in particular have no effect on the economy.

When studying the impact of return, one of the classical difficulties is to disentangle the effect of departure (and stay abroad) and the effect of return. Interviewees were thus invited to distinguish these effects (questions J8 and J9, see the box, above). Argentina is again an exception: this is the only case where the gap between both migrant categories is large and due to the widespread belief that migrants do not contribute much to the economy, while returnees are more often thought to have an impact. This probably reflects remittance practices. While Argentinian migrants do not remit much to their home country, sending money is much more common among migrants originating from the three other countries (see report D9.1). When migrants return, they obviously stop sending money. Although they may contribute differently

to the national economy when they are back in their home country, it seems it does not counterbalance the view in Romania, Senegal and Ukraine that they are no longer in a position to send money from abroad.

Box 2. Questionnaire excerpt about economic impact of migration.

J7. In general, would you say that people from [country of survey] who have **migrated to Europe** (since the late 1990s) make [country of survey]'s economy... (Read options)

1. Much better
2. Somewhat better
3. Neither better nor worse
4. Somewhat worse
5. Much worse

99. (Do NOT read) Don't know
88. (Do NOT read) Doesn't answer

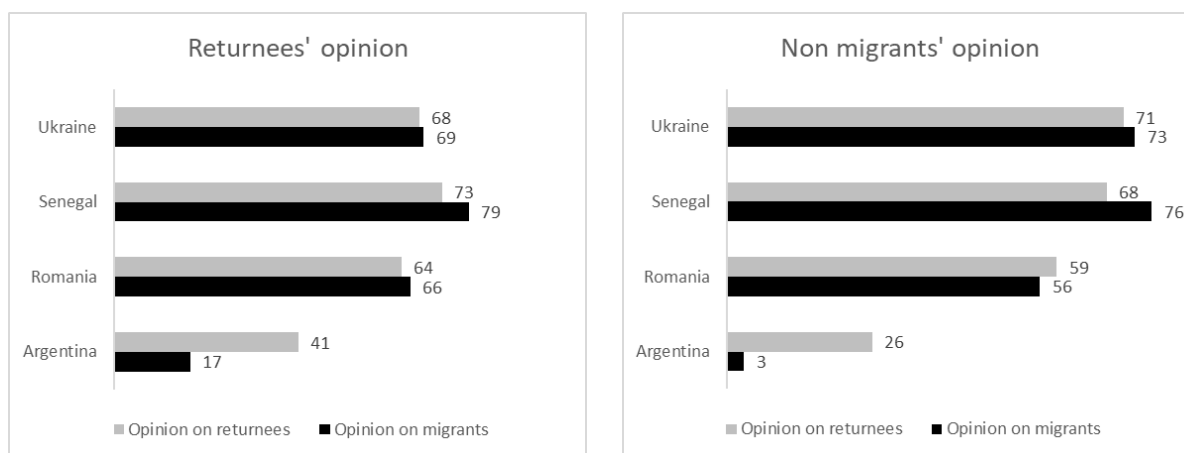
J8. And, in general, would you say that people from [country of survey] who have **returned from Europe** (since the 2000s) make [country of survey]'s economy... (Read options)

1. Much better
2. Somewhat better
3. Neither better nor worse
4. Somewhat worse
5. Much worse

99. (Do NOT read) Don't know
88. (Do NOT read) Doesn't answer

Source: Own elaboration

Figure 2. Percentage of individuals thinking migrants improve the national economic situation



Source: Own elaboration

2.2 At the household level

2.2.1 *Impact of return on household wealth: the migrants' viewpoint*

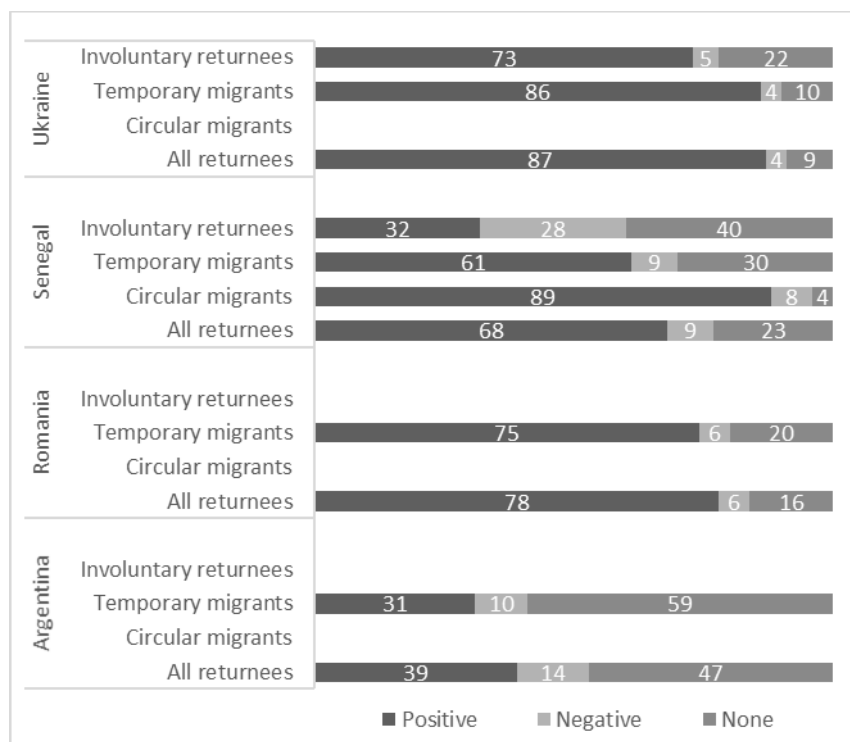
The returnees themselves were asked about the impact of return on their own households' well-being: "Would you say that your return had a positive or a negative effect on your household's financial capacity to cover [your basic needs and those of the people who depended economically on you (if that was the case)]?". In three countries out of four, more than two thirds of the returnees replied positively, with a maximum of 87% in Ukraine. Argentinian migrants have again much more mixed feelings, with almost half of them thinking that return had no impact.

The type of migration experience is not neutral:

- Unsurprisingly, migrants who did not choose to go back on their own are less satisfied (results being available only in Senegal and Ukraine), although only a minority think the effect was negative (28% in Senegal, 5% in Ukraine);
- Temporary migrants, who spent less than 12 months in Western Europe and had thus a limited period of time to accumulate money, tend to have a less positive assessment of their return on their household situation;
- And, where they form a significant group, circular migrants (i.e. individuals who moved back and forth at least twice within a period of 10 years) are by far the most satisfied: 89% of the Senegalese circular migrants think return had a positive effect on the financial situation of their household (against an average of 68% for all returnees).

These results about the effect of return on the household financial situation reflect other results related to the household material and immaterial well-being, such as the capacity to cover education and health needs, the children's emotional and material well-being, and the capacity to take care of close family members (see detailed results in the report D9.3). For all these indicators, the assessment of return effect is largely positive, except in Argentina where effects are deemed neither positive nor negative. And variations by migration experience are similar.

