

Determinants of Return Migration: A Case Study of Return from Greece

Tanveer Ahmed Naveed^a, Arshad Ali Bhatti^b and Sami Ullah^c

Abstract

Various migration theories suggest different variables to reveal determinants, degree and dynamics of return migration. Some theories discuss the economic aspects of the return migration at individual and household levels like neo-classical and new economics of labor migration theories. Others explore the micro and macro aspects of return migration like transnationalism, structuralism and social network theory. The difference of their interpretations depends upon the conceptual frameworks of each approach. This paper investigates the determinants of return migration on the basis of existing theories of migration. For this purpose, through pre-structured questionnaire, the primary data is collected from 230 Pakistani migrants in Greece who belong to district Gujrat (Pakistan). We employ binary logistic regression analysis to conclude that Pakistani migrants move to Greece with the purpose of higher earnings expectations, employment and permanent settlement but they miscalculate their abilities of economic, social and cultural integration in the host country. Thus, integration failure causes return migration. Hence, the neo-classical theory mainly explains the experience of return migration. Finally, the study recommends utilizing the potentials (human capital and savings, etc.) of return migrants by providing them employment and investment facilities for generating economic growth in home country.

Introduction

Traditionally migration studies focus on causes, problems and consequences of immigration towards Western countries. Recently, the subject of return migration has been receiving growing concentration in the literature of migration (Cassarino, 2004; Asiedu, 2005; Rodriguez and Egea, 2006). Different theories propose a variety of variables to explain the factors, degree and dynamics of return migration. Difference of interpretations and analysis depends on their respective analytical frameworks. For example, neo-classical theory on international migration revolves around the main features of migration that are wage differential and higher earning, expectations of migrants in host countries (Todaro, 1969). Neoclassical theory proposes that return migration occurs when migrant labors miscalculate the migration cost and human capital is not rewarded as expected (Cassarino, 2004). Return migration is the consequence of failed migration experience in terms of expected higher wages, employment and duration.

The New Economics of Labor Migration (NELM) theory deals with return migration differently. It views return migration as the logical outcome of a calculated strategy resulting from the successful achievement of goals or targets abroad (Hass et al., 2009). Both approaches differ because of contrasting conceptual frameworks while interpreting return migration. Neoclassical economists infer that migrants move permanently to increase and maximize their wages in host countries. Hence, they view return as failure, whereas, NELM theory considers migration as a temporary movement to find goals and targets in host country and return is success instead of failure. The workers move back when they find their targets, therefore negative wage difference is not the only cause of return but this may be the achievement of set targets in destination country (Stark, 1996). The structural approach to return migration argues that return migration cannot be

^a Assistant Professor in Economics, University of Gujrat, Pakistan

^b Assistant Professor in Economics, International Islamic University, Islamabad, Paistan

^c Assistant Professor in Economics, University of Gujrat, Pakistan

analyzed in the context of migrant experience only but, social and institutional factors of the country of origin also play important roles. According to this approach returnees' success or failure is assessed by linking the reality of the home country with returnees' expectations (Cerese, 1974). Migrants invest their earned incomes in family's recommended projects, therefore amount is spent on lavish buildings, big houses and in purchasing the luxuries of life instead of investment and modernization (Byron and Condon, 1996). Transnationalism approach maintain that return has a social and historical background and it occurs when sufficient economic or human resources are gathered abroad to sustain in the countries of origin. Main motivations of return for migrants are favorable socioeconomic conditions in the country of origin. Cross-border Social and Economic Networks theory constitutes that skills acquired abroad in the form of knowledge, experience, social contacts, and values are the determinants of return. It further declares that savings and remittances are just one type of resources causing to invest in productive projects in the country of origin. However, across the border social networks, affiliations, skill development abroad and economic resource mobilization through remittances are the prominent factors of return (Cassarino, 2004).

Some research studies have tested these opposing hypotheses on return migration. For example, empirical evidence by Waldorf (1995) shows a positive correlation between integration and return migration intentions. Whereas, Jensen and Pederen (2007) investigate a negative correlation between labor market integration and return migration using the survey data from Denmark. Arif (1998) uses ILO survey data and finds that re-adjustment in domestic labor market is highly associated to the human capital (such as pre-migration and during migration work experience) instead of economic positions, such as savings etc. Moreover, Arif and Irfan (1997) determine that migration experience, new skills, exposure of foreign country, and earned economic resources cause the migrants to change their pre-migration occupation, develop their own businesses, adopt agriculture occupation, or practice self-employment.

As far as return migration in Pakistan is concerned, a very little literature is available to address this issue. During 1990s Pakistan experienced a huge return migration from Middle East (Iqbal, 1980; Airport Surveys, 1982-1995; Arif, 1998). Global financial crunch (2007-08) hit economic position of many developing and developed countries badly. This crisis awfully affected the financial, social and employment situations of residents and non-residents of Middle East, European and American regions.

In particular, Greece got affected very badly by this financial crisis. This crisis has deteriorated the business, employment and economic opportunities not only for native Greeks but also for migrants. Greece is immigrating country having migrants from all over the world. About 2.4% of total migrants in Greece are Pakistanis (Edwards, 2004). Approximately, 60 to 70% Pakistani immigrants in Greece belong to Gujrat and from other barani areas like Kharian and Jhelem (Leghari, 2009). Pakistani emigrants in Greece are characterized as uneducated, young and belong to rural areas; and most of them serve in the industrial sector (Edwards, 2004). Therefore, similar to other migrants, Pakistani emigrants working in Greece from last many years also affected severely and start returning back. As far as literature is concerned there is not a single study that addresses the factors and causes of return migration of Pakistani workers from Europe, particularly Greece. This study bridges this gap and examines the determinants of return migration of Pakistani emigrants from Greece.

