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# African migrants at work. Patterns of labour market integration in Europe, transnational economic participation and economic re-integration of migrants in origin countries. The case of Senegal.

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# African migrants at work.
# Patterns of labour market integration in Europe, transnational economic participation and economic re-integration of migrants in origin countries.
# The case of Senegal.

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[1] Authors' contribution to the paper: Eleonora Castagnone was in charge of the framework of analysis for the paper and wrote the Introduction, section 1 and the Conclusions; Papa Sakho wrote the sections 2 and 3 and contributed to the Conclusions, Tiziana Nazio was the scientific responsible at FIERI for the analysis design, Bruno Schoumaker was in charhe of the analysis design and production, in strict collaboration with Nirina Rakotonarivo. The authors would like to thank Sorana Toma for having contributed with some ideas to the analysis of the paper and Ferruccio Pastore for his critical reading of the paper.

# INTRODUCTION

Integrating immigrants into the European labour market is a growing challenge and a major concern for receiving countries that is important not only from an economic perspective, but also because of its implications for integration into society as a whole. The **objective of this paper** is to **explore longitudinally the labour outcomes of migrants**, **by looking at both ends of the migration system** and considering labour trajectories before leaving, during migration, and upon return.

In particular, the paper addresses the following questions: On the one hand, how do immigrants' careers unfold during their first years after arrival? Do Senegalese migrants find jobs in Europe corresponding to their competences upon their entry in Europe? Does their employment situation change over time? To what extent do their experiences differ from one destination country to another? How does gender play a role? On the other hand, to what degree are returning migrants reintegrated into local labour markets? What is the educational level of those coming back? Lastly, this work will examine to what extent Senegalese migrants are engaged in transnational activities. We shall explore their attitudes to sending remittances, investing back home and participating in development associations, as well as how these attitudes change over time and depending on their integration into the destination country (in terms of legal and occupational status).

The paper is structured into three main sections. After a brief historical overview of Senegalese migration and of the economic, institutional and political frameworks of France, Italy and Spain as receiving countries, the first section provides a description of the Senegalese sample in the MAFE dataset (age, level of education, duration of stay in Europe, legal status upon entry and in 2008)[2] and a cross-sectional picture of their occupational status, type of employment, economic sector and employment level in 2008. The core part of this section is a comparative analysis of the composition of the migrant workforce by country of destination and by gender. The careers of migrants according to their highest achieved educational credentials are also presented, highlighting the phenomenon of over-qualification and how it changes through the migration experience at destination.

The second part explores migrants' economic contribution to the country of origin during their stay abroad, focusing in particular on individual investments, sending of remittances and contributions to associations. The aim here is to see how these forms of transnational engagement change over time according to some migrants' characteristics (gender, education, employment and legal status).

In the third part, after profiling returnees' characteristics, the paper will look at their labour outcomes in the Senegalese employment market, comparing their performances with those who did not migrate. Finally, some conclusions based on the results of the analysis will be drawn.

## Senegalese migration to France, Italy and Spain

Senegalese migration was strongly marked by colonial history until the beginning of the 1980s. In the context of its wars, France called for support from its colony, which resulted in the arrival of colonial troops and Senegalese infantrymen in World Wars I and II. Migratory flows from Senegal were also shaped by the recruitment of students to become the spokespeople for cultural assimilation policies. Earlier, for French administrative and economic needs during the slave trade in the colonies of West and Central Africa, the Senegalese found themselves in all of the French-Speaking countries in this sub-region of Africa. After the African colonies became independent, the flow of migrants towards France and French-speaking African countries was sustained as a result of the cooperative relationships that had been forged between Senegal and France and these countries through colonisation. Immigrants came to France to work in the automobile industry and port activities. This situation continued until the 1970s energy crisis, which led to entry restrictions and the expulsion of migrants from the main destination countries.

From independence until the end of the 1980s, Senegalese emigration was characterised by a clear predominance of West African destinations generally and, in particular, of nearby destinations such as Mauritania, Guinea and Ivory Coast, with France being the main European destination (Bocquier, 1998). From 1990 to 2000, however,

[2] For more details on the methodology of the MAFE project, see Beauchemin (2012).

with the backdrop of politico-economic crises in African countries, restrictions on the conditions for entry to and residence in the former colonial power were introduced. As a consequence, migratory flows increasingly turned to new destinations such as, above all, Southern Europe (Italy, Spain), as well as the United States and the Arabian Gulf countries (Sakho and Dial, 2010).

The transition from France to the new destination countries in Southern Europe occurred at the end of the 1980s. Initially, the Senegalese arrived in Italy through secondary migration from France, but they subsequently established direct migration channels from Senegal.

This diversification of destinations was concomitant with a geographical reconfiguration of the regions of departure. Emigration was at first primarily rural. Thus, according to a study of migration and urbanisation in Senegal (*Enquête sur les Migrations et l'Urbanisation au Sénégal* - EMUS), international emigration between 1988 and 1993 was mainly from rural areas in the Senegal River valley and, increasingly, from the Groundnut Basin area on account of climatic deterioration and the agricultural crisis. Later, departures tended to increase from cities experiencing a high degree of household pauperisation. For example, according to the third general population and housing census (*Recensement Général de la Population et de l'Habitat* - RGPH III), between 1997 and 2002, migratory flows from Dakar (26%) surpassed those from the Senegal River valley (12%) and, in the Groundnut Basin area, the city of Touba (7%) appeared as a source of migrants (ANSD, 2008). Today, new urban sources of departure are emerging, including Kolda, a city in the poorest region of Senegal.

Such diversification of the areas of departure, which are often in noteworthy regions, has an effect on the destinations. By way of example, while Dakar residents emigrate mostly to Northern Europe and the United States, the rural Wolof populations in the Groundnut Basin area head for Southern Europe, and emigrants from the Senegal River area (Middle Valley and Upper Valley) are quite present in Western Europe, and primarily in France and West and Central African countries. The choice of destination highlights the role of social networks, as in the case of the renewed *noria* migrant associations in the Senegal River area (Daum, 1998) and the Mouride brotherhood network in the Groundnut Basin.

Emigration changes can also be measured in the variation in departures of qualified, and even highly qualified, individuals nudged to leave not just by income gaps, but especially by an increasingly unattractive employment market.

## Labour migration to France, Italy and Spain: an overview of the economic and regulatory framework

European countries have received migrant workers with a high degree of heterogeneity in terms of countries of origin, timing, numbers and labour migration schemes. Variations in migrants' economic integration outcomes are closely tied to the labour market structure and regulatory frameworks of the host countries.

While the three European countries considered in this study are characterised by different contextual backgrounds and distinct histories, they can nonetheless be grouped into one of two main categories of European immigration countries that each present relatively homogeneous features and historical and structural factors (Arango, 2012). Specifically, France belongs among North-western European countries that can be termed "mature" or "old", whereas Spain and Italy can be grouped with those countries in Southern Europe which underwent a migratory transition in the last quarter of the twentieth century and which can be considered the second generation of immigration-receiving countries in Europe (*ibid*.).

On the one side, France has been strongly influenced by the legacy of its colonialism of centuries past and has the longest tradition of recruiting permanent foreign workers in Western Europe. On the other side, Italy and Spain, like other more recent receiving countries in Southern Europe, share common traits, including very intense inflows mainly composed of migrant workers, similar labour market structures, and analogous strategies in migration management. Some significant differences do, however, persist between the two countries.

France started bringing in migrant workers in the nineteenth century in a context of industrialisation and labour shortages resulting from a population decline. At the beginning of the 1930s, France was the second most popular country in the world for immigrants in absolute numbers, after the USA. During the immediate post-war reconstruction period and subsequent economic growth, the French public authorities pursued an active

recruitment policy to attract a foreign workforce – mainly male workers from other European countries and former colonies in Africa. France also received returning settlers, soldiers and civil servants, as well as citizens of the former colonies, over the course of the decolonisation process (Peixoto et al., 2012).