Figure 3. Effect of return on the household financial situation



Note: Results for samples of less than 30 respondents are not represented

Source: Own elaboration

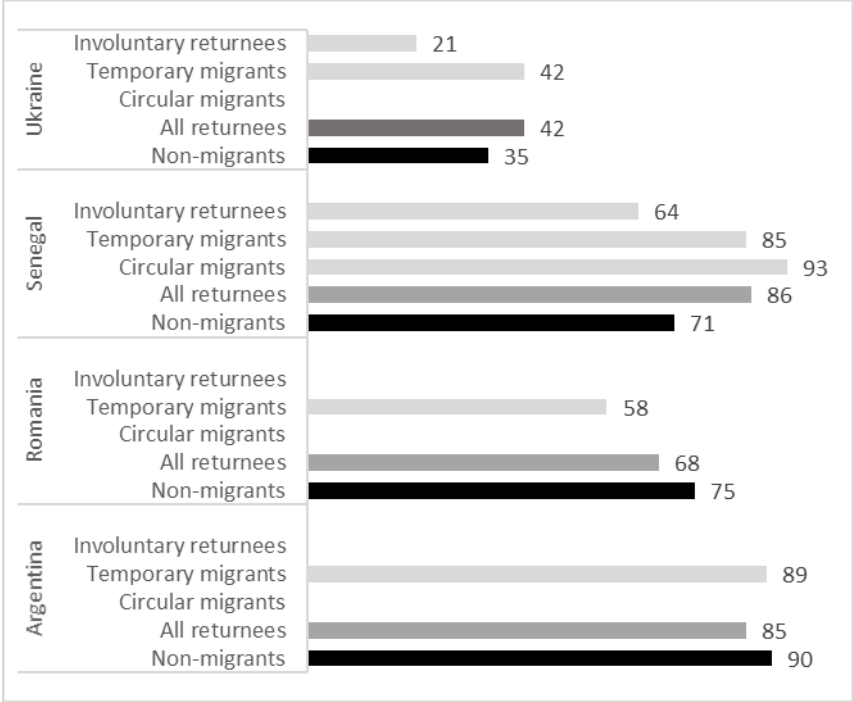
2.2.2 Financial situation by migration status

Comparing the financial situation of returnees and non-migrants provide another view on the possible effect of migration and return on households well-being. All respondents were asked: “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)?”. They could answer: “More than sufficient”, “Sufficient”, “Sometimes sufficient, sometimes not”, or “Insufficient”. For the sake of results simplification, we classified as “well-off”, those households whose financial situation was at least “sufficient”, and as “humble” the other ones. Comparing results across countries strongly suggests that the answers are very country-specific and culturally determined. It is striking, for instance, to note that Senegalese and Argentinian respondents are almost equally “well-off” although the proportion of households living below the poverty line is 38% in Senegal (in 2011) against 7% in Argentina (2014)². To explore the relationship between well-being and return, it is however of interest to compare returnees and non-migrants within each country.

² <http://povertydata.worldbank.org/poverty/country/SEN> and <http://povertydata.worldbank.org/poverty/country/SEN>

Results show that return migrants are not really in an advantaged position. Indeed, the gap between migrants and return migrants is limited in all countries and not always in the same direction: in Senegal and Ukraine, returnees declare themselves wealthier than non-migrants, while the situation is reversed in Argentina and Romania. The effect of duration (temporariness) is weak and varies by country. In line with previous results, circulation increases financial well-being in Senegal, and involuntary returnees are less often in a “well-off” situation.

Figure 4. Percentage of individuals in well-off households at the time of the survey by migration status



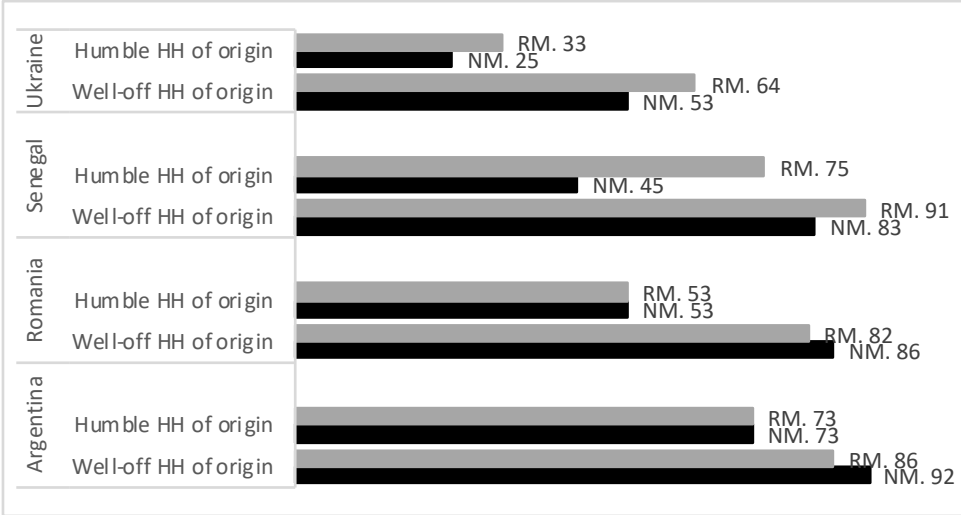
Source: Own elaboration

Considering at the same time that returnees think migration improved their situation, while they are not clearly in an advantaged position when compared to non-migrants suggests that migration may have served as a catch-up instrument. This hypothesis can be roughly tested by comparing returnees and non-migrants with the same social background. The Senegalese case provides an example where migration seems to have served as such a catch-up mechanism. Whatever their social origin, returnees are proportionally more frequently in well-off households than non-migrants (see the figure above). Interestingly, the gap between returnees and non-migrants is much larger among those with a humble social origin than among those coming from wealthier households (see the figure below). This suggests that migration has a much stronger positive effect on the financial situation of those who were in a situation of social handicap (individuals

who belonged to households where basic needs could not always be covered when they were 15). In other terms, results in Senegal tend to confirm the hypothesis that migration serves as a socio-economic catch-up mechanism. More refined analyses are needed to confirm and better understand this process and also to explain why it does not apply similarly in the other countries.

In Ukraine, as in Senegal, returnees tend to be better off than non-migrants at the time of the survey (see the figure above). However, contrary to the Senegalese case, this advantage does not vary much by social origin, suggesting that migration has the same effect whatever the migrants' social background. A different pattern is at play in Argentina and Romania. There, returnees live in humbler households at the time of the survey, as if return had a negative impact on their financial well-being or as if the migration experience could not compensate enough an initial social handicap (see the figure above). Results below show that the returnees' disadvantage (vs. non-migrants) is concentrated among the wealthiest, suggesting that migration might have a negative impact in upper classes. These sketchy results call for deeper analyses.

