

Capitalizing on Translocal Affiliations Configuring Capital in Returnee Entrepreneurship

Haarman, Amanda; Langevang, Thilde

Document Version

Accepted author manuscript

Published in:

Global Networks: A Journal of Transnational Affairs

DOI:

[10.1111/glob.12303](https://doi.org/10.1111/glob.12303)

Publication date:

2021

License

Unspecified

Citation for published version (APA):

Haarman, A., & Langevang, T. (2021). Capitalizing on Translocal Affiliations: Configuring Capital in Returnee Entrepreneurship. *Global Networks: A Journal of Transnational Affairs*, 21(4), 703-722.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/glob.12303>

[Link to publication in CBS Research Portal](#)

General rights

Copyright and moral rights for the publications made accessible in the public portal are retained by the authors and/or other copyright owners and it is a condition of accessing publications that users recognise and abide by the legal requirements associated with these rights.

Take down policy

If you believe that this document breaches copyright please contact us (research.lib@cbs.dk) providing details, and we will remove access to the work immediately and investigate your claim.

Download date: 22. Mar. 2023



Capitalising on translocal affiliations: configuring capital in returnee entrepreneurship

This paper examines how returnee entrepreneurs seek to capitalise on translocal affiliations by deploying different forms of capital in their business practices. Based on a case study of returnees in Ghana's creative industries, the paper identifies three practices through which entrepreneurs configure capital to seize opportunities and deal with challenges of running a business as a returnee. The practice of *compensating* encompasses efforts at compensating for encountered obstacles in Ghana by taking advantage of unique translocal positions. *Fusing* involves creatively blending local and foreign aesthetics and business approaches, while *switching* implies adapting to social situations through changing bodily appearances and speech. The findings demonstrate that using capital back home is not merely a matter of transferring capital from abroad, but a translocal practice where capital is carefully configured. The paper highlights the importance of paying analytical attention to multiple sites of engagement and foregrounds African returnee entrepreneurs as transnational actors.

Keywords: returnee entrepreneurship; capital; Bourdieu; translocal; Ghana

Introduction

This paper focuses on a generation of young Ghanaians who while living abroad for several years, have now been pulled back to Ghana because of a growing economy and mix of patriotism and nostalgia (Wong, 2014). Through living in multiple places worldwide, these returnees acquired new ideas and a mix of knowledge, skills, and resources that they seek to use in their

new ventures in Ghana. Unlike previous generations of returnees, who were engaged in post-colonial nation building through the public sector, this new generation returns with an entrepreneurial spirit and belief in the private sector as the way forward (Avle, 2014).

This recent flow of returnees from North to South provides an opportunity for developing countries. Return migrants to Sub-Saharan Africa have become central to policy discussions on migration and development, wherein African returnees are referred to as ‘new actors in development’ (Richey & Ponte, 2014). In its enthusiasm over reversed brain drain or brain gain, policy discourse has taken on a celebratory tone, presenting an overly positive view of migrants’ capabilities as entrepreneurs and developers (Åkesson & Eriksson Baaz, 2015; De Haas, 2010). The discourse suggests an almost automatic transfer of resources, skills, and knowledge in ‘ready-made packages’ from the Global North, as highlighted by Åkesson (2016, 115). Based on the belief that returnee entrepreneurs have gained superior skills and knowledge in the Global North, they are hailed as ‘super-entrepreneurs’ (Naudé, Siegel, & Marchand, 2017).

However, the extant research on returnee entrepreneurship has shown that transferring resources from abroad is not as straightforward as policy suggests. Studies have stressed the importance of ‘adapting’, ‘adjusting’, or ‘converting’ resources to become useful in the local context (Åkesson & Eriksson Baaz, 2015; Kleist, 2015) and highlighted the many obstacles and challenges returnee entrepreneurs encounter at home. Moreover, while returnees have been described as potential ‘brokers’ who ‘channel’ or ‘diffuse’ knowledge, ideas, and resources from abroad, the research shows how returnees are challenged by limited local knowledge and networks back home. However, little is known about how returnee entrepreneurs tackle the difficulties encountered and how they seek to take advantage of their translocal resources, exposure, and position. Although current research points to the key importance of capital adaptation to the local

context, there is insufficient understanding of how such adaptation occurs in entrepreneurship practice. In this paper, we therefore explore how returnees deploy capital in their ventures to capitalise on their translocal affiliations.

The paper is based on a case study of Ghanaian returnee entrepreneurs engaged in the creative industries in Ghana and adopts Bourdieu's theory of practice (1977) as the analytical frame to analyse how capital is used in alignment with habitus and a multitude of fields. The analysis identifies three key entrepreneurship practices illustrating how Ghanaian returnee entrepreneurs seek to maximise the use of a mix of capital derived from their translocal affiliations. To capture these significant practices, we introduce the term *configuring capital*. Configuring capital is an umbrella term for the manifold ways in which returnees skilfully configure diverse capital from different cross-border localities to overcome the challenges they face and/or capitalise on the opportunities they recognise as homecomers operating a business in Ghana.

The remainder of this paper is organised in four sections. The first section reviews existing research on the use of capital by returnee entrepreneurs in the Global South and outlines the analytical framework employed. The second section introduces the research setting and outlines our methodology. The third section presents the analysis, and finally, we conclude with a discussion of these findings.

Studying the use of capital in returnee entrepreneurship

This paper engages with two key streams of literature on returnee entrepreneurship. The first is migration and development research, which is concerned with the link between human mobility and development and studies returnees as engaged in the development of their nation, often on the African continent. This research mirrors policy focus on discussions on brain gain and sees

the return of highly skilled individuals as a resource to be tapped into, harnessed, and mobilised to solve critical labour shortages, increase investment, and spur entrepreneurial activity (Bakewell, 2008; De Haas, 2010). Policy discourse also raises expectations regarding returnees' presumed translocal embeddedness and identification, expecting them to 'mediate between cultures' and thus combine knowledge, skills, and ideas from so-called Western societies with those in their countries of origin (Van Houte, 2014, p. 569). This stream simplistically portrays migrants returning from the Global North as armed with ready-to-use knowledge, skills, and other resources (Åkesson, 2016). Commonly referred to as the 'rucksack approach' to returnees (Erel, 2010), this approach suggests an almost automatic transfer of resources to the home country, as indicated by Åkesson & Eriksson Baaz (2015).

Aiming to counterbalance the overly positive discourse, migration and development research has taken a critical approach towards returnees' capital endowments and derived abilities. For example, a study on return migrants to Ghana showed that the key to lucratively using resources, skills, and knowledge from abroad was adapting to local conditions. As a precondition for using capital well, for example to face local challenges or contribute to development processes, returnees needed to thoroughly understand the Ghanaian context, which some did not after living abroad for several years (Kleist, 2015). This literature also strongly critiques Western ethnocentric ideas of a unidirectional movement of resources flowing from the Global North to Global south, as if the opposite could not be the case. For instance, a study on Cape Verdean returnee entrepreneurs stressed the importance of local capital accumulation by showing how returnees draw on capital they acquired in Cape Verde before migrating and after their return (e.g. local social networks; knowledge of local markets) (Åkesson, 2016).