Later, in response to the economic crisis of the early 1970s, France followed the example of other European countries and stopped all recruitment programmes for foreign workers in 1974. This decision, however, led neither to immigrants returning to their own countries, nor to a decrease in immigration. On the contrary, many immigrants remained in France and were subsequently joined by their families. In terms of numbers, family reunification has since become the largest channel for immigration. Following the halt to foreign labour recruitment programmes in 1974, external and internal controls (visas and residence permits, respectively) were introduced (Devitt, 2012).

As a result, inflows of foreign non-seasonal workers dropped dramatically. Seasonal labour migration continued and remained significant until at least the early 1990s, with 64,200 seasonal workers entering between 1981 and 1987. Family members of migrants residing in France accounted for an increasingly substantial proportion of new migrants, becoming the largest category in the early 1990s (Devitt, 2012: 6).

Although most migrants employed in the French labour market have not gone through the direct labour immigration channel, France has never stopped being a country of labour immigration. A huge proportion of migrants who enter France via family reunification and other non-labour channels participate in the labour market and are thus, indirectly, migrant workers (Devitt, 2012). In addition, the vast majority of immigrants who use the official labour immigration channels were already residents in France prior to being issued a work permit, many of them being foreign graduates of French universities.

Spain and Italy, on the other side, clearly have some traits in common with most Southern European countries. They became destination countries and labour importers more recently and recorded the highest growth rates in this regard in the last decade. Indeed, while foreign population rose by 34.1% on average in Europe between 2000 and 2009, the rate was 265% for Spain and 194% in Italy (OECD 2011).

In contrast to the most recent trends in France, entry and residence policies in the Italian and Spanish migration systems favour economic migration. In these two countries, asylum requests are much less frequent, and acceptance rates are lower. This situation is partly due to the fact that their economies are more labour intensive than in North-western Europe and are dominated by sectors more likely to rely on immigrant unskilled or low-skilled labour (Arango, 2012). Labour migration to Italy and Spain has substantially reduced the existing labour shortages, particularly in low and medium skilled occupations that are increasingly deserted by native workers. As a result, migrants in Italy and Spain are mainly employed in low-skill occupations with poor social status in small, unstructured businesses and in personal services to households. In particular, they tend to work in manufacturing, construction, intensive agriculture, and personal and cleaning services.

An overwhelming majority of migrants entered the two Southern European countries without a proper residence permit, or overstayed their temporary visa limits. After more or less long periods of unauthorized stay and unregistered employment, they then obtained a legitimate permit through one of the frequent regularisation schemes (Salis, 2012; Reyneri, 2007; Arango, Finotelli, 2009; Cvajner, Sciortino, Sciortino, 2011).

The **underground economy**, with its strong attraction effect, has played a crucial role in shaping the migration patterns and how they are handled in these countries. As Reyneri and Fullin suggest (2010), this is one of the main structural differences with France. The underground economy, in conjunction with increasingly restrictive labour immigration policies in Europe, has been a major factor in promoting unauthorized immigration (Schneider, Klinglmair, 2004). Unauthorized migrants can enter Italy and Spain and be able to live and work without necessarily having a residence permit for employment reasons. Interviews with migrants support the hypothesis that, before leaving their countries of origin, they were well aware of how easy it would be to find work opportunities in Italy even without a proper permit (Reyneri, 2007; Kosic and Triandafyllidou, 2004), thanks to information-sharing through transnational networks. The illegal labour market not only works well as a means of attracting and filtering immigrants and providing them with a transition into regular work (OECD, 2005); it also exploits the large migrant labour supply in order to sustain itself. In fact, most legal migrants may also be prone to engaging in undeclared work.

## The MAFE data

This paper builds on the **MAFE dataset**[3] to shed new empirical evidence on the dynamic economic outcomes and labour trajectories of Senegalese migrants in three European destination countries, namely France, Italy and Spain; the forms and extent of migrants' transnational economic contributions to the country of origin over time; and the labour reintegration in Senegal of returnees from European destinations.

MAFE (Migration between Africa and Europe) is an international research project which yielded a new dataset on Afro-European migration between 2007 and 2008, through biographic surveys in both sending (Senegal) and receiving countries (France, Italy, Spain).[4]

For the purposes of this study, **MAFE data** allowed for unique quantitative evidence to be generated as regards the labour paths undertaken by Senegalese migrants. The data are **innovative** in two respects:

1) They are **longitudinal** in nature. They come from retrospectively collected individual life-histories. A biographical questionnaire was used to collect longitudinal retrospective information on a yearly basis from birth until the time of survey (2008). The data collected include a large range of information on the interviewed persons' socio-demographic characteristics, migration and occupation histories.

2) They allow **comparative** analysis among different populations, as identical questionnaires were answered by each sampled individual, whatever his/her country of residence at the time of the survey, i.e. the three destination countries. A total of 603 migrants were surveyed in Italy, France and Spain – about 200 in each country. In the country of origin, Senegal, 208 returnees and 859 and non-migrants were surveyed.

For returnees, we present here analysis only for those with previous migration to European destinations (cf. Table 1).

**Table 1: Sample of the research**

| | Countries of sampling | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **Spain** | **France** | **Italy** | **Senegal** | **Total** |
| Current migrants | **200** | **200** | **203** | 0 | **603** |
| Returnees from European destinations | 0 | 0 | 0 | **62** | **62** |
| **Returnees from other destinations** | | | | **146** | **146** |
| Non-migrants | 0 | 0 | 0 | **859** | **859** |
| Total | 200 | 200 | 203 | 1,067 | 1,570 |

Source: MAFE-Senegal Survey

There were, however, some methodological limits on the MAFE individual data.

We restricted our analyses to migrants (or returnees) who came to (back from) Europe. This choice was guided by the need to restrict our study to more homogeneous migration paths in order to improve the comparability of

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[4] In all countries, the sample selection criteria required that individuals be between 25 and 75 years of age (to have long enough life histories), be born in Senegal (to exclude second generations in Europe) and have present or past Senegalese nationality (to exclude immigrants to Senegal). Varied sampling methods were used to select the individuals. In Senegal, a stratified probabilistic sample was drawn. The municipal register in Spain (*Padrón*) offered a national sampling database from which documented and undocumented migrants could be randomly sampled. Respondents in France and Italy were sampled through varied non-probabilistic methods (e.g. snowballing, intercept points, contacts obtained from migrant associations) in order to fill pre-established quotas by sex and age. More information can be found in González-Ferrer and Beauchemin (2011) or on the MAFE project website: http://www.mafeproject.com/.

careers. Furthermore, we wanted to explicitly address the Afro-European migration system and to provide European and African policymakers with new insights into migrants' labour market outcomes.

While our analysis is focused on migration and labour experiences in Europe (or on returnees coming from Europe), it should, however, be kept in mind that that some migrants had previous migration and labour paths in extra-European destinations, mainly in other African countries (internal migration), as indicated in the literature and confirmed in other analyses based on MAFE data (Schoumaker, Flahaux *et al.*, 2013; Sakho, 2013; Castagnone, 2011; Flahaux, Beauchemin, Schoumaker, 2010). Moreover, some migrants did not arrive directly in the "destination country" in which they were eventually sampled, but undertook secondary migration within Europe (Castagnone, 2011). All in all, migratory patterns are often more complicated than linear, one-way migration from an origin country A to a destination country B. According to analyses based on the MAFE data (Castagnone, 2011), in fact, around 30% of migrants had articulated migration patterns, entailing stepwise or circular movements.

Another important detail that should be taken into account pertains to the fact that interviewees in the three destination countries came to Europe at different points in time and at varying ages. The choice of presenting and comparing their trajectories on the basis of the time elapsed from their first arrival in Europe therefore obscures from direct observation the time-dependent nature of the length of their stay in Europe and the historical (economic and legal) context in which they first arrived, even though both of these aspects may have had strong bearing on their access to the labour market. Nevertheless, the available data still provide a very useful description of migrant workers' trajectories, with particular attention paid to how their careers unfold depending on which of the three destination countries they choose, their gender, and their level of education.

A final crucial aspect to consider about the MAFE data on Senegalese migration is that the survey was undertaken in 2008, just before the financial crisis began. The scenario has dramatically changed since then, in particular as regards the Senegalese in Spain.