Figure 5. Percentage of individuals in well-off households at the time of the survey by migration status and social origin



Source: Own elaboration

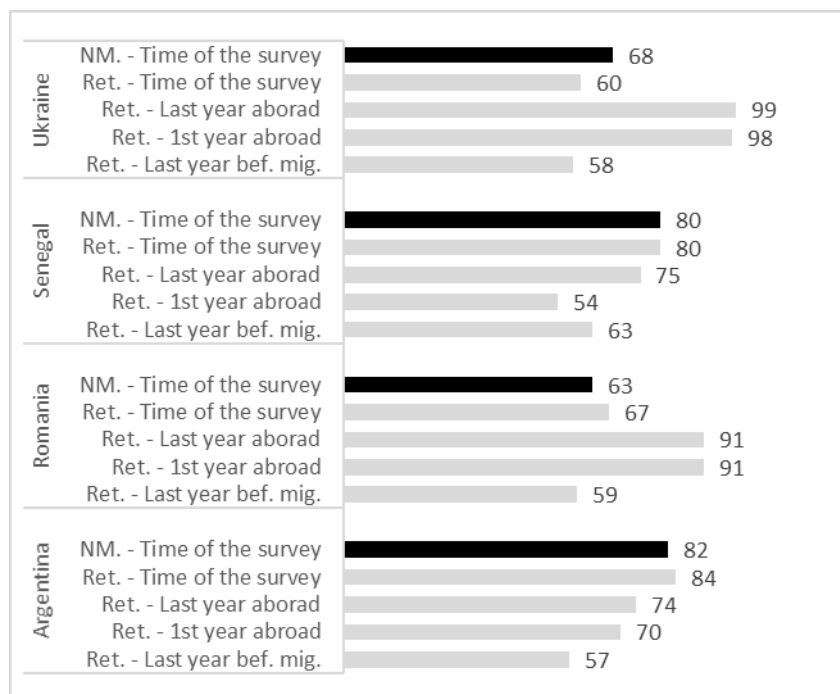
3 Labour market outcomes

3.1 Employment and unemployment

Migrating is commonly associated to transitions, for instance from studies to work or from work to retirement. In our countries of interest, employment status evolved over time following

different patterns. Among Romanians and Ukrainians, staying in a Western country is associated with very high levels of employment from the first year to the last year abroad. Return is, on the contrary, associated with a strong decrease in the proportion of workers, e.g. from 99% to 60% in Ukraine (Figure 6). Although, common wisdom often associates return to retirement, this fall is rather associated to difficulties to find a job. In Ukraine, at the time of the survey, the returnees' unemployment rate is as high as 13%, while it is only 3% among non-migrants. Figures are similar in Romania (Figure 7). In TEMPER Eastern European countries, moving abroad appears as a way to access to employment but the working experience abroad does not translate into a better economic integration upon return. On the contrary, return is not synonymous with employment withdrawal in Argentina or Senegal. There might be many reasons to explain these country differences. One of them could be methodological and revert to employment declaration. It might be, for instance, that interviewees do not declare in the same way informal or survival activities. These activities might be underdeclared in Eastern Europe, while they are largely acknowledged in Senegal (e.g. Figure 9 suggests that Senegalese are more prompt to declare small scale self-employed activities and Figure 10 that they more commonly work without a proper contract when they are employees).

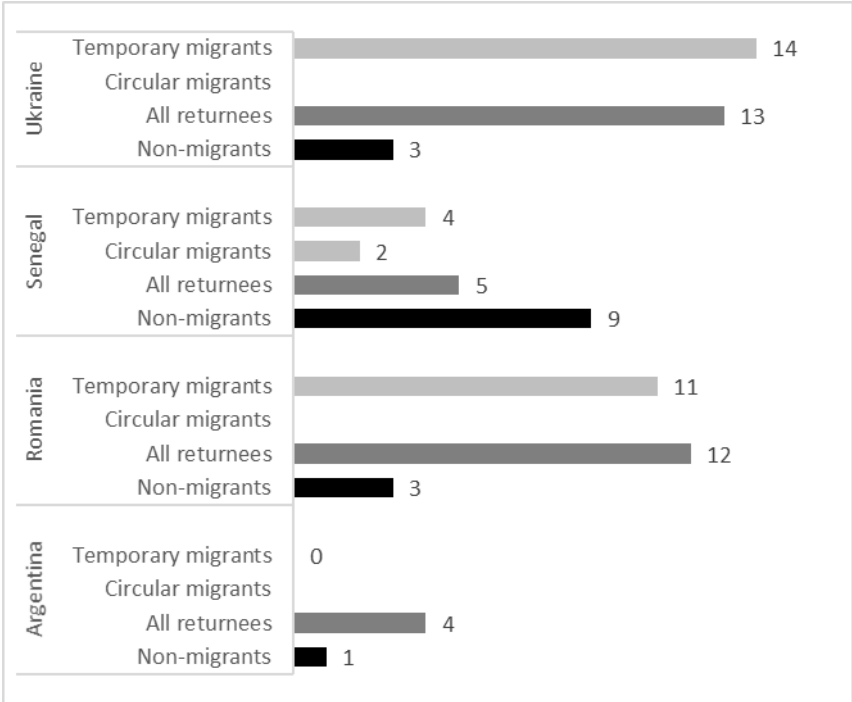
Figure 6. Percentage of individuals in employment by migration status and over time



Source: Own elaboration

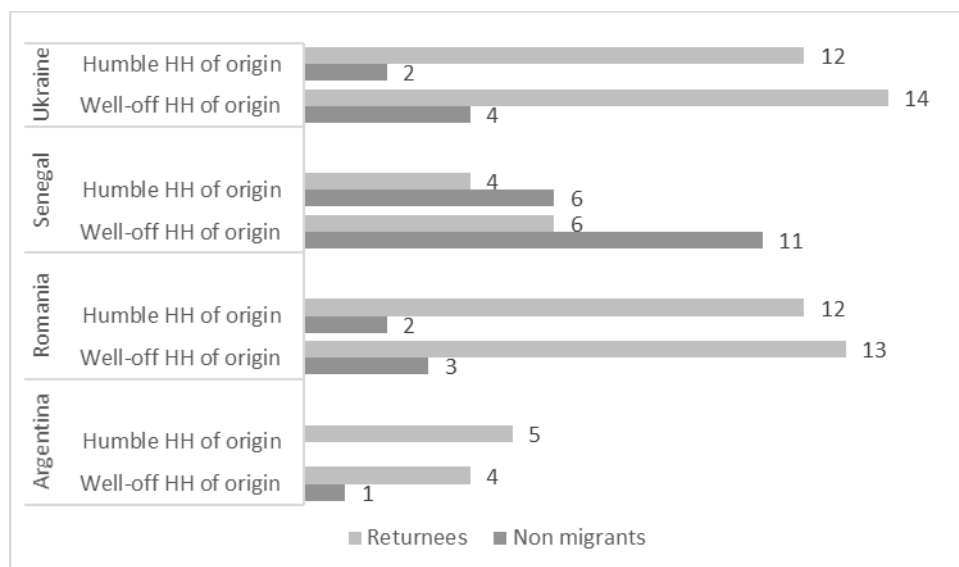
At the time of the survey, Senegal is the only country where returnees have a lesser unemployment rate vs. non-migrants, with circular migrants having again the most advantageous situation (Figure 7). This improvement seems even to be associated with an equalization effect, as the gap between those from humble vs. wealthy background is smaller among returnees than among non-migrants (Figure 8). On the contrary, in the three other countries, unemployment is higher among returnees. And although rates do not vary much by social origin at the time of the survey, the impact of migration seems more detrimental to those of humble social background. The Ukrainian case offers a good example: among individuals originating from humble households, returnees are six times more likely to be unemployed than non-migrants; among the wealthiest, the ratio is “only” 3.5.