The second stream of literature is international or transnational entrepreneurship research, which centres on the business aptitude of highly skilled returnees in emerging economies. This research is dominated by Asian (mainly Chinese) experiences (Bai, Holmström Lind, & Johanson, 2016; Kenney, Breznitz, & Murphree, 2013), and explores the benefits of international return migration in terms of the instrumental commercial value of acquired resources to business. Most research centres on returnees' business strategies (Zhou & Hsu, 2011) including internationalisation strategies (Gittins, Lang, & Sass, 2015) or firm performance such as innovation performance (Lin, Lu, Liu, & Choi, 2014) and export performance (Filatotchev, Liu, Buck, & Wright, 2009). These scholars studied the 'transfer' or 'diffusion' of knowledge and capabilities from abroad by stressing that resources are context specific (Bai et al., 2016). For instance, Li et al. (2012) found that Chinese returnees had become so unfamiliar with Chinese society and business practices that they felt rootless and suffered from a liability of foreignness similar to foreign firms.

Both streams of literature have produced evidence that the use of capital from abroad is not straightforward and highlight the need for adaptation to ensure that capital becomes useful and valuable in operating a business back home. Furthermore, both streams have shown that returnees sometimes succeed and sometimes fail in this respect, describing how their ability to adapt capital relies on how well-versed the returnee is with the home country context after spending significant parts of their lives abroad. Less attention has been paid to capital adaptation in returnees' daily entrepreneurial practices. We know little about the practices African returnee entrepreneurs employ when endowed with multiple cross-border affiliations. There is much to learn about how assimilated exposure and accumulated experiences influence capital deployment. Åkesson (2016) noted that we should reckon with the multi-sited character of

returnees' capital acquisition, but knowledge of how returnees use capital from multiple localities in their entrepreneurship practices remains limited.

This paper examines the practices employed by contemporary Ghanaian returnees to understand how these entrepreneurs aim to make the most of their cross-border positionality and resources acquired in multiple localities (not restricted to the Global North). To study this, we draw on Bourdieu's (1977) theory of practice and his key concepts of capital, habitus, and field.

According to this theory, practices emerge from an actor's position in a field (capital) and frame of reference (habitus) in a specific social arena (field). The theory of practice has become an increasingly popular theoretical framework in research on migration (e.g. Kleist, 2015; Nedelcu, 2012), entrepreneurship (e.g. De Clercq & Voronov, 2009; McKeever, Anderson, & Jack, 2014), and transnational migrant entrepreneurs (e.g. Drori, Honig, & Wright, 2009; Patel & Conklin, 2009).

Bourdieu's concept of capital includes material and symbolic goods that are valuable in a particular field (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 178). Capital is conceived of as pertaining to the individual as an endowment, something that is owned or embodied by the actor. It defines an actor's power to access the profits at stake in a field and thereby, an actor's position in that field (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). Bourdieu distinguishes four forms of capital: economic, cultural, social, and symbolic capital, the latter considered a derivative of the former three (Bourdieu, 1986). Habitus is an actor's disposition acquired through past experiences and exposure to the 'rules of the game' of fields, which have become embodied in the form of mental and corporeal schemata of perception (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 16). Habitus is an actor's 'feel for the game', providing a frame of reference to act and react in coherence with the field (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 223). Finally, Bourdieu's view of society is bound with his concept of field,

where society is conceptualised as consisting of a multitude of multi-layered and overlapping social sub-sections (Bourdieu, 1977).

To conceive returnees' simultaneous engagement with multiple localities, the study adopts a translocal perspective, understood in its simplest form as 'a simultaneous situatedness across different locales' (Brickell & Datta, 2011, p. 4). This perspective facilitates understanding how flows of people, materials (resources, products) as well as symbolic and imaginative aspects (images, symbols, styles) interconnect localities. A translocal perspective is adopted to make visible the more complex ways in which returnees deploy capital from multiple localities, often simultaneously. Localities refer to places to which returnees hold a certain affinity or affiliation, where friends and family reside, or where they - as self-proclaimed 'citizens of the world' - feel comfortable manoeuvring.

We define translocal fields as 'arenas of scale-transcending interaction' where 'multidirectional and overlapping networks facilitate the circulation of people, resources, practices and ideas' (Greiner & Sakdapolrak, 2013, pp. 375, 378). This definition is useful for conceptualising Bourdieu's original concept beyond national boundaries and embraces the importance of localities without reducing localities to 'container spaces' such as *here* and *there* (Greiner & Sakdapolrak, 2013, p. 375). Rather than studying the use of capital by returnee entrepreneurs as a balancing act between *here* and *there* or between home country and host country (Patel & Conklin, 2009), we conceive of entrepreneurship practices as intimately and intrinsically intertwined with multiple localities.

Finally, we introduce the concept of *configuring capital*. This concept is helpful to conceive capital deployment by returnees as characterised by efforts to create alignment between capital, habitus, and field. When configuring capital, different forms of capital (regardless of where

acquired) are arranged into particular constellations adapted to the business context. Habitus, as internalised schemes of perceptions, informs this alignment-seeking practice with the goal to seize opportunities and/or overcome challenges presented by social fields.

Methodology

This case study on capital deployment by Ghanaian returnee entrepreneurs is set against the backdrop of the contemporary return of highly skilled migrants who are pulled back to Africa, discouraged by dwindling economies in the Global North after the 2007-8 financial crisis while encouraged by an invigorated African optimism and prospects of economic growth on the continent. Ghana offers a fascinating case for exploring returnee entrepreneurship, as the country experienced significant outward migration to the Global North from the 1980s onwards, but has witnessed high numbers of returnees since the beginning of the 2000s (Schans, Mazzucato, Schoumarker, & Flahaux, 2013).

The returnees in this study are all part of the segment of Ghanaian migrants who moved beyond West Africa. In Ghanaian society, returnees are defined as migrants who return after an intended temporary period abroad. The returnees in this case belong to the elite returnees residing in Accra and resemble the subgroup of returnees that Wong (2014) described as a small and intimate community where ‘everybody knows everybody’ (2014, p. 443). They have different characteristics to the so-called ‘burgers’, referring to those Ghanaians who migrated to Europe or North America to do blue-collar jobs and returned thereafter (Nieswand, 2014). We also distinguish the returnees in this paper from returning second-generation Ghanaians in the diaspora (children of the so-called ‘brain drain generation’) (Aboagye, 2016) and from ancestral/heritage returnees (African American and Afro-Caribbean), since these ‘homecomers’ never lived in Ghana before relocating (King & Christou, 2011). Therefore, the returnees in our

study are not representative of the vastly heterogeneous group of returnees in Ghana. They belong to the rather privileged and elitist subgroup of returnees residing in Accra (Ammassari, 2004; Wong, 2014). While small in size, they are considered significant for socio-economic development in Ghana because of the skills and resources brought back home (Government of Ghana, 2016). There are no official statistics on returnee entrepreneurship in Ghana; however, Grant (2009) states that about 50 percent of returnees in Accra become self-employed, 15 percent join foreign companies, and others come home to retire or are otherwise engaged. Returnees operate in a range of industries through which many find their way into the creative industries, an emerging sector in Ghana currently hailed as having the potential to create employment and inclusive development (Langevang, 2017; UNCTAD, 2010).

