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Integration of Congolese migrants in the European labour market & re-integration in DR Congo

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INTEGRATION OF CONGOLESE MIGRANTS IN THE EUROPEAN LABOUR MARKET & RE-INTEGRATION IN DR CONGO

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INTRODUCTION

The economic integration of migrants is a central theme in migration policies in destination countries. As spelled out by the European Commission, the integration of migrants is a "driver of economic development and social cohesion" (European Commission, 2011A, p.12). From the host societies' point of view, the economic integration of migrants is considered as important to fully benefit from migration from an economic point of view, to avoid risks of social exclusion, and as a response to public concerns with immigration (European Commission, 2011A). From the migrants' perspective, integration in the labour market is also a major way of fulfilling a frequent objective of their migration: improving their living conditions and that of their relatives back home. The contribution of migrants to their home country, through remittances, investments, or transfers of know-hows and skills is also an important policy theme (European Commission, 2011B). Understanding the links between the integration of migrants in host countries and their contribution to the home country is thus an increasingly important topic (M4D, 2012).

Existing knowledge on the integration of African migrants in the European labour markets is still patchy. While it is widely acknowledged that third country nationals in the European Union have lower employment levels than European citizens (European Commission, 2011A), specific studies on the participation of African migrants in the labour market are not common. Existing studies rely on cross-sectional data, hindering the evaluation of changes in participation in the labour market with duration of stay. Existing data and studies also do not allow linking migrants' economic participation and their contribution to their home country.

The objective of this report is to provide quantitative descriptive evidence on migrants' labour trajectories during their migration in Europe and after their return in DR Congo, as well as on their economic contributions to their home country during their stay in Europe. While this report does not specifically look at the determinants of labour market integration and economic contributions to DR Congo, it provides a few analyses stratified by socio-economic variables that give insights into the factors influence migrants position on the labour market.

This report is divided into four sections. In the first section, we provide a brief history of migration from DR Congo to Belgium and the UK, and a brief review of existing studies on the economic integration of Congolese migrants in these countries, on their economic contribution to their home country, and on their reintegration back home. In the next section, we analyze the integration of Congolese migrants into the labour market in Belgium and in the UK and Netherlands using the data collected as part of the *Migration between Africa and Europe* (MAFE) project[1]. The third section is devoted to the description of Congolese migrants' economic ties with their home country through remittances, investments, and contributions to associations. Finally, in the last section, the trajectories of return migrants from Europe are described to evaluate their characteristics and reinsertion in DR Congo.

BACKGROUND

BRIEF HISTORY OF MIGRATION FROM DRC TO BELGIUM AND THE UK

Congolese immigration in Belgium dates back to colonial times, but the number of Congolese migrants remained low until the independence of Congo (1960). The 1960s and 1970s marked the beginning of a significant immigration from the Congo. In the early 1970s, there were about 5,000 Congolese migrants in Belgium (Kagné and Martiniello, 2001). The increase of immigrations and the decrease of returns both contributed to the growth of the Congolese migrant population in Belgium (Schoonvaere, 2010). In 2010, the number of Congolese migrants in Belgium (including undocumented migrants and asylum seekers) is estimated at about 50,000 (Schoumaker and Schoonvaere, 2012). This immigration has significantly changed since the 1960s. While the migration flows in 1960s and 1970s were composed of migrants coming for higher education and employees of subsidiaries, the profiles have diversified from the 1980s and 1990s. The deteriorating economic and political situation has been accompanied by an increase in asylum seekers, and a change in the educational profile of migrants (see Schoumaker, Flahaux, 2013). The feminization of the Congolese population in Belgium has also been observed (Schoonvaere, 2010).

Congolese immigration in the UK is much more recent. It really began in the 1980s and gained momentum in the late 1980s and in the 1990s (Rutter, 2006). Early Congolese migrants in the UK were mainly intellectuals, opponents to the Mobutu regimes. They were later followed by asylum seekers, with two main waves in the early 1990s and late 1990s-early 2000s (Rutter, 2006). Congolese migrants to the UK also included migrants coming from other European countries (mainly France and Belgium, see Schoumaker, Flahaux, 2013), attracted by "what they perceive as better labor market requirements in Britain, with lower levels of discrimination" (Pachi, Barrett and Garbin, 2010, p. 3). These inflows of migrants have led to a rapid growth of the Congolese community in

the UK. According to the OECD migration statistics based on the 2001 Census (OECD, 2005), around 8,500 Congolese documented migrants were living in the United Kingdom circa year 2000. In 2011, the population was estimated by the Annual Population Survey at around 20,000 (ONS, 2012). However, estimates vary widely across sources, and an IOM report suggested as many as 30,000 migrants from DRC were living in the UK in the mid 2000's (IOM, 2006). These discrepancies across estimates reflect both the rapid changes in the Congolese migrant population and the relative lack of reliable data on migrants. The fact that many Congolese migrants arrived in the UK as asylum seekers (IOM, 2006), and that requests are very often rejected (Rutter, 2006) may explain these discrepancies (due to a high proportion of undocumented migrants).

In both countries, Congolese migrants are to a large extent living in urban areas, and notably in or close to the capital. Half of the Congolese migrants in Belgium live in Brussels (Schoonvaere, 2010), and approximately two thirds of Congolese in the UK are thought to live in the Greater London area (IOM, 2006). In Belgium, Congolese migrants predominantly live in the French speaking regions (more than 80% of migrants live in Brussels and Wallonia), so that the language barrier is limited in Belgium. In contrast, language may constitute a brake to access to employment in the UK.

Box 1. Economic integration of migrants in Belgium and in the UK

Belgium is a country were employment rates of immigrants are particularly low, one of the lowest of the OECD countries (OECD, 2008), and is the European country where non-EU born migrants have the lowest employment rate (De Keyser et al., 2012). In 2010, 46 % of the immigrants born outside European Union (aged 15-64) were working, compared to more than 60% for EU-born migrants and people born in Belgium (De Keyser et al., 2012). Lower employment among non-EU migrants persist after controlling for age, gender and education (De Keyser et al., 2012). Discrimination, restricted access to certain types jobs and lack of recognition of diplomas are thought to contribute to wasting the economic potential of non EU migrants (De Keyser et al., 2012; Huddleston et al., 2011).

In the UK, employment rates for non-EU born migrants are over 60%, and are above the European average (De Keyser et al., 2012). While non-EU born migrants are less likely to be employed that EU-born people, differences in employment rates are much lower than in Belgium (Eurostat, 2011), reflecting an easier access to the labour market for non-EU migrants in the UK than in Belgium (Huddleston et al., 2011). Labour market in the UK seems indeed to be perceived as more dynamic and more open by Congolese migrants (Pachi, Barrett and Garbin, 2010).

In both countries, sub-Saharan African immigrants are disadvantaged on the labour market (in the UK, see Dustmann et al., 2003; in Belgium, see Desmarez et al., 2004). Their unemployment rates are higher than migrants from other regions, and the jobs they hold are often in the lower occupation categories.

Studies on the economic integration of Congolese migrants in Belgium and in the UK - and of sub-Saharan African migrants in general - are not only rare but are also based almost exclusively on cross-sectional data. The main data sources are censuses - which generally include only on legal migrants and are made at intervals of ten years - and the Labour Force Surveys (LFS), in which it is difficult to isolate Congolese migrants because of small samples for that subpopulation. Some qualitative work also exists, but their results cannot be generalized to the Congolese migrant populations. Despite these limitations, it is possible to draw a broad picture of the Congolese migrants' employment situation in Belgium and in the UK.

In both countries, data show that Congolese migrants have poor outcomes on the labour market (Desmarez, 2004 ; Schoonvaere, 2010; Vause, 2011; Feld, 2010 ; Spence; 2005.), and are among the most disadvantaged migrant populations in terms of employment (Schoonvaere, 2010; Mitton and Aspinall, 2011). In Belgium, the unemployment rate of Congolese nationals[2] was a little above 40% in 2006 (Sopemi-Belgique, 2008), and it was estimated to be close to 50% in the 2001 census (Feld, 2010). Data in the UK also show very high unemployment among Congolese people: a study in the London area, based on the 2001 Census data, indicates that 45 % of the active Congolese people were unemployed, which is one of the highest unemployment rates among foreigners in the London area[3]. Congolese migrants are also disproportionately employed in low quality jobs. According to the 2001 UK census, 45% of the working Congolese migrants in the London area were occupied in the four lowest paid occupational groups (23% in elementary occupations). In Belgium, several studies also indicate that the labour market is highly segmented, with African immigrants (largely composed of Congolese) overrepresented in low skill jobs (Adam, 2007A).

The poor outcomes of Congolese migrants partly reflect the disadvantages found among other immigrant communities, notably black African communities. Discriminations, lack of recognition of diplomas, language barriers (especially for French speaking migrants in the UK) influence their integration in the labour market (Dustmann et al., 2005). Their difficult integration in the labour market also results from specificities of the Congolese migrant populations. Large proportion of Congolese migrants arrived in Belgium, and even more in the UK, as asylum seekers, a situation that can partly explain low participation in the labour market (Spence, 2005; Mitton and Aspinall, 2011; Rutter, 2006). On the other hand, Congolese migrants have fairly

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[2] Data do not strictly refer to migrants – but only to Congolese nationals. Naturalized migrants are more likely to work (Phongi, 2010), so that unemployment rates of migrants are probably a little lower.

[3] Unemployment rates of Congolese living outside London were smaller (22.7%), but still one of the highest among foreign populations (Spence, 2005).

high levels of education compared to other migrant populations (especially in Belgium), and their difficulties on the labour market *a priori* do not result from their lack of qualification. Data in Belgium show that unemployment among educated Congolese people are lower than among uneducated migrants, but still very high (Feld, 2010). Educated Congolese migrants are also disproportionately occupied in low skills jobs, for which they are overqualified.