Figure 7. Unemployment rate at the time of the survey by detailed migration status



Source: Own elaboration

Figure 8. Unemployment rate at the time of the survey by migration status and social origin



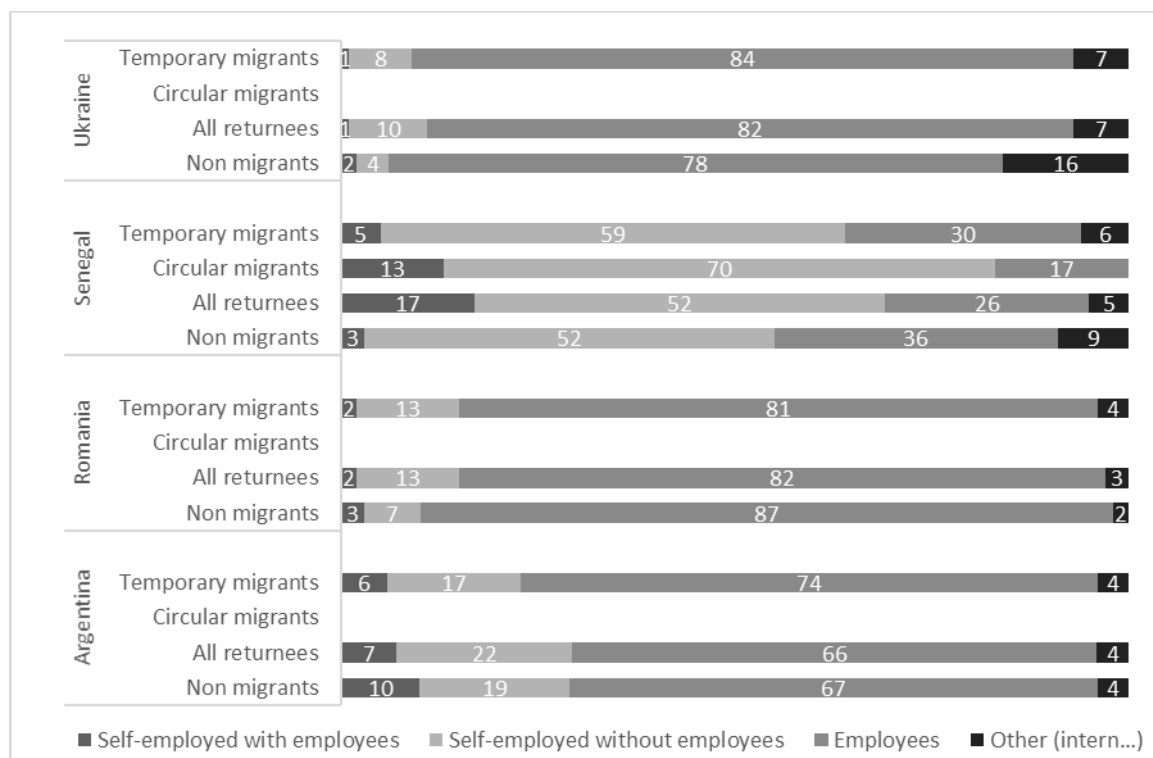
Source: Own elaboration

3.2 Professional status

When they work, do returnees differ from non-migrants in their activities? Argentina is a case of exception, where both groups display very similar professional profiles. In the three other countries, returnees are more frequently engaged in self-employment activities than non-migrants. While this specificity reverts to activities without employees in Eastern European countries, Senegalese returnees differ from non-migrants by a very high proportion of employers (17% vs. 3%).

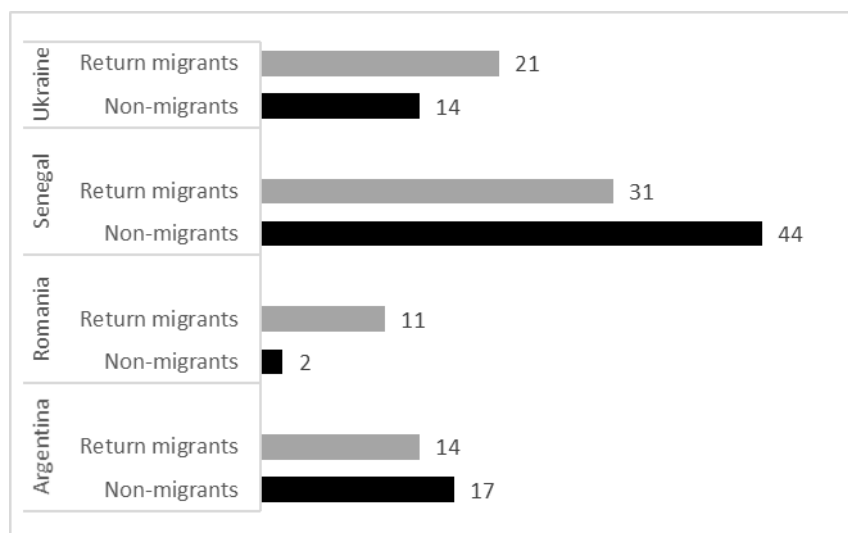
Return migrants' employees in Senegal also benefit from a higher job security, as they are “only” 31% without a working contract against 44% among non-migrants (Figure 10). The advantage is also observed in Argentina, though in a lesser extent (14% against 17%). In Eastern Europe, on the contrary, returnees are deprived from a contract more frequently than non-migrants.