## 1. SENEGALESE MIGRANTS' INTEGRATION INTO THE EUROPEAN LABOUR MARKET

Immigration is increasingly seen as a necessary source of labour. Migrants' labour outcomes, however, are controversial and depend on a number of factors, such as the migrant's gender, country of destination and educational credentials upon arrival and obtained during the stay abroad. In addition, labour market integration varies over time according to the length of stay in the destination country. This section, after describing the main characteristics of the sample on which the analysis is based, will examine the labour outcomes of Senegalese migrants by looking at their occupations during their first ten years in Europe, the transition from the country of origin to their entry in Europe, and the period from their entry in Europe to the time of the survey. Their main careers will then be highlighted.

### 1.1 The profile of Senegalese migrants in the MAFE sample

Data on the **duration of stay** in Europe in the sample (cf. Table 5 in Annex 1) confirm that Senegalese migration to Spain, as well as Italy, is a much more recent phenomenon than in France. Indeed, 36% of men interviewed in Spain came to Europe for the first time fewer than four years earlier, and 40% less than ten years earlier, while more than half of the men interviewed in France and in Italy (67% and 56%, respectively) arrived in Europe more than 10 years ago. Women came later than men both in Italy and France, often through a family reunification scheme, while the women interviewed in Spain arrived in Europe earlier than men.

The **age** profile of the sample, by sex and country of interview, also reflects these patterns. France presents the older population, with around half of the migrants being over the age of 45, and Spain the youngest one, with slightly less than half of the interviewees under 34 years. In Italy, most of the men are aged between 35 and 44, and female are under 34.

The data on the highest **educational attainments** reached by respondents, by country, at the time of interview, show clear-cut differences in the composition of Senegalese migrants in the three countries. In Spain, the vast majority of the Senegalese population is poorly educated: 78% of men and 73% of women declared that they had not obtained a diploma or a primary degree. Only 2.3% of men, and 3.4% of women, hold a postgraduate degree.

In France, while the low-educated represent 43.7% of migrant men and 49.5% of women, the highly educated (holding a postgraduate degree) account for a significant proportion of migrants (36.8% of men and 22.8% of women).

In Italy, the proportion of individuals with low levels of education is slightly higher than in France, with 49.1% of men and 57.6% of women having no, or only primary, diplomas. The sampled men and women holding a higher degree in Italy are 12.8% and 10.4%, respectively, less numerous than in France but more than in Spain.

As for the **legal status** of migrants at 2008, one Senegalese male migrant in three is undocumented, versus only one female in ten. In Italy, half of Senegalese migrant men are undocumented, whereas in Spain, double the women are in this condition. France presents the lowest rate of illegal migrants (less than 10% for both men and women). Retrospectively, illegal immigrant rates in France, Spain and Italy at the moment of the migrants' first arrival in Europe are consistently higher, indicating that many of them regularized their position over time.

Looking at integration into the labour market, the data show varying economic outcomes for Senegalese migrants in the three European destinations and different performances by men and women. It is important here to stress that the available data refer to 2008, when the fieldwork was undertaken, a year in which the effects of the economic downturn could not yet be measured. Both formal and informal employment is considered here, with no distinction between the two.

Among the three receiving countries, Italy presents the highest **employment** rate for men (97.6% versus 81.8% in France and 81.4% in Spain),[5] but the lowest for women (57.4% versus 72% in Spain and 71.8% in France). This is the largest gender gap among the surveyed countries, with a differential of more than 40% versus about 10% in Spain and France.
While **unemployment** is higher for women (13.2%), than for men (2.4%) in Italy, it affects mainly men both in Spain (15.7% versus 5.1% for women), and in France (7.7% versus 1.8% for women).

**Students** are concentrated in France, where they represent 9.3% of the surveyed men in that country, and 6.3% of the women. As the data show, students from Senegal still largely choose France as the country in which to pursue their education. Colonial links remain crucial in determining migration flows and in structuring the opportunities available to citizens from former colonies. Sharing the same language and having similar education systems are crucial issues. Colonial powers, having strongly shaped the education systems in former colonised countries through assimilationist policies, established a common scheme of formal entitlements that recognises the academic credentials obtained by citizens of former colonies. A further element encouraging the choice of France as a destination for Senegalese students is the availability of study grants, often associated with other benefits (residence permits, housing, financial support, etc.).

The **inactivity** rate is significant among women: one in three women in Italy (29.5%), and one in five in France (20.1%) and Spain (22.9%) does not participate in the labour market. This point confirms how migration is a strongly gendered phenomenon: female departures from Senegal are still tied to male relatives' migration. In Senegalese society, women are traditionally responsible for family tasks (e.g. raising children and managing the family). The migration of unaccompanied women is discouraged, especially when occurring over long distances and without the support of family members in the destination country. As a result, migration is still prevalently undertaken by men, with women very much relying on families to consent to their departure and organise their migration experiences.
At the same time, a growing, albeit slow, process of feminising migration is observable, through the dissemination of autonomous migration choices and individual trajectories for women. In recent years, selective female migration has become a major survival strategy in response to deepening poverty in West Africa (Adepoju, 2002; Antoine, Sow, 2000) and as an emerging family strategy in the Senegalese context.

If we assume, in the case of France, that a longer immigration history and better connections with long-term settled networks of co-nationals, together with higher education levels, favour access to the labour market, comparison with Spain and Italy still highlights some interesting diverging outcomes for women.

[5] Data on employment status of the active population (cf. Table 6 in Annex 1).

In particular, we see two possible explanations for the different findings in women's participation in the labour markets in the two countries. First, all of Spain's bilateral policies promoted temporary migration schemes for Senegalese women by encouraging access to the Spanish labour market for women who had been selected and trained in Senegal to work in the agriculture sector (Sakho, Diop and Awissi-Sall, 2011; Somé, 2009). Secondly, since Spain is one of the most recent destinations of Senegalese migration to Europe, it has been attracting flows made up of a higher rate of women pursuing autonomous migration paths.

Looking at **type of employment** and comparing the different receiving countries, we observe that in France there is a slightly higher (around 10%) integration into dependent work for Senegalese migrants, which can be explained by a better system to have foreign qualifications recognised by employers, a higher number of students and migrants' higher education levels. All of these factors contribute to better access to dependent (and higher) positions in the labour market.

Italy and Spain have similar rates of self-employment, at a higher level than in France. The distribution of workers between dependent and autonomous work is also gender balanced, which means that among those who are active in the labour market, there is equal access to both forms of employment in each country.

One of the main explanations for **self-employment** among migrants is that choosing an autonomous job is a response to difficulties in finding a dependent position that meets their skills and educational levels (the "blocked mobility" hypothesis). From this point of view, self-employment can be read as a way to realise upward mobility in labour markets characterised by strong labour discrimination for migrant workers.

The Senegalese's well known propensity to undertake autonomous activities, especially in the business sector, also provides useful insights. First of all, it is a sector characterised by low entry barriers (low capital and technical skills are mainly required). Secondly, the intrinsic values of independent commerce lie in the benefits obtained through independent activity, namely flexible working hours, back-and-forth mobility and transnational commercial networks. In this perspective, business is a means to support migrants and tie them to their home country (Van Nieuwenhuyze, 2009). Thirdly, commerce is rooted in the Senegalese culture as the result of a long tradition of informally organising trade, which is common in Africa. Independent initiative is described by migrants themselves as a means of preserving their moral and behavioural values (Castagnone et al., 2005; Barry, 1992; Harding 1992); as an opportunity to exploit skills and talent, such as the art of getting by, which are also part of traditions and familiar heritage (Riccio, 2007); and as the result of long traditions in the historical trading system, thus representing a way of life.

Finally, one should realise that a common strategy among the Senegalese in Europe is a functional interplay between two or more activities, through a "multi-activity" option (Castagnone, 2007. For example, employees often combine, in their spare time at weekends or during the summer, dependent work with informal trade activities, in order to diversify and multiply their income sources. The Senegalese do hold a wide range of informal activities, such as shops, so-called "suitcase commerce" (*commerce à la valise*), door-to-door services offered by women (e.g. catering, traditional hairdressing), and the informal transport services (e.g. taxi drivers).