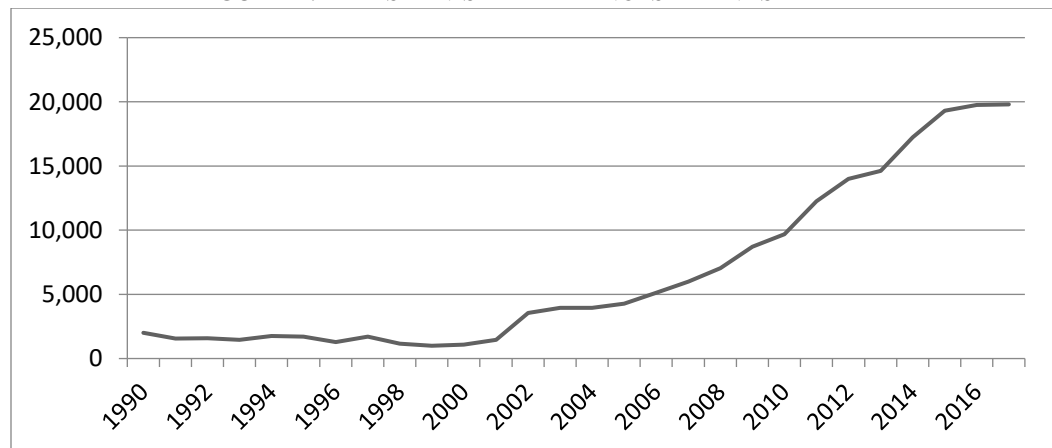
Remittances and Pakistani Diasporas

Out-migration and In-remittances of Pakistan

According to World Bank Fact Sheet (2014) Pakistan is ranked at 7th number among the world largest emigrant supplier nations. Since 1970s, Pakistan is a major labor force supplier to Middle East (Arif, 1998) and developed regions like Europe and North America (Jan, 2010). Pakistan's economy benefited a great deal from foreign exchange remitted by its emigrants as they have sent back around US\$ 70 billion since 1970 till 2007 (SBP, 2009). Approximately, 7 million Pakistanis are living on permanent, temporary or illegal basis in different parts of the world (Hamdani, 2006). There are approximately 2.2 million Pakistanis in Europe. Around half live in the United Kingdom. Italy, Greece, France, Spain, Germany and Denmark also have large Pakistani communities (Abassi, 2010). Remittances from Europe increased from USD 74.5 million in 2003–2004 to USD 247.6 million in 2008–2009 (Abassi, 2010).

Data for Middle East migrants is more reliable and properly recorded, whereas emigration to Europe, USA, Canada, and UK is most of the time illegal and do not have proper record (Jan, 2010). Interestingly, the type of migration to Middle East and Western Countries also differs significantly; movement to Middle East is temporary and contractual in nature (Arif 1998), whereas emigration to Europe and USA is permanent in nature. Pakistan is experiencing increasing trend in foreign remittances since 2001. In 2010, Pakistan received the highest amount of US \$10 billion remittances in its history (World Bank, 2011). Channels of remittances from European countries are different as in case of Middle East countries. So a big portion of remittances sent by Pakistani migrants from European countries through illegal channels is not a part of this data.

FIGURE 1: PAKISTAN'S REMITTANCES TRENDS



SOURCE: MIGRATION AND REMITTANCES FACT BOOK 2017, WORLD BANK

Rest all of the world is facing a declining growth rate (many have negative growth) in remittances comparing 2007 and 2009 but Pakistan is the only country in the world experiencing increased growth in remittances in the stated years from 17% to 23%, respectively.

Pakistani Emigrants in Greece

Greece has been experiencing immigration from last many years. Factors of attraction for immigrants to Greece includes; Greek wealth relative to the country of origin, its large informal markets that have capacity to absorb unskilled, uneducated and illegal immigrants, and its European Union membership that is used as gateway to other European countries by migrants from

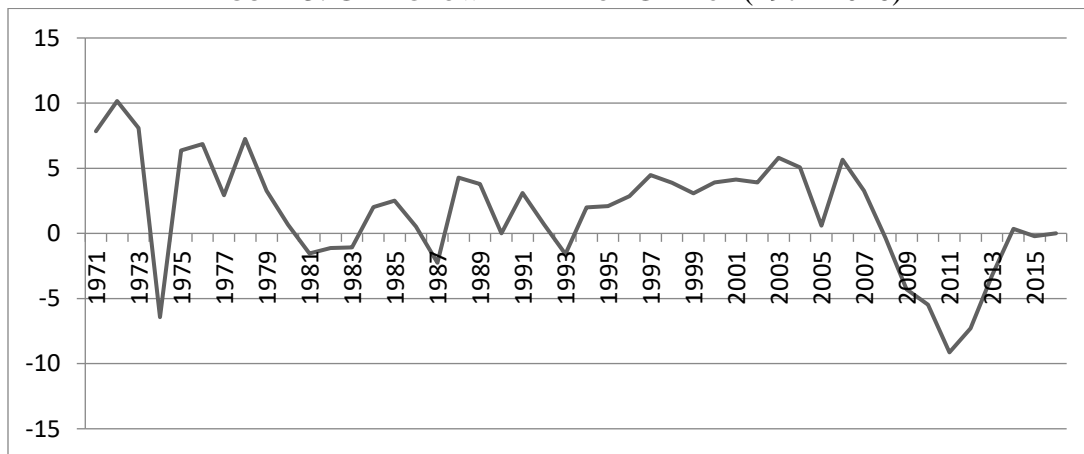
developing countries (Triandafyllidou and Lazarescu, 2009). Majority of migrants move to Greece primarily for economic reasons. The Mass of Greece's immigrants belongs to its immediate neighboring countries like Albania or Bulgaria. By 2004, the immigrant population in Greece stands around the 900,000 (non EU/ EFTA^a) but including nationals of EU this figure reached to 950,000. As for as Asian migrants to Greece are concerned majority belongs to Pakistan and Bangladesh (Triandafyllidou, 2009). Asian immigrants and asylum seekers are generally smuggled through Turkey into Greece. Some apply for asylum while others simply disappear in finding their co-ethnic networks and get a job in informal markets of Greece.

