

RETURN MIGRATION AND
EMPLOYMENT
The possibilities for support investigated

- Final report -

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VOORWOORD

Op zoek naar een baan migreren miljoenen mensen uit Afrika, Azië en Zuid-Amerika naar het westen. Aanleiding voor deze migratiestromen zijn veelal politieke conflicten en armoede. Voor de betrokken landen is het vooral problematisch dat in het bijzonder de beter geschoolden vertrekken en daarmee wordt voor deze landen de mogelijkheid tot economische groei verder uitgehold.

Met het bevorderen van tijdelijke of permanente terugkeer van migranten zou deze *brain gain* voor de betrokken landen ongevormd kunnen worden in een proces van *brain gain*. De al dan niet permanente terugkeer van (hoger) opgeleide landgenoten draagt immers zowel direct (capaciteitsopbouw) als indirect (doorbreken van de emigratiecultuur) bij aan de ontwikkeling van het herkomstland.

Voor onze twee opdrachtgevers, het NMI en ICCO, zijn we aan de hand van een internationaal onderzoek nagegaan of en op welke manier vanuit de Nederlandse context de tijdelijke of permanente terugkeer van migranten bevorderd kan worden. Voor u ligt, in het Engels, het verslag van dit onderzoek.

Het rapport is tot stand gekomen dankzij de medewerking van een groot aantal personen en instanties in Nederland, maar vooral ook in het buitenland, waarmee gesprekken zijn gevoerd. Voor het onderzoek is namelijk veldwerk verricht in tal van Europese landen (waaronder Turkije), Ghana en Suriname. Onze dank gaat uit naar al deze respondenten, omdat zonder hun medewerking het onderzoek niet had kunnen plaatsvinden.

Voor wat betreft het veldwerk willen wij onze lokale experts apart bedanken. Deze personen hebben voor ons een belangrijk deel van het onderzoek in Suriname, Turkije en Ghana uitgevoerd en ook hebben zij op voortreffelijke wijze onze werkbezoeken aan deze landen voorbereid. Voor Suriname, Turkije en Ghana gaat het achtereenvolgens om Marlon Roosblad, Feza Kumbasar en Pauline Foli-Neefkens. In Turkije heeft Banu Senay halverwege het onderzoek het werk van mevrouw Kumbasar moeten overnemen.

We willen uiteraard ook onze opdrachtgevers bedanken. Zij hebben ons op een prettige en zeer deskundige wijze begeleid in het uitvoeren van het onderzoek. Voor het NMI waren Alice Odé en Inanç Kutluer bij ons onderzoek betrokken, voor ICCO was dit Jacques Willemse.

Het onderzoek is voor een belangrijk deel uitgevoerd door Evelyn Hello en Marjolein Brink.
Marieke van der Meer verzorgde de opmaak van het eindrapport.

Amsterdam, augustus 2005

Bram Berkhout (projectleider)

MANAGEMENTSAMENVATTING

Regioplan Beleidsonderzoek heeft in opdracht van het Nederlands Migratie Instituut (NMI) en de Interkerkelijke Organisatie voor Ontwikkelingssamenwerking (ICCO) onderzoek gedaan naar de behoefte aan en de mogelijkheden voor arbeidsbemiddeling van Turkse, Ghanese en Surinaamse immigranten naar hun herkomstlanden. Dit onderzoek hebben we gedaan vanuit het idee dat met een vorm van arbeidsbemiddelings de ‘brain gain’ voor deze landen bevorderd kan worden. Belangrijk is dat wij ons in het onderzoek gericht hebben op migranten met een permanente verblijfsvergunning of migranten met de Nederlandse nationaliteit. Voor deze migranten is vrijwillige terugkeer van toepassing.

In het onderhavige rapport doen wij uitvoerig verslag van onze bevindingen. Een samenvatting hiervan geven wij in hoofdstuk 7, alsook een meer praktisch advies voor de opdrachtgevers op basis van onze bevindingen. In deze korte samenvatting beperken we ons tot de belangrijkste bevindingen.

Eén van onze belangrijkste bevindingen is dat er binnen de Nederlandse context pas zeer recent sprake is van een met ontwikkelingssamenwerking geïntegreerd beleid met betrekking tot het bevorderen van terugkeer (in concreto het programma voor Terugkeer, Migratie en Ontwikkeling; TMO). Een koppeling tussen remigratiebeleid en ontwikkelingssamenwerking is interessant vanuit het idee dat door remigratie de ontwikkeling van de betrokken herkomstlanden bevorderd kan worden. Belangrijke kanttekening bij het programma TMO is wel dat het opgezet is voor zowel uitgeprocedeerde asielzoekers, als statushouders. We spreken nadrukkelijk de wens uit dat het programma niet louter als instrument voor gedwongen of zelfstandige terugkeer wordt benut, maar juist in een bredere context nieuwe initiatieven stimuleert waarbij terugkeer of liever circulaire migratie wordt beschouwd als een fenomeen inherent aan migratie en in potentie ontwikkelingsrelevant.

In een aantal onderzochte Europese landen is al veel langer sprake van een koppeling tussen het migratiebeleid en ontwikkelingssamenwerking, hetgeen zeer werkbare initiatieven oplevert. Wel valt op dat al deze initiatieven gericht zijn op de goedgeschoolde migranten en dat het in alle gevallen initiatieven zijn vanuit individuele landen. Er is met andere woorden nog geen sprake van een geïntegreerd Europees beleid op dit terrein. Het meest breed geïntegreerde remigratiebeleid hebben we waargenomen in Duitsland, waar het remigratiebeleid niet alleen wordt vormgegeven in samenhang met het ontwikkelingsbeleid, maar ook met het onderwijsbeleid. Er is daar een actief beleid om studenten uit ontwikkelingslanden in Duitsland te laten studeren en ze vervolgens via een actief arbeidsbemiddelingsbeleid te laten terugkeren. In de Nederlandse context wordt deze koppeling helaas nog niet gemaakt. Het

feit dat er voor Nederlandse remigranten met arbeidsperspectief niet of nauwelijks faciliteiten beschikbaar zijn, verklaren wij uit het feit dat het Nederlandse remigratiebeleid pas zeer recent gekoppeld wordt aan ontwikkelingssamenwerking, waardoor het ontwikkelingspotentieel van remigranten voor de betrokken herkomstlanden nu naar voren treedt. Ons inziens zouden onze opdrachtgevers dan ook aandacht moeten vragen voor het nog breder oppakken van het remigratiebeleid.

Op basis van ons onderzoek concluderen wij dat er ook in Nederland onder de meer kansrijke Turkse, Surinaamse en Ghanese migranten en hun kinderen behoefte bestaat om naar hun herkomstland terug te keren om daar te werken of een eigen bedrijf te starten. Belangrijk is wel dat uit ons onderzoek blijkt dat het vooral gaat om circulaire migratie. Migranten lijken niet te kiezen voor een definitieve terugkeer, maar willen de optie openhouden om toch weer terug te keren naar Nederland. De behoefte aan terugkeer lijkt ook sterk ingegeven door het economische perspectief in de betrokken herkomstlanden en is om die reden groter in bijvoorbeeld Turkije dan in Ghana. Dit impliceert een paradox dat het vanuit het ontwikkelingsperspectief wenselijk zou zijn dat kansrijke migranten juist naar ontwikkelingslanden zouden terugkeren, terwijl daar bij de betrokken migranten door het ontbreken van kansen geen behoefte aan bestaat. De omvang van economische retourmigratie vanuit Nederland is om die reden beperkt naar Ghana en Suriname. Voor Turkije is het potentieel hoger omdat er daar voor migranten betere economische perspectieven zijn.

Uit ons onderzoek wordt ook duidelijk dat onder de groepen kansrijke migranten die terug willen keren ook behoefte bestaat aan diensten en infrastructuur op het terrein van voorlichting, arbeidsbemiddeling en de begeleiding van startende ondernemers. De relatief beperkte omvang van de doelgroepen stelt echter wel beperkingen aan de infrastructuur die opgezet zou kunnen worden. Ook betekent dit dat alleen al vanuit het perspectief van economische haalbaarheid goed gekeken moet worden of en hoe er met andere (Europese) partners samengewerkt kan worden. Dit is ook goed mogelijk, omdat er zeker in Europa al veel werkende initiatieven zijn. Ons inziens bestaat er niet of nauwelijks beleidsconcurrentie tussen deze initiatieven, omdat alle initiatieven te maken hebben met geringe aantallen migranten waarvoor de dienstverlening geboden moet worden. Voor alle initiatieven is de economische haalbaarheid van het instandhouden van een initiatief een aandachtspunt en is er om die reden veel bereidheid tot samenwerking. Samenwerking met een nieuw Nederlands initiatief zou ons inziens zelfs de werking van de bestaande initiatieven kunnen versterken doordat bijvoorbeeld meer landen bediend zouden kunnen worden.

In Nederland bestaat tot nu toe nog geen vaste infrastructuur op het terrein van arbeidsbemiddeling van migranten die terug willen keren naar herkomstlanden buiten Europa. Wel kunnen potentiële remigranten enerzijds ondersteund worden bij het starten van een onderneming in

een beperkt aantal herkomstlanden en kennen we meer initiatieven op projectbasis, veelal uitgevoerd door IOM, om bijvoorbeeld de terugkeer van professionals naar Ghana of Afghanistan te bevorderen. Anderzijds biedt de remigratiewet de minder kansrijke migranten een kans om terug te keren.

Indien NMI vanuit Nederland een rol zou willen gaan vervullen op het terrein van arbeidsbemiddeling, zal dit voor hen betekenen dat ze met een nieuwe doelgroep te maken gaan krijgen. Op basis van ons onderzoek valt de groep kansrijke migranten uiteen in een groep die als werknemer in het herkomstland aan de slag zou kunnen en in groep die als ondernemer succesvol zou kunnen zijn. Bij het opzetten van een infrastructuur in Nederland is het belangrijk per doelgroep en vaak ook per land te differentiëren. Ook moet goed nagegaan worden welke infrastructuur meerwaarde heeft, lees additioneel is, ten opzichte van wat er in Europa al allemaal aan faciliteiten geboden wordt. Belangrijk is ook om de nieuwe dienstverlening beheersbaar te ontwikkelen. Dit betekent dat vooral gedacht moet worden aan beperkte faciliteiten en een beperkt aantal landen.

Ten slotte willen we over de op te zetten infrastructuur benadrukken, dat deze vooral gericht moet zijn op het bieden van brede voorlichting aan migranten over het werken en leven in hun herkomstlanden. Daarnaast zou NMI ons inziens vooral een soort spilfunctie moeten gaan vervullen tussen migranten en organisaties in de herkomstlanden die hen kunnen helpen een baan te vinden in het herkomstland of om daar succesvol een onderneming te starten. Het kan daarbij gaan om werkgevers, vacaturewebsites of bemiddelingsbureaus, maar ook om instellingen die ondernemers van benodigde marktinformatie kunnen voorzien. Belangrijk is dat wij voor NMI slechts in beperkte mate een rol zien bij het bemiddelen van werkzoekenden. Wij raden het bijvoorbeeld af om zelf een vacaturewebsite te bouwen, of om databases aan te leggen van werkzoekenden en vacatures. Op dit terrein zijn voldoende werkbare initiatieven. Het gaat veeleer om remigranten met de bestaande initiatieven in contact te brengen en hier hooguit additioneel diensten op te verlenen. Hierbij valt te denken aan het voorselecteren van geschikte kandidaten voor een buitenlands bemiddelingsinitiatief of het inzetten van een retournigrant op een informatiesteunpunt in de herkomstlanden. In het buitenland is gebleken dat dit laatste zeker effectief is.

Om een goed beeld te houden van de bestaande infrastructuur in de herkomstlanden, is het ten slotte ook van belang om per doelland met een vast contactpersoon te werken die voor NMI de ontwikkelingen blijft volgen, een soort relatiebeheerder dus.

1 RETURN MIGRATION AND EMPLOYMENT

1.1 Introduction

Each year, millions of people from Africa, Asia and Latin America depart from their homes to escape poverty or political conflict and migrate to Western countries in search of employment. Research into the characteristics of these migrants reveals that it is particularly the better educated and skilled youngsters that are leaving the developing countries. In fact, in several African countries more than 30 percent of the people with tertiary education have migrated. This outflow undermines the development of poor countries, by depriving them of the necessary brain power. However, it is also possible to view the massive outflow of migrants from a more positive perspective. Migrants should not be considered as a definite loss for their country but rather as potential development agents who will contribute to the development of their country with their possible regression. Therefore, it is necessary to facilitate their return by providing the appropriate conditions within their home country, such as employment

The facilitation of return migration should not only be regarded as a positive advancement from a developmental point of view, but it also often complements the personal wishes of the migrants. Many migrants have the intention to temporarily live and work abroad, yet most of them do not actually return. This trend can partly be explained by the meagre possibilities to establish a means of existence in their country of origin. Another possible explanation is the lack of assistance provided to returning migrants. If this is the case, then improving this facilitation should increase return migration and make it more enduring. Consequently, this means an increase of the ‘brain gain’ for the underdeveloped countries.

Viewed in the light of improving the facilitation of return migration, the Netherlands Migration Institute (NMI) and the Dutch Interchurch Organisation for Development Cooperation (ICCO) are interested in setting up some kind of job placement service facility for migrants who want to return to their home country. However, it is not clear yet whether it is feasible to set up some kind of job placement service facility to non-western countries in the Netherlands. In order to decide whether this initiative is feasible, both parties asked the Dutch research company *Regioplan Beleidsonderzoek* to undertake a study to advise them on this matter. In this report you will find our results.

We would like to stress that we will only consider *voluntary return* in this study. Some organisations use the term *voluntary return* for the *return of rejected asylum seekers without being ordered or forced*. We reject this definition, however, on the grounds that the choice to

return is, in the abovementioned, not an active decision. Therefore, we would like to stress that we will only focus on migrants with a permit or permission to stay or migrants with Dutch nationality.

1.2 Central thesis and research questions

The central thesis of our study is:

To what extent do transnational job placement services to non-western countries meet the needs of (potential) return migrants and to what extent does it increase brain gain? Under what conditions can these transnational job placement services to non-western countries be organised?

We translated the central thesis of our study into three sets of questions in order to operationalise it. The first set of research questions refers to the needs of potential returnees in regard to their returning to their home countries, employment in their home countries, and assistance in job placement services in their home countries.

- To what extent are migrants in the Netherlands willing to return to their home countries?
- What would the role of job placement services be in their decision making process?
- What are the needs of potential returnees with respect to job placement services to their countries of origin? (I am not sure what this sentence is trying to say. Is it what are they looking for in job placement services?)
- Under what conditions would job placement services be a successful initiative according to – potential – returnees?

The second set of questions refers to the conditions in the home countries:

- What are returnees' chances in the labour market?
- To what extent does the legal framework offer possibilities or impediments to transnational job placement services?
- To what extent is the infrastructure in the home countries suitable to set up some kind of job placement services?
- To what extent are organisations in the home countries interested in cooperation in order to set up some kind of international job placement service facility?
- Under what conditions would a Dutch initiative be successful in the home countries?

The third set of questions refers to the European context:

- To what extent do European (and Dutch) initiatives offer some kind of job placement services? What do they look like?
- What can we learn from the European initiatives? What are the strengths and weaknesses of these initiatives?
- To what extent are European (and Dutch) initiatives interested in cooperation in order to set up some kind of international job placement service facility?
- What do European initiatives teach us about the conditions under which a Dutch initiative would be successful?

1.3 Research design

This study consists of three parts. First, **a study on the needs of potential returnees** is carried out. We concentrated on three groups of returnees: the Turks, the Surinamese and the Ghanaians. Each of these target groups represents a typical kind of migrant.

The Turks represent the category of labour migrants who came to the Netherlands particularly during the 1970s and early 1980s. However, the largest influx of Turkish migrants was not caused by the labour migrants themselves, but by their family members who joined them in the 1980s. This migrant population still attracts many new migrants, especially through marriages. As the education level of this initial group was not high in general, it did not constitute a brain drain with their emigration. However, if this group were to regress, they would contribute to the brain gain. This is even more so for the second and even third generation who are highly educated. These generations have a high potential and thus may be of great value for their home countries.

The Surinamese are considered to belong to migrants who came here due to political-historical reasons. In the years just before independence in 1975 many Surinamese took the advantage of coming to the Netherlands. The Surinamese population was quite diverse with respect to their educational background. In the years after independence, many Surinamese students continued to come to the Netherlands for their studies. Although they often intended to go back to Suriname after their graduation, many of them continued and stayed in the Netherlands. As a result, these graduates have contributed to the brain drain of Suriname.

Most Ghanaians started to move to the Netherlands after 1983 because of the economic crisis in Ghana, and the repatriation of Ghanaians from Nigeria. We have chosen to study Ghana as

an example of the African Diaspora, which can be characterized by its transnational community and international networks.

We used statistical information (demographics and migration statistics) in order to get an overview of the socio-demographic characteristics of potential returnees and the actual return of the three target groups. In addition, we studied the literature on return migration and transnationalism to get a better insight into the push and pull factors, and the conditions under which job placement services might take place. In individual interviews with experts and in group interviews with members of the target group and potential returnees in The Netherlands, we discussed the push and pull factors that affect return migration, and the role of employment in their decision to return. Of course the conditions under which return and job placement services could take place were discussed as well. In addition, we conducted telephone interviews with experts in the field of return migration to Turkey and Suriname.

The second part of the analysis consisted of **country studies of Turkey, Suriname and Ghana**. The aim of these country studies was to investigate the possibility to set up some kind of job placement services for these countries. We started the field studies by asking contacts in these countries to make a country report on relevant issues on return migration and to make appointments with relevant organisations. After that, we visited these countries and conducted interviews with national and private employment organisations, employers, trade unions, and organisations for supporting (start-up) firms. We also had individual or group interviews with returnees in each country.

The third part of the study consisted of an **exploration of initiatives in Europe (including the Netherlands)** that already (can) offer some kind of job placement services to returnees. We visited initiatives in Germany and Great Britain, and we conducted telephone interviews with several other initiatives in Belgium, France, and Sweden. To explore the Dutch context, we conducted a number of face-to-face and telephone interviews with several initiatives that are related to the theme of return migration in various ways.

For a more detailed insight into the methodology of our study, please refer to the appendices. In appendix 1 we will present a more thorough description of the research design of this study, and in appendix 2 all respondents, and the organisations to which they are affiliated are listed.

1.4 Outline of the report

At the end of this chapter we give some information about the outline of our report, to support the reader.

In chapter 2 we provide an overview of the migration theories and the migration patterns in and out of the Netherlands. This chapter also contains the results of our interviews with the Turks, Ghanaians and Surinamese respondents on the pull and push factors of return migration. Moreover, their needs with respect to assistance in their decision making process, as well as with regard to their search for employment, or regarding the start-up of a business are be discussed.

Next, we present an overview of the country studies. We demonstrate the possibilities on the local labour market for returnees and more briefly their opportunities to start a new firm. In addition, we discuss the legal framework, the infrastructure to find employment or to start a new firm, and finally the experiences of migrants that have already returned. In chapters 3, 4, and 5 we introduce the country studies of Suriname, Turkey and Ghana respectively.

In chapter 6, the European context of initiatives that provide some kind of job placement services for returnees are discussed. We then provide an overview of the way these initiatives work, their target groups and organisations. By doing this, we can determine to what extent the European infrastructure is sufficient to fill the needs of Dutch returnees. Another topic that is discussed is the cooperation with other European organisations to improve the services that are given to return migrants, either in the Netherlands or in the countries of origin.

Finally, in chapter 7, we summarise this study and offer possible recommendations on whether and how the NMI and ICCO could offer some additional facilities in the field of job placement services to returnees.

2 RETURN MIGRATION: THEORY AND PRACTICE

2.1 Introduction

For a better understanding of the needs and possibilities of migrants who return to their country of origin, we must first comprehend the reasons and factors for migration in the first place. Specifically, the concept of transnationalism will be used to trace a number of important characteristics of contemporary migration. The second part of this chapter entails a more detailed description of migration and return migration of the three ethnic groups under study: Ghanaians, Turks and Surinamese. Within this description, the main push and pull factors are highlighted as identified by the approached minority groups. Thirdly, a more in-depth description of the most relevant needs and services in case these migrants actually should return, will be given.

2.2 Trends in migration to the Netherlands

Due to the growth of the world population and the developments in transport and communication technologies, the volume of international migration has risen to an unprecedented level. This has also been the case for the Netherlands, which has seen similar increases of immigrants in the last five decades or so. Briefly summarized, the Netherlands faced three main migration flows in this era:

1. Migrant workers

Between 1945 and the early 1970s employment-seeking migrants entered the Netherlands through ‘guest worker systems’ or within the framework of colonial and post-colonial relations between The Netherlands and some countries over seas. Guest workers were in most cases unskilled labourers, and were needed for the large manufacturing industries. At first, mainly migrants from southern Europe were recruited. Later on, guest workers from Morocco and Turkey followed. In the 1970s, due to the oil crises and the restructuring of the industrial sector, the Dutch economy was no longer in need of cheap labourers from abroad. Nonetheless, migrants from less developed countries kept on coming to the Netherlands in the hope of earning money and creating better living conditions for themselves. Even the strengthening of regulations did not stop these flows.

2. Family reunification

Although the economic situation in the Netherlands worsened in the 1970s, a vast majority of the labour migrants did not return to their countries of origin. Instead, they

prolonged their stay in the Netherlands and chose to bring over their wives and children. This picture particularly applied to the Turkish and Moroccan communities in the Netherlands. Guest workers from Southern Europe returned to their countries to a much larger extent (Muus, 1993; Odé, 1996; King 2000). Nowadays, migration within the framework of family reunification has largely diminished. Most migrants come within the framework of family formation, that is as future spouses of first and second generation minorities in the Netherlands.

3. Refugee migration

In the same period, refugee migration to Europe became more important. Although most refugees migrated to neighbouring countries, increasing numbers came to the Netherlands as well. In the beginning of the nineties, large numbers of Bosnian refugees fled the conflict in former Yugoslavia. More recently, some countries of Central Asia (mainly from Afghanistan, Iraq and Iran) served as main sources of refugees in The Netherlands. It is estimated that about 200,000 refugees currently reside in the Netherlands (Klaver et al., 2005). On average, refugees tend to be a little older when coming to the Netherlands compared to the more traditional migrant groups. In addition, they have attained comparatively high levels of education, although this does not seem to have helped them overcome the severe difficulties in entering the Dutch labour market (Klaver and Odé, 2005).

The number of legal migrants makes up around 12 percent of the Dutch population. According to the Statistical Bureau of the Netherlands (2003), about one in five migrants enter the Netherlands for economic reasons. One in four comes as asylum seekers. Other migrants enter the Netherlands within the framework of family formation or reunification. Until 2004, the Netherlands was identified as an immigration country, meaning that the number of immigrants outnumbered the number of emigrants. Since 2004, however, a reversed pattern has become visible (CBS, 2005). The increasing numbers of those leaving the Netherlands includes both Dutch citizens and members of ethnic minority groups.

Transnationalism

Social networks have attained increasing importance in migration studies. Through network theories a dynamic view of the migration process is presented that analyses migration as a social process that evolves over time (Klaver, 1997). This also means that the decision for migration or return migration is not solely the result of individual rational decision making on whether to move back or not according to wage differentials, nor just as a result of household or structural factors. Instead, migration decisions are expected to be the result of influencing processes at the micro, meso and macro-level. Moreover, the

rationale behind migration can shift over time from a household survival strategy to a more individual motivated choice, and can also shift from economic to social motives. This dynamism affects the nature of the bonds with the place of origin: from a place where part of the livelihood is obtained to a place of rest and recreation.

Through the process of migration, places of origin and destination are linked, which alters the social and economic context in which subsequent migration decisions are made. Klaver (1997) assumes that this aspect leads to the continuation of the migration process. Castells (2004) also claims that most countries do not simply have one type of immigration, such as labour migration, refugee or permanent settlement, but a whole range of types. Migration has, therefore, also different effects on the country of origin. Positive effects include specifically the remittances that are made by migrants. Countries with favourable conditions for private investment will experience extra investments and therefore economic growth. Negative aspects, on the other hand, include a possible brain drain, particularly when the higher educated people leave the country.

The recognition of both these aspects of migration, has led to the concept of transnational communities being adopted as the most dominant 'new migration' paradigm over the last two decades (e.g. Fawcett, 1989; Glick Schiller et al, 1995). The term trans-migrant may be used to identify people whose existence is shaped through the participation in transnational communities based on migration. Modern communication enables migrants to maintain intensive contacts with relatives and friends in the country of origin. Frequent visits to the home country are possible as well. (Temporary) return is also an aspect of the relations between the country of origin and the host country. People can choose to return for a shorter or longer period, depending on the kind of relations they have with the societies back home.

In transnationalism, emphasis is placed on the economic and socio-cultural aspects of migration.¹ In fact, it must be acknowledged that migration is not simply moving from one country to another. The 'transnational world' makes it more and more difficult to speak in dichotomies of countries of origin and host countries and temporary and permanent migration (e.g. King, 2002). Higher educated migrants are specifically important in this respect: they can circulate between different countries including the

¹ Inflationary use of the term should nonetheless be avoided. For trans-migrant, transnational activities is a central part of a person's life. If this applies to a group of people, one can speak of a transnational community (Castells e.o. 2003). Temporary labour migrants, who sojourn abroad for a few years, send back remittances, communicate with their family at home and visit them occasionally, should not be identified as trans-migrants. A similar conclusion should be made for permanent migrants who leave forever and who maintain no more than loose contacts with their homeland. Moreover, transnational communities are not new. The Diaspora concept goes back to ancient times and was used for people who were displaced or dispersed by force. Transnationalism has, therefore, a more neutral connotation.

country of origin (brain circulation). Temporary migration and temporary return are part of this brain circulation. This process is facilitated by the fact that lasting ties can be kept over long distances, as migrants remain part of both worlds. Such patterns are less significant with regard to less privileged migrants. Nonetheless, also among these migrants patterns of temporary stay abroad are increasingly important. The presence of Eastern European workers in various niches of the Dutch economy clearly illustrates such patterns of temporary stay.

2.3 Migration from Turkey, Suriname and Ghana

The history of migration from the three countries under study (Turkey, Suriname and Ghana) reflects different forms of movement. Migration from Turkey started as a classical case of guest worker migration. However, the nature of this pattern changed over time, as family reunification and marriage migration became more important. Migration from Suriname is closely related to its former colony status. A large majority migrated to the Netherlands during the period in which Suriname became an independent state. Ghanaian migration is still largely dominated by labour-based patterns of movement, although many leave their country before an actual employment contract is concluded. Below a short explanation of these three migration patterns will be given in more detail.

Turkey

Turkish migration to the Netherlands started as labour migration. The guest workers, mainly young men, were brought in during the 1960s and early 1970s, and were recruited by Dutch companies. Both the receiving country and the guest workers believed that it would be a temporary sojourn. Guest workers stayed, however, much longer and formed permanent communities in the Netherlands. As the economic situation in Turkey at that time was very unstable, many Turkish migrants preferred remaining in the Netherlands where more jobs were available and the welfare system provided more security. Moreover, many brought their spouses to the Netherlands as part of an extensive family reunification plan. Nowadays, family reunion is more or less completed. Nevertheless, still significant numbers of Turkish migrants come to the Netherlands, most of them within the framework of family formation (Odé, 2004).

Regarding the socio-demographic profile of Turkish migrants in the Netherlands, a few characteristics are worth mentioning (see table 2.1). The first generation largely outnumbers the second generation, mainly due to persistent patterns of family reunification and formation. Also, there are more Turkish men than women living in the

Netherlands. On average, educational levels are low, especially among the first generation. A majority of this category has merely completed elementary school or has no education at all. Second generation Turks are much better educated. Moreover, the category entering university or polytechnic schools is strongly increasing. In 2001, around 20 percent of the young individuals followed this kind of education (SCP, 2003).

Table 2.1 Turkish migrants: gender, age and generation (%)

		Male		Female	
		1st gen.	2nd gen.	1st gen.	2nd gen.
Age	0-19	10	80	7	78
	20-39	33	16	56	22
	40 and older	57	4	37	0
Total (N)		101.670	81.204	92.649	76.125

Source: CBS, 2004.

Suriname

Suriname, a former colony of the Netherlands, gained independence in 1975. Before independence, migration to the Netherlands was mainly composed up of middle-class professionals who were seeking education and employment in various fields in the public sector. After independence, both the size and nature of migrants leaving for the Netherlands changed dramatically. The numbers rose significantly and more lower-class Surinamese left their country in search for better living conditions and employment opportunities. Especially during the late 1970s, many Surinamese migrants made use of the last opportunity to come to the Netherlands before visa requirements were introduced. During the eighties and nineties migration continued mainly within the framework of family reunification and marriage, but was also spurred on by the unfavourable economic situation in Suriname. About one third of the Surinamese population is living in the Netherlands currently (CBS, 2004).

In table 2.2, a short socio-demographic description of the Surinamese community in the Netherlands is given. In contrast to the Turkish community, female migrants are much more represented as compared to their male counterparts. In addition, a majority of the first generation is forty years or older. Many of them have been in the Netherlands for several decades. Furthermore, compared to other migrant groups, Surinamese minorities are relatively well educated. About eighty percent has at least finished high school education and many participate in high vocational or academic education (Groeneveld and Weijers-Martens, 2003).

Table 2.2 Surinamese migrants: gender, age and generation (%)

		Male		Female	
		1st gen.	2nd gen.	1st gen.	2nd gen.
Age	0-19	6	67	10	80
	20-39	38	29	33	16
	40 and older	56	4	57	4
Total (N)		86.013	71.381	102.354	69.682

Ghana

Migration from Ghana to the Netherlands started only recently. Particularly, the economic crisis of the 1980s, the extreme drought in Ghana between 1981 and 1983 and the repatriation of nearly a million Ghanaians from Nigeria encouraged a mass mobility flow of Ghanaians to Western Europe (Arhinful, 2001). By 1990, more than 5000 Ghanaians had settled in the Netherlands, a number that has strongly augmented afterwards. In 2003, an official number of about 18.000 Ghanaian migrants were registered in the Netherlands. The actual number is however much higher, when one includes the illegal Ghanaian residents, who do not have a legal status and are therefore not recorded in the official statistics. Some have estimated the total number Ghanaians living in the Netherlands at 40,000.² The capital city of Amsterdam especially the south-eastern district attracts most Ghanaians; Ghanaians largely come to the Netherlands to obtain better living conditions for themselves and their relatives. Due to persistent and strong ties with the loved ones left behind, Ghanaians often balance between the obligations towards their relatives back home and their own social and economic goals in the Netherlands, resulting in Mazzucato (2004) to claim that Ghanaians in the Netherlands frequently express a double loyalty, both to the society of origin and the society of residence. This outcome indeed fits into the concept of transnationalism.

For Ghana the statistics on generation, gender and age are unavailable. We therefore make use of a survey conducted by the Dutch consulate in Ghana. It becomes apparent that Ghanaians are relatively young when compared to the more traditional migrant groups (see table 2.3). Women are on average younger when they migrate than men. Migrants are also more often not married at the time of migration. The educational level of Ghanaian migrants in the Netherlands is rather poor, yet male Ghanaians residing in the Netherlands are better educated than their female counterparts. But still, more than two in three have reached only basic levels of education.³

² This figure is based on the number of Ghanaians in the Netherlands who registered themselves in 2000 for the presidential election in Ghana.

³ This result is very much in accordance with the remarks made by respondents in Ghana, saying that better educated nationals are more likely to migrate to English speaking countries, especially the United Kingdom.

Table 2.3 Characteristics of migrants and returnees (%)

		Sample Migrants to NL*	
		Male	Female
Age	0-19	15	16
	20-39	66	69
	40 and older	19	15
Marital status (at time of migration)	Pop <12	9	9
	Single	64	56
	Married	23	31
	Other/ n.a.	5	4
Educational background (highest attained)	No education	17	25
	Basic education	49	53
	Secondary education	30	19
	Post secondary education	n.a.	n.a.
	Tertiary education	3	3
Professional background	Unemployed	15	18
	Self-employed/Vocational	65	66
	Skilled/clerical	5	4
	Professional	9	5
	Teaching & Health sector	3	21
	Other	3	3

* This sample of migrants is taken from the Netherlands Embassy 2000 legalization data: N=1000 and represents Ghanaians who already live in the Netherlands in 2000 or who are seeking admission for residence and who presented documents at the consular section.

2.4 Return migration in the Netherlands: some statistics

Return migration may be defined as the process whereby people voluntarily return to their country of origin after spending a significant period of time in another country or region. Return migration does not have to be definite. In fact, return migration may be the prelude to further episodes of spatial mobility. Several studies claim a high propensity for return migration indeed. With regard to the three migrant communities investigated in the Netherlands the following may be concluded:

- Surinamese migrants are very much willing to migrate back to their country of origin. Broër (1996) argues that around forty percent of the Surinamese migrants would like to return. A similar figure is given by Van den Tillaart et al. (2000), who found that fifteen percent of the first generation is convinced that they will return back one day and another twenty percent is favourable to the idea of returning to Suriname. Second generation Surinamese are much less motivated to return. Only a limited number have clear ideas about migrating to the country of their parents.
- The propensity to return among the Turkish community has been low (Muus, 1983; 1986). However, recently an increasing willingness to return can be noticed. Surprisingly enough, this tendency hardly differs between the first and second generation Turks in the Netherlands. Van den Tillaart et al. (2000) mention the number of one in ten people who are committed of migrating back to Turkey. Another twenty-five percent claims a preference to return, but is not too sure whether this

might come true. These figures are more or less alike for both the first and second generation.