Existing studies on the economic contribution of Congolese migrants to their home country are also limited in numbers and rely on small samples, but they provide some useful background information. First these studies show that the contributions of migrants mainly take the form of remittances to help families (De Bruyn and Wets, 2006; Sumata, 2002; Bazenguissa-Ganga, 2005). With the worsening of economic conditions in the 1980s and 1990s, migration became a strategy of diversification of incomes, and remittances are thought to have become a key aspect of migrations to Europe (Sumata, 2002). Remittances are to a large extent used for daily consumption, education, health care and for specific circumstances like funerals (De Bruyn and Wets, 2006; Mangalu, 2011). In contrast, investments tend to be small (De Bruyn and Wets, 2006). According to Sumata (2002, p. 622), investing in business is "too risky with a weak return to investment", reflecting the influence of the economic situation in DR Congo. The literature shows diverging views on the investment of Congolese migrants in associations, and on their contributions to community development. According to some researchers, the contribution of Congolese migrants to development projects is limited (Bazenguissa-Ganga, 2005; De Bruyn and Wets, 2006); others suggest that Congolese (in Belgium) migrants are very much involved in such projects (Perrin and Martiniello, 2011). These qualitative studies rely on small purposive samples, making generalization and comparisons difficult. To our knowledge, no research has specifically looked at the link between Congolese migrants' integration and remittances. Nevertheless, Mangalu's research (2011) indicates that Congolese migrants in Europe are as two times more likely to send remittances when they hold a job than when they don't.

Return migrants' reintegration in DR Congo has received very little attention in the literature. Until the late 1980s, migrants to Europe were to a large extent intellectuals and highly qualified people coming to Europe for education, and to work in subsidiaries of Congolese firms. A large proportion of them returned, encouraged by the Mobutu regime, with the assurance of finding a good job upon return (Flahaux, 2011). From the late 1980s, and especially in the 1990s, the economic and political situation deteriorated, and the conditions for return migrants worsened. As a result, return migrations drastically decreased (see Schoumaker, Flahaux, 2013). According to Ngoie Tshibambe and Mbuyi Kabunda (2010), two main categories of return migrants now coexist in DR Congo: (1) older migrants who had prepared their return, had

invested and have left their children abroad, and (2) young migrants, who were expelled from abroad or whose living conditions abroad were not satisfying[4].

THE MIGRANTS' INTEGRATION IN EUROPEAN LABOUR MARKET

DESCRIPTION OF THE SAMPLE

The following section describes the sample of Congolese migrants interviewed in Belgium and in the UK. The characteristics described here refer to their age, level of education, duration of stay, residence permit and, of course, occupational status. All these variables are described separately by country and gender (Table 1).

Congolese migrants that were eligible for the surveys were aged between 25 and 75. The sampling in Eurpope was based on quotas – notably by gender and age – to reflect the age-sex composition of the Congolese population in the UK and Belgium. Approximately 60% of the population is aged between 25 and 44 years; males are more numerous in the older age group, probably as a result of the fact that they were more numerous among migrants in the 1970s and 1980s. On average, migrants in the UK are younger than migrants in Belgium – reflecting the more recent Congolese immigration in the UK. This may also result from a higher propensity among young people to choose the UK rather than Belgium, although this cannot be confirmed with these data. Data on duration of stay also illustrate differences across gender and country. The recent feminization of Congolese migration and the more recent migration to the UK translate into shorter duration of stays among females and Congolese migrants in the UK.

At the time of the survey, undocumented migrants represent a little over 10% of the migrants. Differences across countries are small, but gender differences indicate that male migrants are twice as likely to be undocumented as their female counterparts. This percentage is much lower than the percentage of people who were undocumented in their first year in the country of stay (around 30%), indicating that a large percentage of migrants are eventually regularized. This is especially striking in the UK, where 45% of the migrants were undocumented at arrival; in Belgium, the percentage is much lower (17%), but far from negligible. Many of these undocumented migrants are former asylum seekers, and some of them also arrive as clandestine migrants (see WP5). These data indicate that a significant proportion of Congolese migrants are in vulnerable situations on the labour market when they arrive in Europe.

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[4] This is based on a sample of 92 return migrants interviewed in Lubumbashi. Only 9 of them were returnees from Europe.

TABLE 1. MIGRANTS SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS AT THE TIME OF THE SURVEY
(WEIGHTED PERCENTAGES)

	Gender		Country		
	Males	Females	Belgium	United Kingdom	Total
Level of education (diploma)					
No/primary	15.0	17.9	8.7	26.5	16.6
Secondary	26.4	35.6	30.7	32.5	31.5
Higher	58.6	46.5	60.6	41.0	51.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	228	199	278	149	427
Occupational Status					
Employed	53.9	45.0	52.8	44.3	49.0
Unemployed	16.3	12.3	12.2	16.5	14.1
Student	20.1	13.9	14.9	19.1	16.8
Inactive	9.7	28.8	20.1	20.1	20.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	228	199	278	149	427
Age					
25-34	28.4	34.0	28.0	35.9	31.5
35-44	33.5	37.3	37.2	33.7	35.6
45-64	38.1	28.7	34.8	30.4	32.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	228	199	278	149	427
Duration of stay in Europe					
1-4 years	17.4	18.3	22.4	12.2	17.9
5-9 years	27.7	34.0	27.4	36.0	31.2
10 years and over	54.9	47.7	50.2	51.8	50.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	228	199	278	149	427
Residence permit					
No	14.8	8.0	10.3	12.0	11.1
Yes or does not need	85.2	92.0	89.7	88.0	88.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	225	194	271	148	419
Residence permit at arrival (first year)					
No	30.8	29.0	17.5	45.3	29.8
Yes or does not need	69.2	71.0	82.5	54.7	70.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	228	199	278	149	427

As mentioned in the previous section, Congolese migrants have relatively high levels of education: 61% of the migrants in Belgium and 41% in the UK have a higher education diploma. Their high level of education reflects the selectivity of migration in the origin country (see Schoumaker, Flahaux, 2013), as well as the relatively high levels of education in DR Congo (much higher than in Senegal for instance). As explained later, many Congolese migrants arrive in Belgium (and to a lesser extent in the UK) for higher education. In contrast, very few Congolese migrants in Belgium have less than secondary education. In the UK, they represent about a quarter of the sample. This difference is notably related to the high proportion of asylum seekers in the UK, who on average have lower levels of education. As shown in these tables, levels of education are higher among males than among females, as is often observed among African migrant populations.

Data on occupation indicate that Congolese migrants are characterized by low levels of employment in both countries (Table annex 1). Among all migrants, only half were working at the time of the survey. This low rate stems from the high proportions of inactive and unemployed people, as well as the large proportion of students (17 %). The percentage is a little lower among females than among males; females are less likely to be student, but more likely to be in the other inactive category. Employment is also somewhat higher in Belgium than in the UK, and among people with higher education. Not surprisingly, undocumented migrants are few to work (16% of them).

The unemployment rate – computed as the ratio of unemployed people to active people – is estimated at 22% on average (Table annex 1). Although this rate is relatively high, it is much lower than unemployment rates estimated with census data (see literature review). The difference can be due to differences in the definition of the population; published statistics often refer to Congolese nationals, and do not include Congolese migrants who have acquired Belgian or UK citizenship – and who are also more likely to have a job (Phongi, 2010). The younger people (<25) are also not included in the MAFE surveys, which may explain part of the difference. Differences in definitions, and notably the inclusion of undeclared labour in the MAFE surveys, may also contribute to a lower unemployment rate in the MAFE data.

Differences in unemployment across gender are small (23% among males, 21% among females). In contrast, unemployment is higher in the UK (27%) than in Belgium (19%). In a sense, this may seem paradoxical, since the UK is sometimes viewed as offering more opportunities on the labour market than France or Belgium (Pachi, Barrett and Garbin, 2010). However, this result is also consistent with the large percentage of asylum seekers in the UK, who may have more difficulties integrating on the labour market. Language barriers may also explain this higher unemployment rate. Finally, data also show that unemployment is lower among people with higher education. Nevertheless, unemployment remains high even among migrants with a higher education diploma – confirming findings from other sources (de Keyzer et al, 2012).

Data on sectors, levels of occupation, type of employment and the quality of jobs all indicate that Congolese migrants are in majority in elementary occupations (58 % on average), and working as dependent workers in trade and services and other types of jobs. The most common jobs among Congolese female migrants are cleaning lady, caregivers and nurses. Males occupy a much wider range of jobs, including maneuver, doctor, and teacher. Like for employment and unemployment rates, the types of jobs strongly vary across gender, education, country and legal status. On average, males, documented migrants and migrants living in Belgium have better situations. People with higher education also have better situations, but a large percentage is employed in jobs below their qualifications: 39% of the migrants with higher education have an elementary job.

THE RECEIVING CONTEXTS: HOW LABOUR PATHS DIFFER ACCORDING TO THE DESTINATION COUNTRIES

Figure 1 indicates, in each country separately, the distribution of migrants by occupational status according to the number of years spent in Europe, as well as the distribution of migrants the last year in the origin country. Before interpreting the results, it is worth noting that differences across countries are not very pronounced.

FROM CONGO TO EUROPE: LEAVING EMPLOYMENT

The first striking result is the large difference – both in the UK and in Belgium- between the occupational status the last year in DR Congo and the first year in Europe. In DR Congo, a large percentage of migrants were employed in intermediate or higher occupations, or were students. This clearly shows that people moving from DR Congo are not issued from the disadvantaged classes, and overall had relatively good professional situations.

However, their conditions change dramatically upon arrival. The percentage of working migrants decreases drastically. The decrease in employment rate is partly due to the increase in the percentage of students, and partly to an increase in the percentage inactive (especially in Belgium) and unemployed people. The high percentage of students in the first year in Europe clearly illustrates that many Congolese move to Europe for studies. Also striking is the shift in the level of employment. The majority of working migrants were employed in intermediate or high level occupations before migrating, and a much smaller proportion of employed migrant were in these occupations at their arrival in Europe. This shift to low and unqualified jobs clearly shows that migrants' occupation is largely affected by their migration, and not for the better – at least in terms of types of jobs.