Migrants in Greece with residence permit are 683,324 in 2004, out of which 63.2%, 4.3%, and 2.4% are Albanian, Romania and Pakistani respectively (Edwards 2004). Pakistani migrants have higher labor participation rate comparing to Ukrainian, Polish and Indian migrants. Approximately, 60 to 70% Pakistani immigrants in Greece came from Gujrat and other Barani Areas like Kharian and Jehelum (Leghari, 2009). According to ministry of interior, the total of Pakistani immigrant was 20,331 or 2.5% of total immigrants in Greece. Further, a rough estimate confirms that the total Pakistani immigrants in Greece are approximately 50,000 while another one confirms 70,000 Pakistani in Greece (Leghari 2009).

Greek Crisis and Pakistani Emigrants

Global financial crisis 2007-08 affected Greek economy severely. Worsen tourism, production and employment situations caused negative GDP growth rate in 2009, 2010 and 2011, respectively. During these periods, it experienced a reduction in tourism by 20%, lowering of wages especially for undocumented and unskilled workers (from 50-60 Euros to 15-20 Euros per day).

FIGURE 3: GDP GROWTH RATE OF GREECE (1971-2016)



SOURCE: WORLD BANK 2012

Figure above depicts a declining trend in annual growth rate of Greece since 2006 and it became negative in 2008 and 2009 which is mainly due to world financial crisis that affect every sector of the economy negatively. Greece has experienced a highest rate of unemployment in April 2012, which was 22.5% compared to 16.2% in April 2011 and 22.0% in March 2012. Pakistani migrants are facing severe socio-economic and socio-political problems in Greece. Illegal, uneducated and unskilled young Pakistani workers are now getting unemployed. Remaining legal Pakistani emigrants are facing problem of lower wages and ethnic biases by Greek nationals. Greek

^a Are the countries not included in European Union or European Free Trade Agreement

crisis also severely affect socio-psychological situation of Greek natives and emigrants. Many of the Greek residents consider emigrants responsible for high unemployment, insecurity and low economic growth. Greek natives have shown aggression on immigrants living in Greece by targeting them in public places, by threatening them and some time by violence. In last three months at least 300 violent attacks by local anti-racism campaigners are experienced by Pakistani immigrants in Greece. Pakistani immigrants link the surge in attacks against them to political uplift by Golden Dawn party (Harisi Aovigi). Pakistani and Bangladeshi immigrants are more in trouble in all of foreigners in Greece (Huff World Post, August 2008).

As a result of above mentioned socio-economic, socio-political and socio-psychological reasons many Pakistani emigrants working in Greece for many years are returning back to their homeland.

Literature Review

The subject of return migration started growing in the literature of migration studies back in 1960s, while a scientific debate among demographic and migration scholars took place on factors of return and its impact on countries of origin in 1980s (Cassarino, 2004). These debates caused production of several essays, research papers and organization of conferences (Kubat, 1984; Council of Europe, 1987). These efforts contributed intensively in the development of literature on return migration shedding light on severity of issue by linking the international migration and economic development in the country of emigrants. The variety of scholarly analysis and definitional approaches are available to understand the return migration and returnees. To analyze how return has been addressed by theorists, it is mandatory to emphasize the theoretical insight. However, some approaches are the outcome of empirical studies while others are taken from definitional criteria used for official data collection on return migration.

As, Constant and Massey (2002) analyze data relating to the return migration of guest workers in Germany from 1984 to 1997. Their results suggest that remitters have higher rates of employment in receiving countries and that having a spouse in the home country increases their likelihood of return.

Similarly, Dustmann (2003) explores the reasons for return migrations which are motivated by immigration concerns about their children. He develops a simple model to estimate the paternalistic preferences, where parental concerns about the child affect their decision to stay or return to home country. His results also show that the return plans of parents differ in the preference of daughter than to the presence of son. Therefore, children also influence emigrants' decision to return.

Whereas, Cassarino (2004) in the light of international migration theories discusses different types and causes of return migration. He links the return migration with the development of the country of origin by analyzing returnees' preparedness and resource mobilization into account.

Moreover, Haas, Fokkema and Fihri (2009) discuss different conceptual frameworks of return migration theories and test their theoretical hypotheses by investigating the determinants of return among the Moroccan migrants across the Europe. They use primary survey data; their results show that structural integration by labor market participation, education, economic and social binding with the country of origin do not significantly affect the decision to return. However, investment and social integration positively contribute in return intention. They find that there is no uniform process of return migration, hence partially agreeing with the existing theories.

While, Yahirun (2009) examines the determinants of return migration as foreign born individuals approach to old age in Germany. He uses longitudinal data taken from the German Socio-Economic Panel (GSOEP) to observe what forces the people to return in later life. His empirical findings confirm that older immigrants' decision to return depend on the factors like economic resources, family ties and social resources, and controls.

Moreover, Reyes (1997) uses data on Mexican workers returned from the United States and finds that the ethnic and socio-cultural integration of migrants abroad helps the immigrants to acquire information about employment and housing that leads to the lower cost of migration and enhances the chances of longer stay. Another study suggests that the immigrant scientist in United States who are unsuccessful or least successful in labor market decides to return to their country of origin or chose re-migration (Borjas, 1989). Lam (1994) investigates the factors of return migration from Canada and finds that the exposure to unemployment leads to the probability of return. The propensity to return increases when migrants face difficulty in joining the labor market or access to social security system in United States (Reagon and Olsen, 2000). The probability of return depends upon the exposure to unemployment (Constant and Massey, 2002). Nekby (2006) and Jensen and Peteren (2007) have generated similar results for Sweden and Denmark, respectively.

