

“I am Going Home”: How Kenyan Migrants’ Intentions to Return Home Affect their Transnational Engagements

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Abstract

The aim of this study is to examine how Kenyan migrants’ intentions to return home influence their participation in transnational activities like sending remittances, investments and return visits. In this study, our focus is on Kenyans living in the UK, USA, Canada and Ghana. A concurrent mixed method approach was used in data collection and analysis. This included a web survey of 212 respondents, 21 in-depth interviews and 5 focus group discussions. Most (89%) of the respondents intended to return to Kenya before retirement but difficulty in finding well-paying employment, insecurity, corruption, citizenship issues and reintegration uncertainties were seen as obstacles to return. Incentives for return included a better economic and political environment, improved security, good governance, employment and investment opportunities. Overall, the study revealed that migrants’ intentions to return home had an influence on their participation in remittance transfers, investments and return visits. Cross tabulations, odd ratios and chi square logistic regression analyses showed that intentions to return had an influence on migrants’ investments in entrepreneurial ventures and financial instruments, as well as the frequency of return visits to Kenya. However, although cross tabulations and odd ratios showed that there was a relationship between intentions to return and remittance transfers, chi square logistic regression analyses showed that intentions to return had no influence on remittance transfers. Based on these findings, the study recommends that efforts and policies geared towards maximisation of the benefits of return migration should pay attention to migrants’ intentions to return and the preparation these intentions instigate.

Keywords Transnational activities, remittances, investments, return visits.

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Introduction

Many migrants cherish the prospects of returning to their countries of origin and are eager to seize available opportunities to return home (Dumont & Spielvogel, 2008). Right from the onset, return may be part of their migration strategies and plans, after achieving set targets like human capital formation through education and/or work experience; or accumulation of savings and/or investments (Dumont & Spielvogel, 2008; Kuschminder, 2013; Pennington & Balaram, 2013). Even migrants who move for purely economic or political reasons, may be willing to return home once those conditions change (Makina, 2012). Migrants' aspirations for return play a key role in influencing how they maintain links with their countries of origin. Migrants who anticipate returning usually maintain transnational ties with their home countries to ensure smooth reintegration after return (Aslam, 2015; Carling et al., 2015). In the process, they get involved in transnational activities like remittance transfers, investments, return visits, philanthropy and social and cultural activities at home (Aslam, 2015; Long & Oxfeld, 2004). Although migrants' intentions to return may not necessarily result in actual return, the increased transnational activities in which they engage are deemed beneficial to the economies of their home countries (Aslam, 2015; Carling & Pettersen, 2014; Long & Oxfeld, 2004).

In recent years, there has been an upsurge of policy and scientific interest on return migration due to the strong links between return migration and development (de Haas & Fokkema, 2011). Nonetheless, many studies on return migration focus on the reintegration of return migrants (Carling et al., 2015; Koser & Kuschminder, 2015; Kuschminder, 2013; Pennington & Balaram, 2013; Zwania-Rößler & Ivanova, 2013). There are a few studies that look at migrants' intentions to return (de Haas & Fokkema, 2011; Fokkema, 2011; Koser & Kuschminder, 2015). However, these studies have mostly concentrated on factors that shape migrants' intentions to return, with little attention paid to how these aspirations for return influence their transnational engagements.

In this paper, we attempt to reduce this gap in the existing literature by evaluating how Kenyan migrants in the UK, USA, Canada and Ghana engage in remittance transfers, investments and return visits to their homelands in anticipation of return.

Contextualisation

Return migration refers to “the movement of a person returning to his or her country of origin or habitual residence usually after spending at least one year in another country” (International Organization for Migration (IOM), 2011). In this paper, the terms ‘intentions to return’ and ‘aspirations for return’ are used interchangeably to refer to migrants’ desire to return to their countries of origin. The term ‘return’ is also used as shorthand for ‘return migration’.

Return migration is a potential consequence of emigration. As Ravenstein (1889) observed more than a century ago, for every migration stream, there is a counter stream. Nevertheless, reintegration into the country of origin after years of being abroad can be stressful and the return process is usually surrounded by anxiety and uncertainty (Carling et al., 2015; Ibourk & Chamki, 2014). Return migration is thus not an event, but a process that requires time to plan, prepare and execute (Cassarino, 2008). The preparation process, which is the primary focus of this study, encompasses psychological, cultural and political processes that precede the actual return (Carling et al., 2015). This is occasioned by the need for migrants to prepare for different levels of reintegration, which could be socioeconomic, psychological and institutional (Ibourk & Chamki, 2014).

As demonstrated in Figure 1, migrants who aspire to return have to prepare for a smooth reintegration by mobilising human, financial and social capital (Dumont & Spielvogel, 2008). They then transfer this capital to their homelands through transnational activities, like return visits, savings, investments and remittance transfers, as part of their preparation for return (IOM, 2010; Ratha et al., 2011).

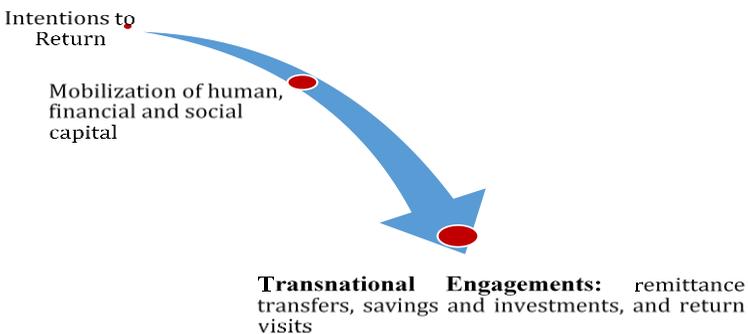


Figure 1: Intentions to Return and Transnational Engagements. Source: Authors’ construct.