Field research was carried out in Accra in 2016. The study used a qualitative case study which allowed us to explore situated practices and experiences in depth. Given the limited knowledge of returnee entrepreneurship in African contexts and our aim to gain insight into this complex phenomenon, the study was exploratory in nature. Our study on the translocal practices of returnees would ideally have been a multi-sited study. However, this is a demanding option in terms of time and resources. Instead, following Boccagni's (2012) suggestion, we conducted in-depth interviews at one site (Accra), which included questions concerning the transnational aspects of the returnees' lives and their cross-border engagements. The study drew on in-depth interviews with ten returnee entrepreneurs, who were selected through purposive sampling based on their engagement in the creative industries and migration history, and then snowball sampling was used to identify more participants (Noy, 2008).

All interviews lasted for 1.5 to 2 hours, and with participants' consent, were recorded. In addition, observations were carried out during the interviews at the returnees' workplace and in

various social settings in Accra where they spend time (such as cafés and restaurants). The interviews covered three main topics: the migration period, return to Ghana, and (transnational) entrepreneurship practices in the creative industries. Participants steered the order in which these topics were addressed and were free to introduce new ones. Furthermore, ten key informants working at government institutions and business associations were interviewed to better understand the political climate, economic context, and broader socio-cultural space in which these returnees operate as entrepreneurs.

All returnees had lived in the US and/or the UK and seven returnees had lived in multiple countries over their lifetime (up to seven countries). All have a tertiary education, a middle-class family background, and their parents were civil servants, entrepreneurs, or doctors, often with international degrees and careers. Five returnees spent significant parts of their childhood abroad and had moved back and forth to Ghana over their lifetime, resulting in complex migration trajectories. The other five had travelled overseas during childhood to visit family (e.g. a parent, older sibling, and/or aunts/uncles) and left Ghana after secondary school to attend college or university abroad. They all returned between 2008 and 2015, are in their late 20s or 30s, and currently run small or micro-sized enterprises. Eight research participants are fashion designers or graphic designers; one is a writer and operates a digital media platform for stories about and by Africa(ns); and one is a writer, art historian, and filmmaker running a cultural research centre.

The interview transcripts were analysed thematically using Nvivo. First, we coded the data using ‘concept-driven codes’ (Gibbs, 2007) derived from the analytical framework (identifying forms of capital, habitus, and fields). Second, we identified the links between the concepts to understand their interactions. Simultaneously, we followed a data-driven coding process to ensure we were open to new insights. In this analysis, the importance of returnees’ translocal

affiliations became apparent. The analysis revealed several practices, which show how returnees deploy capital in the interaction with habitus and field. Aggregating these, we identified three key practices, which are analysed in the following section. Figure 1 shows the abductive analysis process (Danermark, Ekström, Jakobsen, & Kar, 2002), illustrating how we moved from first and second-order codes to the aggregate practices.

[Insert Figure 1 around here]

Configuring capitals

In this section, we explore how Ghanaian returnee entrepreneurs capitalise on the mix of capital derived from their translocal affiliations, a set of practices we call *configuring capital*.

Compensating

One key practice that emerged from the analysis is compensating. Through this practice, returnee entrepreneurs seek to compensate for the challenges they encounter in Ghana by putting their unique translocal position into play. Shortly after their return to Ghana, the returnees we interviewed realised that business in the home country is different to what they had become accustomed to abroad. Having been shaped by how things work abroad, the returnees have difficulties accepting and dealing with the challenging conditions they face in Ghana. In their narratives, they described business abroad as straightforward and transparent, as Rita¹, a jewellery and handbag designer who lived in different places in the US before returning to Ghana in 2015, explained:

I think, uhm, some returnees can't handle it at all, because you have been in a system. Like I said, I lived in the US since I was 17 and came back at 37, and

¹ All names are pseudonyms

you have been used to things running smoothly and then you come back and you have to be like, 'wow, what just happened?'

Operating from their base in Ghana is far from straightforward. Our respondents found themselves having to circumvent infrastructural and institutional deficits, and had to come to terms with their own limited cultural understanding and local business knowledge (a 'feel for the game', or *habitus*). Despite returning to Ghana two to eight years ago, most returnees regret not having completely figured out or made amends with how to effectively deal with the local culture and ways of doing business. The returnees not only felt out of tune with how business is done in Ghana, they had also been exposed to foreign business approaches that they consider superior (e.g. better customer service; transparency; punctuality). They find it difficult to 'shake off' these newly acquired 'soft skills' in Ghana, and to some extent, are reluctant to do so. It is a recurring theme in returnee entrepreneurship studies that returnees claim to have acquired superior work ethics and higher standards in terms of customer service (Åkesson, 2016; Ammassari, 2004), sometimes even portraying themselves as morally superior to 'stayers' (Eriksson Baaz, 2015). They find the contrasts between how things were done outside (a common way to refer to places abroad, typically in the Global North) and now in Ghana frustrating. These frustrations come up mainly in interactions with local employees and suppliers. For instance, Kofi, the co-owner of an eyewear company, delayed hiring staff because he was 'dreading it' after watching others struggle with their personnel. Those who are supplied by or do employ Ghanaians in their businesses had many stories to tell about their struggles. Nadia, for example, narrated:

Just in terms of trying to get anything done. People would be like, 'yeah yeah yeah, I did it, I am sending it to you today'. (...) And you'd be like, 'please just

tell me the truth, tell me you have not done it' (...). It would drive me mad.

(Nadia, writer, art historian, and filmmaker)

Seeking to compensate for the deficits is experienced as a 'liability of foreignness', a common phenomenon in returnee entrepreneurship research in emerging economies. Such liability was described by Li et al. (2012) as a disadvantage for Chinese returnee entrepreneurs compared to local entrepreneurs due to being unfamiliar or 'out of tune' with the local business context. Qin et al. (2017) similarly observed how Chinese returnee entrepreneurs' unfamiliarity with the institutional environment resulted in difficulties securing critical local resources, slowing down venture start-ups. These studies describe how returnees seek to mitigate a liability of foreignness by either 'leveraging' their resources and technological know-how from abroad (Qin et al., 2017, p. 704) or by simply accepting that it takes time to improve their social, cultural, and institutional understanding and reconnect with 'critical local constituents' (Li et al., 2012, p. 269). Our findings enrich this research, firstly, by highlighting that offsetting a liability of foreignness is an ongoing countervailing practice, and secondly by illustrating how this practice involves configuring capital anchored both in Ghana and outside (not merely using foreign capital as leverage). By virtue of adopting a translocal perspective, we observed how apart from investing in (re)familiarising themselves inside, the returnees primarily seek translocal solutions as they compensate for their local liabilities.