**Sectorial distribution** highlights three different scenarios for integrating Senegalese migrants into domestic labour markets. In 2008, Spain had the highest concentration of workers in agriculture (19.5% of men and 10.9% of women). This is a residual sector for the Senegalese in Italy that employs 2.2% of men and 1.5% of women. In France, no Senegalese migrants in the sample were employed in this sector.

Both in Spain and Italy, there is a predominance of male workers in industry and construction (39.7% and 45.8%, respectively), and in business and services (40.7% and 43.9%, respectively).

In the three countries, business and services are the most prevalent sectors for women, with rates ranging from 78.5% in Spain and 69.3% in Italy.

In France, surveyed migrants are employed mainly in business and services, but around 25% of individuals hold "other", often qualified positions, working as administrative workers, computer technicians, nurses, teachers, and so forth.

As for the **occupation level**, the common trait in the three European receiving countries is the predominant concentration of the Senegalese labour force in the lowest occupational level, albeit with some relevant differences among the three countries, as we have just detailed.

The Senegalese in Spain show the highest rate of presence in elementary occupations, with 100% of men and 99.6% of women. The distribution of workers across occupation levels in Italy is between Spain and France. The latter country shows the highest rates of presence in higher and intermediate levels (11.7% of men and 11.9% of women in intermediate positions, and 17.1% and 15.2% in high level positions). Again, the presence of students, migrants' overall higher level of education, and the more favourable contextual conditions in France are reasons explaining the Senegalese's better performances in that country.

Nonetheless, other factors should also be taken in account. For example, as France is an older destination for the Senegalese, more recent migrants can rely on an older network of co-nationals who are already integrated into medium to high positions (OECD, 2010: 157).

Economic integration into different segments of the labour market of course reflects, to some extent at least, the educational structure of the Senegalese group in each country.

## 1.2 The receiving contexts: how labour paths differ according to the destination countries

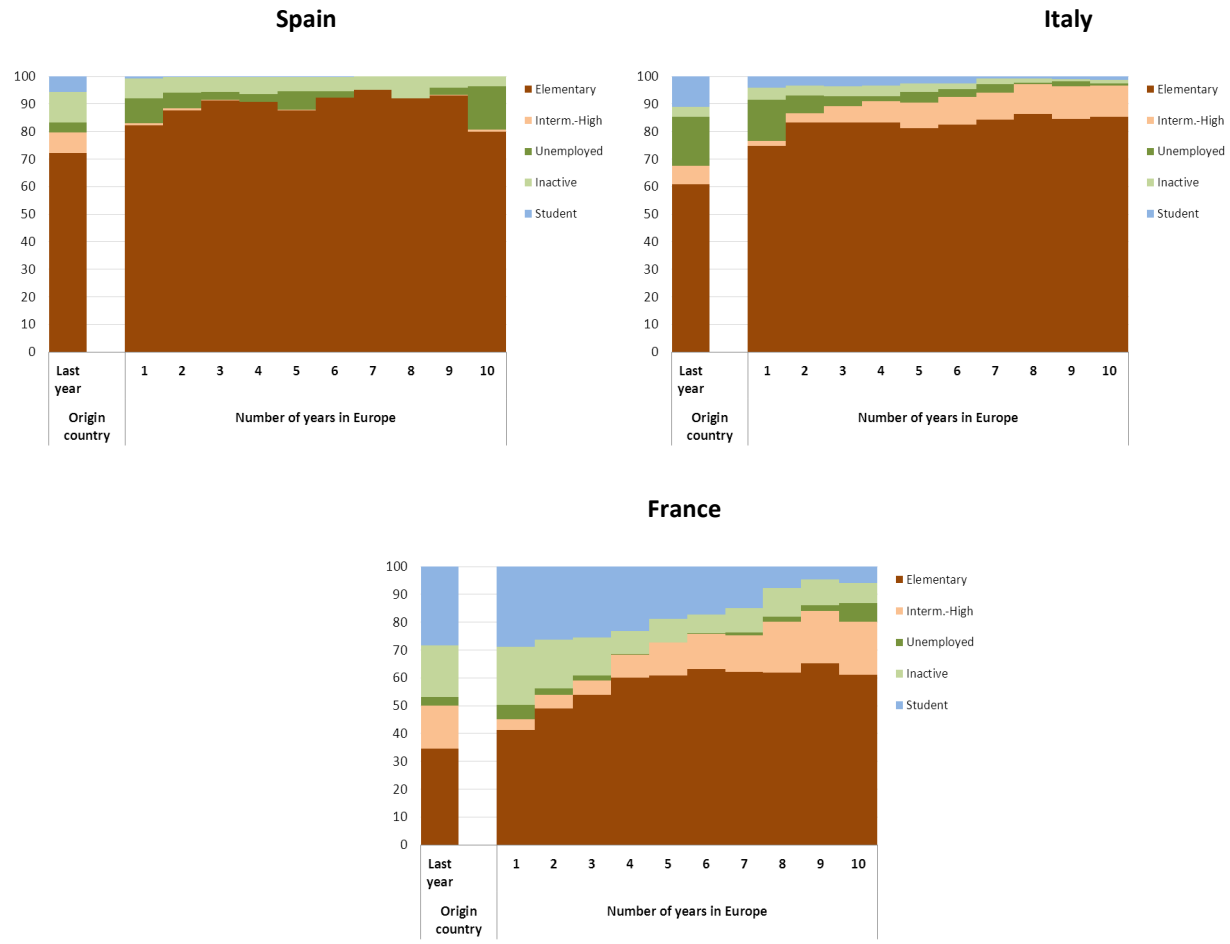
European countries have diverse migration histories and migration systems, and this diversity is reflected in the labour market outcomes of immigrants and their children.

Fluency in the host-country language is usually a prerequisite for the migrant's making full use of his or her skills, qualifications and experience in the host country, particularly for highly skilled jobs. Language, however, is not the only element influencing the ability of immigrants to find jobs matching their skills and experience, or to access the educational system in order to retrain and improving their access to the labour market. Potential employers often have little understanding of formal qualifications obtained at an educational institution in another country, and are thus unable to assign value to prior education. In some professions, especially self-regulated and licensed occupations, foreign qualifications and experience are rarely fully acknowledged or accepted. The education or training obtained in the country of origin may be inappropriate because the organisation of tasks at the workplace or the technologies used differ between the origin and destination countries, thus requiring adaptation to prevailing practices in the host country.
Moreover, migration management (the set of policies regulating entry and the entitlements necessary to access the labour market) and the economic structure of opportunities (the structure of the economy and the economic sectors where there is a demand for foreign workers) differ.
As a consequence, cross-country contextual differences may contribute to explain differences in immigrant labour market outcomes across EU countries.

One of the main interests of this paper is to understand the performances of Senegalese migrants in the labour markets of the three sampled receiving countries. The first step is to understand what professional status migrants have when they leave Senegal. It is widely recognised in the literature that there is a migrant self-selection process in place, affecting both the very choice to migrate (instead of remaining in the country of origin) and the composition of different groups of migrants leaving and heading to different European destinations. This selection operates according to educational levels and professional skills, but also depends on the different periods of departure or the presence of networks in the destination. We shall examine here migrants' labour outcomes in their destination country after first arriving in Europe, and in the following years.

This set of analyses provides dynamic information on the labour status of the Senegalese migrants sampled in 2008 in Spain, Italy and France during their first ten years of continuous stay in Europe, and presents the main labour trajectories they follow in the different destination countries.

**Figure 1: Occupational status in the last year in Africa and in each year of stay in Europe (for the first ten years), by country of destination**




*Source*: MAFE-Senegal biographic survey in Senegal, France, Italy and Spain
*Population*: Current migrants in France, Italy and Spain (cf. Table 1); weighted data
*Interpretation:* the figures show the distribution of the last occupational status of Senegalese migrants before they left (first column on the left) and the level of the occupational status of the migrants in every further year of stay in Europe, for the first ten years of residence according to the three residence countries (the set of columns on the right showing the year 1, 2, 3, etc. after entry in Europe). We have only considered 10 years after arrival in order to have an easier comparison since individual stays are of very different lengths.[6]

The first finding is that the composition of the Senegalese migrant groups upon their entry in the three destination countries in Europe is very different.