According to IOM (2015), the most common type of return migration in Kenya is spontaneous return, which means that Kenyan migrants mostly return home voluntarily without external assistance. From the pre-independence era to the 1970s, Kenyan migrants were usually involved in circular migration, which involved travelling abroad in pursuit of higher education and training and then returning on completion to work in Kenya (Mwangi, 2013; Migration Policy Institute (MPI), 2015). Due to problems associated with economic stagnation, political repression, high levels of corruption, election related violence and several other related issues in the post-1980 period, many Kenyan emigrants opted to remain in their host countries and refused to return to Kenya (Mwangi, 2013; MPI, 2015; IOM, 2010). With the introduction of political and economic reforms during the Kibaki era in 2002, there was a reversal of this tendency, as Kenyan migrants started returning home from their stays overseas in response to the administration's encouragement Kenyan migrants to return and contribute to nation building (Mwangi, 2013). The flow of return migrants has been steady since 2002 despite the occasional negative occurrences that the country has experienced, such as the 2007 post-election conflict (Oucho et al., 2013).

Theoretical Framework

Existing migration theories generate diverse views on migrants' intentions to return. According to the neoclassical migration theory, migrants' intentions to return are borne out of failed migration experiences (Cassarino, 2011). The theory hypothesises that people migrate permanently to increase their income due to wage differences between their home and receiving countries (Cassarino, 2004; Kunuroglu et al., 2016). The theory further perceives return migration as failure of the migration experience, due to miscalculation on the part of the migrant to keep migration benefits (de Haas et al., 2015; King, 2012; Kunuroglu et al., 2016).

Another theory, the New Economics of Labour Migration (NELM) theory, sees aspirations for return as the product of migrants' attachment to their origins and to their pre-migration desire to return once migration goals like capital accumulation are met (Cassarino, 2011; King, 2012). NELM theory also views migration as a strategy adopted by households to improve their welfare through diversification of resources (de Haas, 2010; Mwangi, 2013) and therefore perceives return as the logical consequence of a 'calculated strategy' in the migration cycle (Cassarino, 2004, 2011; de Haas et al., 2015; Kunuroglu et al., 2016).

These theories have, however, been criticised for concentrating on financial and economic factors in migration, while overlooking social and political factors (Cassarino, 2004; Kunuroglu et al., 2016). Theories that incorporate other contexts beyond the financial and economic factors include the structural approach, social network theory and the transnationalism perspective. The structural approach theorises that migration is caused by political and economic inequalities between developed and developing economies (de Haas, 2010) and views migrants' desire to return as an outcome of nostalgia and attachment to their households and homelands (Achenbach, 2017; Cassarino, 2011). The approach takes into account the social and institutional contexts associated with return and identifies four types of returnees (Cassarino, 2004; Kunuroglu et al., 2016). The first type is migrants who desire to return because of difficulties relating to prejudice and stereotyping encountered in the host country, which hinder their integration. Then, there are migrants who have intentions of returning home from the onset and, once goals like accumulation of savings are achieved, they start contemplating return. The third type is migrants who plan to return after retirement, with the aim of spending their old age at home. Lastly, there are migrants who desire to return because they view themselves as innovators and agents of change and want to invest their migration experiences in their home countries (Cassarino, 2004; Kunuroglu et al., 2016).

The social network theory associates migrants' aspirations for return with the informal social ties that connect current, former and potential migrants and non-migrants in origin and destination countries (King, 2012; Mwangi, 2013). Migrants maintain ties with their countries of origin using social networks of family, friends and business partners (Mwangi, 2013). These networks are key in shaping migrants' intentions to return, since they provide information and contacts about accommodation, jobs and other services that are helpful in the reintegration process (King, 2012; Percival, 2013). Migrants' intentions to return are also influenced by social, economic and institutional opportunities (Achenbach, 2017; Cassarino, 2004).

The final theory, which relates to the transnationalism approach, builds on the social network theory discussed above (King, 2012). The transnationalism perspective does not view migration or return migration as a one-time event, but as a circular system of social, political, religious and economic relationships and exchanges that conveys knowledge and information across national borders (Cassarino, 2004; King, 2012; Kunuroglu et al., 2016;

Mwangi, 2013). According to this approach, migrants' intentions to return are influenced by their attachment to home, household and family ties, as well as perceptions of conditions in the homeland (Achenbach, 2017; Cassarino, 2004, 2011). Migrants who intend to return maintain strong ties with their homeland by investing, performing regular return visits, transferring remittances and other activities (Cassarino, 2004). The assumptions of the transnational approach are relevant to this paper since they are able to explain how the aspirations for return affect the transnational engagements of Kenyan migrants.

Methodology

This paper is premised on the hypothesis that there is a relationship between migrants' intentions to return to their countries of origin and their involvement in remittance transfers, investment and return visits. The paper relied on primary data collected using concurrent mixed methods, where both qualitative and quantitative research methods were utilised. Data collection was done using a web survey, in-depth interviews, focus group discussions (FGDs) and field observations. Study participants were identified using purposive and snowball sampling methods. The sample involved Kenyan migrants in the UK, USA, Canada and Ghana, who were at least 18 years old and who had lived in their destination countries for at least one year. The USA, UK and Canada were selected for this study because they were the leading sources of diaspora remittance flows to Kenya (Central Bank of Kenya (CBK), 2010, 2017; World Bank, 2011). Ghana was included because it is one of the most important destinations of Kenyans in Africa, beyond Kenya's traditional trade partners and neighbours in the East African Community (EAC), the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) and the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) (Kinuthia, 2013).