Return migration to Turkey: some illustrative findings

Return migration is an important issue among the Turkish migrants in the Netherlands. The often unskilled first generation that originally came here to work, seriously desire to return to their country of birth. In daily life, however, they are aware of the fact that they often lack the means to really do so. Moreover, since their children are brought up and now live in the Netherlands, preparations to return are often postponed. Nonetheless, some have made that step already, which became apparent in the statistics as well. As shown from the interviews, the *Return migration facility* in the Netherlands has an important encouraging influence in this respect. Without these financial allowances, many could not have realized the return to where they came from.

Apart from these less privileged migrants, many young Turks have clear ideas about migrating as well. This is mainly the case among young higher educated people and entrepreneurs from Turkish descent. These young Turks in particular frequently discuss the possibilities of returning to the country of their parents. As it appears, the social and economic ties with Turkey are still very strong. The current transformation of Turkey in the direction of a modern, highly urbanized society even makes this country more attractive for this group. Migration is then often seen as a nice escape from the rather traditional close-knit Turkish communities in the Netherlands. In addition, young Turks often mention the current state of Dutch society as a strong push factor. In their opinion the social climate in the Netherlands has been worsening since 2000. Many of them feel increasingly discriminated against, both in school and in the labour market. At the same time, however, they are aware of the fact that the social security system in the Netherlands provides them great protection in times of need.

The potential return migrants hope that they can work for a multinational, an import-export company, a university, an embassy or start their own business in the developed and more urbanized areas of Turkey. They expect to earn enough money to live a good life in Turkey. Through networking they attempt to find a job. Some have done their teaching stage already in Turkey and have tried to build a network from there. Also relatives and friends who are already successful in the Turkish labour market are mentioned as important sources. Official initiatives in the field of information provision, job placement and mediation were hardly mentioned. As such, Turkish migrants strongly rely on more informal sources of support. Having said this, the interviews also made clear that many lack the information needed to get a job or to start a private business. Only those who have already proven to be successful in the Netherlands seem to have a good chance in Turkey as well.

- Among the Ghanaian community in the Netherlands, the inclination to return seems even higher. According to Kraan (2001), more than fifty percent of Ghanaians in the southeast of Amsterdam would like to return to Ghana. However, as discussed by Mazzucato (2004), Ghanaians in the Netherlands are confronted with many constraints which make return very unlikely. In particular two factors are brought forward: the family situation – especially when children attend school, Ghanaians prefer staying abroad – and the lack of the financial means. The general picture that is shown is the one of a Ghanaian community still being attached to the society where they came from, but being incapable of actually returning home.

In contrast to the numbers of individuals desiring to return, the actual numbers of returnees are constantly low. A few statistics in the Netherlands are available in order to assess the size and nature of return migration from this country. According to the national statistical bureau (CBS, 2004) just one percent of all non-western migrants in the Netherlands left this country to return to the home country. Having said this, in the last two years a strong increase of migrants returning to their home countries is being witnessed. Compared to 2003, over 20 percent more migrants have returned to their country. The increase appears to be very strong for migrants of Turkish descent. Ghanaians and Surinamese in the Netherlands reveal less spectacular numbers of growth (table 2.4).

Table 2.4 Emigration of migrants from the Netherlands to their country of origin⁴

Year	Total non-western migrants	Surinamese	Turkish	Ghanaians
1995	8,882	1,098	2,093	128
1996	8,491	1,290	2,237	58
1997	8,255	1,419	1,890	55
1998	7,718	1,223	1,504	54
1999	6,961	867	1,274	53
2000	6,061	772	1,177	61
2001	7,070	776	949	76
2002	7,409	972	883	37
2003	8,908	956	1,125	49
2004	10,589	1,100	1,992	52
Population total				
2004	1,021,074	187,990	194,319	11,832

Source: Statline 2004, CBS.

The increased numbers of returnees from the three countries in the survey are not isolated cases. Among Dutch nationals and western migrants, rising numbers of migration from

⁴ Table 2.4 shows only the migrants who were registered at the Municipal Database and deregistered when they returned to their country of origin. Illegal migrants and legal migrants who did not formally deregister when leaving the Netherlands are not presented in these statistics.

the Netherlands can be noticed as well. In 2004, a total number of 75.049 people emigrated from this country. In 2003, this number was 68.885. This increase in emigration has been visible since 1999.

Return migration to Suriname: some illustrative findings

Many Surinamese migrants residing in the Netherlands express a great desire to return one day. Notably, return migration has always taken place, particularly among retired workers who like to spend their last years back home. Nowadays, quite a few Surinamese feel less at home in Dutch society, mainly because of the rising costs of living, the stressful way of life and the increasing intolerance towards migrants. The social climate in Suriname then serves as an important pull factor. They expect to live a more relaxed and comfortable life back in their country of birth. In addition, many Surinamese have the feeling that their return would have a positive contribution to the further economic development of Suriname. Students in particular try to gain practical experience through traineeships in Suriname. In many cases, they regard this as an opportunity to spend some time in Suriname and to contribute to society. Incidentally, this temporary stay was even regarded as a first step to return after completing their study in the Netherlands.

Most respondents referred to the highly educated professionals, with concrete work experience in the Netherlands, as the group with most chances in Suriname. This group often consists of Surinamese who came to the Netherlands as students, but who have not left the country after graduation. After having worked for a few years, they sometimes start reconsidering the possibility of return. Mainly single migrants or the ones with young children fit within this profile. Moreover, Suriname is in great need of higher educated professionals, since many left this country just after or even before completing their educational careers. Although, the knowledge of the Dutch language is regarded as an extra advantage, the difficulty of re-adaptation to the original society has been highlighted. The customisation to Dutch modern life can result in the Surinamese society to be considered backwards and sometimes difficult to understand.

In addition to this, many potential return migrants are forced to start their own business, as the only option to earn a decent income. Respondents refer to both successful and dramatic examples in this field. As it appears, very few entrepreneurs succeed in Suriname. There are some sources that promote starting enterprises, such as the well known organisation IntEnt, yet very few actually take advantage of them. The Netherlands Migration Institute is also quite well known among the approached immigrants, as many have visited this organisation. Other points of reference are websites, but these are usually used in the search for employment. Potential migrants also consider (informal) networking to be very important. In this respect, both family and friends are mentioned as crucial sources of help.

Return migration by gender

There is a slight difference in the number of males and females regressing to their country of origin (table 2.5). On average, men are a little bit more likely to return than their female counterparts. In regard to the Turkish and Ghanaian community this small difference may be understood by similar difference in ratio in the number of male and female migrants residing in the Netherlands. Conversely, more Surinamese women than men reside in the Netherlands. Macnack and Tims (1988) argue that especially the existence of strong social and family ties in the Netherlands constitutes an important constraint for Surinamese women to return back to their country of origin. The availability of financial means, such as social assistance, has also ensured the less likelihood of women regression.

Return migration by age⁵

Most migrants who migrate from the Netherlands are between thirty and fifty years old. However, among the Turkish migrants, there is a considerable number of younger migrants (between 20 and 30 years). Then within the Turkish and Surinamese communities, there is also evidence of a substantial number of elderly leaving The Netherlands. Among Ghanaians residing in the Netherlands, only a few of those who have reached the age of fifty are found in the statistics on emigration. The younger age categories (up to 20 years of age) constitute less than ten percent of the emigration figures for the three countries involved in this study. In conclusion, Tillaart et al. (2000) found that the age group of 45 years and older has more often a wish to return as compared to younger age cohorts. The latter study does, however, only focus on the propensity to leave. Actual return migration figures may differ from these outcomes.

Table 2.5 Return migration from the Netherlands by gender

Year	Suriname		Turkey		Ghana	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
1995	604	494	1090	1003	81	47
1996	743	547	1186	1051	102	61
1997	785	634	996	894	77	55
1998	688	535	796	708	95	66
1999	479	388	647	627	78	79
2000	427	345	583	594	93	72
2001	440	336	502	447	88	71
2002	570	402	465	418	82	49
2003	524	432	635	490	78	60
2004	593	507	1213	779	72	68

⁵ The CBS-statistics on return migration, apart from gender, do not show other background characteristics. These only give figures of the emigration of migrants from the Netherlands that are not specified by the country of destination. However, these figures can be used to obtain some statistical information on the background of migrants leaving the Netherlands, among which are returnees.

Return migration to Ghana: some illustrative findings

Most Ghanaians, no matter their age or gender, express a great wish to return to Ghana. Many came to the Netherlands to make their fortune, however, only a few manage to find a stable position. As a result, the Ghanaian community finds itself, on average, in poor economic conditions. Sometimes, they even lack a legal-residence document, which makes it even more difficult to get a regular job. Although most of the interviewed Ghanaians do not feel accepted in Dutch society, they are equally hesitant about returning to Ghana. In fact, they have not made enough money to live a decent life back home. In the meantime, they frequently send saved money to their relatives in Ghana. Sometimes investments are made in houses or plots of lands, in case they actually do return. The Ghanaian community in the Netherlands seems to be highly transnational: they are strongly organised in various non-profit (often religious) organisations with clear links in Ghana and often maintain close contacts with their loved ones left behind.

The Ghanaian labour market does not exert great attraction on migrants residing in the Netherlands, mainly due to the low salaries paid. Moreover, employees are not highly valued. A returnee working for a Ghanaian boss is generally considered as someone who is inferior. Ghanaians migrants in particular appear to be very sensitive about this. While in general, working relations in Ghana are approached with caution, well-paid jobs in large (multinational) companies are highly valued. This kind of employment is, however, beyond the reach of most Ghanaians in the Netherlands. Some claimed that they would go to Great Britain where employment possibilities are considered to be more close at hand. It appeared that quite a few Ghanaians in the Netherlands already had close contacts in Great Britain, which could be used upon arrival.

Starting a private business is then considered as the only option left. Different respondents appreciated the creativity of the Ghanaians to launch various ideas in this respect, but regretted their poor ability to put this creativity into concrete business plans. Therefore, both financial and other kinds of support are assumed to be highly needed. However, as was repeated many times by the respondents, it is extremely difficult to get a loan or other forms of support from any formal institution. As a result, the Ghanaian community largely relies on various patterns of informal support.

Return migration by length of stay

Research shows that the propensity to return is highest soon after migration; the longer the migrant stays in the country of destination, the less he or she is likely to return, except possibly at retirement. Alders and Nicolaas (2002) found that a significant part of migrants leave the Netherlands after a relatively short stay. This number of returnees strongly diminishes after certain a period of time. In total, about twenty percent of the non-western migrants who came to the Netherlands in the 1990s left the country again. For Turkish and Surinamese migrants the numbers were 17 and 22 percent respectively. Ghanaian migrants were not included in this study.

2.5 Push and pull factors: the empirical evidence

The existences of migration patterns can be understood through the concept of push and pull factors. Push factors are the reasons in the host country that impel individuals to leave the country. Pull factors are the positive conditions in the country of origin that entice the return of migration. According to this concept, migration is regarded as the result of an (individual) decision process, involving all possible reasons and conditions at both ends. Below, an overview of the main factors is given, based on King (2000):

<i>Economic:</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- employment (number of jobs, wages)- willingness to invest in country of origin
<i>Social:</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- racial hostility/difficulty in integration- homesickness- desire for enhanced status
<i>Phase of life:</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- retirement- parental ties- marriage- children's education
<i>Political:</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- government policy at sending ends- government policy at receiving ends
<i>Health:</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- climate and health conditions- quality of the health sector

This short summary very much makes clear that return migration cannot be understood without referring to non-economic factors. Some even argue that these weigh more heavily on the decision to return than economic factors (e.g. King, 2000; Toren, 1976). In this case, economic factors are conceived as an important context variable, but not important enough to really encourage (return) migration. In addition, pull factors rather than push factors seem to have great influence on the decision to return. Apart from the employment perspectives in the country of return, personal and social motives (retirement, parental ties, etc.) are often referred to in this respect. Push factors are important as well, but are generally considered as inadequate to actually generate migration. In this respect, reference is often made to the so-called 'myth of return', expressing a contrasting set of beliefs and actions whereby migrants talk and behave as if one day they will return. In reality, however, the possibilities in the countries where they came from are too limited to make successful return migration possible. The predominant influence of pull factors also clarifies why so few migrants in fact return. The conditions back home simply do not encourage many migrants to go back.

The role of push and pull factors in daily practice

The idea of return migration is very vivid among migrants in the Netherlands. All respondents, both staff members of the Netherlands Migration Institute and migrant communities in the Netherlands, emphasised the probability among many individual migrants of returning back to the country of origin. Many migrants have begun to reconsider their stay in the Netherlands due largely to a combination of economic misfortune and a growing feeling of intolerance in the Netherlands towards migrants. These arguments were found amongst both older and younger migrants; this might explain why the tendency among the Turks to return to their country is found within the first generation migrants, but also the second one.

At the same time migrants are aware of the fact that returning back to where they came from is not always possible in actual practice. On the basis of the interviews conducted, we conclude that return migration is most feasible for three categories of migrants:

- *Migrants of 45 years and older.* Although the elderly do not constitute a central focus group in this study, it is worth mentioning that many have specific notions of returning back. Particularly the low skilled and unemployed Turkish and Suriname migrants indicated a great willingness to return. Indeed, the plausibility to return is highly influenced by the legal opportunities to do so. Particular important in this respect is the *Return Migration Act* and the possibility to export pension schemes.⁶
- *Highly educated migrants.* This category in particular envisages great economic opportunities upon returning back home. The chances are for a large part linked to the assets they have acquired abroad, such as a good education and the knowledge of foreign languages. The better educated Turkish and Surinamese migrants in particular reveal a propensity to return. Among Ghanaians we did not find a similar pattern, partly because of the presumed absence of employment possibilities in Ghana. Furthermore, young Ghanaians indicated they would rather migrate to Great Britain than to return to Ghana.
- *Entrepreneurs.* More than any other category, entrepreneurs are expected to have the best chances of return, especially when financial means and necessary skills are available. In the interviews several success stories were told. Apart from a few successes, however, some respondents emphasized the great risks involved when starting a business abroad. Such risks particularly occurred when the migrants involved were badly prepared. Having said this, a private business is often seen as the only option back home, especially in the case of high unemployment and low wages.

⁶ Migrants of 45 years and older who have received unemployment benefits for more than 6 months, can return to their country of origin with a monthly allowance from the Dutch government. After their return, they have to give up their Dutch nationality and residential rights. At present migrants from Turkey, Suriname, Morocco and southern Europe can make use of the Return migration facility. Retirement benefits can be transported to those countries which have concluded specific arrangements with the Dutch government.

In the interviews several push and pull factors for return migration were mentioned as well. We will arrange them according to the distinction made by King (2000). The following factors are considered to be the most important.

Push factors:

- *Economic*: Economic factors strongly interfere with the desire to return. In particular the difficulties to get a well-paid job in the Netherlands and currently the rising costs of living are frequently mentioned as important economic push factors. More specifically, many Ghanaians complained about the increasing competition from Polish workers, mainly with regard to unskilled jobs.
- *Socio-political*: A great number of respondents considered the changing socio-political climate in the Netherlands as a crucial push factor. Many approached migrants feel increasingly unwanted in the Netherlands. Some even expressed the feeling that they will never be accepted; no matter how hard they try to integrate. As was generally confirmed, the social climate in the Netherlands has deteriorated since the wave of terrorist actions in the last three years. This argument was also brought forward by several second generation Turks.
- The *Family/life cycle* argument is related to several factors, one being age. The inclination to return appeared to be high, especially among the elderly who want to spend the last years of their lives in their country of birth. Another factor constitutes the Dutch school system. Ghanaians in particular claimed that their children do not have a fair chance in the Dutch educational system, due to linguistic problems and prejudices. As a result, some Ghanaians are considering migrating to countries where their children are expected to have better opportunities. Conversely, the Dutch school system was highly appreciated by many Surinamese migrants (thereby serving as an important pull factor to remain in the Netherlands until the children have grown up).

In addition, the respondents mentioned several pull factors as well:

- *Economic*: Positive changes with regard to the economic situation in the countries of origin constitute an important factor in favour of return migration. Particularly, among migrants of Turkish descent the desire to return back to Turkey was directly related to the increased possibilities in the national labour market. Also, a few Surinamese migrants mentioned the favourable economic situation as a significant pull factor. Conversely, Ghanaian migrants did not refer to the national economy as a favourable pull factor.
- *Socio-political*: The recent socio-political situation in the three countries of origin was generally considered as having a stimulating influence on return migration. Especially Turkish respondents often referred to various recent changes in Turkey resulting in a

more modern and open society. But also migrants from Suriname and Ghana expected to easily integrate upon return, certainly more easily than in the Dutch society.

- *Family/life cycle*: The presence of relatives or parents who need care in the country of origin constitutes a strong pull factor. This argument was mentioned by migrants of all three nationalities, no matter their education or age. Marrying someone who is employed in the country of origin was also mentioned as a factor exerting some attraction on returning back. This argument was, however, only brought forward by a few better educated migrants.

The push and pull factors named in the interviews mirror those found in migration literature. The ideas that pull factors are more important than push factors and that non-economic factors are more important than economic factors, found in this literature, was only partially confirmed by the respondents. After all, many respondents emphasized the social climate in the Netherlands, which had a very positive effect on their willingness to return back. The economic situation at home proved to be of crucial importance when the option of returning was considered. Moreover, the relatively high numbers of Turkish migrants moving back to Turkey cannot be isolated from the fortunate economic figures in this country. On the other hand, family related conditions, ranging from the age of the children to the need to support family members or friends, were identified as decisive factors as well.

The role of constraints in actual practice

Only a small part of potential migrants actually return to the country of origin or to put it differently, many factors have a negative influence on the decision to return. In daily life, return migration is often postponed, so often so, that it becomes part of the ‘myth of return’. Below a number of frequently mentioned constraints are discussed in brief.

- Many involved in the decision making process

Return migration is not a decision that is easily made by an individual alone. Other family members, in particular spouses but also children of a certain age, are involved in this decision making process as well. From the interviews it became clear that there is often much diversity of opinion with regard to the preference to return. Generally, this impasse leads to postponement and frequently to cancellation. In addition, those people depending on remittance flows in the countries of origin may also have a negative influence on the decision to return.

- The age of children

Many Turkish respondents stated that return migration should take place before the children are twelve years old or over eighteen. Surinamese respondents argued that the best moment to return is before starting a family. In addition, a few of them pointed to the limited possibilities for a higher level of academic education in Suriname. This restriction often results in the postponement of return until the education in the Netherlands has been completed. Ghanaians have different considerations towards the latter argument. A few of them have little confidence in the Dutch school system and prefer sending their children to Ghana or England for a university education instead.

- Economic aspects

If migrants fail to generate a sufficient income from a job or to generate enough money to invest in their own business, return migration is not considered a plausible option. In all countries under study wages are comparatively much less than the Dutch levels. Many Surinamese migrants regarded the low salaries as an important constraint to actually returning. In addition, Ghanaians claimed the need to have a certain amount of savings to be able to return.⁷ This need cannot be isolated from the financial obligations which many Ghanaians have towards their relatives. Since most Ghanaian migrants in the Netherlands live in poor economic conditions, they often delay their decision to return. Turkish migrants are more optimistic in economic terms, but still foresee high costs upon return due to their preference to send their children to expensive private schools.

- Health care

In the three countries under study, public health care is often not well organised and of poor quality. Private health care in these countries usually serves as an alternative option, but is generally very expensive. For this reason, migrants with health problems are frequently reluctant to return back to their home countries. They prefer receiving high quality and more affordable health care in the Netherlands. Furthermore, the financial risks abroad, in case of employment disability, were sometimes referred to as an important constraint.

- Residential rights/citizenship

Residential rights and citizenship can be constraints in several ways. People without a Dutch passport but with an indefinite residence permit, will lose this permit upon return to their country of origin. Before returning home, these migrants generally wait until they have obtained Dutch citizenship. In addition, the procedure to regain residential rights in

⁷ The same result is found for Nigerians in Belgium. In a study on conditions with regard to return migration (OCIV, 2001) Nigerian respondents almost all stated that they wanted a job which offered them the same standard of living as in Belgium.

the country of origin after having applied for Dutch citizenship may incidentally postpone the decision to migrate back. This is especially the case for Ghanaians, who came to the Netherlands recently and, as a result, are confronted with stricter rules in this respect. Last but not least, those residing illegally in the Netherlands are certainly aware of the fact that they may never be able to enter the Netherlands again after leaving this country.

- **Integrating back home**

Some of the approached migrants fear not to be accepted anymore in the country of origin. They are aware of the fact that their societies have changed significantly. Although many approached migrants feel less at home in the Netherlands, they are doubtful about their social integration back home. These migrants would rather prefer being a stranger among the Dutch, than not to be accepted in their country of birth. Some Turkish and Ghanaian respondents brought this argument forward.

2.6 Need for support, information and mediation

As shown in the previous paragraph, potential return migrants are generally confronted with several constraints. Some of these constraints can hardly be overcome. In other cases assistance from the government or other institutions may help to reduce these constraints. Below, a short explanation of the most relevant formal and informal patterns of assistance and an overview of the most needed services are provided.

Information demand

- Relatives and friends in both the host country and the country of origin appeared to be crucial sources of information for all approached migrants, no matter their ethnicity. Through these informal networks, potential return migrants obtain information on housing possibilities, job opportunities, etc. Ghanaians claimed to entirely rely on these non-formalised resources of information exchange and support. In addition, reference was often made to different private initiatives, especially those offered by religious organisations. Turkish and Surinamese also emphasized the importance of family and friends, but were better acquainted with a few formal institutions.
- The existing infrastructure in the Netherlands was easily identified by most Turkish and Surinamese migrants. Many mentioned the services provided by the Netherlands Migration Institute and a few were also aware of the activities of IntEnt. Only a few of the approached migrants had made use of the services provided by these institutions. Younger migrants were also likely to obtain information from the embassy. Conversely, Ghanaians were hardly acquainted with one of the institutions which were mentioned before.

- The Internet also proved to be an important medium for collecting information about the economic situation and employment opportunities in the countries of origin. As will be discussed later in this study, there are many different websites which provide economic and other types of information, both offered by public and private institutions. The interviewed Turks and Surinamese mentioned the value of the Internet, while the Ghanaians hardly mentioned this source.
- Surprisingly enough, the possible role of job mediation and placement is mentioned by only a very few respondents. Most migrants seem to be acquainted with such activities in their countries of origin to only a minor extent, which cannot be isolated from the fact that public job centres are only partly effective. Sometimes private job-finding is more helpful, but this activity is hardly known by the targeted migrant communities.

Need for information and other services

In the interviews the respondents mainly expressed the need for financial support. Other (non financial) forms of support proved to be less easy to identify. Having said this, the group sessions with individual migrants yielded many more aspects of needed services and information. Below a description of the main issues is given:

- The need for an independent and disinterested organisation to assist the migrant in making balanced choices with respect to possible return. Particularly, detailed legal and economic information is conceived of as very useful before a decision is taken.
- Information on residential rights in the country of origin and information on the legal consequences of leaving the Netherlands. Most respondents did not know the ins and outs concerning losing or gaining residential rights in either the country of origin or the Netherlands.
- Legal information concerning the possibilities to start a business and buying land or property in the home country. Also information on economic development programs in the region where one is planning to settle is considered very relevant.
- Financial facilities in the Netherlands, including loans or subsidies to start a business. Particularly those who are interested in becoming an entrepreneur after returning, indicated the importance of financial aid to realise their plan.
- Assistance in writing a business plan. Especially some of the Ghanaians complained that their business plans were never formally supported because they were not formatted appropriately to be in line with the demands of Dutch financiers (in case: IntEnt).
- A training programme for people who want to return, focusing on cultural differences with regard to issues relating to work. Especially a few Surinamese migrants argued that such programs should enable them to be better prepared before leaving the Netherlands.

- Information on exchange programmes and cooperation with foreign universities in order to discover the possibilities to attain academic education in the home country. Some Turkish migrants are of the opinion that this kind of information is very important.
- Registration of vacancies and more general information on the labour market in the country of origin. This service is considered to be necessary in order to find out which sectors offer the best possibilities for employment.
- Job placement initiatives, which enable spouses to get a job. Some Surinamese and Turkish migrants with plans to start their own business back home expressed the importance of an extra source of income during the initial period upon return.

2.7 Returnees regretting the return to their home country

Migrants who return to their country of origin may bitterly regret their decision to return and may come back again to the Netherlands. Statistics on this group are not available, apart from those who had made use of the ‘Return migration facility’. Among the latter group, only a small percentage returns, most often as a result of family related reasons. The reason most mentioned was that the children were not able to adjust to the new country. Furthermore, health problems of both returnees and relatives in the Netherlands sometimes played a role. In addition, the choice to return was regretted because it proved to be too difficult to start a successful business. Last but not least, it sometimes proved to be difficult to socially integrate themselves due to aspects of rivalry and distrust between returnees and the local population. Also, misconceptions about the way of life in the country of origin were mentioned a few times as influential factors to return to the Netherlands again. When migrants resettle in their country of birth, they may be confronted with new stress factors, such as poor infrastructure, bureaucracy and a different business culture. As mentioned before, no detailed information on people who migrated to the Netherlands twice are available. Nonetheless, almost all of the approached respondents knew one or more individuals who returned to the Netherlands.

2.8 Conclusions

In this chapter we have tried to observe three migrant communities in the Netherlands in regards to the likelihood of their return to their countries of origin. This exercise has not been easy as different tendencies and actual patterns were noted. Generally spoken, most of the approached migrants are increasingly willing to return back home. This propensity largely arises from three factors: (1) the social climate in the Netherlands, which is

assumed to have deteriorated; (2) economic reasons, both including the possibilities in the Dutch labour market and those back home and; (3) factors relating to personal circumstances, including retirement, schooling and parental ties. The push and pull factors named in the interviews were very similar to the factors found in migration literature. The idea, that pull factors are more important than push factors, was, however, only partially confirmed in the interviews. After all, many respondents referred to the unpleasant social climate and unfavourable economic climate in the Netherlands as prominent reasons for returning or even to further migration to other countries.

On the basis of actual figures, three categories can be observed which make up for a large part the return migration pattern. The first, are the migrants of 45 years and older. Particularly the low skilled and unemployed Turkish and Suriname migrants return at a certain age, often encouraged by the possibilities of the *Return migration facilities* and the possibility to export pension schemes. The second are the highly educated migrants. The opportunities that are envisaged are to a large part linked to the assets they have acquired abroad. Finally, entrepreneurs, compose the third category, as they are expected to have the best chances of success upon return, especially when the financial means and necessary skills are available. All three countries investigated revealed patterns of returning entrepreneurs, partly concentrated in a few dynamic sectors. However, when financial means are not available, these entrepreneurs often resort to a more local and informally organised economy.

Those who have returned or those who have a clear idea about returning soon, largely rely on informal patterns of support. Rather than making use of the services offered by various official private and public institutions, migrants seem to resort to less formalised systems of support, including the help of acquaintances. One reason for this is the absence of an effective infrastructure in the fields of information provision and job-finding. The strict admission-requirements imposed by various private and public initiatives to support entrepreneurs abroad are another reason. Most migrants in the Netherlands are simply not experienced or qualified enough to successfully apply for these provisions. Only the Netherlands Migration Institute and to a much lesser extent a few other organisations (including IntEnt and the embassies) are approached for specific questions, and this occurs rarely if ever.

Potential returnees express several needs for support, both of a material and non-material kind. Material support mainly consists of the possibility to purchase a loan or a subsidy to start a business. Non-material support concerns information on different aspects of return migration: juridical information, information about residential rights, information on development programs and information on exchange programs. Also specific training,

especially with regard to writing a business plan, is frequently brought forward as very useful. It appears that potential migrants are barely informed about the possible provisions in these fields.

3 SURINAME

3.1 General information on immigration patterns

As described in chapter 2, many Surinamese immigrate to the Netherlands each year. However, the reverse also happens: there are many Dutch Surinamese who return to their country of origin or that of their parents. Although, migration to the Netherlands is declining and return migration is increasing in both absolute and relative terms, the former still exceeds in numbers the latter.¹

It is important to note, for the purposes of our survey, that a large proportion of the annual group of those returning to Suriname draw social security benefits and are thus able to provide for themselves from the outset. However, for a smaller proportion of returnees, return migration allowance or some other form of benefits, is not eligible. For them, it is essential to either find employment or succeed in starting their own business. This group is the target group of our study. In this chapter we will examine where the opportunities for this returnees lie in the local labour market and to what extent local job placement services can help them to find work.

3.2 Commitment of Surinamese government to return migration

What becomes obvious from our survey is that the Surinamese authorities are not really committed to promoting return migration. The economic potential of attracting well-trained staff or entrepreneurs from the Netherlands does not seem to be really recognised by the authorities, and hence would explain why they lack a specific emigration policy. Their position appears to be that anyone who wishes to return must undertake the responsibilities and appropriate measures individually. However, the authorities in their capacity as an employer of specialists from abroad can act as an intermediary in enabling such people to acquire a work and residence permit. As will be seen later in this chapter, this is also true of all major employers in Suriname who wish to attract foreign specialists.

¹ In 2004 2,339 Surinamese came to the Netherlands and 1,059 people returned to their country of origin. The corresponding figures in 2000 were 3,601 and 793 respectively.

3.3 Labour market prospects of return migrants

For a proper understanding of this section of the report on the labour market prospects of return migrants, it is important to reiterate the point made about the target group in chapter 2 above. Although it cannot be demonstrated statistically, this chapter shows that those Surinamese who certainly wish to return and find paid employment are generally well educated and have a number of years of work experience. It is also noteworthy that they often have either no children or only very young ones. Those who are less certain about whether or not they will return tend to be less educated and are more likely to be adventure seekers who have not ruled out the possibility of returning to Suriname.

Following this description of the target group the labour market prospects of return migrants is examined in more detail throughout the remainder of this section. A factor that has a positive effect on the opportunities for returnees is, first of all, the development of the Surinamese economy, which has a projected growth of 4.1 percent for 2005². It is important to note that this concerns the growth of the formal economy. The informal economy, which consists primarily of illegal mining and logging operations as well as unregistered business activities, is almost as large as or perhaps even larger than the formal economy. To us it would not seem desirable for returnees to focus on the informal part of the economy.

Within the formal economy the service sector is the largest in absolute terms (67% of GDP)³, but the industrial sector is growing the fastest. In 2002, the government sector employed the most people (35,310 employees⁴ or 42% of the labour force in paid employment), in addition, some 15 percent of the labour force work for state corporations. Other large sectors are (1) trading, (2) tourism, (3) agriculture, livestock farming and fishing. In 2002, the majority of migrants (including returnees) found work in the commerce, restaurant and hotel sector.⁵ 30 percent of the total number of migrants ended up in this sector. A striking fact from the same set of statistics of the Surinamese Ministry of Labour is that the largest group of Dutch migrants (the returnees) find work in the social services sector. According to the figures available to us, strikingly few returnees work in the government sector. One explanation could be that the government imposes nationality requirements on those who work for them. This is not in fact regulated by law, but is a usage that has crept in.

² Source: IMF Article IV 2003 report.

³ Source: The World Bank. 'Suriname at a glance, 2003'.

⁴ Suriname has a population of around 487,000, but more than half are children or young people (15 or younger). Owing to the large number of young people in Suriname the country has a relatively small labour force, namely around 111,161. Approximately 103,881 of these people are in paid employment or are self-employed.

⁵ Source: Department of Labour, Technological Development and Environment, November 2004.

Furthermore, jobs in government are for the most part given to those who have (political) contacts (see also section 3.4).

As far as trade and industry are concerned, our respondents estimate that there are some 9,800 businesses active in the Surinamese economy.⁶ The main categories are shopkeepers (27.2%), importers (11.3%) and proprietors of restaurants, pubs and cafes (10.9%).⁷ In each of these categories the enterprises concerned are mainly one-man businesses. It is precisely these businesses that provide no prospects of work for return migrants as they employ no staff. This is in keeping with the picture that is found, for example, in the industrial sector where the employers are primarily small and medium-sized enterprises. In addition to many small businesses, Suriname also has a number of large employers. These are mainly multinationals such as Suralco and RBTT; however, there are some large companies that are only active in Suriname, such as Staatsolie and Telesur.

When it comes to recruiting staff Surinamese businesses have most trouble in finding skilled employees (mainly due to the poor quality of vocational education) and management at all levels. A solution to the problem of finding skilled employees could be to improve vocational training, since this would enhance the prospects of, above all, young people entering the labour market. What poses a more difficult problem is recruiting management staff in the short term. This creates an opportunity for returnees. A major obstacle in recruiting foreigners is that the businesses, particularly small and medium-sized enterprises, are not able to offer salaries for which management staff would be willing to work in Suriname. The large companies succeed in finding staff, or in any event do better than their smaller counterparts, because they are able to pay higher salaries and can also offer more by way of fringe benefits (for example, free annual air tickets to the country of origin and so forth). For companies such as Staatsolie and RBTT it is sometimes even necessary to offer remuneration in keeping with international standards for some positions, such as operational managers and financial analysts, since the labour market for jobs of this kind is an international one. The Surinamese Embassy in the Netherlands has also indicated that in some government sectors, for example the health care sector, are also looking abroad to fill specialist jobs. Specialists are thus recruited in the Netherlands and in one case one specialist was even recently recruited in the former Soviet Union. The overall conclusion then, is there is a need for specialist staff throughout the economy, but that there is only a slim chance of obtaining a match between a business with such a vacancy and a returnee owing to the discrepancy

⁶ As the trade register in Suriname is not entirely reliable, we have used an estimate of the number of active businesses. According to our respondents, the number of registered businesses far exceeds the number of businesses that are actually trading.