The global picture is broadly similar in Belgium and the UK. There are, however, some differences. First, the profiles of migrants prior to moving are slightly different, with more inactive and unemployed people before migration in the UK than in Belgium. Secondly, their profiles at arrival are also a little different, with more unemployed people among migrants living in the UK.
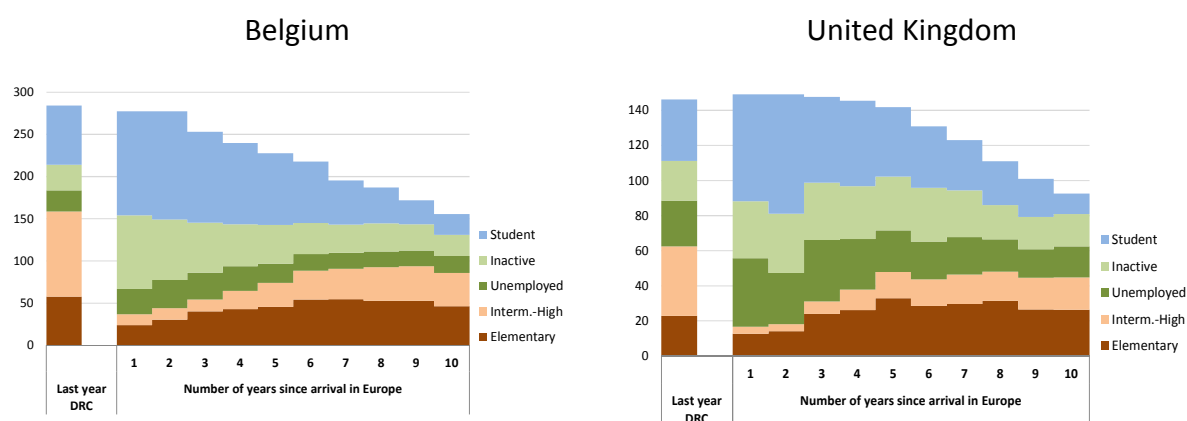
STAYING IN EUROPE: SLOWLY CLIMBING THE LADDER

Figure 2 also shows that the occupation status of migrants changes with the number of years spent in Europe. The most visible changes in Belgium and the UK are the decrease in the number of students, as well as the increase in the percentage of working people. After ten years, approximately half of the migrants are employed, as against less than a fifth in the first year. Among working migrants, the proportion with intermediate or high level jobs also increases, and reaches around 50% after ten years. In brief, there is mainly a shift towards greater employment, mainly due to a decrease in the number of students[5], and a relative stability in the distribution for the other status.

TABLE 2. FIVE MOST FREQUENT SEQUENCES OF OCCUPATIONAL STATUS OF MIGRANTS DURING THEIR STAY IN EUROPE, BY COUNTRY OF RESIDENCE (POSSIBLE STATES: ELEMENTARY, INTERMEDIATE-HIGH, UNEMPLOYED, INACTIVE, STUDENT).

| Belgium		United Kingdom		2 Countries	
Sequence	**%**	**Sequence**	**%**		**%**
Inactive	13,5	Inactive	12,8	Inactive	13,19
Student	13,0	Student	7,96	Student	10,76
Student – Interm./High	5,9	Unemployed	7,84	Student – Elementary	5,57
Student – Elementary	5,5	Student – Elementary	5,66	Unemployed	4,95
Student – Inactive	5,2	Student – unemployed	4,75	Student – Interm./High	4,89
Total	**43,1%**		**39,0%**		**39,4%**
N	278		149		427
Weighted percentages.					

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[5] One should note that all migrants are merged, and the period of arrival is not distinguished; some of the differences by duration may also be due to changing compositions of migrants over time.

Despite the improvement in occupational status, mobility across categories is relatively low. Between their arrival in Europe and the time of the survey, half of the migrants have remained in the same status, and one third of migrants have been in two statuses. The most frequent sequences of occupational status are quite simple: on average, one quarter of the people remains student or inactive during their stay (Table 2). Those who move across status are mainly students who start working (around 10%) or become unemployed (around 5% on average). This basic description of sequences illustrates the relative stability of occupational status, and that the major transitions are from studies to employment.

GENDERED TRAJECTORIES

Analyses by gender reveal several major differences between males and females (Figure 2). The profiles before migration are not dramatically different, but indicate that female migrants are more likely to be inactive than their male counterparts, and less likely to be working or student. These differences in occupation notably reflect the fact that female migrants are more likely to come through family reunification than their male counterparts. For both males and females, the transition between Congo and Europe is accompanied by a shift from employment to studies or inactivity, and to some extent unemployment. The shift towards inactivity is especially clear among females.

FIGURE 2: OCCUPATIONAL STATUS IN THE LAST YEAR IN AFRICA AND AT EACH YEAR OF STAY IN EUROPE (FOR THE FIRST TEN YEARS), BY GENDER (WEIGHTED NUMBERS)
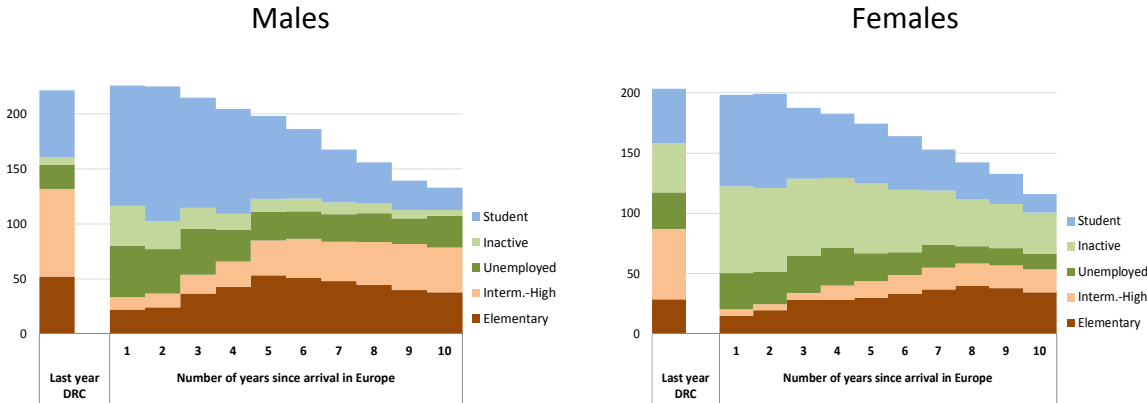
Transitions between the last year in Congo and the first year in Europe are described on Figure 3. The first bar ('before') shows the proportion of people in each category before migrating. The second bar ('after) shows how people in each category before migrating are distributed at their arrival in Europe. The left-hand graph shows that approximately one third of male migrants were employed in intermediate or higher level occupations before moving to Europe, a little less than 30% were students and slightly over 20% were in elementary occupations. The right hand graph shows that the females were much more numerous in the inactive category before migrating. Transitions indicate that only a small proportion of people who were working before

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their migration to Europe were also working during their first year in Europe. Those who were in intermediate or high level occupations are very likely to start their stay in Europe as students (approximately half among males, a third among females). In contrast, those who had elementary jobs in DR Congo are more likely to become inactive or (among males) unemployed. Migrants who were students in DRC are very likely to remain students when they arrive in Europe, and very few directly start working; those who were inactive or unemployed are also likely to remain in these categories. In short, the description of these transitions suggest a relative stability of status, except among those who were working who either start studying (the better qualified), or become inactive or unemployed (the less qualified).

FIGURE 3: COMPARISON OF LAST OCCUPATIONAL STATUS IN AFRICA BEFORE FIRST MIGRATION AND THE FIRST OCCUPATIONAL STATUS IN EUROPE, BY GENDER (WEIGHTED PERCENTAGES)
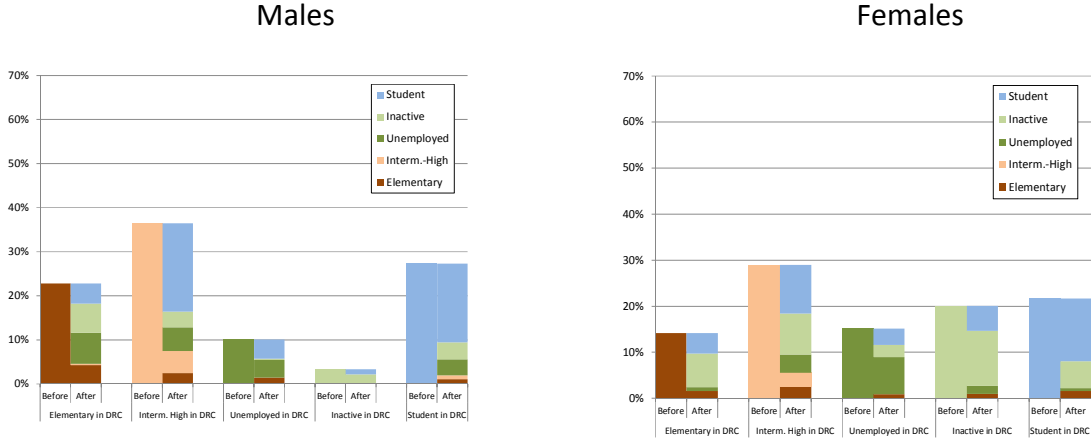
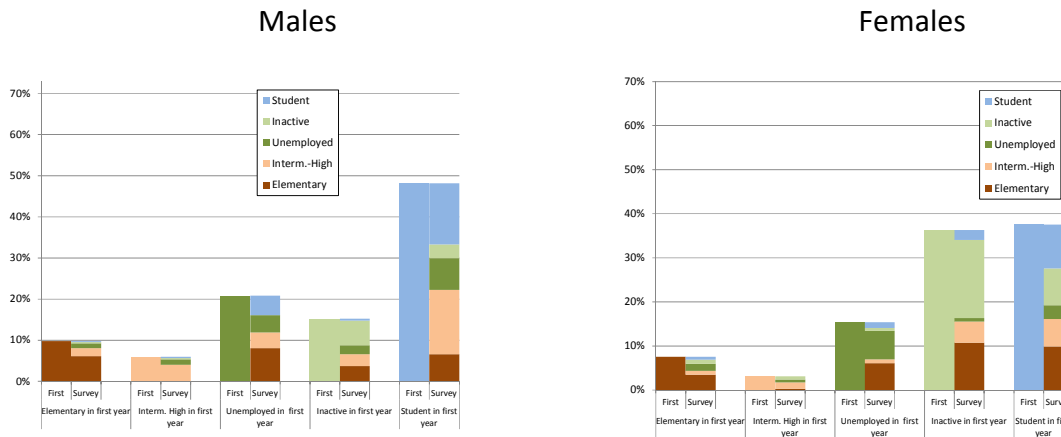As discussed in the previous section, the situation improves over time, with a shift towards more employment. Figure 2 shows that the proportion of employed migrants is greater among males than among females, and that males are also more likely to hold intermediate or high level jobs than females. This difference is related notably to the higher levels of education of males. **Erreur ! Référence non valide pour un signet.** indicates that males accessing intermediate or high level occupations are mainly people who were students at their arrival, or who started their stay in an intermediate or high level job. In contrast, people with elementary occupations are largely composed of people starting with an elementary job at arrival, or starting as unemployed. These results suggest that having access to education in Europe is a major route to upward professional mobility among males (Rakotonarivo and Vause, 2011). The picture is less clear among females, who are more likely to be in elementary jobs. Among those who started their stay as students, about a quarter was in an elementary job at the time of the survey.