The web survey was a convenient, fast and effective way of reaching the respondents who were in four different countries. The survey was a hybrid of quantitative and qualitative instruments with both pre-coded response categories and open-ended questions, to allow for a narrative approach. Survey participants were recruited through a multifaceted e-recruitment strategy using Facebook, Twitter, LinkedIn and emails, and the data were collected using Survey Monkey online survey tool. It must be emphasised here that participation in the survey was on a voluntary basis and was limited to persons who expressed interest and willingness to participate in it within the four selected countries. A total of 212 completed questionnaires were

received: 78 from Ghana, 89 from the USA, 32 from the UK and 13 from Canada. Since the study used e-recruitment strategies to recruit web survey participants, the respondents were scattered across the four countries. Details of the specific areas from which the respondents came are shown in Tables 1 to 4. The respondents were comprised of 105 males and 102 females, while 5 did not indicate their gender. For the quantitative data, descriptive statistics were generated using Microsoft Excel, while higher statistical analysis was done using Statistical Package Social Sciences (SPSS 16.0 for Windows). Cross-tabulations and chi-square analyses were also conducted to ascertain the relationship between the independent variable (intention to return) and dependent variables (remittance transfers, entrepreneurial investments, investments in financial instruments and return visits). Variables that showed significant association were further tested using bivariate logistic regressions to determine the level of influence between the independent variable and dependent variables. Finally, multivariate logistic regression analyses were also conducted to find out the impact of intentions to return on remittance transfers, investments and return visits; while controlling for gender, marital and employment status, level of education, having bank account in Kenya, annual income and having dependents in the destination country. The selection of these control variables was informed by migration literature, which shows that on a collective scale, they have an effect on migrants' transnational involvement in activities like remittance transfers, investments and return visits (Farrant et al., 2006; Ghosh, 2006).

Table 1: Survey Respondents from Ghana

Area	Number of Respondents
Accra	74
Tema	1
Eastern Region	2
Not Indicated	1
Total Number of Respondents	78

Table 2: Survey Respondents from the USA

Area	Number of Respondents
Massachusetts	20

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North Carolina	17
Ohio	10
Virginia	8
Maryland	4
Texas	4
Minnesota	3
Georgia	3
Indiana	2
Washington DC	2
Alabama	2
Pennsylvania	2
New Jersey	1
Colorado	1
Utah	1
New York	1
Idaho	1
Iowa	1
Oklahoma	1
Not Indicated	5
Total Number of Respondents	89

Table 3: Survey Respondents from the UK	
Area	Number of Respondents
London	15
Cambridge	4
Sunderland	3
Birmingham	3
Bedford	1
South West England	1
Essex	1
Not Indicated	4
Total Number of Respondents	32

Area	Number of Respondents
Ontario	8
British Columbia	1
New Brunswick	1
Yukon	1
Niagara Region	1
Alberta	1
Total Number of Respondents	13

For the quantitative information, in-depth interviews, FGDs and observation were carried out to complement and validate the data collected through the web survey. In-depth interviews explored the opinions and attitudes underlying migrants' intentions to return and their involvement in transnational activities. FGDs were used to allow the participants to express, in an informal way, their personal views, knowledge and experiences; while observation was used to capture speculations, feelings, ideas and impressions, as well as problems and prejudices, that may not have emerged during the surveys, in-depth interviews and FGDs. Interview participants were recruited by means of on-the-ground recruitment through the help of a network of family and friends. The in-depth interviews and the FGDs were only conducted in Massachusetts, the USA and Accra, Ghana, due to financial and time constraints. We carried out 21 in-depth interviews: 11 in the USA and 10 in Ghana. We also held 5 FGDs: 2 in Massachusetts, USA, and 3 in Accra, Ghana. Qualitative data were translated, edited, transcribed, coded and synthesised. Data collection, note taking, coding and memo-ing were done simultaneously, from the beginning to the end of data collection. Sorting of the data was done when all categories were saturated. Afterwards, a thorough description of the data was compiled in order to make them more meaningful for the purpose of the study.

The entire fieldwork was carried out with the ethical approval of the University of Ghana Graduate School Board. Privacy, confidentiality and anonymity were observed at every stage of the study. Informed consent was sought from the participants and they were made fully aware of the purpose of the study, as well as of its risks and benefits. Pseudonyms were used in all notes and records, including tape recordings, in order to protect the identity of the participants.

The use of a web survey came with some limitations. It was difficult to control coverage and the responses were therefore not uniformly distributed across the countries and across different areas within each country. This meant that we received more responses from certain countries and areas than others, making it difficult to do comparative analyses between different countries and different areas within a country. The use of the web survey also meant that only people with internet access could participate in the study. The other challenge was that even though we used several online data collectors – Facebook, Twitter, LinkedIn and emails – and extended the duration of data collection, the response rates (particular for the UK and Canada) were lower than desired.

Despite these challenges, much effort was expended to limit the impact of these factors on the study and the results appear to provide credible, valuable and useful insight on the return process. Nonetheless, the return process does vary from country to country and, as such, these results are not generalisable.

Results

Descriptive Results

The study revealed that the main reasons for emigration were education (45%) and employment and better opportunities (42%) (see Table 5), and, as seen in Figure 2, most respondents had achieved their migration objectives. Those who had not achieved their migration goals explained that the process of achieving their objectives was in progress.