Figure 9. Type of employment by detailed migration status at the time of the survey



Source: Own elaboration

Figure 10. Percentage of employees working without a contract by migration status



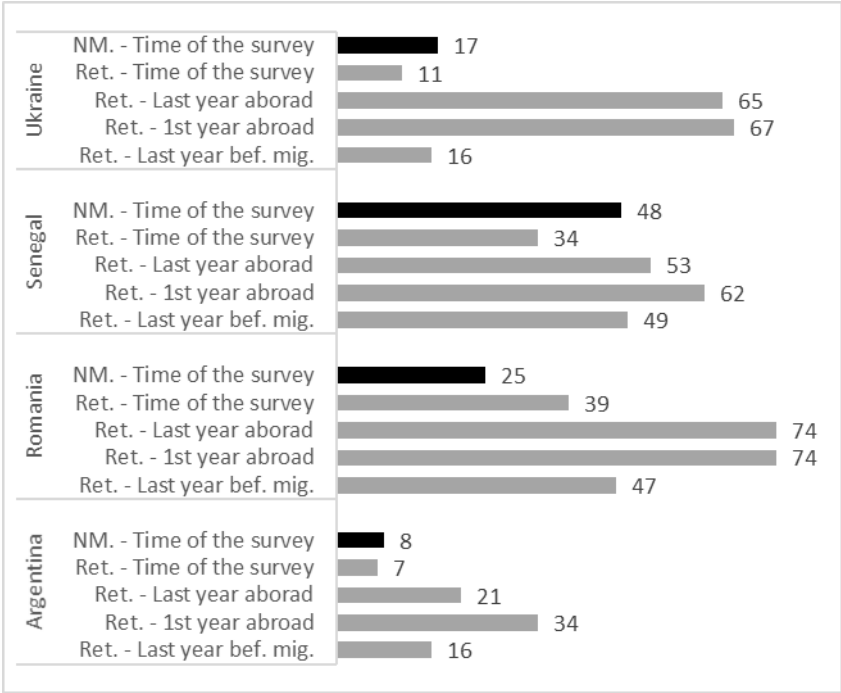
Source: Own elaboration

3.3 Skill levels

The proportion of workers employed in low-skilled job is another useful indicator to compare the situation of returnees and non-migrants on the labour market. Only in Romania are returnees

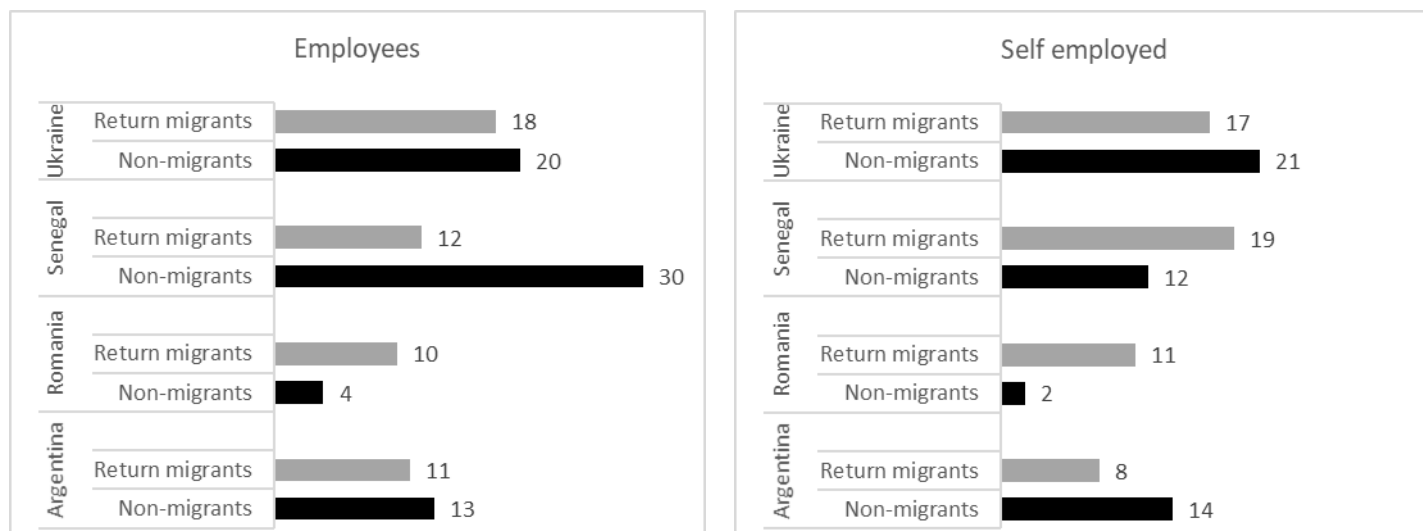
more frequently engaged in this type of job. In other countries, results do not differ by migration status (Argentina) or are more favourable to returnees (Ukraine and Senegal). Over time, migrants of all origins experienced the same pattern in their job evolution. First, the proportion in low skilled jobs augmented when they arrived in Western Europe, sometimes very drastically (e.g. from 16% to 67% among Ukrainians), a deskilling trend which is very commonly observed in migration studies, migrants being often over-qualified. After return, on the contrary, migrants experience an improvement as the proportion in low-skilled jobs significantly decreases to reach levels inferiors to those before their departure to Western Europe (e.g. 11% in Ukraine at the time of the survey, against 65% during the last year abroad). The professional experience abroad appears as an asset more often than not, as returnees generally declare less often than non-migrants that they are overqualified at the time of the survey. However, there are some exceptions: in Romania, both employees and self-employed returnees declare their job is under their qualification more frequently than non-migrants; a pattern also observed in Senegal among self-employed workers.

Figure 11. Percentage of workers in low skilled jobs by migration status and over time



Source: Own elaboration

Figure 12. Job adequacy - Percentage who think they are overqualified by migration status



Source: Own elaboration

4 Investments in business and housing

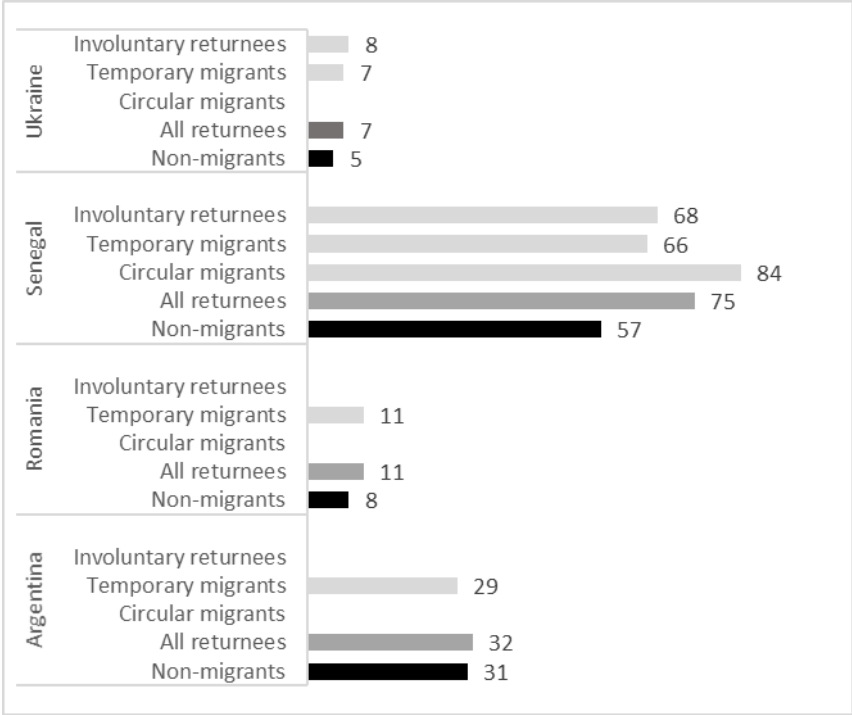
4.1 Investments in businesses

Is there any difference between the investments patterns of returnees and non-migrants? Respondents were invited to answer the following question: “Have you ever started or invested in some business (i.e. activity of producing, selling or renting any sort of goods and services for the market?”, thus excluding inherited businesses. Across the board, results show that returnees tend to invest in businesses as frequently or more frequently than non-migrants (Figure 13). The gap is significant only in the case of Senegal, where self-employment is widespread and where returnees are much more frequently employers than non-migrants (Figure 9). And the gap is even larger when only circular migrants are considered, with 84% of them declaring they invested in a business.