Again, the description of individual trajectories complements the previous section and show the most common careers among migrants when they are in Europe. Sequences are quite simple for both males and females (Table 3). Among males, the most common sequences are either staying students, or moving from studies to employment. In contrast, females are more likely to remain inactive, become inactive or remain student. Those moving to employment occupy elementary jobs.

TABLE 3. FIVE MOST FREQUENT SEQUENCES OF OCCUPATIONAL STATUS OF MIGRANTS DURING THEIR STAY IN EUROPE, BY GENDER (POSSIBLE STATES : ELEMENTARY, INTERMEDIATE-HIGH, UNEMPLOYED, INACTIVE, STUDENT)

Males		Females	
Sequence	**%**	**Sequence**	**%**
Student	13,89	Inactive	19,35
Student – Interm./High	7,84	Student	8,19
Student – Elementary	6,68	Student-Inactive	7,25
Elementary	6,23	Inactive-Elementary	5,85
Unemployed	5,88	Student-Elementary	4,66
Total	**40,5%**		**45,3%**
N	229		198

HUMAN CAPITAL AND BRAIN WASTE

On average, Congolese migrants have relatively high levels of education, and as shown earlier, many start their stay in Europe as students. In the previous section, it was also shown that people starting their stay in Europe as students were more likely to obtain better jobs than those starting working directly or the unemployed and inactive migrants. This section further investigates the link between education and occupation status by looking at trajectories according to level of education.

Before looking at trajectories, Figure 5 presents the distribution of migrants by level of occupation and level of education at the time of the survey. The total size of the bar represents the proportion of the sample in each level of education. Within each level of education, the three shades represent the level of occupation. People with no or

primary education represent less than 20% of the working migrants, and almost all of them have elementary jobs. On the other hand, people with high education represent almost 60% of the total. Many are employed in high level occupations, but the proportion with elementary jobs is almost as high (around 40% of those with higher education). Overall, 20% of the Congolese migrants working at the time of the survey combine a higher education diploma and an elementary job – interpreted here as 'brain waste'. These results confirm results from previous studies in Belgium (Adam, 2007B; Schoonvaere, 2010)

FIGURE 5: DISTRIBUTION OF MIGRANTS BY LEVEL OF OCCUPATION AND LEVEL OF EDUCATION (DIPLOMA) IN 2009 (WEIGHTED PERCENTAGES)
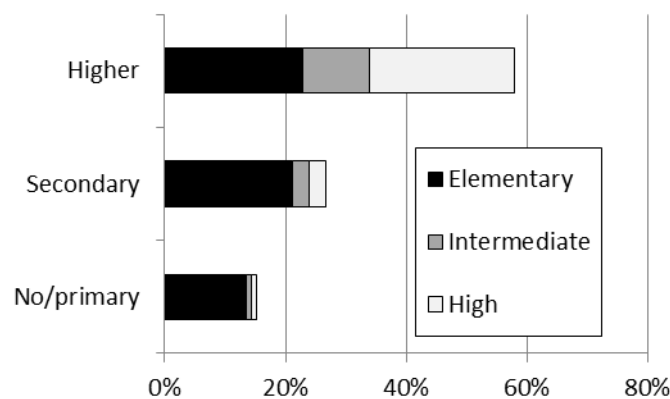
Figure 6 shows the changing distributions of occupation status by level of education. Before migration (in DR Congo), there is a clear correlation between the level of education and occupation status. Migrants with the higher levels of education are concentrated in two categories: intermediate/high employment and students. In contrast, the less educated are much more likely to be working in elementary jobs or inactive. People with secondary education have an intermediate profile.

The occupational changes associated with the migration from Congo to Europe also differ by level of education. Unsurprisingly, the highly educated are very likely to start their stay in Europe as students (approximately half). However, very few start working when they arrive in Europe, and when they work, they do not necessarily have high quality jobs. Many also become inactive at arrival. Those with little education are also very few to start their stay in Europe with a job (essentially elementary jobs). Most of them start their stay as inactive or unemployed and some also start studies. Again, people with secondary education hold an intermediate position.

With time, people from the three categories are progressively more likely to be employed and less likely to remain students. After 10 years, the less educated are to a large extent concentrated in elementary jobs, are unemployed or inactive. People with secondary education are also largely concentrated in elementary jobs or are inactive. People with higher education are the most likely to be employed after ten years, and a significant part are still students. The better educated are also much more likely to have intermediate or high levels employment. However, as mentioned before, many also have elementary occupations, and the percentage holding unqualified jobs is

relatively stable. This suggests that many educated migrants are confined in jobs that are below their levels of qualification. The proportions changes very slightly over time: mobility between elementary jobs and better jobs is low, some educated migrants are 'trapped' in elementary jobs.

FIGURE 6: OCCUPATIONAL STATUS IN THE LAST YEAR IN AFRICA AND AT EACH YEAR OF STAY IN EUROPE (FOR THE FIRST TEN YEARS), BY LEVEL OF EDUCATION AT TIME OF THE SURVEY (WEIGHTED NUMBERS)

Migrants with no or primary education diploma
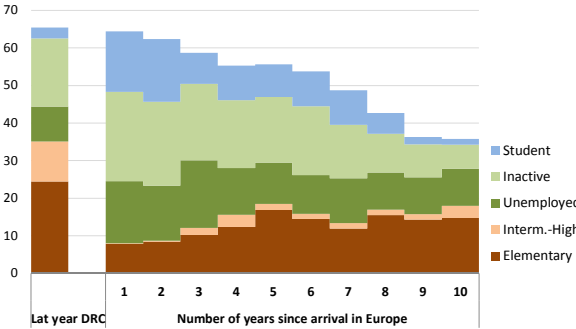
Secondary education diploma

Higher education diploma

17
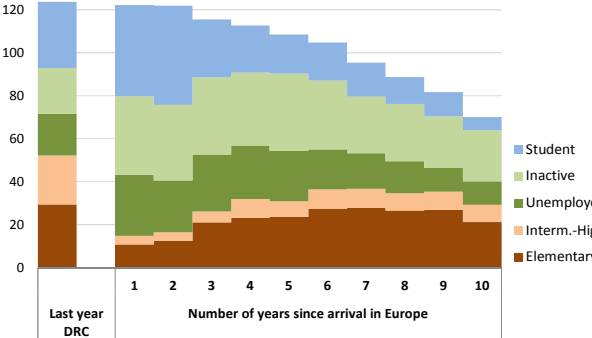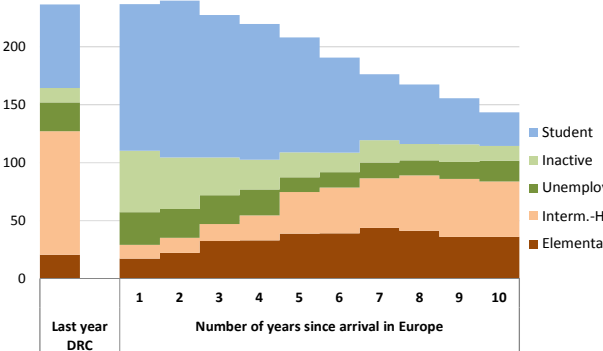
Migrant occupation is strongly related to the possession of a residence permit. The residence permit is often a condition for a work permit, which itself is a condition for obtaining a registered job. As shown in Table annex 1, migrants without a residence permit were very unlikely to work at the time of the survey (15%, compared to 54% among migrants with a residence permit).

Figure 7 shows the occupational status of migrants according to their residence status at the time of arrival. Before migration, the most visible difference is in the type of employment held by migrants. Migrants who had a residence permit at arrival were more likely to work in intermediate or high level jobs, while undocumented migrants come from lower socio-economic classes. During their first year in Europe, undocumented migrants are also a little less likely to work and study than documented migrants, although differences are not very large. Interestingly, a large percentage of people who were undocumented in the first year declare themselves as students. In both categories, people are increasingly likely to work with time; many undocumented migrants eventually obtain papers, allowing them to work.

FIGURE 7: OCCUPATIONAL STATUS IN THE LAST YEAR IN AFRICA AND AT EACH YEAR OF STAY IN EUROPE (FOR THE FIRST TEN YEARS), BY LEGAL STATUS AT ARRIVAL IN EUROPE (WEIGHTED NUMBERS)
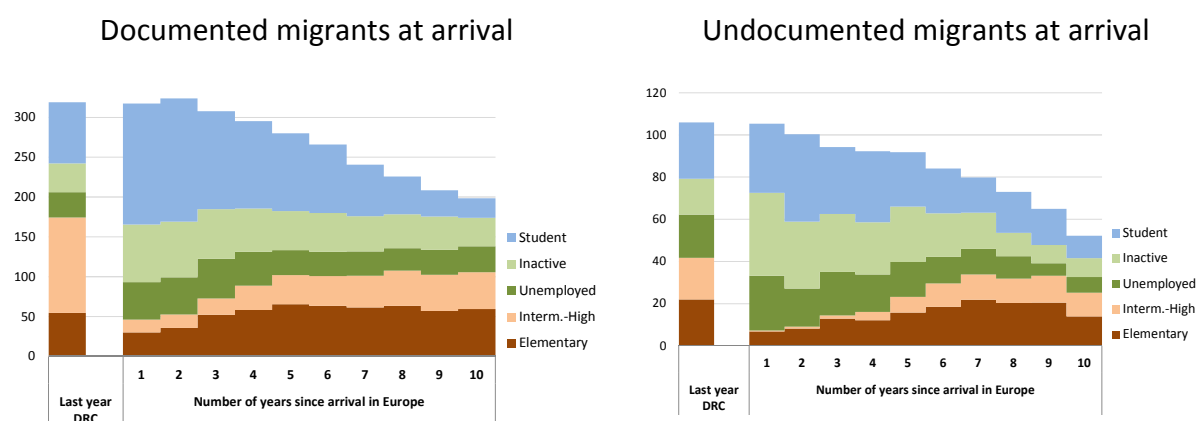
MIGRANTS' ECONOMIC CONTRIBUTION TO ORIGIN COUNTRIES

The contribution of migrants to the economy of Congo can take various forms. While staying in Europe, the most common types of contributions consist in remittances – usually mainly to the family -, investments in houses, land or businesses, and contribution to associations. These economic contributions are not equally frequent, and they also vary depending on the characteristics of the migrants. In this section, we describe to what extent Congolese migrants participate in these kinds of economic

contributions, and how they vary over time, across destination country, gender, education, legal status and occupational status.