Seeking outside solutions consists of outsourcing activities to foreign suppliers or locating entire parts of the value chain abroad. For example, Kofi postponed moving his production facility to Ghana, which is his deep desire and has been the 'game plan' from the beginning. Instead, he opted for Canada until he 'first figures things out'. Furthermore, Abeena, who lived a large part of her life in England before relocating to Ghana in 2012, relies on international suppliers for the

sales-end of her business and sought the help of a photographer and creative agency based in England to design her website and online store. Even after living in Ghana for several years, her website is still hosted by the same agency despite her wish to contract a Ghanaian supplier. She struggles finding a photographer that can deliver the international look she aspires to and the price quality she can get outside.

The returnees are able to rely on outside solutions because of their positionality between different places and ability to tap into their geographically diverse social capital. Their social capital - defined as 'the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition' (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 281) - is often not limited to the places in which they had resided, but has expanded geographically over time as contacts from school or work settled in new locations globally. Since returnees are in constant connection with these international networks, it is relatively straightforward for them to find suppliers, subcontractors, and partners abroad:

I studied in England and my very good friend was Thai, so I did my internship in Thailand. (...) I then got to know the market and I thought [about] sourcing from [Thailand], you also find different things in Thailand than in other places. And India, I went there by chance, but luckily, I have friends, two very good friends from London, who live there, so I go, stay in their houses, and then source from the market. (Nina, jewellery and hair accessory designer)

The returnees also engage in compensating when circumventing a relatively small internal market in Ghana by seeking to sell their creative products abroad. In addition to a deep desire to operate from and create employment in Ghana, many returnees also expressed a strong wish to

include Ghanaians in their customer base. However, they experience a general lack of appreciation for their art and a low willingness to pay for their creative and cultural products among Ghanaians. According to a representative from the Ghana Association of Visual Artists (GAVA), there is little appreciation for creative arts among the general public in Ghana and a general lack of political will to develop the creative industries. He stated that, ‘...they [politicians] think that in art there are less intelligent people’. In his opinion, the creative industries have deteriorated over the last 15 years, and he voiced concerns that for local artists ‘...it has become tougher and tougher’. Bernadette, a fashion designer who returned to Ghana after years of studying in France and working in Côte d’Ivoire similarly commented that ‘unfortunately, most arts-oriented business is not valued’. Moreover, for the moment, disposable income in Ghana is relatively low, which means that returnees’ clientele is limited to those in the middle class. Therefore, the returnees turn their commercial gaze abroad and draw heavily on family members and friends in the diaspora who stock inventory in their homes, sell products to their own friends, and help organise ‘pop-up sales’ and ‘bazaars’ across Europe and the US.

Another way in which some returnees try to overcome their liabilities is to seek assistance from local Ghanaians. Such local assistance is used to bridge the cultural distance between the locally embedded Ghanaian and globally inclined returnee and is often family members or peers. Kofi sought the help of friends who understand the rules of the game in Ghana:

You are constantly having to have other people guide you through processes. You should ideally be able to just get up and do it yourself, but you can’t because it is milky waters.

Similarly, Abeena turned to her mother when she needed to earn the trust of the weaving community that she employs in the rural northern part of Ghana to create the bags for her brand. Being an Ashanti (seen as ‘from the South’) and having lived abroad, which is evident from her

British English accent, she experienced difficulties in building trust and fruitful work relationships with the rural community. She visited the weaving community several times on her own without being able to establish relationships of trust. On several occasions she experienced that the women did not produce what they had agreed to. Abeena explained that the community did not believe that she was coming back to the community again to actually collect the bags, because, ‘...they have people from different countries come in and nothing came out of it’. She compensated for her lack of local connections and affinity to connect with the community by bringing her mother along who was able to establish rapport with the community after having several conversations with different members of the community.

When I started working with them, I needed to make them understand my vision and where I was really coming from and also, I was really young. I am not that young ha-ha but for them, they love working with older people, because they feel they can afford to pay them or are a bit more serious. Me, I was just a young girl that would tell them to do something, so they did not really like that. I would take my mum with me and that is when they really believed that this is it. I told my mum ‘please you have to come with me, this is the only way they will believe what I am doing is actually real’. So I took my mum there in 2015, last year actually, when we had a discussion with the whole weaving community and then they were like really understanding.

Through the association with her mother, who is a woman of older age (a form of symbolic capital) and more versed in traditional Ghanaian customs (a form of cultural capital), Abeena convinced the community that she runs a ‘serious’ business and established trust in her ‘vision’ and ‘different views of work ethic’. By vouching for her daughter, trust was extended to Abeena, which helped to bridge her lack of local cultural and social capital as an outsider.

Returnees further compensate for their lack of local knowledge and networks by gravitating towards Ghanaians with similar backgrounds and experiences to them. On numerous occasions, the returnees would mention people who have travelled or otherwise gained a ‘global mindset’, and are often also returnees. The returnees seek business partners and employees who, as Kofi notes, ‘understand Ghana, but at the same time have experiences outside’. Janan explains that these are ‘...people I am on the same wavelength with’, referring to those ‘...who are similar in the sense that they are creative, entrepreneurial, and have a global perspective, so they are bit more open-minded’.

Compensating for their liability of foreignness remains, however, at the interpersonal level, since institutional support is limited. Interviews with key public institutions showed how government support bypasses returnee entrepreneurs. Despite an encouraging government discourse on the creative industries as drivers of development, institutional support for the creative arts tends to be private (e.g. Nubuke Foundation; Kuenyehia Prize for Contemporary Ghanaian Art) or international/foreign (e.g. the British Council; Goethe-Institut; Alliance Française). A representative from the Ministry of Tourism and Creative Arts explained that culture and creative arts in Ghana is supported mostly through the lens of tourism meaning that the ministry supports activities that are catered to tourists, such as cultural festivals and traditional art forms. Contemporary art forms are therefore overlooked. Similarly, a representative from the Ghana Investment Promotion Centre (a Government agency tasked with promoting foreign investments in Ghana) also revealed that their support bypasses the activities of returnee entrepreneurs. Investment promotion is skewed towards attracting the capital of Ghanaian residents abroad (in addition to foreign capital) rather than harnessing the knowledge, skills and professional expertise of the Ghanaians who have returned. Returnee entrepreneurs are therefore off the radar,

although some attention to returnees has recently emerged, for example, in relation to a new Diaspora Engagement Policy, which is currently in the making. Facing this lack of institutional support and experiencing many challenges, some returnees have joined forces in a network for returnees, which according to its founder seeks to provide a support system for young Ghanaian professionals who are thinking about or have returned home.