Furthermore, Leghari (2009) analyzes demographic and social situations of Pakistani emigrants in Greece. He focuses on the changing pattern of Pakistani immigrants in Greece, that is, diaspora politics to transnationalism. He finds that the Pakistani immigrants in Greece are increased over time and they are performing the odd jobs like welders, mason, laborers etc. Further, they are mostly uneducated, coming from rural areas, and have less demand for education and other social services.

In context of Pakistan, Shahnaz and Arif (2000) analyze the two household surveys of return migrants from Middle East and conclude that a very small proportion of workers acquire new skills while staying in Middle East. Satisfying the family social and economic needs remain top priority of migrants and give less attention to their professional development. Similarly, Khalid (2011) investigates the role of gender participation in migration by comparing the demographic factors of migrants and non-migrants. His results suggest that demographic factors play an important role in the adaptation of new patterns of behavior or maintain the traditional one when returned migrants' financial and economic positions are similar to non-migrants.

Overall, there are many studies that test the opposing hypotheses of return migration. Some studies conclude the return migration as a failed experience by analyzing the relationship between integration in the host country labor market and return migration. Those conclude that the ethnic and socio-cultural integration of migrants abroad helps the immigrants to acquire information about employment and housing that leads to the lower cost of migration and enhances the chances of longer stay. And also find that the migrants who are unsuccessful or least successful in labor market decide to return to their country of origin or chose re-migration. Thus exposure to unemployment leads to the probability of return. Other studies conclude that return is success and as migrants sufficiently achieve their set goals they decide to return back.

As far as literature on determinants of return migration from Europe or Greece is concerned, this issue remains unvoiced. So this study is unique in its nature as it finds out the factors of return migration from Greece.

Data and Methodology

We use a survey data on 230 respondents collected from Pakistani emigrants to Greece. The sample frame the survey is Pakistanis people, belong to district Gujrat, and migrated to Greece, and

- (a) Staying in Greece from last six months, or
- (b) Have returned back at least six months before the survey date.

The survey is conducted in 2 tehsils of district Gujrat. The major reason of selecting these tehsils is the high concentration of emigrants from these areas. According to Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey (MICS) of 2007-08, district Gujrat is the top recipient of remittances in Punjab, that is, 24.3% of the households in Gujrat are receiving remittances as compared to around 4.3% from all Punjab. The district Gujrat has 117 union councils, including 89 rural and 28 urban. We select two tehsils for this study, namely, tehsil Gujrat and Kharian which have 65 and 43 union councils respectively. We divide the population of these tehsils into rural and urban strata and use two-stage cluster sampling. In first stage, population in rural and urban areas is divided into 108 clusters, known as union councils. We select a random sample of 12 union councils; 8 from rural and 4 from urban union councils. In second stage, we divide the selected clusters (union councils) into 80 villages or mohalals (a small concentration of households) and randomly select 24 villages or mohalals: 16 from rural and 8 from urban areas. Keeping in mind the nature of our research problem, we select 8 to 10 respondents from stratum (village/mohalah) using purposive sampling. Therefore, our sample consists of 230 respondents.

Two focus group discussions (FGDs) are conducted that help us to construct our questionnaire. As, data is primary in nature, dependent variable is categorical so logistic regression analysis is applied to investigate objectives of the study. Recently, no nationwide survey has been conducted on return migration in general and for returnees from Europe and Greece in particular; therefore, this study/survey is unique in its nature.

4.1 Model Specification

In order to investigate the determinants of the migrants' decision to return from Greece, we use descriptive statistics, graphic presentations, and binary logistic regression model. In logistic regression model, we use a binary dependent variable of migrants' decision to return which takes on value one if migrants decide to stay and zero otherwise.

Our logistic regression model is of the following forms:

$$\ln\left(\frac{P_i}{1-P_i}\right) = \beta X + U_i \quad \dots \quad (1)$$

where, P_i is the probability of return, X is the vector of explanatory variables. More specifically, the above equation is written as:

$$\ln\left(\frac{P_i}{1-P_i}\right)_{RET} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 BC + \beta_2 INTIG + \beta_3 TIES + \beta_4 RQL + \beta_5 LSA + e \quad (2)$$

Where, return migration (RET) is one if the Pakistanis emigrants in Greece decide to return back and zero otherwise. Explanatory variables include; First, *Background Characteristics* of migrants in home country (BC), it includes; demographic variables, locality, purpose of migration and the number of family earning sources in the country of origin. Demographic variables include age, education, and marital status etc.

Second explanatory variable is *Integration* (INTIG). It comprises of economic, structural and socio-cultural integration. Economic or structural integration is measured by (i) employment

status of migrant in host country, (ii) earning and remitting ability of migrants, and (iii) legal status of emigrants. Dimensions of socio-cultural integration includes; (i) ethnic nature of migrants' social network, (ii) degree of informal contacts with native population, and (iii) destination country's language fluency.

Third variable is *Ties* with host and origin countries (TIES). TIES consists of economic and social ties. Economic ties are measured by (i) the ownership of house/Land in host country or the country of origin, and (ii) investment/project/business in the country of origin and the host country. The social ties are measured by (i) a partner from the host country (ii) the number of children in the family at home, and (iii) the frequency of visit to the country of origin.