FIGURE 8: PROPORTION OF MIGRANTS OWNING ASSET(S), SENDING REMITTANCES, PAYING ASSOCIATIVE CONTRIBUTIONS AT SURVEY TIME, BY COUNTRY OF RESIDENCE (WEIGHTED PERCENTAGES)
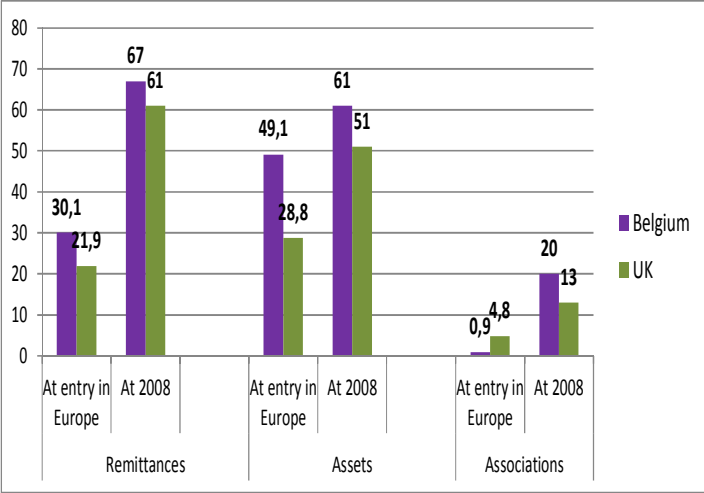
Figure 8 shows the percentage of migrants sending remittances, owning assets in the origin country and contributing to associations at two points in time: when they arrive in Europe, and at the time of the survey (2009). Migrants' contributions to origin countries mainly take the form of remittances, and to some extent assets. In contrast, contributions to associations are less frequent.

At the time of the survey, around 60% of the migrants declare sending remittances to DR Congo. Remittances start from the first year for 20 to 30% of migrants, and increases over time. Remittances are often part of a survival strategy, in which families encourage the migration of one or several members in order to diversify income sources and face market uncertainties (de Haas, 2008; Gubert, 2010). In the Congolese context, where economic conditions have seriously deteriorated since the 1990s, remittances from migrants certainly represent an important way of helping families staying in DR Congo for daily living expenses, as well as health care and schooling expenses (Mangalu, 2011).

The percentage of migrants having assets in DR Congo at the time of the survey is also high: 51% of the migrants in the UK and 61% of the migrants in Belgium declare having an asset. However, the percentage having an asset was already high at the entry of migrants in Europe (especially in Belgium), and the progression is not very strong. The large percentage of migrants owning assets when they migrate indicates that Congolese migrants come from privileged groups in Congo. This is especially clear for Congolese living in Belgium, while migrants in the UK are less likely to own assets before migrating. Investments after migration increase, but do not seem to be a major objective of migrants (contrary to Senegalese or Ghanaians). The lack of security for investments in DRC (Sumata, 2004), and the low intentions of return among Congolese migrants (see Schoumaker, Flahaux, 2013) probably partly explain this.

Finally, contributions to associations are very low at the beginning of the stay and then increases, but remain lower than the other forms of economic contributions. Interestingly, this low level of investment in collective projects mirrors the more 'individual' nature of Congolese migration mentioned in the literature, and is consistent with some studies on this topic (Bazenguissa-Ganga, 2005; De Bruyn and Wets, 2006).

CHANGES IN REMITTANCES, INVESTMENTS AND PARTICIPATION TO DEVELOPMENT OVER TIME

REMITTANCES

Figure 9 provides further information on changes in remittances over time, and how these differ across subgroups. These figures first show that changes over time are progressive. The longer people have stayed in Europe, the more likely to remit. Overall, differences across categories are small, except for employment status. People having a job are much more likely to send remittances than people who are not working, especially in the first few years of their stays. This clearly illustrates the link between the integration of the migrants on the labour market and their contribution to DR Congo. Migrants with low levels of education are also less likely to remit – this is related to their lower chances of being employed, and the lower quality jobs they have. One could have expected the better educated to be more likely to send remittances, but this is not necessarily the case (Wanner, 2008 ; Faini, 2007; Dumitru, 2009). Females are slightly more likely to send remittances, especially among those have stayed for more than 5 years. The higher propensity of females to send remittances has been found in various studies, notably in DRC (Mangalu, 2011). Mangalu (20011) interprets this as the result of the more altruistic nature of women, and of the socialization of women as 'givers'. Finally, the lack of link between legal status at arrival and remittances indicates that arriving as an undocumented migrant is does not reduce chances of remitting.

FIGURE 9: PROPORTION OF MIGRANTS SENDING REMITTANCES TO DRC, AT EACH YEAR OF STAY IN EUROPE (FOR THE FIRST TEN YEARS) (WEIGHTED PERCENTAGES)

BY GENDER

BY EDUCATION DIPLOMA AT TIME OF SURVEY

BY EMPLOYMENT STATUS (TIME VARYING)

BY LEGAL STATUS (AT ARRIVAL)
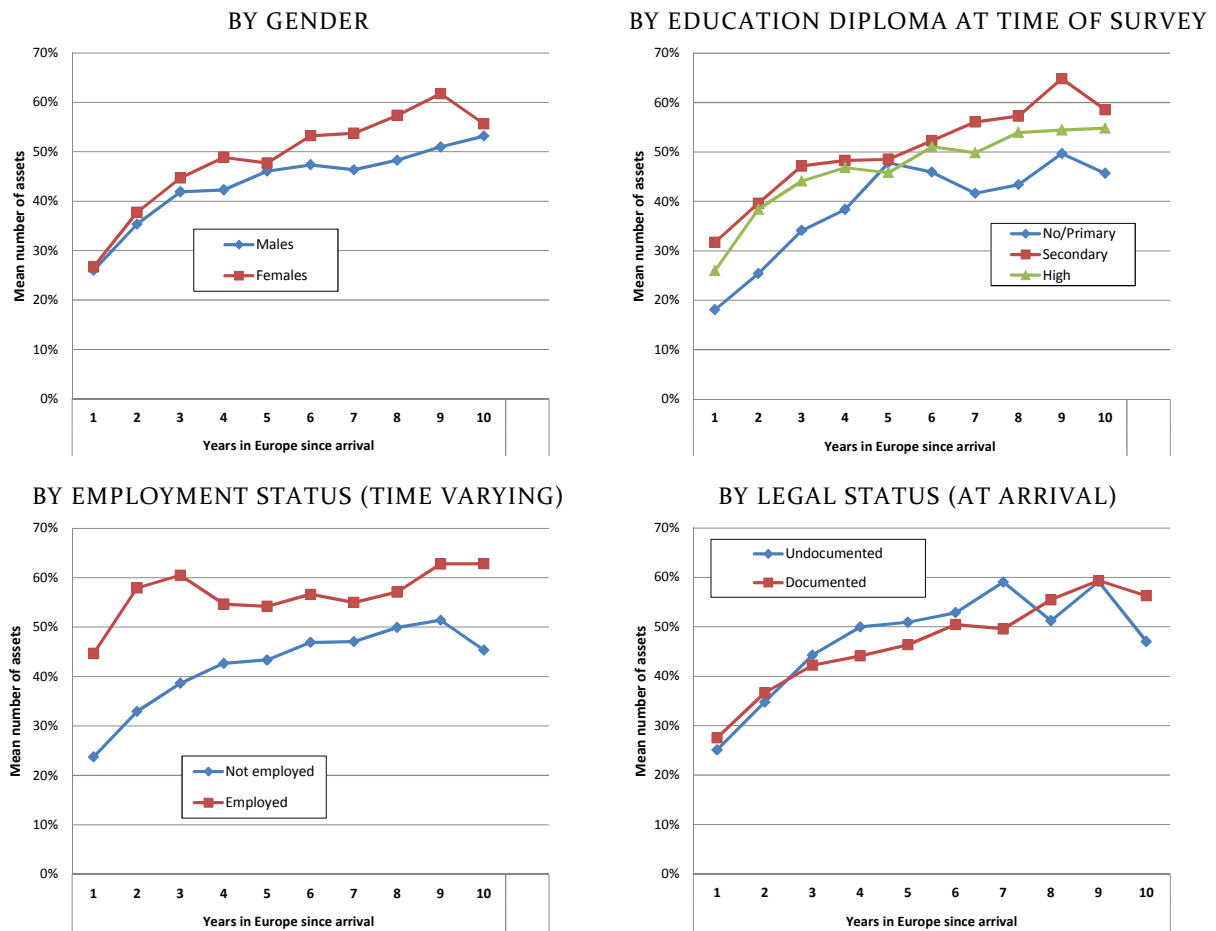
CONTRIBUTIONS THROUGH ASSOCIATIONS

Figure 10 show changes in contributions to associations, for the year preceding migration and the first ten years in Europe. Like for remittances, contributions to associations increase with time, but are much less frequent than remittances. In the first few years, less than 10% of migrants send money to associations, compared to around 50% for remittances. Again, differences across gender are small, and not clear. Differences by occupational status are also very small. It seems that, contrary to remittances, employment is not a strong determinant of contributions to associations. People who were undocumented in their first year, as well as people with secondary education are the most likely to contribute.