Around 70% of the Senegalese in **Spain** and 60% in **Italy** left Senegal as **non-qualified workers** (elementary positions, in brown in the first column on the left). The qualification level of Senegalese migrants who entered Spain and Italy, strongly concentrated in low-skilled positions, was a determinant on their subsequent economic integration and paths in the labour markets in the destination country. Most significantly in Spain, but also in Italy, we find a consistent group of migrants who are continuously employed in elementary occupations, once in Europe, with eventual lateral mobility (unobservable, because job changes on the same level are not tracked here).

[6] Migrants in the graphs may have first arrived in Europe in different years, some within ten years, and others within recent years. Limiting the analysis to the first ten years aims at homogenising a very heterogeneous group in terms of length of stay in Europe. This is the reason why *n* decreases upon each year of stay in Europe. Whereas some migrants may have arrived more recently (not covering the entire ten-year time span observed), and some might have left earlier to return to their country of origin or to move to a different country (thus also contributing to less than ten years in the estimates), it is important to consider that these data take the entry into account as a starting point to "anchor" the calendar time axis chosen, irrespective of the historical year of entry for each respondent. The aim is thus to depict the first type of economic integration, and the following occupational status, of the migrant group in each country. The figures thus report aggregated data, in each year, for up to the first ten years of migrants' continuous residence in Europe.

Despite this strong common feature, there are nonetheless some relevant differences between Spain and Italy. In Italy we find a double incidence of **students**, albeit lower than in France, who manage to pursue their studies in Italy. In Spain, the dispersion is immediate and pervasive (not recovering over time). As some studies have argued (Castagnone et al., 2005; Tandian, 2008), most of those who left Senegal in order to pursue their studies in countries other than France, namely Italy (or Spain), were not able to complete their studies once there, and in most cases fell back into low-profile activities in the business or industry sectors. Only a progressive improvement in the assessment and recognition of foreign qualifications by new destination countries, such as Spain and Italy, can potentially attract students as a desirable source of highly skilled labour, as suggested by the OECD (IMO, 2011). At least in the short term, however, this does not appear to be the case for these two countries, where migrants suffer from major structural underemployment and where low-skilled positions are mainly available.

Additionally, skilled workers face different trends in the two countries. While, in Italy, **medium to highly skilled workers** are subject to under-qualification upon arrival (a typical occupational downward move) followed by a subsequent "catch-up" in the following years, in a characteristic U-shaped pattern, leading to a gradual recovery over the duration of their stay; in Spain, an immediate and irreversible downward mobility is observed, with workers remaining in elementary positions.

In Italy, we find the highest rate of migrants who were unemployed when they left Senegal, a rate that then decreases as migrants are absorbed into employment during their stay in that country.

The Senegalese population in **France** is very different. Only slightly more than 30% of the workers who migrated to France were low or **unskilled workers** before leaving. It should nonetheless be observed that their weight in the total population increases over time, indicating an entry into employment by a segment of the inactive population (next to the entry of migrants who came to France to complete their education and access skilled occupations, see Table 2), which in turn decreases over the years.

In France, we also find the highest proportion of **intermediate to high workers**, who undergo under-qualification upon entry in France, followed by upward mobility over time (in the very first years upon entry in Europe the rate of Senegalese workers in intermediate to high positions is lower than at departure, but later grows over time). An explanation for the growth in highly qualified migrants is the entry of students into the labour market in qualified positions after they complete their studies (those who did not return to Senegal). Foreign students already settled in the destination countries are indeed the top reservoir of highly qualified foreign workers. This situation can be beneficial to the receiving countries, which draw from a pool of candidates who have been at least partly educated (and socialised) in the host country. Young and educated, former international students are in fact more likely to overcome many of the problems that beset immigrants arriving directly from abroad, since they are more likely to have advanced host-country language skills, training and/or relevant experience for the domestic labour market. In addition, local employers can better assess and understand their credentials, unlike those of immigrants admitted through points-based immigration systems, which do not distinguish between institutions of varying quality (Hawthorne, 2008).

There is certainly a very large proportion of **students** in France. Senegalese leaving their country to pursue their studies in Europe historically were (and still are) mostly oriented to France. This phenomenon should be interpreted in the light of the historical, cultural and institutional linkages between France and Senegal. Colonial connections, including linguistic commonalities and similar educational systems, remain crucial to the composition of migration flows and the structure of opportunities available to citizens from former colonies. Colonial powers, having greatly shaped the educational systems in former colonized countries through assimilationist policies, have established a common scheme of formal entitlements and recognised the academic credentials obtained by citizens of former colonies. A further factor encouraging the choice of France as a destination for students from Senegal is the higher availability of study grants, often associated with other facilities (students' residences, documents, housing, economic support, etc.) in France.

All of these elements not only have a relevant impact on students' careers; they play a broader crucial role in the labour outcomes of migrants in destination countries. Students and highly skilled migrants will accordingly choose France as a preferable destination (with an obvious selection effect). On the flip side, the structural opportunities offered by the receiving countries will inevitably shape the migrants' integration into the domestic labour market.

Data in Sakho, 2013 on motives for migration confirm the high rating of "studies" as the main reason for migrating to France (for 20% migrants living in the country, versus less than 2% in Italy and 0% in Spain).

While the previous graphs do not enable us to track individual labour mobility, by showing the proportion of migrant groups in the different labour categories for each year, the two following tables provide additional information on the dynamic labour paths of individual samples in the three European receiving countries.

In particular, the following table depicts the complexity of migrants' careers by country of residence. In France, where the median stay since departure from Senegal is 14 years (versus nine in Italy and six in Spain), a higher proportion of individuals have had more occupational statuses, while the majority of migrants in Spain and in Italy (72.5% and 67.2%, respectively) registered a single occupational position since their entry in Europe. A study conducted in 2010 in Italy (Ismu, Censis and Iprs, 2010), confirms how migrants' labour careers are quite straightforward, composed of one (33%) or two (41%) work experiences, while 19% declare that they have had three jobs and only 7% four or more jobs. One in three trajectories, then, develops essentially within the same professional group, following mainly horizontal mobility patterns.

**Table 1: Distribution of migrants by number of changes in occupational status during their stay in Europe (weighted) (possible states: elementary, intermediate-high, unemployed, inactive, student)**

| | Country | | | All |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Number of episodes of occupational status | Spain | Italy | France | |
| 1 | 72.5 | 67.2 | 36.2 | 54.6 |
| 2 | 20.8 | 21.0 | 34.1 | 26.8 |
| 3 | 6.4 | 9.1 | 17.5 | 12.2 |
| 4 | 0.1 | 1.8 | 6.8 | 3.6 |
| 5 and over | 0.2 | 0.8 | 5.4 | 2.8 |
| **Total** | **100 %** | **100 %** | **100 %** | **100 %** |
| N | 199 | 203 | 200 | 602 |
| Median duration since departure from Africa (years) | 6 | 9 | 14 | 8 |

*Source*: MAFE-Senegal biographic survey in Senegal, France, Italy and Spain
*Population*: Current migrants in France, Italy and Spain (cf. Table 1); weighted data
*Interpretation:* the table shows the number of episodes in each occupational status for the sampled individuals. All types of moves since their arrival in Europe are considered, including in and out of the labour market (from unemployed, inactive or student status to employed in an elementary or intermediate-high position, or vice versa) and downward and upward mobility (moves from elementary to intermediate-high positions or vice versa), indicating the rate of migrants who have experienced 1,2,3, etc. change(s) in labour status since their arrival in Europe. The median length of their stay abroad, in years, is also shown for the three sub-samples, indicating longer stays for those sampled in France (14 years), and shorter for those in Italy (9) and Spain (6).

This next table shows *what type* of paths Senegalese migrants most frequently took, depending on the different destination countries. In Italy and Spain, more than 60% of migrants entered the labour market and stayed in it as elementary/low-qualified workers, which the case for only the 35% of those in France.

The second most frequent trajectory in Spain and Italy has opposite directions in the two countries. While 7.7% of individuals in Spain exit the labour market to become unemployed, in Italy 10.9% leave unemployment behind to enter the labour market in elementary positions.