Whether it is turning towards their social networks outside or seeking local assistance, we observed how the returnees engage in the daily practice of coming up with translocal solutions. They compensate for what they experience as a deficit, a difficulty, or general challenge of operating an enterprise in Ghana. Although localising their business in Ghana is their future ambition, these returnees lack the necessary local cultural and social capital (at least for the moment) to deal with the conditions they are presented with in Ghana. In compensating for capital deficits, the returnees turn to translocal solutions; carefully configuring local and foreign capitals to offset their liability.

Fusing

Another key practice employed by the returnees interviewed is fusing. Through this practice, returnee entrepreneurs seek to capitalise on their translocal affiliation by blending Ghanaian and foreign cultural references, aesthetics, and approaches to business. In their own words, the Ghanaian returnees bring the ‘best of both worlds’ together by tapping into both their capital acquired in Ghana and abroad such as knowledge, skills, networks, and new ideas to design products and brands.

Having lived and worked abroad fostered hybrid identities as well as a renewed interest in Ghanaian culture and stronger connection to Ghana. Janan, for example, who lived in Norway, the US, France, Senegal, Italy, Tunisia, and Côte d’Ivoire before returning to Ghana in 2015,

expressed that she feels, ‘...very Ghanaian and very African, but I consider myself to be a global citizen as well’. At the same time, being continuously confronted with their otherness abroad has created consciousness and appreciation of their roots in Ghana, a phenomenon described by Gu and Schweisfurth (2015) as ‘diaspora consciousness’. This diaspora consciousness triggered Nadia, a female writer, art historian, and filmmaker to start a cultural research centre in Accra, which aims to provide a much-needed African perspective on history, society, and culture. She lived in Germany and England as a child and young adult before returning to Ghana in 2012. By growing up in different contexts, Nadia feels comfortable in diverse situations and can, in her words, ‘...walk into any room and pretty much make my case’. Today, she uses this to her advantage as a multilocal actor, a role in which she is successful in applying for funding opportunities globally while strongly relying on a local social network of artists to carry out the projects.

Their past cross-cultural experiences and global sense of self had important consequences for capital deployment in their ventures. The returnees creatively combine global and local references in their creations and operations, which reflects the plurality of their own sense of self (hybrid identities) and sense of belonging (feeling Ghanaian but also like citizens of the world). This has resulted in a variety of new business concepts run by returnee entrepreneurs across the city of Accra. As Alisa, who lived in Italy, Uganda, and the US and currently resides in New York and Accra, expressed:

I think what is beautiful about returnees is that many of them are spread worldwide, all these interesting people from so many different places that are well educated and also really tied to Ghana. They are tied to both. They are a little bit of a lot of things. When they come back or establish ideas in Ghana,

they are (...) creating this fusion. (...) It is taking things that are more common outside Ghana and blending them together like in a milkshake.

The act of skilfully drawing on cultural references, materials, and aesthetics and combining them into brands, designs, and business operations that appeal to audiences both inside and outside Ghana (in the diaspora and beyond), or what we call *fusing*, is a practice where the interaction between Bourdieu's concepts of capital, habitus, and field becomes apparent.

The returnees interviewed rely on various cultural, social, and symbolic capital from multiple localities (e.g. extensive social networks abroad; knowledge of consumer preferences) to blend Ghanaian and foreign cultural references (i.e. materials and symbols). They use cultural capital, which can present itself in an embodied state as incorporated attitudes and abilities (e.g. consumer knowledge), in an objectified state as cultural goods (e.g. wearing certain clothing), and in an institutionalised state as formalised qualifications (e.g. an MA in Fine Arts from a renowned school abroad) (Bourdieu, 1986).

Fusing requires numerous types of capital and their habitus to be in tune with the fields the returnees operate in, which translates into knowing what the market desires and what aesthetic resonates with different audiences in Ghana and outside. For example, Miranda, a fashion designer who lived in Denmark, Bulgaria, France, Côte d'Ivoire and the US before returning to Ghana in 2011, uses a traditional Ghanaian weaving technique using raffia, which is a natural straw-like material from a palm tree. However, rather than using the vibrant colour combinations Ghanaian fashion is known for, she uses plain pastel and primary colour tones, a combination (natural materials and soft colour tones) that according to Miranda, resonates well with an international audience. Another example is Kofi, who strongly draws on Ghanaian and cultural references to shape the global appeal and aesthetics of his brand. The brand name (*Bôhten*) is a

fusion of his business partner's name (Boateng - a common Ghanaian name) with a more international look, feel, and sound, which according to Kofi, combines 'the best of both worlds'.

Apart from a blended aesthetic, fusing is central to the everyday operations of returnees, from the sourcing of materials to the designing and selling of their creative products and continuous shaping of brand stories on social media. In design processes, the returnees fuse cultural capital from abroad (e.g. knowledge about concept development and branding) with local cultural capital (e.g. knowledge about traditional Ghanaian weaving techniques; traditional materials such as raffia, *Kente*, wax prints, and *Adinkra* symbols). For example, Nina, a female accessory designer who went to fashion school in England and lived for short periods in Thailand and Nigeria before returning to Ghana in 2008, uses African wax print to design jewellery. Her sourcing practices and design process is guided by her feeling for what appeals to her European and African clientele:

In China, you can source what is going to be coming soon, so you find the chains that will be in the next fashion, the things that are going to be on the high streets in Europe the next season. This is why I like China. In India, you find very different pieces not easy to find anywhere else. Lebanon as well, (...) the kinds of pieces they select are completely different from when you go elsewhere. So everywhere I find myself doing a little bit of research and then I buy from there. So I buy a lot from Barcelona and England too, and then I fuse them.

Social capital is another key capital that sustains the practice of fusing. In the excerpt below, Miranda illustrates the importance of international social networks to her design process. It shows how fusing emerges from the productive interaction between her social capital (friends abroad), habitus (sense of direction), and the field (exposure to international fields):

When I started designing, I was not just designing for a Ghanaian audience. Having international exposure meant that when I was designing, I could see that ‘my American friends could wear this, or my French friends could wear this’. The interesting thing is that I could talk to them and say, ‘what do you think about this and how does it appeal to you, would you wear it, what don’t you like about it’. It helps the design process, not necessarily having been to fashion school.

Kofi’s quote below similarly illustrates how his ability to fuse local and foreign capital springs from an on-going interaction between his embodied understanding of different markets and his connections abroad:

I draw heavily on my connections when it comes to some projects I am working on and I understand different markets. I understand Ghanaians, as much as I have learned so far, and I understand how people see things from the West as well. It is a very useful instruction for what I do, because when I am working on a project, I am thinking about it not just in terms of one demarcation, but ‘how does this thing become global’, and I think that having those connections keeps you in tune with what is going on.

The practice of fusing demonstrates how returnees artfully combine references and customs from different cultures by drawing on the interplay between their diverse stock of cultural and social capital from multiple locations and feel for the game, which spans multiple localities and continents. When fusing, the returnees’ hybrid identity and embodied experiences become expressed both in material form (e.g. fashion products; brand names) and operations (e.g. design process; sourcing materials; creating sales).