⁷ Source: 2001 Annual Report, Chamber of Commerce.

between pay levels and pay demands. Only where vacancies occur in large companies, success is possible.

Due to the limited chances of finding even reasonably well-paid jobs a good many Surinamese Dutch people investigate the possibility of starting a business on their return. Their search is thus born out of necessity, as they see no way of finding paid employment. This is confirmed by the experience of IntEnt, the organisation that is co-subsidised by the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs and helps returnees to start up a business. The majority of the 1,000-odd returnees who apply to IntEnt each year are rejected for lack of entrepreneurial skills. They are not in fact entrepreneurs but people suitable for paid employment. This is a point made by all the parties to whom we have talked to in the Netherlands and Suriname about starting a business. It is essential for returnees to be informed about the fact that entrepreneurial skills are required in order to set up a successful business.

Imitation is another factor that influences the chances of starting a business successfully in Suriname, regardless of whether or not one is an entrepreneur. Once a successful new type of business has been started, many Surinamese tend to follow suit. A well known example is the temporary employment agency Flexible. Seven years ago a return migrant started this agency and thus opened up a new market with great success. Subsequently 46 other temporary employment agencies were started and the market quickly became saturated. A few of these agencies operate mainly as contractors, hiring out staff to businesses on a project basis. Staatsolie, for example, works almost exclusively with contractors. Return migrants would therefore be well advised to look at truly new types of businesses, i.e., they should identify gaps in the market. The respondents who are engaged in supporting business initiatives indicated that there are opportunities in the field of import substitution. Potential return migrants should therefore check what is being imported for want of a suitable Surinamese alternative. These experts also pointed to the fact that the limitations of the Surinamese home market are now partly nullified by the existence of a Caricom (Caribbean Community) treaty. In theory, this has created a larger Caribbean home market, although the logistics of transportation of goods and hence materials, still pose as a large problem. Finally, experts highlight the fact that there are often more opportunities outside Paramaribo. The majority of Surinamese, including return migrants, start a business in the Paramaribo region, where they tend to encounter saturated markets and hence stiff competition. This is much less the case in the other districts of Suriname. Realistically, however, it has to be asked whether Dutch Surinamese would be prepared to move to areas with a lower level of facilities and infrastructure than in Paramaribo. For many the step from the Netherlands to Paramaribo is too large, let alone to the districts of Suriname.

In sum

The conclusion that can be drawn from this section is that there are limited opportunities for those Surinamese wishing to return to find well-paid employment or to start a business.

3.4 Legal framework

In the previous section we examined the opportunities for return migrants to find a job or start a business in Suriname. If returnees are to be able to take advantage of such opportunities, this must also be legally possible. In our survey we have therefore also examined the legal possibilities and constraints.

The following legislations and regulations are relevant to those wishing to work in Suriname: the Entry Act, the Decree relating to the Residence of Aliens in Suriname, and the Aliens Work Permit Act. The rules state that immigrants who wish to work in Suriname must have a work permit and a residence permit. The work permit must be arranged before an application is made for a residence permit. This is because a residence permit is granted only if it is certain that the immigrant can support himself or herself. Return migrants are a specific type of immigrant, namely an immigrant of Surinamese origin. They are not required to obtain a work permit since immigrants of Surinamese origin, who were born in Suriname, are exempted from this obligation. This also applies to Dutch nationals who are married to a person of Surinamese nationality. However, return migrants are not exempted from the obligation to obtain a residence permit. It follows from the above that returnees who will be taking up paid employment need only apply for a residence permit. It is often the employer who arranges this for a returnee once a contract of employment has been signed. Even then, obtaining a residence permit is not particularly straightforward since, according to the applicable criteria, return migrants must have arranged housing. However, it is not easy to arrange this in Suriname, particularly since the accommodation must be affordable.

The Commercial Code is the main legislation governing business activities. This also regulates the forms of businesses that are legal and what rights and duties each form of business entails. The 1981 State Decree No. 145 is important in relation to starting a business. This specifies the types of businesses for which a licence is and is not required. For example, a consultancy does not require a licence whereas a hairdresser does. The annex contains a comprehensive list of which businesses do and do not require a licence. Return migrants who need a licence must apply for it through the Ministry of Trade and Industry. Experience shows that this is a laborious and time-consuming process. Consequently, return migrants who leave for Suriname with a business plan are often subjected to long waiting periods during which no money is coming in. Cases regularly occur in which returnees have

lost all their capital before they are able to start a business and for this reason return to the Netherlands.

It is important for entrepreneurs to know that the Surinamese government piloted the Investment Act through the National Assembly in 2001 in order to improve the investment climate. This legislation was intended to simplify the procedures for businesses relating to tax and non-tax business facilities.⁸ In practice, however, the Act has not been fully implemented, and as a result, the simplification has not really materialised. Finally, it is important to note that some foreign exchange controls are still in force, resulting in those entrepreneurs wishing to avoid the negative effects of the high rate of inflation in Suriname may find it less easy to transfer money out of the country to, for instance, Dutch banks. It should, however, be noted in this connection that a so-called investment protection agreement that does simplify the transfer of profits has been signed between the Netherlands and Suriname.

Finally, it is important to note that people without the Surinamese nationality can still not own property in Suriname. There are three real rights to property and the nationality requirement applies to two of them; tenancy and long lease. This also applies to Dutch Surinamese who were obliged to exchange their Surinamese nationality for the Dutch nationality when they immigrated to the Netherlands. The impossibility of taking a tenancy or long lease of property limits the scope for return migrants to find accommodation.

The third real right to property, namely ownership, is available to everyone who is a legal resident in Suriname. This is also the reason why return migrants do have access to the so-called 7 percent scheme. Under this scheme the Surinamese government offers its citizens the possibility of obtaining a mortgage at 7 percent interest, which is currently a very low rate. Normally, the rates of interest for mortgages or business credits are between 15 and 20 percent. This is because of the tightness of the money market (cash reserve scheme) and, formerly, the high rate of inflation.

⁸ Tax facilities involve for the greater part measures to reduce the tax burden, for example by giving businesses more tax holidays and thus increasing the expected return on investments. Non-tax facilities are measures to promote the free movement of capital and to remove limitations in the area of exchange control.

3.5 Infrastructure of job placement services and start-up support

For the purpose of our study we have examined what infrastructure Suriname has in the field of job placement services and support for businesses that are starting up. We have studied to what extent such services and support, are of use to returnees (and potential returnees). In some cases we have also checked whether an organisation might be willing to expand its own services in order to assist return migrants. We have done this only in those cases in which we ourselves saw opportunities for the organisation concerned to do this.

The first matter to be examined in relation to job placement services is how different employers recruit new staff. Generally, employers fill vacancies through the informal network. Job seekers are referred to an employer with a vacancy. Larger companies, particularly the multinationals, do not generally recruit informally since they are often bound by internal codes of conduct. Moreover, it is these companies that try to recruit new staff by advertising vacancies in local newspapers. Although small and medium-sized businesses also place job advertisements, they generally do so in order to recruit staff for management positions that cannot be filled through the informal network. Staff for more specialist jobs are also recruited through international recruitment agencies or recruitment websites. Often these websites are intended for specific sectors or professions, for example sites for highly skilled technical staff for the mining industry. We were informed that Staatsolie also sometimes seeks personnel on the Dutch site www.werkeninsuriname.nl. In the government sector too, it is noteworthy that job vacancies are largely filled through the informal network. An extra dimension in this case is that when new staff is appointed it must have the desired political affiliation. This is naturally dependent on the identity of the governing parties, which can change after an election. Finally it is important to note that, just as in the Netherlands, employers are never obliged to report job vacancies to an organisation.

In light of the above and particularly the manner in which employers recruit we must conclude that most opportunities for return migrants will be with larger companies. Most returnees (or potential returnees) have no network in Suriname and are therefore not considered for job vacancies. Another conclusion is that formal job placement arrangements will never be able to play a major role. The majority of employers recruit informally, and therefore job seekers need not register and in most cases do not do so either. Provided you have your own network you generally find work. As Suriname does not have social security benefits for the unemployed, registration is not linked to entitlement.

In practice, it is mainly the much lower skilled and to some extent those with little chance of finding work who register with the **Job Placement Agency** (*Dienst der Arbeidsbemiddeling*). As part of the Ministry of Social Affairs this agency is responsible for assisting job

seekers, particularly unskilled and lowly skilled job seekers, to find work and for matching them with job vacancies. The lack of vacancies has been the main reason why there have been so few placements in recent years. Although 210 out of 248 registered job seekers were placed in 1999, only 303 out of 1,565 were placed in 2003. The agency is now approaching employers more actively in order to find vacancies and to increase the number of placements. This more proactive approach has also resulted in an increase in the number of better educated job seekers registering with the agency. The agency is viewed more often as a possible channel for contacting an employer. The agency is also engaged in computerising the system for registering job seekers and job vacancies. Return migrants or potential return migrants are also allowed to register.

Job seekers can also register with the job vacancy database (a kind of Excel file) of the Surinamese employers' organisation - the **Suriname Employers' Association (VSB)**. Job seekers can register free of charge, although they must submit to a selection interview in order to secure final registration. Those who register and are permitted to register are mainly the better educated who have job experience. Each month VSB draws up a list of registered job seekers and then sends it to all 180 affiliated employers (large and medium-sized enterprises).⁹ The idea is that employers should check the list to ascertain whether it contains potentially suitable candidates for existing job vacancies. If this is the case, the employer can buy a detailed CV from VSB, including the particulars for contacting the job seeker. If this ultimately results in a match, an extra fee must be paid. According to our respondent some 20 employers contact the VSB each month for further particulars. Unfortunately, this does not mean that many matches are achieved: in the period between 2000 and 2004 only 5-7 people found work through the list. It became clear during the interview with VSB that it was receptive to the idea of enabling more well-educated potential returnees to register with it. This would have to be arranged from the Netherlands. It should also be noted that in the past, VSB took a more active approach to recruiting personnel in the Netherlands for the affiliated employers. For example, the VSB used to be represented at career days for students in the Netherlands. This is no longer the case since the efforts produced insufficient result. The demands of the students (pay and fringe benefits) were too high for jobs in Suriname.

Finally, job seekers can also register with the many **temporary employment agencies** that exist in Suriname. Temporary employment is a popular arrangement with the employers in Suriname since it enables them to circumvent the restrictive laws on dismissal. The rather longer established agencies in particular seem to have good market potential. They achieve a fair number of matches each year, certainly in comparison with the Job Placement Agency and the VSB. We talked to two employment agencies in Suriname and the largest (Flexible) was very enthusiastic about the idea of encouraging more return migrants to register with

⁹ See list of examples in the annexes.

them. The owner is already promoting this herself by approaching the Surinamese target group through the local media whenever she visits the Netherlands. A reasonable number of prospective returnees have already registered with the agency. An important factor is that Flexible will shortly be opening a website on which job seekers can see the vacancies and register with the agency.

Another trend in Suriname involves the use of traineeships. More and more businesses in Suriname are resorting to using Dutch trainees in order to acquire up-to-date know-how as cheaply as possible. In view of market demand, there are already a number of initiatives to support employers and trainees. For example, the employment agency Flexible has opened a separate **traineeship agency** known as Wereldstage. In Suriname there is also the **Labour Mobilisation and Development Foundation (SAO)**, which uses traineeships to achieve its objectives. SAO provides vocational training for school drop-outs and arranges for a period of practical training to be part of the learning pathway. Whereas SAO has indicated that it is not willing to open its traineeships for return migrants, Wereldstage would in principle be willing to do so. Traineeships would be a non-risk way of enabling return migrants and employers to become acquainted with each other. However, a problem is that the pay received by trainees is even lower than the average wage in Suriname. Nonetheless, Wereldstage does assist its trainees by providing accommodation. This is a fringe benefit that could also be made available to return migrants.

This concludes our description of the infrastructure in the field of traineeships. There are also various facilities in Suriname for business start-ups. These are provided by the Productive Work Units Foundation (SPWE), the Chamber of Commerce and Industry, the Women's Business Group and IntEnt. Taking the last first, **IntEnt** is an initiative financed from the Netherlands which is intended to help those wishing to return to their country of origin by starting up a business there. This initiative therefore focuses entirely on the target group of our survey. Suriname is one of the target countries of IntEnt. In Suriname IntEnt consists of a chain of business consultants who assist entrepreneurs before and after the start of their business, although only a limited number of hours are available for this. Before potential returnees contact IntEnt in Suriname they have already been through a complete process in the Netherlands. For example, their entrepreneurial skills are tested and a first version of a business plan must be produced and approved. The aim of the activities in the Netherlands is to ensure that only those who are serious about starting a business can go to Suriname to take more detailed bearings. Once they are in Suriname they are helped with market research, preparing a detailed business plan and finding a local bank to finance the plan. IntEnt does not itself finance business start-ups, but it can act as a surety if local banks are willing to provide finance.

As mentioned above, the **SPWE** assists business starters, including returnees. As part of the Ministry of Labour the SPWE focuses above all on providing practically-oriented courses for ‘micro entrepreneurs’¹⁰, which includes in almost all cases business starters, in order to achieve an improvement in quality. For example, it provides courses in bookkeeping and cost price calculation. In recent years it has trained 700 people on average a year. It became apparent during our interview with SPWE that they were aware of the difficulties faced by return migrants after arriving in Suriname: besides the many problems of becoming accustomed to life in Suriname it is also necessary to make all kinds of arrangements in connection with the business. We therefore inquired whether SPWE saw a market for offering specific training courses exclusively for return migrants wishing to set up businesses. Such courses should enable the participants to learn how things are arranged in Suriname and also to learn from one another. Although SPWE sees the value of such courses, it does not consider that it would be a suitable organisation for arranging these, even, for example, if funding were to be provided from the Netherlands.

The **Women’s Business Group** is a small player and focuses specifically on encouraging women to start their own business. In view of this specific aim we have not included this initiative in our survey. The last player is the Surinamese **Chamber of Commerce and Industry**. Just as in many other countries, the Chamber devotes much of its time to maintaining a register of businesses. As noted previously, its work mainly involves registration and few checks are made to see whether registered businesses are still trading. In addition to the registration of businesses, the Chamber carries out many activities designed to promote entrepreneurship in Suriname. To provide better assistance for those involved in business start-ups the Surinamese Chamber of Commerce has started a ‘**one-stop window**’. This is a separate area in the offices of the Chamber of Commerce where people with a business plan can find out, without an appointment, whether they need a licence to start the business and, if so, how this can be obtained most efficiently. This is a real benefit since it is not easy for them to find out this information quickly on their own. At the one-stop window, starters can also ask questions about the different legal status forms, their businesses can have. The one-stop window is the precursor of the ‘**business support unit**’, which the Chamber wishes to open. The purpose of the unit will be to provide starters with information on setting up a business. It will also act primarily as a referral service, passing the starters on to other authorities which can help them. The Chamber was not able to explain to us during our visit what exact form this business support unit would take, as the idea was still in the developmental stage. As the text shows, none of the existing and planned activities of the Chamber are specifically intended for return migrants wishing to set up a business, but this group of entrepreneurs can naturally make use of the facilities offered.

¹⁰ This term is defined by the SPWE as a business having a maximum of four employees.

We will end this description of the facilities for business starters by describing a facility which SAO wishes to offer to return migrants. This is the provision of skilled staff. The basic assumption is that it is difficult for returnees themselves to find suitable staff when they return to Suriname. As a vocational training establishment, SAO is involved on a daily basis with young people who could possibly work for return migrants.

This concludes our description of the existing and planned infrastructure for people wishing to start businesses. However, it is also important to indicate what facilities are missing. In a great many of our discussions on entrepreneurship, our attention was drawn to the fact that there are no adequate provisions in Suriname for market information. It is precisely when starting a business that it is important to ascertain in advance how large the potential market is and who the competitors are. However, this information does not exist and there is no official agency that considers it their responsibility to provide it. Return migrants, including those helped by IntEnt, encounter this problem when ascertaining the possibilities for setting up their businesses.

What is also generally missing is a forum where return migrants can meet each other. By getting to know one another and learning from one another's experiences they can avoid the repetition of common mistakes when integrating into Surinamese society. However, we understand from the Surinamese media that B-Surined - an association which represents the interests of Surinamese Dutch people - has very recently been established for this purpose. During our visit to Suriname we did not succeed in contacting this new association. Nor did any return migrants in Suriname know of its existence, but they did indicate that there was a need for such an association.

As of 21 April 2005 there has been a specific facility in Paramaribo for return migrants from the Netherlands who are entitled to Dutch social security benefits when they arrive in Suriname. The facility, which is known as the **Service Buro Suriname**, is an initiative of the Dutch FNV trade union federation and the '30 June Committee'. Basically, the Service Buro Suriname has a small office in Paramaribo which is open on weekdays to answer the questions of return migrants about Dutch social security benefits. The expert consultants of the FNV, who staff the office, try to answer these questions as quickly as possible. Since the office opened, they have been contacted by many return migrants. Clearly, there is a real need for advice among this category of return migrants. This has been prompted by the fact that the Dutch government is taking many measures in the field of social security and is also engaged in introducing legislation to create more obligations for those receiving benefits abroad. It is obviously creating more uncertainty among the groups far from the Netherlands who are dependent on the Dutch social security system. It should be noted that the Service

Buro Suriname does not yet play a role in supporting return migrants who have left the Netherlands and who do not receive benefits.

In sum

It is evident from the above description of the Surinamese infrastructure in the field of job placement services and business start-up support that there is only one specific facility for return migrants; IntEnt. The other facilities are intended for a wider target group, but are also open to return migrants. This conclusion is in keeping with the finding in section 3.2 that there is a lack of commitment on the part of the Surinamese authorities to promote return migration.

3.6 Experiences of return migrants

During our working visit to Suriname we discussed the problems encountered on their return with a number of return migrants. We also enquired about all these matters in our discussions with the Surinamese authorities. This produced a wealth of information from which we have selected a number of basic points for this section.

Before we discuss the experiences of Surinamese return migrants, we would like to sketch a more general image of Surinamese return migrants. A great number of returnees moved to the Netherlands together with their parents. In the Netherlands, they completed their higher education, and after this, they often had a successful career. At the age of about thirty, some of them chose to return to Suriname. In general terms, these return migrants can be characterised as energetic and pro-active. They often have a strong hands-on mentality as well. When interviewed, these returnees claimed that this behaviour does not always well fit into the Surinamese way of living, which can be characterised as rather passive and less energetic. Sometimes this contradiction causes some frustration among return migrants. They cannot realize their plans as quick as they had expected and they often feel opposed by the local community.

Their success in Suriname does, however, not mean that these return migrants are not in need of specific support. Below, we will discuss the problems they encounter, and the way these could be resolved.

The most commonly mentioned problem is the level of wages in Suriname. People wishing to go and work in Suriname must be willing to accept a much lower wage than they receive in the Netherlands. As noted previously, large Surinamese employers can go a relatively long way to closing this gap, but the pay will still be lower. According to our respondents among

the employers, too many return migrants still focused on the absolute difference in pay whereas they should really be looking at the relative differences in pay. With the exception of housing, Suriname is a cheap country to live in. In addition, return migrants themselves indicate that although they may have sacrificed some prosperity, this is offset by a better standard of living (climate and way of living). Owing to the low pay or perceived low pay many returnees quickly give up hope of finding paid employment.

Another problem is that Surinamese employers are somewhat cautious about employing Dutch Surinamese. They are not only afraid that they will have to pay too much but also that the employee will turn out to be a know-it-all and stir up trouble in the workplace. This cautious attitude is particularly prevalent among growing small businesses which are looking for new managers. Our respondents attributed this cautious attitude partly to a lack of information about how return migrants could benefit the employer's business and partly to their actual experience of return migrants. Some of them have a rather aloof attitude when they return. The latter point may also explain why returnees in general do not always feel welcome. The Surinamese population adopts a wait-and-see attitude to these newcomers, although they can be of great economic significance to the country.

Affordable housing is another problem faced by return migrants. As already mentioned, accommodation is very expensive in Suriname. This is why young people tend to continue living with their parents or other family for a long time. As the returnees do not have this option, they must find accommodation for themselves from their first day in the country. Looking for affordable housing is often difficult for them, because housing tends to be allocated through an informal network. Consequently, they can frequently obtain only relatively expensive accommodation. It follows that a well-paid job or a business that quickly turns a profit is of crucial importance to the success of their return. If this is not available, the savings they bring from the Netherlands will quickly be depleted and they will be forced to return for lack of money.

In order to take a considered decision on whether to return, potential returnees need information about a whole series of practical, legal and administrative questions. These questions are not only about seeking and finding work but also about matters not directly related to work. They may, for example, be concerned with finding accommodation or schools, taxes, health care and the cost of living. This information is often obtained from an informal social network, which is precisely not available to the return migrants in Suriname. Nor does Suriname have anything like a more formal information centre where newcomers can be briefed about the different aspects of living and working in Suriname and where people can, if necessary, be referred to other sources of information. At present, some

authorities are not consulted by the return migrants, usually because they are unaware of their existence.

In the interviews return migrants regularly stated that it was precisely the lack of information about these non-work related matters that made them feel most vulnerable after their arrival in Suriname. As already mentioned above, many return migrants experience difficulty even in finding the right channels for locating affordable housing, obtaining licences and permits efficiently and, for example, arranging a telephone connection. They stated that this learning process had cost them dearly. Some also said that it was this learning experience that had prompted their decision to return to the Netherlands.

The impression that return migrants are given little assistance on arrival in Suriname as regards to their basic questions about living and working conditions was confirmed in many of the interviews with employers and government organisations. In general it is striking that the return migrants still tend to be insufficiently communicative about the problems they encounter. For example, as they exchange little or no information with one another, those return migrants who come after the first ones are often caught out by the same pitfalls. In other words, there is no exchange of information among return migrants.

Inability to find the right channels quickly is also often mentioned as a problem by business starters. Not only do they have to arrange their own accommodation in Suriname, but they also have to start a business. They have to make all the arrangements themselves without having any clear idea of what must be done and who can help them to do it. In the interviews with IntEnt in Suriname and the Chamber of Commerce, it was stated that the period in which the details must be arranged is often very long. For many return migrants this is a period without income, during which they must draw on their own savings. Situations occur in which the period without income lasts too long in relation to the savings and those concerned return disillusioned to the Netherlands. It was indicated in the interviews that return migrants of this kind should be advised to take a job during the waiting period in order not to be deprived of at least a minimum income. The same effect could be achieved if the partner of the return migrant takes a job.

Return migrants from the Netherlands do not seem to be fully informed about the pitfalls of setting up a business. As noted previously in this chapter, many business starters begin with an existing business concept and have little success owing to the saturation of the market. Likewise, there are still too many Surinamese Dutch people who opt to start a business for negative reasons, for example because they cannot find employment that pays sufficiently. Here too, the provision of more adequate information could be useful as a means of sparing them a disappointment.

3.7 Concluding remarks

In this final section of the chapter we draw a number of conclusions on improving the support available to return migrants.

Regarding the main subject of our survey – trans-national job placement - it can be argued that a sufficient infrastructure already exists in Suriname (that is VSB, the Job Placement Agency, temporary employment agencies and traineeship agencies). Although not all parts of the system function equally well, there is little need for the establishment of, for instance, a separate database or separate job placement infrastructure. However, potential return migrants would benefit if more information were provided about the existence and operation of this infrastructure and if additional services could be provided. Examples would be the screening of the better educated returnees to enable their particulars to be included in the monthly circulation list of VSB, and the provision of information about registering with temporary employment agencies in Suriname. Consideration could also be given to introducing traineeship schemes to enable employers and return migrants to get to know one another.

Both Dutch Surinamese who are considering returning and those who are already in Suriname appear to need an information centre where they can obtain information about matters relating to both work and life. To some extent such an information centre should provide the information itself, but it could also refer return migrants to other organisations in Suriname that can help them. For example, it could refer them to employment agencies, VSB or the one-stop window of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry. The recent experience of the FNV with its ‘Service Buro Suriname’ for return migrants in possession of social security benefits could be of great relevance in setting up an information centre for return migrants. Although it is a relatively low-profile operation, it appears to have met a great need in the first few months of its existence.

It would also seem important to make progress in the provision of market information for business starters. This is something which must be regulated by the Surinamese authorities themselves. More attention could also be paid in the Netherlands to the question of whether starting a business is a realistic option for each return migrant. Return migrants intending to start a business should also be warned that the period that elapses between their arrival in Suriname and the actual generation of profit may be protracted and that they must also make provision for their maintenance in the meantime. They should be advised to bridge this period by taking a temporary job or by arranging for their partners who accompany them to find a job. In this way the importance of trans-national job placement could also grow: it would then no longer be restricted to jobs capable of generating the principal household income in the longer term.

4 TURKEY

4.1 General information on immigration patterns

In this chapter, we describe the case of Turkey. The Turkish population makes up the largest ethnic minority group in the Netherlands. At the end of 2004, 357,911 ethnic Turks - of the first and second generation - lived in the Netherlands (CBS statline, 2005). 299,909 of this group have the Turkish nationality¹, and they are therefore, regarded as Turkish citizens by the Turkish government (Ministry of Labour and Social Security, 2005). In the number of Turks living in a foreign country, the Netherlands is ranked third.²

The main aim of this chapter is to examine return migrants' opportunities in the labour market or their possibilities of entrepreneurship. Before discussing this, we first present a brief overview of immigration patterns to Turkey. This is highly relevant since the influx of new immigrants to Turkey has its effects on the chances of Dutch return migrants on the Turkish labour market.

Before 1995, particularly lower educated migrants went to Turkey in order to find employment. After 1995, higher educated migrants also began to enter Turkey, although in general most of them do not use their qualifications. Most immigrants come from Russia and the Ukraine, who enter the country legally, but work illegally. Male immigrants work particularly in the construction sector, whereas female immigrants work predominantly in the domestic field or in the entertainment industry. Another reason why new migrants are attracted to Turkey is through the marriage to a Turkish partner. The other way around, also many people migrate from Turkey to the Netherlands or Germany, because of family reunification or marriage.

Moreover, since the second half of the 1990s, the number of irregular migrants using Turkey as a transit route to Europe has grown. These people are mostly nationals of neighbouring countries in the Middle East such as Iraq, Iran, and Syria, as well as Afghanistan and Pakistan. A large number of these people are involved in small-scale trade. However, some overstay their visas and work illegally as household help, commercial sex workers, and labourers, especially on construction sites and in the tourism sector. It is very difficult to estimate the numbers of such irregular immigrants in Turkey. However, figures ranging from

¹ This figure includes the Turkish citizens with a dual nationality.

² Germany is ranked first with 2,053,600 Turkish citizens, and France takes second with 311,356 Turkish citizens (Ministry of Labour and Social security, 2004). Today, it is estimated that there are approximately 3.6 million Turkish nationals living abroad, of whom about 3.2 million live in European countries –among which 299,909 are located in the Netherlands. This is a substantial increase from the 600,000 in 1972 (State Institute of Statistics, 2004).

150,000 to one million are often cited. Trafficked people, particularly women must also be added to these groups. These people have either been coerced or deceived into travelling to Turkey for commercial sex work, and remain in Turkey against their wishes.

An increasing number of EU member state nationals are engaged in professional activities who are settling in Turkey, particularly in Istanbul. They have been joined by European retirees in some of the Mediterranean resorts. They, too, constitute a relatively new phenomenon in terms of immigration to Turkey, and their numbers are estimated at 100,000 - 120,000.

There is another immigration pattern to Turkey, which is labelled as return migration. Many Turkish migrants, who settled, for example, in the Netherlands or Germany, are returning to their country of origin, although not all of them permanently. Many stay, for example, six months in the Netherlands or Germany, and six months in Turkey. They prefer to keep in contact with, for example, the Dutch health service, and they often do not wish to give up their house, and try to keep in contact with their relatives, who live both in Turkey and abroad. Younger people, who often belong to the second or third generation, sometimes return to Turkey because they wish to return to their roots. Another reason might be that they would prefer their children to grow up in Turkey. For this group it is very important to find employment. Moreover, from the point of view of Turkey's future accession to the European Union, it is to be expected that just as was the case with Greece, Portugal and Spain, the return migration trend might increase as soon as Turkey enters the European Union.

As shown in chapter 2, return migration of Turkish migrants is considered to be the largest return migration flow out of the Netherlands. From the group of first generation migrants, 1,992 returned to Turkey in 2004 (CBS Statline 2005). However, a considerable part of this group returns within the context of the Return migration facility, and do therefore not belong to the target group of our study. Unfortunately there are no figures available about return migration of the second generation.

Due to the large influx of (illegal) immigrants and return migrants there is now even a bigger supply of labour than before. If we combine this with the fact that there is also a high unemployment rate in Turkey, it should in theory decrease the opportunities of return migrants within the Turkish labour market. In section 4.3 we will see if this is the case.

4.2 Commitment of the Turkish government to return migration

Turkey does not have a specific immigration policy. However, the Turkish government states that all activities services undertaken by them are available to all Turkish citizens. Therefore, it is important to make a distinction between returnees with and without the Turkish nationality. In the Netherlands, the nationality of the parents determines the nationality of their children.³ Therefore, children of Turkish migrants are born with the Turkish nationality, and also attain the Dutch nationality as well. Hence, the majority of second generation migrants possess the Turkish nationality.⁴ Consequently, most returnees can make use of all government services, such as the facilities that are provided by ISKUR, the central employment organisation, or by the Chambers of Commerce. Moreover, return migrants with the Turkish nationality do not have to request visas, nor work permits for foreigners. In the New Immigration Act, which was established at the beginning of the eighties, Turkey accepted dual nationality.

Although the government argues that *all* Turkish citizens, including return migrants, have equal rights, government representatives (T.R. Ministry of State Planning and Organisation) stress at the same time that the integration of Turks in Dutch society is more important than promoting their return to Turkey. According to this Ministry, the second generation Turks are likely to suffer from adaptation problems, if they were to migrate to Turkey, as they have not grown up there. Moreover, it is repeatedly stressed that the unemployment rate is very high, especially among young people and the higher educated. From that point of view, it is not an attractive opportunity for Turkey to attract Dutch returnees. On the contrary, the Ministry of State Planning and Organisation even argues that Turkey has such a young and well educated population that the Netherlands should in fact attract Turkish migrants (in the near future), because of the aging population in the Netherlands. Nonetheless, returnees are welcome if they would like to set up their own business, as this would create their own employment opportunity and would stimulate the Turkish economy.

For return migrants who have lost the Turkish nationality, returning to Turkey is more complicated, since they have to acquire visas, and work permits. However, we would like to note that this situation applies to a very small group⁵, and this group in general is not as keen to return to Turkey (see also chapter 2).

³ In some other countries the country in which one is born determines the nationality.

⁴ However, due to the fact that the Dutch government wants to limit the number of people with dual nationality, especially for recently arrived immigrants, it has become more difficult to keep the Turkish nationality. However, all second generation migrants, who are born in the Netherlands, are allowed to keep their original, in this case Turkish, nationality (www.ind.nl).

⁵ For example, for persons that recently migrated to the Netherlands and who had just acquired the Dutch nationality and have had to give up their Turkish nationality).

4.3 Labour market perspectives

In order to gain more insight into the chances of return migrants in the Turkish labour market it is important to give an overview of the recent economic developments. In order to do this, we will provide a number of statistics and economical parameters.

We would like to stress, however, that Turkey is not just one single economy. There are strong regional differences in the socio-economic developments. Turkey is divided in seven geographical regions, differentiating in climate to density of population, and in culture to business practices. In general, the western and middle parts of Turkey (that is Marmara, Aegean, Central Anatolian and Mediterranean Regions) can be classified as more highly developed compared to the other regions. On the other hand, especially eastern Anatolia, the mountainous parts of the Black Sea and sections of the south-eastern Anatolian regions have a history of lower than average employment, investment, income and socio-economic development levels.⁶

The Marmara region is the most developed region in Turkey. Moreover, Marmara has the largest population, the highest urbanization rate (more than half of the population of the region resides in Istanbul). The region accounts for 37 percent of the 2000 GDP, while the GDP per capita in this region is 50 percent more than Turkey's average. When we compare this with eastern and south-eastern Anatolian regions, the differences are large: these regions respectively contribute only 2 percent and 5 percent to the GDP. In these two regions, 66 percent of the workforce is employed in the agricultural sector, which has low productivity. Industry employs only 3 percent of the workforce, trade 4 percent, and finance 1 percent. In fact, these regions can be regarded as developing regions. Consequently, the United Nations Development Programme is active in Turkey as well in order to reduce poverty, to increase literacy and to increase the access to financial means in the form of micro-credits. There is a high rate of migration from these developing regions to the other regions.

Moreover, because of a lack of economic opportunities, return migrants do not settle in most developing regions. Instead, they prefer to settle in developed regions, and preferably in large cities like Istanbul, Ankara or Izmir. In this chapter, we will particularly examine the chances of return migrants who settle in the developed parts of Turkey, in particular in Istanbul and Ankara, where we carried out our field study. As a result, most of the observations in this chapter are specifically geared towards these parts, rather than the other less developed regions.

⁶ Source: Turkey: a regional socio-economic analysis, the Royal Netherlands Embassy, Ankara, 2004.

Economy

Turkey's dynamic economy is a complex mix of modern industry and commerce along with a traditional agriculture sector that accounted for more than 35 percent of employment in 2004. It has a strong and rapidly growing private sector, yet the state still plays a major role in basic industry, banking, transport, and communication. The largest industrial sector consists of textiles and clothing, which accounts for one third of industrial employment; however, with the end of the global quota system it increasingly faces stiff competition in the international markets. However, other sectors, notably the automotive and electronics industries are rising in importance within Turkey's export mix. In recent years, the economic situation has been marked by erratic economic growth and serious imbalances. Real GNP growth has exceeded 6 percent in many years, but this strong expansion was interrupted by sharp declines in output in 1994, 1999 and 2001.