In Spain, the picture is completed by a positive trend of labour market entry by the unemployed and inactive (4.9% and 3.8%, respectively) and the 3.5% of individuals who remain unemployed.

In Italy, around 6% of individuals experienced upward forms of mobility: 4.3% moved from elementary to intermediate-high positions and 1.6% left their studies, entering the labour market in low-skill positions and subsequently switching to skilled ones.

In France, finally, student paths dominate, with 8% of migrant students staying in the status, 9.3% moving to intermediate-high occupations and 4.7% to elementary occupations.

**Table 2: Five most frequent occupational status sequences of migrants during their stay in Europe, by country of residence**

| Spain | | Italy | | France | | 3 Countries | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Sequence** | **%** | **Sequence** | **%** | **Sequence** | | | **%** |
| Elementary | 67.5 | Elementary | 64.3 | Elementary | 35.5 | Elementary | 52.2 |
| Elem.- Unempl. | 7.7 | Unempl.-Elem | 10.9 | Inact.-Elem | 11.6 | Unempl.-Elem | 6.4 |
| Unempl.-Elem. | 4.9 | Elementary-Interm/High | 4.3 | Student-Interm/High | 9.3 | Inact.-Elem. | 6.3 |
| Inact.-Elem. | 3.8 | Inactive | 3.4 | Student | 8.0 | Student- Interm/High | 4.4 |
| Unemployed | 3.5 | Student-elem.-Interm/High | 1.6 | Student- Elem. | 4.7 | Student | 3.8 |
| **Total** | **87.4%** | | **84.5%** | | **69.1%** | | **88.2%** |
| N | 199 | | 203 | | 200 | | 602 |

*Source*: MAFE-Senegal biographic survey in Senegal, France, Italy and Spain
*Population*: Current migrants in France, Italy and Spain (cf. Table 1); weighted data
*Interpretation:* The table shows the most frequent occupational status sequences (possibilities: elementary, intermediate-high, unemployed, inactive, student). Horizontal mobility (implying changes within the same status) is not tracked here, e.g. if an individual has changed non-qualified jobs, his/her trajectory will still remain "elementary". It should also be remarked that only the "main activity status" is registered per year, which may result in a underestimation of short unemployment or inactivity spells.

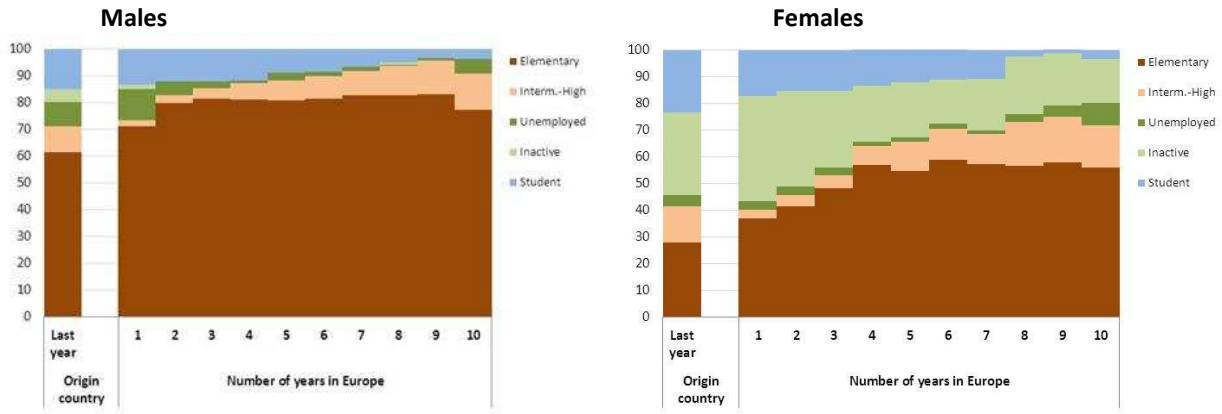
## 1.2 Gendered migration and labour trajectories

Gender is one of the key characteristics for understanding migration. It can either constrain or favour mobility; it can affect access to the job market for those on the move, as well as integration and social mobility thereafter. In turn, migration can influence traditional gender roles. The literature stresses how important gender differences are in patterns of international migration. Men and women differ in their motivations for moving to another country and in their socio-economic integration paths in the destination country.
This aspect is very clear in the case of Senegal, where the migration of unaccompanied women has been discouraged, especially over long distances and without the support of family members at the destination. Senegalese migration is in fact traditionally and prevalently undertaken by men, with women very much relying on families to determine and organise their migration plans. This aspect is also crucial to the construction of subsequent labour trajectories in Europe.
At the same time, a growing, albeit slow, processes of feminising migration are observable, through the diffusion of autonomous migration choices and individual trajectories of women. In recent years selective female migration has become a major survival strategy in response to deepening poverty in West Africa and as an emerging family strategy in the Senegalese context.

The gender composition of migrant groups upon arrival in Europe varies greatly. One out of three women (around 30%) is inactive before leaving (cf. Figures 2 and 3), versus only one out of twenty men (around 5%). In addition, the subsequent labour market outcomes are strongly marked by gender. While a proportion of women do enter the labour market once in Europe (mainly in low-profile positions), a significant fraction of those who were employed (both in low and medium/high level occupations) and of those who were students before leaving become inactive (cf. Figure 3) upon arrival in Europe. Women's influx into the labour force is thus counter-balanced and negated by an increase in their inactivity. This phenomenon is strongly determined by the nature of Senegalese women's migration, which is still deeply tied to reunification with husbands or other male relatives and does not necessarily entail an economic project. Data in Sakho, 2013 on the reasons for the most recent departure from Senegal by gender show that migration is mainly related to family reasons for 42.1% of women and only 5.6% of men.

Nonetheless, as time passes, migration seems to have a positive effect on female participation in the labour market. In fact, although the female inactivity rate grows in the first years of arrival, it decreases over time compared with entries into the labour market, mainly in elementary occupations (see Figures 2 and 4 and Table 4).

**Figure 2: Occupational status in the last year in Africa and during each year in Europe (for the first ten years), by gender**




*Source*: MAFE-Senegal biographic survey in Senegal, France, Italy and Spain
*Population*: Current migrants in France, Italy and Spain (cf. Table 1); weighted data
*Interpretation: Source*: MAFE-Senegal biographic survey in Senegal, France, Italy and Spain
*Population*: Current migrants in France, Italy and Spain (cf. Table 1); weighted data
*Interpretation:* same graph as Figure 1, according to gender

Another important difference between men and women is the slightly higher rate of women who left Senegal as students or as intermediate-high level workers, as shown in Figure 3.

As in the previous graphs (Figure1) this increase in high-skilled workers is mainly due to the entry of students into the labour market, rather than to upward mobility (transitions from elementary to intermediate-high positions) (see Figure 4 and Table 4).

**Figure 3: Comparison of the last occupational status in Africa before first migration and the first occupational status in Europe (% in any of the three countries: Spain, France, Italy), by gender**