Table 5: Reasons for Migrating

Reason	UK		USA		Canada		Ghana		UK, USA & Canada		All Countries	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	#	#	%
Employment & Better opportunities	18	42	48	38	7	39	42	51	73	39	115	42
Studies (self/children/spouse)	19	44	67	52	7	39	29	35	93	49	122	45
Other	6	14	13	10	4	22	11	14	23	12	34	13
Total	43	100	128	100	18	100	82	100	189	100	271	100

Source: Fieldwork, 2012 – 13, # - Number of migrants, % - Percentage of migrants.

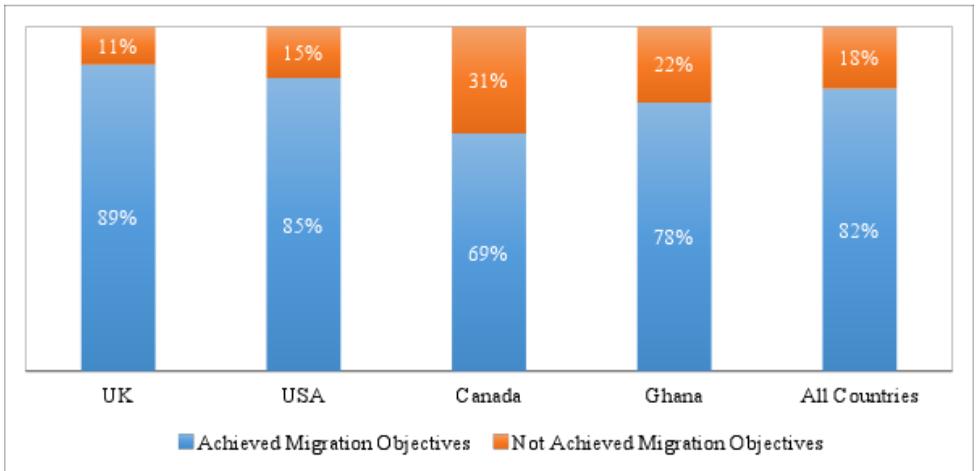


Figure 2: Achievement of Migration Objectives. Source: Fieldwork Data, 2012-13.

When Gideon, a Kenyan living in Ghana, was asked why he migrated, he said that he moved because of a better employment opportunity:

I came here because of a job opportunity. Back home in Kenya, I was employed as a local employee but here I am employed as an expatriate with all the expatriate benefits, which I would not get if I was working in Kenya (Gideon, Accra).

The study revealed that most of the respondents (89%) had the intentions of returning home before retirement (see Figure 3). Half of the respondents aspired to return after five or more years and only 16% desired to return within one year (see Figure 4).

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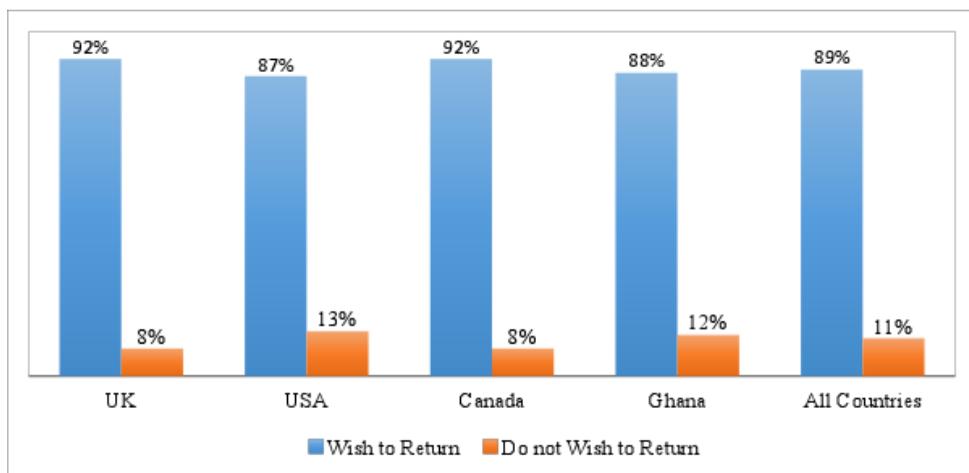


Figure 3: Migrants Who Wish to Return to Kenya before Retirement. Source: Fieldwork data, 2012-13.

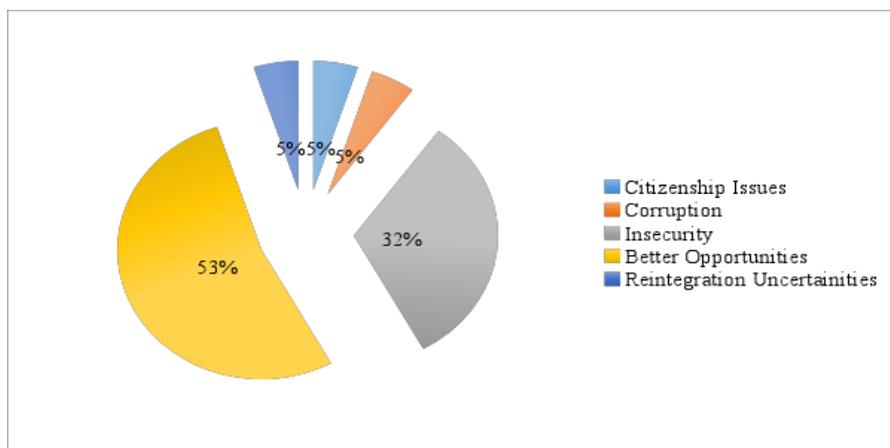


Figure 4: Reasons for Unwillingness to Return to Kenya. Source: Fieldwork, 2012-13.