In recent years, inflation which stood in the high double-digit range fell to 9.3 percent by 2004. Despite these strong economic gains in 2002-04, which were largely due to renewed investments in emerging markets, IMF banking, and a tighter fiscal policy, the economy is still plagued with high debt and deficits. Foreign direct investment (FDI) in Turkey remains low - averaging less than \$1 billion annually, but further economic and judicial reforms and prospective EU membership are expected to boost FDI. A major political and economic issue over the next decade is whether or not Turkey will become a member of the EU.

When looking at the labour market, the economy has not been able to create a satisfactory number of new (formal) jobs despite the high and consistent economic growth over the past few years. Even in times of high conjuncture, which Turkey is experiencing currently, unemployment rates are still at a high level. In times of low conjuncture, the unemployment rates would probably be even higher. Although the expectations for economic development are optimistic, Turkey needs more investments, manufacturers etc. Due to the ongoing urbanization, and the transition of an agricultural society to an industrial and service one, more jobs are needed in the latter sector. Moreover, as Turkey has such a young population, the (potential) labour force only increases each year. To keep up with these developments many extra jobs are required. Ironically enough, there is, on the other hand, more demand than supply for qualified staff, in particular in the ICT sector (see also the section on 'constraints on the labour market'.

Labour force

Next, it is important to introduce briefly the labour force. The total population in Turkey amounts to almost 71 million. About two thirds⁷ of the total population is aged between 15 and 65. However, the participating rate (share of the available labourers in formal

⁷ 67.3% of the total population. Source: CIA world fact book, 2005.

employment) is very low: 48.3 percent in the fourth quarter of 2004 (see table 4.1). This is in fact the lowest rate among the OECD countries (the average for 2003 was 69.8%, in the EU it was 70.3% and in the Netherlands it was 76.4%). The labour participation rate is particularly low for women (Royal Netherlands Embassy, 2005). The male-female distribution of the participating labour force is approximately 72 percent and 28 percent; however, women's participation rate is on the increase.

The unemployment rate increased from 10.3 percent in 2004 to 11.5 percent in the first quarter of 2005 (MKB-net, 2005)). In 2002, the overall unemployment rate was 10.3 percent as well. However, several social categories run a higher risk of unemployment as is shown in table 4.1. For example, in urban areas, unemployment turned out to even higher level in 2005, namely 12.6 percent. Moreover, unemployment among the young and particularly among recent graduates is even higher. This figure can rise up to 20 or 30 percent. It is even more difficult to find a job that matches a specific study, as only 14 percent of the graduates are able to find a job in their field of study.

Table 4.1 Population and Labour Force in 2005

	TURKEY	URBAN	RURAL
Non-institutional Civilian Population (000)	71,382	44,076	27,306
Population 15 years old and over (000)	50,585	31,385	19,200
Labour force (000)	24,432	14,173	10,259
Employed (000)	21,993	12,390	9,602
Unemployed (000)	2,439	1,783	656
Labour force participation rate (%)	48.3	45.2	53.4
Employment rate (%)	43.5	39.5	50
Unemployment Rate (%)	10.0	12.6	6.4
Non-agriculture unemployment rate (%)	13.4	13	14.7
Unemployment rate of youth ¹ (%)	18.7	22.5	13.2
Underemployment rate (%)	3.5	3.2	4.1
Underemployment rate of youth ¹ (%)	4.8	3.3	6.7

¹Population within 15-24 age group.

Source: Household Labour Force Survey, State Institute of Statistics (SIS), 2005.

Sectors

The largest employment sector is the service sector (41.2%), followed by the agricultural sector (35.9%), and the industrial sector (22.8%) (3rd quarter 2004; CIA world fact book, 2005).

Although the share of the agricultural labour force is declining (it was about 50% in 1988), it still constitutes a relative big stake in the total. Moreover, half of the agricultural labour force

consists of unpaid family labour, wherein 80 percent of women working in this sector fall into this category. Even though many people work in the agricultural sector, this sector does not contribute very much to the GDP (11.7% in 2003; CIA world fact book, 2005). The Turkish government is trying to reform the economy in order to decrease the share of the labour force working in the agricultural sector. This transition poses a new challenge for the Turkish economy, since many new jobs have to be created in the industrial or service sector in order to absorb the individuals that previously worked in the agricultural sector. The services sector, particularly the banking and the trading ones, offer employment opportunities to the higher educated, and hence may be of interest for returnees.

Informal economy

Statistics do not tell the whole story, since Turkey has quite a substantive informal economy. The size of the informal economy is estimated at about 50 percent of the total Turkish economy. Moreover, it is estimated that 52 per cent of all employees work in the informal sector. The largest informal areas of the economy are found in the construction, textile, and tourism sectors. Moreover, many SME's do not register their employees, since this requires a lot of administrative work, and high costs in the form of social security payments. Most informal jobs are carried out by Turkish citizens; however, also a number of migrants, mostly from Russia and the Ukraine, work illegally in Turkey. The number of migrants that work illegally in Turkey is estimated between 1 and 2 million, whereas those who work legally are estimated to be about 40,000. Due to the large informal economy, not all information about jobs will be registered formally. Moreover, not all jobs are acquired formally, but rather through the informal network. This might be an obstacle for returnees, since they often do not have an established network when they return to Turkey. Therefore, as we have already described in chapter 2, returnees invest a lot of time in building and strengthening their social networks in Turkey.

Wages

For some ambitious individuals, who have received a good education at a renowned university and who speak several languages - including Turkish -, it is possible to get a higher salary in Turkey than in the Netherlands. In the private sector, salaries are often higher than in the public sector. However, working in the public sector has some advantages as well. In the public sector one has lifelong job security, and has such advantages as not being able to be fired, the use of government funded summer houses, and the use of free public transportation, etc. Although it is possible for high potentials to make more money in Turkey than in the Netherlands, the wages in Turkey are generally much lower.

Constraints on the labour market

According to the Ministry of State Planning and Organisation there is hardly any planning with respect to the labour market. Moreover, there is hardly any information available about the labour market, nor about sector shortages. For example, many students choose to study agricultural engineering, even though the demand for this profession is very low. It would be useful if students had known this beforehand. It is one of the main challenges of ISKUR to improve the information on the forecasted conditions of the labour market.

Another constraint lies within Turkey's educational system. Vocational training takes place at a very low level, and attending a vocational school offers no status. Therefore, most parents and students prefer to choose a general secondary school (lycée), which might give the students access to university. In Turkey, it is considered to be very important to obtain a university degree. However, only a few (about 10%) pass the entrance examination of universities. Consequently, the majority of the students have only followed a general education (lycée), which offers them no specific professional qualifications.

Moreover, Turkey is still a rather traditional society in which relatives and friends are very important, compared to the minimal role of institutions. This is particularly the case for jobs at public institutions. However, this might change. For instance, nowadays candidate employees for the public sector have to pass an examination before they can get a job.

Entrepreneurship

It is often said that entrepreneurship is in the blood of the Turks. Therefore, instead of working for a boss, one could also choose to become self-employed. In 2003, about 5.25 million out of the total labour force of 21.147 million was self-employed (Household Labour Force Statistics, State Institute of Statistics). However, we should mention that the majority of them (3 million) are working in the agricultural sector, which can be regarded as something different from running a business. Nonetheless, returnees might well consider the setting up of their own business.

In sum: chances for returnees

After the economic crises of 2000 and 2001, the Turkish economy is now recovering. The demand for qualified individuals has risen. Higher educated individuals work particularly at big firms in Istanbul, Ankara or Izmir, particularly in banking or trading, or at government institutions. Several experts indicated that high qualified returnees can earn even more money than in Europe, especially within the higher management positions in the private sector. However, in order to get such a position, one needs to have exceptional qualifications, such as an MBA, or a Masters degree at a renowned university, for example at one of the private universities in Turkey or abroad. It is not enough to just have a university degree,

since the number of students that graduate from university far surpasses the demand. The name and status of the university plays a significant role in the process of job allocation. For many jobs a university degree is required, even for jobs that do not require academic skills. In fact, there is a tendency to certification inflation in Turkey. Secondly, employers take the name of the university where one has obtained their degree into account. Even when employers only select applicants from the most respectful universities, they still have a big choice. Therefore, returnees need to have some added value in order to be successful in the labour market.

Returnees can provide this added value if they have obtained a university degree and if they have a good command of several languages. This is especially important for German or French returnees, since employers show more interest in these languages than in Dutch. Nonetheless, Dutch returnees can have an added value as well if they have a good command of several languages, particularly in the tourism sector and the trade sector between the Netherlands and Turkey. It goes without saying that the command of Turkish language should be excellent as well. Returnees with some years of relevant work experience in the Netherlands are also more attractive for Turkish employers. On the other hand, most respondents stress that no employers are ‘waiting’ for returnees. In order to be successful and to attain employment, one has to show initiative, that is one has to be pro-active. Returnees who dare to take the step to return to their home country, can therefore attract attention, because being interested in an international career switch already shows that one has a pro-active and flexible attitude.

Returnees, who have another (non-university) degree, have to accept that they do not face a good chance of finding employment. In general they have to compete with many other Turks in the labour market who have not got a university degree. Because of the overwhelming supply of jobless graduates, employers can choose an applicant with a university degree for almost every job. It is also a problem that another (non-university) degree is often not recognized by the Turkish authorities or by employers. More specifically, there is a shortage of well qualified technical staff at an intermediate level, since the Turkish educational system does not provide a high quality technical training at this level. In fact there are other shortages in the labour market as well. Jobs are certainly available for those return migrants who have experience in electronics or in ICT, or for those who are interested in heavy work, for example, in the metal industry.

In addition, there are certainly opportunities –and no restrictions- for returnees who would like to set up their own business. However, this does not mean that it is easy for returnees to set up a firm in Turkey. Return migrants should be aware of the fact that it is rather difficult to get one’s business plans financed in Turkey.

4.4 The legal framework

Immigration policy

There is no specific immigration policy in Turkey; however, due to Turkey's current ambition to become an EU member, they have to set one up. Parliament is currently considering replacing the Settlement Law of 1934. The new draft law, although considerably altered, continues to restrict the right to immigration exclusively to people of "Turkish descent and culture". This should not be problematic for return migrants, since they are in fact of "Turkish descent and culture". Moreover, as was stated before, return migrants with Turkish nationality have equal chances vis-à-vis other Turkish citizens.

Labour act

Since 2003, a new labour act has been introduced in Turkey. It was adjusted in order to be more in line with common European legislation. The new labour act enables returnees to apply for a working permit since all non-Turkish citizens have to apply for a working permit in order to be allowed to work. This can now be acquired through the Ministry of Labour and Social Security or by the Turkish embassy in the domestic country; however, it still takes a long time. Normally it must be granted in 4 weeks, but some respondents told us that it can take about 6 months to get a working permit. Not all people wait that long. Sometimes they can start (informally) at their new job, even without having acquired their working permit yet.

Shortly before the new labour act was introduced, some employers fired staff, since the new act makes it more difficult to do so. Moreover, before 2003, there was no unemployment insurance system in place. Now, employers have to pay social insurances for their employees. This had an increasing effect on the costs of personnel. In fact, the obligations for employers have been enforced, which makes it less attractive for SME's particularly, to hire their staff in a formal way. In essence, the informal economy has been stimulated by this new labour act, resulting in the new act to be seen as an impediment of finding formal employment. As most returnees have the Turkish nationality, they will work under the same conditions as other Turkish citizens; there are no special regulations for this group.

Investment

Turkish laws and regulations are increasingly modelled on European laws and regulations. Until last year there were differences in the rights of foreign and Turkish investors, but these have now been removed. Moreover, foreigners are allowed to own real estate in Turkey. There has been a customs union between the EU and Turkey since 1996. When trading with the EU, no import duties have to be paid, except for agricultural products.

In sum

Because of the fact that most return migrants (also) have the Turkish nationality, there are no formal constraints to be employed or to start a new firm.

4.5 Infrastructure of job placement services and start-up support

The infrastructure of job placement services in Turkey was also examined. First, we discuss the formal infrastructure with respect to job placement. Secondly, we discuss the recruitment process of employers. Finally, we address the issue of setting up one's own business. However, compared to the Surinamese case study, we had less opportunity to study the infrastructure for business start-ups.

• Formal infrastructure job placement

Starting with the formal infrastructure in the field of job placement, there are primarily four actors of interest: the central employment organisation (ISKUR); private employment agencies; web-based search engines; and the executive search companies. Despite this formal infrastructure, it is important to note that most small and medium-sized firms in Turkey also recruit in an informal way through the use of their networks.

After this general introduction on the formal infrastructure of job placement, we provide some more information on the organisations. Until 2003, the Turkish employment organisation **ISKUR** was the only organisation that had been obliged to match labour supply with demand. Now they have to compete with the private employment offices. ISKUR still has the formal task to match supply with demand in the labour market. They also have to improve the labour market information system and to enhance the employability of the Turkish labour force, for example by organising courses and trainings for the unemployed. Finally, they must take care of the payments to the unemployed. Public organisations are obliged to mention their job vacancies to ISKUR, whereas private companies are free to do so. ISKUR is particularly active in the placement of job seekers with a medium level of educational attainment. Nonetheless, it remains very difficult to make placements. About 290,000 people are registered at the central employment office (a small percentage of the total number of the unemployed), and only 3,000 have been placed, according to the quarterly reports. ISKUR does not present the job vacancies it receives on the Internet, but it hopes to do this in the near future. Hopefully at the end of 2005, ISKUR will open a website with job vacancies.

In our opinion ISKUR does not function in the way it is supposed to. None of the employers we have interviewed made use of the services of ISKUR to acquire new staff. Employers only make use of the services of ISKUR for specific regulations. For example, large employers are obliged to hire a number (3% up to 6%) of disabled people, or people who have lost their father or brother during the war. In order to fulfil this obligation, employers cooperate with ISKUR. Because of the limited role of ISKUR in fulfilling job vacancies for the private sector, which is the sector with the largest job growth, it is not useful for return migrants to subscribe to ISKUR.

As mentioned previously, as of the New Labour Act of 2003, it is permitted to set up a **private employment office**. Before that time, it was illegal for these organisations to operate in the Turkish labour market. In fact there were some offices active in this field before 2003, but they described their activities in another way. Presently, there are 67 active private employment agencies. Most of these are based in the more economic active cities like Istanbul and Izmir. In our opinion these agencies have cornered a certain market sector, especially for temporary employment. For example, a big company like Philips uses the services of Adecco to fulfil their clerical vacancies. Therefore, it is possible for return migrants to register at private employment offices.

A special category of private employment offices are the **executive search companies**. These kind of companies work for clients to find a candidate for a vacancy, mostly vacancies in management posts or vacancies for specialist jobs. Executive search companies are not frequently used by firms, due to their relatively high costs.

In Turkey, as in the Netherlands **web-based search engines** are also available for employers with vacancies and job seekers. The websites which are most mentioned are www.kariyer.net or www.insankaynaklari.com. The first one is the oldest and probably the most effective, whereas, www.kariyer.net is the website which is most often used by employers and job seekers. In this section we also describe how employers use these websites.

In addition, the German Central Placement Office (ZAV) has set up a **Rückkehrburo** for German return migrants in Antalya. At this bureau, German return migrants can get assistance with regard to their search for a job from a local consultant, who is also often a return migrant. However, at the moment this bureau does not seem to be functioning very well due to staffing problems. This is likely to change in the future, since ZAV has started negotiations with ISKUR about future cooperation. Moreover, ZAV is planning to move the Rückkehrburo to Istanbul or Ankara. In that case, these Rückkehrburos might be interesting initiatives for Dutch return migrants as well.

- **Recruitment process of employers**

Now that we have presented an overview of the formal infrastructure for job placement, it is interesting to know how employers operate on the labour market and how they make use of the infrastructure. That is why we will describe the recruitment process of three large companies which are active in Turkey: two Dutch multinationals (Philips and Organon) and a large Turkish company (Doğuş). We believe that these three big companies are in some way representative of how the bigger firms in Turkey work. In addition, we interviewed the director of the employers' organisation Müsiad. However, we would like to stress that smaller companies (SMEs) do not often use these formal channels as described below. They particularly make more use of informal networks to find new employees.

Search channels

Employers use different channels to find the right staff, through such methods as the use of advertisements in newspapers, job vacancy websites, executive search companies, private employment offices and ISKUR. Many employers place their vacancies in newspapers, and specifically local ones.. For instance, Organon prefers employees who live in the respective regions for the function of regional manager or advisor, and therefore they place these job vacancies in local newspapers. Other employers prefer to use web-bases search engines like www.kariyer.net or www.insankaynaklari.com, however problems do arise from their use. Organon, which used www.kariyer.net, found the reactions where too numerous and included many unsuited candidates. Other employers, such as Philips and Doğuş, however, have had much more positive experiences with these websites, especially www.kariyer.net. They also tend to complement these job vacancies by putting them on their own web pages.

Organon and Philips sometimes use the services of executive search companies for higher management positions. On the other hand, Doğuş dissuades the use of these services in account of their expense. Moreover, their policy is to stimulate the internal career possibilities of their employees. All employers admit that these higher management positions are difficult to fill, and that in this niche in the labour market salaries are often higher than, for example, in the Netherlands. Philips also uses the services of private employment offices for administrative (clerical) personnel, while Doğuş uses private employment offices only for temporary vacancies, as in the case of pregnancy leave.

None of the private employers which we visited makes use of ISKUR to find new staff, even though private companies are obliged to cooperate with ISKUR for several formal arrangements, as was previously discussed. ISKUR is not considered to be very service oriented, and does not work very fast.

Even though there is such a high level of unemployment, open applications are not frequently used. In fact, job seekers only send in open applications for higher (management) positions.

Selection

Employers receive many reactions to their published job vacancies. For example, Organon received over 5,000 applications after the publication of a job vacancy on the website. In addition, Doğuş also received many letters of application, namely 1,200, after the publication of only one position in the newspaper. In order to select the right candidate, they first select only those job-seekers with a university degree. The second criterion is based on the name of the university, as there is a large difference in educational quality between the universities. After that, relevant work experience or additional qualifications in case of first jobs were taken into account. A good command of the English language is very important, while one human resource manager of a Dutch company mentioned that the knowledge of the Dutch language only adds a minor advantage. In the final selection process, some companies such as Organon, also uses psychological tests and role play for their final assessments.

After being selected, some employees receive training. Some private employers admit that graduates have to be re-educated. They often have to learn to adopt a commercial attitude, and how to sell products. In order to accomplish this, they provide traineeships. On the other hand, employees are offered many career possibilities (as mentioned above, Doğuş promotes a policy of internal vacancies).

Salary

As the demand for employment is so high, employers take the advantage of offering medium to low salaries. However, Philips has hired a few returnees on the basis of an expat construction, which results in a very high salary. The salary for a starting position in business or marketing can vary between 500 to 1000 euros a month, which usually includes life insurance, and health insurance.. Medical representatives can make between 800 and 1600 euros a month, but may have additional perks, such as a car, fuel, health and life insurance or a mobile telephone. Respondents told us that return migrants with a good education, who speak their languages well and have some years of relevant work experience, can make more money in Turkey than in the Netherlands.

Shortages

Even though the employers receive so many reactions to advertisements, they are still in need of qualified persons, especially ICT specialists, technicians, marketing managers, and experienced managers. In addition, high qualified persons in the retail business are hard to find (Doğuş). Therefore, the salaries may be higher for these categories.

Advice for returnees

Although the Ministry of State Planning claimed that multinationals tend to bring in their own staff, we did not experience this during our visits to Philips and Organon. These Dutch multinationals did not take Dutch staff with them, as almost all employees are regular Turkish citizens, and not returnees. Nonetheless, due to the roots of the company, Dutch multinationals may be inclined to favour the attraction of returnees than other (Turkish) companies. Especially well educated returnees, who are good at languages (and Turkish), may, in fact, have opportunities in private companies. However, due to the limited number of vacancies, it is possible that there is not a great demand by the companies for returnees.

As stated above, the criteria for employment in Turkey are a university degree, and then one with a good reputation, and the knowledge of several languages, especially Turkish. As a result, returnees must take in to account these criteria when returning, and must provide an added value.

Returnees who are looking for a job in a private company could look at the ads in the newspapers (also in the regional newspapers of the region they would like to live in). Secondly, they could look at websites mentioned, www.kariyer.net or www.insankaynaklari.com. Most companies place their job offers on their own websites as well. Although it is not common, it can also be fruitful to write an open letter of application. Moreover, since it is not common to write open letters of application, a returnee who does this, shows his or her pro-active attitude and initiative. If one is looking for a temporary job, one could also try to find it by registering at the private employment offices. Still, many jobs are fulfilled through an informal network, so it will help to build up a large network in Turkey. However, it is almost futile to register at ISKUR, as none of the private companies mentioned, make use of its services.

- **Start-up support**

Instead of looking for a job, some return migrants prefer to set up their own business. The reason may be that they have a good business idea or because they do not wish to work under a Turkish boss. Especially for second generation Turks, it may be difficult to get adjusted to the working culture and the hierarchical management culture.

The fact that returnees would like to set up their own business, does not mean that this will be easy. It is very important to have the right contacts with the right persons. Although the start-up of a business involves a lot of bureaucracy, one could hire an agent who handles this aspect. Moreover, it is advised not to make use of the local network that one has built up in the Netherlands, but to build up a new network with Turkish business partners.

A problem that is more difficult to solve, especially in Turkey compared to the Netherlands, is the acquiring of finances as Turkish banks are more reluctant to give loans. In addition, the interest rate is higher as well as the inflation rate. Therefore, it is important to carefully prepare the start-up of the business in order to be successful. There are various ways to gather information, either in the Netherlands or in Turkey. Some examples are the Chambers of Commerce (both in the Netherlands as in Turkey), the EVD, IntEnt, at the Dutch embassy and consulates, etc. Even though there is a great deal of information available, it is often said that returnees do not know what to do, in which field they would like to be active, and in which branch they might be successful. They usually just start with their business without examining either the market or their chances within the market.

In fact, there are a lot of groups that exist that do support entrepreneurs, like KOSGEB (Small and Medium Industry Development Organisation) or the Turkish development bank. In fact, the Dutch organisation IntEnt is also active in Turkey, but none of the persons we interviewed, had heard about this organisation. ISKUR, the central employment organisation, also arranges projects that are meant to stimulate entrepreneurship. They put out tenders for special programmes, in which they cooperate with KOSGEB and with private and social partners. These programmes are open for returnees who want to start a business, as well as for entrepreneurs who wish to expand their activities. In addition, returnees who would like to set up a business in Turkey could make use of Turkey's Chambers of Commerce. This is under the condition that it is not a very small company, however, as the use of the services of the Chamber is dependent on the size of the company, usually requiring more than ten employees. Therefore, this is probably not the right partner for people who are starting up their business, although it is possible that the Chamber might be willing to inform returnees with serious business plans. For these small businesses (micro-enterprises), there is another organisation, namely the TESK, The Confederation of Retailers and Craftsmen, which 3742 Chambers throughout the country.

In addition, returnees who would like to invest in Turkey can make use of the services of the economic department of the Dutch consulates and embassy in Turkey. Moreover, the embassy publishes monthly reports on economic development. Most of this information is also available through the EVD. The Dutch consulate in Istanbul also organises a business cocktail on a monthly basis, at which entrepreneurs can exchange their experiences and expand or maintain their network.

Since Turkey is still seen as a developing country, there are also some international funds available to promote the private sector in Turkey. Entrepreneurs, including return migrants, who would like to set up a business that supports the development of Turkey, could make use of the services of various international organisations such as IntEnt and FMO (Finance for

Development). Moreover, there are numerous other initiatives that support the development of Turkey, such as the World Bank, the United Nations (UNDP), and the European Union.

- **In sum**

We will conclude this section by stating that there are chances for return migrants in the Turkish labour market. However these chances are limited to the well educated (university degree) that can provide an added value (a good command of foreign languages, work experience etc). If this is the case, a return migrant may even earn a larger salary than in the Netherlands. In order to find these job vacancies, they can use the Turkish web-based search engines or register at a private employment office. The options of starting a business could be an option for return migrants who are less educated.

4.6 Experiences of returnees

During our visit to Turkey we interviewed a number of returnees in Ankara and in Istanbul. We discussed with them their experiences in Turkey. The returnees we interviewed had different motivations to return. Some joined their parents when they returned, others were married to a Turk, while others were more interested in the Turkish experience and wanted to go back to their roots. All returnees we interviewed were second generation migrants and all of them had the Turkish nationality, and therefore did not suffer from any constraints with respect to access to the labour market. At the moment of the interview all returnees had a job, wherein some of them were working for either the Dutch embassy or a Dutch company.

All returnees agreed on the fact that Turkey has a lot to offer, however, it is not easily given, it must be attained. It takes a couple of years to get adjusted to the Turkish way of living and to get a sense of feeling at home. Working at a Turkish private company turned out to be quite different than working at a Dutch firm. There is hardly any planning, rules, nor stable hours, and the culture is more hierarchical. The working days are also quite long: working at least 12 hours a day is not an exception.

For those who expressed the desire to return, their preference lies with working for a Dutch employer or for an international company, since they expect to find it very difficult to work for a - traditional - Turkish boss. The long working hours may also pose as a problem for parents, especially for women, with young children, since there is often no childcare at the workplace. In addition, part-time work is not common. On the other hand, some returnees might prefer to work for a government institution: this gives them more security and is less time consuming (8 hours a day). Although the salary is substantially lower than in the private

sector, working for the government has some advantages as well because it offers facilities such as kindergartens, holiday houses, insurances, etc. However, it is rather difficult to get a job in the public sector as informal contacts are needed. This situation is said to have somewhat improved, because of the imposition of an exam in order to enter the government institution.

Returnees have the idea that it is not easy to get a job, but when one is active, creative (for example, arrange a traineeship) and one builds up a network, it is possible to acquire a good position. And, although most returnees are not susceptible to doing so, some flattery and disposition to undertaking various tasks is important in succeeding. One's own attitude and initiative is very important.

Below, we discuss a number of subjects that were often mentioned during the course of the interviews.

Education

Returnees also felt the differentiation of their education within Turkey. It is difficult to get a non-university degree, to be homologised in Turkey. Some degrees in MEAO, HAVO or even HBO were not accredited, which led to the frustration of a great many. A university degree in Turkey is more important than in the Netherlands as many more jobs require a university degree. On the other hand, returnees also mentioned that the Turkish educational system does not offer a well developed vocational training, which makes it unattractive to follow a one in Turkey.

As some returnees have children, they are also confronted with the educational system from another point of view. Most returnees did not expect the quality of the public schools in Turkey to be so poor. Most parents do not wish to send their children to these public schools, since there are 60 to 70 children in each class. Moreover, the educational system requires many tests and exams, and this is too stressful for young children according to returnees. There are also private schools but these are very expensive, so only people with a high income will be able to afford that.

Language

In addition, some returnees admit to have difficulties with the Turkish language. In order to get a job, one has to be able, to speak, read and write Turkish fluently, which for many returnees, is not the case. As a result, they must take Turkish lessons, and in sometimes hinders their confidence in speaking.

Social life

Building up a social network might be difficult in the beginning, especially when one works more than 12 hours a day. Later on one gets used to this, and one will be able to find more time for a social life. Another observation is that the health care system is not very well developed in Turkey. This is one of the reasons why return migrants would like to keep their Dutch nationality, as it enables them to keep access to the Dutch health system. Another topic in social life is the habit of bargaining. It turned out to be quite difficult to adjust to this, as some returnees find that they are overcharged all the time.

Information

Some returnees think it is very important to inform potential returnees in the Netherlands about what they should expect in turkey. Some examples are the working conditions, wages and working hours, but also the above mentioned aspects of the social life and health system,. One of the returnees had organised several meetings with returnees at the Dutch consulate in Istanbul to discuss their experiences. There was definitely a need for this; however, this initiative no longer exists.

As was mentioned before, the information on setting up a business in Turkey is available, however, it is striking that none of the returnees had ever heard about this initiative. It might be the case that it does not suit the Turkish mentality to ask for help or advice from official organisations and may explain, why many start-ups fail due to insufficient preparation.

In sum

The interviews with returnees confirm our conclusions about the opportunities of returnees in the labour market. Generally, there are good opportunities for the highly educated and experienced returnees. The requirement that they speak, read and write Turkish fluently diminishes the chances of those who do not meet this prerequisite. Returnees also made clear that there is a lack of information about what they can expect when they return to their home country.

4.7 Concluding remarks

There are certainly chances for return migrants. Particularly those who have a university degree, a good command of several languages and some years of work experience might succeed in Turkey. However, returnees have to be aware of the fact that employers do not really need them as there is severe competition on the labour market. Moreover, it takes a couple of years to get adjusted to the Turkish way of life and to settle down.

With respect to the infrastructure of job placement services, we can state that there are sufficient job placement service facilities that returnees could make use of. Employers usually place their job offers at job vacancy websites such as www.kariyer.net or www.insankaynaklari.com or on their own websites. These are also easily accessible to Turks who live in the Netherlands. Another channel, through which employers and job seekers find each other, is through advertisements in newspapers. Many Turkish newspapers are available in the Netherlands, so this is another opportunity for potential returnees. Open applications to firms that one is interested in, might also be a successful option to find a job. Returnees might also make use of private employment offices, such as Adecco and Manpower. However, it seems to be better to do this when one has already settled in Turkey and one is looking for a job for the short term.

There is a need for more information about what returnees could expect with respect to the working life and social life in Turkey. Returnees must be informed about the following topics: What are my chances in the labour market? Will my degree have any value in Turkey? How does the educational system work? How does the health care system work? Moreover, returnees should also be informed that they should have an excellent command of the Turkish language in order to succeed. It would be most fruitful to provide this kind of information before returnees leave for Turkey in order to prevent disappointments.

However, already a lot of information is available for return migrants. And, the question is whether potential returnees will actively look for this kind of information *before* they return to Turkey. Most returnees think they already informed extensively on Turkish life until they move to Turkey and start their new lives. Once in Turkey they find out that it is different from what they had expected. Therefore it would be most fruitful to provide this kind of information before returnees leave to Turkey in order to prevent disappointments.

There are many places where returnees who would like to set up their own business can be informed, either in the Netherlands or in Turkey. We would recommend the Dutch embassy and consulates in Turkey, the EVD, IntEnt, the Chamber of Commerce, etc. However, the experience is that Turkish entrepreneurs (returnees) do not prepare their start-up very well, and are therefore not very well informed about the way in which they could get support. For example, none of the return migrants we met had ever heard about IntEnt. Moreover, they have to be aware of the fact that it is more difficult to receive finances for their business plans in Turkey than in the Netherlands. Since it is even more difficult to build up a successful business in Turkey, it is important to inform all potential returnees about doing business in Turkey.

Finally, the right contacts are extremely important for job seekers and for those who want to start up a firm in Turkey. Therefore, it is important to build up a good social network in Turkey with local Turks, especially if one would like to set up a business, but also when one is looking for a job as many job vacancies are namely filled informally.

5 GHANA

5.1 General information on immigration patterns

In the late 1990's the net migration rate for Ghana was estimated to be highly negative, meaning that many more migrants left the country than were coming in (United Nations 2003). Moreover, migration from Ghana is rather selective in its nature, particularly with regard to the educational background. Some claim that at least 15 percent of Ghanaians who have attained tertiary education are migrating out of their country.¹ Overall it is estimated that about 3 million Ghanaians live abroad.

In chapter two the trans-national nature of Ghanaian migration patterns was described in detail, whereby those who migrate from Ghana to the developed countries often maintain very close relationships with relatives and friends left behind. Manuh (2001) has pointed out that social networks based on family friendship and community relations underlie much of the recent migration of Ghanaians to the western countries. These patterns of support already start in Ghana with the financial and moral help of family and acquaintances, enabling the departure of those who are expected to have the best chances abroad. After arriving and settling in their new destinations, migrants often maintain these links and even set up a system of resource flows, both economically and socially. The maintenance of close interactions may be expressed in the provision of information, the transmittance of a lump sum of money (often to buy a plot of land or to build a house) or in the remittances on a regular base (for instance for school fees and living expenses). Eventually, as expressed by several informants, Ghanaian migrants strongly believe they will return home once enough money has been earned.

The Immigration Service, up till now, has no accessible database to analyse all immigrants and returnees into the country. However, statistics available in the Netherlands point to only small numbers of Ghanaian nationals migrating back to their country. Every year a number of about fifty migrants officially deregister in the Netherlands for the purpose of migrating back to Ghana. Having said this, possibility of short term patterns of movements whereby Ghanaian migrants move back and forth for certain periods should be left open. These flows are not likely to be reflected in any of the official migration statistics. Nonetheless, a (semi-)permanent return seems to apply only to a small number of Ghanaians residing in the Netherlands.

¹ Carrington and Detragiache, 1999 in "How extensive is the Brain Drain".

The lack of data on (return) migration was also discussed with the head of the Immigration Service in Accra. While acknowledging this problem, no clear solutions could be given to solve this inadequacy. However, the service did not have the impression that the number of return migrants had strongly augmented during the last years. Ghanaians never leave with a one way ticket, but figures of migrants coming back for good were expected to be consistently low. According to the Immigration Service, only those people who have made enough money to buy a plot of land or to build a house come back. What is also being emphasised is that many Ghanaian suffer from economic hardship abroad. For this reason, the service is preparing the establishment of an information desk to inform potential migrants of all the possible consequences of staying abroad. Upon asking if this desk (of which the eventual infrastructure is still unclear) could serve as a point of information for migrants who have returned as well, the spokesman responded in a very positive way.

