



Return of the Mughtaribeen:

The Role of High Skilled Return Migrants in Human Capital Transfer and Capacity Development in Khartoum

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List of Abbreviations

- CPA: Comprehensive Peace Agreement
- GDP: Gross Domestic Product
- ILO: International Labour Organization
- IOM: International Organization for Migration
- NELM: New Economics of Labor Migration
- NPC: National Population Council
- SPaKTEN: Sudanese Partnership for Transfer of Knowledge by Expatriates Nationals
- SSWA: Secretariat of Sudanese Working Abroad
- TOKTEN: Transfer of Knowledge through Expatriate Nationals
- TRQN: Temporary Return of Qualified Nationals
- UNDP: United National Development Programme
- UNESCO: United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization

Abstract

Since the last two decades there has been a rising acknowledgment in the strong link between migration and development. This migration-development nexus argues that migrants play a role in the development of the country of origin. Return migration with its human capital implications is one of the most commonly cited benefits of migration for the sending countries. Previous research indicated that highly qualified migrants are more likely to return, act as agents of change and reverse the negative effects of brain drain. The aim of this research is to assess how highly skilled Sudanese return migrants contribute to knowledge transfer and capacity development on organizational level and the factors facilitating and impeding knowledge flows. To address this various professional active highly skilled return migrants including second-generation returnees are interviewed. Results revealed that returnees acquire both tacit and explicit knowledge in the host country and employ several methods to transfer that knowledge in the workplace upon return, but many experience factors that facilitate and hinder their endeavors. It can be concluded that returned highly skilled migrants have a high potential for capacity development on organizational level. Yet, the impact of highly skilled return migration on capacity development would certainly be substantially larger if more favorable conditions were in place.

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1. Introduction

Migration has become a central feature of social life (Bagnoli, 2007). Since the last two decades there has been a rising acknowledgment in the strong link between migration and development. This migration-development nexus, in which it is believed that migrants play a role in the development of their home country, has increasingly been one of the hot topics discussed in the global arena. The major reason for the interest comes from the evidence, demonstrating that migrants maintain social, political and economic ties with their countries of origin (see Vertovec, 2004; Basch, Glick Schiller and Blanc, 1994, among others). The focus of interest has mainly been on economic ties. Remittances are seen as an important inflow. The amount of remittances sent to developing countries exceeds many forms of foreign investments (Neagu, 2009). However, other forms of assistance and influences, such as “increased participation of migrant organizations in the development of their countries of origin, technology transfer, diaspora philanthropy, tourism, political contributions, and more intangible flows of knowledge, new attitudes, and cultural influence”, are starting to gain more importance (Newland and Patrick, 2004:2).

International migration is considered to be both a blessing and a curse for development in migrant sending and receiving countries and communities. The scholarly and policy debates on migration-development nexus have evolved through the years. The last years represent the transnational turn, which emphasize the optimistic view and developmental potential of migration. One reason for that renewed optimism, lies on the role of return migration whether permanent or temporary. The impact of return migration on development in countries of origin has been contested. The emphasis has been on the potential positive consequences of return and circular migration of diaspora such as the transfer of money, social capital and skills. The inflow of human, financial and social capital can contribute to improving the quality of life and promoting socio-economic development in the country of origin (Åkesson, 2011).

This potential hasn't gone unnoticed. In recent decades several programs such as Transfer of Knowledge through Expatriate Nationals (TOKTEN) of United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and Temporary Return of Qualified Nationals (TRQN) of International Organization for Migration (IOM) that focus on diaspora knowledge transfer have been developed. The implementation occurred in various countries including Sudan. After

realizing the potential, the government of Sudan instructed the Secretariat of Sudanese Working Abroad (SSWA) to develop a similar program “Sudanese Partnership for Transfer of Knowledge by Expatriates Nationals” (SPaKTEN) to benefit from the diaspora and the skills and knowledge they bring to Sudan. These programs highlight the role of migrants especially highly qualified ones in transferring knowledge and competences through short-term assignments in their country of origin. Advocates of circular migration argue that increased mobility among highly qualified migrants will foster knowledge transfer (Faist, 2008). Thus, those programs of temporary return represent excellent ways of allowing diaspora members to contribute their expertise to the benefit of their countries of origin.

This is very much needed considering that some of the well skilled Sudanese professionals choose to migrate and work abroad. Figure 1 presents a whole page of local newspaper, hammering on the scale of migration by university lecturers leading to severe gaps in education in Sudan. Higher education in Sudan is suffering from the high scale emigration of university lecturers. This results in a severe shortage in the number of lecturers. In 2012, 4809 lecturers left the country, 3099 of them are holding a PhD degree. Furthermore, from



the 43 lecturers sponsored by “Future University” to obtain a PhD abroad only 6 returned to Sudan. The main reason stressed in the newspaper relates to the low wages given in Sudanese universities.

Figure 1: Newspaper dated 5 August 2015

It is argued that successful return of migrants to their country of origin has

helped improve the human, financial, and social capital of these countries, thereby contributing to development (Naicker, et al, 2009). While some empirical evidence from Ghana and other African countries is accumulated, less is known about the developmental impact of return migration in Sudan. There is thus a need to understand the factors influencing the decision to return, the possible human and social capital transfer as well as the professional and personal constraints migrants face upon return and the factors that hamper and enable human and social capital transfer.

IOM (2011) estimates that around 1.2 to 2.7 million Sudanese live abroad, that is between 3.5 and 7.9 percent of the total population. The exact number of return migrants in Sudan is

unknown, but the number of return migrants is expected to be higher now, due to the peace negotiations held in 2005, that have led to the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) and the end of the long conflict between North and South. The return of stability and the opening to a global economy following the signing of CPA have created favorable conditions for economic and social recovery in whole Sudan. (IOM, 2011).

The purpose of this research is to contribute in filling the existing gap in the academic literature and to explore how the acquired human and social capital of highly skilled Sudanese migrants who have worked or studied abroad can contribute to capacity development. The overarching question of this thesis is whether knowledge that migrants acquire abroad can be transferred to the homeland after return, with particular attention given to the factors that influence knowledge transfer in the workplace. Thus, the research question that is central to this study is: *“What is the role of highly skilled Sudanese return migrants in Khartoum in transferring human capital and what effects does this have on capacity development on organizational level?”*

The thesis first presents the theoretical frame of reference and the way different studies examine the historical views between the link of migration and development. Followed by the literature on highly skilled migration, and the link between development and the types of return including permanent and temporary return. Furthermore, human capital and transfer of it is reviewed. Chapter three gives the reader the necessary background information on Sudan, including its socio-demographic and economic context and migration profile. In Chapter four, the research outlines, the used methodologies, data collection and analysis are presented, and challenges and research limitations are acknowledged. Chapter five presents the migrants' characteristics including the migration and return motives based on field data in order to provide a profile of Sudanese return migrants in this research. Chapter six then goes into detail on the human capital acquired during emigration period and the transfer upon return. Moreover, factors that enable and hinder knowledge transfer in organizations are presented. Chapter seven discusses the research findings and evaluates those with prior findings from other research, discusses the returnee's contributions to capacity development and suggests further research topics and policy considerations. In Chapter eight the conclusion of the research is given and the main research question is answered.

2. Theoretical Framework

In the last few years international migration topics have gathered an unprecedented attention in the international agenda. Baubock (2012) claims that international migration is not merely cross border practices, but that it generates foreign citizens inside and expatriate population outside their nation state. According to Benson and O'Reilly (2009), migration has grown as a result of very specific historical and material conditions, particularly globalization, increased mobility, flexibility, and increased relative wealth.

International migration can be compared to a double-edged sword, positive and negative for development in migrant sending and receiving communities and countries. These positive effects for development of sending countries include return migration. Diaspora members in general and specifically highly skilled who are more inclined to migrate, generally lead to severe skills deficiency in countries of origin (Brandi, 2003). Upon return, those diaspora members are able to make a unique contribution to their country of origin.

2.1 Migration-development Nexus Historical Perspective

The relationship between migration and development is highly complex, as both change across time and can be studied from different perspectives. Early migration optimists were of the opinion that migration benefits both sending countries and the receiving countries, by developing the sending countries and filling the labor gaps in the receiving country. Sending countries were expected to follow the same pathway of the receiving countries of industrialization and modernization (Faist, 2008). Furthermore, the decision to migrate was also linked to neoclassical economic theory in which migrants' motives were explained in terms of questions of supply and demand, rational choice and utility maximization, other migration motivations involving families as well as wider social structures tended to be disregarded (De Haas, 2010). Individuals only migrate if the possible gains from the investment in migration are greater than the possible costs. These gains and costs can be monetary and non-monetary. Possible gains as argued by Constant and Massey (2003) include wage and quality of life, whereas the costs may include leaving a steady job and income, leaving a familiar environment and adjusting to a new one. The role of transfer of human capital, return migration and financial remittances were the main themes of development and economic growth was the key indicator of development according to be dominant views of the 1950s and 1960s (De Haas, 2010).

In the 1970s and 1980s the optimistic view on migration switched to pessimism. Concerns on the impact of remittances on the economic growth arose. According to Lipton (1980), remittances are consumed by the receiving communities or households in the country of origin on non-productive enterprises and conspicuous consumption, such as food products and luxurious and import commodities, rather than on enduring investments that can lay a foundation to sustained economic growth. Moreover, remittances would increase dependency and inequality in households and regions, and that will eventually lead to more emigration. Emigration was perceived as a sign of underdevelopment and outmigration of qualified workforce, this so called brain drain was particularly criticized (Baldwin, 1970).

The present enthusiasm for the development potential of migration started in the early 1990s with the transnational turn, “New Economics of Labor Migration” (NELM) and livelihood approach, and links back to the optimism of the developmentalist and neoliberals. Unlike the neoclassical theory in which individuals’ decision is central, NELM and livelihood approach stress the household as the main unit of decision making. Migration is strategy to improve livelihoods by minimizing income risk, increase household income through remittances and overcome social, economic and institutional constraints (De Haas, 2008). However, these economic based theories are criticized, as people migrate for various reasons, which are not economic, such as family reunion or the opportunity to experience different lifestyle (Castles and Miller, 2009). In the transnational turn the decision to migrate is described through push and pull factors from the sending and receiving countries. Push factors refer to events in the sending county that can motivate individuals to migrant and pull factors describe factors of the receiving countries that attract migrants to that country (Dovlo, 2004). With this renewed optimism the focus is now placed on the transfer of financial remittances and knowledge and skills, the role of diaspora networks and involvement, and different types of migration flows such as return, temporary and circular migration (De Haas, 2010).

Until the early 1990s, migration research predominantly studied issues of the country of origin and country of settlement separately, but with the transnational turn migrants’ connections in the host and home country is examined simultaneous. With that transnationalism and diaspora have become central themes in migration literature (Vertovec, 2004). The term diaspora refers to a social community produced as result of movement of individuals or groups from one place to another (Timothy, 2002) and in which people define

themselves by referencing to the homeland instead of the place of residence (Barber, 2001). Transnationalism, which is closely related to diaspora, refers to migrants who maintain social, economic and cultural linkages with the homeland (Basch et al., 1994; Safran, 2004). Vertovec (2004), suggests that with transnationalism shifts have occurred that impact old values, norms and ideas on family practices, dual nationality and homeland politics in diaspora and the nation states. He argues that those shifts can be noticed on socio-cultural, political and economic domain. Over the past decades, the concepts of diaspora and transnationalism have served as a way to indicate some of the processes of international migration.

In contrast to the classical assimilation theory of the 1970's, in which migrants either completely assimilate to the culture of the receiving country or, having failed assimilation, eventually return to their home country, transnationalism stands for a continuous “flows of people, goods, money, and ideas that transgress the national boundaries and thereby connect different physical, social, economic, and political space” (Mazzucato, 2004:131). The life of diaspora is characterized by circulation and simultaneous commitment to two or more societies. Thus, migrants can be integrated in their country of residence while at the same time participate in various social, economic or political activities in their country of origin. Moreover, transnationalism enables social connections that go beyond one place, it also allows the possibility of creating new perspectives on identity, culture and belonging (Vertovec and Cohen, 2002). Therefore, the country of origin might not be considered “the” or “only” home country anymore. These transnational ties are enabled by improvements in communication techniques and decreasing transport costs (De Haas, 2010).

By exploring those ties and interaction, the transnational perspective on migration moves beyond the dichotomies between country origin and settlement and between ‘temporary’, ‘permanent’ and ‘return’ migration as the lives of migrants are characterized by circulation and simultaneous commitment to two or more societies (Faist, 2008).

2.2 High Skilled Migration

The emigration of highly skilled persons has been a recurring theme in the migration-development nexus, whether it was criticized for the loss of qualified individuals (brain drain) or praised for the possible human capital transfer (brain gain). For the purpose of this research, the most common term of highly skilled migrants is used which includes all tertiary

educated migrants including second-generation migrants (see Assal, 2010; Lowell and Findlay, 2001). Despite the fact that, migrants who work in unskilled positions in the receiving country also acquire knowledge and experience (Tung and Lazarova, 2006), the literature has been focused on high skilled migrants. It is argued that this type of migration is depleting the human capital resource of the sending countries (Lowell and Findlay, 2001; Ammassari and Black, 2001). In the past decades, emigration of the highly skilled from developing countries to developed countries has increased in number and significance (King, 2002). According to Lowell and Findlay (2001), this increase is related to the growing demand in developing countries for high skilled individuals and the attractive factors such as better wages, employment conditions and education opportunities encouraging skilled individuals to migrate. Brain drain, the migration of the more educated and skilled individuals, is usually criticized for its negative outcomes and adverse effects for the national economy. Brandi (2003) has found out that highly educated individuals are more prone to migrate. If this is the case then sending countries will experience brain drain. However, migration of skilled individuals does not automatically lead to a loss of human capital for the sending countries, it might have a positive consequences for the migrant and their family through remittance and better living conditions and standards (Ammassari and Black, 2001). Moreover, brain drain can be reversed by brain gain, in which migrants increase their knowledge, expertise and skills and social capital, which in terms might be beneficial for sending countries through return and transfer of human, social and financial capital.

Highly skilled migrants in contrast to unskilled migrants have a higher probability in obtaining high positions of responsibility and authority in the workforce upon return, and can therefore have more control over development in the workforce also on larger scale (Ammassari and Black, 2001). Whether sending countries are able to optimally enjoy this brain gain, however, largely depends on the return of highly qualified migrants. Return migration of high skilled can contribute to the reverse of the negative effects of brain drain. Previous literature has mainly focused on first generation returnees. Even though interest to extend to second-generation returnees and their contribution to their parent's homeland has risen. In a study on highly skilled return migration of second-generation British-Poles, Górný and Osipovi (2006) revealed that many contribute in improving Poland's economy, thus realizing their ideological reason of return. Thomas-Hope (1999) argues that qualified migrants are more likely to return and act as agents of change. High skilled return migrants have a high potential to impact regional development in a positive manner.

2.3 Types of Return Migration

Migration is rarely only one way, migrants often return to the home country after a certain period of time abroad. Return is thus another part of the migration process. Attention focused on return migration and its consequences for the home country has so far been limited, yet there is little agreement regarding its impact.

2.3.1 Return Migration

According to Cassarion (2004), return migration as defined by transnationalist is a part of a circular system of social and economic relationships and exchanges that enable and ease the reintegration of migrants. This is because they maintain contact which grants them membership and provides knowledge and information. The motives for return can be manifold. In terms of theory, for neoliberals return results from an inability to achieve high earnings and to integrate in the host society. For NELM, return to the home country is classified as a “success since it symbolizes the realization of a pre-decided income or skills target” (Cassarino, 2004: 256). Cerase (1974), has established four categories of motives: return of conservatism, return of failure, return of retirement and return of innovation (Table 1). The last group which mainly comprises of highly skilled is the most interesting to development practitioners, as it is believed that the knowledge, expertise and savings gathered abroad will turn them into “carriers of change” upon return.

Table 1: Categories of return migration

Return of conservatism	Only motive is to earn enough money to satisfy personal and familial needs. Don't aim at changing the social context, but help preserve it
Return of failure	Failure to integrate in host society, failure to find the job necessary to survive and send back remittances
Return of retirement	Terminated working lives and go back to the home country to retire comfortably
Return of innovation	Motive to achieve goals in home country that offers them greater opportunities to satisfy their expectations. Bring back new ideas and values and are ready to apply skills acquired abroad to the home context

Source: Cerase (1974: 249-258)

Cerase's categories do not reflect on changing understanding of migration, and categories of migrants. Although still relevant for some return migrants, there are many additional reasons why people return, from social and family related reason such wanting to be close to family

or wanting to start a family to political reasons. Return motives consist of various economic, social and family-related, as well as political reasons (King, 2000). Studies show that social and family-related reasons are of particular importance (Ammassari and Black, 2001). Return migration is guided by both the opportunities that migrants expect to find in their origin countries and the ones offered in the host countries (Cassarino, 2004). Thus return migration is not solely based only immediate and future circumstances in the host country, but also on expected future situation in the home country. Just as the decision to migrate is based on push and pull factors, the decision to return is likewise grounded on factors pushing them from the receiving country and pulling them to the sending country. According to Cassarino (2004), return migration occurs when migrants have gathered enough financial resources to support a household or when conditions in the home country are favorable. Those conditions can vary from improvement in living conditions, better governance to a positive change in income difference between the host and home country. Besides political and economic conditions, maintaining social ties are deemed to be crucial to motivate the return. In order to do that, returnees develop strategies aimed at maintaining cross-border mobility and linkages by travelling back and forth (Graeme, 2003). According to Gent and Black (2005) sustainable return consists of migrants who return to their country of origin and don't re-emigrate. On the other hand Black and King (2004) stress that sustainable return is linked with transnationalism, in which these linkages by travelling back and forth is only natural.

In the context of globalization, sending and receiving countries are linked together in transnational spaces created by migrants (Portes, 1999). Globalization has eased migration flows, led to advances in information system, transportation channels and communication technology. This in turn increased interaction between migrants and their countries of origin, making them more aware of conditions back home and allowing them to increasingly contribute to development in their countries of origin.

2.3.2 Circular Migration

Return has a social and historical background and is not necessarily permanent, but can also be temporary such as circular migration. Circular migration involves usually short-term repetitive or cyclical movement between two or more locations (King, 1986). Zelinsky (1971), adds that those different types of movements commonly lack any clear intention of a permanent or long-lasting return and stay in one locality. Circular migration benefits both receiving countries by facilitating labor market needs, and sending country by reducing

unemployment, increasing remittance flows and gaining access to skilled nationals who live abroad (Newland, 2009). Moreover, Newland argues that circular migration allows migrants to maintain significant ties in both countries and maximize the capabilities of themselves and their families by the ability to move back and forth between home and host country. Migrants with secure residential status in both countries are best able to pursue this kind of transnational life compared to migrants who cannot move freely, because the first group circulate without the fear of losing status in either country (Newland, 2009:2).