The observed dynamics among Ghanaian returnee entrepreneurs enrich our current understanding of the advantages enjoyed by transnationally positioned entrepreneurs. While existing research tends to describe how transnational entrepreneurs capitalize on a cross-border position by ‘leveraging’ or ‘transferring’ capital across environments (Patel & Conklin, 2009; Terjesen & Elam, 2009), the practice of fusing exposes how capitalizing on a cross-border position involves the skilful blending or merging of a diverse stock of capital from a multitude of localities.

Switching

The final key practice that emerged from the analysis is switching, which involves the changing of returnees’ appearance, mannerisms, and language to adapt to situations encountered as entrepreneurs in Ghana. The returnees resourcefully play with different forms of capital to switch their appearance as a way of influencing how they are perceived by others, to connect with others, and ultimately smoothen business practices.

After having lived in the Global North for several years, switching helps returnees deal with social situations in Ghana that no longer seem familiar and where they occasionally feel (and are made to feel) an outsider. They experience prejudice, which comes from being singled out as ‘having been abroad’. In the local Ghanaian context, this often goes with thinking that returnees arrive in Ghana with loads of money and have it easy. As pointed out in the literature on African returnees, locals often criticise returnees for having ‘lost their culture’ (Åkesson & Eriksson Baaz, 2015, p. 5) or as ‘know-it-all’ or ‘have been tos’ (Ammassari, 2010). A foreign accent, either speaking English or Twi (the most widely spoken local language in Accra), is often a cue for locals to recognise returnees in Ghana. Nadia said that when she was young, locals would call her *oburoni* (white person, foreigner) and mentioned:

I do definitely speak Twi with an accent, so there is a lot of ‘where did you get that weird accent from?’

On the other hand, speaking English with a foreign accent is an asset according to these returnees because it signals ‘having been abroad’. According to Rita, ‘...that is everybody’s dream, going to the US or to the UK’. The desirability of a foreign English accent is apparent and prevalent among the young and hip in contemporary Ghana who aspire to belong to ‘an imagined global community’ (Shoba, Dako, & Orfson-Offei, 2013, p. 233). It also manifests in the emergence of a ‘locally acquired foreign accent’ or LAFA for short, a linguistic trick of forging an accent that ‘mimics American slang’ that does not require having been abroad (Ayew, 2013, p. 2). Thus, in the Ghanaian context where there is almost a collective desire to travel abroad, a foreign accent could be symbolic capital (Langevang & Gough, 2009). As defined by Bourdieu, symbolic capital (e.g. status; prestige; reputation) is a ‘transubstantiation’ of other forms of capital, since ‘the value of any form of capital depends, in part, upon social (re)cognition’ (Grenfell, 2014, p. 88,109).

However, apart from using their accent to stand out and capitalise on having been abroad, the returnees are also preoccupied with fitting in. They stressed how the art of speaking a local Ghanaian language without a foreign accent is a virtue, which some acknowledged (and resented) as not mastering completely. Speaking a local language or English with a local accent would allow them to overcome language barriers and blend in to mitigate their liability of foreignness such as prejudice from locals. However, having lived abroad during significant parts of their life and thus sometimes falling short in this respect, their ability to switch between languages (an embodied cultural capital) becomes key. Through experiences abroad, the returnees assimilated embodied schemes of perception and a bodily conduct along with a

cognitive feel for the game, which (consciously or unconsciously) informs their ability to physically adapt to field conditions or what can be captured by the metaphor of chameleoning.

Migration and racial/ethnic studies have used the chameleon metaphor to describe ways of managing contextual selves to overcome challenges (e.g. racism) (Trąbka, 2014) using concepts such as ‘chameleon habitus’ (Abrahams & Ingram, 2013, p. 10) and ‘chameleon socialization’ (Daenekindt & Roose, 2013, p. 320). Diaspora studies use the term ‘cosmopolitan competence’ to describe how the ability to adapt communication styles can become a person’s means of representation, illustrating how it helps migrants in minority contexts cope effectively with different cultures (Bowles, 2013). While highly relevant for returnee entrepreneurship studies, existing research has, to our knowledge, not explored how returnees strategically switch communication or representation styles to, for instance, gain leverage over local entrepreneurs or mitigate their ‘liability of foreignness’.

However, switching is not limited to a linguistic technique. It also involves the transformation of the returnees’ entire physical presence including facial expression, body posture, and stride in movement. As explained by Nadia:

I am very much like, that says something about adaptability, you go somewhere and you learn to fit into the rhythm, the way you talk to people. It’s a game, it’s joyful, it’s fun.

Switching is a bodily technique to adapt appearances, like a chameleon changes its colours.

Bourdieu (1991) described this bodily response to an innate sense of the field as ‘inscribed in the body’ (bodily hexis) and noted that it is expressed in bodily terms such as posture, stance, stride,

gestures, facial expressions, and speech including language and linguistic competency (1991, p. 17).

Apart from the returnees expressing the importance of switching in their everyday business activities, it was directly observed during the interviews. During an interview, Kofi spoke in a distinct American English accent by default but switched to a Ghanaian English accent when drawing on local examples (impersonating himself speaking to a local Ghanaian). Along with changing his accent, he quite dramatically changed his facial expression (looking slightly angry and tilting his head a bit down), his tone and pace (rapid sentences), pitch (louder), interjection (exclaiming ahaa! and ohh!), gestures (vivid movements of the hands), and posture (moving his body along with his speech). Similarly, Nadia, who spoke in a British English accent during the entire interview, would switch to a local English accent when she was interrupted by a phone call or when giving orders to her local staff. When again addressing the interview, her face, tone, and language would revert to where it was and she seamlessly slipped back into her story, continuing where she had left off. The observed adaptations resemble what De Clercq and Voronov (2009) termed 'enacting habitus', which refers to a cognitive response to a feel for the game, but the idea of chameleon-like switching of appearances adds a bodily dimension.

Observing how the returnees could change their being instantaneously elucidated switching as a common practice and as the returnees testify, it is essential to 'getting things done'. Altering speech and mannerisms facilitates levelling with local Ghanaians, which helps the returnees when, for instance, managing employees, contracting local suppliers or facing bureaucrats to register a company. Still, regardless of how well they switch and adopt a Ghanaian English accent, they resented how locals still did not accept them as 'one of them'. Going about their daily work, language poses a serious challenge to these returnees, but essentially, their physical

appearance occasionally puts them at a disadvantage when interacting with locals. As locals would mock their looks and comment on their dress style and the way they move, engaging with local Ghanaians remains a continuous and everyday struggle (however joyful it might seem at times).