The aspirations for return varied from country to country. Close to 60% of the respondents in the UK, Canada and Ghana desired to return home within four years. The respondents in the UK and Canada who wanted to return within four years were mostly students who wanted to go back home after their studies, while those in Ghana were expatriates who either had to return home at the end of their contracts, or had accumulated investment capital and wanted to invest in Kenya. More than half of the respondents in the USA (64%) desired to return after five or more years. This is probably because most of

them wanted to accumulate savings and investment before returning home, as clearly stated by Rosalinda in one of the FGDs:

The majority of the people here want to go back, their dream is to go back but the thing is, they don't want to go back empty handed, they want to invest, because they don't want to go back unemployed, they want to have an investment where they will be having some amount of money [...], income every month [...]. (Rosalinda, USA).

As indicated in Figure 3, some respondents (11%) had no intentions of returning to Kenya. One of the main reasons for not wanting to return to Kenya was the availability of better opportunities in their countries of residence (53%) (See Figure 5). 'Better opportunities' in this case referred to better jobs, better systems of government, a greater sense of security, and better social facilities, infrastructures and other amenities. Some respondents were dissuaded from returning by the prospect of 'insecurity' in Kenya (32%). Respondents who had forfeited their Kenyan citizenship after acquiring foreign citizenship cited citizenship issues as a hindrance to return. This, despite the fact that Kenya's 2010 Constitution allows dual citizenship and permits Kenyans to take up other nationalities without losing their citizenship rights.

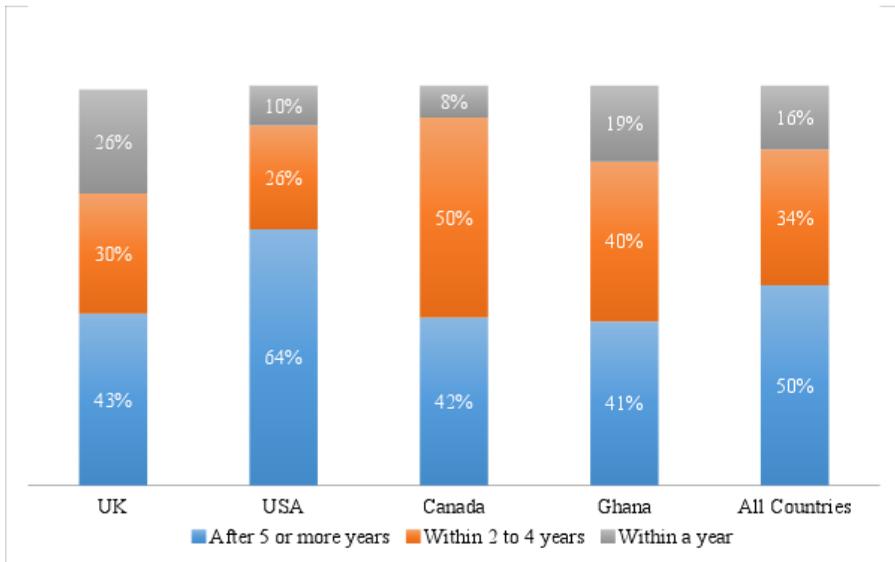


Figure 5: Desired Time of Return. Source: Fieldwork, 2012-13.

Table 6 presents the incentives that would motivate the respondents to return home. The key incentive for return migration across the four countries was better economic and political environments, followed by the availability of employment opportunities (17%).

Motivation for Return	UK		USA		Canada		Ghana		All Countries	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
	Altruism	3	10	12	14	2	13	4	7	31
Better Economic & Political Environment	14	45	39	47	7	44	19	33	79	40
Employment Opportunities	7	23	9	11	3	19	14	25	33	17
Family & Friends	3	10	12	14	3	19	11	19	29	15
Investments	4	13	11	13	1	6	9	16	25	13
Total Responses	31	100	83	100	16	100	57	100	197	100

Source: Fieldwork, 2012 – 13, # - Number of respondents, % - Percentage of respondents.

During an in-depth interview, Lilian, a middle aged woman in Canada stated that she would be ready to relocate to Kenya if she was able to get a job that would meet her basic needs:

I would like to go back to Kenya if I get an opportunity [...] if I had a job in Kenya with an income and my own house, I would be very happy and would stay there (Lilian, Canada).

Another important motivation for return was altruism (16%). Jim, a Kenyan who had lived in the USA for fifteen years, explained that the love for his country and the desire to contribute to nation building would motivate him to return to Kenya as soon as he was able to accumulate enough capital to help him reintegrate in Kenya. Fifteen percent (15%) of the respondents said that having family and friends in Kenya was the reason for wanting to return home. Lucy, a respondent in the UK expressed her desire to return home when she becomes financially stable:

I definitely must go back to Kenya when I become financially stable. I miss home very much and would like to go back there as soon as I am able to accumulate some capital (Lucy, UK).

Having a favourable environment for investments was also mentioned as a key incentive (13%) for return migration. Nathan felt that he would have an edge in business if given a favourable environment in Kenya:

[...] based on my experience outside the country and my knowledge about my country, I would probably have an edge in business given the right business environment. I also believe I have something to offer. I can transfer the skills and the knowledge I have accumulated here (Nathan, Canada).

The most preferred type of work upon return varied from country to country: health was the most preferred in the USA (30%); in Canada, community development and public services (36%); and in the UK and Ghana, entrepreneurship and business 31% and 27% respectively (see Table 7). These work preferences were a reflection of the work the respondents were engaged in overseas.