BY GENDER

BY EDUCATION (DIPLOMA)

BY EMPLOYMENT STATUS (TIME VARYING)

BY LEGAL STATUS AT ARRIVAL

INVESTMENTS IN DRC

Figure 11 show the mean number of assets owned by migrants in the year preceding their migration, and for the first ten years of stay in Europe. Contrary to the curves for remittances and contributions to associations, which increase over time, the investment curves are almost flat. In other words, investments in DR Congo do not appear to be a priority among Congolese migrants. In fact, the mean number of assets even first slightly decreases compared to the situation of migrants before leaving DRC. This suggests some of these assets may be sold to finance or reimburse migration costs.

Despite the low changes in assets over time, there are remarkable difference by gender, and legal status at arrival. The largest difference is between males and females – with males owning twice as many assets as females. Men are often household heads, and are often considered as owning families properties. Their better incomes may also explain their greater asset ownership. Interestingly, females' investments slightly increase over time, while males' investments are stable. Staying in Europe may contribute to women's economic emancipation, and reduce the gender gap in investments. Differences by legal status at arrival essentially reflect the selectivity of migration.

People who were documented their first year are much more likely to come from privileged backgrounds, and own assets before moving.

FIGURE 11: MEAN NUMBER OF INVESTMENTS IN DRC, BY DURATION OF STAY IN EUROPE (WEIGHTED PERCENTAGES)

BY GENDER

BY EDUCATION DIPLOMA AT TIME OF SURVEY

BY EMPLOYMENT STATUS (TIME-VARYING)

BY LEGAL STATUS AT ARRIVAL
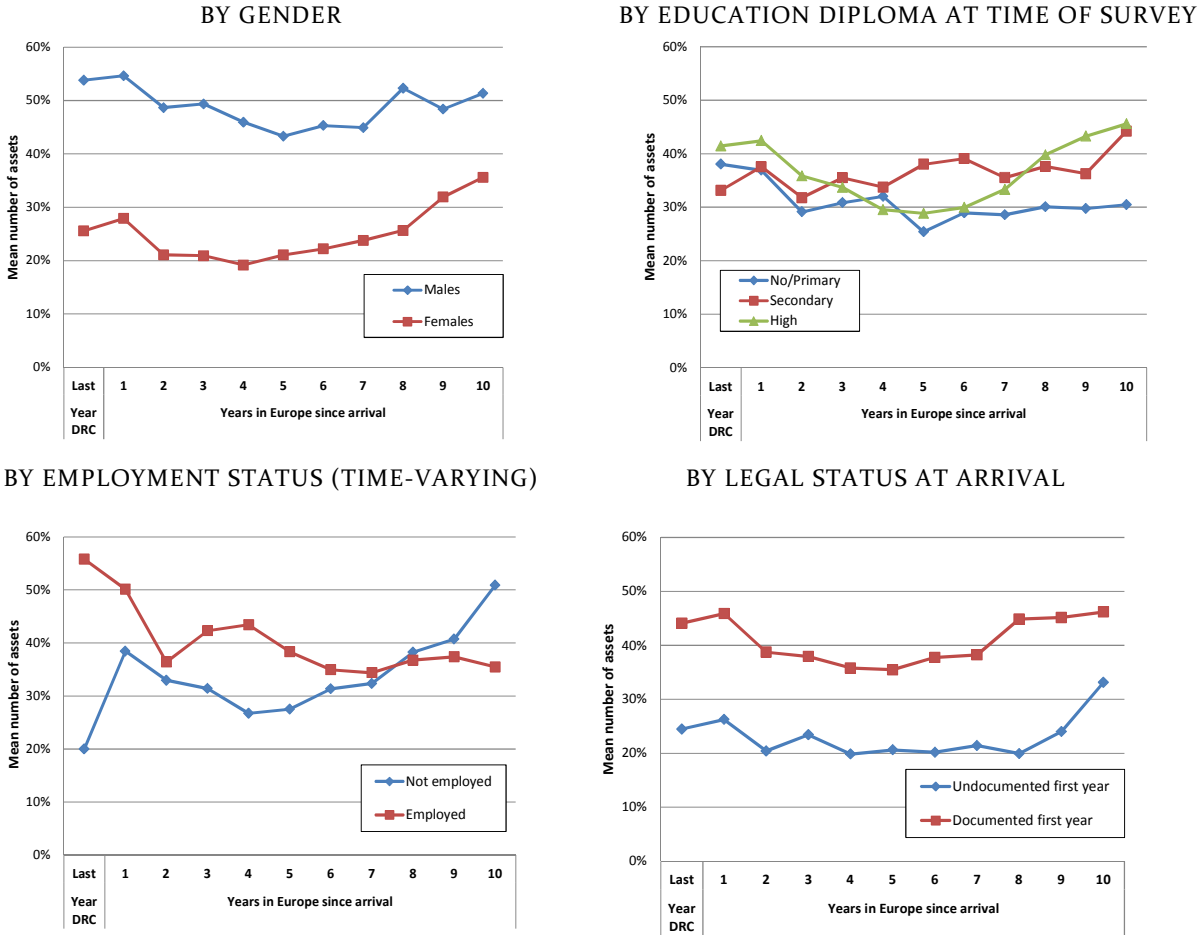
LABOUR MARKET RE-INTEGRATION IN DRC OF RETURNEES FROM EUROPE

Who returns, and what do returnees do after return? Results from Schoumaker, Flauhaux, 2013 have shown that returns of Congolese from Europe have greatly decreased since the 1980s. Flahaux, Schoumaker *et al.*, 2013 showed that some migrants were more likely to return. In this paper, we further look at return migrants by examining their socio-economic characteristics and their occupational trajectories.

Table annex 5 shows the characteristics of return migrants from Europe. A limitation of the analyses is that they are based on a very small sample, resulting notably from the very low return rates among Congolese migrants. Overall, return migrants are composed mainly of males (65%), relatively old (73% are aged 45 and over) and with a high level of education (66% with higher education). Most of them are returnees from Belgium (37%), France (23%) and the UK (16%), and virtually all of them were

documented migrants at the time of their return. This brief profile shows that return migrants from DRC are essentially privileged people, both compared to migrants staying in Europe, and even more compared to non-migrants in DR Congo. This results from a double selection: better-off people are more likely to migrate to Europe, and once in Europe, they are (or at least were until recently) more likely to return.

OCCUPATIONAL TRAJECTORIES AND CHANGES IN THE QUALITY OF JOBS OF RETURNEES OVER TIME

Figure 12 shows occupational status of returnees from Europe at four points in time, and compares them to non-migrants in DR Congo at the time of the survey. The first bar represents the distribution of return migrants by occupational status the year before their departure for Europe; the second bar represents their distribution their last year in Europe, the next bar represents the first year in DR Congo, and the fourth bar refers to the year of the survey.

FIGURE 12: OCCUPATIONAL STATUS OF RETURNEES FROM EUROPE AT FOUR POINTS IN TIME IN THEIR MIGRATORY LIFE AND OF NON MIGRANTS AT 2009 (WEIGHTED PERCENTAGES)
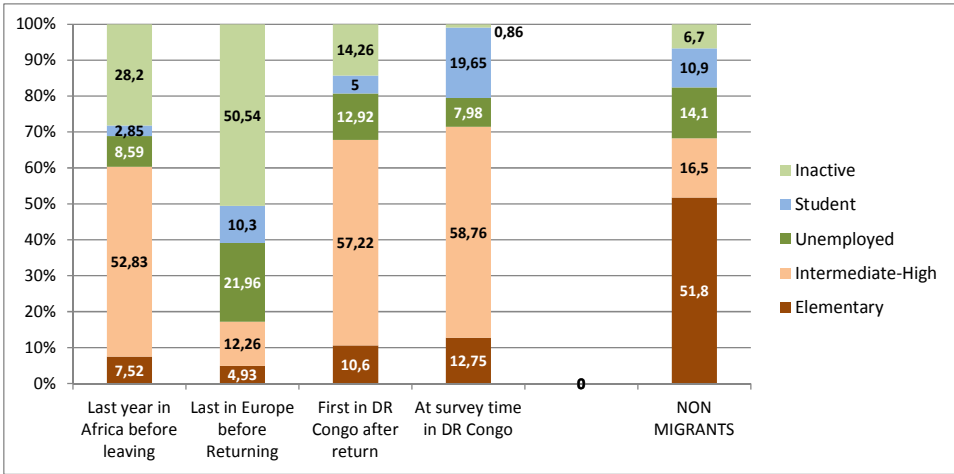
Comparing their situation the last year in Europe to their situation in Congo before and after migration, their migration in Europe looks like a parenthesis in their lives. The percentage of working migrants, notably in intermediate or high level occupations, is much lower during the stay in Europe than in DR Congo. In contrast, studies and unemployment are higher when migrants live in Europe. After their return, the distribution is relatively similar to the situation before departure, with a higher proportion employed and less inactive people. Figure 12 also shows that return migrants are much more likely than non-migrants to be in intermediate or high level occupation; but this was also the case before migration. Migration may have slightly increased the chances of return migrants of having a good quality job[6], but the difference with non-migrants mainly results from the selection into migration and return of the better educated.

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[6] For instance, return migrants may have more responsibilities and better wages.

Another striking illustration that migration in Europe is to some extent a parenthesis in return migrant's professional lives is provided by the change in average ISEI[7] score from the last year before migration until 10 years after return (Figure 13). Congolese migrants had overall high ISEI scores before leaving (around 60); in Europe, their scores diminish by about 15 points; upon return, the scores are approximately at the same level as before departure, and they do not change much. The blue line is restricted to migrants who were working before migrating; their score at return is slightly lower than before migration. The red curves include all working returnees, including those who were students before migrating. Their scores are a little higher, indicating that students have better jobs after their returns than people who left when working.