A small scale study supports the assumption that return migration is in one way or the other related to achieved success abroad. The University of Sussex, in collaboration with the ISSER, conducted a migration study among 152 return migrants in Ghana and the Ivory Coast.² The study revealed that among the return migrants, people in the age group of 39-49 were the highest represented. Moreover, the skilled migrants tended to return at an earlier age than the unskilled ones. Most of them had acquired more training and formal education while staying abroad. Coming back, a large majority were employed, especially as entrepreneurs. These outcomes, although in a merely indicative way, exemplify the assumption that return migration is more likely to take place when people have benefited from their stay abroad and foresee concrete economic chances in their country of return.

5.2 Labour market perspectives

Ghana must be positioned as a less developed country, as it has a low GDP, a substantial informal sector and a poorly educated workforce. Nowadays almost half of the population has less than one US dollar a day to live off (World Development Report, 2004). More than this, the domestic production has increased only modestly for many decades. It is only since 2001 that the GDP-figures show substantial growth (more than four percent yearly).

These figures partly explain the lack of massive return migration from the Netherlands back to Ghana. The Ghanaian economy, although expanding recently, is not capable of creating enough substantial jobs in the formal sector. Only a few sectors, including health care, education and tourism, offer concrete possibilities for migrants to find employment, but still

² TRANSREDE: Migration Return and Impact in Ghana: A comparative study of skilled and unskilled migrants. This study was presented at the Migration and Development Conference in Accra, sep. 2004. Not yet published.

the wages on offer are very low as compared to the earning rates in the Netherlands. In addition, entrepreneurship in Ghana constitutes a very dominant segment of the labour market. However, in order to become a successful entrepreneur, professional business skills and substantial financial resources are required. These requirements hardly respond with the individual chances and possibilities of Ghanaian migrants residing in the Netherlands. On average, these migrants are poorly educated and are often employed in menial jobs, particularly in the cleaning and domestic services (Mazzucato, 2004). As a consequence, the possibilities to put enough money aside, let alone to realise serious investments in Ghana upon return, are rather limited.

Below, the Ghanaian labour market will be explained a little more in detail, with special reference to sectoral developments, unemployment, the informal economy and a few aspects of the investment climate in Ghana.

Sectoral developments³

More than half of the employed population works in the agricultural sector. Although the primary sector is the largest employer, it produces far below its potential in terms of inputs and coverage of arable land. The agricultural sector can therefore not satisfy the domestic need, while exports still depend on cocoa production. The industrial sector is growing modestly currently, but these figures still fall short of the government's ambition to raise the industry's share in the gross domestic product. The disappointing growth rates of manufacturing indicate the persistence of obstacles to growth, such as a lack of access to credit, unreliable energy supplies and weak management capacity. The construction sub-sector performs best, mainly due to large public investments in infrastructure. In addition, employment creation in some private sectors has increased considerably because of divested state owned enterprises. The private service sector seems to employ thousands of informal workers, many of them being employed in the trade and retail industry. In addition, the formal private sector shows some patterns of growth, particularly in communication, transport and tourism. Also the public service sector is growing and receives growing attention from the government, particularly the health care and education sub-sectors. Job generation in Ghana is, however, difficult to ascertain since there are no reliable databases that monitor the development of the labour market and the labour force.

³ The information given is mainly based on "The state of the Ghanaian Economy in 2003", a study published by ISSER, University of Ghana, Legon.

Unemployment

Unemployment is estimated to be more than ten percent (2000) with more women than men and many more urban than rural people being unemployed. There is also a considerable level of unemployment in Ghana (in 1998/99 this was recorded at a rate of almost 15 percent).⁴ Unemployment is extremely high among graduates and tertiary school leavers (68% in 1999), due to the limited absorption capacity of the Ghanaian economy (about 30,000 graduates finish their studies yearly) but also due to lack of competence and skills among graduates.⁵ Unemployment is also very high among young school leavers and drop outs; more than fifty percent of the unemployed have no higher education than primary education or middle school.⁶ In brief, the overall picture clearly indicates a surplus of labour in the national economy, both at the lower and higher levels.

The informal sector

The informal sector encompasses a large majority of Ghana's workforce (see table 5.1). The informal sector is characterized by, among other things, ease of entry, small scale operations, unregulated markets, reliance on indigenous resources and outdated technology. Other features include the prevalence of family ownership, self-employment and a small element of wage employment. The informal sector of the Ghanaian economy is indirectly captured in the three basic sectors of the economy – agriculture, industry and services – but could be plausibly described as the fourth sector. Yet its role in Ghana's development efforts has not yet been fully incorporated. No comprehensive policy framework has been designed for the development of the informal sector. Only a few institutions and programmes have been set up to work towards boosting the sector, including:

- The Skill and Employable Placement Programme (STEP), setting up various skill-development initiatives. In 2003 about 3,500 people were trained by this programme.
- The National Vocational Training Institute offering training to about 10,000 students, who receive preparation in vocational and technical skills.
- The Opportunities Industrialization Centre providing training for 1,000 young people.
- A great number of (rural and community) banks and micro-finance institutions, offering micro-grants and finance schemes to women, farmers and artisans.

⁴ According to the Ghana Living Standards Survey 3 & 4.

⁵ As found out in a study conducted by the Ministry of Social Welfare and Employment.

⁶ Source: page 182, The State of the Ghanaian Economy, 2003 (ISSER, University of Ghana).

Table 5.1 Employment by sector of the workforce (%)

EMPLOYMENT SECTOR	ALL	MALE	FEMALE
Public	5.9	7.5	4.3
Private formal	7.8	9.8	5.8
Private informal	80.3	75.6	85.1
Semi public/parastatal	2.9	3.7	2.0
Ngo/int.org	0.8	1.0	0.7
Other	2.2	2.4	2.1
Total	100	100	100

Source: Ghana population census 2000.

However, as concluded by the Legon University of Accra, not much has been achieved in the sector because of its heterogeneous and fragmented nature.⁷ Improved strategies that ensure the removal of the numerous constraints and the development of employment promotion strategies would greatly increase the potential of the informal sector to absorb surplus labour. This would involve the promotion of entrepreneurship programmes, improvement in marketing informal sector goods and an improved flow of information on and access to new technology.

Investment climate

In comparison with other sub-Saharan countries, Ghana's investment trend is relatively good. The service sector takes a majority of these investments (almost 60%), with trade and tourism as the biggest players. In terms of geographical distribution, the bulk of investments go to Greater Accra and the Ashanti Region. Investments in the informal sector are hard to estimate since only 1.1 percent benefit from credit supplied by official financial institutions.

In addition, the Ghana Investment Promotion Centre mentions a substantial increase in the rate of registration of businesses with foreign interests. In 2003, the centre registered more than sixty new foreign owned and almost ninety foreign-Ghanaian joint ventures, which were expected to create jobs for more than 7,000 Ghanaians and about 500 non-Ghanaians, particularly in the urban centres.

In sum

Briefly summarized, the outline of the Ghanaian labour market does not constitute a major pull factor on return migration of Ghanaian nationals residing in the Netherlands. Employment growth in the formal sector of the national labour market is very limited, whereas unemployment appears to be very high, including many unemployed with high levels of education. There are specific branches which are in shortage of labour (particularly some public sectors), but then again the low wages being offered constitute serious obstacles to attract many immigrants. Only a few branches in the private sector (such as tourism and

⁷ See note 3.

the production of non-traditional crops) may have some attraction for return migrants. Private investments in these branches do require, however, high grade business skills and extensive (financial) resources. In addition, the overall picture of Ghanaian migrants in the Netherlands only partly fits the needs of the Ghanaian labour market. These migrants may be a little better educated as compared to those residing in Ghana, but still their educational attainments are too poor to have a chance in the better echelons of the Ghanaian labour market. As a result, those who actually return on a semi-permanent basis are most likely to resort to the informal sector. Various interviews in Ghana, both in Accra and Kumasi, confirm this picture.

5.3 The legal framework

The legal framework of Ghana with respect to the possibilities to return or to take up employment among Ghanaian nationals does not imply any serious restrictions. Ghanaian nationals, irrespective of their migrant status, are free to return to Ghana and to take up employment like any other Ghanaian resident. No employment permit is required. In addition, Ghana has no municipal or county register. Most demographic information is gathered by periodical population censuses. For the purpose of our study, the fact that returned Ghanaian nationals do not constitute a separate category within the statistics, both population and employment ones, makes our task that much more difficult.

For the sake of completeness, the Immigration Act and employment permit system will be discussed below, being applicable to non-Ghanaians (including Ghanaian nationals who have taken up a different nationality). In addition, the legal possibilities for setting up a private firm will be shortly described.

Immigration

On 2 February 2000, **Immigration Act 573** came into force. The Act replaced the Aliens Act from 1962 and caters for visa requirements, residence and employment of foreign nationals, deportation, exemption, detention and petition and a miscellaneous chapter. It was not until 2003, however, before the legislative instrument was elaborated and specific arrangements for the implementation of the law were made.

Non-Ghanaians and non-ECOWAS (Economic Community of the West African States) members may only enter Ghana when they have a valid visa.⁸ The act spells out what exceptions there are for refusing a visitor an entry visa. ECOWAS nationals may enter and reside in Ghana for a maximum of three months without a visa. Once in the country, a person

⁸ ECOWAS is the Economic Community of the West African States: Nigeria, Niger, Burkina-Faso, Mali, Senegal, the Gambia, Equatorial Guinea, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Ivory Coast, Ghana, Togo and Benin.

who has been lawfully admitted entry into Ghana may be issued a residence permit. An initial resident permit may not exceed four years. Practice shows, however, that the initial resident permit will mostly be for one year only, after which more long term permits may be requested for a maximum of eight years. A new element in the act is the provision of **Indefinite Resident Status**. This status has to be approved by the Minister (of Interior) upon recommendation of the Director of Immigration. The Immigration Service has currently opened a special window for indefinite resident applications. There are certain conditions to comply with before the indefinite resident status can be given, which tend to be related to a minimum period of residence in Ghana prior to the application, the individual contribution made to the country and the intention to reside permanently in Ghana.⁹

For the purpose of this study, the Ghana Immigration Service (GIS) had been requested for data on the number of immigrants, their origin, the number of work and resident permits granted as well as data on return migrants. In 2004, GIS issued 1,738 resident permits and 705 work permits. No data was disaggregated by country, region or city of destination nor age or gender. GIS claims, however, that all resident permits were issued to western European nationals. We should be aware of the fact that the majority of foreigners do not pass the Immigration Service for papers and permits, mainly because ECOWAS nationals can reside and work for 3 months without the requirement of any permit other than an identity card. Since February 2004, GIS had also issued indefinite resident permits and until May 2005 had issued 129 indefinite resident permits, mainly to foreign spouses married to Ghanaians.

Employment of Foreign Nationals

Persons with an indefinite residence permit are entitled, among other things, to be either self-employed or to work as an employee without a work permit. Persons with an initial residence permit have to make a separate application to obtain a work permit that is channelled through the Ministry of Interior. A special Immigration Quota Committee is responsible for making recommendations to all applications for work permits and immigrant quota. The Committee must be informed both at the beginning of employment and the ending of a contract with an employer. A work permit granted is mostly valid for one or two years. The obligations described above are predominantly applicable to foreign workers being employed in the Ghanaian formal sector including large private companies and public (international) institutions.

⁹ Regarding the period of stay in Ghana the following criteria are formulated: (1) one must have been residing in Ghana for the preceding 12 months immediately prior to the application, (2) one must have resided in Ghana during an aggregated period of 5 years within the immediate 7 years preceding the application.

Entrepreneurship

All businesses and companies have to be registered at the Registrar Generals Department in Accra. There are several acts that cover the legal status of the various types of businesses, among which the Company Code Act and the Ghana Investment Promotion Centre Act 487 assume most importance.¹⁰ Both will be explained shortly below.

- The **Company Code Act 151 (1963)** provides for the registration of all companies under ordinance, whether profit or non-profit enterprises. Re-registration is required every year, yet in practice this is often forgotten by enterprises. There is also very little benefit from registration other than the need for such registration in case you want to open a bank account under a companies name and when you want to obtain a loan. The act that requires registration of companies is not reinforced; hence there are many more unregistered enterprises than registered ones.
- A new act that provides for the promotion of private investment in Ghana is the **Ghana Investment Promotion Centre Act 478 (2000)**. This act seeks to facilitate the establishment of enterprises in Ghana with (foreign) investment. The act is linked to both the Immigration Act and the Company Code Act. After a business has been scrutinized by the GIPC, a letter of recommendation is given to help pass the Immigration Quota Committee for obtaining work permits. The requirement to establish a new business in Ghana differs per category of business to be established. A Ghanaian national residing in Ghana or a Ghanaian national residing outside Ghana has no threshold for starting up capital. A non-Ghanaian in a joint venture with a Ghanaian company requires an initial investment of at least USD 10,000. A non-Ghanaian seeking self-employment/business requires an initial investment of USD 50,000. Finally, a non-Ghanaian, establishing a multi-faceted enterprise with employees requires an investment of at least USD 300,000. Registration fees are collected by the government under the Company Code Act and are 0.05 percent of the capital shares/assets.

It is to be noted that most of the businesses run in Ghana are within the informal sector and organise their activities completely outside the formal legal framework described above. Only in case entrepreneurs require credit, must they go through the procedure of registering their company (including bookkeeping and auditing requirements).

¹⁰ Besides, the legal framework consists of the Private Partnerships Act (1962) and the Registration of Business Names Act (1962). More detailed information on these acts is available at the GIPC in Accra.

5.4 Possibilities for a successful return

The organisations which have been visited in Ghana were mainly active in the fields of job placement and business support. Both categories will be discussed consecutively below.

Job placement

Under the Minister of Manpower Development and Employment so-called **Employment Centres** have been established with the function to:

- Assist unemployed and employed persons to find suitable employment and assist employers vice versa.
- Facilitate occupational, geographical mobility as well as temporary transfers of unemployed / employed as a means to adjust to friction unemployment.
- Assist in social and economic planning by providing labour market data.
- Provide vocational guidance facilities to young persons.
- Provide arrangements for the registration of employed and unemployed.
- Provide arrangements for the registration and (re)training of people with disabilities.

In daily life, the above mentioned activities are supported by a very outdated and highly fragmented infrastructure. A visit to the Accra Chief Labour Officer and some of his officers as well as the Employment Information Centre revealed that the Employment Centres are not well equipped, quite dormant and under utilized. The centres have no electronic database of registered unemployed persons; neither do they have a robust database of jobs on offer.¹¹ The country has 62 Employment Centres. Upon my request for statistics they provided the following data for the period 1990-2003: total and yearly number of registered persons, number of vacancies and number of job placements. These figures reveal that only less than 250,000 unemployed are registered throughout the country and that on average no more than 7,000 unemployed are yearly given a job through the agency of the Employment Centres.

Only small segments of the population find its way to these centres and see the need to register themselves as unemployed. Similar conclusions may be drawn with respect to return migrants. The official institutions could not tell any detailed information about employment seeking return migrants, whereas return migrants themselves never mentioned the Employment Centres as relevant intermediaries in their search for a job. Instead, those who were approached had all started as an entrepreneur, often in the informal sector. Social networks and informal patterns of help were mentioned as crucial factors rather than the activities of formal institutions.

¹¹ Having said this, some progress is underway, especially with regard to the establishment of a nationwide electronic database of persons seeking employment and vacancies. As is expected, in the near future the information gathered at the separate Employment Centres will be connected into one computerised system.

In addition to these public initiatives, the Ghana business directory counts five private service centres where people can look for a job. A visit to one of these centres, **JobLink**, revealed that they cater for mainly better qualified jobs. About 200 unemployed on average are yearly given temporary or permanent jobs. In addition, when employers take the initiative to look for employees, JobLink undertakes various initiatives to fulfil these requirements, including advertising in local newspapers. Both the job seeker and the employer have to pay a small service fee. Although, the Employment Centre also makes use of an electronic database, only the 'potentials' (that is better educated persons) are entered into this computerised system. JobLink claims that about two in three are successfully placed. Upon the question whether this private organisation could be helpful for potential returnees, the spokesman answered in a positive way. The procedure for these individuals would then be as follows; a form is filled in abroad. A first screening of candidates follows suit. JobLinks warns, however, that the wages of most jobs on offer are very little. Having said this, private job placement centres seem to be of help to return migrant as well, for these centres are easily capable of searching vacancies in the formal sector.

Of specific interest are the activities within the framework of the German **Rückkehrbüros**. These offices were founded by the German government and were established to create jobs which are in line with the aim of sustainable economic development in less developed countries. In Ghana this office has helped more than 400 return migrant find a job. The mediation activities start in Germany where the potential returnee has to make clear what his ambitions are. After filling in a form, the Rückkehrbüro starts helping the migrant find a job in the country of return. When successful, the migrant gets a temporary subsidy and (when needed) also financial aid can be given to the employer where the migrant will be working for. Only employment with a direct relation to the aim of sustainable development is rewarded. In practicality, most of the jobs which fall under the programme are in agriculture, health care, public administration and good governance. The extra payments offered by the German government may embrace a period of up to two years. The counsellor and a return migrant himself both accentuate the success of this programme, highlighting the following arguments in favour of it:

- many start as an entrepreneur after two years of being employed;
- many academics who were trained in Germany start working in Ghana;
- the return to Germany hardly happens;
- most returnees find employment within a period of less than three months.

The spokesman of the Rückkehrbüro in Accra did not see any problem in trying to find employment for Dutch return migrants as well. Only the financial supplement, when needed, should be undertaken by the Dutch government. A similar remark was already made in Germany, where the head of ZAV indicated his willingness to offer a number of services for Dutch returnees also (see also chapter three).

Employers and the search for labour

The registration of job vacancies is not entered in any computerised, centralised or decentralised database other than the unsystematic gathering of job vacancies at the public **Employment Centres** under the Ministry of Manpower Development and Employment.

The centres do not employ any systematic way in searching for vacancies. Only when they visit companies (on inspection), are vacancies registered. The statistics available reveal that about 7,000 vacancies are registered on a yearly base. Vacancies are divided by ownership (public and private), sector of activity and region. Most vacancies are reported to be in manufacturing and construction in the private sector, as well as community and social services (including education and health care). No other public or private organisation keeps and maintains a database of vacancies in a holistic and coherent manner.

The Ministry of Manpower Development and Employment is aware of the fact that their activities only partly cover the total amount of vacancies in the country, as most employers will use their own networks (informal contacts) and the Daily Graphic (and to a lesser degree the Ghanaian Times) to announce job vacancies. For the purpose of this study a collection was made of all vacancies published in one month (February 2005). It should be noted that only one daily newspaper seems to have nearly all the job vacancies on offer in Ghana that merit an announcement in the media.¹² The total number of vacancies during this period was 345, an average of 14 vacancies per day being recorded. A breakdown as to type and level of job vacancies suggests that most of the job vacancies are located in the metropolis of Greater Accra. The jobs on offer in the newspaper are mainly for higher educated persons (31% with a first, second or higher degree and 18% with tertiary education). Only one quarter of the vacancies (24%) required specific lower degree qualifications. The survey also noticed that 8 percent of the vacancies did not specify in what kind of business and/or sector the job belongs to, nor did they specify locations of jobs on offer.

Table 5.2 Vacancies according to employment sector

Sector	%	Type of jobs within the sector	No of vacancies
Agriculture	3	Agricultural businesses	11
Industry	20	Manufacturing	19
		Mining	3
		Construction	3
		Administration	22
Services	74	Finance	4
		Communication/marketing	30
		transport	20
		Education	68
		Health	13
Not known	3		11

¹² The Ghanaian Times also publishes some job vacancies but these are almost all repetitions of those published in the Daily Graphic.

Besides these forms, there are a few high level companies who perform executive searches to fill vacancies for businesses and corporate bodies in Ghana, particularly KPMG and Ernst & Young. These agencies keep relatively small databases and employ newspaper announcement and headhunting as their most common way of finding the required personnel. Only specialized or highly skilled workers may benefit from the activities of these international organisations.

Last but not least, within the government new jobs are often filled by upward mobility within the available workforce. For special projects, newspaper announcements are the most current medium to fill new posts. Informal networking is also an important vehicle in obtaining a government job. Partly as a result, return migrants do not seem to get a job in public governance or administration easily.

Entrepreneurship

The **Ghana Investment Promotion Centre** (GIPC) does not collect any statistics on investments of Ghanaian nationals returning to Ghana who start up a business. The centre confirms, however, that large investments are realised by this category, particularly in the informal sector. In addition, a number of critical factors are mentioned by the head of this centre with regard to the problems that starting entrepreneurs experience. Particularly, the difficulty to get a loan is regarded as a major obstacle. As a rule, financial institutions do not supply financial resources to small businesses. The centre acknowledges that a large majority of these return migrants do not make use of the services provided by various formal institutions, among which the GIPC belongs. Return migrants strongly resort to their informal networks rather than making use of public or formal private institutions. Upon asking which specific GISP services could be useful for return migrants, the spokesman referred to:

- statistics available on the market situation and economic development;
- information on the relevant legal infrastructure;
- the possibility to be handed over to private consultants in case business plans are to be written.

In case migrants in the Netherlands are willing to be informed about their future plans in Ghana, the Dutch Migration Institute can make use of these services. Most obvious in this respect is the use of an extensive website (www.gipc.org.gh), giving information on laws and regulations, start-up procedures, industry and investment incentives, as well as the news letters (which can be sent abroad easily).

In Ghana, **IntEnt** started its activities in 1998, based in Accra. The application procedure starts in the Netherlands, where the potential return migrant may appeal to this provision. The screening process in the Netherlands makes clear that a large majority do not fit the aim

of the programme. According to the spokesman of IntEnt, potential returnees often have only vague ideas about their plans once they have returned. In addition, most of the applicants do not have any experience with entrepreneurship. As a result, less than forty applicants (out of a total of 700 potential candidates as of 1998) were given true support. These privileged returnees are all well educated and often have experience in running a business. Almost all of the participants are still in business, partly due to the activities provided by IntEnt. The organisation admits that the Ghanaian economy hardly offers any alternative than to setting up a business for migrants. As is reiterated, the salaries are low and the public sector does not create enough jobs. Only a few large companies can provide for an alternative in this respect, but these employers only look for highly skilled employees.

IOM

In Ghana the **International Organisation for Migration (IOM)** has initiated two programmes, both based on the principle of trans-nationalism and meant to contribute to sustainable economic development. The first programme, sponsored by the Dutch government, assists well trained professionals in health care to take up temporary employment in one of the hospitals in Ghana. The programme provides training facilities in the Netherlands enables the applicants to work in Ghana for a certain period of time and submits a financial allowance. The principle aim of IOM is to establish a network which helps to create a continuous flow of well prepared Ghanaian migrants. According to the spokesman of IOM, even a visit of less than one month may contribute to create sustainable development in Ghana. So far, however, the number of participants in the Netherlands is very small and no single applicant has come to Ghana. In order to ascertain a greater number of candidates, IOM is extending its focus to other European countries. The second programme focuses on agro-business and tries to encourage Ghanaians living in Italy to set up a business in Ghana. About seventy Ghanaian nationals showed interest of which five have been taken into the programme. These five are now financially supported in order to accomplish a sustainable business in agriculture. The applicants are all well qualified. The project started only recently, therefore, no concrete results are to be measured so far. IOM argues that only 'high potentials' (that is well qualified persons) are taken on board. Conversely, poorly educated returnees hardly have any chance to survive in the economy of Ghana; they all end up in the informal sector with very low profit margins.

PEF

The **Private Enterprise Foundation (PEF)** is an advocacy group for the private sector. With its focus on firms of at least five employees and a minimal asset of \$ 10,000 it represents the interests of firms in the formal sector by providing information, initiating debates and by offering courses. This foundation can be useful for return migrants in different ways. The spokesman argues that the news letters are free for all and give much relevant information on

the actual business situation in Ghana. In addition, a website, now under construction, provides a lot of information on the economic and legal business environment. Moreover, PEF has a lot of experience in offering courses on various topics, including the use of computers in firms, accountancy and marketing strategies. Recently, PEF carried out a UN programme to promote small scale enterprises in Ghana. This programme included training and the provision of small loans. The spokesman emphasized that many small businesses were helped by this initiative. In general, the organisation claims that a large majority of Ghanaian entrepreneurs should be supported in various ways. Most are hardly capable of setting up a profitable business, since they seriously lack the knowledge to do so. In order to help return migrants to start a business, PEF is interested in organising a special introductory course. Here again, international funding would be most helpful.

GACA

Catholic Graduates for Action (CAGA) is a registered non-profit organisation. It is a group of catholic graduates who believe in the dignity of people and their capacity to make the most out of their situations. The mission of CAGA is to support and facilitate the development initiatives of communities and organisations in Ghana. Within the framework of this research project a number of objectives of CAGA are worth mentioning, namely:

- To provide opportunities for reading, the acquisition and the dissemination of information pertaining to development and social justice.
- To educate, motivate and assist less privileged people to make the most out of their resources and situation, both individually and communally.
- To act as a link or as local partners for foreign organisations, which intend to assist villages/towns/cities/groups in Ghana to improve their communities through development projects.
- To construct and/or manage facilities that can enhance community development.

These objectives are fulfilled through various activities, such as the organisation of seminars, the provision of organisational development services for community institutions and non-profit organisations; leadership training, vocational and enterprise development skills for young people. Moreover, CAGA serves as a local counterpart for certain foreign development agencies (for instance in the Netherlands).

The activities of CAGA are concentrated in the capital of the Ashanti region Kumasi.¹³ In this capital a seminar was organised where the possibilities and critical factors with regard to return migration from Europe to Ghana were discussed. As it appeared, return migrants do need various forms of support when migrating back to Ghana. Very important in this respect are the provision of information (both in micro- and macro-economic terms), training

¹³ It is important to note in this respect that the Ashanti region is estimated to be the most important region as far as the number of return migrants to Ghana is considered.

facilities and the possibility to get a small loan to make investments possible. The participants of the seminar all emphasize that many returnees suffer from severe misconceptions regarding the employment situation in Ghana and, more importantly, their own possibilities to run a successful business.

In order to fill these gaps, migrants should be helped in various ways, especially by providing detailed information and by helping returnees to set up their businesses. The Dutch government can assist these migrants already residing in the Netherlands, especially by offering accessible training programmes. In addition, CAGA is also very much willing to do so and is further willing to serve as a local counterpart for the Netherlands. The essence of GACA's philosophy is that in order to really help return migrants, alliances must be sought by existing local (formal and informal) networks. In establishing these alliances the organisation may draw from a great number of useful contacts, especially in the Kumasi area.

Relevant websites

A quick search for jobs in Ghana on the website www.findajobinAfrica.com¹⁴ resulted in seven available job offers, of which four were offered by one company. For all these jobs a university degree was required. However, if we look for positions in, for example, Nigeria, we found 56 job offers. Moreover, African recruits are in contact with the Ghanaian Diaspora through the Ghana-Network, an all-embracing network of agencies for Ghanaians worldwide. This network is also involved in various grass-root religious activities with Ghanaians and the larger Africa Community.

Last but not least, reference should be made to a database launched by the **Ghana Netherlands Chamber of Commerce and Culture (GHANECC)**. This database may be found on www.ghanecc.com and constitutes a one-stop shop for information on developing a business in Ghana. The initiative aims at stimulating business in emerging markets, including Ghana. Companies can access the database with questions about grants, import and export support, investment, research, networks, training courses and relevant websites.

In sum

Looking back upon the above mentioned initiatives, we strongly get the impression that return migrants remain largely invisible to the major formal labour market institutions. Neither the public Employment Centres nor some approached private initiatives in the field of job placement consider return migrants as a substantial and relevant group of customers. One explanation is that Ghanaian nationals do return but only on a very small scale and, as a result, are hardly observed by these formal institutions. More importantly, however, is the fact that Ghanaian returnees are not acquainted with the infrastructure of formal institutions.

¹⁴ On August 2, 2005.

Rather than seeking support through formal public and private organisations, Ghanaian return migrants primarily resort to their own informal networks on a much more local level. There are, however, a few formal initiatives, often founded by western countries which predominantly aim at a better labour market integration of this group. These organisations very much agree on the specific needs of Ghanaian returnees. These needs are related to information on labour market developments (and more specific on the existence of vacancies and sectors of economic growth), financial resources and various forms of support to start up a successful private business. Overall, these initiatives appear to be quite successful; most returnees, who found their way to formal patterns of assistance, have found a job or have become entrepreneurs in Ghana. However, the selection criteria for participating in the different projects are rather tough: only qualified and very motivated returnees are supported. A vast majority of return migrants, therefore, still rely on more personal, family or community forms of assistance.

5.5 The experience of return migrants

At present there are only anecdotal stories on return migrants who came back to Ghana. These stories all point to the fact that Ghanaian people are most likely to come back after being (at least partly) successful abroad. As was iterated many times, Ghanaians are a proud people and, consequently, are very hesitant to return home when no serious financial improvements have been made. The current situation in many western countries has further decreased the likelihood of return, since many Ghanaians face several difficulties in finding acceptable employment. This pattern is very much true for the Netherlands, where Ghanaians are predominantly working in unqualified jobs. Instead of returning home, many even consider migrating to other countries, which are expected to offer better paid jobs. The United Kingdom, especially, assumes importance in this respect.

At the GACA meeting in Kumasi it became apparent that also after returning back, migrants are likely to be confronted with many difficulties. These difficulties are first of all related to the low income levels that are earned by employees and the small profit margins that are generated by entrepreneurs. The huge fall in income appears to be a serious obstacle to returning on a more permanent basis to Ghana. Some even argue that the difficulties to find a proper job contributes very much to the fact that many Ghanaians go back and forth instead of settling for good.

Not only were the financial problems highlighted by the participants of the CAGA-meeting, among which a few returnees were present, but they also emphasised the often poor preparation of migrants before returning home. As it was generally acknowledged, many

migrants leave for Ghana without any concrete idea of starting a business or finding employment. Most of them are badly informed about the economic situation in Ghana, particularly with regard to the possibilities to invest in a favourable market segment. In addition, a large majority lacks the most important business skills, which are needed to set up a successful enterprise. Only a very specific category of Ghanaian nationals, whether immigrants or not, proves to be capable of doing market research or to write a serious business plan. Strikingly enough, the Dutch government, rather than Ghanaian authorities, is held responsible for the fact that many immigrants fail to be economically successful upon return. Already in the Netherlands, potential migrants should be supported in their attempts to start a business back in Ghana. This support could consist of a training programme and a small loan to make the most urgent investments possible.

Formal public and private authorities in Ghana hardly play any role in the search for employment or to set up a private business. Rather than approaching one of the Employment Centres or a private job placement office, migrants resort to their social networks, consisting of family members, acquaintances and various types of voluntary organisations. Within this framework all kinds of support and information exchange come into being, among which are the provision of information, training facilities and the availability of materials or goods. As was often mentioned in interviews, many migrants return without the 'promised fortunes', due to poor strategies of labour market integration abroad. These less privileged return migrants strongly rely on accessible economic and social assistance. The strong orientation on informal institutions was also very much acknowledged by the approached public institutions; only very occasionally did return migrants come to these institutions to make use of any of the provided services.

A few approached returnees could, however, make a good living since substantial amounts of money were saved in Europe during their stay. One returnee, after having been in Germany for many years, explained that he was able to save more than 1,0000 German marks on a monthly basis. This money was now spent on a plot of land and a nice house. Another returnee was trying to invest in the production of non-traditional crops which had become possible only with the money saved abroad. No single return migrant mentioned any relationship with a formal public institution, since these were not expected to be very helpful.

5.6 Concluding remarks

Return migration to Ghana clearly fits into the concept of trans-nationalism. Accordingly, Ghanaian nationals living abroad seem to develop so-called double loyalties within which they feel attached to both the community of origin and the community of residence. As a result, high remittances are paid, various patterns of mutual solidarity have come into being and many journeys are made. The migration figures do not, however, indicate a strong increase in (semi-)permanent return. As it appears, Ghanaians go back and forth but do not settle for good in one country or the other. Likewise, only some Ghanaian nationals in the Netherlands return on a permanent basis to Ghana. It is important to note, however, that the official statistics do not capture all movements, for many do not deregister when moving back and others may reside illegally in the Netherlands.

Those who return, as it seems, may be divided into two broad categories, the first being composed of migrants who have been quite successfully abroad. These migrants have earned enough money to invest in their local community of origin, often in land, houses and a private business. The second category of returnees appears to be less privileged. This group has suffered from economic hardship abroad and has not been able to save enough money to invest upon return. With regard to the Netherlands, no statistics are available to quantify both categories. However, several stories give us the impression that Ghanaian nationals face many economic difficulties, particularly since employment growth has strongly reduced during the last five years in the Netherlands. These migrants do not seem to have strongly benefited from their stay in the Netherlands and some even migrate to other western countries rather than returning home.

In addition, the situation of the national labour market of Ghana does not constitute a strong pull factor on return migration. Only a few sub-sectors are in need of labour, but still the wages on offer are very low. Moreover, there is hardly any formal public or private infrastructure, which may be of help to return migrants in order to integrate them into the national labour market. No actual and reliable statistics are available, training and job placement are offered only incidentally, while returnees hardly do have access to formal financial institutions. Only newsletters, websites and vacancies in newspapers seem to actively assist returnees once they are back in Ghana. As a result, Ghanaian return migrants primarily resort to their own informal networks on a much more local level rather than seeking support through formal public and private organisations. A vast majority of return migrants fall back on more personal, family or community forms of assistance.