Variables	UK		USA		Canada		Ghana		All Countries	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Entrepreneurship & Business	8	31	13	18	2	18	18	27	42	24
Community Development & Public Services	4	15	4	5	4	36	13	19	25	14
Construction & Real Estate	2	8	12	16	1	9	11	16	26	15
Health	6	23	22	30	3	27	2	3	33	19
Research, Education, Science & Technology	5	20	16	22	0	0	12	18	33	19
Others	1	3	6	9	1	9	11	16	19	11
Total Responses	26	100	73	100	1	100	67	100	178	100

Source: Fieldwork, 2012–13, # - Number of respondents, % - Percentage of respondents.

Even though there were many respondents who had intentions to return, these intentions did not necessarily result in actual return. This is well captured in the explanation given by Jacob, a participant in one of the FGDs in the USA:

A hundred percent of people who come here want to go back but only one percent goes back [...] People get stuck here because when you come here, you get used to the American lifestyle. People keep saying they want to go back but there is no time frame. Personally I don't think 99% of the people ever go back. I have been here for fifteen years and I have not met a person who has packed and left [...] but people are constantly telling me "you know what, I want to go back home" (Jacob, USA).

These sentiments are shared by Jim, another respondent based in the USA:

Everyone comes here with the intention of going back home 'soon' but how soon? I have been in this country for 15 years and since I came here everyone I talk to says he/she is going back to Kenya in a few years' time but I personally do not know any one person who has actually returned home. When people arrive here they are totally unprepared for life in America. Their expectations do not match the reality here and this explains their inability to return as initially planned [...] (Jim, USA).

Results of Bivariate Analysis

Table 8 reveals that a higher proportion (86%) of migrants who had the intention to return to Kenya sent remittances as compared to those (68%) who did not intend to return. However, the chi-square analysis showed no association between a migrant's intention to return and remittance transfers ($\chi^2 = 3.821, p = 0.087$).

Table 8: Test of Association between Intentions to Return to Kenya (Independent Variable) and Dependent Variables

		Do you send Remittances to Kenya?		Do you have any business in Kenya?		Have you invested in financial instruments in Kenya?		Frequency of visits to Kenya	
		Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Once every ≥ 2 years	≤ 1 year
Have Intention to Return	Yes	86.0	14.0	66.7	33.3	48.5	51.5	45.0	55.0
	No	68.4	31.6	23.5	76.5	5.9	94.1	84.5	15.4
Total N		130	25	92	57	64	83	61	63
		$\chi^2 = 3.821$		$\chi^2 = 11.865$		$\chi^2 = 11.088$		$\chi^2 = 7.290$	

	p = 0.087 df = 1	p = 0.001* df = 1	p = 0.001* df = 1	p = 0.007* df = 1
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A positive association was, however, observed between a migrant's frequency of return visits and the intention to return permanently ($\chi^2 = 7.290$, $p = 0.007$). About half (55%) of those who intended to return to Kenya visited Kenya at least once a year, whereas only 15% of those who did not intend to return visited Kenya at least once a year.

There was also a significant association between a migrant's intention to return to Kenya permanently and having business ventures in Kenya ($\chi^2 = 11.865$, $p = 0.001$). Examples of the business ventures mentioned by the respondents included shop ownership, livestock farming and running a restaurant, among others. More than half (67%) of migrants who had the intention of returning to Kenya had business ventures in Kenya, compared to 24% of those who did not intend to return. A significant association was also observed between a migrant's intention to return permanently and the decision to invest in financial instruments in Kenya ($\chi^2 = 11.088$, $p = 0.001$). Almost half (49%) of those who intended to return to Kenya permanently had invested in financial instruments in Kenya while only 6% of those who did not intend to return permanently invested in these financial instruments. These findings were confirmed by in-depth interviews, where migrants said investing at home was part of their preparations for their eventual return. Joyce, a migrant in the USA, remarked that: "Most of us want to return home in the future, that is why we want to invest there."

The outcome variables that showed significant association (having business ventures, investing in financial instruments and frequency of return visits) were further tested using logistic regressions in an attempt to determine the level of influence between these variables and migrants' intentions to return (independent variable). The confidence level for all these analyses was at the 95% level. As can be inferred from Table 9, migrants' intention to return was a significant predictor of whether or not they would have businesses in Kenya. The positive regression coefficients showed that migrants' intentions to return increased the likelihood that they would invest in business ventures in Kenya. Clearly, migrants who had intentions of returning to Kenya, compared to their counterparts who did not intend to return, were five times as likely to invest in business ventures in Kenya.

Intention to return also significantly influenced the decision to invest in financial instruments in Kenya. The positive regression coefficients obtained

demonstrate that there was a positive relationship between the intention to return and the decision to invest in financial instruments. In other words, the intention to return to Kenya increased the likelihood that a Kenyan migrant would invest in financial instruments in Kenya. The results also showed that migrants who had the intention to return to Kenya were ten times as likely to invest in financial instruments in Kenya as compared to their counterparts who did not intend to do so. Similarly, migrants’ frequency of return visits to Kenya was significantly affected by their intention to return home.

The odd ratios showed that migrants who had the intention to return were about six times as likely to visit Kenya at least once a year as compared to their counterparts who did not have the intention to return to Kenya.

Results of Multivariate Analysis

Multivariate logistic regression analyses were also conducted to find out the impact of intention to return on remittance transfers, investments and return visits, while controlling for gender, marital and employment status, level of education, having a bank account in Kenya, annual income, and having dependents in the country of destination (see Table 10).

Table 9 presents estimated odds ratios (ORs) of independent variables versus remittances. Migrants who had the intention of returning to Kenya were 2.9 times as likely to send remittances to Kenya as compared to those who did not intend to return. Among the control variables, marital status (OR = 16.18; CI = 1.27 - 206.1; $p = 0.03$) had a significant association with remittance transfers at $p < 0.05$ while having a bank account in Kenya (OR = 6.34; CI = 0.87- 46.06; $p = 0.07$) had a significant association with remittance transfers at $p < 0.1$.