Critics of current governmental policies on circular migration, on the other hand, argue that the degree to which these programs support capability building and enable or hinder is not as straightforward and can vary widely. The conditions of the programs often restrict workers rights and entitlements, which may steer circular migrants in to entry level or basic-skills positions (Newland, 2009). Thus, those programs arguably reflect on the desire of destination countries to ‘bring in labour but not people’ (Wickramasekara 2011; 85–86).

Transnationalism plays an important role in global upsurge of circular migration. Portes (1999), points out that immigrants live in transnational fields in which they engage in a pattern of repeated movement across national borders in search of economic advantage and political voice. Modern forms of transport have greatly reduced the relative distance between countries and thus eased the cyclical movement (Graeme, 2003). It is important to acknowledge that return migration and temporary migration are not dichotomous. Balaz, Williams and Kollar (2004) point out that circular or temporary migration can lead to permanent migration further along the migration cycle. Circular migration enables information flows to potential permanent return migrants, which reduce the risk perception of returning permanently.

2.4 Return Migration and Development

Development implications of return migration have so far focused on two major lines: human capital implications in which high skilled migrants can transfer knowledge and skills to the country of origin, and financial capital implications in the form of savings gathered while working abroad (Ammassari and Black, 2001). But the linkage between migration and development goes further beyond financial and human capital. Social capital, a third form of capital transfer is also of great importance. It is vital to examine all three forms of capital transfer to gain a holistic understanding of the migration-development nexus. (Ammassari and Black, 2001).

2.4.1 Financial Capital

Most attention has been placed on the economic benefits of migration, such as the remittances sent by migrants while they are abroad. However upon return, the main types of financial capital become savings accumulated abroad and pensions transferred from the receiving country through social security agreements. According to Ammassari and Black (2001) significant amounts are transferred by migrants upon their return, as migrants usually earn substantially more in the receiving country and try to minimize spending. Savings are largely spent on supporting family, investing in business, constructing a house or purchasing a plot of land (Gmelch, 1980). While some scholars have emphasized the positive implications of financial capital, others have argued that the impact of financial capital in form of savings generally is insignificant and sometimes even negative (Ammassari and Black, 2001). King (1986) and Gmelch (1980), claim that returnee's savings are mainly spent in conspicuous consumption to raise the status and comfort of the migrants and their family, and that for that reason the development impact of those savings is very limited. Russell (1992) on the other hand, argues that this allegedly conspicuous consumption can have positive developmental impacts as expenditures on housing, consumption, and services may create employment and reduce the need for government expenditure in these areas.

2.4.2 Human Capital

Return migration with its human capital implications is one of the most commonly cited benefits of migration for the home country. When migrants return to their country of origin, brain drain in which (highly) skilled people migrate from the country, gets reversed (De Haas, 2008). Migrants often acquire valuable training and work experience when they study or work in more developed countries (Castles, 2009). Return migrants, and highly skilled in particular, are expected to have a positive impact on the development of their country of origin, because they return with new skills, ideas and attitudes. Work of Brydon (1992) and Al-Rasheed (1992), among others, has contradicted this optimistic view. They have shown evidence of deskilling of African and Middle Eastern migrants when migrating to Europe. Therefore, it is argued that many migrants gain very little human capital, because they mainly do unskilled work, which does not teach them sufficient things to gain human capital. It is moreover claimed that even if migrants are able to obtain new skills abroad, few may be able to apply them in practice back home (Castles and Kosack, 1973). Besides new skills and capacities, returnees can also bring innovative ideas and changed attitudes and behaviors (Gmelch, 1980). Recent studies conducted conclude that return migrants, especially highly

skilled migrants, can act as agents of change in some circumstances. Gmelch (1987), found that highly skilled student migrants were more likely to introduce new ideas and techniques they acquired abroad when they return. Moreover, Thomas-Hope (1999) indicates that returnees from North America and Europe gained additional skills and capacities as well as changed the way they were functioning in the workplace. Tung and Lazarova (2006: 1854), state that return migrants “represent a cadre of highly trained and qualified people who have acquired valuable Western-style managerial experience and entrepreneurial skills, and at the same time, possess knowledge of the local market...” Thus returnees can have a positive impact, because they gained valuable human capital abroad, but are still knowledgeable about the local culture and context.

2.4.3 Social Capital

Besides financial and human capital, returnees also carry with them other assets such as social networks and relations of trust. Bourdieu and Wacquant’s (1992) notion of social capital consists of social relations and group memberships as well as the degree to which they can be mobilized to gain access to other resources, such as financial means, jobs and knowledge. Social capital gets acquired when building and fostering interpersonal relations and social ties in varied socio-economic, cultural and political contexts (Ammassari and Black, 2001). Social capital has a “bridging function” (Faist, 2000:201) and it acts as a significant determinant for the transfer of human and financial capital (Klagge and Klein-Hitpaß, 2007). A growing body of research highlights the importance of social capital in returnee’s ability to transfer knowledge. This implies that returnee’s social network structure can enable managing knowledge flows within and across organizational boundaries (Inkpen and Tsang 2005, Dokko and Rosenkopf 2010). Furthermore, social capital is regarded to be important for migration flows of return migrants to a region or country (Hunger, 2000), and for the return migrant’s integration into labor markets (Massey et al., 2002). Social capital has an impact on migration process and on the return process, it is used to transfer and re-transfer other forms of capital, thus affecting both receiving and sending countries (Faist, 1997). The better migrants maintain their social capital in the sending country and establish social capital in the receiving country, the easier it gets for them to decide on different type of return migration such as temporary, permanently and circularly.

The process of return whether it is temporary, permanent or circular represents an inflow of human, financial and social capital to the sending country. The significance of the

implications varies on the level of the analysis whether it is on the individuals, organizations, local or national level. Furthermore, it also depends on return migrant's characteristics, motives for migration and return, and the volume of return migration. As well as degree and direction of selectivity and existing situations in countries involved in migration flows. (Ammassari and Black, 2001). A significant amount of return migrants who fit in Cerase's return of innovation category and who are motivated to impact development in their country of origin can arguably influence development more than other returnees who fit in the return of conservatism category. Thus, whether the sending country benefits from return migration depends on the motivations of returnees, the human, financial and social capital accumulated in the receiving country and on the sending's country ability to make use of those capitals.

2.5 Knowledge and Knowledge Transfer

Migrants are assumed to return with knowledge and skills from abroad, however little research has been conducted in regard whether that knowledge is transferred upon return. Millar and Salt (2007: 26) state that "few studies have examined the role of mobility in achieving knowledge transfer and learning and the management literature has paid scant attention to international migration as a potential transfer mechanism". Knowledge can be divided into two types: explicit or codified and tacit knowledge (Polanyi, 1958). Explicit knowledge is tangible and more easily transferable. It includes codified and documented knowledge expressed in words and numbers. Tacit knowledge is more complex to transfer. Tacit knowledge refers to intuitive and hard to formularize knowledge that is largely based on experience. It is therefore hard to communicate to others, as it is context-dependent and personal (Polanyi, 1966). This distinction between the types of knowledge is problematic, because in practice they are hard to distinguish and are inseparable (Styhre, 2004). "When we can facilitate the communication of some of the tacit dimensions, these become explicit and therefore codifiable" (Evans, 2002: 82). Other authors have called for a refocus on the different types of knowledge that migrants acquire. Evans (2002), has developed the so-called "starfish" model in which he identifies human capital through five basic competences that both have transferable and non-transferable features (Table 2).

Whereas Evans summarizes the competence without making a clear distinction between the transferable and non-transferable features of those competences, Blackler (2002) and Williams (2007) identify four types of tacit knowledge: embrained, embodied, encultured and embedded knowledge, and their transferability. Embrained knowledge is dependent on

conceptual skills and cognitive abilities that enable identification of patterns and reflection.

Table 2: Starfish Model

Content related and practical competences	The willingness to carry out a variety of tasks
Competences related to attitudes and values	Responsibility, reliability and flexibility
Learning competences	Openness to learn by reflecting on experience, and perceptiveness
Social and interpersonal competences	Communication skills, creativity, ability to encourage others and the awareness of other point of views.
Methodological competences	Networking skills or the ability to handle complex tasks through organizational abilities

Source: Evans (2002: 88-89)

Embodied knowledge is action oriented and only partially explicit. It results from experience of physical presence such as learning in doing. Encultured knowledge is the process of achieving shared understanding through socialization and assimilation. The final type of knowledge, embedded knowledge resides in systemic routines, it is set within contextual factors. While embrained and embodied knowledge are transferable, encultured and embedded knowledge place-specific and are therefore hard to transfer or are only partly transferable through migration (Williams, 2007).

The majority of knowledge is tacit, and is usually transferred in informal settings (Truran, 1998). Tacit knowledge and non-specific knowledge is believed to be more valuable for companies than explicit or specific knowledge (Lazarova and Tarique, 2005). Moreover, Lazarova and Tarique (2005) argue that non-specific knowledge can be transferred more easily than specific knowledge and can have a wider application, while specific knowledge is mainly relevant for specific areas of expertise within an organization. Knowledge sharing on organizational level according to Ipe (2003) depends on four factors, the nature of knowledge (tacit or explicit), the culture of the organization (are they open to learn), returnee's motivation to share and on the opportunities provided for sharing.

3. Regional Thematic Framework: Elephants of Khartoum

3.1 Geographic and Demographic Context

Sudan is a country located on the Northeast of Africa, it borders Egypt and Libya on the North, Ethiopia and Eritrea on the East, South Sudan and Central African Republic on the South and Chad on the West (Figure 2). The country has a total area of 1,886,068 square

kilometers. It was once the largest country in Africa, until 2011 when South-Sudan gained its independence. Sudan is now the third largest country in Africa and the sixteenth largest in the



Figure 2: Map of Sudan¹

world. The capital of Sudan, Khartoum is located in the North around the junction of the Blue Nile and White Nile, which resembles the trunk of an elephant. Furthermore the word “Khartoum” is derived from Arabic, which means “elephant’s trunk”. Khartoum is a tripartite metropolis consisting of Khartoum, Khartoum North (also known as Bahri) and Omdurman. Sudan lies within the tropics, but the climate varies from hyper arid in the north to tropical and humid in the south. Temperatures do not vary greatly with the season

at any location; the rainy season however varies by region.

According to the National Population Council (NPC) census of 2008, the population of North, Western and Eastern Sudan was over 30 million. Based on that, the present estimate of the population is 34 million inhabitants, 42% of which are less than 15 years of age and 48% between the age of 15 and 49. This indicates that Sudan has a young population. The male-female ratio of the population is generally balanced, but there is a marked drop in the population pyramid among males in the age group of 25-39 years, which seems to be a result of the high young males migration abroad during the last two decades. (Abdel Ati, 2012).

Furthermore two thirds of Sudanese live in rural areas. Although the official language is Arabic, English is commonly used and more than hundred languages and dialects are spoken in Sudan.¹ According to UNDP² Sudan, the Muslim population is 97%, including numerous Arab and non-Arab groups.

3.2 Economic Context

Sudan is a low-income country, ranked 166th out of 187 countries in the Human Development index (HDI). It has long been beset by conflict. The country is in a critical transition period, one of its principal economic resources comes from crude oil, but due to the separation with South-Sudan the country has lost three-quarters of its oil production. Since then Sudan has struggled to make up for the loss of foreign exchange earnings, as the government was

¹ Maps of world. N.d. *Sudan Facts*. Retrieved 5 May 2015, <http://www.mapsofworld.com/sudan/facts.html>

² UNDP (2013). *About Sudan*. Retrieved 5 May 2015, <http://www.sd.undp.org/content/sudan/en/home/countryinfo.html>

heavily reliant on oil to finance its operations. Figure 3, displays the increase in inflation throughout the years.



Figure 3: Inflation rates 2008-2016³

Moreover, the country’s economy is affected by the economic sanctions imposed by the United States in 1990s over its alleged support for international terrorism. Outside the oil sector, the agriculture sector accounts for most of economic activity and is the biggest employer of the country’s labor force. Cotton and gum Arabic are the two main exports. Sudan is the world’s largest producer and exporter of gum Arabic; it produces over 75% of the world’s total output. Most agricultural production is concentrated in the fertile areas along the Nile River. (CIA, 2015). Sudan's limited industrial production is mostly concentrated around Khartoum. The main seaport, in Port Sudan, handles agricultural exports; it also has an oil refinery and facilities for shipping oil to international markets (Aljazeera, 2012).

Sudan has a GDP of US\$ 70 billion. The Sudanese labor force comprises of approximately 12 million people, 80% of which is active in agriculture, 7% in industry and 3% in service sector. The employment rate is 68% and the highest unemployment is found among youth age 15-24, with 20%. (CIA, 2015). The 2008 estimates from the ILO LABORSTA Database (2010) show a labor force participation rate of 74% for males and 31% for females, marking a reduction in labor force participation for males and some increase for females compared to 1990 (Annex 1). From 2000 to 2008 employment has generally improved for the general population, with the exception of younger people. The level of unemployment is perceived to be very high and young graduates have limited opportunities to start working according to their background. This might act as a major push factor for emigration of young Sudanese, especially to traditional destinations such as the Arab Gulf countries (IOM, 2011).

³ Trading economics , n.d. *Sudan inflation rate*. Retrieved on 10 December 2015, <http://www.tradingeconomics.com/sudan/inflation-cpi>

Ongoing conflicts in parts of Sudan, lack of adequate basic infrastructure in large areas, and reliance by much of the population on subsistence agriculture keep 46.5% of the population below the poverty line. (CIA, 2015).

3.3 Education

In the early 1990s, president Al-Bashir's regime launched a reform to Sudan's higher education system called the Education Revolution. This regime's policies have resulted in an increase of the number of universities from 4 to 24 in a seven-year period (El-Tom, 2007). One central feature of the regime's 'Education Revolution' was the switch from English to Arabic. The total enrollment in primary education in 2012 was 70%. Literacy is above 75%. However the percentage by gender shows a difference 83% of the men are literate compared to 68% of women (Abdel Ati, 2012).

3.4 International Migration to and from Sudan

Sudan has long been affected by conflicts, political instability, economic and environmental degradation that resulted in unsustainable form of livelihood and population displacement. These conditions caused Sudan to become an important emigration, transit and immigration country, both for economic and forced migrants. (IOM, 2011).

3.4.1 Immigration

The immigration flows to Sudan represent an exemplary case of South-South migration, as the immigrant population mainly consists of refugees and irregular migrants coming mostly from neighboring countries. Most the immigrants in Sudan (around 753,000) are from Eritrea, Chad and Ethiopia (World Bank, 2011). These flows decreased by around half in the last 20 years due to voluntary and organized repatriations. Besides refugees and irregular migrants, immigration flows also consist of economic migrants coming from neighboring countries and other countries such as China, India, Philippines and Turkey (IOM, 2011).

3.4.2 Emigration

Sudanese emigration includes both labor and forced migrants. IOM (2011), estimates that around 1.2 to 2.7 million Sudanese migrants live abroad. Migration that crosses international boundaries for economic reasons has long been a feature of livelihood strategies in Sudan (Assal, 2010). Sudan counts around 880,000 to 1,338,000 economic migrants, over half of which are concentrated in Gulf countries and a smaller proportion in Western countries (IOM, 2011). According to the World Bank (2011), the top receiving countries of Sudanese

emigration in 2010 were, in order, Saudi Arabia, Uganda, the Republic of Yemen, Kenya, the United States, Chad, the United Arab Emirates, Australia, Jordan, and Canada.

The history of migration by Sudanese is closely linked to the Gulf countries. This type of economic migration dates back to the 1970s and 1980s, following the oil boom in the Gulf countries and Libya, and the beginning of the deterioration of Sudan's economy (Abusharaf, 2002). Table 3, provides estimates of number of labor migrants in the Gulf countries and Table 4 major occupations of those labor migrants prior to migration. These figures illustrate the lack of data on migrants in general, and in other countries besides the Gulf countries. Most labor migrants move to Saudi-Arabia, which is consistent with previous research. Table 4, shows that a significant number of skilled laborers, engineers, professionals and scientists, managers and directors who fit in the category of highly skilled decide to migrate. Annexes 2 and 3 illustrate a magnified numbers concerning the estimate number of university professors and doctors who migrated to those countries in the same period. It should be noted that estimates for Western countries or other African countries are unrepresented.

Table 3: Labor migration of Sudanese by country 2008-2012

Year	Saudi-Arabia	UAE	Qatar	Kuwait	Oman	Libya	Other	Total	Annual Increase
2008	8903	1088	575	182	60	-	34	10032	0 %
2009	19444	1811	951	322	121	-	73	22722	126.4%
2010	28535	1637	1135	327	139	-	106	31879	40 %
2011	28762	573	722	722	157	-	57	30993	-3 %
2012	86553	1405	1412	1580	341	2741	198	94230	204 %
Total	171387	6514	4795	3133	818	2741	468	189856	0

Source: SSWA (2013)

The majority of Sudanese moving to the Gulf countries were employed as physicians, engineers, and university professors, only a small fraction were believed to hold unskilled occupations (Galaledin, 1988). A new line of destinations arose when the Sudanese government supported Iraq during the Gulf war in 1990. Sudanese expatriates mainly in Kuwait and other Gulf countries were expelled. Moreover, returning to Sudan was for many expatriates not an option, due to increasing social and economic burdens put upon them by the government after the military coup in 1989. Those two factors resulted in migration to other destinations such as the US, Canada, Europe and Australia. While some expatriates migrate on basis of immigration quota policies (lottery system) of the receiving country, some do so on asylum and refugee status. (Assal, 2010)

Table 4: Migration of the Sudanese by major occupations 2008-2012

Profession category	Number of migrants in each category
Managers and directors	265
Professionals and Scientists ⁴	15.606
Engineers/ Technicians	12.487
Clerks and Accountants	654
Sales and Service workers	1325
Agriculture, Animal Husbandry and Hunting	60.838
Plant and Machine operators	17.148
Skilled Laborers ⁵	62.818
Unskilled Laborers	18.415
Total	189.556

Source: SSWA (2013)

The last group of Sudanese emigrants consists of students. Sudanese have traditionally undertaken higher education studies abroad. According to UNESCO (2006), 1.4% (2900) of all Sudanese tertiary students go abroad on a yearly basis to destinations in the West as well as other countries such as Malaysia, Egypt, Uganda, Kenya, India and Pakistan. This type of migration, the pursuit of undergraduate and postgraduate studies abroad, is considered to be one of the preferred routes to emigration of highly skilled Sudanese (IOM, 2011).