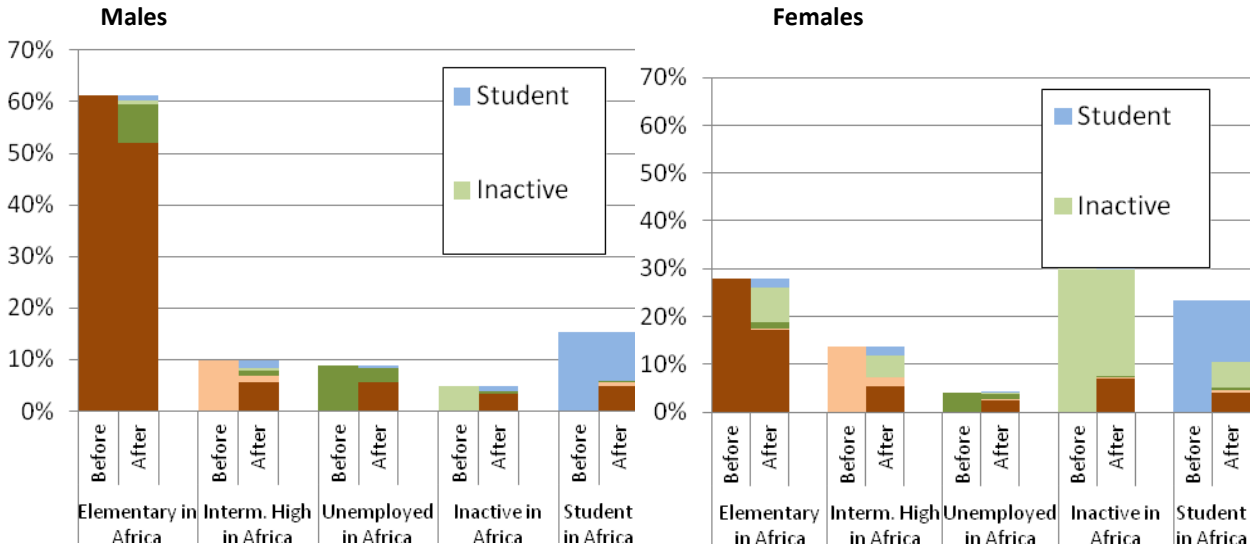
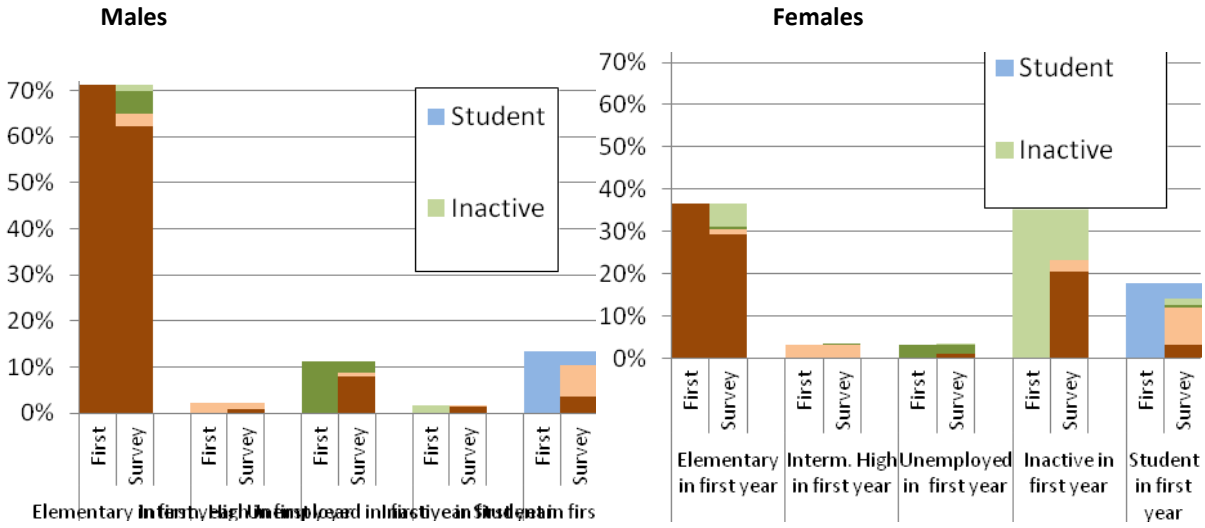


**Figure 4: Comparison of the first occupational status in Europe and the occupational status in Europe at survey time (% in any of the three countries: Spain, France, Italy), by gender**




*Source*: MAFE-Senegal biographic survey in Senegal, France, Italy and Spain
*Population*: Current migrants in France, Italy and Spain (cf. Table 1); weighted data
*Interpretation:* The graphs compare migrants' labour status according to gender at three points in time: in the year before migrating, in the first year after arrival, and at the time of the survey. Figure 3 shows how many migrants who leave as elementary, inactive, unemployed, intermediate-high workers or elementary workers maintain or change their labour status upon entry in Europe. Figure 4 compares the status upon entry and at the time of the survey.

Looking now at individuals' complete trajectories in the next table (similar to Table 1), one can appreciate the complexity of labour trajectories in Europe, as evidenced by their number of statuses. Women show a greater career fragmentation, indicated by a higher number of statuses (i.e. job changes).

**Table 3: Breakdown of migrants by number of occupational status episodes during their stay in Europe (weighted) (possible statuses: elementary, intermediate-high, unemployed, inactive, student)**

| Number of episodes of occupational status | Males | Females | All |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 62.2 | 35.6 | 54.6 |
| 2 | 23.6 | 34.7 | 26.8 |
| 3 | 9.2 | 19.7 | 12.2 |
| 4 | 3.6 | 3.7 | 3.6 |
| 5 and over | 1.4 | 6.4 | 2.8 |
| **Total** | **100 %** | **100 %** | **100 %** |
| N | 330 | 273 | 602 |

*Source*: MAFE-Senegal biographic survey in Senegal, France, Italy and Spain
*Population*: Current migrants in France, Italy and Spain (cf. Table 1); weighted data
*Interpretation:* The table shows how many changes in occupational status the migrants (by gender) experienced from their entry in Europe until the survey time. Occupational status was collected on a yearly base, with each "episode" having a minimum length of 1 year.

The following description of individual trajectories complements the previous section and shows the most common careers among migrants in Europe. It notably confirms that there is low status mobility, which mainly occurs between elementary jobs, both for men (60.5%), and women (64.3%).

Migration has a positive effect on participation in the labour market over time, as shown by the exit from unemployment by men (8.3%), and from inactivity by women (10.9%). As for students, men present periods of education (4.2%) and transition from studies to qualified occupations (4.1% versus 3.4% of women).

Within women's most frequent trajectories, finally, 4.3% remain inactive, while only a minority (1%) become inactive again after entering the labour market.

**Table 4: Five most frequent sequences of migrants' occupational status during their stay in Europe, by gender (possible states: elementary, intermediate-high, unemployed, inactive, student)**

| Males | | Females | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Sequence** | **%** | **Sequence** | **%** |
| elementary | 60.5 | elementary | 64.3 |
| Unempl.-Elem | 8.3 | Inact.-Elem. | 10.9 |
| student | 4.2 | inactive | 4.3 |
| Student-Interm/High | 4.1 | Student-Interm/High | 3.4 |
| Elem.- Unempl. | 3.5 | Inact.-Elem.-Inactive | 1.6 |
| **Total** | **80.7%** | | **69.9%** |
| N | 330 | | 273 |

*Source*: MAFE-Senegal biographic survey in Senegal, France, Italy and Spain
*Population*: Current migrants in France, Italy and Spain (cf. Table 1); weighted data
*Interpretation:* the table is based on sequence analysis and shows migrants' five most common trajectories (sequences of labour status since entry in Europe until survey time) according to gender. Single-status trajectories (e.g. "Elementary", "Student") may indicate both continuity in the same elementary job (indicating stagnation) and changes of jobs within the elementary level (what we define as "lateral mobility"). Most of the trajectories involve one or two statuses, while a minority imply multiple changes, as with women's "Inactive-Elementary-Inactive" trajectory.

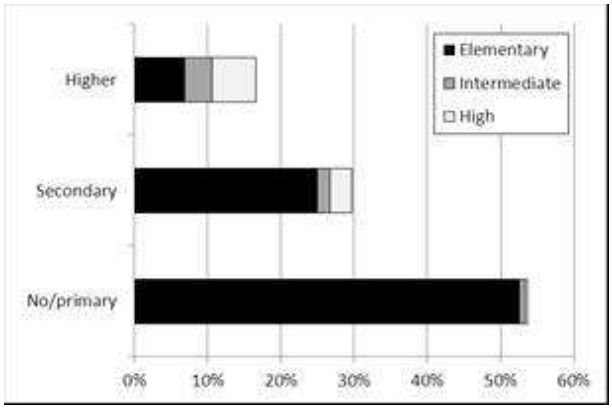
## 1.3 Human capital and brain drain

Human capital is a crucial issue in the debate on labour migration. On the one hand, receiving countries are increasingly calling for more highly qualified migration to Europe. On the other, the countries of origin have to deal with brain drain and the loss of the best educated from their countries. The literature, however, indicates that there are widespread mismatches between workers' competences and what jobs are required in receiving countries.

Although, as the analyses above have shown, Senegalese migrants' labour outcomes change according to the destination country, an overview of this group's economic integration by education level is provided here.