The odd ratios show that married people were 16 times as likely to send remittances to Kenya compared to their unmarried counterparts. Migrants with bank accounts in Kenya were six times as likely to send remittances as those who did not have accounts in Kenya.

Variables	Remittances
	OR (95% CI ²)
Gender (Female ¹)	1
Male	0.83 (0.12 - 5.59)
Marital Status (Unmarried ¹)	1

Married	16.18** (1.27 - 206.1)
Employment Status (Not employed ¹)	1
Employed	1.66 (0.07 - 38.42)
Student	0.40 (0.01 - 31.15)
Level of Education (High/Tech/Pry Sch ¹)	1
Bachelor	1.43 (0.10 - 19.87)
Masters & PhD	1.07 (0.05 - 23.13)
Bank Account in Kenya (No Account ¹)	1
With Account	6.34* (0.87 - 46.06)
Annual Income (Less than \$15,000 ¹)	1
\$15,000-29,000	0.03 (0.00 - 2.09)
\$30,000 and above	0.314 (0.01 - 12.86)
Dependants at Destination or Current Place of Abode (No dependants ¹)	1
With Dependants	0.41 (0.05 - 3.17)
Intention to Return (No intention ¹)	1
Intend to Return	2.91 (0.38 - 22.49)
Constant	2.42

Source: Computed from Fieldwork data, 2013 *** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.1$

¹Base Category

²CI – Confidence Interval

Table 10 shows estimated odds ratios (ORs) of independent variables versus investment. Intentions to return (OR = 4.64; CI = 0.79 - 27.19; $p = 0.089$) showed a significant association with investing in Kenya at $p < 0.1$. Migrants who intended to return to Kenya were 4.6 times as likely to invest in Kenya as those who did not intend to return. Apart from intentions to return, other factors that had significant associations with migrants' investments are gender (OR = 4.28; CI = 1.25 - 14.71; $p = 0.02$), having a bank account in Kenya (OR = 9.73; CI = 2.64 - 35.86; $p = 0.001$), and having dependents in the countries of abode or destination countries (OR = 4.67; CI = 0.95 - 22.89; $p = 0.06$). Men were 4.3 times more likely to invest in Kenya than women. Similarly, migrants with bank accounts in Kenya were almost 110 times as likely to invest in Kenya as those who did not have accounts in Kenya, while migrants with dependents in the destination country were 4.6 times more likely to invest in Kenya than those with no dependents in Kenya.

Table 10: Estimated Odds Ratios (ORs) of Independent Variables Versus Investment

Variables	Investment
	OR (95% CI ²)
Gender (Female¹)	1
Male	4.28** (1.25 - 14.71)
Marital Status (Unmarried¹)	1
Married	0.54 (0.11 - 2.71)
Employment Status (Not employed¹)	1
Employed	0.87 (0.09 - 8.69)
Student	0.65 (0.02 - 19.34)
Level of Education (High/Tech/Pry Sch¹)	1
Bachelor	1.26 (0.25 - 6.39)
Masters & PhD	1.17(0.19-7.15)
Bank Account in Kenya (No Account¹)	1
With Account	9.73*** (2.64 - 35.86)
Annual Income (Less than \$15,000¹)	1
\$15,000-29,000	1.81 (0.08 - 41.01)
\$30,000 and above	1.15 (0.11 - 11.8)
Dependants at Destination (No dependants¹)	1
With Dependants	4.67* (0.95 - 22.89)
Intention to Return (No intention¹)	1
Intend to Return	4.64* (0.79 - 27.19)
Constant	0.034

Source: Computed from Fieldwork data, 2013 *** p < 0.01; ** p < 0.05; *p < 0.1

¹Base Category, ²CI – Confidence Interval

The estimated Odds Ratios (ORs) of independent variables versus return visits are shown in Table 11. Both the predictor and the control variables did not have any significant association with migrants' return visits. However, the odd ratios showed that migrants who had the intention of returning to Kenya were 2.6 times more likely to visit Kenya than those who did not intend to return. Migrants who were employed were 5 times more likely to visit Kenya than those with no jobs, while those with postgraduate degrees were 3.4 times more likely to visit Kenya than those with no degrees. Migrants with dependants in their current country of domicile or destination were 2.6 times more likely to visit Kenya than those with no dependants.

Table 11: Estimated Odds Ratios (ORs) of Independent Variables Versus Return Visits

Variables	Return visits
	OR (95% CI ²)
Gender (Female¹)	1
Male	0.52 (0.13 - 2.09)
Marital Status (Unmarried¹)	1
Married	0.62 (0.12 - 3.34)
Employment Status (Not employed¹)	1
Employed	5.15 (0.62 - 42.50)
Student	0.70 (0.03 - 16.92)
Level of Education (High/Tech/Pry Sch¹)	1
Bachelor	0.95 (0.16 - 5.52)
Masters & PhD	3.40 (0.40 - 28.78)
Bank Account in Kenya (No Account¹)	1
With Account	1.67 (0.43 - 6.55)
Annual Income (Less than \$15,000¹)	1
\$15,000-29,000	0.28 (0.01 - 6.06)
\$30,000 and above	0.89 (0.06 - 13.05)
Dependants at Destination (No dependents¹)	1
With Dependants	2.60 (0.47 - 14.35)
Intention to Return (No intention¹)	1
Intend to Return	2.57 (0.44 - 14.92)
Constant	0.41

Source: Computed from Fieldwork data, 2013 *** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.1$