The practice of switching highlights the bodily techniques employed by returnees to strategically align their physical appearance to their environment. Where habitus is often described as a *cognitive* feel for the game that informs practice, the practice of switching points to the importance of *bodily* dispositions. By configuring cultural and symbolic capital, the returnees switch their physical appearance to accommodate their environment displaying a repertoire of bodily techniques of which speech was the most obvious and easily observable example. The returnees could potentially play up their British or American English accents (signalling ‘having been abroad’) and capitalise on this symbolic capital, but they appeared more preoccupied with overcoming the liability of being ‘other’. However, the end goal is not to become a local, but to master the art of switching in order to situationally look and sound like a local. It is the returnees’ ability to switch (their accent, appearance, conduct) that defines this alignment-seeking practice.

Conclusions

This paper has explored how returnees deploy capital in their entrepreneurship practices in the context of their home countries. Drawing on Bourdieu’s theory of practice (1977), the analysis uncovered three practices (compensating, fusing and switching) that Ghanaian returnee entrepreneurs adopt when using capital from a multitude of localities. The paper introduced the concept of *configuring capital*, an alignment-seeking practice that aims to take advantage of the privileges of translocal affiliations and/or to overcome the challenges in operating a business on

Ghanaian soil as an entrepreneur with habits shaped by experiences abroad. This concept is useful because it conceptualises capital deployment as a practice. Configuring capital implies a continuous effort to arrange capital in particular constellations such that capital, habitus, and field become aligned for opportunities to be seized and/or challenges to be effectively overcome.

The findings showed how the returnee entrepreneurs take advantage of their position between multiple localities and skilfully reconcile their Ghanaian roots with their global ambitions. The three practices exemplify different ways of configuring their capital from different localities, both inside and outside Ghana. When *compensating*, the returnees interchange local and foreign capital. When *fusing*, they merge and blend Ghanaian and foreign cultural references, aesthetics, and materials into their creations and commercial practices to create a cosmopolitan/local and contemporary/traditional fusion. Finally, when *switching*, they adapt their bodily appearance and speech to suit the particular social situation.

With these findings, the paper makes several important contributions to the literature on returnee entrepreneurship. We showed how capital adaptation is a practice of configuring different forms of capital and seeking alignment with habitus and field, which demonstrated how capital is not readily ‘transferred’ or ‘diffused’ back home. The returnees’ ability to use capital by having access to multiple cross-border environments was described by Patel and Conklin as a ‘balancing act’ between ‘two countries’ (2009, p. 1047). This paper showed the relevance of paying analytical attention to multiple sites of engagement and how returnees simultaneously engage with multiple countries and manoeuvre comfortably beyond the boundaries of their migration trajectory and networks; producing, sourcing and selling their creative works in countries far beyond their home and host countries (e.g. in China, Thailand and India). Moreover, by highlighting the returnees’ profound global inclination (a strong outward commercial gaze and

frequently resorting to solutions ‘outside’), the study also demonstrated the importance of recognising contemporary African return migrants as transnational actors. Finally, the importance of bodily transformation was emphasised. To our knowledge, such bodily transformation has not yet been explored in the context of returnee entrepreneurship or transnational entrepreneurship. Considering the importance of returnees’ bodily appearance to make the most of situations, we believe that body techniques or tactics deserve further examination in transnational entrepreneurship studies.

References

- Aboagye, A. (2016). Second Generation Africans In The West Could Spur An Era Of Brain Drain. London: London School of Economics (LSE). Retrieved from <http://blogs.lse.ac.uk>
- Abrahams, J., & Ingram, N. (2013). The chameleon habitus: Exploring local students' negotiations of multiple fields. *Sociological Research Online*, 18(4), 1–14, <https://doi.org/10.5153/sro.3189>
- Åkesson, L. (2016). Multi-sited accumulation of capital: Cape Verdean returnees and small-scale business. *Global Networks*, 16(1), 112–129, <https://doi.org/10.1111/glob.12100>
- Åkesson, L., & Eriksson Baaz, M. (2015). Africa's return migrants: the new developers? (L. Åkesson & M. Eriksson Baaz, Eds.). London: Zed Books.
- Ammassari, S. (2004). From nation-building to entrepreneurship: The impact of élite return migrants in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana. *Population, Space and Place*, 10(2), 133–154, <https://doi.org/10.1002/psp.319>
- Avle, S. (2014). Articulating and Enacting Development: Skilled Returnees in Ghana's ICT Industry. *Information Technologies & International Development*, 10(4), 1–13.
- Ayew, K. (2013, March 6). Ghana's youth go weg big for lafa. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/mar/06/ghana-slang-lafa-big>
- Bai, W., Holmström Lind, C., & Johanson, M. (2016). The performance of international returnee ventures: the role of networking capability and the usefulness of international business knowledge. *Entrepreneurship and Regional Development*, 28(9–10), 657–680, <https://doi.org/10.1080/08985626.2016.1234003>
- Bakewell, O. (2008). 'Keeping Them in Their Place': the ambivalent relationship between development and migration in Africa. *Third World Quarterly*, 29(7), 1341–1358, <https://doi.org/10.1080/01436590802386492>
- Boccagni, P. (2012). Chapter 14: Even a transnational social field must have its boundaries. Methodological options, potential and dilemmas for researching transnationalism. In C. Vargas-Silva (Ed.), *Handbook of research methods in migration* (pp. 295–318).

- Bourdieu, P. (1977). *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1986). The forms of capital. In J. G. Richardson (Ed.), *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education* (pp. 241–258). Westport: Greenwood Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1991). *Language and symbolic power*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Bourdieu, P., & Wacquant, L. J. D. (1992). *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology. An Invitation to reflexive sociology*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Bowles, L. R. (2013). Transnational mobility, social capital, and cosmopolitan women traders in Ghana. *African and Black Diaspora: An International Journal*, 6(May), 208–217, <https://doi.org/10.1080/17528631.2013.793138>
- Brickell, K., & Datta, A. (2011). *Translocal geographies: Spaces, places, connections. Translocal Geographies: Spaces, Places, Connections*. Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Limited, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14649365.2012.757038>
- Daenekindt, S., & Roose, H. (2013). Cultural chameleons: Social mobility and cultural practices in the private and the public sphere. *Acta Sociologica (United Kingdom)*, 56(4), 309–324. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0001699313496589>
- Danermark, B., Ekström, M., Jakobsen, L., & Kar. (2002). *Explaining Society: Critical Realism in the Social Sciences*. New York: Routledge.
- De Clercq, D., & Voronov, M. (2009). Toward a Practice Perspective of Entrepreneurship Entrepreneurial Legitimacy as Habitus. *International Small Business Journal*, 27(4), 395–419. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0266242609334971>
- De Haas, H. (2010). Migration and Development: A Theoretical Perspective. *International Migration Review*, 44(1), 227–264, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1747-7379.2009.00804.x>
- Drori, I., Honig, B., & Wright, M. (2009). Transnational entrepreneurship: An emergent field of study. *Entrepreneurship: Theory and Practice*, 33(5), 1001–1022, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-6520.2009.00332.x>
- Erel, U. (2010). Migrating cultural capital: Bourdieu in migration studies. *Sociology*, 44(4), 642–660, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0038038510369363>