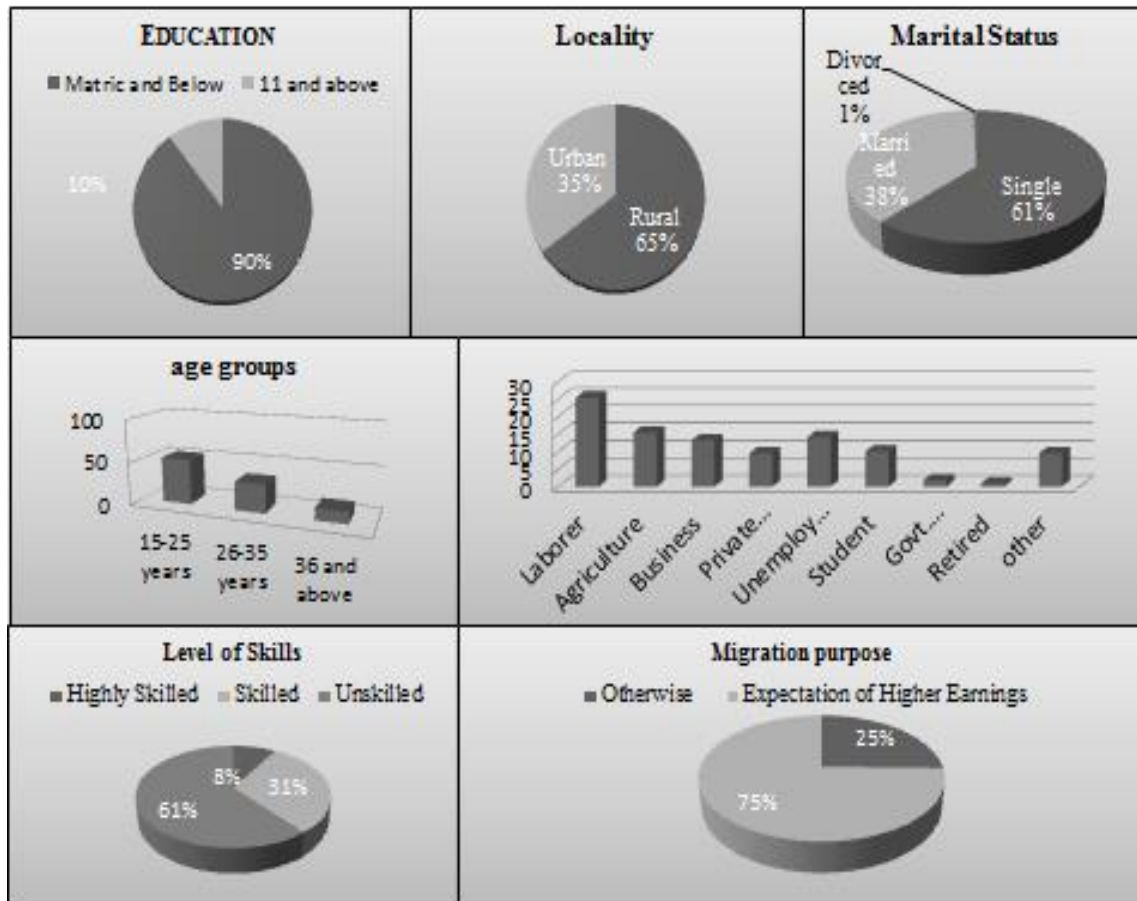
Fourth independent variable is *Residential Quality life*(RQL). To investigate the impact of quality of life on emigrants' decision to return, three variables are used including; discrimination in the provision of public services, degree of satisfaction with religious activities and worship facilities, and feeling of racism; where the discrimination in public service provision further includes; discrimination in health, education, legal and police services, and job market.

Fifth explanatory variable is *Length of Stay Abroad* (LSA). It is a categorical variable and takes on the value one if the respondent was a short-stayer, two if a medium-stayer, and three if a long-stayer: all measured in years.

Results and Discussion

The objective of this study is to investigate the social and economic factors that significantly contribute in the emigrants' decision to return back to Pakistan from Greece. Migrants are asked to enlighten the objective they kept in mind at the time of their migration. Our analysis shows that the major factors of migration are the wage differentials and high earning expectations. Figure 5 shows that the majority of respondents (75% of the total) migrate to Greece because of wage differences and high earning expectations, whereas the remaining 25% inform that their migration objectives are quality of life, education, tourism, social respect, family friends, and others. The demographic information of respondents depicts that the majority of migrants are Matric or below in education level (90%), belong to rural areas (about 65%), young and lie in the age group of 15-25 years (about 53%), single (61%), mainly laborer or agrarian by profession (40%), unskilled (61%) and migrated in high earning expectations (75%).

FIGURE 5: DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION OF EMIGRANTS (GRAPHIC PRESENTATION)