3.4.3 Remittance

Remittances play an important role for families and communities of origin of migrants in Sudan. The government of Sudan seems to encourage migration, particularly to the Gulf countries, as international migration is one source of foreign currency (Assal, 2010). From 1995-2008, Sudanese migrants sent a total of USD 1,900 million back to Sudan (IOM, 2011), and in 2012 a total of USD 3,178 million was sent to Sudan (World Bank, 2011). It is difficult to measure the exact volumes of remittances sent to Sudan. Many migrants prefer to send money using informal channels, because they are quicker and cheap, as they don't pay tax or transaction fees on it. Moreover, the lack of financial services in many parts of Sudan makes it hard for migrants to send remittances via formal channels. Therefore, sending money with friends and relatives is perceived as easy and more reliable (Awad, 2007).

⁴ Includes professors, medical doctors and other specialists etc.

⁵ The Secretariat of Sudanese Working Abroad categorizes the category "Skilled laborer" as semi-skilled. According to officials at the SSWA, the overwhelming majority of this category is university graduates. This puts them under highly-skilled migrants who are defined as "persons with tertiary level of education, whether they achieved that level before or after migration." (Assal, 2010)

4. Research Outline

4.1 Research Objective and Questions

Around 1.2 to 2.7 million Sudanese live abroad (IOM, 2011). Research on Sudanese migration and development is very limited to non-existing. Therefore, the main objective of this research is to attempt to contribute to filling the existing gap in the academic literature and to gain insight into the role of return migrants in human capital transfer and the enabling factors and barriers of transfer knowledge, in order to explore the possible organizational capacity development implications of return migrants. The measurement of migration, especially return migration in Sudan is characterized by lack of regular statistical production and inadequate coverage of administrative sources. As a result, focus will be on return migrants working for different companies or institutions in the Metropolitan of Khartoum.

The objective of this study is to gather a holistic picture of return migrants. Who are they and what motivates their return? After obtaining a complete or a near complete picture on return migrants, human capital transfer on organizational level, will be focused on. In order to understand the relationship between return migration, human capital transfer and capacity development the following research question need to answered:

What is the role of highly skilled Sudanese return migrants in Khartoum in transferring human capital and what effects does this have on capacity development on organizational level?

The main research question is explored through the assistance of various sub-questions that provide greater insight on the complexities behind the migration development linkage.

- What are the main characteristics of highly skilled Sudanese return migrants in Khartoum?
- What is the human and social capital of the highly skilled Sudanese return migrants prior to migration and at the moment of returning?
- What are the major motivations for return of the highly skilled Sudanese migrants?
- What human and social capitals are transferred and how are they transferred on organizational level?
- What human and social capital contributes to capacity development on organizational level?
- What factors facilitate or act as barrier to knowledge transfer on organizational level?

4.2 Conceptual Model

The conceptual model presented below (Figure 4) demonstrates the concepts that are central to the research. The model illustrates that both the situation in the host country as well as the situation in the home country, can act as an important factor and motive for migrants to return to the country of origin. Push factors describe factors within the country of settlement that can motivate Sudanese migrants to return and pull factors in the country of origin refer to factors that attract Sudanese migrants. Gmelch (1980) identifies several push and pull factors. As a push factor he describes that migrants may return due to lack of jobs in the country of settlement as a consequence of an economic recession. Discrimination and racial prejudices in the country of settlement are also mentioned to be a push factor. While family ties and homesickness, sick relatives and feelings of loyalty to the country of origin can act as important pull factors. Whereas Gmelch stresses that non-economic motives are more important, McCornick & Wahba (2001) give more relevance to economic aspects. According to them savings behavior, investment in human capital and the existence of relative wage differences between countries are the main motives influencing the decision to return. Nevertheless, external non-economic factors can also play an important role on that decision. Different pull and push factors attract different kind of migrants. Thus, the situation in the country of settlement and in the origin influences the type of return migrants. Different types of return migrants have the potential to make different kinds of contribution to development of their country of origin via the accumulated human capital. The transfer of those capitals to the country of origin and in this case to the current workplace of the return migrants also depends on the situation in the workplace.

Return migrants potentially gain knowledge, skills and expertise from their experience of living, studying or working abroad. However, that knowledge has to be transferred as Nonaka and Takeuchi (1995) identify, individual knowledge will have little impact on company performance unless shared with other individuals and groups. First of all, knowledge has to be applicable to the situation of the organization to be meaningful. According to Williams (2007:31) “knowledge is socially situated, thus migrants have to acquire place-specific knowledge if they are to valorize fully other forms of knowledge”. The ability to apply knowledge is vital. If migrants return with skills or knowledge that is not applicable or does not match the needs of the home country or that of the organization, then this brain gain will result in brain waste.

Understanding local and organizational context enables return migrants in recognizing which knowledge gained from abroad is applicable and can improve organizational practices (Wang, 2014). Furthermore, returnee’s social capital is an important factor in knowledge transfer. Return migrants like most newcomers to organizations begin in fringe positions within current work groups (Lave and Wenger, 1991). Migrants must gain trust and acceptance of colleagues in order to effectively transfer knowledge. Tung and Lazarova (2006) found that return migrants who fail in connecting with colleagues, fail in applying and transferring their skills in the workplace of their home country.

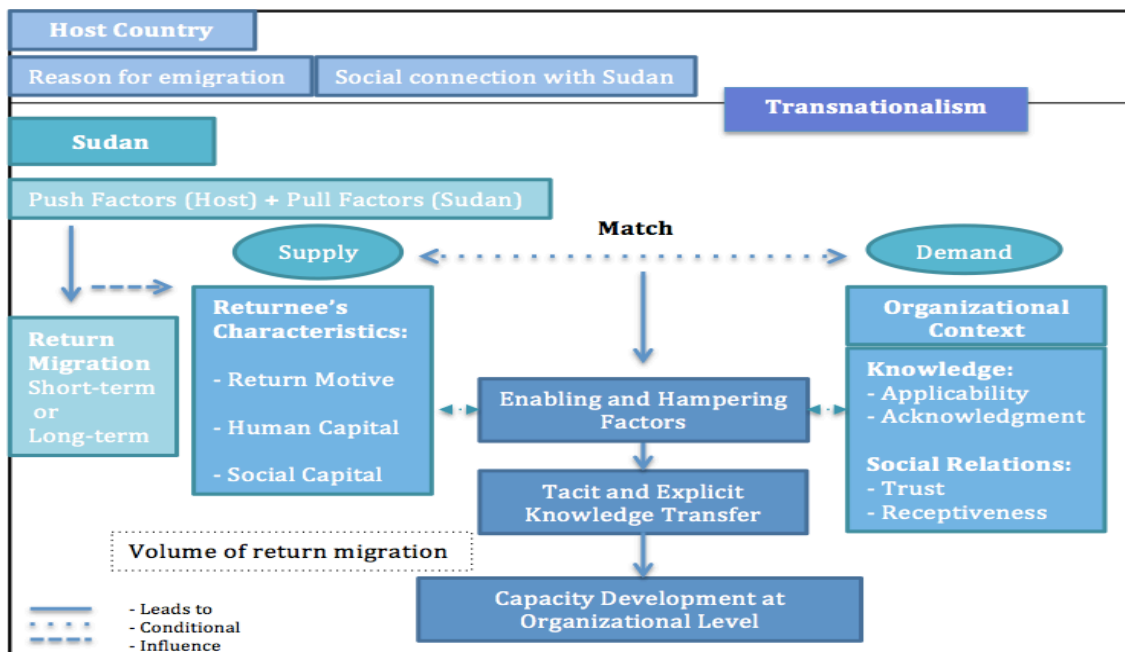


Figure 4: Conceptual Model

Knowledge transfer depends on colleagues’ attitude towards the return migrant. Rink et al (2013), claim that receptiveness of colleagues or organizations towards newcomers depends on compatibility of their expertise and social backgrounds with them. Finally, in order to transfer knowledge and skills, these must be recognized. Van der Heijden (2002) claims that knowledge transfer depends on social recognition. Moreover, he argues that knowledge can only exist by being recognized by knowledgeable people in organizations.

Returnee’s human and social capital can serve as potential channels of knowledge flows, but various organizational barriers can prevent this from happening. Jackson (2012: 15) have stated that theoretical conditions to knowledge transfer as outlined in knowledge management literature are: “willingness to share knowledge by the knowledge holder; willingness to

receive knowledge by others; the culture of the organization where knowledge transfer takes place; and the type of knowledge that is being transferred”.

Return of Sudanese migrants, who have acquired various types of knowledge, as well as other resources, is not automatically beneficial for capacity development. The benefit depends on ways return migrants are able and allowed to feed their knowledge and expertise into existing knowledge network of the institution. The ability of the workplace or institution of return migrants to make use of the capitals provided and how well these capitals are utilized can thus have an impact on capacity development.

4.3 Operationalization

Return migration, capital transfer and capacity development are the central research concepts.

Return migration: Return migration describes a situation where migrants return temporary or permanently to their country of origin by their own choice, often after a significant period abroad (King, 2000). In this research, the concept of return migration has been extended to second-generation returning to their parent’s homeland. There are many categories of return migrants, for this research, rejected asylum seekers, returning short-term refugees and irregular migrants are excluded, despite the fact that those groups can contribute to transfer of human and social capital in the country of origin (Ghosh, 2000). The term return migrants and ‘mughtaribeen’, the Arabic term describing a person who temporarily or permanent stayed away from homeland, will be used interchangeably throughout this thesis.

Human capital: Human capital describes new knowledge, skills and capacities, innovative ideas and changed attitudes and behaviors return migrants bring along. Explicit knowledge is tangible, codified knowledge and tacit knowledge is hard to define personal knowledge based on experience (Polanyi, 1966). Explicit and tacit knowledge are hard to separate. However, for this research project, these types of knowledge and specific and non-specific knowledge distinction of are used. Besides knowledge, education level, job position, introduction of new ideas in the working place, and difference between returnees and non-returnees in the workplace are taking into account to classify human capital.

Social capital: The term social capital is an umbrella term for explaining the nature of personal communities, social networks and other forms of social connectedness in societies (Pahl, 2000), and the ability of return migrants to obtain resources through those networks

(Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). It is both formally and informally personal relationships that migrants accumulate when they interact with others in the host and home country. For the measurement of social capital, transnational social networks are used. The extent and the nature of the social relationships and contacts migrants have in their lives both from the host and home country, and how return migrants use those social contacts in their personal and professional life.

Knowledge transfer: The sharing or flows of knowledge, expertise or skills that are transferred through formal and informal methods such as meetings, data exchanges, training, research projects, and expert consulting (Meyer and Brown 1999) and setting up business enterprises or investing in the home country (Hunger 2004; Zweig, Chung, and Han 2008).

Capacity development: Operationalizing development is a complex task. This study defines it as capacity development. UNDP defines capacity development as: “The process through which the abilities of individuals, institutions, and societies to perform functions, solve problems, and set and achieve objectives in a sustainable manner are strengthened, adapted and maintained over time” (2010: 32). This study uses the term capacity development to refer to a focus on tangible capacities, resources and physical assets and intangible capacities such as training, learning, and skills enhancement, social cohesion and social capital. Thus, it is based on learning, and on the capacity of people to understand, adapt and reshape their organization.

4.4 Methodology and Research Design

This section describes procedures used to acquire data for this study, as well as details on how the accumulated data is analysed and interpreted. This thesis is based on semi-structured interviews with highly skilled Sudanese return migrants working in different sectors in Khartoum.

As the purpose of this research is to contribute to filling the research gap and to gain insights into human capital transfer and its capacity development implications, qualitative research method that aims to achieve an in-depth understanding of social processes is used. In contrast to quantitative research that seeks to predict patterns, trends, and relationships, qualitative research explains these relationships and contextual differences in quality of those relationships (Garbarino and Holland, 2009). Qualitative research emphasizes on complexity of human behavior and draws attention to the importance of meanings, values and goals to

understand human practices (England, 2006).

This research was supposed to take form of a mixed methodology: a survey for the quantitative data gathering and in-depth interviews to obtain more qualitative data. A survey has been developed and distributed (Annex 4), but due to low response rate, it is chosen to use to data in a qualitative manner. Interesting findings from the survey enabled developing an interview guide for the semi-structured in-depth interviews.

4.4.1 Semi-structured Interviews

For this research, 21 face-to-face semi-structured interviews with professionally active Sudanese return migrants have been held. Interviews took place in the tripartite metropolis (Figure 5)⁶ in the period June to August 2015.

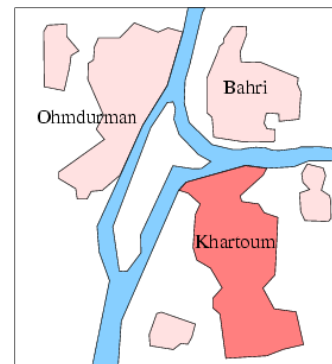


Figure 5: Map of the Three Towns of Khartoum

The aim of the interviews with return migrants was to find out more about the migrants, what intention do they have, where do they migrate to, and why do they migrate and return, as well as what kind of human and social capital they are acquire abroad and how they use those capitals upon return. For exploring those return motives, knowledge transfer, obstacles and opportunities faced, qualitative method is used. As these are subjective opinions and perceptions of respondents and qualitative interviews allow emphasizing returnees' own perspectives on their return and contributions to human and social capital transfer and meanings they attach to these experiences. They can shed light on their motivations, opportunities and obstacles faced.

Interviews enable “to explore and understand actions within specific settings, to examine human relationships and discover as much as possible about why people feel or act in the way they do” (McDowell 2010: 157- 158). Semi-structured interviews are chosen due to their flexibility. They allow new questions to be brought up during the interview as a result of interplay between the interviewer and interviewee. Moreover, semi-structured interviews offer respondents the chance to express themselves in a way they want, and it doesn't restrict them to answer the limited pre-defined choice of interviewer's preconceived ideas of what is important like the ones in surveys.

⁶ Wikipedia (2005). *A map of Omdurman with Khartoum and Bahri*. Retrieved on 28 August 2015, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Omdurman#/media/File:Map_Sudan_Ohmdurman.png

Prior to the interviews, an interview guide was developed to provide some structure to the interviews. “One way to provide more structure than in the completely unstructured, informal conversational interview, while maintaining a relatively high degree of flexibility, is to use the interview guide strategy” (Rubin & Babbie, 2001: 407). The interview guide stemmed of interesting findings from the survey developed for this research. Furthermore eight completed surveys have been used and interpreted in qualitative manner same as interviews.

4.4.2 Sampling

With the focus of the research being on returnees’ human and social capital transfer in context of their professional activity, professionally active individuals residing in tripartite metropolis who had previously lived abroad are interviewed. These selection criteria exclude returnees who are unemployed or retired. Moreover, to ensure that a varied group of return migrants is represented, respondents were chosen based on specific characteristics, such as gender, country of migration, sector working in and type of employment. A complete and up to date list of all return migrants in Sudan is non-existing due to the lack of a comprehensive or reliable administrative data on return migration. Consequently non-probability sampling is used due to the lack of a complete sampling frame. Different returnees working in different sectors have been interviewed. However, focus has been on three companies, DAL Group, Zain Telecom Company and Kenana Sugar Company, in obtaining respondents. DAL Group is Sudan’s largest and most diversified conglomerate that strive to bring Sudanese expatriate expertise back into the country. They even have a special section on the website dedicated to this (Annex 5). ZAIN is a multinational company that has various offices in the Middle East and Africa. Kenana is Sudan’s the largest integrated and diversified sugar factory. These companies are purposively chosen due to the fact that they are considered to attracted Sudanese expatriates back to the country.

A mix of purposive and snowball sampling is used. The primarily way of finding relevant respondents was through ‘gatekeepers’, individuals in organizations that have power to grant access to people for the purpose of research (Valentine, 2005). Gatekeepers were used as vehicles to distribute the online survey as well as to arrange some interviews. Furthermore, respondents were asked if they know other return migrants who would be willing to participate. Combining those two sampling methods ensures that the population will be selected on basis of particular characteristics that will best enable to answer the research questions.

4.4.5 Data Analysis

In total, 8 completed surveys were gathered and 21 interviews were conducted (see Annex 6 for interview list). As mentioned before, the survey allowed building a profile of return migrants, their motivation for migration and return, capitals accumulated abroad and how they are transferred. All interviews took place at respondents' offices, were predominantly conducted in English, however Arabic was used in several interviews to clarify certain issues. Interviews ranged in time from about 40 to 90 minutes. With an exemption of three interviews, all interviews are recorded for subsequent transcription and analysis, in order to enhance the conversational quality and prevent information loss. Content analysis is used to transcript and code and structure the content and topics prevailing from interviews and surveys. Open, selective and theoretical coding are used to sort codes and categories.

4.4.6 Limitations and Potential Risks

As mentioned before, it was opted for a mix method research, but due to low response rate, findings from survey results and interviews are analysed in a qualitative manner. The limitation of qualitative research is that results cannot be generalized to the whole study population. Nonetheless, the objective of this research is not to gain knowledge on the greater population, but is more specifically an evaluation of the contributions to capacity development through human and social capital transfer by return mughtaribeen who have studied or worked abroad. Reliable, complete and up to date, data on migration is hard to find, and data on return migrants is non-existing in Sudan. Therefore snowballing method has been used. This method, however, arguably increases the risk of interviewing only individuals with the same background (Valentine, 2005). To avoid or to diminish this multiple channels and multiple gatekeepers for finding interviewees were used.

Another possible limitation relates to the focus on certain companies (DAL, ZAIN, Kenana) that strive to attract Sudanese expatriates and who emphasize on excellence, training and knowledge transfer. However, the total amount of returnees working for those companies interviewed is 41 percent, leaving room for returnees working in other companies and sectors. Moreover no major differences regarding knowledge transfer between returnees in those companies compared to others have been established.

Furthermore it was strived to interview managers, colleagues and other beneficiaries to highlight to side of the knowledge recipients. Unfortunately, the limited amount of time

available has not allowed for doing that. A possible risk might be that the sending side (returnees) and receiving side (organizations) have different interpretations regarding knowledge transfer. In order to gain a holistic picture on returnee's contribution to capacity development both sides are needed.

The last limitation is geographical, all interviews were held in urban areas, the capital and cities around it. These are the locations where the state and the private sector are mostly represented. For that reason, results obtained in tripartite metropolis might differ from the less concentrated urban areas or in rural areas.