- Eriksson Baaz, M. (2015). Successive flops and occasional feats : development contributions and thorny social navigation among Congolese return migrants. In L. Åkesson & M. Eriksson Baaz (Eds.), *Africa's return migrants : the new developers?* (pp. 23–43). London: Zed Books.
- Filatotchev, I., Liu, X., Buck, T., & Wright, M. (2009). The export orientation and export performance of high-technology SMEs in emerging markets: The effects of knowledge transfer by returnee entrepreneurs. *Journal of International Business Studies*, 40(6), 1005–1021, <https://doi.org/10.1057/jibs.2008.105>
- Gibbs, G. R. (2007). *Analyzing qualitative data*. London, England: Sage Publications Ltd, <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781849208574>
- Gittins, T., Lang, R., & Sass, M. (2015). The effect of return migration driven social capital on SME internationalisation: a comparative case study of IT sector entrepreneurs in Central and Eastern Europe. *Review of Managerial Science*, 9(2), 385–409, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11846-014-0161-5>
- Government of Ghana. (2016). *National Migration Policy for Ghana*. Accra, Ministry of Interior.
- Grant, R. (2009). *Globalizing city. The urban and economic transformation of Accra, Ghana*. Syracuse, N.Y: Syracuse University Press.
- Greiner, C., & Sakdapolrak, P. (2013). Translocality: Concepts, Applications and Emerging Research Perspectives. *Geography Compass*, 7(5), 373–384, <https://doi.org/10.1111/gec3.12048>
- Grenfell, M. (2014). *Pierre Bourdieu: Key Concepts*. Contemporary Education Dialogue, London: Routledge, <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781444396621.ch34>
- Gu, Q., & Schweisfurth, M. (2015). Transnational connections, competences and identities: Experiences of Chinese international students after their return “home.” *British Educational Research Journal*, 41(6), 947–970, <https://doi.org/10.1002/berj.3175>
- Kenney, M., Breznitz, D., & Murphree, M. (2013). Coming back home after the sun rises: Returnee entrepreneurs and growth of high-tech industries. *Research Policy*, 42(2), 391–407, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.respol.2012.08.001>

King, R., & Christou, A. (2011). Of Counter-Diaspora and Reverse Transnationalism: Return Mobilities to and from the Ancestral Homeland. *Mobilities*, 6(4), 451–466, <https://doi.org/10.1080/17450101.2011.603941>

Kleist, N. (2015). Pushing Development: A case study of highly skilled male return migration to Ghana. In L. Åkesson & M. Eriksson Baaz (Eds.), *Africa's Return Migrants. The new developers?* (pp. 64–86). London: Zed Books.

Langevang, T. (2017). Fashioning the future: Entrepreneurship in Africa's emerging fashion industry. *The European Journal of Development Research*, 29(4), 893–910, <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41287-016-0066-z>

Langevang, T., & Gough, K. V. (2009). Surviving through movement: the mobility of urban youth in Ghana. *Social & Cultural Geography*, 10(7), 741–756, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14649360903205116>

Li, H., Zhang, Y., Li, Y., Zhou, L.-A., & Zhang, W. (2012). Returnees Versus Locals: Who Perform Better in China's Technology Entrepreneurship? *Strategic Entrepreneurship Journal*, 6(3), 257–272, <https://doi.org/10.1002/sej.1139>

Lin, D., Lu, J., Liu, X., & Choi, S.-J. (2014). Returnee CEO and innovation in Chinese high-tech SMEs. *International Journal of Technology Management*, 65(1–4), 151–171, <https://doi.org/10.1504/IJTM.2014.060947>

McKeever, E., Anderson, A., & Jack, S. (2014). Entrepreneurship and mutuality: social capital in processes and practices. *Entrepreneurship and Regional Development*, 26(5–6), 453–477, <https://doi.org/10.1080/08985626.2014.939536>

Naudé, W., Siegel, M., & Marchand, K. (2017). Migration, entrepreneurship, and development: A critical review. *IZA Discussion Papers. IZA Journal of Migration*, 6(5).

Nedelcu, M. (2012). Migrants' new transnational habitus: Rethinking migration through a cosmopolitan lens in the digital age. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 38(9), 1339–1356, <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2012.698203>

- Nieswand, B. (2014). The burgers' paradox: Migration and the transnationalization of social inequality in southern Ghana. *Ethnography*, 15(4), 403–425, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1466138113480575>
- Noy, C. (2008). Sampling Knowledge: The Hermeneutics of Snowball Sampling in Qualitative Research. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 11(4), 327–344, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13645570701401305>
- Patel, P. C., & Conklin, B. (2009). The balancing act: The role of transnational habitus and social networks in balancing transnational entrepreneurial activities. *Entrepreneurship: Theory and Practice*, 33(5), 1045–1078, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-6520.2009.00334.x>
- Qin, F., Wright, M., & Gao, J. (2017). Are 'sea turtles' slower? Returnee entrepreneurs, venture resources and speed of entrepreneurial entry. *Journal of Business Venturing*, 32(6), 694–706, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jbusvent.2017.08.003>
- Richey, L. A., & Ponte, S. (2014). New actors and alliances in development. *Third World Quarterly*, 35(1), 1–21. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2014.868979>
- Schans, D., Mazzucato, V., Schoumarker, B., & Flahaux, M.-L. (2013). Changing patterns of Ghanaian Migration (MAFE Working Paper) (Vol. 20). Paris.
- Shoba, J. A., Dako, K., & Orfson-Offei, E. (2013). “Locally acquired foreign accent” (LAFA) in contemporary Ghana. *World Englishes*, 32(2), 230–242, <https://doi.org/10.1111/weng.12021>
- Terjesen, S., & Elam, A. (2009). Transnational entrepreneurs' venture internationalization strategies: A practice theory approach. *Entrepreneurship: Theory and Practice*, 33(5), 1093–1120, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-6520.2009.00336.x>
- Trąbka, A. (2014). Being chameleon: The influence of multiple migration in childhood on identity construction. *Studia Migracyjne-Przegląd Polonijny*, 40(3 (153)), 87–106.
- UNCTAD. (2010). Creative Economy Report: A feasibility development option. Geneva, United Nations.

Van Houte, M. (2014). Returnees for change? Afghan return migrants' identification with the conflict and their potential to be agents of change. *Conflict, Security & Development*, 14:5, 565-591, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14678802.2014.963392>

Wong, M. (2014). Navigating return: The gendered geographies of skilled return migration to Ghana. *Global Networks*, 4(2014), 438–457, <https://doi.org/10.1111/glob.12041>

Zhou, Y., & Hsu, J. Y. (2011). Divergent engagements: Roles and strategies of Taiwanese and mainland Chinese returnee entrepreneurs in the IT industry. *Global Networks*, 11(3), 398–419, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-0374.2010.00302.x>