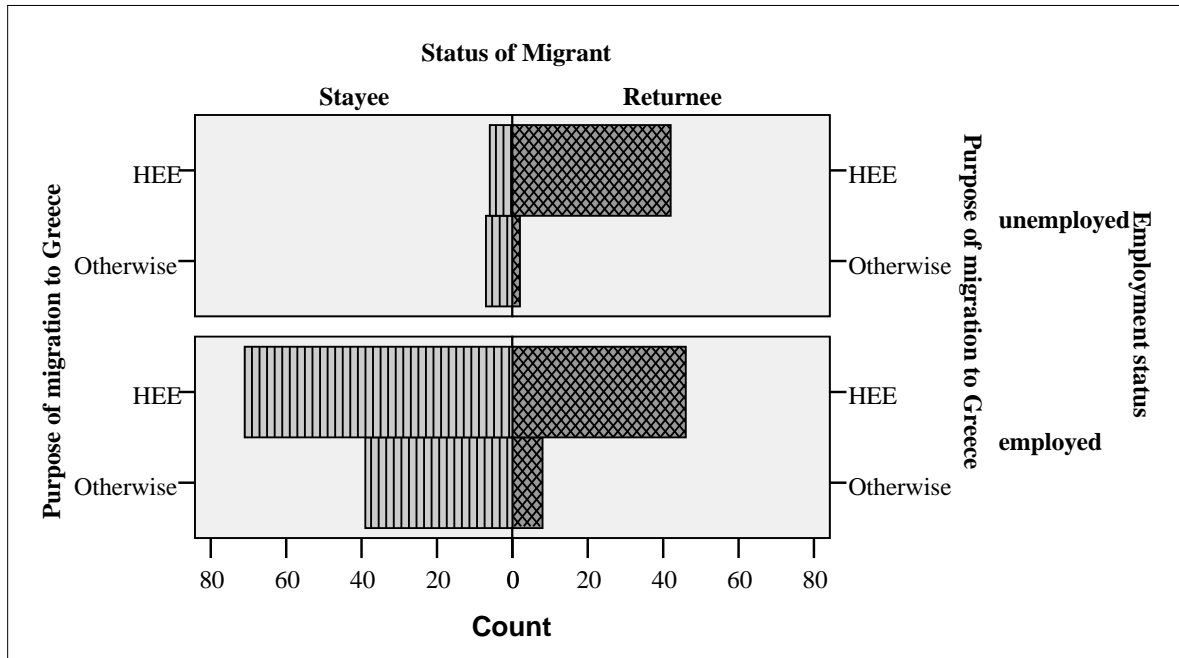


Many leading factors can be considered important while discussing young age migration to Greece. But more importantly, the illegal human smuggling through Zahidan and Istanbul is very disturbing and painful. The migrants are cruelly exploited by the agents (smugglers), and several of them get die in the attempt to get to Europe (Spiegel, 2012). That's why mature, educated and well-settled people do not prefer to migrate to Greece. Thus, young and less educated people can take risk of this difficult, hilly and inhuman travel.

Determinants of Return Migration

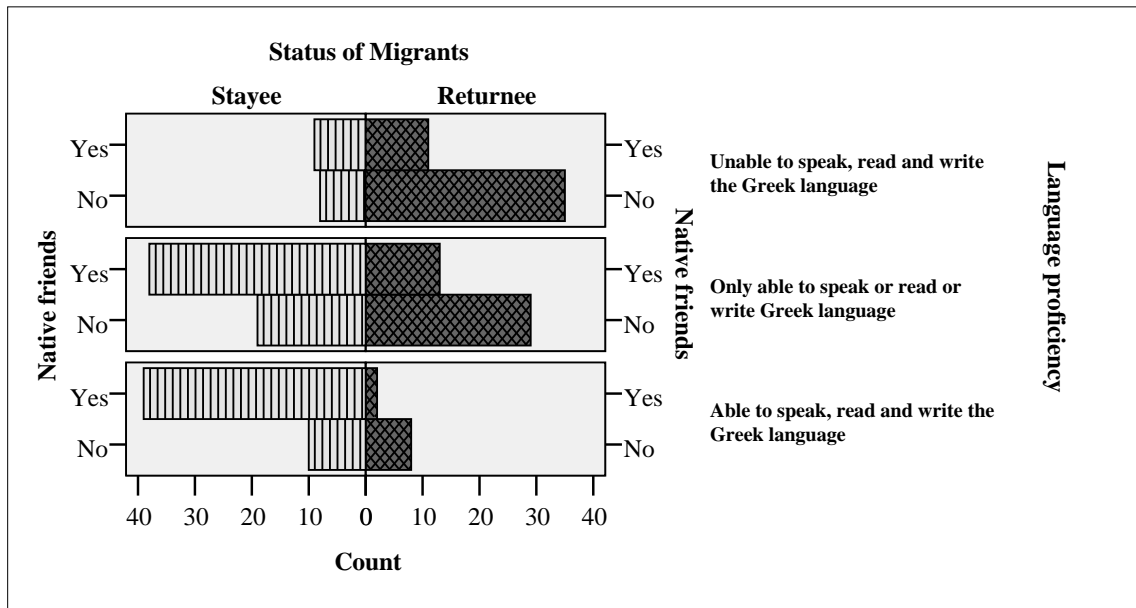
In order to investigate the determinants of return migration from Greece, our graphic analysis in Figure 6.5 shows a very comprehensive picture of the emigrants' decision to return with respect to pre-migration purpose of earning and post-migration employment status. Upper-right part of Figure 6 explains that as the emigrants with high earning objectives get unemployed, they are more likely to return back to their country of origin. However, employed emigrants with the objective of higher earnings are more likely to stay. Interestingly, the emigrants who have migration objective other than the higher income may stay even in the periods of unemployment.

FIGURE 6: PURPOSE OF MIGRATION, EMPLOYMENT STATUS AND DECISION TO RETURN



Source: Author's tabulation

FIGURE 7: SOCIO-CULTURAL INTEGRATION AND DECISION TO RETURN



Source: Author's tabulation

Further, Figure 7 depicts that socio-cultural integration, after the employment status and migration purpose, is highly significant variable in deciding the return migration. The upper-right part of Figure 7 explains that the emigrants who don't have close Greek born friends and are not fluent in Greek language are more likely to decide returning back as compared to staying there. Moreover, the lower-right part of Figure 7 elucidates that emigrants who have close native fiends and proficient in Greek language are more likely to stay there instead of returning back.

Overall, the graphic analysis explains that economic and socio-cultural integration variables highly contribute in decision making for return migration from Greece. Moreover, background socio-economic characteristics also play an important role. However, duration of stay, migrants' age, education and socio-economic ties do not have a significant impact on the decision to return. These results help our understanding of the logistic regression analysis of equation (2).