5. Introducing the Mughtaribeen

The following chapter presents the results of the field research undertaken in Sudan on highly skilled return migrants. Before exploring human capital transfer (Chapter 6) and contribution to capacity development, a profile of return migrants in the research sample is provided. It is important to note that due to the limited number of survey responses, multi-variable analysis is discarded for the purpose of this thesis, and simple descriptive statistical analysis is used. Therefore, results rely more on interviews conducted with return migrants who have studied and/or worked abroad and are currently working in Sudan. Nevertheless, the data collection and profiles will provide useful information about the research population and help explaining reasons for emigration and return.

5.1 General Characteristics

In total 21 interviews were conducted with return migrating mainly originating from the Metropolitan of Khartoum, who have studied and/or worked abroad for a period of minimal one year. Furthermore, results of eight surveys with return migrants are included. The return migrants sample is male-dominated, composing 55 percent of the sample (Table 5). The three age groups between 26-58 were fairly equal represented; only one individual was in the age group between 18-25 and none in 59 and above (Figure 6).

The majority of the individuals were married gathering 69 percent of the responses while another 28 percent were single and remainder divorced. In terms of the composition of households, 66 percent of return migrants have children, with an average of 2 (1,9) children per family.

Table 5: Gender and Age

Gender		
Female	13	44.8 %
Male	16	55.2 %
Total	29	100%
Age		
18-25	1	
26-36	9	
37-47	10	
48-58	9	
Total	29	

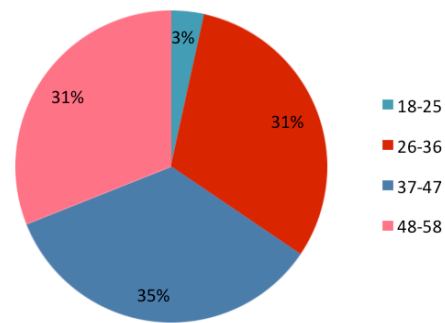


Figure 6: Age Groups in Percentage

Furthermore, the sample represent a highly skilled composition of return migrants, the majority 76 percent of the individuals have completed their Bachelors or Masters before emigrating (Table 6). Five individuals are excluded from this due to the fact that they are second-generation migrants who are born abroad. Table 6 shows that the number of individuals who have completed a Masters and PhD during their time abroad has increased. This is linked with the fact that the majority of individuals has indicated education to be an important reason for migration.

The majority of individuals were studying and or working in the United States followed by Saudi Arabia and United Kingdom (Figure 7). These findings are consistent with previous research indicating that Saudi Arabia and United States are among the top receiving countries of Sudanese emigrants. Nine out of the 29 return migrants have migrated more than once and had different destinations.

Table 6: Highest Education Level Prior Migration And During Emigration Period

Highest educational level prior migration	Frequency	Percentage	Highest level of education during emigration period	Frequency	Percentage
Primary school	1	4 %			
Didn't complete high school	1	4 %	Diploma	1	3 %
High school	4	17 %	BSc	13	45 %
BSc	13	54 %	MSc	10	35 %
MSc	5	21 %	PhD	5	17 %
Total	24	100 %	Total	29	100%

In the total period of living abroad, the sample group averaged a total of 13 years of studying and or working abroad with the longest having migrated for 30 years and the shortest for 1 year. As for the time of return, the sample group averaged 7.2 years of being back in Sudan. With exemption of two TRQN participants that haven't returned to Sudan, the time of having

returned to Sudan ranges from 6 months to 23 years.

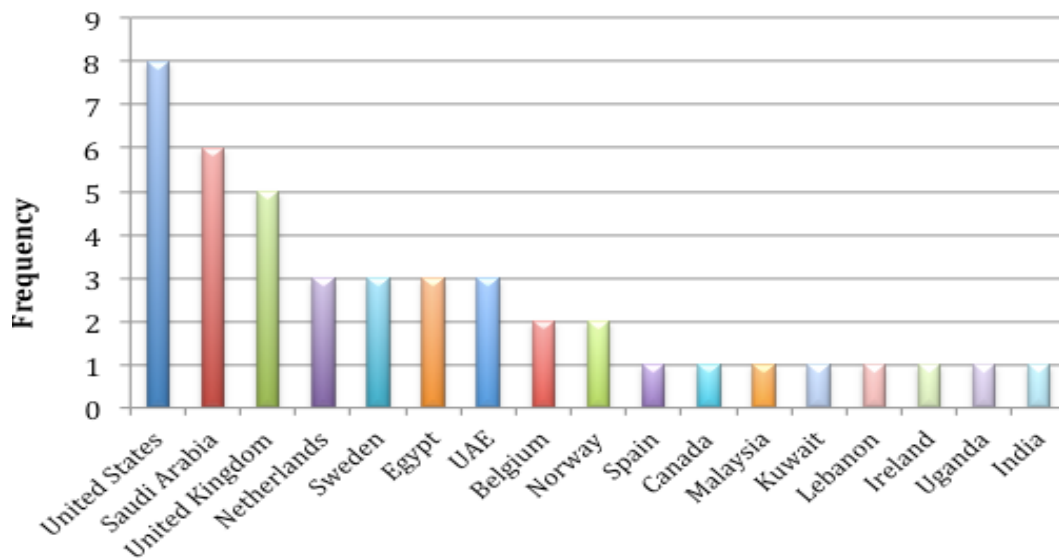


Figure 7: Host Countries

The most common type of organization for mughtaribeen to work in upon return, is privately owned companies, followed by academic institutions and governmental institutions (Figure 8). Out of the 55 percent working for a privately owned company, 69 percent works at Sudan’s bigger companies such as DAL Group, Zain and Kenana (Figure 9).

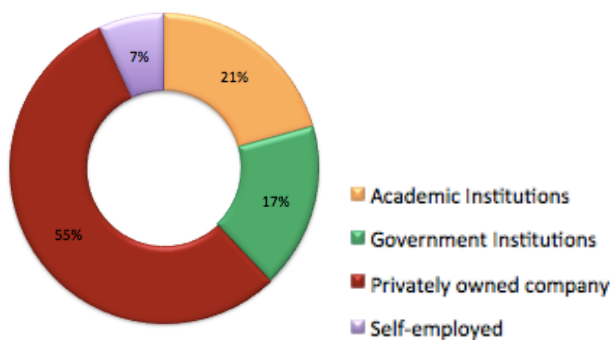


Figure 8: Sector of Employment

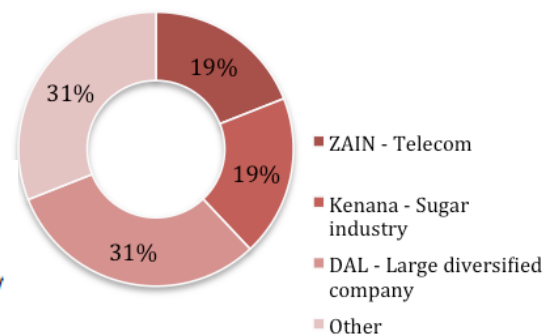


Figure 9: Percentage Working in the 3 Big Companies

Furthermore, all returnees with the exemption of two, fit in the highest occupational major groups in the International Standard Classification of Occupations (ISCO) of the International Labour Organisation (ILO), namely: (1) Legislators, Senior Officials and Managers, (2) Professionals, and (3) Technicians and Associate Professionals (Annex 7). Comparing these findings with Table 4 it can be concluded that major group 1 is overrepresented in the sample, while major group 2 and 3 are represented equally. However, it is more likely that figures in Table 4 are underrepresented, due to the lack of proper administration.

5.2 Emigration Motives

The findings reveal that emigration occurred exceedingly in two periods between 1988 to 1991 and 1996 to 2003 (Figure 10). Furthermore, it appeared that emigration until 2000 was extremely male dominated, only three females migrated in that period compared to 14 males. Not surprisingly, as historically international migration in Sudan is male dominated. Unless accompanied by husband or family members, only a scant amount of Sudan women migrate alone, except those who migrate for educational purposes (Assal, 2010). From 2000 onwards an increasing number of women have migrated, in particular due to educational and family reunification purposes

The respondents indicated multiple push and pull factors for their desire to leave Sudan. However the number one reason for departure was education, 19 out of 24⁷ mughtaribeen indicated that education was either the main reason or a very important reason for departure. United States, United Kingdom, Netherlands, Sweden and Egypt were top destinations for studying. Mughtaribeen based their decision on pursuing educational activities in those countries for educational (better educational opportunity), economic (scholarship offered) and social reasons (family or friends living in the host country).

“Why I chose to go to the States? Oh simple, you know what they say about aiming for the moon? Well to me it was that, I wanted to get the best education and you can get that in the US.” Respondent 5 (Migrated in 1990 for educational purposes)

The majority of individuals whose main reason for emigration was educational, had scholarships that enabled them to migrate and study abroad. Likewise “Anecdotal evidence

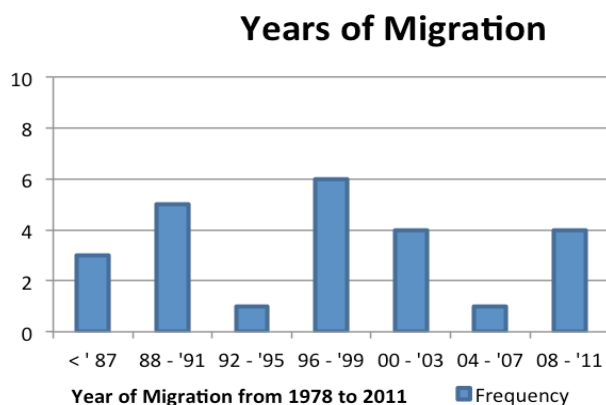


Figure 10: Year of Migration

job opportunity abroad.

seems to confirm that one of the preferential routes to emigration of highly skilled Sudanese is through pursuit of undergraduate and postgraduate studies abroad” (IOM, 2011: 20).

Other pull factors that were mentioned are social factors such marriage and family reunification, and economic factors such as

⁷ Five returnees are second-generation migrants born abroad and are thus excluded.

As for push factors, deterioration of the situation in Sudan and, political and economic instability at the time of departure seems to play an important factor in the decision to migrant. Figure 10 illustrates the years in which respondents emigrated. From Figure 10 and interviews it can be concluded that the situation in Sudan influenced their decision to migrate. The political and economic instability of the 1980s and 1990s has led to the motivation to seek employment or education abroad.

“ ... at that time it was the Sudanese revolution of 1985 and the universities were not stable. My family thought it would be better to start our education in the UK, because here things, in a political and economical way were instable. So my brothers and I went to the UK to pursue our education there. That was the main reason we left the country.”
Respondent 13 (Studied and worked abroad, returned when situation was favorable)

The situation in Sudan in the early 1980 depicted a lot of unrest in the country, so did the civil war in the south reignited in 1983 and did huge riots broke out in protest of President Nimeiri's regime. The prices increased due to removal of subsidies on basic commodities in 1985 (Burr and Collins, 1999). Another period in which the situation in Sudan was mentioned as an essential motive for migration was in the 1990s. This decade, from beginning to end, depicted countless similarities of the political and economic instability of the 1980s.

5.3 During Emigration

During time of emigration the majority of mughtaribeen, 21 out of 29 worked in the host country. The returnees fit in the first five major groups of the ISCO. Table 7 displays that returnees have a higher rank in occupational major groups 1 and 2 in Sudan after return than during their time abroad. This outcome can be explained by a combination of factors including the skills of individuals and skills shortages in Sudan:

Firstly, returnees have lived abroad for an average of 13 years, during those years they have engaged in career development and gained experience, which enables them to acquire higher positions in companies. For example, Respondent 10, worked as a teacher's assistant before migrating to pursue a master's study. Upon her return in 2012, she became a lecturer and in 2015 she was promoted to head of department.

Secondly, Sudan's relative international economic and political isolation due to the US sanction, among others, has made it more difficult to obtain an array of knowledge and skills, mughtaribeen are able to attain abroad. This scarcity in skills enabled mughtaribeen to acquire higher positions in Sudan than if they would have stayed abroad or not migrated.

Respondent 18 and 19 are a good example of this. Both respondents are relatively young and inexperienced, yet both have mid-level management positions. In the case of Respondent 19 this is even clearer. Her manager had to choose between her and a middle-aged Sudanese male who both applied for the job. Due to skills she gained by studying abroad the job was offered to her instead of the older and more experienced man.

Table 7: ISCO in Sudan after Return and in Host Country

ISCO	After return Freq.	Host Freq.
Major Group 1: Legislators, Senior Officials and Managers	11	4
Major Group 2: Professionals	16	7
Major Group 3: Technicians and Associate Professionals	2	5
Major Group 4: Clerks	0	2
Major Group 5: Service workers and shop and market sales workers	2	3

Interesting was that two respondents claimed that they cannot be considered as having worked during their time of emigration. In those two cases, the mughtaribeen have experienced deskilling in which they had positions much lower than their education and all of their previous jobs in Sudan. The job they worked in fits in the category of low-skilled occupation, therefore it was considered not relevant or not ‘‘real’’. This perception can be explained by the cultural behavior of Sudanese people in general, migrating as a high skilled individual and working in a low skilled occupation is considered a vast failure. With the exemption of these two, the majority of returnees entered the same line of work and field upon return, but at a different employer. Only one case was relocated to a branch of the company in Sudan.

As for social connection, all respondents stated that they stayed connected with Sudan in some way or another. In the host country while some individuals were part of a Sudanese community, had Sudanese friends and participated in social and cultural activities with other Sudanese individuals. Others purposively or non-purposively didn’t have contact with other Sudanese in their host country. Slightly more than half of the returnees have sent some form of remittances back to Sudan to support family. They all did this on an irregular basis through informal ways, such as sending money or objects with family, friends or relatives who were traveling to Sudan. Furthermore, all respondents except for three second-generation migrants have stated that they kept in contact with family and friends, while only a few kept in contact with ex-colleagues or other groups. These individuals also stated that they kept in touch

through various means such as telephone and letters in the beginning and later through e-mail, telephone and social media. The importance of maintaining social capital has perceived to be very important. So did 50 percent of the respondents hear about their current job via family and friends, 14 percent through direct contact with current employer and the remainder through company's website, or have returned to same companies before emigration or are self-employed (Annex 8).

By having maintained social, economic and or cultural linkages with Sudan in the emigration period these mughtaribeen have engaged in the notion of transnationalism. These cross-border flows were also maintained by making return visits to Sudan. The findings suggested that the majority (23 out of 29) of mughtaribeen paid return visits to Sudan, the bulk (14) made return visits every year or two-year and the rest (9) paid irregular visits back to Sudan. The main motives behind return visits were social reasons such as visiting family, homesickness, social events and wanting to familiarize children with the culture, language and home country. Visiting Friends and Relatives (VFR) travel was the most common motive behind return visits. Palovic et al. (2013) argue that VFR return visits are vital to both migrants and their families as it can act in the provision and maintenance of social networks. Other motives for return visits were strategic as for Respondent 1 and 13 who both started their own company.

“It was to see my family and to check up on things, how things are doing. Is it suitable to come back now? Is it feasible for me or not? We were visiting family and trying to see if it is suitable to decide to come back or not. ” Respondent 13 (Visited every 2/3 years, returned for family reasons stayed due suitable environment at moment of return)

“ To see my family and to know about the country's situation.” Respondent 1 (TRQN participant, returned for 3 months, 6 months and then ‘permanently’ ‘to establish own Consultancy training company and other return motives)

Duval (2003) points out that in some cases return visits to the homeland act as a precursor to permanent return migration. In the two cases of Respondent 13 and 1, return visits had the goal of assessing the situation in Sudan, and returning if the economic and political situation is favourable for permanent return.

Noteworthy is that, all individuals who paid return visits to Sudan and thus maintained interpersonal relations and social ties by those visits, are the ones who also sent remittance back home. Respondents who haven't returned home during their emigration period haven't

sent remittance to Sudan. However, it should be noted that respondents who haven't paid return visits to Sudan, usually stayed abroad for a relative short period of 1 to 5 years and went solely for educational purposes.

5.4 Return Motives

Return was the goal for many mughtaribeen. It was stated that before emigration most individuals except for four and the second-generation migrants, always had intention of returning to Sudan.

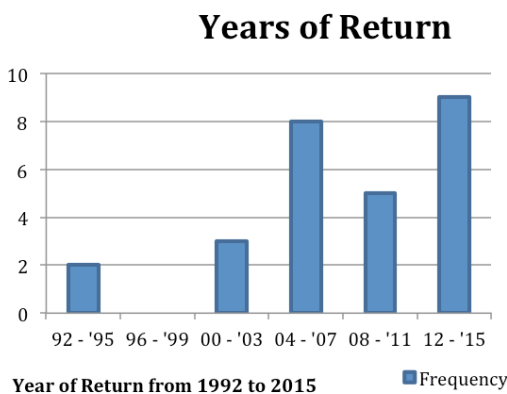


Figure 11: Year of Return

“I have never thought about migrating you know, it was just I have an opportunity to study there and then I was with my husband, but I have never thought about migrating....it was not like a migration thing.” Respondent 1(Lived in Host of 12 years)

From Figure 10 and 11 it can be noticed that many (6) mughtaribeen emigrated in the period from 1996 to 1999, while no one returned in that same period. This can be explained by the political and economic instability in that period. Respondent 9 who is one of

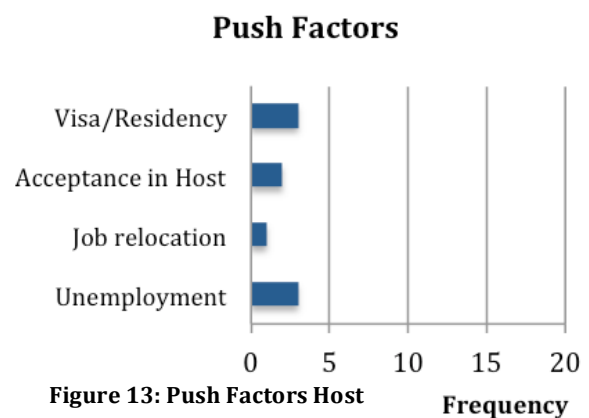
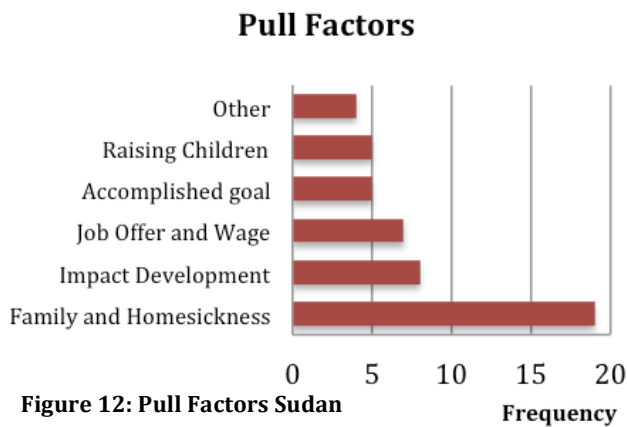
the migrants that emigrated in that period stated:

“ Everything was normal until 1996 if you read the history of Sudan. Life was difficult, the economy was collapsing, there were governmental problems, and they couldn't pay us. That was the main reason. The field I studied (Civil engineering) in needs a strong economy, without a strong economy you can't do anything.” (Returned in 2009 when economy was doing better)

The majority of respondents returned in the period of 2004-2007 and from 2012-2015. The first period can be linked to the economic and political situation of Sudan. In 2005, the CPA was signed which had resulted in relative stable and prosperous economic and social recovery. It is in the previous periods and this one that mainly respondents fitting in the age category 37 to 59 returned. Almost all mughtaribeen stated their intension to return. Despite the fact that only a few indicated the situation in Sudan to be a factor in their decision to return, it can be argued that the economic situation influenced the ability of migrants in finding employment and thus their decision to return. On the other hand, migrants younger than 36 years, returned from 2009 onwards. The second period from 2012-2015 concluded the return of most second-generation and younger returnees who were motivated by other reasons than economic and political situation in Sudan.