It is not possible to infer from these results the idea that return is a factor of investment. Indeed, we do not know the timing of investment: returnees might have invested before they left their country of origin (especially if they were positively selected). Before further analyses are carried out to clarify this relationship, preliminary results show that investments are not only carried out by those originating from the wealthiest families. With one exception, the advantage of returnees in matter of business is observed whatever the social origin of the respondents. And migration seems even to reduce the initial gap between individuals from wealthy and humble origin, with one exception however. In Argentina, among individuals of humble origin, returnees are much

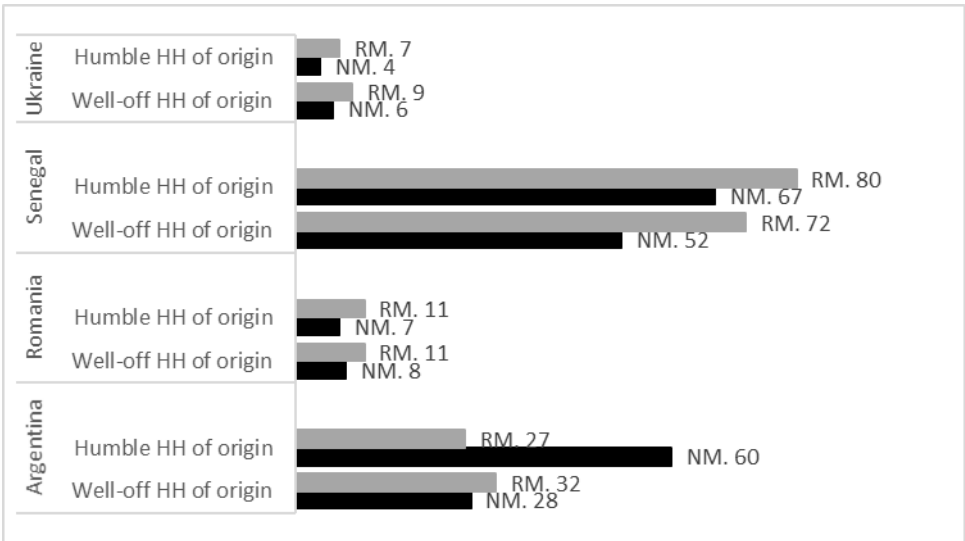
less likely to invest in business than non-migrants, a result that calls for further analyses to be explained.

Figure 13. Percentage of individuals owning at least a business at the time of the survey by detailed migration status



Source: Own elaboration

Figure 14. Percentage of individuals owning at least a business at the time of the survey by migration status and social origin



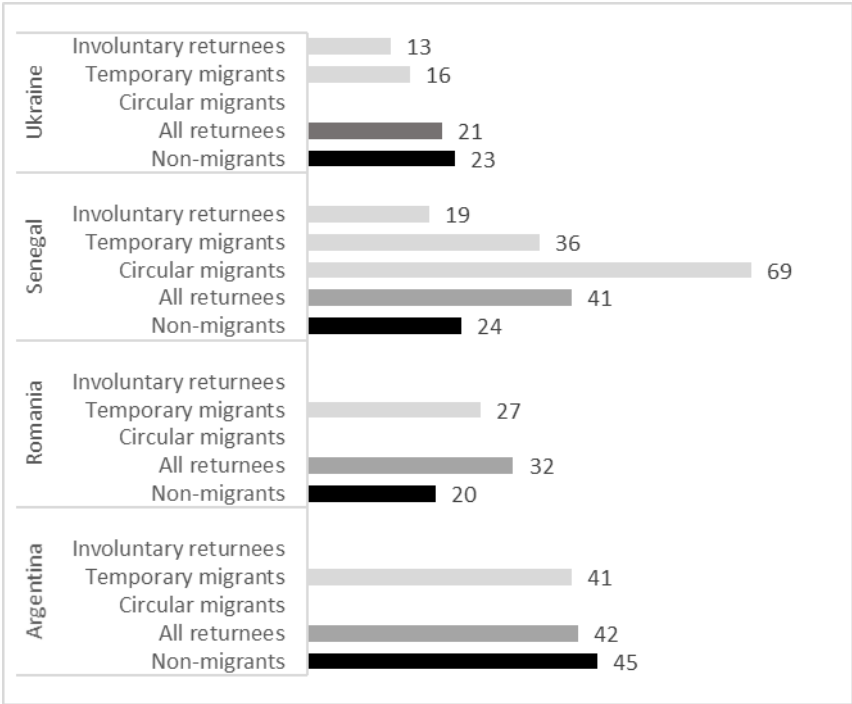
Source: Own elaboration

4.2 Investments in real estate

Only in Romania and Senegal are returnees clearly more likely than non-migrants to own a real estate property estate (some house, apartment or premises, either for living, working, renting or any other use) at the time of the survey. As observed before in Senegal, circular migrants are even more likely to have realized this kind of investment.

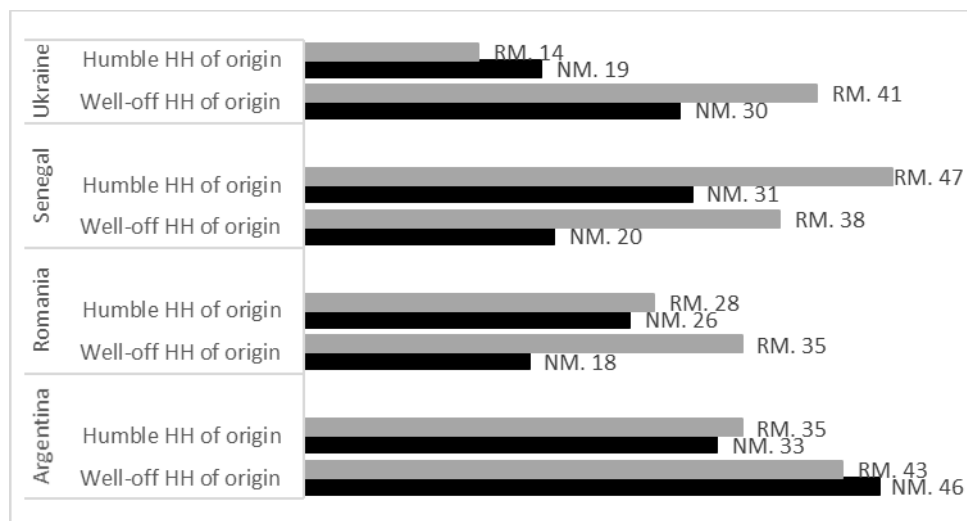
To what extent does the seeming advantage of returnees differ according to their social background? In all countries, except Ukraine, being a return migrant augments the probability to own a real estate property more among individuals originating from wealthy households than from the humbler household (Figure 16). For instance, in Romania, returnees of well-off origin are 1.9 more likely than non-migrants with similar social background to own a real estate property (35% against 18%), while the ratio is only 1.1 among individuals of humble origin (28% against 26%). The same reasoning applies to Ukraine and Senegal, although to a lesser extent. On the other hand, in Argentina, inequalities by social origin are lesser for returnees in comparison to non-migrants.