TABLE 1: LOGISTIC REGRESSION EFFECTS OF PREDICTORS ON EMIGRANTS' DECISION TO RETURN

Explanatory Variables	B	S.E.	Wald	Sig.	Exp(B)
Background Economic and social characteristics					
Migration purpose (1)	2.078***	.581	12.784	0.000	7.985
Family earning sources (1)	0.958*	.507	3.569	0.059	2.606
Locality (1)	-1.026*	.544	3.558	0.059	0.358
Economic and Scio-cultural integration					
Employment status (1)	-1.747***	.588	8.832	0.003	0.174
Earning and remitting ability (1)	-1.180**	.562	4.411	0.036	0.307
Legal status abroad (1)	0.406	.548	.548	0.459	1.500
Native friends (1)	-1.924***	.509	14.271	0.000	0.146
Frequency of meeting with (1)	1.448***	.519	7.791	0.005	4.253
Fluency in Greek language			12.130	0.002	
Unable to speak or read or write (Ref.)					
Only able to speak or read or write (1)	-0.866	.550	2.482	0.115	0.421
Able to speak, read and write (2)	-2.469***	.710	12.099	0.001	0.085
Social Ties					
Number of children in family	0.239**	.100	5.727	0.017	1.270
Partner from destination country (1)	-1.054	1.684	.391	0.532	0.349
Frequency of visit to home country (Ref. No visit at all)			5.860	0.210	
More than once in a year (1)	-4.033**	1.742	5.363	0.021	0.018
only one time in a year (2)	-3.169*	1.688	3.523	0.061	0.042
Once in 2 to 3 years (3)	-2.635	1.706	2.387	0.122	0.072
after more than 3 years (4)	-2.811*	1.612	3.040	0.081	0.060
Discrimination and Quality of life					
Sat. with religious activities and worship facilities	0.878*	.478	3.367	0.067	2.405
Constant	2.673	2.066	1.673	0.196	14.477

Notes: The dependent variable is migrants' decision to return (RET): it takes on value one in case of return and zero otherwise. ***, **, * indicate significance at 1%, 5% and 10% respectively.

The estimated results of our logistic equation (2) are given Table 1. Table 1 shows the effects of background economic and social characteristics of migrants (BC), economic and socio-cultural integration (INTIG), social ties (TIES), and quality of life (RQL) indicators on the decision of Pakistani emigrants to return (RET). We discuss these effects in the following subsections.

Background Social and Economic Characteristics of Emigrants (BC)

In Table 1, seven variables are statistically significant at or less than 5% level, whereas three variables are significant at 10% level.

Our estimated results for the effect of BC on RET show that the background characteristics play a significant role in emigrants' decision to return. The variable 'purpose of migration' is included in the model to have a comparative look at return migration theories. The model shows that there is positive and significant impact of 'purpose of migration' on return migration. However, emigrants' decision to return takes value one if emigrant decides to return and zero otherwise. Hence, a positive effect explains that the emigrants with purpose of higher earnings expectations are most likely to decide returning back. The economic crisis in Greece that started in 2009 has led to increased unemployment for native workers in general and emigrants in particular. In this backdrop, higher unemployment leads to uncertainty in generating higher expected income? Therefore, failure in finding work leads to the decision of return. One of the important homeland economic characteristics of emigrants is the number of income sources in home country. The effect of 'family earning sources' on the decision to return is positive and significant at 10% level. If the family members mainly rely on remittances, it is very hard for the emigrant to decide to return back because demographic characteristics depict that majority of the emigrants have low level of education, skill and age. Therefore, in case of single source of household income, emigrant is unable to take risk of returning back and face re-integration process in home country. However in case of more than one sources of household income emigrants can take the risk of resettlement, re-integration or re-migration. The third variable of background social characteristics (BC) is locality. It is also a binary variable that takes on value one if rural locality and zero otherwise, for migrants' family members in home country. It is negatively related to the dependent variable 'decision to return'. The results explain that the emigrants who belong to urban locality are most likely to return. The emigrants from rural locality are not expecting good opportunities in home country if they decide to return. But on the other hand, emigrants who belong to urban areas are expecting better post-return employment or business opportunities.

Economic and Socio-cultural Integration Failure (INTIG)

Table 1 shows that the two variables of economic integration; emigrants' employment status and remitting ability are negatively associated with the emigrants' decision to return (RET). The employment status of emigrants is significant at 1% level of confidence. In Table 1, the negative relationship between the employment status and likelihood of returning back indicates that the decision to return mainly depends on the employment status of emigrants, as our results show that unemployed emigrants are more likely to decide to return. As far as emigrants have had jobs they could stay and work, but unemployed emigrants are more likely to decide returning back to their home country. The second variable of economic integration 'remitting ability of emigrant' is also significantly and negatively related to the emigrants' choice of return. This negative association indicates that as far as migrants are able to send money back in the form of remittances to the families in home country, they stay. However, as their ability of remitting falls down due to economic, social or political factors they decide to return back. Hence, we can conclude that the migrants with basic motivations of migration in the form of employment, earning and remittances decide to return as they fail to maintain the status of employment and earning in Greece. Further, it can be concluded that this return migration is a failure, especially when the migrants are unable to get expected benefits. This finding is similar to the neoclassical theory according to which return migration takes place when emigrants miscalculate migration cost and their experience of

migration gets fail and human capital is not rewarded as expected (Ranis and Fei, 1961; Sjaastad, 1962; Todaro, 1969; Harris and Todaro, 1970; Cassarino, 2004). In short, this return migration can be considered as the consequence of failed migration experiences of emigrants in term of expected high wages, employment and duration.

However, our third variable of economic and structural integration 'legal status of migrants abroad' remains insignificant in the model. These results are partially consistent with the results of Haunschmidt (2003) and Hofbauer et al. (2006).