FIGURE 13: MEAN ISEI SCORE AMONG WORKING PEOPLE FOR THE LAST YEAR IN AFRICA, THE LAST YEAR IN EUROPE, AT EACH YEAR SINCE RETURN IN RDC (WEIGHTED MEANS)
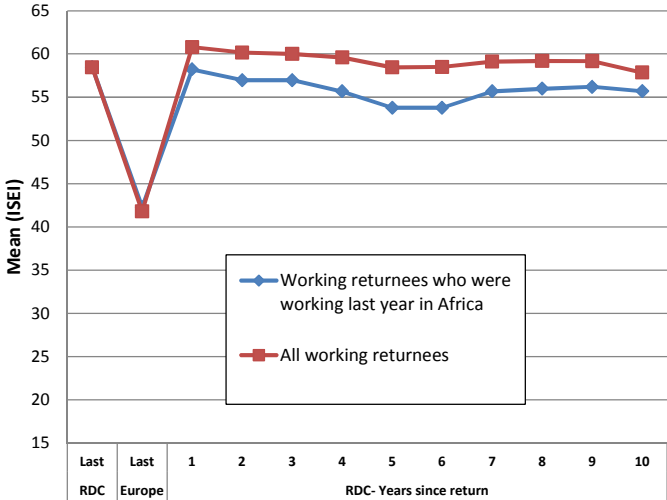
Finally, despite the lower employment rate and lower quality of employment, the perception of living conditions of returnees is a little better during their migration than before. Figure 14 shows that, before migration, three quarters were in the two better categories (more than sufficient or sufficient[8]); this reaches 85% in Europe before return, and one third of them consider their resources were more than sufficient. After return, almost 90% consider their resources as sufficient (and about 20% as more than sufficient). In brief, return migrants consider overall they have good living conditions, before, during and after their migration.

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[7] The ISEI stands for International Socio-Economic Index of occupational status (Ganzeboom et al., 1992). It uses occupational data to measure socio-economic status. A higher value of the index corresponds to a better socio-economic status.

[8] The question was phrased in the following way : "When you lived in this room/house: on average, would you say that the financial situation of the household regarding the purchase of basic goods was... (1) More than sufficient (2) Sufficient (3) Just sufficient (4) Insufficient?"

FIGURE 14: LIVING CONDITIONS OF RETURNEES (WEIGHTED PERCENTAGES)
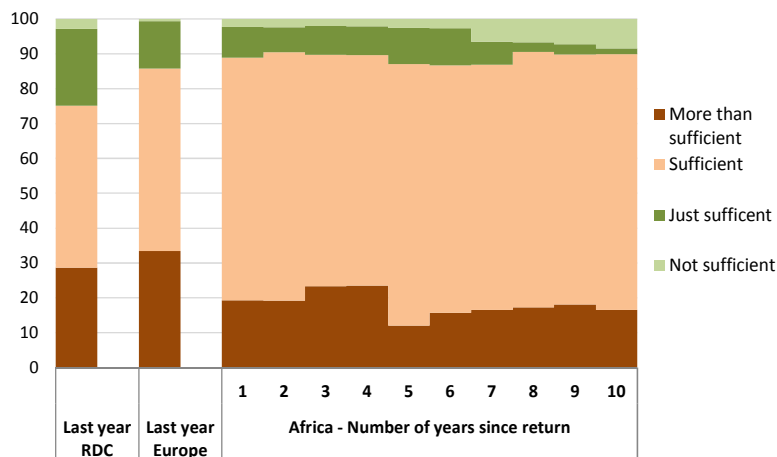
CONCLUSIONS

The MAFE data show that the participation in the labour market for Congolese migrants remains low, and that the Congolese migrants tend to be employed in elementary jobs. This finding is consistent with results from censuses in Belgium and the UK. The reasons for this situation are diverse, and were not explored in detail in this report, but a few factors correlated with lower employment rates were found. Undocumented migrants are much less likely to work, confirming that the economic integration is very much dependent on the administrative status. Higher education is associated with greater chances of working, and better jobs. The analyses also indicate that a large share of Congolese migrants with high level jobs started their stay in Europe as students. Gaining higher education in Europe thus seems a major route for economic integration. Yet, a large percentage of educated people are inactive, unemployed, or working below their level of qualification. This shows that employment depends on many other factors, notably on possible discrimination from employers, difficulties with language,...

Another clear result found in this report is the strong professional downgrade associated with migration. Overall, migrant's professional conditions deteriorate at the time of migration. Even though a large proportion of migrants come to Belgium for studies, the decrease in the percentage working at the time of migration shows a clear rupture in the access to the labor market. The decrease in the quality of jobs is also visible in the migrants' trajectories in Europe. As time passes, the insertion on the labor market improves, but migrants still occupy less qualified jobs in Europe than in DR Congo. The trajectories of return migrants are very telling in this regard: their professional situation in Europe looks like a parenthesis in their career. After their return, their professional situation resembles the one they had before leaving. Yet, most migrants currently do not return (see Schoumaker, Flahaux, 2013), and the professional aspirations of Congolese migrants in Europe are probably not met.

Among Congolese migrants, the economic contributions to the country of origin during migration mainly take the form of remittances. These remittances are part of a collective strategy to relieve difficult living conditions in the households in DR Congo. In contrast, contribution to association is relatively low, and investments do not strongly evolve over time. Again, this is broadly consistent with existing knowledge. Remittances were sent regularly by about 60% of the migrants at the time of the survey, and the percentage of migrants sending remittances increases with the duration of stay. Migrants' economic integration is also a key component of the migrant's contribution to the origin country: migrants with a job are all more likely to send remittances.

These analyses are preliminary, in the sense that they are essentially descriptive. However, they show clear characteristics of the Congolese migrants' economic integration in Europe and of their contribution to their home country. This is a first step to understand if migrants are able to fulfill the objectives of their migration, and how their economic integration and contribution to their home country could be improved. The rich MAFE data set will undoubtedly be further exploited to inform policy-makers on these issues.

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TABLE ANNEX 1. OCCUPATION STATUS OF MIGRANTS BY GENDER, EDUCATION, LEGAL STATUS, AND COUNTRY OF RESIDENCE (2009) (WEIGHTED PERCENTAGES)

	Gender		Education (diploma)			Legal status		Country		
	Males	Females	No/ Prim.	Sec.	Higher	No residence permit	Residence permit	Belgium	UK	Total
Occupational status (total population)										
Employed	53.9	45.1	43.9	40.4	55.8	15.1	53.6	52.7	44.3	49.0
Unemployed	16.3	12.3	15.4	16.4	12.2	25.7	12.9	12.2	16.4	14.1
Student	20.1	13.9	13.1	14.4	19.3	24.8	16.2	14.9	19.2	16.8
Inactive	9.7	28.7	26.8	28.8	12.7	34.4	17.3	20.2	20.1	20.1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	228	199	66	123	238	42	378	278	149	
P-value (chi2)	<0.01	***	0.01	***		<0.01	***	0.37	n.s.	
Employment status (active population)										
Unemployed	23.2	21.5	25.9	28.9	18.0	(63.1)	19.3	18.8	27.1	22.4
Employed	76.8	78.5	74.1	71.1	82.0	(36.9)	80.7	81.2	72.9	77.6
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	159	119	40	73	165	16	258	182	96	278
P-value (chi2)	0.75	n.s.	0.19	Ns		<0.01	***	0.13	n.s.	
Employment sector (working population)										
Agriculture	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	(0.0)	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Industry and construction	12.3	1.4	13.0	8.8	4.2	(6.3)	6.9	4.4	10.7	6.8
Trade and services	41.1	68.3	80.8	72.1	40.1	(63.7)	54.6	55.4	54.0	54.9
Other	46.6	30.3	6.2	19.1	55.7	(30.0)	38.5	40.2	35.3	38.3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	120	90	28	50	132	6	201	143	67	210
P-value (chi2)	<0.01	***	<0.01	***		0.84	n.s.	0.26	n.s.	
Level of occupation (working population)										
Elementary	47.0	68.0	89.0	79.3	39.4	(70.0)	57.3	56.7	59.2	57.6
Intermediate	18.5	10.8	4.8	10.7	18.9	(0.0)	15.3	15.2	13.7	14.6
Higher	34.5	21.2	6.2	10.0	41.7	(30.0)	27.3	28.1	27.1	27.8
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100		100	100	100
N	120	90	28	50	132	6	201	143	67	210
P-value (chi2)	0.02	***	<0.01	***		0.59	n.s.	0.93	n.s.	
Type of employment (working population)										
Dependant worker	81.1	92.8	89.6	86.2	86.9	(67.5)	87.9	87.9	85.9	87.2
Self-employed	18.9	7.2	10.4	13.8	13.1	(32.5)	12.1	12.1	14.1	12.8
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	118	90	26	49	133	6	199	142	66	208
P-value (chi2)	0.02	***	0.91	ns		0.16	n.s.	0.69	n.s.	
Mean ISEI score (working population)	45.0	36.7	28.9	36.3	46.1	(37.4)	41.0	42.1	39.4	40.9
N	118	79	25	45	127	6	177	131	66	194
P value (F test)	<0.01	***	<0.01	***		0.57	n.s.	0.25	n.s.	
Weighted percentages.										

TABLE ANNEX 2. COMPARISON OF LAST OCCUPATIONAL STATUS IN AFRICA BEFORE FIRST MIGRATION AND THE FIRST OCCUPATIONAL STATUS IN EUROPE (%), BY GENDER (MIGRANTS IN ANY OF THE TWO COUNTRIES : UK AND BELGIUM) (WEIGHTED PERCENTAGES)