However, these informal networks often fail to really improve the economic situation of return migrants. Various forms of assistance are therefore still needed, especially in favour of

those who have not been very successful abroad. Most attention in this respect should be paid to the provision of relevant information to reintegrate - either as an employee or as an entrepreneur - into the labour market, to inform and educate returnees with respect to setting up a private enterprise, and to assist migrants in a financial way, particularly to make small scale investments possible. In fact, such initiatives should, in one way or another, connect the formal institutionalised level with the informal individual or local level. Only then, necessary means and urgent needs may be brought together. The micro-oriented activities carried out by various local or national non-governmental organisations seem to play a crucial role in this field.

Some of the more privileged returnees resort to a few formal initiatives, often founded by western countries. These initiatives have proven to be quite successful, mainly because of the possibilities to find qualified employment (mainly through networking), the facilities of training (in case migrants are willing to become entrepreneurs or businessmen) and the financial aid which is often given during the first period after return. A vast majority of the participants, who found their way to these organisations, have got jobs or have become entrepreneurs in Ghana. However, in order to successfully apply for the projects on offer, one has to be rather qualified and experienced. This, of course, does not count for most Ghanaians returning home. Particularly, migrants coming from the Netherlands are not likely to fit into this scenario.

6 THE EUROPEAN CONTEXT

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter, we will present a number of ways to give content to the concept of job placement services for returnees. We will do so by sketching an overview of the European context in which job placement services take place. In Europe, a number of organisations are active in the field of return migration. Often the target group of these organisations are those who are more or less forced to return to their home countries, the group of rejected asylum seekers being an example. We would like to reiterate that we are not interested in *forced* migration, but in *voluntary* migration. Therefore, we primarily examined those initiatives which offer some kind of job placement services to voluntary migrants.

There is a wide variety of initiatives in Europe. Some initiatives can be characterised as recruitment organisations, like AfricaRecruit in Great Britain with their website www.findajobinAfrica.com. Other organisations operate more in line with the national employment agencies, such as the Central Placement Office (ZAV) in Germany, whereas other initiatives are strongly development oriented, like the World University Service (WUS) and AGEF in Germany, as well as initiatives in France (PS-Eau) and Belgium (MIDA).

There are, moreover, several ways to characterise the variety of organisations that are active in the field of return migration and job placement services. For example, we could characterize these initiatives by the target groups they serve, by the activities they carry out, or the countries that they serve. However, one of the most important aims of this study is to define which activities are necessary and would be successful in the Netherlands. Therefore, the most fruitful way to characterize the various organisations would be to classify them according to their activities. In order to do so, we will make use of the following schedule.

Schedule 6.1 An overview of different levels of activities and required input with respect to international job placement services

Level	Activity	Required input
1	Registration job seekers and vacancies	Database of job seekers and vacancies
2	Provision of information and advice	Promotion material, information desk, seminars, workshops, local contacts
3	Active search for employment	Active promotion of job seekers among employers, targeted search to fill vacancies, local contacts
4	Actual job placement services	Guiding (open) job applications Job placements, counsellors, local contacts
<i>Additional activities</i>		
5	Enhancing employee competences	Training: computer skills, provision of literature
6	Enhancing employment conditions	(Temporary) supplementary salary provision Equipment for the workplace
7	Supporting SME's	Training, business plans, financial support

Source: Returning Migrants: Triggers for reconstruction and Assets for Development (NMI, 2004). Schedule is adjusted by Regioplan.

Schedule 6.1 contains four activities that are directly linked to the concept of job placement services (level 1 - 4) and three additional activities that each support the (level and amount of) employment in the country of origin in a different way. For each activity the required input is presented as well. Below, we discuss this schedule on the basis of the different European initiatives. Prior to this, we would like to stress that this schedule does not imply a ranking order. Being active at level 3 does not necessarily mean that this is more effective or labour intensive than being active at level 1 or 2. Which activities are effective, may depend on numerous factors such as the target group, the way activities are carried out, the needs of the target group, or the specific combination of activities.

In this chapter, we set out to give an overview of the way European initiatives carry out these activities. We first discuss the four activities that are directly related to international job placement services (section 6.2). After that, we discuss the additional activities (section 6.3). This is followed by a discussion on the target group that is served by these initiatives (section 6.4). Then, we present an overview of the Dutch context (section 6.5) and an overview of the critical factors that make job placement of returnees successful (section 6.6). We conclude with the possibilities for European cooperation (section 6.7).

6.2 Four levels of activities directed towards international job placement services

In this section we discuss the four kinds of activities that are related to international job placement services. We start with the most common activity, that is to say the registration of job seekers and vacancies.

1. Registration of job seekers and vacancies

One of the most crucial and obvious activities for a job placement service is the registration of job seekers and job vacancies. For most organisations this is the starting point of their activities. The registration may lead to a web-based search engine like <http://europa.eu.int/eures>. This is in effect the largest international database of job vacancies. European citizens who would like to live in, or return to a country that is part of the European Union, can make use of the services of EURES job search. All job vacancies that are registered at the local (national) employment offices could, in principle, be placed on the website of EURES. Employers, who are particularly interested in personnel from abroad, could indicate this in their job description. However, this possibility is not very common in all countries. Therefore, it is not always clear for international job seekers whether an employer is interested in an employee from abroad. This makes the search process for potential returnees, and for employers, less efficient. The experience of EURES teaches us that it is important to be explicit about the intentions and expectations of the employers. In addition, for international positions, it is important that job descriptions by employers are more extensive than for national positions, in order to prevent misunderstandings about the job content. For our study the EURES initiative is regarded as an outstanding example of how the registration of job seekers and vacancies can be organised.

Since we are not interested in migration within the European Union, EURES is not very useful for our study of return migrants to their country of origin outside of Europe. For the return migrants the smaller scale web-based search engines that focus on return migration, like www.findajobinafrica.com, www.zav-reintegration.de or www.werkeninsuriname.nl, are of more interest. At these websites, jobseekers can place their Curriculum Vitae (CV), and employers can place their job offers.

For most web-based search engines it is easier to register job seekers than to have employers place interesting job offers. Therefore, employment and mediation organisations have to be flexible and creative in order to get employers involved. For example, www.findajobinafrica.com, which belongs to Africa Recruit, offers free advertisement opportunities to small companies, whereas multinationals and recruitment offices have to pay

for this service. In order to get more job vacancies from relatively small organisations, small companies can send Africa Recruit their job openings by fax and they will place the job offers for them on the Internet. Local contacts in the countries of origin, turned out to be very important sources in establishing the contact with these small employers. A positive side effect of this promotion in the countries of origin is ‘reverse marketing’. Communities in the countries of residence learn about the job placement services through their contacts in the country of origin.

For some organisations this database comprises their core business, whereas other organisations merely see this database as a starting point for their services. For example, Avenir Nepad (a French initiative) and Afroneth (a Dutch initiative), use their database primarily for the invitation and organisation of seminars and workshops, and considers this as the first and most important step in the process to set up a job placement. According to them, the first step is to get people drawn into their country of origin, by getting them in contact with people from the potential target group, and mapping the types of jobs/companies they are interested in. Then one can proceed in the offering them certain facilities and mediation.

Not only European initiatives geared specifically towards potential returnees are useful for those looking for employment. These potential returnees can also look through the Internet databases in their country of origin; whether such databases are available, differs across each country. In Turkey there are many of these search engines, for example www.kariyer.com or www.insankaynaklari.com. The first website is the oldest and probably the most used by employers and job seekers. In Suriname, on the other hand, such web-based search engines are not yet available. People could look at the Dutch website www.werkeninsuriname.nl, which is originally meant for, but not limited to, returnees. For Ghana there is no specific website. However, they can make use of the Africa Recruit website.

In addition, there are various international networks and websites for specialised professions, like networks for technical professions or international university networks. Through these networks, higher educated people with a specialised profession are able to find international jobs themselves. Their labour market is in theory international because their job is so specific.

Moreover there are some initiatives, such as MIDA (Migration for Development in Africa) which is a specific programme of IOM, which attempts to mobilize the African Diaspora for the development of Africa. Within this programme (MIDA Grands Lacs, a project that is financed by the Belgian government), MIDA offers the possibility for candidates in the European Union and employers in Burundi, the Democratic Republic of Congo, and Rwanda

to subscribe to the website. When available, job offers are placed on the Internet. However, not all employers can place their job vacancies on the website, as they first have to be selected to take part in the MIDA project. One of the selection criteria is that employers have to contribute to the development of these countries.¹ Moreover, we would like to stress that this programme is directed towards temporary return, and does therefore not offer 'real' permanent jobs.

Finally, there are many small projects that incidentally also offer vacancies on their websites. However, these vacancies are often traineeships or voluntary posts. An example of the former is the Suriname based www.wereldstage.com, or examples of the latter include the international voluntary organisations of SIW, Activity International or Vrijwillig Afrika. However, these projects are often not directed towards returnees. In fact, the Dutch government has recently decided that Dutch youths -instead of returnees- should be stimulated to take part in this type of activities. The initiatives that offer traineeships or voluntary posts, might, however, be of interest to potential returnees. Return migrants have the opportunity to examine whether they would rather rebuild their lives in their country of origin, or whether they would like to contribute to the development of their country of origin in a more temporary way.

In sum

There is a wide variety of web-based search engines at which jobseekers and employers are able to register themselves. These undertakings usually have no problems in getting enough jobseekers involved. However, their main concern is, or should be, to get more employers involved. In order to do so they must build-up networks in the countries of origin, and to be flexible and creative in the approach of the employers.

2. Provision of information and advice

When one sets out to provide information and advice, a somewhat more intensive approach and active attitude is required. The way the provision of information is organised, differs across initiatives.

Within the European Union, the European employment office, EURES, offers individual advice to people who look for a job in another member state of the European Union. The national employment offices employ specific EURES consultants who are expected to spend half of their time on EURES activities. However, as stated before, most returnees' home

¹ See also: <http://www.belgium.iom.int/Mida2/index.asp>.

countries fall outside the European Union (as it presently stands).² EURES has also set up checklists for both employees who intend to work abroad and employers who intend to hire staff from abroad. These checklists evolved from a list of FAQ's. They have provided useful information on their website about the different aspects of working abroad, such as facts about social life or legal possibilities (see appendix 4 for the checklists for employers and employees). As this information is also on the site, it offers job seekers more than only a possibility to register or to browse through job vacancies.

Other, more small scale organisations, like the German initiatives ZAV, WUS and AGEF, use a somewhat different approach. These initiatives use various information channels to provide information. They hand out printed info material, offer information on the Internet, and organise workshops and seminars. WUS and AGEF are both situated on university campuses and have many contacts with university students. This allows them to offer a facility which is easily accessible, and well placed to correspond with foreign students who wish to return to their country of origin.

Some organisations, such as Africa Recruit in Great Britain or Avenir Nepad in France, MIDA Grands Lacs in Belgium³, and AfroNeth in the Netherlands are more directed towards the organisation of workshops and seminars in order to get the African Diaspora involved and to motivate them to (temporarily) return to their country of origin. These organisations focus on capacity building, and stress that it is important to have a pro-active approach: let the African people discover where their skills lie, and in which areas they could best use them. This is the first step before the African Diaspora can start to think about returning.

It is important that the recognised critical factors for return are relayed to the people who might be interested in returning. For example, 'Africa Recruit' mentions that it is important to show that there *are* possibilities, and to discuss the level of the salary, which is often mentioned as a critical factor (see also chapter 2 or chapter 3). This is also stressed by the Dutch initiative 'Werken in Suriname': it is important to pay attention to *realistic* information about income, which means that one has to address the purchasing power parity of the salary.

² Turkey holds a specific position in this respect. It is a candidate member state, and, from that starting point, there are several projects which are financed by the European Union in Turkey, among which are the adaptation of the Turkish central employment office to European Standards. As soon as Turkey becomes a member state, it would likely take part in EURES as well.

³ In order to reach the target group, MIDA Grands Lacs also organizes seminars in, for example, the Netherlands and Germany, since the project is open for all members of the Burundi's, Congolese and Rwandese Diaspora who live in the European Union.

By using a more individual approach one can advise individuals where to start with their search for a job by giving them some practical advice and tools (ZAV), such as a list of German multinationals that are active in the country of origin. The programme MIDA Grands Laes offers information about their programme, and information about the countries of origin (Benin, Congo and Rwanda) on their website. Their website offers a lot of information about returning, including country reports and FAQ's, as well as selection criteria for employers and employees.

The Dutch Economic Advise Service (EVD) and some local Chambers of Commerce advise people who would like to set up an international business, or would like to extend their activities to another country. The EVD employs specific country managers who write country reports and advise entrepreneurs about their opportunities and specific regulations in the respective countries. These easily accessible country reports (published on the Internet) also contain information about the labour market, employment and social security. Parts of these reports, such as information about employment/labour laws or social security, could be very useful for potential returnees who wish to get more information about their home country. The EVD has contact persons at Dutch consulates and embassies who supply them with information and who answer questions. The Chambers of Commerce organise specific seminars and open days for people who are interested in international entrepreneurship, for example in Turkey. Nonetheless, when entrepreneurs have very specific questions the Chambers redirect them to the EVD.

Another initiative in the Netherlands, the Netherlands Migration Institute, also offers an information facility. The Netherlands Migration Institute does not offer any job placement services or employment promotion, but advises, and when applicable informs, candidate returnees about their decision to return, and about the facilities which the Dutch government offers to returnees. The Dutch government offers two services for people who (themselves or their parents) originate from the major migrant countries to facilitate their return. The first is the Basic service, which provides for a compensation for travel expenses and for the first two months of daily living expenses. However, most clients apply for the second facility, the Return migration facility. This Return migration facility allows migrants who are older than 45 years, and who receive a social allocation, to return to their country of origin and to receive a large share of this social allocation for the rest of their lives. The NMI provides easily accessible assistance for prospective returnees. Prospective returnees are counselled in the decision making process both at the individual level and at the household level. The NMI has regional offices in the Netherlands where they offer regular office hours, as well as a telephone service. Moreover, the employees speak the languages of the migrants, and all services offered are free of costs for the returnee. The NMI is well known in the Netherlands,

even consulates and embassies redirect people with questions about returning to their home country to the NMI.

Information for employers

The initiative of Africa Recruit also organises seminars for employers in the countries of origin to inform them about working with returnees. This is important, as Africa Recruit, highlighted the fact that many employers are cautious in employing returnees, as they are afraid their salary expectations and potential pretentious attitude will cause problems. This attitude can change by giving employers positive information on this point and also to point out the advantages of employing a returnee. The organisation Africa Recruit thinks that investments in the provision of information will pay out in the long run, resulting in more employers employing return migrants.

Soft landing

The provision of practical information about housing, education (for one's children), and various kinds of regulations should also be given. This could help returnees with a soft landing and to successfully reintegrate in their country of origin. Otherwise, returnees might spend so much time working out practical things, such as how to get a telephone connection. If they are not completely settled, it is more difficult to focus on their jobs or on the start-up of a company. Some information could best be provided in the home countries, and other information in the countries of origin. Especially the very practical questions about daily life are usually not risen until one has established oneself in the country of origin.

Some people might argue that returnees have family or friends whom they could ask such questions. But in effect, after a few weeks, relatives and friends are not always willing to help the returnee to reintegrate any further. So, returnees must find their way on their own. It is also possible that a return migrant has no close relatives or friends in the country of origin to help him or her to reintegrate. In most cases returnees do not realize that living in one's country of origin is totally different from being on holiday there. The reason for this could be that many returnees left their country of origin many years prior, or they might have left their country of origin when they were young, or they might even belong to the second generation. According to the Dutch initiative 'Werken in Suriname', particularly people who have left Suriname at a rather young age, or people who have never been to Suriname before are in need of practical information.

Information in countries of origin

The information provision also takes place in the countries of origin. Sometimes this kind of information provision may be more important for returnees than information provision in the country of residence, since advisors can directly intervene or advise on the problems. This kind of information provision can contribute to the soft landing of returnees.

If one has migrated to a country of the European Union, one of the EURES managers at the local job placement organisation offices can provide practical support and advice on all kinds of legal matters with respect to taxes, insurances etc. The European organisation EURES offers a great deal of practical information about housing, driving licenses, habits and customs and working permits on their website. In addition, they also provide this kind of information in the countries of settlement at local employment offices.

There are, however, also initiatives that provide this kind of services for returnees outside the European Union. The German employment office (ZAV) has been mentioned earlier as an example. The return offices (Rückkehrbüros), in cooperation with WUS and AGEF, are those places where returnees can ask for advice on a number of questions about daily life. These return offices are staffed by people who are returnees themselves, which is an important advantage since they can perfectly understand the situation of the returnees.

Returnees who return within the framework of a specific return project (like the return programmes of AGEF, the return project to the Russian Federation of Vluchtelingenwerk Belgium, or the MIDA Grands Lacs programme), can often fall back on the local contact persons for information requests or for advice. In the case of the MIDA Grands Lacs programme, the local contact persons can even be reached by telephone or e-mail from the country of residence. However, those returnees who return on their own do not always have the right networks to find their way through the society and bureaucracy in their home country. For, returnees who are interested in setting up a business in their country of origin, there are also several sources of information in the countries of origin. The Göteborg Initiative has organised a mentor system for refugees with a permanent permission to stay who have returned to their home countries to set up their own business. These mentors can advise returnees about all kinds of practical issues, but are primarily focussed on advising them about their businesses.

Somewhat similar to the Swedish initiative, is the Dutch initiative IntEnt that advises returnees who wish to set up their own business in several countries (Ghana, Suriname and Turkey among others). Business advisors in a number of countries of origin offer counselling during the start-up phase and the first months of operation. This service is free for returnees in the IntEnt programme, but limited in time. Throughout the process of starting-up in the country of residence, and doing market research, entrepreneurs may also get advice from the local business advisors. It is important to note that returnees only get advice on their business, and not on more social aspects of life in the new country.

The French initiative PS-Eau, which offers the PDL⁴ programme that assists migrants who wish to set up a business in their country of residence (Mali, Senegal and Mauritania), works

⁴ Programme Development Local Migration. This is part of the PMIE programme.

more indirectly. It does not target its services directly to migrants themselves. It mainly targets social stakeholders (social workers, employment counsellors, local government representatives) so that it can orient migrants towards the relevant organisation that can support them in their business plans.

For all type of information, the existence of an international network is very important. Even if the initiative focuses at the provision of information in the country of residence, it is important that they have a network of local contact persons who gives them input, or whom they can ask questions about the situation in their home countries. Actually all undertakings have to deal, in one way or another, with the provision of information. For instance, they have to promote their own project. In order to do that, contact with self help organisations is important (for instance OCIV, IOM Netherlands, MIDA Grands Lacs, PS-Eau/PDLM).

Moreover, several initiatives in the Netherlands that do not consider the provision of information about employment as their task (like the EVD or 'Werken in Suriname'), nonetheless, receive many requests for advice and practical information on working abroad. This shows that (potential) returnees have many questions about employment in the country of origin, but they do not know where to go in order to get information about this.

In sum

There is a wide variety of organisations that offer information and advise on returning. Moreover, there turned out to be a wide variety of information channels that could be used in order to reach the target group (internet, brochures, seminars etc.). In respect to informing the target group in the country of residence it is important to address the critical factors that might refrain them from returning (see also chapter 2). One could, for example, set up a check list, such as in EURES. The information provision should also address other topics, like how to find a job, and daily life issues in order to promote a soft landing in the countries of origin. It is also useful to offer information in the countries of residence, because many questions and specifically on daily life, are risen once one starts to reintegrate in the country of origin.

3. Employment promotion

Another way to guide returnees in their search for a job in their country of origin, is to actively promote job seekers among potential employers. This activity is more directly linked to the ultimate aim of most initiatives, which is to assist people in their search for a job in their country of origin. Within the context of the European Union, trans-national job seekers can make use of the service of the regular local employment offices (the EURES initiative) in either their new country or in their current country of residence.

Certainly not all initiatives provide employment promotion service. Most organisations consider themselves to be a facilitating establishment, and therefore do not actively promote specific candidates. Rather, many organisations, such as private recruitment organisations, and in some cases specific programmes like the IOM RQA, are more an intermediary for the employer. The employers *ask* for a candidate, and then these initiatives look for the right candidate among a whole group of interested candidates; much more along the lines of a head hunter.

Organisations that do offer employment promotions are often directly linked to the national employment office. For example, the German Employment Office (ZAV) sends CV's /resumes to return offices in the countries of origin, that send these CV's to potential employers. In fact, this is quite an easy way to promote employment of returnees. ZAV cooperates with WUS and AGEF to monitor these return offices. Besides this initiative, AGEF has also some special programmes for transitional countries as well, which are discussed in the next section.

One of the pre-conditions for the success of this service is that one has a network in the country of origin among which one could promote job seekers. It usually takes a long time to build up good relations with the network, and therefore it is necessary to set up long term projects, like the one of the German initiative ZAV. Nonetheless, there are several short-term or pilot projects that cover only one or a few countries. This makes it easier to set up a local network. For example, the Flemish organisation 'Vluchtelingenwerk' has set up a pilot project for (rejected) asylum seekers return to the Russian Federation. In the Russian Federation, they cooperate with a local department of the human rights organisation Memorial which assists returnees in finding a job.

Another initiative that has special projects in a number of small countries of origin is MIDA Grands Lacs. This organisation offers an intensive approach to mediate Africans in the Diaspora who live in the European Union for temporary or permanent projects in Benin, Rwanda and Congo. It is an IOM programme, and financed by the Belgian Ministry of Development Cooperation. However, we would like to stress that this project is aimed at the short-term.

In sum, in order to offer employment promotion for returnees, one should have a network in the -relevant- countries of origin, which usually takes a long time to build up. However, one could cooperate with initiatives that already have built up a network, or one should delimit oneself to a small scale return project to only one country of origin. In essence, to set up an employment promotion facility, does not have to be very complicated, if one uses a very practical approach as seen in the case of the German ZAV.

4. *Job placement*

Finally, job placement is a more intensive way to promote the employment of job seekers. At this level candidates are not only promoted among employers, but are also actively supported in their search for a job by their personal counsellor. This counsellor gives (potential) returnees advice, feed back and prepares them for the interview, etc.. This activity is comparable with the way in which local employment offices work in order to mediate the unemployed to a job. One such organisation, which offers a job placement facility, is EURES. The EURES consultant at the local employment offices can function as a counsellor for all citizens of the European Union. This approach is considered to be too labour intensive by most initiatives. Most initiatives do not have enough staff to offer an intensive way of mediation, and therefore active job placement services hardly occur. One exception is AGEF. This organisation offers an intensive approach to get returnees employed in a number of post-war countries (like Kosovo, Bosnia Herzegovina, and Afghanistan). However, it is aware of the fact that job placement services for returnees might reduce the chances of other underprivileged groups. Therefore, providing these services is an exception for AGEF. They mainly focus on stimulating employment by organising seminars and trainings for employers and by promoting own-businesses for individuals. In addition, they actively seek the participation of returnees in the labour market. For example, AGEF offers training facilities, counselling and actual job placement services to returnees, in the place of origin. This makes it possible to gear the training to the needs of the returnees since most returnees only discover their true needs once they have actually returned. Other advantages of offering these services in the country of origin are that it stimulates the local economy and that the costs are lower.

However, an active job placement approach may not be applicable to all returnees, who are often higher educated individuals. These people are often considered to be able enough to find a job themselves, since they are expected to know how to write a letter of application, how to set up their resume/ CV, and how to look for a job etc. An exception is the Dutch initiative UAF Job Support which offers a job placement service for higher educated refugees. In fact this service is not directed to mediate them to a job in their country of origin, but to a job in the Netherlands. However, incidentally refugees indicate that they would like to return to their home country. In these cases the employees of UAF Job Support assist them in their search for employment in their country. They give advice about employment, but also about the start up of an SME. However, these activities are limited to a very small number of refugees.

Some recruitment agencies are more active in the actual job placement process: they organise a video conference call or a meeting with the employer. However, their service is employer rather than employee oriented.

In some instances intensive job placement activities are combined with an examination of the possibilities to set up one's own business (see the next section). This happens, for example, in the Flemish pilot project for returnees to the Russian Federation, but also in the AGEF projects.

In sum

There are some initiatives that offer a job placement facility to returnees. However, most initiatives consider this activity as too labour intensive. Initiatives that offer some kind of job placement often prefer to do so in the countries of origin, since the service could then be better geared to the situation in the country of origin. Moreover, this offers the possibility to stimulate the local economy. Another advantage is that the placement costs, like additional training, are usually lower in these countries.

6.3 Additional services

Some organisations support the employment of returnees by a number of additional services. These additional services are directed towards the development of the countries of origin by supporting the employment and employment conditions of qualified human resources. The aim of these activities is to reverse the brain drain into a brain gain or to stimulate the local economy. The countries of origin often have to deal with a loss of human resources due to the fact that the high potentials leave the country. Therefore, additional facilities are required to get these high potentials involved in the development of their country of origin, and to make sure that they will be able to use their capacities once they return.

In addition, when return programmes are related to development policy, they may include some additional features that stimulate the development of the home countries. In this field of activities, we have already mentioned the projects of AGEF in post-war countries that are trying to stimulate employers to restart their businesses.

5. Enhancing employee competences

Some initiatives not only try to support returnees, but also local development, particularly in post-conflict situations. This is done in two ways. First, they try to encourage the local economy by providing support to employers and second, they also try to encourage returnees to set up their own business. An example of this is AGEF which organises trainings and seminars for returnees and local entrepreneurs. These groups are persuaded to invest (again) in their home country, and are trained in their business skills. A second way to support local development is to equip returnees better to rebuild their country. For instance, returnees could get specific on the job training for the type of employment that is necessary in the post-war

countries, which differs from their previous working experiences. One example is if returnees wish to contribute to rebuilding their country of origin, some returnees are trained in construction work. Although refugees are often relatively well educated and are probably not the ones who are most in need of additional training, they might need this specific type of training. On the other hand, there are also trainings that focus on enhancing computer skills which also contribute, although more indirectly, to the rebuilding of the country. Both types of training are carried out by AGEF.

Other organisations use a different approach when promoting returnees' application of acquired knowledge. These initiatives do not intend to enhance returnees' knowledge, but are directed towards the improvement of the quality of the human resources in the country of origin. For example, within the framework of MIDA the transfer of knowledge, vital skills, and resources, particularly of the African Diaspora to the local community is promoted. Returnees, who most often return on a temporary basis within this programme, are employed to teach or work in the field of their specialization. Equipped with their competences, new ideas, and expertise gained abroad, migrants can be a tremendous asset for the development of their countries of origin in different fields (education, social affairs, health and other priority areas).

In sum

Some European initiatives offer returnees training, for example in the field of entrepreneurship. In some cases returnees are placed in special projects which are aimed at knowledge transfer. As a consequence, the business qualities of the returnees, and sometimes also of local entrepreneurs, and the local development are stimulated through these additional services.

6. Enhancing employment conditions

Some initiatives offer additional incentives which are not directly related to job placement services but which indirectly promote employment. These incentives intend to improve employment conditions. In general, there are two strategies to do this. Firstly, we will consider supplements to the salary, and secondly, the support of equipment at the workplace.

One of these incentives is salary compensation. Since salary is often mentioned as a critical factor, see chapter 2, some initiatives offer returnees a temporary supplement to their local salary (for example ZAV in Germany or the IOM programme of RQA in Kabul) or a temporary allowance which offers returnees the possibility to set up their own business (Göteborg Initiative in Sweden). There are several reasons why these initiatives offer this incentive. Thanks to this supplementary salary or allowance, returnees can fully concentrate

on the work they are going to do in their country of origin. In addition, an allowance is needed in order to also attract successful migrants, who can make a lot more money in the country of residence. Moreover, this financial compensation is seen as an additional stimulus to return: it makes it easier to set up one's life in the country of origin.

All initiatives stress that it is a *transitional* arrangement which will make it easier for returnees to adjust to their new lives in their country of origin, and to deal with some extra costs. This is particularly the case for returnees who take part in projects that are aimed at temporary return, like the 'getting down to business' project of the Göteborg Initiative, the RQA project of IOM, or the MIDA programme. In addition, most businesses which are starting up have to deal with a starting period in which they only invest and endure costs, and do not see a profit.

An advantage of periodical support is that it offers organisations the possibility to monitor returnees. Since returnees are requested to frequently fill in monitor reports in order to receive their allowance, the German Employment Office (ZAV) can keep track of their experiences, and check whether this facility contributes to a more sustainable return. This makes it possible to evaluate the results of their project and policy, to keep in contact with returnees, to intervene when problems occur and to prevent returnees from regretting their return to their home country (see appendix 5).

Although salary is a critical factor, it is not a sufficient factor: enhancing the level of a salary does not always attract people to their country of origin. Sometimes the salary, including this supplement or the allowance is still not enough to make a comfortable living. And, as long as the safety of, especially post-conflict countries, is not guaranteed, migrants are not inclined to return. A disadvantage of this facility is that it enforces competition between projects. For example in Kosovo, the German initiative AGEF could financially support employers who may employ returnees. Since the Belgian initiative (OCIV) did not have such a provision, this initiative had more difficulties to get employers involved. It is important to be clear about the aims of this incentive towards the local population, since the fact that returnees get paid more for the same job does not always stimulate the integration and acceptance of returnees. It is important to clearly communicate to the local community and the employers that it is a *temporary* facility, which is offered because returnees have more costs to undertake than the local population.

There is another way in which the employment conditions in the home countries are improved. In Germany the Central Employment Office (ZAV) and the World University Service (Wus) carry out a special program (APA) that allows returnees who have been trained or have worked in Germany to apply and implement their acquired knowledge in their countries of origin. When returning to their home countries, university graduates and

experts often experience difficulties in implementing the knowledge they have gained abroad, because of the poor working conditions and the lack of equipment at the workplace. This can be overcome by encouraging the employers of these returnees to purchase and transport the workplace equipment for these returnees, for example machines and technical apparatus, instruction materials, literature etcetera. A pre-condition is that this facility is only available for jobs that are relevant to the development of the given country. This programme makes it more attractive for employers to employ returnees and at the same time makes working in the home country more attractive for returnees, since they can apply their acquired knowledge. Also a programme that aims at temporary return like MIDA offers such an incentive, since this contributes to the development of the countries of origin.

In sum

Some initiatives offer additional incentives to job placement services. An important incentive addresses the critical factor of the low salaries in the countries of origin. Thanks to a temporary salary supplement, returnees will be more inclined to make the decision to return, and moreover, they can be more devoted to their new job. However, these supplements have some disadvantages as well. It enforces the competition between return or development projects, and it could lead to feelings of jealousy of the local population, which does not support a successful reintegration. Another way through which the employment conditions could be improved is through the financial assistance in purchasing necessary equipment, like computers or machinery.

7. Support for SME's

Several organisations do not focus on employment promotion or on job placement services. Instead they serve the returnees who would like to set up their own business (like OCIV Ondernemen in Belgium or IntEnt in the Netherlands, Getting down to business in Sweden). Other organisations offer both job placement services and start-up support (AGEF in Germany, the Flemish pilot project for the return to the Russian Federation). Often entrepreneurship is regarded as the main factor that would stimulate the local economy.

Most initiatives that offer support for SME's have been mentioned before, since their activities are often related to the activities that are offered to job seekers, like information provision or training. However, the initiatives, that support returnees who wish to set-up their own SME's, have some specific characteristics that are worth discussing in a separate section. Support for SME's can be very labour intensive if it includes counselling about the development of a business plan. For example, the Göteborg Initiative admits not to be very cost effective, since it does not serve large numbers of returnees (about 24 a year).

Some organisations try to select returnees' business plans not only on the feasibility of the business plan but also by its contribution to the development of the local economy (OCIV Ondernemen, IntEnt). In fact, the Dutch IntEnt initiative has rather strong selection criteria for returnees who wish to join the programme. All applicants have to pass an entrepreneurship test. The most important criterion is that returnees have a strong motivation to set up one's own business. The choice to set up a business should be a positive choice, and not an escape, because one cannot find a well paid job. Another criterion is that the business plan has added value for the development of the country of origin. An important element of the IntEnt programme is that they also help the selected returnees with financing their business plan locally. IntEnt not only brings the new businessman in contact with local banks, it also can act as a surety if local banks are willing to provide finance. See also chapter 3 on Suriname for more information about the activities of IntEnt.

The French initiative PS-Eau offers an extensive programme (PDLM) in which a long term approach is used. It is recognized that the decision to return is a difficult decision, and implies an important risk for the migrant. Therefore, they use a programme that consists of two stages. The first step is the creation of an enterprise in France or a long-distance investment to prepare the second step of reintegration in the country itself. Once the migrant is ready to return, he or she can get support in writing a business plan, a feasibility study, and, when the business plans are approved, financial assistance. According to the French initiative PS-Eau the fear to lose one's residence permit, is an important constraint that prevents potential returnees from joining the programme. Therefore, they address this topic on their website.⁵

In sum

Not all the initiatives, that are active in the field of return migration, focus only on employment promotion. Some initiatives try to support entrepreneurs. They can do that by assistance in the development of business plans or by offering assistance in order to get return migrants' business plans financed or to finance the costs of living in the start-up phase in which no income is generated yet.

⁵ See <http://www.pseau.org/pmie/appui/reinstall.htm> (retrieved 01/08/2005).

6.4 The target group

In this section we will present a short overview of the target group of most European initiatives. The social structure of a country and its policy on development and migration also affect the target groups that are served.

Educational attainment

After reading this chapter it will be clear that the target group of most European initiatives is rather highly educated. Some initiatives even select their participants on the basis of their educational attainment, such as the Central Placement Office (ZAV) in Germany or MIDA Grands Lacs⁶. Even though some organisations do not (explicitly) select their target group on the basis of educational attainment, the employers with whom they cooperate are particularly interested in qualified staff. In order to make a match between employers and employees it makes no sense to focus on the lower educated. This is particularly important for those projects that are employer oriented, like IOM's RQA programme (temporary return of qualified Afghans) or recruitment organisations.