The lion's share of motives to return to Sudan was influenced by pull factors attracting migrants to Sudan rather than push factors from the host country (Figures 12 and 13). The push factors that were mentioned had political, economic and social reasoning behind it such as in the case of Respondent 10 who migrated to Malaysia for educational purposes. She claimed that she didn't feel like migrants are accepted and especially not to work there, that is why she had not intention to stay and work there. While this and other reasons such as inability to find employment or obtain a visa to stay or work in the host country relate to the situation in the host country, one respondent's return was based on the company's relocation.

“The company wanted to launch an office in Sudan.. I had to come to Sudan. They said we want you to come, I didn't want to and I told them I'm out of place there just like foreigners. But they took me anyway. ” Respondent 15(Senior manager, returned in 2007, re-emigrating beginning this year)



Most often, return decision derives from a combination of pull factors. All interviewees mentioned more than one motivate for returning to Sudan. First of all, family ties and homesickness turned out to be the most important factors in returning for many mughtaribeen. Many claimed that the reason for return was based on feelings of homesickness and the desire of wanting to be closer to family. Not only was family in Sudan an important reason to return, the family and the household in the host country was important too. Especially return migrants, who had children in their pre-teen and teen years, stressed the importance of wanting to raise their children in Sudan. Make them feel connected to their ‘other’ home and familiarize them with the language, culture and religion.

“I want them (children) to connect with the people here and for them to know about Sudan. I want them to feel as much Sudanese as Spanish. Even if I have to stay here for 4 or 5 years. I want them to learn good Arabic, know their religion etc. ” Respondent 2 (TRQN participants, has not returned yet but is considering it)

Mughtaribeen like Respondent 2 emphasized the importance of transnationalism, in which not only they but also their children forge and maintain social, economic and cultural linkages with the homeland. The second major reason, and the only motive that fits in Cerase's categories of return motive was the desire to impact development, "give something back". Respondents returning for this reason fit into return of innovation category, in which they return with new ideas and values and are ready to apply skills acquired abroad to the home context. The returnees highlighted feeling more useful in Sudan than in their host country, in a sense that they can impact the current situation of Sudan more than abroad. The sense of responsibility to provide a contribution influenced the decision to return to Sudan.

"I wanted to bring something to the country, serve the country, to help transfer some of the experience of the US to Sudan." Respondent 11(Consulting engineer returned in 2007)

The desire to impact development was repeatedly linked with self-satisfaction and internal happiness. Respondent 16 who has studied abroad but had intension of returning to work in Sudan where it is needed, makes this desire clear during the interview:

"Even though if I go abroad I know that there are millions others well educated people in perfect systems; they don't need me there and in the end if you work in a needed place it gives you self-satisfaction and peace of mind."

Thirdly, the opportunity of employment in Sudan plays also an essential role in returnee's decision. Some stated that they always intended to return so when the opportunity arrived they returned. This reason was strongly linked with economic motives. It was the combination of getting an attractive offer including a good job position and a high salary, sometimes paid in foreign currency that attracted mughtaribeen to return to Sudan. Furthermore, getting a good reputation and higher status upon return due to good job position was also mentioned to have influenced some returnee's decision. Fourthly, some individuals emigrated solely for educational reasons and did not have any intention to stay abroad after they completed their studies. Returning was considered the most logic and obvious next step. Also individuals who emigrated on scholarships provided by Sudanese universities were obligated to return and work for those universities after completing their studies abroad.

Finally, reasons as wanting to familiarize oneself with Sudan were mentioned. Second-generation migrants are born and raised abroad, and rarely made return visits to Sudan stressed the desire of wanting to get to know their parent's home country and develop identity. According to Duval (2003), return visits can act as a way upon which transnational

identity structures and connection between migrants and homeland can be cultivated and maintained. For Respondent 19 return was highly motivated by the desire to connect with the homeland.

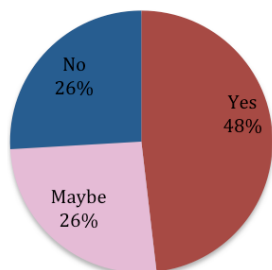
“I thought about migrating to Sudan when I started to think about my identity and where I stand, what I am. And I found that I didn’t really have answers.. Mostly I came because I couldn't imagine living the rest of my life without knowing my family and where they come from.”

Return decision is influenced by various reasons, but in all cases return was motivated by a continued orientation towards Sudan, which remains stronger than that formed with the host country, even if individuals feel integrated in the host country and have lived abroad for a long time. This impacts the desire to return. (Wei and Balasubramanyan, 2006).

5.5 Re-emigration or Not?

As previously stated return was the goal for many mughtaribeen. However, after actually returning and having lived and worked in Sudan, 48 percent⁸ of the interviewees stated that they want to re-emigrate to the host country or another third country and another 26 percent is considering re-emigration (Figure 14). From the 48 percent the average time returned in Sudan is 6 years, with the longest having returned 12 years ago and the shortest half a year ago.

Re-emigration



Re-emigration	Frequency
Yes	13
Maybe	7
No	7
Total	27

Table 8: Intention to Re-emigrate

Figure 14: Intention to Re-emigrate

Re-emigration motives show many similarities with initial emigration pull and push factors. The pull factors include children’s education, family reunification and attachment to the host country. While the push factors highlight the economic situation of Sudan, the deterioration of conditions including social and economic conditions in Sudan and problems of (re)-adapting to circumstances in Sudan.

Whereas education was the main emigration motive for many respondents, this appeared to be an important factor for re-emigration. Some of the younger mughtaribeen stated that they

⁸ Two TRQN participants who haven’t “permanently” returned to Sudan are excluded.

want to migrate to further pursue higher education abroad. Older mughtaribeen with children stressed the fact that education in Sudan is decaying and they would like to migrate to provide their children better education possibilities. Respondent 7 described how he sends his children to expensive private (foreign) schools yet the level of education is inadequate. Children's education as a motive also weighs for interviewees who indicated that they might migrate (Table 8). For them acceptance of their children in high schools and universities abroad is the determining factor whether they stay in Sudan or re-emigrate with their children. The second pull factor mentioned is family reunification. Respondent 15, who had to return to launch a branched of the company he works for, indicated that he never wanted to return. He sent his family to the host country and he is migrating beginning this year to join them. The last pull factor highlighted is attachment to the host country. This pull factor was not only indicated by second-generation returnees but also by a first-generation migrant. Respondent 4, who has lived abroad for 15 years and returned in 2011, pointed out that he didn't consider returning to Sudan as returning home. For many second-generation and for some first-generation mughtaribeen, the host country is considered home. This attachment is what influences the desire to return home.

The first push factor problems of (re)-adapting to Sudan is very much linked with the pull factor attachment to the home country. After having lived abroad for several years most returnees have to adapt and re-adjust to the context in Sudan. Hence it can be concluded that second-generation returnees struggle more with adapting to the situation in Sudan. They are born abroad and most of them have visited Sudan only a few times before returning, and can therefore experience immense contrast between the host country and Sudan. Respondent 18, who returned a half a year ago, and Respondent 22, who returned a year ago, both stated that they have problems with adapting.

“Lately though I have been feeling more American though, because I miss it. And I don't have this feeling when I'm in the US... I just want to go home now. If you come to Sudan and you are American and you were used to your freedoms. You have to be aware that you are not going to have these freedoms.” Respondent 18

“Honestly till now I still feel like a stranger here, I can't relate to this place. Although when we used to come back on vacations I used to be like yaay my hometown but it doesn't feel so anymore.” Respondent 22

Other push factors are the situation of the country, financial and economic situation in particular. Respondent 16, who studied abroad and returned, because she wanted to work and

give back to Sudan emphasized the fact that she has tried to change things, but the situation of the country doesn't allow for any changes.

“I want to be here and do something for my community, but if I think I'm educated enough to make the slightest change, but even that I cannot do. Then you become demotivated and you feel that you want to leave.... I wanted to work here, but if you ask me today I would like to go and work outside Sudan.” (Works in public sector)

Finally, the economic situation of Sudan is a push factor. Political and financial situation motivated various mughtaribeen to emigrate in the 1980s and 1990s, the economic situation with increasing inflation and devaluation of the local currency (SDG) is motivating many returnees to re-emigrate. Only one respondent considers this situation to be beneficial (Box 1). Respondent 13, who owns a construction company, stated that he is planning to re-emigrate. The economic situation in Sudan is deteriorating; therefore he is relocating his business to neighboring countries with better economic situation. However, he did state that he would like to return to Sudan. The economic situation did not only influence company owners' decision to re-emigrate but also returnees working in the private sector.

Box 1: Short biography of a Second-generation Returnee

Respondent 17 was born in Saudi Arabia, where he completed high school. Saudi Arabia only accepted Saudi nationals to medical school. Therefore he decided to migrate to Ireland. After having lived there for two years he migrate to the United States, where he pursued a health sciences study. During his time in the US and Ireland, Respondent 17 did not have any intension of returning to Sudan. A turning point however came in his last semester of health sciences. “ At that point I started to think about Sudan and what could I do as an individual and how much I could really contribute. So that is what made me think of returning to Sudan.” Not much longer after, he returned to Sudan with ambitious ideas to improve the health system in Sudan. Currently working at a private company to gain experience and to “get to know the market”.

While the current economic and political situation of inflation and devaluation of the SDG and embargo in Sudan is a major reason for many mughtaribeen to re-emigrate respondent 17 focuses on the opportunities these situation provide. According to him Sudan is raw and has a lot of potential. The situation that scares many off is an opportunity for innovators or first generation as he called it to build up things from scratch before it is too late. “Things change and if the sanction is lifted a lot of people who were already strong and well-established are just going to come and take away opportunities. So I want to be there, be there before I lose the opportunity and become a follower or second generation.

6. Mughtaribeen and Knowledge Flows

The chapter starts with presenting the types of knowledge that mughtaribeen acquired. Highlighting the range of competences and skills gained during time of emigration. It moves

on to discuss methods of knowledge transfer applied in their current workplace, followed by challenges and opportunities faced in attempting to transfer those competence and skills.

6.1 Knowledge Acquired Abroad

The interviews revealed a range of knowledge and competences acquired during the returnees' time abroad, even if in some cases it is difficult to link these skills to any practical application of knowledge or sharing in the workplace. The results indicate that individuals acquire different types of knowledge abroad, both generic and specific knowledge as well as tacit and explicit knowledge. The majority of knowledge attained can be defined as tacit knowledge, which is acquired by experience rather than textbook knowledge as in the case of explicit knowledge. Bonache and Brewster (2001) claim that the majority of knowledge is tacit; therefore, it is only natural to find most knowledge and skills gained through experience. The competences gained are divided in Evans (2002) starfish model (Table 9), where content related competences are the most prominent followed by social and attitude competences. Methodological competences are the least prominent.

During the course of the time working and/or studying abroad returnees have gained tremendous amount of content related and practical competences. Professional expertise, financial expertise, organizational and managerial expertise, technical expertise, are among the work related competences gained. Together with work and study related skills, one of the first competence or skills mentioned is language skill. The majority of the migrants emigrated to non-Arabic speaking countries, consequently many have claimed that their time abroad has either taught them the local language or improved their English command. Moreover, all mughtaribeen that have studied abroad highlight how they had the opportunity of participating and learning about the proper way of doing research. According to them, this experience has improved their scientific research skills, but also their writing skills. Lastly, technical skills and the use of technology were mentioned, before emigration many returnees, just like Respondent 7, didn't encounter or made use of technology.

“ At that time computer, when I traveled from Sudan the only computer I have seen was on the newspaper or TV. So going to the UK and the first lesson we learned was shocking.” Respondent 7 (Migrated in 1990 to study engineering and electronics)

The time spent abroad has enabled immigrants to gain technical skills, due to the fact that, they were surrounded by it.

In the category learning competences, which includes the dimensions of perceptiveness, and learning from reflection on experience, respondents stressed the change in way of thinking. The emigration period has not only taught them to question things, have a critical outlook and think strategically, but also how to be flexible, adaptive and open and tolerant towards new experiences, people and cultures.

Table 9: Evans Starfish Model Applied to Human Capital Gained by Return Migrants

Competences	Examples
Content related and practical	Scientific research skills; Administration; Job/study specific knowledge; Technical skills; Language and writing skills; Applying (new) technology
Learning	Strategic and critical thinking (Challenge authority); Adaptability and flexibility; Professionalism; Way of thinking: tolerance and open minded; Other ways of learning: self-teaching vs. spoon feeding
Attitudes and values	Independence; Time management; Responsibility; Patience; Decisiveness; Challenge authority; Not taking things personally; Courageous; Work ethics
Social and interpersonal	Cultural understanding; Exposure: people and lifestyle; Communication skills; Soft skills; Confidence
Methodological	Organizational and Management skills; Coordinating and facilitating skills; Deep network pocketing; Analytical skills; Systemic and strategic thinking; Problem-solving; Negotiation skills; Creativity

Furthermore, Respondent 10 who was reflecting on her time as a student as well as her job as teacher’s assistant before migrating, described how her experience abroad has changed her way of thinking, from being reliant on what you get taught (spoon-feeding) to having the drive to learn more yourself and to do some self-study.

“ The education system there (Malaysia) is based on self-teaching, the person have to look up things for themselves but here it is on ‘feed-teaching’ . Professors there indicate the sources you have to read, but here you will get a sheet with everything on it. And this changes the person and his way of thinking because he is responsible for that.”(Migrated to do a 1-year MSc in Malaysia, which is a popular destination for Sudanese student migrants)

The competences responsibility and independence are related to attitudes and values indicated. Other competences gained in this category included a better work ethic, being decisive, straightforward, patient and courageous. Courageous in this sense was linked to taking responsibility, being decisive and taking initiative. The last thing highlighted in this category is learning to keep business and personal issues separate, and not taking things personally. Respondent 22, for example stressed how working in a company with an international outlook enabled her to learn to separate this.

“I used to be very sensitive and I used to take things personally. But then you had to deal with different nationalities, different backgrounds, and get to learn that you shouldn’t take anything personally.” Respondent 22(Worked as personal assistant in Saudi-Arabia)

This kind of interaction is limited in Sudan due to the relative low percentage of international companies and immigrants in Sudan. The exposure to different people with diverse backgrounds, which is greater in other countries, fits well in the social and interpersonal competences gained. A great deal of returnees described how the emigration period has exposed them not only to different experiences with people from different countries, but also to different lifestyles. This, in turn, has improved their cultural understanding and communication skills. Moreover, a lot of respondents in the age category 18-37 indicated that the time abroad has helped increasing their self-confidence. This increase can be ascribed to multiple things, with living abroad being one factor affecting that. Upon return, young migrants including second-generation, noticed a variance in life experience and knowledge compared to other young adults that haven't lived abroad. This variance enabled them to see the added value and in turn increase their self-confidence.

In the last category of Evans's starfish methodological competences that describes the ability to handle multiple tasks and demands in complex and sometimes contradictory environments. Returnees claimed to have gained or improved skills like organizational, networking, negotiation and management skills. Moreover, being creative and analytical were mentioned. The educational system in Sudan is based on spoon-feeding, therefore students are less likely to be challenged to approach problems in an analytical way.

"I think abroad I learned.. as a student you learn to think more analytically about things and approach it the situation from different angles and try to come up with different and new ways of problem solving. " Respondent 19(Second-generation migrant comparing the educational system in the US and Sudan)

6.2 Knowledge Transfer in the Workplace

Return migrants have gained various work related as well as general knowledge and skills abroad. However, those individual competences will have little impact on the firms' performance unless shared with others (Nonaka and Takeuchi, 1995). Firms are 'repositories of competences, knowledge, and creativity, as sites of invention, innovation and learning' (Amin and Cohendet, 2004: 2), but the value of return migrants lies in their access to knowledge from abroad and their ability to translate it in to the context of their current workplace. In all cases, returnees have been able to translate a certain degree of the explicit and/or tacit knowledge gained abroad to their current workplace. This degree depends on individuals, but also on organizations (public or private) and sectors. The findings show that explicit knowledge and tacit knowledge are transferred through different techniques, but as

tacit knowledge is harder to transfer more methods have been used to transfer that knowledge.

6.2.1 Explicit Knowledge Transfer

Explicit knowledge was transferred through two methods: trainings and implementing new systems. Training occurred in formal and informal ways, some of the informal ways are discussed in the next session. Explicit knowledge was transferred through training in the form of lectures, courses, workshops, presentations and practical and on-job training to colleagues, students or others. The majority of the respondents stated that they engaged in at least one of the previous forms of training. The training setting varied widely. Some took the form of on job training in order to improve or develop new skills of colleagues or staff. These training sessions dealt with both generic knowledge like scientific research skills, coordinating and facilitating skills, writing skills and technical skills, and specific knowledge about nutrition, Nano-technology, health, environment, safety (HES) systems, construction and usage of simple sanitation. Most training was practical, on-job training or lectures on new strategies, methods or ideas closely related to the work of the organization. Colleagues were trained in conducting research and surveys, writing formal emails and reports and in using technology and electronic storing data. For example, Respondent 4, who worked for 15 years as a computer engineer in the US, was directly recruited by the company owner of his current job, due to the lack of on job experience and understanding of state-of-the-art technology by employees in Sudan. In order to fill that gap, he was offered a high position in which he was deemed to provide employees relevant and specific job training.