Figure 15. Percentage of individuals owning at least a real estate property at the time of the survey by detailed migration status



Source: Own elaboration

Figure 16. Percentage of individuals owning at least a real estate property at the time of the survey by migration status and social origin



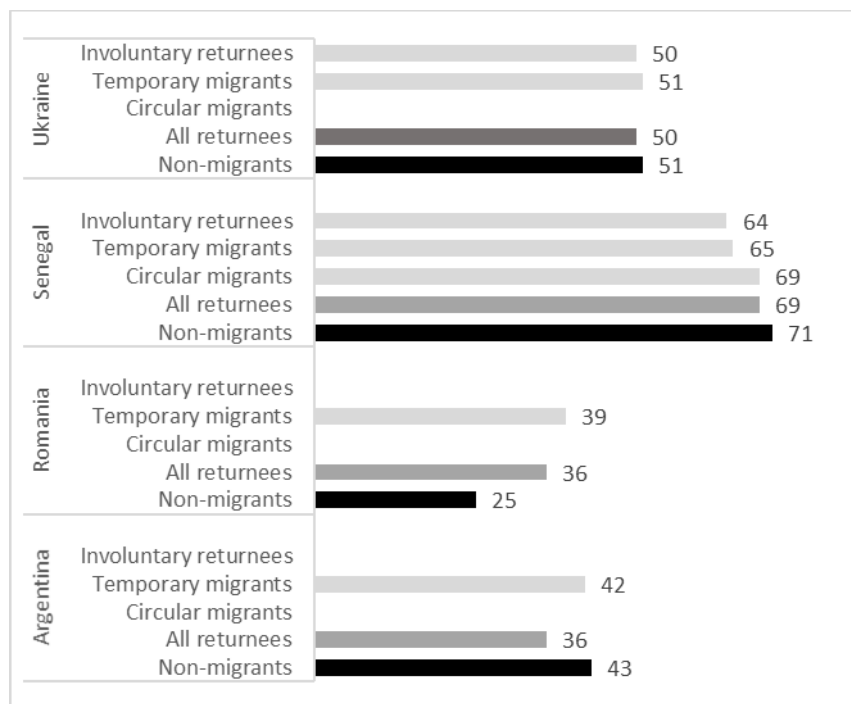
Source: Own elaboration

5 Life satisfaction and social reputation

5.1 Social reputation

To what extent does migration experience in Western Europe provide to returnees a surplus of respect vs. non-migrants in social life? The TEMPER survey recorded the viewpoint of respondents, whatever their migration status by asking the following question: “Migrants who returned from Europe since the 2000s, generally... 1. are more respected/well regarded than those who never migrated; 2. are less respected/ well regarded than those who never migrated; 4. None of the above”. Responses somehow summarize the results presented in the previous sections. Where returnees are overwhelmingly in a privileged situation, they benefit from more respect, as in Senegal. On the contrary, where returnees have more often than not positions similar to those of the non-migrants, like in Argentina, respondents are a majority to think that migrants benefit from neither more nor less respect than non-migrants. In any case, in all countries, respondents thinking that migrants are less respected than non-migrants are always a minority. And opinions do not vary much by migration status.

Figure 17. Percentage of individuals thinking returnees are more respected than non-migrants by detailed migration status

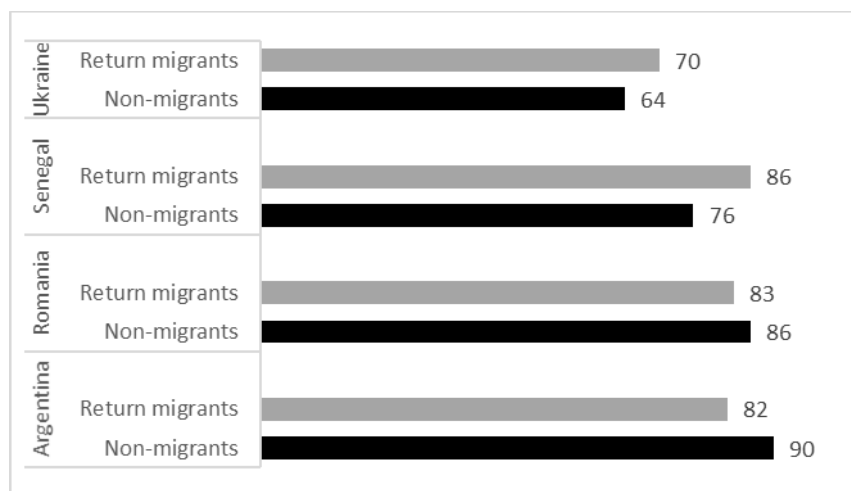


Source: Own elaboration

5.2 Life satisfaction

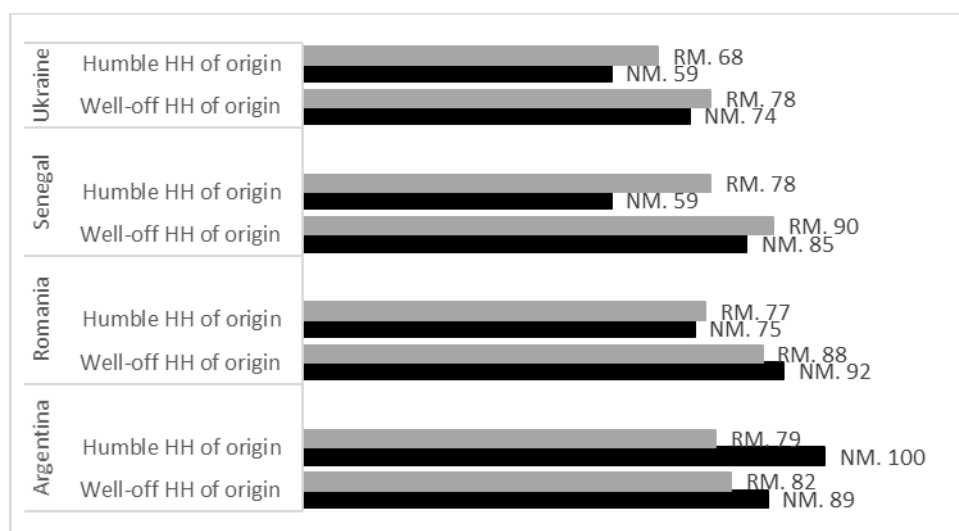
Comparing answers of returnees and non-migrants about life satisfaction provides another global assessment of the possible impact of return on individual lives. “All things considered, how satisfied are you with your life as a whole these days? 1. Completely satisfied; 2. Pretty satisfied; 3. Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied; 4. Pretty unsatisfied; 5. Completely dissatisfied”. Differences are rather weak in all countries. The direction of the relationship satisfaction-migration varies by country. Return migrants express less satisfaction than non-migrants in Romania and Argentina and more satisfaction in Ukraine and Senegal. In this latter country, migration appears as a way to reduce social inequalities (Figure 19): the gap between individuals originating from humble vs. wealthy households is reduced after migration.