Asylum seekers and refugees

Another example of the way national policy affects the target groups of the projects is the fact that it is politically desirable in some countries to have a return project for asylum seekers or refugees. In order to keep political support for the asylum policy, it is important to have a facility that allows refugees or asylum seekers to return. Citizens have to be aware of the fact that there are not only asylum seekers moving in, but that there are also people moving out. Another reason why some projects focus on asylum seekers or refugees is because of the funding of the ERF (European Refugee Fund), which funds many return projects for asylum seekers. Since there is not a great deal of funds for other types of migrants, it is more difficult to serve another target group. For some projects, which mediate rejected asylum seekers, the educational attainment of the potential returnees is not necessarily important (Belgium).

Entrepreneurship

Also for projects that are directed towards setting up one's own SME, there is less emphasis on one's educational attainment. These organisations select their target group on the basis of the entrepreneurship qualities of the returnee, the feasibility of the business plan, and by its contribution to the development of the local economy.

⁶ In addition, these initiatives also select participants on the basis of their (future) contribution of the development of the country of origin and on their relevant work experience.

The development and migration policy

Other factors, like characteristics of the migrant population and the development and migration policy of a country also affect which target groups are served. Great Britain for example, attracts many higher educated migrants. These people are perfectly able to look for a job in a database like Africa Recruit themselves. Germany, for an example, attracts many students from across the world, also from developing countries, which makes their emphasis on return projects for qualified people who have only stayed in Germany for a few years understandable. The fact that Germany receives many students from Asia, explains why Germany is one of the few countries that has a return programme to Asia, in particular Indonesia; the same holds for Belgium and France. In these countries development and circular migration are more strongly embedded in the programmes that are carried out.

The Dutch initiatives

The target group of the main Dutch initiative for voluntary migration differs from other European initiatives, in the sense that it does not focus on the higher educated. First of all, the Netherlands Migration Institute offers an information service that informs potential returnees about the services the government offers. Most clients are interested in the service for elder migrants (45+) who receive a social allocation (for example because they are unemployed or ill). This group consists of rather low educated individuals, who can keep their allowance abroad, and who are, therefore not interested in job placement services. Nonetheless, there are a few organisations that target more the high potentials. An example of this is Werken in Suriname, but this is a very small scale initiative (only 12 job offers are placed on the website a year). Another initiative, is IntEnt, but the latter is directed towards people who wish to set up their business, and not directed to employment promotion or job placement services.

6.5 Critical success factors

In the last three sections, we discussed the way job placement services are organised in several European initiatives. It turned out that a wide variety of organisations are active in the field of return migration and job placement services in Europe. The projects or programmes differ in many aspects, such as the target group, the means that are available, the way they work, etcetera. This means that we cannot compare the projects in a systematic way. Nonetheless, we, in this section, pinpoint some critical factors that can make initiatives successful.

The target group

Initiatives that focus on the **higher educated** and even select their participants on the basis of their educational attainment are more likely to be successful. The main reason for this is that employers abroad are more interested in this social category. Ultimately, the employers decide who they would like to employ, and logically they prefer higher educated employees. Moreover, in most cases, the higher educated are considered to be the ones that have an added value for the home countries.

This means, however, that there are no facilities for the lower educated. Lower educated return migrants are probably most helped with support in setting up their own business than in job placement services, since they have in effect only small chances in the labour market. However, most initiatives that support business set-ups also target at the most high potentials. As a consequence there is hardly any support for the so called 'less potentials'.

Reaching the target group

Initiatives with a clear view on their target group are better able to reach them. For example, the NMI particularly serves elder and lower educated migrants. Therefore they offer an easily accessible information service with counsellors who can advise them even in their own language. This turned out to be one of their strengths. Another example is the project for the return to the Russian Federation. It cooperates with organisations of migrants in order to reach the target group. Thanks to this cooperation they manage to reach the target group. On the other hand, IntEnt tries to reach potential successful entrepreneurs. Therefore, they only offer information in Dutch, French and English, and not in, for example Arabic. The idea is that a Moroccan has to speak French in order to be successful in Morocco. In the past IntEnt offered information in many languages, and thereby attracted too many people that did not belong to the target group of IntEnt.

Adjust to the needs of the target group

Many initiatives argue that it is very important to get to know the target group, and to find out which critical factors impede them from returning. An important precondition for returnees to even consider returning to their country of origin is that they do not have to give up their nationality or their residential status. Migrants are more likely to return when they have the possibility to regress to their original country of residence. More emphasis should be placed on *temporary* return. This also holds true for projects that focus on refugees. Refugees especially, who have gone through such hardships in order to get their residential permits, do not even consider returning if they have to give up these documents. The information provision or the content of the programmes should adjust to the uncertainties that live among the members of the target group. Moreover, in some cases, participants of temporary return programmes decide to return permanently after this 'look and see'

experience (this was for example the case in the MIDA project, or in the Göteborg Initiative's project).

Another topic that should be addressed is the wage salary. It is very important to point out what a realistic income is in the countries of origin, i.e. the living costs. Organisations that show that it is possible to live with these salaries, are better able to attract potential returnees, as seen with Africa Recruit.

Careful communication

The experience of initiatives that offer some kind of facility to return migrants point to a somewhat contradictory critical factor, that is **not to focus on return migration**. Especially projects that focus on development in Africa, stress that it is important to use a very careful and positive approach. Moreover, these projects focus more on circular migration than on return migration. In order to make the programmes successful, it is important to first get the African Diaspora involved in the development of the home countries. In a later stage they might start to think about return.

Information channels

For some groups, the Internet is considered as an easily accessible tool, whereas for others, it is not. Therefore, **the definition of the target group determines which information channels should be used, and how they should be used**. If one intends to inform the higher educated, Internet is an easily accessible tool. Seminars and workshops might be useful in order to get people more involved/active. Moreover, as already stated, it is important to use the right strategy when addressing the target group. It is not useful to focus on the aspect of return since this might frighten people. A better strategy would be to address people on their responsibility to do something for their home countries; to get them involved.

During this study, we experienced that many potential returnees are not aware of all the possible information channels they could use. It seems that they are not very well reached by the initiatives. Moreover, some migrants do not have many ties to formal organisations and are therefore difficult to reach. As a consequence, many potential returnees are not well informed about their possibilities and the way they could be supported.

Get the employers involved

With respect to the organisations that offer some kind of job placement services we would like to stress that organisations that primarily offer a web-based search engine are not always successful. The most important constraint is the lack of vacancies. Some initiatives have many jobseekers in their database, and only a small amount of job offers. When potential returnees are unable to find any relevant vacancy on the web-based search engines, they tend

to lose interest. In order to get more vacancies, one should pay more attention to the contacts with the employers. Ultimately, they decide who will be employed. Therefore, it is very important to **get the employers involved** as well. In order to reach that goal, organisations have to be creative and flexible. An example of this is to let SME's advertise for free, which is what AfricaRecruit does. Thanks to their professional oriented approach they manage to get many job offers registered. Moreover, one needs to **build up a good network in the countries of origin** in order to get into contact with these employers to reduce their bias against working with returnees. A positive side effect of good contact in the countries of origin is that it might lead to reverse marketing. Migrants with good contacts in the home countries may learn about the initiative through these contacts.

Soft landing

In order to prevent returnees from regretting the return to their home country, and to promote a successful reintegration, it is important to provide information for returnees, and to assist them during the first months in their country of origin (**soft landing**). This also means that not only work-related information should be provided, but also information about aspects of the new life in the country of origin. In the European context, the EURES initiative is notable for its nice website presentation with useful information about the living in the different participating countries.

Moreover, it is important to also **offer information in the country of origin**, since some - especially more practical- questions often arise when the returnees have already settled in their country of origin. The German initiative is special in this respect, because they have return offices (Rückkehrbüros) in the countries of origin, where returnees can ask for information and advice. A strong point of this initiative is that these return offices are staffed by returnees. They know both worlds (country of origin and country of residence), and are therefore capable to offer good advice.

Alternative forms of employment promotion

Employment promotion can take various forms. Organisations that only focus on the 'traditional' forms of employment promotion are less successful, since they do not work very cost-efficiently. Moreover, active job placement services (with personal coaches/counsellors) are beyond the abilities of most initiatives. Initiatives that offer **alternative forms of employment promotion**, like the organisation of seminars where employers and job seekers can meet each, other are more successful. Moreover, the German ZAV shows that employment promotion does not have to be very complicated, if one uses a very **practical approach**. They have set up several **return offices** in the countries of residence which are used for the employment promotion of German returnees. Moreover, they offer a **list of German**

multinationals in the countries of origin to returnees; just to get them started. Through this practical approach they efficiently manage to offer some assistance to a large target group.

Except for the German initiative ZAV, most programmes that offer employment promotion are very **small scale** projects, like the project of return migration to the Russian Federation of VluchtelingenWerk Belgium. This means that the number of returnees that are actively supported in their search for a job is rather low.

Job placement services

Very rarely are returnees actually mediated to a job in their country of origin. That particularly happens to some very ‘high potentials’ who go through a **recruitment organisation**. Moreover, it also happens within the framework of special programmes like RQA of IOM. In order to make this kind of initiatives successful, it is very important to have good contacts with the employers as in the end, it is they who decide whether they hire a returnee or not. Only the initiatives that are very employer oriented, that is initiatives that put the employer in a central position, like the IOM RQA, can be successful. However, for most initiatives this activity would be **too labour intensive**.

Monitoring

A weak point of most initiatives is that they hardly offer any monitoring. Although they register how many people have applied for information, and how many returned, they often do not know whether returnees are still employed by the same employer after about a year or even whether the returnees are still living in their country of origin. Therefore, it is hard to determine the long term effects of these initiatives. However, the German initiative is a positive exception: they offer a monitoring system that the return offices have to fill in every month (see appendix 5). Moreover, also the returnees themselves and their employers also have to report regularly for a maximum period of two years (the latter only when a workplace equipment facility is offered), and that gives an impression of the way it has fared the returnees.

Salary supplements

It is not clear whether salary supplements actually support return migration, since most returnees who received a salary supplement would have returned anyway. Nonetheless, offering a salary supplement or a monthly allowance increases the interest of the ‘high potentials’, who could really make a difference for the country of origin. If a salary support is offered, the aim of this financial support should be clearly communicated, otherwise it can harm the relationship between returnees and local jobseekers. In addition, financial support to returnees can also lead to competition between projects.

6.6 The Dutch context

In contrast to other European countries, there is no facility for job placement services in the Dutch context for the group of high potentials who wish to return to work in their country of origin. This lack can be explained by the fact that, in contrast to other European countries (return) migration and development policies were only recently integrated into the Dutch context. As a result of the policy report on migration and development, the Dutch government started the Programme for Return, Migration and Development (TMO).⁷ A point of attention with regard to this programme is that a strong emphasis is placed on the return of rejected asylum seekers. Therefore, we would like to stress that too little attention is paid to voluntary return of high potentials. These high potentials are able to stimulate the development of the countries of origin, and turn the brain drain into a brain gain.

In contrast, in some other European countries, development and migration policies have been closely related for a much longer period. The relationship between return migration policy and development cooperation is interesting from the idea that return migration can positively affect the development of the countries of origin.

We have found the most integrated migration policy in Germany. Here, return migration and developmental policy is closely related to an educational policy. Each year many students from developing countries come to study in Germany, and after their studies they are supported to find a job in their home country, and thereby, contribute to the development of their country of origin. In the Netherlands this is not yet the case. For example, the two central organisations in the field of higher education indicated that they do not have a policy related to brain drain. Neither the VSNU, the organisation of Dutch universities and schools for higher education, nor Nuffic are active yet in turning the brain drain into a brain gain.⁸ Universities do not seem to care about the potential brain drain they might cause by attracting qualified students and researchers. On the contrary, most universities are more interested in keeping talented graduates from abroad in the Netherlands, as many graduates leave the Netherlands to go and live in the United States. This practice only enforces the brain drain.

In sum

We would like to conclude this section by stating that several initiatives in Europe show us that it is possible to link job placement services with development in the countries of origin. However, in the Netherlands this has just recently been turned into practice.

⁷ See Staatscourant 10 March 2005.

⁸ However, Nuffic is considering setting up a programme that is inspired by the MIDA programmes.

6.7 Cooperation within Europe

For prospective returnees it is often a long process to make a decision to return. In addition, initiatives that have experience in this field, argue that it takes a lot of time and effort to build up a sustainable network in the countries of origin to offer them the right support and to make the initiatives work. Therefore, a long term policy is required. Another possibility for new initiatives is to use the infrastructure that is already available by cooperating with existing initiatives. We think this is possible because in our opinion the European initiatives do not compete with each other. Instead we can conclude that the existing initiatives are eager to cooperate. By cooperating with other initiatives they solve the problem that target groups are mostly very small. Cooperation with other initiatives means that they can enlarge their target group and make their project more cost effective.

Some initiatives already function at a European level, for example the MIDA project. In several European countries a MIDA project has been initiated. The target groups differ across the countries, as seen in the Belgium MIDA project (Grands Lacs), which focuses on the Burundi Rwandese and Congolese communities in Europe, which are rather large minority groups in Belgium. The MIDA project in Italy, on the other hand, focuses on the Ethiopian community, since this is an important minority group in Italy.

In our opinion cooperation between, for example, a new NMI initiative and the existing European initiatives can take various forms. A non-intensive way would, for example, be the placement of a link to web-based search engines like www.findajobinafrica.com on the NMI website.

Moreover, most organisations would like to cooperate more intensively with any new initiative, because they could also benefit from cooperation in other fields. For example, one can think of sharing knowledge or the infrastructure in the countries of origin. The German initiatives, ZAV, AGEF and WUS, as an example, indicated that they were willing to cooperate. They have a very well developed infrastructure in the countries of origin (return offices) and they are in principle willing to share this. However, the NMI could also set up a return office according to the concept of these German return offices in a country that Germany does not serve yet, like Suriname.

Within the Netherlands cooperation is also possible. At the moment several organisations are developing plans to support return migration, like NUFFIC. It has just carried out a study on the needs of Africans living in the Netherlands, or the UAF/Job Support that have also carried out a study, and would like to improve the (re)integration of refugees. It would be interesting for the NMI to discuss their plans in this field with these organisations in order to

look for possibilities of cooperation. Moreover, NMI could cooperate with, for example, Afro-neth in order to organise seminars about the African Diaspora.

6.8 Concluding remarks

In this chapter we examined the existing European initiatives that give content to the concept of job placement services for return migrants. We conclude that there are several good practices in Europe. It is important to note that for most of these initiatives, the target group is the higher educated. The main reason for this is that the higher educated have some added value for their countries of origin (especially the African Diaspora). Moreover, employers are willing to put more effort into attracting higher educated employees, since qualified staff is more difficult to find.

In contrast to other European countries, there is no permanent facility for job placement services in the Dutch context for migrants who want to return voluntarily. We can explain this by the fact that, in contrast to other European countries, (return) migration and development policies have only recently been more integrated in the Dutch context. This is a pity because the European initiatives are evidence of the fact that it can work, as more ‘high potential’ migrants return and contribute to the development of their countries of origin.

For any new Dutch initiative it would be necessary to cooperate with the existing European initiatives. Cooperation is possible because, in general, the European initiatives we studied do not compete with each other. Instead, we think they would benefit from cooperation with a new initiative. This could solve the main existing problem of most initiatives, namely that the target groups of these initiatives are very small. Cooperation with other initiatives means that they can enlarge their target group and make their project more cost effective or make it possible to work in more countries. Finally, cooperation with existing initiatives is also important because it enables a new initiative to learn from their experiences. It prevents a new initiative from reinventing the wheel.

7 SUMMARY AND ADVICE

7.1 Introduction

In this final chapter we first present a short synopsis of the findings in the chapters 2 to 6. We then provide some conclusions on the possibilities to set up some kind of transnational job-finding support and other types of individual support in the Netherlands.

7.2 The potential group of return migrants

In chapter 2, we looked at the statistics of return migration from the Netherlands to the countries of origin. It appeared that return migration occurs particularly among the Turkish population (1.992 in 2004) and the Surinamese population (1.100 in 2004). Return migration of Ghanaians was actually quite low in that year (52).¹

Some critical comments should be added to these figures. In brief, the statistics are not complete and not adequate in most cases. Firstly, migrants with a dual nationality are not always identifiable as return migrants. Secondly, not all migrants register or deregister themselves, which makes it difficult to identify all patterns of movement as return migration. Finally, there are large illegal flows of migration and probably also of return migration. These flows, which seem to be most applicable for Ghanaian migrants in the Netherlands, are not captured by the official statistics at all.

Having said this, return migration does not take place on a very large scale. Moreover, not all returnees are looking for a job in their country of origin. A large part of the return migrants draw Dutch social security benefits or receive pensions, and therefore, these returnees are often able to support themselves without having a job. Many return migrants consist of spouses and children, depending on just one family income. Neither these returnees are interested in entering the labour market. This means that the target group for trans-national job-finding or supporting activities is even smaller.

¹ However, we have to notice that only first generation migrants are taken into account (since the country of birth is used for these statistics) who have officially deregistered themselves from the Dutch registry (GBA). Moreover, returnees who have not deregistered themselves or who have stayed in the Netherlands illegally were not taken into account. This means that the actual return migration might be bigger.

Nonetheless, on the basis of our findings it is possible to discern three categories of return migrants to whom one could pursue a specific policy:

1. Higher educated young migrants.
2. Entrepreneurs.
3. Lower educated migrants.

Higher educated young migrants are expected to be attractive employees for foreign employers because of their educational attainment and their knowledge of several languages. In all countries under study, we explored a few opportunities for this group, especially in some dynamic sectors. These higher educated migrants can be particularly found within the Turkish and Surinamese communities. Especially among second generation Turks, a substantial number of higher educated people are interested in returning. In addition, for many decades many Surinamese migrants have come to the Netherlands to participate in higher vocational and academic education. Among the latter category, we also found a certain propensity to return. Conversely, Ghanaians in the Netherlands are on average not very successful in economic terms. Only a very few of them have developed sufficient skills and experience to profitably return to their country of birth. In general terms, we may conclude from the interviews taken that those who have proved to be successful in the Dutch labour market are the ones most likely to be successful abroad as well.

The second group consists of **entrepreneurs**, who have plans to set up a firm abroad. Moreover, some of them already have a certain amount of capital available to make real investments in their country of origin possible. These entrepreneurs are welcomed by their countries of origin to start up a business and are expected to succeed in the longer term. Moreover, all of the examined countries revealed a number of dynamic sectors, particularly in agriculture, tourism and the computer industry. From the interviews we received a strong impression that those who are expected to be successful abroad have already started a flourishing business in the Netherlands. The group of most potential entrepreneurs can be found among all three groups of return migrants we have studied, but more often among the Turkish migrant community.

The last group of **lower educated migrants** are not expected to have very good chances upon return. In fact, even in the Netherlands these migrants experience economic hardship, due to low levels of educational attainment and poor employment experiences. In the countries of origin these lower educated returnees will not have many chances to get employed either, mainly due to severe competition in the lower echelons of the national labour markets. Therefore, we expect that these lower educated return migrants have the biggest chance in making a living in their countries of origin by becoming small entrepreneurs or by accepting low wages as employees.

This third group is particularly present within the Ghanaian community. In effect, Ghanaians residing in the Netherlands are not very well educated. Moreover, the few higher educated Ghanaians are more interested in moving to Great Britain, where they expect to find more career opportunities, rather than returning back to Ghana. Only those with sufficient capital to invest in housing or in a plot of land are likely to return. Within the two other migrant communities, substantial numbers of low educated migrants can be found as well. However, only a few of them are attracted by the idea of returning home.

The higher educated young migrants and the more promising entrepreneurs argue that the wish to return to their countries of origin is strongly affected by the current economic recession in the Dutch labour market in combination with the increasingly unpleasant social climate in the Netherlands (that is to say political murders, xenophobia). The social pull factors turned out to be important as well, including the return of other acquaintances and friends, the family situation in the country of origin and the wish to return to one's roots. Having a job abroad before leaving seems less important. However, the economic situation abroad is generally described as an important influential factor. The latter also makes clear why so many Turkish migrants return to their country as compared to migrants from the other two countries. In contrast, most of the lower educated can merely dream of returning back to their country of birth. They simply lack the capacity to successfully compete with many other unemployed people abroad.

7.3 Needs with respect to services and information

On the basis of our study we can also identify the needs of return migrants with respect to services and infrastructure. We identified these needs in the interviews with potential returnees in the Netherlands (see chapter 2), as well as with returnees in the three countries investigated (see chapters 3, 4 and 5).

The need for services

With regard to the services mostly needed, the following aspects are of specific importance:

- The need for an independent and disinterested organisation to assist the migrant in making balanced choices with respect to possible return. Particularly, detailed legal and economic information are regarded as very useful before a decision is taken.
- Financial facilities in the Netherlands, including loans or subsidies to start a business. Particularly those who are interested in becoming an entrepreneur after returning back indicated the importance of financial aid to realise their plans.

- Assistance in writing a business plan. Especially some of the Ghanaians complained that their business plans were never formally supported because they were not in line with the demands of Dutch financiers (that is IntEnt).
- A training programme for people who want to return, focusing on cultural differences with regard to issues relating to work. Especially a few Surinamese migrants argued that such programmes should enable them to be better prepared before leaving the Netherlands.
- Registration of vacancies and related labour market information in the country of origin. This service is considered to be necessary in order to find out which sectors offer the best possibilities for employment.
- Job placement initiatives, making employment of spouses possible. Some Surinamese and Turkish migrants with plans to start their own business back home expressed the importance of an extra source of income during the first period upon return.

Obviously, the three identified categories of return migrants differ with regard to the above aspects of support and services. In short, we can distinguish the following profiles of relevant support for each category of return migrants:

Higher educated migrants, who are expected to be attractive candidates for foreign employers, are able to use job placement services. For most potential returnees this would be an unfamiliar concept, since they are used to find a job on their own. However, because of their lack of experience in the labour market in the country of return, we expect that job placement services could quicken their search for employment. In both Ghana and Suriname a few private initiatives in this field proved to be quite successful. The possibility to obtain a supplement to their salary can also be an important factor to meet the need of this group. In some cases the low salaries offered in the countries of origin impede these high potentials from returning to their country of origin.

The group of **most potential entrepreneurs** has an urgent need for assistance in writing business plans and in doing preliminary market research. Migrants returning to Ghana and Suriname in particular emphasized the importance of such facilities. After all, relevant and up to date business and labour market information barely exists in these countries. In Turkey this was not considered to be a problem, since most relevant market information is registered and monitored in a detailed way. Entrepreneurs of Turkish descent complained, however, about the constant high interest rates making investments sometimes very difficult. In all countries limited access to credit facilities turned out to be a major constraint for starting entrepreneurs, especially for those with small amounts of starting capital. Similarly, a monthly allowance (at least during the first months of entrepreneurship) might help these entrepreneurs to get their business started. Presently, returnees with promising business plans

often have to cancel their activities prematurely due to insufficient financial means. Last but not least, job-finding activities may fill a need for these entrepreneurs as well, since many of them easily run out of money during the initial phase of investments. To solve this problem, the possibility of obtaining (part time) employment is often claimed to be very helpful.

The only way in which the **lower educated** are expected to make a living in their country of origin would be as small entrepreneurs. However, we could not identify any initiative that particularly supports this group in realising such an ambition. More specifically, the business plans of the lower educated do often not meet the selection criteria of existing Dutch and European initiatives to assist starting entrepreneurs. These initiatives usually choose to support the most promising entrepreneurs. Most small entrepreneurs, therefore, resort to various forms of more informal patterns of support or, alternatively, try to compete for a job. However, their needs do not differ very much from the more successful entrepreneurs. Information on various topics (see below), technical and administrative support and access to credits are some of the most urgent needs in this field.

The role of information

Potential returnees to Turkey and Ghana predominantly use their informal networks (relatives, friends) to gather information about their country of origin. These networks provide information which is most needed to start a living once migrants have returned. Hence, the above mentioned migrants do not express an urgent need for information provided in a more official way. Surinamese potential returnees also resort to informal networks, however, official sources such as the Internet or formal institutions (NMI, IntEnt) are highly appreciated as well. Migrants with concrete ideas about returning back, referred to the following aspects of information which they found most relevant:

- *Information about legal aspects*, such as residence and working permits, the regulations that surround the start-up of a business, planning and development plans of the region in which they would like to settle.
- *General information about the labour market*, for instance in which sectors returnees would have the largest opportunities.
- *Training about cultural differences at the work floor*. This is particularly expressed by Surinamese, but also by Turkish potential returnees. In effect, most people's knowledge of their country of origin, originates from their holidays and they are not used to the work culture.
- Information about international *exchange programmes* between universities, as well as *training positions* (Turks, Surinamese).

In addition, migrants who were approached after returning to their countries of birth could add a number of aspects with respect to the information that was mostly needed and was often generally missing:

- *Daily life information.* Information about a whole series of practical, legal and administrative questions (the educational system, health care, taxes, costs of living, housing, etcetera). This kind of information is usually acquired through informal networks, but very much wanted to be offered in a more official way (Suriname and Turkey).
- *Information about the labour market.* Actual returnees would like to get some advice about where and how to start looking for a job (all countries).
- *Up to date market information.* Entrepreneurs would like to receive more information about the economic situation, but also about legal issues (Ghana and Suriname).

The interviews with returnees in their countries of origin gave us a strong impression that these migrants are in need of information on both social and economic spheres of life they had not thought of before their return. Some even indicated that they had not actually prepared their return, for they expected that their country of birth would not have changed so much. In actual practice, however, many returnees are confronted with several economic, social and cultural changes, which often appear difficult to understand. This was particularly true for Turkish returnees, but to a lesser extent also for migrants returning back to Ghana and Suriname.

7.4 Available services and infrastructure

In this section we present an analysis of the extent to which the available services and infrastructure meet the needs of (potential) returnees identified in the last section. In order to do so, we also include the services and infrastructure which we have identified in some European countries (see chapter 6). Briefly defined, all these initiatives, both in Europe and in the three countries under study, add up to only a few services being available for only a small number of well-defined return migrants. In this section we discuss how these initiatives meet the needs of potential returnees in the Netherlands.

Employment finding

With respect to the category of higher educated young migrants, a few initiatives in the field of job-finding can be identified in each of the three countries. In Suriname particularly some private employment agencies and the VSB organisation turned out to be of great interest for the more privileged return migrants. In Turkey web-based search engines and also a number of private employment agencies offer the most effective services for job seekers. In Ghana

the small-scale initiatives of employment centres like JobLink and the German Rückkehrburo are of particular interest. In Turkey there is also a Rückkehrburo, but this office is not functioning very well at the moment, due to a lack of staff. These initiatives seem of significant importance, since the role of public employment agencies is almost negligible in the countries investigated. At the same time it appeared that most potential return migrants are hardly familiar with these specific services. Only the Turkish web-based search engines form a favourable exception in this field. Generally, this means that more publicity for the existing initiatives is desirable.

In some cases, return migrants are supported by providing them with a supplement to their income. The main actor in the field of international migration, IOM, offers salary supplements and other financial allowances. Also, the German government supports a selected number of highly skilled returnees in this way. This facility directly addresses the constraint which is often mentioned, namely the on average low salaries on offer in these countries of return. In the Dutch context no salary supplements are offered to return migrants who get employed in their country of origin (except for participants in international IOM projects, such as RQA). Returned elderly migrants (of at least 45 years of age) can receive a monthly social assistance allowance in their country of origin under certain conditions. It is, however, unlikely that this group will show great interest in having a job in their country of birth. On the contrary, as became evident in Suriname, many of them can manage easily on this assistance scheme.

Start-up support

Entrepreneurs can rely on several initiatives, helping them to start a new firm abroad. Generally, these initiatives assist returnees in a) writing their business plans, b) carrying out market research and c) getting access to funding. Apart from worldwide activities carried out under the UN-flag, the so-called IOM-projects, quite a few European initiatives can be discerned as well, for instance the Belgian initiative ‘OCIV Ondernemen’ and the Swedish organisation ‘Göteborgs Initiativet’. These and other projects are often fully embedded in ambitious development programs, linking private investments to local economic growth.

In the Netherlands, IntEnt is the most prominent example of supporting starting businesses in developing countries. IntEnt offers services in each of the above mentioned fields of assistance, including access to financial support for entrepreneurs.² The concept of IntEnt has been particularly successful in Suriname, where quite a few returnees have participated in their programmes. In Turkey IntEnt has been less successful, mainly because Turkish return migrants prefer to just get started with their business instead of participating in time

² This occurs through specific forms of cooperation with (local) banks. More specifically, IntEnt often acts as a surety in case local banks are willing to provide finances.

consuming programmes. With respect to Ghana, the rather strict selection criteria used by IntEnt have meant so far that a vast majority of applications have not been accepted. The initiatives aiming at successful entrepreneurship in the developing world generally address the well qualified and experienced labour force, thereby excluding most of the less promising entrepreneurs.

Supply of information

An urgent need for information applies to all (potential) returnees, no matter their educational background or professional ambitions. In daily practice, we have experienced a rather fragmented infrastructure with respect to the provision of information on various matters, including:

- Embassies and consulates in the Netherlands, providing information on legal matters, social security issues, the labour market situation (especially the Turkish Embassy) and general aspects of the three countries under study.
- A great number of private organisations (job-finding initiatives, umbrella organisations of employers, trade unions, etcetera).
- International organisations in the field of entrepreneurship, employment creation and local development (IntEnt, IOM, Ruckkehrburos, etcetera).
- Dutch Chambers of Commerce, the Economic Advice Service (EVD) and Dutch embassies and consulates in the three countries investigated.
- Websites providing information on general labour market issues, vacancies, investment possibilities, etcetera.

Apart from these more technical or procedural forms of help, migrants show great interest in all kinds of information enabling a so-called soft landing in their countries of birth. This kind of information appears to be only scarcely available. For example, in none of the three countries there is an - easily accessible - information desk where Dutch returnees can ask questions about daily life matters. In the Netherlands this information is not easily available either. There are also no networks through which returnees could exchange their experiences. A commonly expressed deficiency was the possibility to learn from the experiences of other returnees. This was most strongly expressed by Surinamese returnees, which cannot be isolated from the fact that many Surinamese in the Netherlands do not maintain close contacts with those residing in their country of birth anymore. To a lesser degree, also Turkish returnees expressed a great need for information related to the 'ins and outs' of modern Turkish society. Ghanaians maintain very close relationships with those residing back home and therefore easily resort to various sources of information.

Briefly summarized, we have experienced that many potential returnees have insufficient knowledge of the society they belong to soon after return.

In sum, the following information and service professions are needed most urgently:

- Information about available job-finding services for high potentials.
- A facility to support the less promising entrepreneurs by making a business plan, doing market research and giving them access to micro credits.
- The provision of market information more easily.
- A possibility to get a supplement to the salary.
- An information facility in the countries of origin for all kinds of questions that returnees are confronted with after they have returned.
- Available information in the Netherlands, enabling a more 'soft landing' for returnees.

7.5 Setting up new services and infrastructure: some preliminary advice

We conclude that it is possible under certain conditions to enhance the position and to increase the economic possibilities of return migrants by setting up some specific small-scale services and provisions. In doing so, a serious effort can be made to contribute to patterns of local development in the less prosperous world.

When setting up new job-finding and related services it is highly recommendable to differentiate between the three different groups investigated. As it appeared, the specific needs may differ substantially between the highly skilled, the more promising entrepreneurs and the less privileged migrants.

- With respect to **high potentials**, we suggest that NMI extends the content of its website with information about job-finding in the countries of origin. To make the website more widely known, it is advisable to follow the example of the Africa Recruit website, where statistical information is published together with all other forms of information, including seminars, relevant addresses and relevant business information.
- NMI can also play a role in helping **returnees who wish to start up a firm**. These return migrants are assisted by the provision of legal and business information, being available abroad. Important in this respect is the possibility to refer (or even hand over) information to various public and private initiatives, both in the Netherlands and abroad. In addition, the establishment of an Internet discussion forum may help to exchange experiences with other returnees, for instance to discuss the difficulties which are encountered during the start-up phase abroad.
- **Less potential returnees** are liable to need more overall support, including information of various kind, employment possibilities and assistance in establishing a small firm. In order to address these problems, NMI consultants should be able to give relevant information in these fields as well. Cooperation with other relevant organisations, such as embassies, consulates and Chambers of Commerce is highly recommendable. More standardized and accessible information could be offered by the NMI consultants.

Common activities with other European initiatives on the different matters may be developed as well, more specifically organisations in Belgium, Sweden and Germany. We should bear in mind, however, that most initiatives in Europe are highly focussed on better qualified returnees. So far, the activities of NMI are predominantly directed to the less privileged. Nonetheless, as may have become evident from the above, support with respect to job-finding, assistance to entrepreneurs and information provisions, can only come into being in an effective way when a broader range of potential returnees is reached, including the better and even highly skilled migrants.

With these European initiatives arrangements can be made about sharing certain facilities for returnees from different countries altogether. In doing so, NMI can easily make use of an infrastructure already available abroad. On the other hand, NMI must look for low profile provisions (especially information desks) in certain countries where it can easily provide some services, both for Dutch returnees and for those originating from other European countries. A possible example in this respect could be an arrangement with the information desk of FNV in Paramaribo, Suriname, which has been opened recently, to make use of the local infrastructure under certain conditions. NMI could handle over Dutch returnees to the German Rückkehrbüros, being established in countries where no Dutch services are provided. All the initiatives investigated, in Europe and in the three countries under study, expressed great willingness to cooperate in one way or another. The result of this will be that different European initiatives work together in a very cost-effective way. Moreover, a much higher number of returnees will be reached by such forms of pan-European cooperation.