“ Like for example if someone doesn’t know how to fix an iPhone, they come to me and I teach them how they should do it. So it would be on-job training more than sending them to do a course or whatever somewhere else.”

Beside the one-on-one job training sessions given to colleagues, training session to train trainers were provided. In such sessions one or multiple persons were chosen and trained with the aim of having them training more people after.

“ When I was working at ... we trained local engineers how to construct and maintain sewage system for hospitals, how to protect workers from working in the field of hospital construction, how to build simple sanitation... We used to go to these villages and build simple models and teach the worker how to do it for other houses and villages.”
Respondent 13(Engineer: worked in various sectors and countries for 18 years)

Other respondents have also made use of this spin off effect of knowledge transfer. Instead of training individuals within or outside the company, they established external training centers

in which they train trainers. In these centers knowledge can be transferred on the longer term. Respondents 3 and 6 are examples of returnees who have established training centers.

“My challenge was to keep the sustainability for the project, I have thought about this from the beginning because people come and go. So during the five times I was here I have spotted which direction each institution is interested in and told them we make research center, a knowledge center. Make research units so when the people go the knowledge will stay and that will help the sustainability.” Respondent 3 (Professor and TRQN participant, who has been returning to Sudan every 6 months for several years now on temporary basis with the aim to transfer knowledge)

On the other hand, Respondent 6, who is also a professor and the director of a charity organization part of the university. Explained how she had used the experience and knowledge gained abroad to establish a women center and six smaller centers in different villages to educate and train women from remote place about nutrition. In total, they trained 27 village leaders, who now have the capabilities to train other people and villages.

Furthermore, training was also given in the form of lectures and seminars. The knowledge individuals gained abroad was directly or indirectly transferred through lectures. In the a case of Respondent 8, who spent two and a half years of out six years abroad studying the local language, transferred his knowledge on the host country’s language not in his workplace (hospital) due to the relevance but in the organization he volunteers for.

“I teach people who want to migrate to Holland, Dutch and other basic facts about Holland.”

Others who studied abroad claimed to have used the knowledge by teaching courses they followed abroad, in universities they are currently working for. As an example, Respondent 14 stated: *“when I got back I taught some of the courses I followed there and I still do. I teach Migration Issues, Conflict Studies and Migration Mobility. This was part of my research PhD, so it was quite relevant to the kind of work I do in Sudan.”*

Besides training, respondents have transferred knowledge through sharing materials and books with students and designing and implementing new systems and curriculums in their current job. As mentioned above, some respondent offer courses in Sudan which they have followed during their time abroad. Moreover, many academics claimed to have brought materials such as chemicals, lecture sheets and scientific papers and reviews (with the access they had to scientific journals) they have obtained (with the consent of owners) during the time of studying abroad, in order to share knowledge, new materials and the latest research

on various topics with students here. Others have implemented new systems in which for example administration is not done on paper, but is digitalized or produced a new outline of work. Civil engineer Respondent 9, who return for professional reasons, recruited his own staff for the company he currently works for. He stressed the importance of having a good outline and structure, therefore he wrote a full plan including work standards and obliged every employee to read and sign the plan. This created clear structure in the workplace, which turned out to be an important factor enabling knowledge transfer.

Finally, from findings, a distinction between the profession of the returnees, the way the explicit knowledge was transferred and the aim of the training sessions could be made. While returnees holding managers and engineers function, provided training session aimed at developing new skills and practical usage of equipment and (new) technologies, academic provided training sessions or lectures with the aim of mainly providing theoretical knowledge in the field of expertise and developing new skills. All the knowledge transferred in this section can be labeled under Blackler's (2002) embrained knowledge as it was abstract, conceptual and theoretical knowledge gained by some form of education.

6.2.2 Tacit Knowledge Transfer

Tacit knowledge transfer occurred more commonly through various methods such mentoring, encouraging teamwork, sharing of ideas, tools and methods, informal discussion and learning by example.

The first method of tacit knowledge transfer happened through mentoring and supervising of colleagues, staff members and students. The majority of respondents have reported engaging in some form of supervision and mentoring. Most returnees hold a managerial or academic position. Therefore, generally have individuals or groups they work with and train directly to increase their capacity. IT general manager, Respondent 7, described how he approaches mentoring of his staff.

“ Many times they are trying to fix problem X by only looking at it from one point of view. But they never thought about using different things or mix different things together to fix the problem. They just want to fix the current problems they face the old way in which it won't work. My knowledge because I worked with them individually helps me to give them just small tips... Give them a small tip not more than that and in the end they will do the work and learn from it and start thinking different from now. They will not hit the wall to get through they will go around it. I tell them where to find this information and they go and do the research or homework.”

Others also stressed the importance of not solving problems staff members or students face, but supervising them while they find the answers themselves. Respondent 10, who is a lecturer, illustrated another example. She explained that in Sudan students are used to getting spoon-fed, getting all the material on notes so they don't have to do much work. After completing her master abroad and returning to Sudan, she stopped giving out pre-made notes and started supervising students and encouraging them to rely on self-studying by going to the library and discussing things among each other.

Moreover, the training sessions outlined in the previous section also include hands-on learning. Therefore, fit both explicit as tacit knowledge transfer category. Some of the engineers stressed that staff members know about some of the technical aspects but not the actual implementation of the job. Therefore, many claimed engaging in mentoring and informal teaching activities on how to actually perform tasks. Through mentoring and supervising returnees have also been able to give confidence to colleagues or students to behave more proactively and independently.

A second way of transferring knowledge was through promoting collaboration and teamwork. Whether returnees work individually or in teams depend on various factors such as position in company and the type of company. By working together people can learn from one another and share experience on the job. Some respondents were able to encourage teamwork by promoting teambuilding activities not only in the departments they work for, but also interdisciplinary between departments within the company. Respondent 15, who helped launching the company's branch in Sudan, and who still has a high position in the company introduced the concept of "Matrix-team" as a way to get people to collaborate and engage. Matrix-team is an interdisciplinary mix of people from different departments and such as marketing, IT, finance etc. who form a team.

"Why would you have a team of only the same people who focus on one thing? We prefer the mix up because you save resources, not everyone from the same department is working on the same thing and also they get to learn about other expertise." Respondent 15

Another individual, Respondent 3, professor and TRQN participant who works in a program running in various universities, has succeeded by appointing a host institute where people from different universities meet, motivating them and promoting collaboration instead of competition. He adds:

"I have emphasized this very much. You have this and they have that, so make it

work. Collaboration versus competition! I have been able to motivate them and make them really collaborate to make it sustainable.”

The idea of collaboration versus competition was a main reason why second-generation Respondent 22 did not succeed in promoting teamwork in her current job. She explained that people miss the spirit of teamwork, therefore they rather work alone than with other people. According to her, that has to do with the fact that people in the company she works for, think of each other as competitors more than colleagues.

Furthermore, sharing of new ideas, tools and methods between individuals or in teams during teambuilding activities was applied to transfer knowledge within companies. A key shortcoming perceived by many mughtaribeen was related to the inadequate IT skills and usage, of their colleagues or students. Hence, they gave advice, shared tools and methods to resolve the shortage of IT skills. For example second-generation salesperson, Respondent 21, elaborated on their manual stocking system. She explained to her boss why that system is outdated and inefficient, and how it can be improved. In this case a digitalize system was not yet implemented.

“They are scared of change. My boss for example for him to accept the idea of having a computerized stocking system took him a long time. We still don’t have that, but he is only recently convinced.”

In other successful cases, academics introduced the use of modern age technology in their lectures. For instance, they have replaced using solely blackboards for modern methods such as PowerPoint projections. Not only have they introduced new technology themselves, but also taught their students how to use it. Now they even expect their students to apply it too. Students are encouraged to make use of online resources and emails to communicate with professors. Moreover, by applying different methods of teaching and examining, such as the introduction of in class discussion with and between students, open-book exam and group assignments, academics claimed to try to change the way of teaching from spoon-feeding students to stimulating students to rely on self-study. The notion of changing the mentality of people about their role in things, to actively be involved and initiate things by sharing new ideas was also employed in other settings. Together with colleagues, second-generation communication manager, Respondent 19, introduced an idea contest where they invited employees to give suggestions to business challenges the company was facing. This idea was a new phenomenon to Sudan as most companies have a clear hierarchy.

“We put our 20 questions and invite people to give their ideas and to discuss it on online forums. We got so many ideas back and even the people who didn’t participate were reading it everyday. It was just really positive experience, because as a company it is traditional as management to be top-down and it was the first time to make people participate and give ideas and engage them. I think it had a positive impact and after that there was a few initiative where different departments or managements who invited people to participate.. which has never happened before. People are now more willing to invite feedback from general employees. ”

Not only did they engaged in knowledge transfer by sharing new ideas, but they also created a platform in which other people can share and discussion new ideas too.

Another way of sharing ideas was to encourage colleagues to use different methods to improve work related activities through work plans to make things more structured. Respondent 10 described how in her job in the governmental sector, they do not have a system for writing reports, and that they don’t use drafts. She showed how they could write different reports for different purposes, and how they can make use visuals like simple diagrams and graphs to make some the reports more attractive and the information clearer.

The last method used to transfer tacit knowledge was through learning by example. According to Von Krogh, Roos, and Kleine (1998) learning by explaining can be defined as knowledge gained by observing, reflecting and duplicating, that can be transferred through implementing implicit routines and through passing on socialization effects. This form of knowledge transfer was most commonly noted by comments regarding ‘professionalism’. When asked about professionalism, respondents compared the negative habits of co-workers with the idea they have of professionalism. Sudanese co-workers were depicted as being emotional in the sense that they can’t keep personal and business separated, take things personally and are not blunt. It was stated that Sudanese people rather say nice things and make promises they know they can’t keep than saying things that can be considered hurtful. Furthermore, it was expressed that they lack independence in term of decision making, lack critical thinking abilities, have problems with time management, have the habit of dreading things and get lazy after they are promoted. Due to these habits, colleagues portrait at work, many of the mughtaribeen stated that they sought to establish professionalism within their work environments by acting as an example to other staff. Some examples how they approached this is:

“ Minimizing simple things like breaks and long lunches, things like that. They think

it is good when you do that and when you are serious. If you work in an office with someone it rubs off on them, then they become more serious. So there is that, just professionalism. Also being organized and punctual and other things like that.’ Respondent 18(Communication manager, grew up in the US where punctuality and time management is deemed utterly important)

‘The culture that is here includes someone who comes here at entry level, but when he gets promoted to team leader they change completely. He starts thinking he is the leader and he lets people work. But the leader, manager should work a lot harder than the people below him. This is the culture, but you have to exemplify that by working as hard if not harder than them, so that the other people see him. ‘ Respondent 15(Senior-manager, helped launch company)

Arriving on time, being prepared for the work tasks, being straightforward, finishing work tasks ahead of time, being more proactive than reactive, not being afraid to speak up and highlight issues or concerns towards superiors, and behaving in an appropriate manner for the work place, were other example of transferring knowledge through learning by doing that were mentioned.

6.3 Factors Enabling and Hampering Knowledge Transfer

The previous section highlighted the extensive explicit and tacit knowledge mughtaribeen gained during their time abroad, the kind of knowledge they were able to transfer and the methods used for dispatching the knowledge to colleagues, staff members, students or other beneficiaries. There are many conditions that facilitate or hinder returnees from transferring knowledge. This section focuses on respondents’ experiences of sharing knowledge in workplaces in Khartoum. National, regional/sectorial and organization level are important to consider when examining the reception and transferability of different types of knowledge. The three levels are interrelated in complex ways, therefore no clear distinction can be made. However in dealing with the enabling factors only firm related answers were highlighted, whereas in the hampering factors a mix of the individual, organizational and national level challenges are discussed.

6.3.1 Enabling Factors

The interviews indicated that the majority of mughtaribeen were able to transfer some form of knowledge with colleagues or others. Furthermore, it distinguished several conditions that facilitate knowledge sharing within the workplaces.

First of all, in order to be able to transfer knowledge, knowledge and skills acquired while abroad need to be acknowledged and valued not only by the returnees but also by their peers and others in the workplace. Knowledge gained abroad must be perceived in a positive light,

as knowledge that is unavailable at the workplace and that is worth sharing with others (Ghosh, 2000). Not recognizing that knowledge can result in lost or underutilizing of valuable knowledge and can therefore be regarded as a form of brain waste. Van der Heijden (2002) argues that an important factor that impacts knowledge transfer is having confidence in one's abilities and recognizing personal skills and knowledge acquisition. As follows from the interviews, all respondents recognized that their international work experience or education enabled them to transfer knowledge that others who haven't lived abroad wouldn't be able to transfer. However, it is not only return migrants' recognition and acknowledgement and the relative value of that unique knowledge in the workplace but also that of other individuals with higher or lower position. Respondents indicated that in general people in Sudan automatically assume that people who have lived abroad are more knowledgeable. In some cases this was also displayed in the workplace.

“ They (students and institutions working with) see me as a very highly capable professional scientist. ” Respondent 3(TRQN participant and professor)

“ We were considered (by companies) as Sudanese foreign consultants, because we got foreign knowledge and experience, and are Sudanese nationals. So we were at that time (begin-mid 2000's) appreciated, we were paid good salaries, given authority to implement what we needed to do our job properly.” Respondent 13(Engineer, returned for personal reasons, but decided to stay due to well performing economy)

Respondent 13 pointed out that foreign expertise is acknowledged and very much cherished, not only by peer or staff members, but also by managers and directors. This was also depicted in three other cases where private company owners or directors flew over to persuade mughtaribeen to return and work in their companies. Implying that the knowledge was highly valued by those directors, but that expertise of these returnees was lacking in the company or even the country.

Consequently, these respondents along others acquired relatively high positions such as senior managers and professor (Table 7) in their current work in Sudan. As 87.5 percent of the respondents fit in the first and second ISCO major group. They have high positions with responsibility and authority, allowing them to implement new ideas and methods upon return such as developing new curriculum or employing interdisciplinary Matrix teams. Thus, the second condition that influence knowledge transfer is the position of respondents within the company. Respondents who hold senior positions with a lot of authority have the power to steer operations. Those who seek to change the work culture can therefore influence

knowledge transfer. Reiche, Harzing and Kraimer (2009) state that an organizational culture that advocates joint norms and goals and forges a sense of inclusiveness among employees can facilitate knowledge flows. Returnees can play a role in creating such a culture. Moreover, many individuals who enjoy high or senior positions expressed the sense of responsibility or obligation to teach and encourage others to engage in the knowledge generation and transfer.

“Because of my position, I think it is my job within my team and even more broadly, to get people to talk to people more, to generate ideas, be innovative and share with us their ideas and experiences, talents and expertise.” Respondent 19 (Second-generation mid-level CSR-manager returned 5 months ago)

The third factor relates to the relationship with colleagues, students and others within the workplace. As indicated in the previous section, the lion's share of knowledge transferred was tacit and took informal means. This kind of workplace learning requires substantial amount of interaction between colleagues (Truran, 1998). Thus despite the seniority level respondents may have in the workplace, they need to build trust and establish fruitful relationships with individuals in their workplace. As “good interpersonal relations based on trust can facilitate knowledge sharing” (Jackson, 2012: 185). Returnees who claim engaging frequently in knowledge transfer have generally established good relationship of admiration, belonging, trust and mutual respect with their students and colleagues. Furthermore, it was indicated that being Sudanese with foreign knowledge and local knowledge about both languages as cultures enabled fitting in with colleagues and facilitated knowledge transfer.

“Here people love to work with me ... I give on-job training, assign and teach how to do things. People feel like they benefit from this and from me so that's why they want to work with me.” Respondent 15 (Senior-manager, implemented Matrix-teams)

Not only is the relationship between respondents and their co-workers important, but results have also demonstrated that acquiring social and professional ties in the host country and enduring those ties upon return can act as beneficial factor in knowledge transfer. Therefore, the fourth enabling factor is social capital both with colleagues in Sudan as with the host country. Returnees who have sustained relationships that are conducive with people in the host country have the ability to obtain resources through those networks. Several mughtaribeen have done so, in accessing up-to-date information, literature, materials, funding and training lectures and courses. Respondent 1, who after living and studying in the Netherlands for 10 years, established her own training company in Sudan described how she

benefited from her social connection to an institution in the host country in training staff members.

“I also have gained a lot from this experience in development and training. So one of the benefits I have from having stayed in the Netherlands is that I got to know the institution. They also help me a lot if I have presentations about water subject and development and training. And one time I send people from here to be trained in the Netherlands with them.”

Thus maintaining social ties with the host country does not only allow for knowledge transfer by providing exclusive materials or data that are not available in Sudan, but it also allows for new social connections to forge.

Additionally, being able to transfer knowledge and skills also depends on the type of organization and the work environment. Academic institutions tend, by nature, to include explicit, but also tacit form of knowledge transfer. Thus returnees working in academics are required to participate in knowledge transfer. However, despite this, all academics have elaborated on how they have changed their ways of teaching and incorporated the knowledge gained abroad to the Sudanese context. The mass of the interviewees that work in the private sector who also succeeded to transfer the acquired knowledge and skills, work for the three big companies that emphasize on excellence, training and knowledge transfer. This emphasis is reflected in training programs they offer and by the fact that a year ago one of the companies sponsored a conference that was about knowledge management. According to many respondents and Sudanese people in general, DAL and ZAIN are considered to be frontrunners in Sudan in a lot of aspects, such as bringing new techniques and methods to the country but also a different mentality. ZAIN for example has introduced a rotation scheme in which selected individuals are sent abroad to another office for period of 3 months to expand knowledge and share it upon return. DAL focusing on attracting Sudanese expatriates in a special section on the website dedicated to this (Annex 5). It is these kinds of companies that create an enabling environment within and outside the company that stimulates migrants to transfer knowledge upon return.

6.3.2 Hampering Factors

Barriers impede the ability of returnees to contribute to knowledge transfer in organizations. The barriers emerging from the interviews include three scales, individual returnees characteristics, organizational features and national circumstances.

6.3.2.1 Individual Level

Returnee's characteristics that hinder knowledge transfer appeared to be often beyond the control of the individual. All second-generation female respondents, in spite of their position within the company, experienced some form of negativity from colleagues. Two respondents who hold a mid-level managerial position in the same company both stated that they encounter resistance especially from male subordinates. A mid-level position is usually associated with individuals of older age who are more experienced, but due to the fact that both females studied and lived abroad they have been able to acquire a position of responsibility and authority. Lacking experience has created some tension mainly with male colleagues and subordinates who question the respondent's abilities.