Figure 18. Percentage of individuals "satisfied with life" by detailed migration status



Source: Own elaboration

Figure 19. Percentage of individuals "satisfied with life" by migration status and social origin



Source: Own elaboration

6 Conclusion

The aim of this report was to present a comparative view on the possible impacts of return migration in Argentina, Romania, Senegal and Ukraine. Most of the results presented in the report are synthesized in Table 3. The main results are the following:

Are returnees better off when compared to non-migrants? Overall, considering all possible indicators, we come up with very country-specific results.

- In Senegal, all indicators go in the same direction: return migrants are systematically in a better position. They are more frequently in wealthy households, occupied as employers, with more secured jobs when employees, less frequently unemployed or in low-skilled jobs, owning more often a real estate property and/or a business, and –in the end– more satisfied with life.

- Romania is almost the total opposite, where returnees are in a worse situation than non-migrants when all work-related indicators are considered (unemployment rate, job security, job adequacy). As a result, they live less frequently in wealthy households. In short, it seems returnees in Romania suffer from serious economic reintegration problems. However, returnees invested more in businesses and real estate properties than non-migrants: it seems they could access while abroad a capital they could not accumulate in Romania.

- In Ukraine, returnees have rather mixed outcomes when compared to non-migrants. On one hand, they belong more often to well-off households, they invested more frequently in businesses, they have more often jobs adequate to their level of qualification. On the other hand, they are more frequently unemployed, in low-skilled jobs, and deprived from a contract when they are employees.

- Argentina is another specific case, where returnees are not very different from non-migrants. They hold the same types of employment, both in terms of status and skills and they own equally businesses. From the negative side, they own less frequently a real estate property, they are frequently unemployed and belong more often to humble households. From the positive side, they seem to have more adequate and secured job: they declare less often than non-migrants that they are overqualified and employees benefit more frequently from a work contract. In the end, returnees are less satisfied with life than non-migrants.

Are some sorts of migration experiences more influential on the well-being of migrants and their families?

- **Temporary migrants**, who stayed abroad less than a year, form the only category with significant numbers in all countries. Across countries and indicators, temporary migrants appear often similar to the returnees in general. Differences are mainly observed in Argentina, where temporary migrants face less unemployment, are less often employers (as in Senegal), and accordingly invested less in businesses. The only indicator showing consistently a disadvantage for temporary migrants relates to real estate investments. In any case, staying less than 12 months abroad never translates into better outcomes.
- On the other hand, **circular migrants (only in Senegal)**, who had repeated migration experiences often have better outcomes than indistinct returnees: more well-off households, less unemployment, high levels of investments in business and real estate).
- Finally, and quite expectedly, **involuntary migrants** are usually in a disadvantaged position, which appears in Senegal and Ukraine in matter of investment and financial well-being

Does migration benefit more those from humble families or from wealthy origin?

Answering this question is rather complex and depends on the measurement. Considering ratios (returnees vs. non-migrants) leads to the following mixed results:

- Senegal is the only country where the social gap in access to employment is narrower among returnees than among non-migrants, a result also observed in matter of investments in business (although not for real estate);
- On the contrary, in Argentina, the social gap in access to employment and investment in business tend to be wider among returnees vs. non-migrants, while it is reduced in matter of real estate investment;

- In both Eastern European countries, the social gap is widened among returnees, except in matter of real estate investments where migration seems either to have no effect (Romania) or a positive one (Ukraine).

Overall, **the economic contribution of return migration**, both at the household and national levels, is deemed positive in almost all contexts, even though to a lesser extent than migration in general. Argentina is however an exception where return migration is believed to make no difference. **Satisfaction** at the individual level varies by country with returnees being happier than non-migrants only in Ukraine and Senegal. To conclude, it is important to keep in mind that these results are preliminary and that further multi-variate analyses are needed to better measure the effects of migration and understand the processus that lead to positive or negative outcomes after return.

Table 3. Synthesis table

	Argentina	Romania	Senegal	Ukraine
Contrib' to the national economy	+/- RM much more than M	+ RM = M	+ M slightly more than RM	+ M slightly more than RM
Contrib' to the HH fin' sit'	=	+	+	+
Well-off HH	All RM < NM NM < Temp' mig'	RM < NM Even less for temp' mig'	RM > NM Even more for circular migrants Much less for involuntary mig' Temp' mig' : no diff'	RM > NM Temp' mig' : no diff' Involuntary mig' < NM
Unemployment rate	RM > NM Increased social gap Temp' mig' < NM	RM < NM Increased social gap Temp' mig' = all RM and NM	RM > NM Reduced social gap Temp' mig' = all RM Circ mig' < all RM	RM > NM Increased social gap Temp' mig' = all RM
Type of employment (MR vs NM)	No difference Temp' mig' less employers	RM : more self-employed Temp mig' : no diff	RM : more employers Temp' mig' much less employers Circ mig' less employers	RM : more self-employed Temp mig' : no big diff
Employees with a contract	RM > NM	RM < NM	RM > NM	RM < NM
Low skilled jobs	RM = NM	RM > NM	RM < NM	RM < NM
Over-qualification	RM < NM	RM > NM	Employees: RM << NM Self-employed : RM > NM	RM < NM
Investment in business	RM = NM No diff for temp' mig' Increased social gap	RM > NM No diff for temp' mig' No diff by social origin	RM > NM Even more for circular migrants Lesser advantage for temp' and involuntary mig' Reduced social gap	RM > NM No diff for temp' mig' No diff for invol' mig' Slightly reduced social gap
Investment in real estate	RM < NM Temp mig' more disadvantaged Reduced social gap	RM > NM Lesser advantage for temp' mig' Increased social gap	RM > NM Even more for circular migrants Lesser advantage for temp' and invol' mig' Increased social gap (less than in Eastern Europe)	RM < NM Temp and invol' mig' more disadvantaged Increased social gap
Life satisfaction	RM < NM	RM < NM	RM > NM Equalization	RM > NM

RM : return migrant; M: migrant; NM: non-migrant; HH: household

Source: Own elaboration