A big constraint for extending the provision of services by NMI is its limited financial capacity. In order to avoid that high contributions are demanded from individual returnees, alternative sources of funding are necessary. At this moment, a solution for this problem is not obvious at all. It is, however, worth trying to get the Ministry of Development Affairs involved. Arising from their policy document '*Ontwikkeling en Migratie*' they initiated a subsidy scheme, called TMO. Although this scheme is mainly directed to forced migration, it is interesting to see whether it can be used to set up some of the activities we suggested for voluntary return. The fact that requests for funds could be submitted by other international funds (EQUAL-programmes, FMO, UNDP, etcetera) as well, follows naturally from this line of argument. It is possible that within the frameworks of the programmes mentioned, NMI will be able to offer small supplements to salaries or investment credits.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

RESEARCH DESIGN

This feasibility study consists of three parts. Firstly, we studied the needs of potential return migrants in the Netherlands. Secondly, we carried out three country studies in Suriname, Turkey, and Ghana. The third part consists of a study into the European infrastructure with respect to job placement services. Below we will discuss the way we carried out these three studies:

1. A study into the needs of potential returnees

The first part of this study was carried out in Netherlands. In order to get an overview of the socio-demographic characteristics of potential returnees and the factors that affect the actual return of the target group, we have gained information in several ways:

- Statistical information (demographics and migration statistics) to get insight in the number of return migrants.
- Literature on (return) migration and transnationalism to gain insight in push and pull factors that affect the decision to return.
- Interviews with key respondents. For each country that we studied, we spoke with at least two key respondents. They were representatives of a wide variety of organisations, such as migrant organisations, religious organisations such as churches and mosks, student organisations and welfare organisations for migrants in the Netherlands.
- Group interviews and telephone interviews with potential young return migrants. These respondents were found by mediation of key respondents and by the use of some discussion groups on the Internet.
- Four interviews with consultants of NMI.

It turned out that each nationality required a different approach. The Ghanaian participants were all found through mediation of key persons in the community. Turkish and Surinamese respondents were also found by using discussion groups on the Internet. A more detailed overview of the organisations and persons we interviewed is presented in appendix 2.

2. Country studies in Suriname, Ghana and Turkey

In the second part of this study we examined three countries more intensively. We focussed on analysing the chances on the labour market and on a study of the infrastructure and organisation of these countries.

In order to carry out this field study, we searched for local contact persons who could write a compact country report and who could assist us in organising the field study. In order to get comparable results from the three countries, we developed a systematic research design. The

local contact persons were asked to write a country report in conformity with the guidelines of this research design. In this country report they were asked to offer (statistical) information on economic development, the labour market investment climate, migration patterns etcetera. Below, we will present the names of our contact persons in the three countries.

Country	Contact person
Suriname	Mr. Marlon Roosblad
Turkey	Ms. Feza Kumbasar and Ms. Banu Senay
Ghana	Ms. Pauline Foli-Neefkens

As it turned out that our Turkish contact person (Feza Kumbasar) was not able to organise our country study, our visit to Turkey was delayed a few weeks. Thanks to Banu Senay, who quickly took up the organisation of our field work in Turkey, our visit to Turkey finally turned out to be well organised. However, she experienced that it was quite difficult to make appointments with the ‘right’ persons and that informal contacts were very important. Fortunately, thanks to her connections with Koç University she could make use of an extensive network.

During our field study, we visited a number of organisations in each of the countries, for example:

- The Ministry of Labour (in the case of Suriname).
- The Ministry of State Planning and Organisation (in the case of Turkey).
- The Central Employment Office.
- Employer organisations.
- Trade unions.
- The Dutch embassy.
- Large companies: Dutch and local multinationals.
- Chambers of Commerce.
- Private employment companies (not in Turkey).
- Development organisations.

A detailed list of the organisations we have visited and contact persons we have interviewed is presented in appendix 2.

Unfortunately, we did not manage to arrange a meeting with a private employment organisation in Turkey, since these organisations were not interested in offering a specific service to return migrants. Moreover, our Turkish contact person did not have any informal contacts with private employment companies that could help to arrange a meeting.

Moreover, in each country our contact persons also organised meetings with return migrants. We emphasized that they should look for return migrants who were working, had a business or were interested in doing so. This was necessary in order to prevent the fact that we would meet return migrants that returned within the framework of the Netherlands Migration Institute.

In Suriname, we had five interviews with return migrants. Two of them worked for the organisation that we visited during our field study. In Turkey we had organised a group discussion at the Dutch Embassy in Ankara. Here we discussed the motivation to return to Turkey and the Turkish experiences with five return migrants. We also interviewed three return migrants in Istanbul. In Ghana we had two interviews with return migrants in Accra, and a group discussion with five return migrants in Kumassi. Not all of these return migrants were Dutch, also a few German return migrants took part in the group discussion.

3. An explorative study of European facilities and available infrastructures for transnational job placement services

In the third part, we mapped the European - and Dutch - initiatives that are active in the field of return migration. We had a number of face-to-face interviews with some key organisations in the United Kingdom (Africa Recruit) and in Germany (ZAV, WUS, and AGEF). We also visited the ‘Employment and Human Resource Exchange Seminar’ organised by Africa Recruit, on 10 and 11 March 2005 in London.

In order to gather information about other European initiatives, we had telephone interviews with a variety of relevant organisations. We not only interviewed organisations that were active in the field of job placement services, but also organisations that stimulated entrepreneurship in the countries of origin. A complete list of respondents is presented in appendix 2.

In the Netherlands we also had a number of face-to-face interviews with a variety of organisations. Some of them were active in field of return migration, like ‘Werken in Suriname’, whereas others were more active in the field of information provision to entrepreneurs, like the Economic Advice Service (EVD). In some cases, we chose to have a telephone interview instead of a face-to-face interview (IOM, Afroneth, NUFFIC, VSNU). Usually, we chose for this option when the respondent indicated not to have much time for an interview or when the respondent indicated that their organisation was in fact not very active in the field of return migration. A list of Dutch contact persons and relevant organisations is also presented in appendix 2.

APPENDIX 2

LIST OF RESPONDENTS BY COUNTRY

The Netherlands

Organisation	Respondent	Function
Afroneth	Mr. Hassan Jalloh	Executive Director
CWI/EURES	Ms. Jeanette van Yperen	EURES Manager
EVD	Ms. Annetta Smit	Information Manager
IntEnt	Mr. Klaas Molenaar	Manager
IOM - the Netherlands	Ms. Virendya Battja	Project Assistant
Chamber of Commerce	Ms. Judith de Bruijn	International Trade Consultant
Nuffic	Ms. Dorrit van Dalen	
UAF/ Job Support	Mr. Kees Bleichrodt	Manager
	Ms. Cindy Geers	Consulent Job Support
VSNU	Mr. David Bohmert	Policy Assistant International Affairs
Werken in Suriname	Mr. Maikel Boksteen	Manager
Stichting Afrika Naast de deur	Mr. Toni Kofi	Director
Stichting Sikaman	Mr. Joe Lamptey	Coordinator
Baptist Church	Pastor John	Pastor
Group interview arranged by Mr. Kofi (8 participants)		
Group interview arranged by Pastor John (4 participants)		
Consulate of Suriname		
Stichting Landelijke federatie welzijn-organisaties	Mr. Harold Roseval	Director
Studiname	Aiwan Mungroop and others	
Surinaams inspraak orgaan	Roy Ashruf and others	
	Mr. Canatan	Lector at the Islamic University and returnee
HTIB	Mr. Arancyi and others	
Group interview arranged by Mr. Karacaer (Milli Gorus) (5 participants)		
Several interviews (by telephone) with potential Turkish returnees		
NMI	Ms. Varressa Elisabeth Ms. Shyama Manichand Ms. Nur Ozen Mr. Atilla Karaoglan	Consulent Consulent Consulent Consulent

Germany

Organisation	Respondent	Function
Zentralstelle für Arbeitsvermittlung (ZAV)	Mr. Michael Busch	Manager CIM
Zentralstelle für Arbeitsvermittlung (ZAV)	Mr. Gerd Müller	Manager International Labour market
World University Service (WUS)	Ms. Petra Loch	Advisor Return and Employment
AGEF Saar	Dr. Hermann Schönmeier	Manager

Great Britain

Organisation	Respondent	Function
Africa Recruit	Ms. Titi Banjoko	Chair person

France

Organisation	Respondent	Function
Avenir Nepad	Mr. Romuald Dzomo Nkongo	Manager

Belgium

Organisation	Respondent	Function
OCIV –Vluchtelingenwerk Vlaanderen	Ms. Trees van Eykeren	Project Assistant
OCIV –Vluchtelingenwerk Vlaanderen	Mr. Anton van Assche	Coordinator
MIDA Grands Lacs	Ms. Cécile Riallant	Project Manager
	Mr. Jos van Mierlo	International Migration Expert

Sweden

Organisation	Respondent	Function
Göteborg Initiative	Mr. Tomas Magnusson	Manager

Turkey

Organisation	Respondent	Function
Akzo Nobel/Organon	Mr. Aydın Oğuz	Human Resources Manager
ATO Ankara Chamber of Commerce	Mr. Melih Çuhadar	Press Consultant
ATO Ankara Chamber of Commerce	Mr. Fazıl Hızal	Advisor
Doğuş Group	Ms. Tuba Köseoğlu	Human Resources Senior Vice President
ISKUR Turkish Employment Organisation	Mr. Namik Ata	General Director

Koç University	Mr. Ahmet İçduygu	Director Migration Research Programme
MÜSIAD Independent Industrialist and Businessmen's association	Mr. Ali Gür	Member of Board of Directors
MÜSIAD Independent Industrialist and Businessmen's association	Mr. Özcan Tokel	Deputy Secretary General
Philips	Mr. Timucin Selcan	Human Resource Director
The Royal Netherlands Embassy	Mr. Mehmet Uğur	First Secretary Department of Social Affairs
The Royal Netherlands Embassy	Mr. Roland P. M. Martin	First Secretary Economic and Commercial Department
The Royal Netherlands Embassy	Mr. Kubilay Öner	Economic and Commercial Officer
T.R. Prime Ministry of State Planning and Organisation	Ms. Sunay Ferai Keçeci	Social Planning Expert
TÜRK-İŞ Trade Union	Mr. Celal Bay Mr. Uğraş Gök	General Manager International Advisor
UNDP United Nations Development Programme	Ms. Burcu Güvenek Arasli	Microfinance Sector Development Project Manager
UNDP United Nations Development Programme	Ms. Berna Bayazit	Programme Associate

Suriname

Organisation	Respondent	Function
Flexible/Wereldstage	Ms. Hortence Beekman	Managing Director
IntEnt	Mr. Radjendrenath Kalloe	Relationship Manager
Jobsolution	Ms. Achiro	
Kamer van koophandel en fabrieken	Ms. Naomi Banel	Desk Clerk
Kamer van koophandel en fabrieken	Ms. Chantal D. Elmont	Staff Member Business Support Unit
Ministerie van Arbeid, Dienst der arbeidsbemiddeling	Ms. Hewett	Assistant Manager
Nederlandse Ambassade	Ms. Kodabaks	
Nederlandse Ambassade	Ms. Robles de Medina	Social military
Nederlandse Ambassade	Mr. Bas van Noordenne	Manager Development Aid
RBTT (grote bank)	Ms. Thersa Wijdenbosch	Manager Human Resources
Stichting Arbeidsmobilisatie & Ontwikkeling (SAO)	Mr. E. Pinas	Interim Manager
SPWE ondersteuning micro-ondernemers	Mr. Ceder	
Staatsolie	Mr. Pigot	
Vereniging Surinaams Bedrijfsleven	Mr. E.E. Refos	Manager

Ghana

Organisation	Respondent
Ghana Investment Promotion Centre	Mr. Stephen Osei Yeboah
International Organisation of Migration (IOM)	Programme Manager
Ghana Immigration Service	Mrs. E. Agyei (Director)
Ghana Free Zones Board	Executive Director
Ghana Export Promotion Council	Executive Director
Ministry of Manpower Development and Employment	Chief Labour Officer
Ministry of Labour	Chief Officer
Private Enterprise Foundation	Dr. Osei Boeh-Ocansey (General Director)
Home coming Secretariat	
Research and Counseling for African Migrants	Mr. Mbinglo Meh-Nsodu (Executive Director)
IntEnt	Manager
Dutch Embassy	Mrs. P. Foli-Neefkens (Policy Assistant) Mrs. S. Grovers (Policy Assistant)
GAGA/FAND	Mr. T. Kofi Mr. J. Osei Kofi Mr. F. Cornah

APPENDIX 3

VSB REGISTRATION OF JOB SEEKERS

WERKZOEKENDEN GEGISTREERD BIJ DE VACATUREBANK SURINAME ULTIMO MAART 2005						
Reg. nr.	M/V	Leeft	Nivo	Opleiding	Werkervaring	Opmerking
01-04	M	35	WO	VWO, WO - Opleiding Agrarische Economie afgerond	Productie medewerker en arbeidsmiddelaar bij diverse uitzendbureau's	
03-04	M	33	HBO	IMEAG: AE-Stream, IOL Studierichting Handelswetenschappen (afgerond); Cursus Engelse conversatie en Loonadministratie+Basiskennis boek houden afgerond, Computer ervaring	Administratieve kracht bij diverse Administratie kantoren	Gewenste functie: Human Resource Employer, Employee in reiswezen
04-04	M	31	WO	VWO, Cursus KPMG Account View Basis, Basiskennis Boekhouden afgerond, Opleiding Psychologie Universiteit Brabant afgerond, Momenteel bezig met de opleiding Algemeen management LOI Hogeschool te Leiden	HPMG Financieel Network, Commercieel medewerker, Boekhoudkundig medewerker	Gewenste functie: Boekhoudkundig - administratief
05-04	V	24	VWO	MULO, VWO, Cursussen Boekhouden en Administratieve Economie	Administratief medewerker	Gewenste functie: Administratief medewerker
06-04	V	30	WO	VWO, Sociale - en organisatiepsychologie	Organisatieadviseur, Trajectcoördinator, Activiteitenbegeleider en Psycholoog	Gewenste functie: HRM-gebied; Projectmanager
07-04	M	46	MBO	LTS-Electrotechniek, NATIN-Informatica, Ruime computer ervaring	Technical manager, Technisch directeur	
09-04	V	51	HBO	VWO, Opleiding Juridisch Assistent afgerond bij de Sg. Juridische Beroepsopleidingen Curacao, Cursus Belastingrecht afgerond, Ruime computerervaring, Beheersing v/d Engelse en Spaanse taal	Office Manager en Legal Assistant, Managing Director, Executive Secretary (IICA), Juridisch Secretaresse bij diverse bankinstellingen, Lerares Spaans	
10-04	V	41	HBO	Opleiding Personeel en Arbeid afgerond a/d Hogeschool te Rotterdam, Opleiding Maatschappij geschiedenis gevolgd aan de Erasmus Universiteit te Rotterdam; Cursussen : Werkgeversbenedering, vakbondswezen en conflicthantering en onderhandelen gevolgd.	Consulent Arbeidsbemiddeling	Gewenste functie: HRM-Manager, Personeelsconsulent
11-04	M	36	HBO	NATIN electro, HBO-Opleiding Electro met als specialisatie energie overdracht gevolgd	Onderwijzer, Electriciën	Gewenste functie: Leiding geven en ondernemen
12-04	M	23	MBO	LTS-Bouw, Momenteel AMTO richting Bouwkundig tekenen	Administratief werk, Catering	Gewenste functie: Bouwkundig tekenaar
14-04	V	39	WO	VWO, Opleiding bedrijfseconomie afgerond op de ADEK, Cursussen moderne bedrijfsadministratie en Info systems gevolgd	Programmeur automatisering, systeemanalyst, operator bij diverse bedrijven	Gewenste functie: Info analyst, System analyst
15-04	V	20	HAVO	MULO, HAVO	Catering	Gewenste functie: Administratief
16-04	V	28	HBO	HAVO, Opleiding Rechten op de ADEK gevolgd, Opleiding Automatiseringsmedewerker afgerond	Administratief medewerker, Receptioniste	Gewenste functie: Assistent HRM, Administratief medewerker
17-04	V	33	WO	Opleiding Rechten afgerond op ADEK	Wetenschappelijk en Juridisch medewerker	Gewenste functie: Jurist

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Reg.nr.	M/V	Leef.	Nivo	Opleiding	Werkervaring	Opmerking
18-04	V	27	HBO	VWO, Opleiding bedrijfseconomie gevolgd op ADEK, Cursus Correspondentie gevolgd	Administratie videotheek	Gewenste functie: Bedrijfseconoom
19-04	V	38	HBO	MULO, Havo(niet afg.), Opleiding, PD, Basiskennis boekhouden en Computerboekhouden gevolgd	Administratieve kracht, Boekhouder bij diverse bedrijven	Gewenste functie: Administratieve kracht financiële admin.
20-04	V	38	HBO	IOI opleiding PG afgerond, Opleiding Logopedie op de Academie Logopedie te Groningen NL afgerond, HRM Training afgerond	Directie Assistent, HRM, Logopediste	Gewenste functie: Project basis
21-04	V	30	WO	VWO, Opleiding Psychologie afgerond Universiteit A dam, Opleiding Sociaal Organisatie psychologie afgerond Rijksuniversiteit te Leiden	Personeels, selectie en loopbaan adviseur, Office manager, Activiteiten begeleider	Gewenste functie: Organisatie en project manager
22-04	V	26	WO	HAVO, Opleiding Agogische Wetenschappen en Ondervijskunde op de ADEK gevolgd	Personeelszaken bij Ministerie	Gewenste functie: HRM
23-04	V	35	WO	Opleiding mijnbouwkunde en petroleumwinning afgerond op de Universiteit te Delft, HBO-Opleiding Levensmiddelen technologie met als specialisatie Projectontwikkeling afgerond op de Hogeschool te Delft	Financieel medewerkster, Budget reporting export, Assistent Accountant	Gewenste functie: In de sector levensmiddelen
24-04	V	28	WO	HBO-Opleiding International Tourism Management & Consultancy afgerond op de Hogeschool voor Toerisme en Verkeer, Opleiding Bedrijfskunde afgerond op de Erasmus Universiteit te Rotterdam	Management Consultant	
25-04	V	39	MBO	MULO, HAVO, Opleiding Openbaar bestuur en juridische ambtenaar, Communicatie a/d bali Zakelijk schrijven afgerond	Administratief medewerkster	Gewenste functie: Administratief medewerkster
26-04	V	31	HBO	VWO, Opleiding Business Management afgerond op de University of Tampa te Florida	Geen werkervaring	Gewenste functie: HRM, Marketing, Economics Banking
27-04	V	36	MBO	Middelbaar Handelsschool Secretarieel, Opleiding Handelswetenschappen gevolgd op het IOI		Gewenste functie: Administratieve kracht (boekhouding)
28-04	V	28	HBO	Lerenopleiding Engels op de Rotterdamse Hogeschool (afgerond) Opleiding Biochemie gevolgd a/d Rotterdamse Hogeschool, Enige kennis v/d Spaanse taal, mediatraining gevolgd, Inleiding in speciale psychologie cursus gevolgd.	Opzetten van Computerprogramma's, kassiere, engels verzorgd in de onderbouw	Gewenste functie: cursus verzorgster, vertaalwerk, omroepster
29-04	M	26	WO	VWO afgerond, ADEK Opleiding Bedrijfskunde (afnondende fase): Cursus personal leadership afgerond, cursus actief vergaderen + presenteren gevolgd, cursus loan assessment gevolgd	Administratie finance, rent & cease opration management, personeelsmanagement, directie assistent bij diverse bedrijven	
01-05	V	35	WO	VWO afgerond, ADEK Opleiding Rechten (afnondende fase), Cursussen: DOS for beginners, MSWindows 3.11 en Schoonheidsverzorging afgerond	Salessupervisor in een winkelzaak	Gewenste functie: Juridisch Assistent - Administratieve werkzaamheden
02-05	V	47	WO	Opleiding Maatschappelijk Opbouwwerk aan de CIJCSA	Projectmanager, Teamleider en Groepsleider bij	Gewenste functie:

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Reg.nr.	M/V	Leeft	Nivo	Opleiding	Werkervaring	Opmerking
				Sociale Academie afgerond; Propedaeuse opleiding Voorlichting afgerond; Cursus functioneringsgesprekken en Voortgezette opleiding management organisatie en beleid afgerond in Nederland	diverse bedrijven	Organisatorisch
03-05	M	27	WO	SPI, Schakelaar ADEK, ADEK Studierichting: Electrotechniek / Informatie techniek afgerond	Geen	Gewenste functie:
04-05	M	29	HBO	VWO afgerond, Momenteel student Public Administration a/d ADEK met als Specialisatie Projectmanagement; Cursussen: Prince II en MS Project gevolgd (voor het schrijven van projecten)	Marketing en ordehandhaving binnen een familie bedrijf	Gewenste functie: Project management
05-05	V	28	HBO	VWO afgerond, Momenteel student Bedrijfseconomie a/d ADEK met als specialisatie Interne controle en Accountancy	Assistent Directie Secretaresse, Management Assistentie bij diverse bedrijven	Gewenste functie: Administratief –economisch, Financieel-economisch
06-05	M	30	HBO	College Techniek specialisatie Telematica afgerond, Momenteel student Technische Bedrijfskunde : specialisatie elektrotechniek a/d Hogeschool van Utrecht; Cursussen: Autocad, Cubase, Word, Excel en MS – Office, Geluidstechniek afgerond	Engineer, montagemedewerker bij een Nederlands bedrijf	Gewenste functie: HRM, Intermediair
07-05	V	22	MBO	MULO-A afgerond, IMEAO A-E Stream afgerond, Basiscursus Informatica afgerond; Windows '98, Word, Excel en MS-Office afgerond	All-rounder en verkoopster bij diverse bedrijven	Gewenste functie: Administratieve
08-05	M	20	MBO	Studie Electrotechniek Niveau I : Specialisatie Electromonteur afgerond, Opleiding ICT Service medewerker : Specialisatie: Computer reparatie's afgerond in Nederland; Cursus Windows XP, Adobe Photoshop CS, HTML, Excel en Word afgerond	Merchandiser bij een bedrijf in NL	Gewenste functie: Webdesigner, ICT medewerker, computer reparaties
09-05	M	30	MBO	LTS Opleiding Metaal bewerking en lassen vooropleiding machinisten afgerond, Machinisten opleiding richting: Grond- Weg en Waterbouw afgerond in Nederland	Machinist, project begeleider en machinebeheer bij een Nederlands bedrijf	Gewenste functie: Machinist of Projectbegeleider Grond- Weg- en Waterbouw
10-05	V	20	VWO	VWO afgerond, Momenteel student HBO Opleiding Bedrijfseconomie, Cursus: Powerpoint en Word afgerond	Geen	Gewenste functie:
11-05	M	36	WO	B.Sc. Opleiding Industrial Chemistry en M.Sc. Opleiding Food Science & Technology a/d Universiteit te Brazilië afgerond; Cursus Ileiding Chemische processen, Studie Regionale Biotechnologie, Montage en Onderhoud vabn Micro's afgerond	Docent Scheel- en Natuurkunde in Brazil en Trainer fabriceren plastic en huishoudelijke attributen tot eindproduct en Trainer ISO 9004	Gewenste functie: Productie manager, Kwaliteitsmanager, Voedseltechnoloog, Chemisch technoloog
12-05	V	29	WO	Pedagogiek op 't IOL afgerond, Studie Algemene Economie: specialisatie: Internationale Economie a/d ADEK afgerond, Cursus: Internet, Excel, Word en WP afgerond	Docent Economie I, Economie II, Micro- en Macro Economie op diverse opleidingen en Financieel administratief medewerkster bij 1 bedrijf	Gewenste functie: Manager of andere leidinggevende functie

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Reg.nr.	M/V	Leeft.	Nivo	Opleiding	Werkervaring	Opmerking
13-05	V	48	MBO	afgerond MULO-A afgerond, Middelbaar Handelsschool : Secretariële richting afgerond; Cursussen: Steno Engels, Bedr. Correcties- Nederlands, WPS, Quatro Pro, Management Assistant afgerond.	Secretaresse en Chief Secretary en Office Manager bij diverse firma's	Gewenste functie: Administratie, Office Manager, Secretaresse
14-05	V	21	HBO	VWO afgerond, Momenteel studente HBO-Opleiding MER: Management Economisch Recht (Propadeuse reeds afgerond), Cursussen: access, Power point en Word gevolgd	Projectbegeleidster bij een Nederlands bedrijf	Gewenste functie: Administratie, Projectbegeleidster
15-05	V	29	HAVO	Momenteel student AHKCO richting Maatschappelijk Werkster (eerste leerjaar); Cursus Word & Window, Excel, Word afgerond	All rounder bij een verzekeringsmij.	Gewenste functie: Telefoniste of Administratieve kracht
16-05	M	38	VWO	MULO-A afgerond, Studie Netwerk Beheer en Admini- strator gevolgd; Cursussen: Type en kantoorkennis, Franse taal, Windows 95, Excel en Acces afgerond, Kaderopleiding Nationaal Leger afgerond	Assistant Administrator, Productie Chef en Allrounder, Inrichtten en oprichten van locaties voor scene's	Gewenste functie: Automatisering, Veldwerker in de logistieke richting

APPENDIX 4

CHECKLIST FOR EMPLOYERS

Checklist voor de werkgever die een werknemer uit één van de EU/EER-landen wil aanstellen.

Oriëntatie

- Begin ruim op tijd voor de komst van uw nieuwe personeelslid met de voorbereiding in uw organisatie.
- Welk beleid is er in uw bedrijf ten aanzien van het aantrekken van een buitenlandse werknemer?
- Is er een budget voor het aantrekken van een buitenlander op een functie?
- Wat is de meerwaarde van deze buitenlander in het bedrijf?
- Welke kanalen wil ik gebruiken om binnen de EU/EER te werven?

Werving en selectie

- Heeft u een functieprofiel van de vacature?
- Is het profiel in de Engelse taal beschikbaar?
- Is het een tijdelijke of permanente functie?
- Kan de bij het bedrijf bestaande wervings- en selectieprocedure hierbij gehanteerd worden?
- Waar worden selectiegesprekken gepland?
- Hoe gaat u om met diploma's uit het buitenland?
- Heeft u het selectieproces vastgesteld?
- Heeft u over een kennismakingsbezoek nagedacht?
- Welke opvang wordt in Nederland georganiseerd?
- Hoe worden kosten ten behoeve van het sollicitatiegesprek vergoed?
- Zijn er wettelijke vereisten waaraan moet worden voldaan?
- Organiseer een kennismaking voor de nieuwe medewerker(s) met Nederland.

Informeer nieuwe werknemers over het sociale verzekeringsstelsel en belastingen in Nederland.

Arbeidsvoorwaarden en overeenkomst

- Duur van de overeenkomst bepalen
- Salaris vaststellen
- Belastingplanning maken
- Over toelagen en vergoedingen informeren
- Pensioenvoorziening regelen
- Vergoeding woon-werkverkeer regelen
- Regeling treffen ten aanzien van thuisreizen

Voor aankomst van de kandidaat

- Over de huisvesting voor de nieuwe medewerker nadenken
- Verzoeken om toepassing van de bewijsregeling extraterritoriale kosten voor ingekomen werknemers (de zogenaamde 30%-regeling) indienen
- Mentor aanwijzen

Na aankomst

- Werknemer sofi-nummer laten halen, als dit nog ontbreekt
- Werknemer opnemen in de personeelsadministratie met de daarbij behorende meldingen, zoals voor het ziekenfonds, enz.
- Geef assistentie bij de aanvraag voor een verblijfsvergunning en andere formaliteiten in Nederland

Source: EURES

CHECKLIST FOR JOBSEEKERS**Checklist werkzoekenden voor vertrek naar het buitenland.**

Wanneer iemand naar het buitenland gaat verhuizen, moet er gewoonlijk veel geregeld worden. Onderstaande checklist kan als ondersteuning worden gebruikt om een beeld te krijgen van wat er nog gedaan moet worden. Deze lijst is zeker niet volledig. Voor u zelf kunt u eens nagaan wat er nog meer op deze lijst moet komen te staan.

Oriëntatie

- Bent u bekend met de cultuur en omgangsvormen van het bestemmingsland?
- Voldoet u aan de vereiste talenkennis?
- Wat weet u van de arbeidsmarkt aldaar?
- Hoe staat het met de vacatures?
- Welk arbeidsrecht is er van toepassing?
- Bent u bekend met de huisvestingssituatie?
- Wat weet u van het belastingstelsel aldaar?
- Hebt u informatie over arbeidscontracten?
- Hoe is de sociale zekerheid geregeld in dat land?

Ruim voor vertrek

- Zorg voor een geldig paspoort/een geldige ID
- Wikkel uw belastingzaken af
- Denk aan het omzetten en afsluiten van verzekeringen
- Zorg voor legalisering van uw diploma's
- Denk aan een uitleg van de waarde van uw Nederlandse diploma in een vreemde taal
- Regel uw ziektekostenverzekering
- Denk ook aan het regelen van de zgn. E-formulieren
- Maak kopieën van al uw belangrijke papieren

Beslissingen

- Overweeg het eventueel afsluiten van een vrijwillige verzekering WAO (ga na of er geen dubbele premie wordt betaald). Het is niet mogelijk om voor de WW en ZW een vrijwillige verzekering af te sluiten
- Overweeg het afsluiten van een vrijwillige verzekering AOW en/of ANW (alleen indien voorafgegaan door verplichte verzekering van ten minste 1 jaar)
- Regel dat vaste betalingen (indien nodig) doorlopen en geld ontvangen kan worden

- Er zal een arbeidsovereenkomst moeten komen en bij voorkeur een schriftelijke bevestiging van salarisuitbetaling
- Uw huis in Nederland zal moeten worden verkocht/opgezegd of onderverhuurd
- Informeer organisaties en bekenden over uw vertrek
- In het nieuwe land moet u een bankrekening openen
- Overweeg het aanstellen van een zaakwaarnemer voor bankzaken/fiscus, enz.

Opzeggingen

- Huur van huis
- Verzekeringen voor zover ze niet worden omgezet
- Abonnementen voor kranten en tijdschriften
- Lidmaatschappen clubs/bibliotheek
- Huisarts/tandarts
- Gas, enz.
- Telefoon/centraal antennesysteem
- Periodiek onderhoud van het huis

Vlak voor vertrek

- Verhuisbericht
- Uitschrijving bij gemeente

Source: EURES

APPENDIX 5**ZAV MONITORING SYSTEM**

Schema für den Monatsbericht

Bericht von Herrn/Frau
in der Fachkräftevereinigung.....
für den Monat.....

I. Beratung

- von stellensuchenden Rückkehrern (ggf. Anzahl und Namen)
- von Existenzgründern (ggf. Anzahl und Namen)
- bei Förderangelegenheiten (ZAV/APA/DEG/InWent etc.)
- bei sonstigen Fragen der Reintegration (z.B. Anerkennung von Zeugnissen, Rentenversicherung, Ausbildung der Kinder, soziale Reintegration etc).

II. Stellenakquisition

- Akquirierte und an ZAV weitergeleitete Stellen für Rückkehrer (ggf. Anzahl und Namen der Firmen)
- Akquirierte und erfolgreich besetzte Stellen für bereits Zurückgekehrte (ggf. Anzahl und Namen der Firmen)

III. Kontaktpflege

- Gespräche mit öffentlichen und privaten Arbeitgebern (ggf. Anzahl und Namen der Firmen)
- Gespräche mit anderen Institutionen (z.B. Kammern, Verbände, Ministerien etc.)

IV. Veranstaltungen der Fachkräftevereinigung**V. Erstellen von Informationsmaterialien**

- z.B. Faltblätter, Broschüren, Internetseiten etc.

VI. Sonstiges

- z.B. Veränderung des Arbeitsmarktes, Änderungen der Reintegrationsmöglichkeiten, neue Entwicklungen im Land, Medienberichte etc.

APPENDIX 6

LIST OF WEBSITES

European Initiatives

Organisation	URL
Africa Recruit	http://www.africarecruit.com
	http://www.findajobinafrica.com
Afroneth	http://www.afroneth.nl/
AGEF Saarbrücken	http://www.agef-saar.de/
Avenir Nepad	http://www.avenir-nepad.org
EURES	http://europa.eu.int/eures/index.jsp
EVD	http://www.evd.nl
Göteborg Initiative	http://www.initiativet.nu/
IntEnt	http://www.ondernemenoverdegrens.nl/
IOM Netherlands	http://www.iom-nederland.nl/
Job Maroc	http://www.jobmaroc.co.ma/
MIDA Grands Lacs	http://www.belgium.iom.int/Mida2/
OCIV – Vluchtelingenwerk Vlaanderen	http://www.ociv.org/
PS-EAU	http://www.pseau.org/pmie
UAF/Job Support	http://www.uaf.nl
Werken in Suriname	http://www.werkeninsuriname.nl
WUS	http://www.wusgermany.de
ZAV	http://www.zav-reintegration.de

Turkey

Organisation	URL
Dutch Embassy	http://www.nl.org.tr
State Institute of Statistics	http://www.die.gov.tr/ENGLISH/index.html
Web-based search engine Karriyer	www.karriyet.net
Web-based search engine Insankaynaklari	www.insankaynaklari.com

Ghana

Organisation	URL
Ghana Investment Promotion Centre	http://www.gipc.org.gh
Ghana Netherlands Chamber of Commerce and Culture	http://www.ghanecc.com

Suriname

Organisation	URL
VSB	http://www.vsbstia.org/
Wereldstage/Flexible	http://www.wereldstage.com
Werken in Suriname	http://www.werkeninsuriname.info/
Etnomedia	http://www.waterkant.net/