<table>
<tr><td rowspan="20">Last status in Africa</td><td></td><td colspan="7">First status in Europe</td></tr>
<tr><td><i>Men</i></td><td>Elementary</td><td>Intermediate/High</td><td>Unemployed</td><td>Inactive</td><td>Students</td><td><i>Total</i></td><td>N</td></tr>
<tr><td>Elementary</td><td>18,9</td><td>1,1</td><td>30,9</td><td>29</td><td>20.0</td><td><i>100</i></td><td>45</td></tr>
<tr><td>Intermediate/High</td><td>6,8</td><td>13,8</td><td>14,7</td><td>9,7</td><td>55.0</td><td><i>100</i></td><td>87</td></tr>
<tr><td>Unemployed</td><td>14,7</td><td>0</td><td>39,1</td><td>3,1</td><td>43,1</td><td><i>100</i></td><td>16</td></tr>
<tr><td>Inactive</td><td>0</td><td>0</td><td>0</td><td>64,7</td><td>35,3</td><td><i>100</i></td><td>8</td></tr>
<tr><td>Students</td><td>4</td><td>3,1</td><td>13,3</td><td>14,2</td><td>65,4</td><td><i>100</i></td><td>64</td></tr>
<tr><td><i>All</i></td><td>9,4</td><td>6,1</td><td>20.0</td><td>16,5</td><td>48.0</td><td><i>100</i></td><td>220</td></tr>
<tr><td><i>Women</i></td><td>Elementary</td><td>Intermediate/High</td><td>Unemployed</td><td>Inactive</td><td>Students</td><td><i>Total</i></td><td>N</td></tr>
<tr><td>Elementary</td><td>11,3</td><td>0</td><td>5,7</td><td>51,6</td><td>31,4</td><td><i>100</i></td><td>26</td></tr>
<tr><td>Intermediate/High</td><td>8,5</td><td>10,7</td><td>13,7</td><td>30,7</td><td>36,4</td><td><i>100</i></td><td>62</td></tr>
<tr><td>Unemployed</td><td>6</td><td>0</td><td>53,4</td><td>17,4</td><td>23,3</td><td><i>100</i></td><td>25</td></tr>
<tr><td>Inactive</td><td>4,7</td><td>0</td><td>8,8</td><td>59,5</td><td>27,1</td><td><i>100</i></td><td>42</td></tr>
<tr><td>Students</td><td>7,4</td><td>0</td><td>2,9</td><td>26,6</td><td>63,1</td><td><i>100</i></td><td>42</td></tr>
<tr><td><i>All</i></td><td>7,5</td><td>3,1</td><td>15,2</td><td>36,5</td><td>37,6</td><td><i>100</i></td><td>197</td></tr>
<tr><td><i>All</i></td><td>Elementary</td><td>Intermediate/High</td><td>Unemployed</td><td>Inactive</td><td>Students</td><td><i>Total</i></td><td>N</td></tr>
<tr><td>Elementary</td><td>15,5</td><td>0,6</td><td>19,8</td><td>39,1</td><td>25,1</td><td><i>100</i></td><td>71</td></tr>
<tr><td>Intermediate/High</td><td>7,6</td><td>12,2</td><td>14,2</td><td>20,3</td><td>45,6</td><td><i>100</i></td><td>150</td></tr>
<tr><td>Unemployed</td><td>9</td><td>0</td><td>48,5</td><td>12,5</td><td>30,1</td><td><i>100</i></td><td>41</td></tr>
<tr><td>Inactive</td><td>4,1</td><td>0</td><td>7,8</td><td>60,1</td><td>28.0</td><td><i>100</i></td><td>50</td></tr>
<tr><td>Students</td><td>5,7</td><td>1,5</td><td>8</td><td>20,5</td><td>64,3</td><td><i>100</i></td><td>106</td></tr>
<tr><td><i>All</i></td><td>8,3</td><td>4,4</td><td>17,3</td><td>27,8</td><td>42,2</td><td><i>100</i></td><td>418</td></tr>
</table>

Reading of the table. The percentages in columns in indicate the distribution by occupational status the first year in Europe according to the occupational status the last year in Africa. For instance, 18,9.3% of men who had an elementary job in their last year in Africa had an elementary job their first year in Europe

TABLE ANNEX 3. COMPARISON OF FIRST OCCUPATIONAL STATUS IN EUROPE AND THE OCCUPATIONAL STATUS AT SURVEY TIME (%), BY GENDER (MIGRANTS IN ANY OF THE TWO COUNTRIES : UK AND BELGIUM) (WEIGHTED PERCENTAGES)

First status in Europe		Status at survey time						
	Men	Elementary	Intermediate/High	Unemployed	Inactive	Students	*Total*	*N*
	Elementary	62,7	19,1	12,3	3,1	2,8	*100*	19
	Intermediate/High	0	67,3	22,9	5,1	4,7	*100*	17
	Unemployed	38,5	18,4	20,1	0	23	*100*	36
	Inactive	24,4	19,2	14,3	39,4	2,9	*100*	40
	Students	13,7	32,4	16,1	6,9	30,9	*100*	112
	All	24,5	28,2	16,7	9,9	20,7	*100*	224
	Women	Elementary	Intermediate/High	Unemployed	Inactive	Students	*Total*	*N*
	Elementary	46,3	11,6	20,7	12,4	8,9	*100*	15
	Intermediate/High	9,1	46,2	20,5	24,3	0	*100*	10
	Unemployed	39,4	5,8	41,8	4,4	8,6	*100*	30
	Inactive	29,6	13,3	2,1	49	6,1	*100*	71
	Students	26,2	16,7	8,3	22,2	26,6	*100*	69
	All	30,5	14,3	12,5	28,5	14,2	*100*	195
	All	Elementary	Intermediate/High	Unemployed	Inactive	Students	*Total*	*N*
	Elementary	54,7	15,5	16,4	7,7	5,8	*100*	34
	Intermediate/High	3,6	59	22	12,6	2,8	*100*	27
	Unemployed	39	12,4	30,4	2,1	16,2	*100*	66
	Inactive	28,2	14,8	5,2	46,5	5,3	*100*	111
	Students	19,9	24,7	12,3	14,4	28,8	*100*	181
	All	27,8	20,5	14,4	20,2	17,1	*100*	419

Reading of the table. The percentages in rows indicate the distribution by occupational status at the time of the survey in Europe according to the occupational status the first year in Europe. For instance, 62,7.1% of men who had an elementary job their first year in Europe have an elementary job at the time of the survey

	Remittances	Assets (mean number)	Association	N
Gender				
Males	0,62	0,74	0,16	228
Females	0,66	0,42	0,17	199
Chi2 (p- value)	0.37 (s.s.)	<0.01 (***)	0.88 (n.s)	
Occupational Status				
Employed	0,72	0,55	0,18	214
Unemployed	0,61	0,49	0,15	65
Student	0,68	0,64	0,15	67
Inactive	0,46	0,59	0,14	81
Chi2(p- value)	<0.01 (***)	0.92 (n.s.)	0.87 (n.s.)	
Type of employment (working population)				
Dependant worker	0,71	0,53	0,17	173
Self-employed	0,75	0,85	0,35	35
Chi2(p- value)	0.66 (s.s.)	0.13 (n.s.)	0.02 (**)	
Country				
Belgium	0,67	0,61	0,20	278
United Kingdom	0,61	0,51	0,13	149
Chi2(p- value)	0.23 (n.s.)	0.33 (n.s.)	0.05 (*)	
Education				
No/Primary	0.48	0.35	0.04	66
Secondary	0.69	0.52	0.20	123
Higher	0.67	0.65	0.18	238
Chi2(p- value)	<0.01 (***)	0.09 (*)	0.01 (**)	
Legal status				
No residence permit	0,34	0,32	0,08	42
Residence permit	0,68	0,59	0,18	377
Chi2(p- value)	<0.01 (***)	0.09 (*)	0.11 (n.s.)	
Total	0,64	0,56	0,17	419

TABLE ANNEX 5. SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF RETURNEES FROM EUROPE AND NON-RETURNEES IN DR CONGO AT THE TIME OF THE SURVEY (WEIGHTED PERCENTAGES)

	Returnees from Europe	Non returnees (from Europe)
Sex		
Males	65.1	42.9
Females	34.9	57.10
Total	100.0	100.0
Level of education		
No/primary	20.6	45.9
Secondary	13.3	36.9
Higher	66.1	17.2
	100.0	100.0
Age		
25-34	3.0	36.8
35-44	24.0	30.4
45-64	73.0	32.8
Total	100.0	100.0
Country before return		
Belgium	37.4	-
France	23.5	-
United kingdom	16.0	
Switzerland	11.6	
Germany	9.8	-
Spain	1.2	
Greece	0.6	-
Total	100.0	
Legal status before return		
Documented	1.6	-
Undocumented	98.4	-
Years in Europe		
Less than 5 years	59.4	-
5-9 years	17.9	-
10 years and over	22.7	-
Motives of return		
Family reasons	32.7	
Work	28.3	
Studies	21.5	
Difficul living conditions	11.5	
Administrative reaons	2.9	
Investment	3.1	
Others	32.7	
Missing	28.3	
N	47	1591

TABLE ANNEX 6. OCCUPATIONAL STATUS OF RETURNEES FROM EUROPE AT FOUR POINTS IN TIME IN THEIR MIGRATORY LIFE (WEIGHTED PERCENTAGES)

	Last year in Africa before leaving	Last in Europe before Returning	First in DR Congo after return	At survey time in DR Congo
Occupational status (total population)				
Elementary	7.52	4.93	10.60	12.75
Intermediate-High	52.83	12.26	57.22	58.76
Unemployed	8.59	21.96	12.92	7.98
Inactive	2.85	10.30	5.00	19.65
Student	28.20	50.54	14.26	0.86
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
N	40	43	45	46
Employment status (active population)				
Unemployed	12.46	54.03	16.01	9.89
Employed	87.54	45.97	83.99	90.11
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
N	20	12	28	36
Employment sector (working population)				
Agriculture	0.63	9.81	0.50	1.73
Industry and construction	4.55		2.54	
Trade and services	8.69	23.33	17.51	26.28
Other	86.13	66.86	79.46	72.00
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
N	20	12	28	36
Type of employment (working population)				
Dependant worker	97.36	100.00	97.72	84.73
Self-employed	2.64		2.28	15.27
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
N	20	12	28	36
Mean ISEI score (working population)	58.4	41.8	60.8	58.3
N	20	12	28	36

TABLE ANNEX 7. SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF RETURNEES FROM EUROPE AND NON-RETURNEES IN DR CONGO AT THE TIME OF THE SURVEY (WEIGHTED PERCENTAGES)

	Returnees from Europe	Non returnees (from Europe)
Sex		
Males	65.1	42.9
Females	34.9	57.1
Total	100.0	100.0
Level of education		
No/primary	20.6	45.9
Secondary	13.3	36.9
Higher	66.1	17.2
	100.0	100.0
Age		
25-34	3.0	36.8
35-44	24.0	30.4
45-64	73.0	32.8
Total	100.0	100.0
Country before return		
Belgium	37.4	-
France	23.5	-
United Kingdom	16.0	
Switzerland	11.6	
Germany	9.8	-
Spain	1.2	
Greece	0.6	-
Total	100.0	
Legal status before return		
Documented	1.6	-
Undocumented	98.4	-
Years in Europe		
Less than 5 years	59.4	-
5-9 years	17.9	-
10 years and over	22.7	-
Motives of return		
Family reasons	32.7	
Work	28.3	
Studies	21.5	
Difficul living conditions	11.5	
Administrative reasons	2.9	
Investment	3.1	
Others		
Missing		
N	47	1591