We use three variables to measure the role of socio-cultural integration in emigrants' choice to return home: first, ethnic nature of migrants' social network; second, degree of informal contacts with native population; and third, destination country's language fluency. Frequency of meeting with native people is used as proxy for the first variable 'ethnic nature of migrants' social networks', whereas native friends and fluency in Greek language are used as proxy for second and third variables respectively. The model results depict that 'native friends' and 'fluency in Greek language' are negatively related with the decision to return (RET) and they are significant at 1% level. Further, 'social contacts with native people' is also positively and strongly related with 'decision to return (RET)'. Hypothetically, greater the socio-cultural integration better the understanding and participation in social activities in host country which builds strong ties with the people of destination country along with better human capital development and employment opportunities that further influence and motivate the emigrants to stay longer and return otherwise. The migrants who claim that they have better understanding of Greek language as compared to the reference category are most likely to decide about staying. Similarly, the migrants who claim that they have native people as close friends are most likely to choose staying in the host country rather than returning back. In our analysis 'social contacts' is a binary variable used as a proxy to measure ethnic nature of migrants' social networks. It uses the value one if Pakistani emigrants meet with Pakistani people in daily life and zero otherwise. The direction of the relationship between 'social contacts' and 'decision to return' is positive. Further, less interaction with the native people in daily life is a sign of weak social integration that raises the likeliness of emigrants to decide about return.

As far as ties are concerned, they do not have any significant impact on emigrants' decision to return. The descriptive statistics show that the majority lies in young age group, with low education (90% with Matric or less education level), mostly belong to rural areas and unskilled. Therefore, the major objectives of migration are employment and high earning expectations. The emigrants who have more children in home country are more likely to decide about return. Some variables of social ties have been dropped because of their negligible contribution in the overall model. Moreover, the variables of social ties, such as partner from destination country and frequencies of visit to home country are insignificant.

To investigate the impact of quality of life on emigrants' decision to return, four variables are used: discrimination in public service provision, degree of satisfaction with religious activities, worship facilities and feelings of racism. Whereas, discrimination in public service provision further includes discrimination in health, education, legal, police services, and job market. As far as the discrimination in public service provision is concerned, emigrants in Greece are very much satisfied with the quality of life there. Therefore, the contribution of variables "feeling of racism" and "discrimination in public provision" is negligible in emigrants' decision to return. All the variables of quality of life remain insignificant in our analysis. However, satisfaction with religious activities and worship facilities are significant at 10% level and they are positively correlated with the 'decision to return'. The variable "religious satisfaction" is comprised of two variables; (i)

worship facilities and (ii) being Muslim experience of discrimination. In this case, an average of both is taken and it moves from high level of satisfaction to low level of religious satisfaction. Therefore, a positive association means emigrants with low level of religious satisfaction in Greece are more likely to decide about returning.

Overall, our results do not fully confirm the hypotheses of any single theory on return migration but they are closer to the predictions of neoclassical migration approach. The descriptive statistics and logistic regression estimates explain clearly that Pakistani emigrants moved to Greece with the purpose of higher earnings expectations, employment and permanent settlement. However, their calculation of migration cost is not accurate. They miscalculate their abilities of economic, social and cultural integration in the host country on the one hand and learning abilities of new language and skills on the other hand. Thus failure in economic and socio-cultural integration causes disappointment in finding the objective of the migration that leads to the decision of return. Thus return can be considered as a failure in the migration experience of earning expectations, employment and duration. Further, background characteristics also play a significant role that put sour results closer to the structural approach of return migration which states that return migration cannot be analyzed with the perspective of migrant experience only but, social and institutional factors of country of origin also play an important role. Therefore, the number of family earning sources and locality of emigrants' family in home country may be the important determinants of return.

Conclusion

Various theories propose a variety of variables to explain the factors, degree and dynamics of return migration. Their difference of interpretations and analysis depends on their respective analytical frameworks. Each theory gives a different insight about motivating factors that influence the decision to return from destination country to homeland. Some theories discuss the economic aspects of the return migration at individual and household levels (neo-classical and new economics of labor migration approaches), whereas others explore the micro and macro aspects of return migration (transnationalism, structuralism and social network theory). The aim of this paper is to test these opposing theories on return migration and identify the determinants of return migration of Pakistani emigrants from Greece. Demographic analysis of Pakistani migrants to Greece shows that majority of the migrants are Matric or below in education level (90%), belong to rural areas (about 65%), young and lie in age group of 15-25 years (about 53%), single (61%), mainly laborer or agrarian by profession (40%), unskilled (61%) and migrated for high earnings expectation (75%). The results of this paper do not fully confirm the hypothesis of any single theory on return migration but are closer to the predictions of neoclassical migration approach. Our logistic regression estimates explain clearly that Pakistani emigrants move to Greece with the purpose of higher earnings expectations, employment and permanent settlement. However, their calculation of migration cost is not accurate. They miscalculate their abilities of economic, social and cultural integration in the host country on the one hand and learning abilities of new language and skills on the other hand. Thus failure in economic and socio-cultural integration causes disappointment in finding the objective of the migration that leads to the decision of return. Consequently, return can be considered as a failure in migration experience of earning expectations, employment and duration. Further, we observe that the background characteristics also play a significant role that puts our results closer to the structural approach of return migration which states that return migration cannot be analyzed with the perspective of migrant experience only, but social and institutional factors of country of origin also play an important role. Hence,

the number of family earning sources and locality of emigrants' family in home country may be the important determinants of return.

This study suggests that the problems and opportunities of return migration from Greece should not be ignored. As far as the return is concerned, return migrants maybe a potential source of remittances, exposure, and experience, so providing better facilities for investment and employment to return migrants may generate employment, enterprise development and overall economic growth. In case of failure, this study suggests the direction of future migration (that is, emigrants' acquired type of skills, education, and experience) on one side and their problems on other side. The development impact of return migration largely depends upon the attitudes of the receivers in the country of origin. If the returnees are not attended and facilitated properly, then probability of resource waste in the form of received remittances, acquired skills and investment will be expected high. This study also recommends that the Government of Pakistan should appoint the officers in Pakistani High Commission in Greece to guide and help the Pakistani emigrants in finding jobs, learning integration and understanding the current social, cultural, political and economic situations.

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