"But most people don't see me as a manager, because I'm so young I think. When you have male employees who are older than you, they go over you all the time and go to my manager about the smallest things. Because they say no she is a young girl." Respondent 18(CSR-manager: Had some work experience in the US and Egypt)

"I had to prove myself through different initiatives. It took awhile and it was frustrating. There are time where they were quite condescending actually around the fact I'm young and female. " Respondent 19(Communication manager: No prior work experience in Sudan or abroad)

From these fragments, it can be pointed out that it was not only the lack of experience that is associated with age, but there is also gender inequality. Respondents 18 and 19, expressed that male colleagues and subordinates often question their authority, because they don't like feeling challenged by women, and especially not by young females. They treat other (older) male colleagues differently. This experience is not only limited to this specific company. Other young second-generation females interviewed have experienced this kind of treatment in different work environments. The gender inequality can be seen as a factor that hinders knowledge transfer inside and outside the workplace. Another aspect in play is language and culture. Arabic is not Respondent 18 and 19's first language, but English is. They highlighted that their Arabic command is inadequate and their frame of reference is different. Besides dealing with negative attitudes from several male colleagues, second-generation female respondents also encounter some kind of hostility from other females who haven't lived abroad. Respondent 21, who lived in Saudi-Arabia and can speak Arabic, now works in sales in a similar position as her female colleagues, explained how she felt a great deal of negativity from other females while receiving normal or positive treatment from male colleagues. Other interviewees also supported this.

“There is also the aspect where it is obvious that I came from abroad and I think a lot of people, very specifically females are not okay with this. I don’t know if it is envy. They are ruder to us. They just don’t like us. I noticed it from week one and I thought it was a competitive thing, but other people said no it’s probably because you are from abroad. I experience it with women, the guys are really nice, but the girls purposively ignore me or delay things I ask them to do. ” Respondent 19

Building social capital is pivotal in transferring knowledge. Returnees who hold outsiders positions must prove themselves and gain trust of colleagues to make colleagues receptive of the unique knowledge returnees may hold and to enable transferring that knowledge.

6.3.2.2 Organizational Level

Aside from individual characteristics there are also factors on organizational level that hinder knowledge transfer. In this category lack of resources, mentality and organizational system are mentioned. A common reported factor is the lack of finance and funding for programs, materials and state-of-the-art technology. Many claimed that utilizing modern technology at the host country, and noticed that Sudan doesn’t possess the same technology. Technology is very expensive and organizations do not always have the capacity to introduce modern technology into the workplace. The lack of finance is also one aspect that triggers the lack equipment, materials and proper technology required to perform certain tasks. Respondent 8, is a medical doctor who works in a governmental hospital, explained that he often experience lack or equipment from the basic things to big technical machines such as MRI’s.

“If you have no equipment to performance things, or broken equipment you can’t fully help patients... It is crazy that you have to send a patient from one hospital to another just because you don’t even have things that are basic. ”

Another example provided from 11, is that people in America use the latest technology and data, which allows proper planning and having a long-term vision on things, but in Sudan this is missing. Thus the lack of data is also a factor that hinders updating and expanding knowledge.

The lack of equipment and financial constraints were often linked with mentality and resistance to change by management or superiors. For example, project manager Respondent 11 who worked in water engineering planning for 8 years in the US, defined why he thinks people are not willing to invest in planning.

“ People in Sudan don’t want to pay money to do planning; they want to see something tangible... I give you for example 1 million to build a road etc. but I cannot give you that amount of money to give me a proper report, a master plan to tell you what you need to do

for the coming 20 years... there is no comprehensive plan, or a master plan.’’

From his point of view, the problem of lack of funding is not a monetarily problem, but lies at the mentality of the people higher up. Return migrants claimed having a hard time convincing bosses and others to do things differently. Especially if things have been done a certain way for a long time or if they are happy with their position and don't want to see changes that can affect their position. Furthermore, returnees may have different frame of reference makes it harder to for them to explain ideas to colleagues. Thus, people don't always necessary see the value of the mughtaribeen's ideas or suggestions and are generally reluctant to new ideas and technology, especially if those ideas come with financial expenses.

“Generally in the Arab world people are reluctant to new idea, things or technology. They need to see things with their own eyes, see the value.” Respondent 13 (Engineer: comparing work experience between UK, US, Gulf and Sudan)

Resistance to change is not only visible in higher spheres of superiors, but also in lower with peers and subordinates. Respondents reported that people don't have exposure to different things (cultures, technology etc.) and therefore prefer to maintain the familiar status quo. While the younger Sudanese generation is more open to change in forms of new technology, ideas or methods, older generations are depicted as very reluctant to try new things. Receptiveness to this is ought to change, for knowledge and skills to be successfully transferred. Convincing bosses and colleagues to change the status quo is a difficult process that requires considerable time.

However, this task occurred to be more challenging for young returnees. The mentality and attitude of colleagues hinder knowledge transfer. Returnees younger than 32 years are also confronted unfavorable attitudes towards change. For instance, Respondents 21 and 10, who are both female, one holding a junior position in sales and the other recently being promoted to head of department in the university she works at. Both illustrate how their overseas expertise and skills have complicated their ability to transfer knowledge.

“ No in my experience, it has only made things harder to try to explain your idea to people. People think you came from abroad and you think you are a know-all. ‘’ Respondent 21

“When you have experience and you come from abroad then some people have ego and won't list to you.” Respondent 10

This unreceptiveness to change is usually motivated by a combination of reasons such as:

individual characteristics related to age, gender and position within the company, colleagues mentality and attitude towards change.

Other mentality or attitude that hinders knowledge transfer is trust leading to inadequate use of teamwork. As stated in the previous section, trust is a factor that enables knowledge transfer, absence of it may result in the opposite. A work culture in which teamwork is not promoted or where teamwork is regarded as competition instead of collaboration hinders knowledge transfer. According to Respondent 16, who migrated to do her masters and returned to help the country develop, people in her workplace (governmental institution), don't understand the concept of teamwork and sharing knowledge and research. They think sharing violates their copyright. This "ours" and "yours" culture as she calls it, hinders knowledge transfer.

The last factor hampering knowledge transfer in this category is organizational system. Various interviewees claimed that often a legitimate system or the commitment to one in the company is missing, which creates chaotic institutions. The lack of a proper system is said to result into bad or no coordination among different people, weak implementation of ideas and plans and bad documentation and administration. An example of the consequence of an inadequate system given, is in a governmental organization in which they have a high employee turnover. The hand over happens very poorly and therefore new staff is not aware and updated on work completed by previous employees. Respondent 16 explains that the ramification of that is wasting considerable time on replicated work.

6.3.2.3 National Level

The barriers emerging at national level include social factors as well as political and economic factors. The social factors that interfere with knowledge transfer are the lack of water and power (Annexes 9 and 10). Power outages are a common occurrence in Sudan. Organizations that have the money to invest in generators are less impacted by this occurrence. This problem is less of an issue in private companies and was only addressed by mughtaribeen working in the public sector. Professors and lecturers stress the use of modern technology in their class and encourage students to make use of the same. However, they also highlight the problems they encounter with using modern technology due to the lack of power supply.

"I can prepare a beautiful PowerPoint. But look at this; the power can be cut of at

any moment. Just like now.’ Respondent 6 (Lecturer at governmental university)

Furthermore, the immense problem of declining level of education is highlighted. As stated by Respondent 15, who focuses on hiring fresh graduates, as they are not exposed to other work environment and can therefore be exposed to ‘‘the right work culture’’.

‘‘There is no good education system. We get graduates now, who know nothing. They know nothing; they got their degree but how? They can’t speak English and also don’t know their specialization well... But universities graduate everyone now... They focused on education, but now there are 300 universities and they graduate people for no reason. ‘‘

The student intake to universities jumped from 6,080 in 1989 to 13,210 in 1990-91 and to 38,623 in 1999-2000 and the number of public universities increased from 5 universities in 1989 to 26 universities in 1996 (Assal, 2010). According to Journals Consortium the number of universities and higher institutions in 2015 is 38.⁹ This huge increase mainly motivated by financial reasons set by the Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research. Respondent 14, who is a professor, stressed this problem of having too many students. According to him, this hinders meaningful interaction with students. He attempted to cut admission using his position in the senior management of the university, but since it is governmental policies he failed. This lack of skills urges returnees to take up multiple roles that are not necessarily in their field.

‘‘ In Europe everyone I worked with was specialized in something and did that, but here I feel like one person has to know about five different specialties. But that is also linked with the possibilities they have here. They have to. ‘‘ Respondent 2 (TRQN participant and post-doc researcher)

‘‘In Sudan you have to be all in one manager, sociologist etc, so many things at one. In the US you can just do one job, your job. ‘‘ Respondent 4 (Senior IT Engineer)

The last social factor indicated is the obstacle of penetrating decision makers, the government more specifically. The government is said to hamper instead of enabling knowledge transfer, due to the bureaucracy of the government and the fact that only individuals within the circle of decision makers can make changes on a large scale. Respondent 6, explained how she wanted to go to the South when Sudan was still unified and they wouldn’t allow her or anyone to give workshops without governmental permission. It is these acts that hinder knowledge transfer.

⁹ Journals Consortium (2014). *2015 Ranking for Universities and Higher Institutions in Sudan*. Retrieved 2 December 2015, <http://ranking.journalsconsortium.org/unirankings/country/Sudan/2015>

As for the economical factors two challenges are reported. The first one is the wage in the public sector that forces individuals to work two jobs to meet their needs. Respondent 8, who is a medical doctor, emphasized the long shifts in different hospitals he has to do in order to get a reasonable salary. Highlighting the mental and physical consequence of not able to help or guide patients sufficiently. The second one is the rising inflation and currency issue. Inflation reached 47% in 2012 but was subsided to 37% in 2014 (CIA, 2015) (See Figures 3) and the Sudanese pound (SDG) went from equaling 2.3 US Dollar (USD) in 2010 to 5.8 in 2014 (CIA, 2015). The current value on the black market is 1 USD equals 11.70 SDG (February 2016). With devaluation of the SDG, companies are having a harder time acquiring funding for foreign expensive modern technology and materials.

The final barrier the US sanction is both economic as political. The restrictions of money flows especially the Dollar impacts individuals, organizations and the nation. The embargo has many ramifications such as not having local representatives and licenses to buy or sell of certain high quality equipment brands and not being able to bring in new technology.

“There is embargo in Sudan, so there are some small things they cannot buy not because they can’t but because they are not allowed. They can’t transfer money; they don’t have credit cards and this is affecting the country very much. It is not the lack money in Sudan but the lack of root to transfer money to buy something. It is not a problem for universities to spend a few hundred dollars.” Respondent 3 (TRQN participant and professor)

Thus, even if companies and institutions want to resolve the problem of lack of equipment, they are hindered by the constraint on the inflow or outflow of Dollars and most foreign currencies. Moreover, the embargo is also problematic as it impedes doing business with foreign countries.

“Also the sanctions on Sudan make it hard, we had a big job in Nigeria but it was stopped due to the sanctions. A lot of projects stopped which a made the financial situation harsh. No one is willing to invest.” Respondent 9 (Civil engineer)

6.4 Conclusion

The emigration period gives mughtaribeen certain opportunities to increase their knowledge, competences and skills, yet, the extent to which returnees manage to transfer that human capital in Sudan and more specifically in the organization they currently work for depends on certain factors. Table 10 provides a visual summary of the knowledge transferred including the enabling and hampering factors.

Knowledge transfer Sequence Most→least		Enabling factors	Hampering factors
Explicit knowledge transfer Training Implementing systems	1. Training and Mentoring	Acknowledgement of knowledge	Individual level Age Gender Work experience
	2. Sharing ideas, tools and methods	Position within company (Authority and Responsibility)	
	3. Implementing new systems	Relationship with colleagues	Organization level Lack of resources
Tacit knowledge transfer Mentoring Encouraging teamwork Sharing ideas, tools, methods Informal discussion Learning by example	4. Teamwork	Social connections host country	Mentality/ Resistance to change Organizational system
	5. Learning by example	Type of organization/ Work environment	
	6. Informal discussions		National Level Social (Educational level, power/water, penetration decision makers) Political (Sanction) Economic (Wage, inflation, devaluation)

Table 10: Visualization of Knowledge Transfer

As revealed in Chapter 5, migration for educational purposes was the main reason for migration. Not surprisingly to find that most highlighted competences developed are content related and practical knowledge and learning competences (explicit knowledge). Followed by social and interpersonal competences and competences related to attitudes and values enhanced by social interaction with individuals with different cultures (tacit knowledge). The explicit and tacit knowledge are transferred through different methods with on-job training, lectures and supervising of colleagues and students being the most prominent. An enabling environment where the returnee's knowledge is acknowledged and trust is established are crucial for this transfer. The lack of resources, mentalities of people, gender inequality, and national factors such as sanction on the country, however, make it difficult for migrant returnees to contribute to knowledge transfer within organizations.

7. Discussion

The previous chapters presented the research findings. This chapter highlights some of the

findings in relation to the literature and previous research. Then the role of highly skilled return migrants on capacity building on organization level is discussed. Finally, it ends with recommendations for future research and policy consideration in the field of return migration and knowledge transfer.

7.1 Literature and Previous Research

The relationship between migration including return migration and development as studied by neoliberals, portrays migrants as rational individuals seeking to maximize gains. Research reveals that this is the case for the *mughtaribeen*. The majority migrated for educational purposes obtained scholarships that enabled them to study abroad, making the benefits of migration (“free/sponsored” foreign education that has higher recognition in Sudan and abroad) greater than the cost (Paying international tuition fee, or studying in Sudan). Returnees do not highlight specific costs, but according to Constant and Massey (2003) these costs include leaving a steady job and income, leaving a familiar environment and adjusting to a new one.

While the neoliberal theory appears to be more relevant for emigration motives, return is more linked with the transnational turn in which push and pull factors in the host country and Sudan are drivers influencing return. Most pull and push factors mentioned are in line with previous research of Cassarino (2004) and Ammassari and Black (2001), among others, stating that return motives include a range political, economic and social reasons. Surprisingly is the emphasis of returning in order to familiarize children with the language and culture of Sudan. This issue is only brought up by *mughtaribeen* who relocated to non-Arabic or Western countries. However, the importance of social reasons including raising children in home country is also reported by Ammassari and Black (2001). The implication of the return motive is that once these children are grown or familiarized with Sudan, those returnees along with others (slightly less than half of returnees) consider re-emigration. Return migration is often described as the end of the migration cycle. Unlike those traditional ideas research reveals that return is not the final stage but the beginning of a new cycle. Whether “permanent” long-term return is more desirable or sustainable can be argued. The average time returned by those respondents in Sudan is 6 years, in which the returnees have transferred knowledge and skills. Respondent 7 who returned 10 years ago, made a good point, highlighting that returnees will only have advantage over “locals” for a limited time.

Therefore 6 years might be enough if only focusing on explicit most advanced knowledge transfer and less on attitudes and behavior.

Gent and Black (2005) argue that sustainable return consists of migrants who return to their country of origin and don't re-emigrate. Black and King (2004) refute this and stress that sustainable return must also leave room for some re-emigration as every countries experience that. They also underline that returnees who cultivate professional and social networks with the host country can still be acknowledged as sustainable returnees despite the fact that they continue travelling abroad. Research revealed that mughtaribeen stayed in contact mainly with family but also in lesser sense with professional ties and ex-colleagues after emigration. It is highly likely that they will do the same upon re-emigration. The implications however depend on the level of analysis. Valuing and maintaining social networks and contacts with Sudan could have a positive effect on the development of the wider community. On organizational level this depends if mughtaribeen engage in any form of virtual knowledge transfer and other factors such as return and re-emigration volumes. This definition of sustainable return is very much linked to transnationalism, where migrant's capabilities to return are re-emigrate is emphasized. Transnationalism could therefore be considered a form of return in itself as stable permanent return has become less relevant (Black and King, 2004).

7.2 Returnee's Capacity Development Contributions

The research results revealed that migrants contribute to capacity development on organizational level through various forms of knowledge transfer but also through social capital transfer. Transfer of knowledge is a starting point that supports capacity building process. Capacity building occurs once a person has absorbed knowledge, learned new skills, and developed new capacities. Mughtaribeen have engaged in explicit as well as tacit knowledge transfer, therefore it can be concluded that colleagues or other beneficiaries increased their knowledge as well as increased skills. Explicit knowledge transfer in forms of manuals, curriculums and documents in comparison to tacit knowledge can have a bigger impact capacity building of an organization on the longer run. Tacit knowledge is intuitive, context dependent and personal, and therefore hard to communicate to others (Polanyi, 1966). Explicit knowledge remains in organizations even if the returned mughtaribeen decide to re-emigrate or when trained colleagues or beneficiaries migrate. In certain cases colleagues are

using new knowledge and skill acquired by mughtaribeen to migrate and find jobs abroad. Respondent 15 counted four cases in which individuals he trained are migrating or have migrated. Tacit knowledge transfer however, also has a significant impact on capacity development, as the majority of knowledge is tacit (Truran, 1998).

The significance returnees' role on capacity development varies from case to case. Two third of the respondents who are employed in the private sector, work for the three big companies (DAL, ZAIN and Kenana), who appreciate the knowledge Sudanese expatriates have acquired and thus try to attract them back to Sudan and their company in specific. TRQN participants are also required to transfer knowledge by training trainers. Academic institutions that sent lecturers abroad usually require them to return in order to transfer knowledge as well. This can impose a positive bias in companies or academic institutions, as these put a considerable emphasis on knowledge transfer. Nevertheless, other returnees were expected to transfer knowledge as well, although that might have been less explicit. The interest in return of highly skilled is also visible in other sectors and institutions. So did the government through its SSWA develop SPaKTEN program to attract highly qualified back to various sectors in the country. In December 2015 they have organized a forum to get different stakeholder together to discuss implementation.

Although organizations can benefit from the valorization of the knowledge attained by migrants in terms of capacity building, there are significant barriers in practice. These barriers are disclosed in three levels, individual, organizational and national, which are intertwined. A national barrier can trickle-down all the way to individual level, or the other way around, and hindering knowledge transfer. For example, low wages (national level) in certain sectors can lead to negative mentality of "locals colleagues" (organizational level) towards returnees who might be able to obtain higher positions (sometimes without the required experience) due to their overseas experience or education and thus have higher wages. Migrants, like most newcomers to firms, begin in peripheral positions within work groups (Lave and Wenger, 1991). If returnees can't overcome the outsider position they may obtain this will lead to trust issues and countervail a beneficial impact high skilled return migrants can have on capacity development.