¹Base Category, ²CI – Confidence Interval

Discussion

Most of the respondents had met their migration objectives and were now contemplating return. This finding is in line with return migration literature that suggests that most migrations are temporary and many migrants intend to go back home after they achieve their targets for migration (Adda et al., 2006; Carling et al., 2015). According to NELM theory, migrants' aspirations for return are a rational consequence of migrants' pre-migration plan to return once their migration goals are met (Cassarino, 2011; King, 2012). In terms of the intended time of return, most respondents hoped to return before retirement. This means that they were likely to return in their productive years and contribute to development in Kenya. Since most of them had migrated for better employment, livelihood and education opportunities, they

were likely to return with useful skills and experiences that could benefit the home economy. According to Kuschminder (2013), migrants acquire resources like networks, skills and finances in the course of their stay abroad, which they can transfer to their countries of origin in preparation for return and/or when they finally return. Entrepreneurship and health are the most preferred sectors in which the respondents choose to work when they return. These sectors therefore stand to benefit most from the human, financial and social capital investments of the migrants should they return. Migrants are seen as a unique human resource that can be harnessed productively for national development (USAID Knowledge Services Center (KSC), 2008).

Although almost all of the respondents in this study intended to return to Kenya before retirement, they were not certain about the actual time of return. This is consistent with the work of Aslam (2015), which shows that many migrants with intentions of returning to their origin are usually uncertain about the actual time of return. However, aspects of the findings revealed that the intentions to return did not necessarily result in actual return. Carling and Pettersen (2014) explain that although voluntary return typically happens among people with the intention to return, it is not all migrants who have the intention to return who actually return.

There were some migrants who had no intentions of returning to Kenya. They mentioned difficulty in finding well-paying employment, insecurity, corruption, citizenship issues and reintegration uncertainties, as obstacles to their return. The mention of citizenship issues among the obstacles for return was surprising since Kenya's 2010 constitution allows dual citizenship (Government of Kenya, 2010). Kenya's Diaspora Policy also re-emphasises the right to dual citizenship for all Kenyan citizens living abroad (Government of Kenya, 2014). Nonetheless, many of the respondents in the study did not have sufficient information about the process of applying for dual citizenship.

The study revealed that the respondents' intentions to return had an influence on their involvement in remittance transfers, investments and frequency of return visits to Kenya. These findings are in line with the transnational perspective on return migration that theorises that migrants maintain links with their homeland in preparation for a smooth reintegration when they return through regular return visits and frequent remittance transfers (Cassarino, 2004).

Apart from supporting families back home, increased remittance transfers by migrants with aspirations for return are seen as a form of savings in preparation for return (Merkle & Zimmermann, 1992). Findings from this study showed a positive association between migrants' intentions to return and remittance transfers. Odd ratios showed that migrants who intended to return were three times more likely to remit than those who had no intentions of returning. These findings confirm Thomas-Hope's study on return migration to Jamaica, which showed that remittances of goods and money preceded, accompanied and followed actual return of migrants (Thomas-Hope, 1999). The findings also corroborate other return migration literature which says that migrants usually send more remittances to their country of origin in preparation for their return (Adepoju, 2010; Aslam, 2015). At the macro level, remittances have a multiplier effect on the economy, such as improving a country's balance of payments (Merkle & Zimmermann, 1992).

Return migration literature suggests that migrants' intentions to return act as a motivating factor for accumulation of investments back home and is used as an insurance for future reintegration upon return (Aslam, 2015; Cassarino, 2004, 2008). As Adepoju (2010) explains, migrants who intend to return invest more in their countries of origin to enable them to reintegrate smoothly when they eventually return. Migrants' investments foster economic development by creating new jobs and wealth, and promoting trade and investment in countries of origin (Saxenian, 2002). This study reveals a positive relationship between migrants' intentions to return and their investing in Kenya. Migrants who had the intentions of returning to Kenya were close to five times more likely to invest in Kenya as those who did not intend to return.

This study shows that migrants with intentions to return were about three times more likely to visit Kenya than those who did not intend to return. This confirms other return migration literature, which shows that migrants who intend to return to their countries of origin usually return provisionally before the final return, in order to explore opportunities at home and also to accumulate first-hand information for their return (Carling et al., 2015; Kuschminder, 2013; Long & Oxfeld, 2004). A study of Ethiopian migrants by Kuschminder (2013) shows how Ethiopian migrants engaged in temporary return visits in preparation for return as a means of exploring work opportunities at home. The visits help the migrants to overcome fears and hesitations about return, by allowing them the chance to gather information

about post-return conditions. It also gives the migrants an opportunity to decide whether or not they are ready for a permanent return (World Bank, 2011).

Conclusion and Recommendation

Migrants' intention to return to their countries of origin is crucial in shaping how they maintain ties with these countries. Migrants who intend to return home usually accumulate and mobilise capital in order to ensure a smooth reintegration into their countries of origin. Whether intentions to return result in actual return or not, they lead to increased transnational activities such as investing and making return visits to the countries of origin. Migrants typically try to mobilise financial, human and social capital in readiness for their return.

The ability of returnees to mobilise tangible and intangible resources before, during and after their return, provides the link between return migration and development in the countries of origin. This means that return migrants' contribution towards development in their countries of origin starts long before their actual return. The return migration process (including the transfer of resources before, during and after the actual return) is usually instigated by migrants' intentions to return. Efforts and policies geared towards maximisation of the benefits of return migration should therefore pay attention to migrants' intentions to return and the preparation process. One way of doing this is through the dissemination of vital, regular and vital information about significant livelihood issues such as existing employment avenues and investment opportunities, as well as security related issues in the home countries.

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