7.3 Policy Considerations and Future Research Recommendations

This thesis argues that highly skilled mughtaribeen can contribute to capacity development through human and social capital transfer. However, numerous obstacles on various levels to which mughtaribeen are confronted with are pointed out. These findings are relevant for migration and development policy discussions and can be used as starting point for future research.

Migration policies could address these obstacles and improve returnee's capacity to engage in development related practices. Policies that focus on the underlying reasons for emigration to retain high skilled in the country and create an enabling environment for brain gain or brain circulation in which diaspora are engaged and where permanent or temporary return migration is encouraged. The government is and should be the main entity involved to create this environment. SPaKTEN program is an onset to this; however, more efforts should be imposed. Starting with a proper administrative system that registers reliable numbers of emigration and return.

Obstacles on organizational level are also highlighted. Creating a suitable environment on organizational level, for highly skilled to utilize and transfer their knowledge is also required. Companies and institutions can learn from each other, and especially from companies such as DAL and ZAIN that succeed in attracting high skilled expatriates. The strength of those companies might be the international outlook that they have. DAL states on the website "since its establishment in 1951, the company has operated to international standards, underpinned by strong, clear business principles and ethical values." Companies should encourage circulation of knowledge and facilitate mechanisms to ensure the hampering factors such as the lack of a legitimate system on organizational are dealt with. A clear organizational system should be established or made more apparent to set clear values and objective of the workplace and to ensure those are shared among all employees.

The scale of return migration and development discussion is extensive and manifold. The scope of the study and the time available has only allowed gathering a general overview of high skilled return migrants and their role in human capital transfer on organizational level. This exploratory research can be used as foundation for further research. Exploring the following questions can facilitate the attainment of a holistic view on return migration in Sudan and capacity development implication to generate achievable policy strategies:

Is there a difference in terms of type of returnee, knowledge transfer etc. between return migrants in Khartoum compared to different cities? What is the role of other type of return migrants, low skilled e.g. on capacity development? How do colleagues, managers and others who returnees interact with in the workplace value returnees in general? And what is their perception and attitudes towards knowledge transfer by returnees? Is there a difference in terms of knowledge transfer between short-term returnees (1week to 3 months) compared to long-term returnees?

8. Conclusion

This research focused on return of highly skilled migrants and the human capital flow from host country to Sudan, and in particular, explored the contributions of returned Mughtaribeen to capacity development in the organizations they are currently working for. There is generally a dearth of data on Sudanese return migrants. Therefore the main objectives of the research was to contribute in the filling this gap and to assess how return migrants contribute to knowledge transfer on organizational level and the factors facilitating and impeding that knowledge flow. The identification of these aspects is useful in creating or improving an enabling environment in which migrants are encouraged to return and are retained so that brain drain can be converted into brain gain.

The research sought to answer the main research question:

“What is the role of highly skilled Sudanese return migrants in Khartoum in transferring human capital and what effects does this have on capacity development on organizational level?”

In order to answer the research question various professional active highly skilled return migrants including second-generation returnees were interviewed. Aside interviews several survey were filled that were interpreted in qualitative way. Research results uncovered various reasons for migrating and returning to Sudan, which were mainly derived from pull factors to the host country or back to Sudan rather than push factors. The most common emigration motive was educational purposes. This type of migration is recognized as one of the preferential routes to emigration of highly skilled Sudanese and thus consistent with previous findings. As for return motives, family and homesickness purposes scored the highest on the list of return motives, followed by the desire to impact development in Sudan. This desire was generally translated into smaller scale capacity development of colleagues,

students or other beneficiaries in returnee's workplace.

Moreover the findings revealed that mughtaribeen acquire both tacit and explicit knowledge in the host country. The majority migrated for educational reasons; hence most knowledge acquired in host countries according to the mughtaribeen was content related and practical competence. The time abroad has also allowed them to gain learning competences, exposed them to new attitudes, values and cultures and enhanced their social and interpersonal skills. Besides human capital returnees also forge new social connections and networks in the host country and maintain old ones in Sudan.

Upon return they engaged in explicit knowledge transfer by trainings students, trainers, or colleagues in the workplace and by implementing new systems and curriculums. Tacit knowledge is harder to transfer and needs more interaction, thus more methods were used. Mentoring and supervising colleagues, encouraging teamwork and interdisciplinary cooperation, sharing of innovative ideas, tools and methods brought from the host country, informal discussions, and setting an example so that colleagues can learn by example are ways mughtaribeen contributed to capacity development on individual level and organizational level.

Despite the fact that mughtaribeen engage in transferring knowledge flows, many encounter factors that facilitate and hinder their endeavors. Succeeding cases have few factors in common. Firstly, the acquired human capital is recognized by returnees and by the surrounding environment. Secondly, returnees have position with a lot of authority and responsibility in the workplace. Thirdly, there is a relationship of trust and respect between the mughtaribeen and colleagues. Fourthly, returnees cultivate social relations with the host country, which are mobilized to gain access to other resources. Lastly, the type of organization and sector that has a work environment that emphasize on excellence, training and knowledge transfer.

On contrary factors on individual, organizational and national level countervailed impact of highly skilled in capacity development. On individual level second-generation young females with relative low work experience encounter the most strain. On organizational level these factors are related to lack of resources, the mentality, chiefly, the resistance to change mentality of individuals on the work floor and an unorganized or chaotic organizational system. On the largest scale social factors such as lack of power or water, the deterioration of

the quality of education and the inability to penetrate decision makers hindered this. Furthermore, political embargo set by the American government, high inflation in the country together with low wages and devaluation of the local currency, don't only hinder return migrant's capabilities in transferring knowledge, but they also initiate re-emigration motives and discourage other Sudanese expatriates to return.

All in all, it can be concluded that highly skilled migrants have a high potential for capacity development on organizational level. Yet, the effect of highly skilled return migration on capacity development would certainly be substantially larger if more benign conditions were in place.

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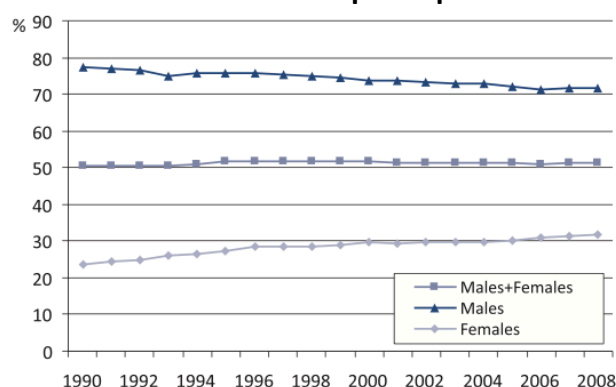
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Appendix:

Annex 1: Total labor force participation rates by sex 1990-2008



Source: ILO (2010)

Annex 2: Migration of university professors 2008-2012

Year	Saudi-Arabia	UAE	Qatar	Kuwait	Oman	Libya	Other	Total
2008	17	2	-	-	1	-	1	21
2009	87	1	-	-	1	-	1	90
2010	207	1	-	-	-	2	1	211
2011	528	2	-	-	3	-	2	535
2012	988	1	-	-	-	10	3	1002
Total	1827	7	-	-	5	12	8	1859

Source: Ministry of Labour and Human Resource Development (2013)

Annex 3: Migration of doctors 2008-2012

Year	Saudi-Arabia	UAE	Qatar	Kuwait	Oman	Libya	Other	Total	% Increase
2008	331	4	1	-	2	-	-	338	-
2009	444	13	1	1	10	-	2	471	39.3 %
2010	1261	26	1	1	6	-	2	1297	175.4 %
2011	1276	11	-	-	15	-	-	1302	0.3 %
2012	1118	25	1	2	47	426	1	1620	16.2 %
Total	4430	79	4	4	80	426	5	5028	

Source: Ministry of Labour and Human Resource Development (2013)

Annex 4: Survey

Survey Return migrants in Sudan



Universiteit Utrecht

Date:

Nr. Survey:

Thank you very much for taking part in this survey. The purpose of this survey is to gain insight into the motives of Sudanese return migrants, who have been studying or working abroad. This survey is part of an academic research project, carried out for the Master Program of International Development Studies at the University of Utrecht (the Netherlands). The data gathered from this survey will be used in a strictly

confidential way and solely for the purpose of the research. Anonymity will remain at all times. The conduction of this survey should take approximately 15 minutes.

Section 1: Situation before migration

Please indicate an X in the indicated location for the correct answer.

1. Residence before first emigration:

City: _____

2. What was the highest level of education level acquired before first emigration? (Please check one)

- None
- Primary
- Did not complete high school
- High School
- Bachelor's Degree
- Diploma
- Master's Degree
- Ph.D.
- Other, _____

3. What was your professional status in Sudan before first emigration?

- Employed
- Unemployed
- Student

4. What year did you first migrate and where to?

Year: _____ Country: _____

5. What were the reasons for migration? (Multiple answers possible)

- Education
- Family Reunification
- Financial Gains
- Other: _____
- Lack of Job Satisfaction
- Job Recruitment
- Political Issues

Section 2: Emigration period

6. How many years in total did you live in your first emigration destination?

7. Did you move to other country (ies) after your first emigration destination?

- Yes
- No (Continue to Q.8)

7a. Where to and for how long did you emigrate?

Country	Total number of years

8. Did you have an intention to return to Sudan when you first emigrated?

- Yes
- No
- Did not know

9. Who did you emigrate with?

- Alone
- With family members (Please specify number) _____
- Others, _____

10. Which activities did you do abroad? (Multiple answers possible)

- Study
- Training
- Work (Continue to Q.12)
- Other, _____ (Continue to Q.14)

11. What is the total period of time did you spend in studying or training? Please specify the total amount in months.

Studying: _____ Training: _____

11a. How did you pay for your studies and/or training? (Multiple answers possible)

Study Training

- Scholarship
- Family support
- Employer
- Own means
- Other, _____

Friends and relatives						
Children's education						
Familiarize children with Sudan (Culture, language, religion)						
Homesickness						
Job Placement / Promotion						
Accomplishment of migration objectives						
Saved enough money						
Business opportunity in Sudan						
Desire to impact development in Sudan						
Improved status in Sudan upon return						
Unemployment in host country						
Discrimination in host country						
Problems of adjustment in the host country						
High cost of living in host country						
Legal issues						
Retirement						
Other,						

22. In which field are you working or have you worked since you returned, what is/was your job position, in which sector is it and for how many years have you worked there?

Sector: 1 = Public sector 2= Private sector 3= Self-employed 4= Non-for-Profit/NGO

Work field/Discipline	Position	Sector	Years

23. Please rate the importance of the following factors in your decision to work for the field(s) you named in the previous question.

	1 = Not Important					5 = Extremely Important	Not applicable
	1	2	3	4	5		
Experience							
Needs of the country							
Opportunity							
Other,							

24. How did you hear about your current job?

- Friends, family or ex-colleagues Direct contact from current employer
 News paper Company Website/social media
 Other, _____ Recruitment

25. How do you generally rate the position you currently have in Sudan compared to the position(s) you had in the country of emigration?

- Better Same Worse

Section 4: Human, Financial and Social capital

26. What kind of skills did you acquire abroad? (Multiple answers possible)

- None (Continue to Q. 27) Professional expertise
 Technical expertise Organizational and managerial expertise
 Soft skills (communication skills, teamwork, problem solving, critical observation etc.)
 Language skills Other, _____

26a. Are the acquired skills relevant to your current position?

- Extremely Relevant Relevant Not relevant

27. Have you tried to introduce new ideas or practices in your workplace?

- Yes No (Continue to Q. 28)

27a. Were your proposed ideas or practices adopted in your workplace?

- Yes No (Continue to Q. 27c)

27b. What was the impact of the implementation of your proposal?

- Improved co-workers performance
 Improved business processes/institution performance
 Other, _____

Annex 5: DAL's Website

Returning to Sudan

Sudan enjoys plentiful natural resources from fertile land to oil, minerals, etc that provide various opportunities for development. It is an interesting time to be in the country, and be part of the upcoming development successes to build and progress as challenges are immense.

Calibers that have good level of education combined with working experiences at reputable and well established overseas firms can bring a wealth of knowledge and experience to the local businesses as well as contributing to improving the quality of life by sharing and bringing best practices that raises the expectations and forces improvement.

Despite the many challenges that come with living in Sudan, it is yet a fulfilling experience and a rich family living that is incomparable to living elsewhere! In the last couple of years, Sudan - and Khartoum in particular - has encountered considerable development in different aspects of living infrastructure which made it more attractive for the Sudanese talent to compete on seeking opportunities to return home.

DAL Group opens the opportunities to many Sudanese abroad whom are returning home to invest in their knowledge and experience and wanting to be a part of DAL Group success...!

DAL (n.d). Returning to Sudan. Retrieved on 30 November 2015, <http://careers.dalgroup.com/returning>

Annex 6: Interview list

	S e x	Ag e	Host Countr y	Educ ation	Emigration motive	Migrati on year	How long	Retur n year	IS C O
1	F	37 - 47	Nether lands	MSc	Education + Family reunification	2002	10	2012	1
2	F	37 - 47	Spain	PhD	Family reunification	2001	14	-	2
3	M	48 - 59	Swede n	PhD	Education	1990	25	-	2
4	M	37 - 47	USA	PhD	Education	1997	15	2011	2
5	M	48 - 59	USA/C anada	BSc	Education	1990	10	2010	2
6	F	48 - 59	Belgiu m/ Nether lands	MSc	Education	1991	2	1993	2
7	M	37 - 47	UK	MSc	Education	2005	8	2007	2
8	M	37 -	NL	BSc	Education	2000	6	2006	3

		47							
9	M	48 - 59	Egypt, Uganda, UAE	BSc	Education	1996	19	2009	2
10	F	26 - 36	Malaysia	MSc	Education	2011	1	2012	2
11	M	48 - 59	USA	MSc	Education	1990	17	2007	2
12	F	26 - 36	Norway	MSc	Education	2008	1	2009	2
13	M	48 - 59	UK, UAE, USA	BSc	Situation Sudan + Education + Economic	1985	18	2003	1
14	M	37 - 47	Norway	PhD	Education	1988	6	2003	2
15	M	48 - 59	India, Kuwait	BSc	Education + Economic	1978	20	2007	1
16	F	26 - 36	Lebanon	MSc	Education	2011	3	2013	2
17	M	26 - 36	Saudi Arabia Ireland , USA	BSc	Born abroad	Born there	25	2015	2
18	F	18 - 25	USA, UK, EGYPT	BSc	Born abroad	Born there	21	2015	1
19	F	26 - 36	USA, UK	BSc	Born abroad	Born there	23	2009	1
20	M	48 - 59	Saudi Arabia	BSc	Education + Economic	1975	30	2002	1
21	F	26 - 36	Saudi Arabia	BSc	Born abroad	Born there	26	2013	5
22	F	26 - 36	Saudi Arabia	Diplo ma	Born abroad	Born there	24	2014	5
23	M	37 - 47	Saudi Arabia	BSc	Economic	1996	8	2004	1
24	M	37	USA	MSc	Education,	1996	9	2005	1

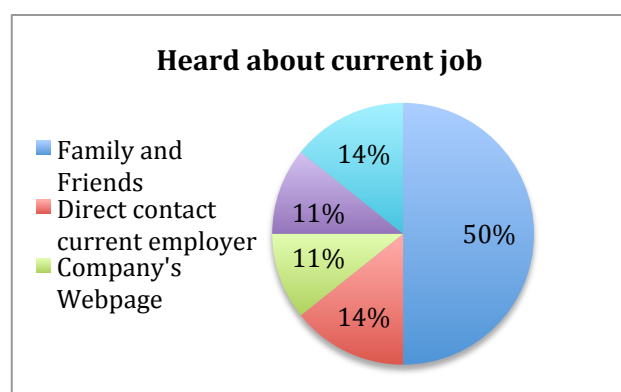
4		- 47			Economic				
25	M	37 - 47	Sweden	MSc	Education	2000	6	2006	1
26	M	37 - 47	Egypt, UAE	BSc	Family reunification	1994	12	2006	1
27	F	48 - 59	Sweden	MSc	Education	1990	2	1992	2
28	F	26 - 36	Saudi Arabia	BSc	Social	1998	17	2015	3
29	F	26 - 36	UK	PhD	Education	2011	2	2013	1

* Data of respondent 1 till 22 with exemption of 12 is collected through interviews, and 23 till 29 through survey.

Annex 7: ISCO of the International Labour Organisation (ILO)

ISCO	Example of positions- Sudan	Example of positions - Host
Major Group 1: Legislators, Senior Officials and Managers	Senior manager ...	Senior project manager
Major Group 2: Professionals	Doctors, academics, engineers	Research engineer
Major Group 3: Technicians and Associate Professionals	Infrastructure	Teacher's assistant
Major Group 4: Clerks	-	Cashier
Major Group 5: Service workers and shop and market sales workers	Sales representative	Sales representative

Annex 8: How heard of job?



Annex 9: Problem Power and water supply in Sudan

Sudanese protest against lack of water, power, and petrol

July 13 - 2015 KHARTOUM / EL GEDAREF

Protests erupted again in Khartoum, and also in eastern Sudan's El Gedaref, against the ongoing drinking water crises and power cuts in both cities.

In the Sudanese capital, angry residents of Abu Saad blocked the district's main street on Monday, condemning the continuing shortage of drinking water and electricity outages.

Eastern Sudan

The town of El Gedaref witnessed several demonstrations against water outages, occurring since more than five months, and the scarcity of petrol.

People living in El Nazir Bakar, El abbasiya, Kerfes, and Borno districts took to the streets, and formed a mass rally demanding the uninterrupted provision of water and fuel.



Donkey carts queuing in in front of a water station in Umbadda, Omdurman (file photo)

Source: Dabanga (2015). *Sudanese protest against lack of water, power and petrol*. Retrieved on 2 December 2015, <https://www.dabangasudan.org/en/all-news/article/sudanese-protest-against-lack-of-water-power-and-petrol>

Annex 10: Own experience

I myself was confronted with the problem of power outages during some interviews. While in most cases generators are turned on only a few minutes after the power outage, some organizations didn't have that luxury and have to continue work in 40 plus degrees weather. Furthermore during the three months I have been there, a few strikes were organized. One image that went viral during that time was of a man with his two young girl laying down on the matress he brought and put in the middle of one electricity office in Omdurman.