The following graph offers a snapshot of the extent to which Senegalese migrants' educational levels matched different employment positions in 2008. The aim here is to see whether their competences meet corresponding jobs.
Although almost 50% of Senegalese migrants have a secondary or higher level of education, they are predominantly employed in elementary occupations. While individuals with low education levels are concentrated in unskilled positions for obvious reasons, the graph clearly shows that a large proportion of highly educated migrants are in intermediate and elementary occupations. One can see that more than half of individuals with postgraduate educational credentials are over-qualified for their jobs.

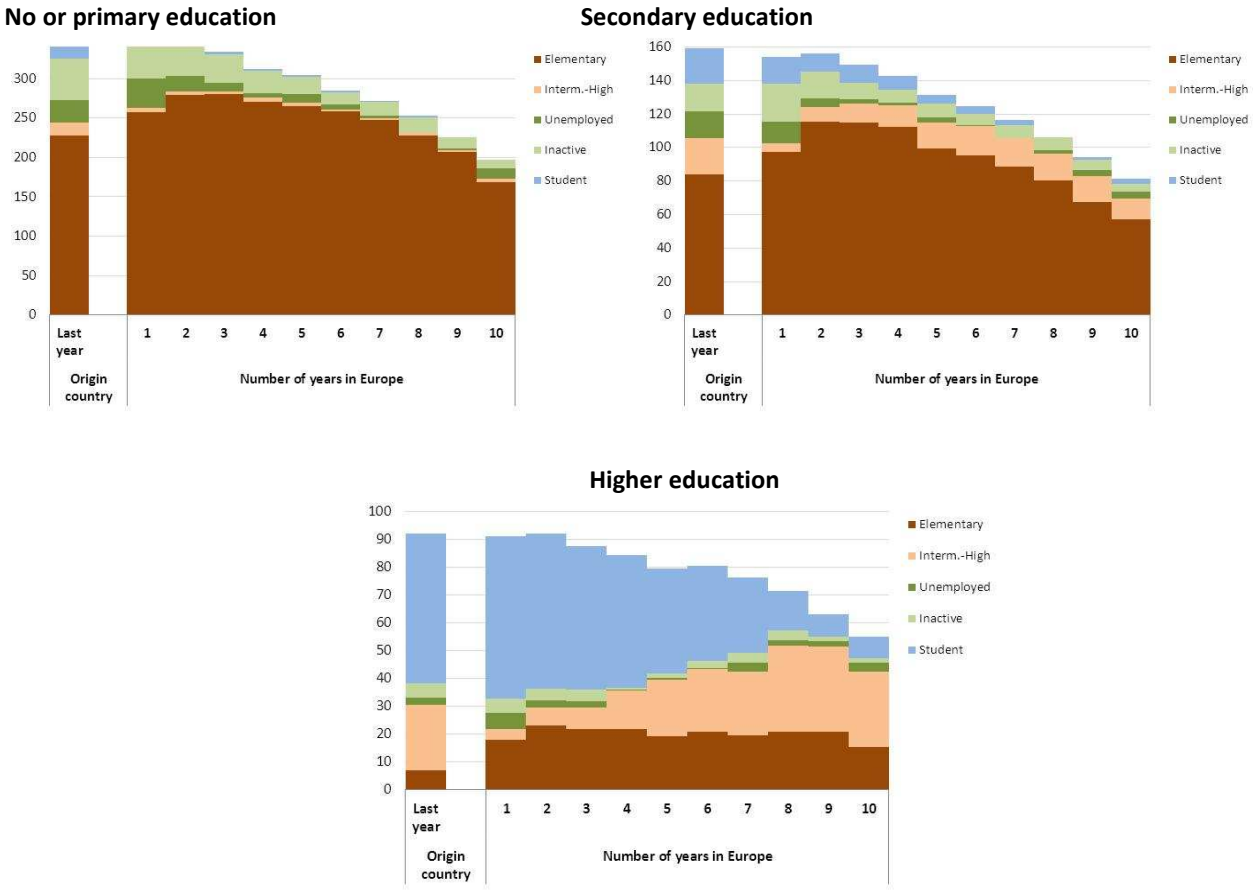
**Figure 5: Distribution of migrants by occupation level and level of education (diploma) in 2008 (in any of the three countries: Spain, France, Italy)**




*Source*: MAFE-Senegal biographic survey in Senegal, France, Italy and Spain
*Population*: Current migrants in France, Italy and Spain (cf. Table 1); weighted data
*Interpretation:* the three bars represent the proportion of the sample in each level of education in 2008. The three shades indicate the distribution in the different occupation levels.

How, though, does integration into the labour market change over time depending on educational levels? Figure 6 represents the absolute distribution of migrants by occupational status for the last year in Africa and the first ten years in Europe.[7] Only the first ten years are deemed capable of reducing "missing blanks" resulting from very different sequence lengths. Trajectories shorter than ten years indicate that some individuals did not stay that long (e.g. migrants who stayed in Europe for five years are only included for the first five years, etc.).

**Figure 6: Occupational status in the last year in Africa and in each year of stay in Europe (for the first ten years), by level of education at time of the survey**




*Source*: MAFE-Senegal biographic survey in Senegal, France, Italy and Spain
*Population*: Current migrants in France, Italy and Spain (cf. Table 1); weighted data
*Interpretation:* same graph as Figure 1, but according to educational level

Data show that inactivity and unemployment are higher for those with low or medium levels of education, but decrease over time. For highly educated migrants, the rates are lower but constant over time.

Medium and highly educated individuals find themselves strongly deskilled upon entering Europe, i.e. an increasing number of skilled individuals are employed in elementary positions compared with their situation before leaving. In this group, the number of workers in intermediate-high level positions grows over time. Nonetheless, as previous results in Table 2 and Table 4 show, this mobility is not necessarily upwards, but rather consists in transitions from student status to intermediate-high level positions in the labour market.

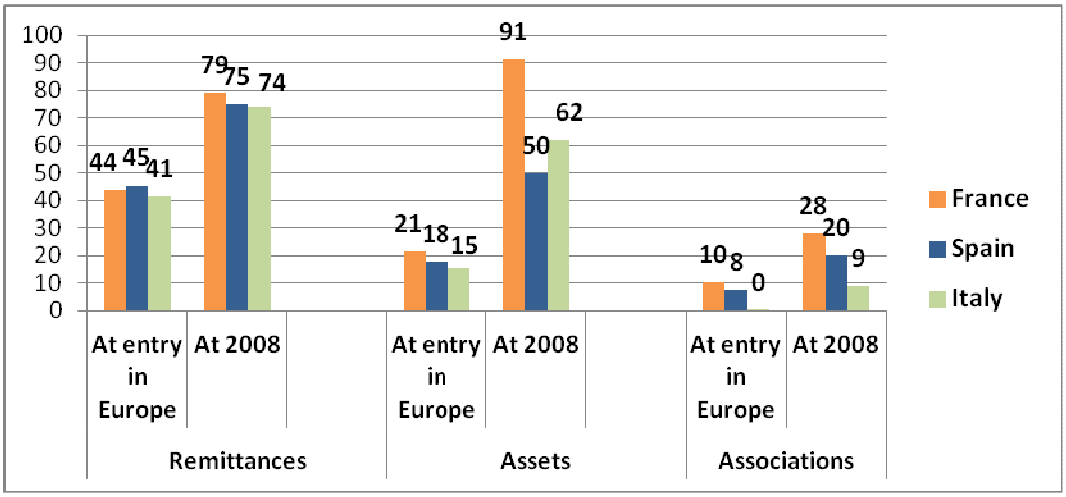
[7] Unlike the previous graphs (cf. Figures 1 and 2), the data are here expressed in absolute values and not in percentage values, as the three groups according to educational levels are very unevenly distributed (no. of individuals with no or primary education=x; with secondary education=x; with higher education=x).

## 2. MIGRANTS' ECONOMIC CONTRIBUTION TO THE COUNTRY OF ORIGIN

The active role of migrants in supporting the development of their homeland has been the subject of growing interest among international agencies, policy makers and scholars. This section explores three different forms of migrants' economic transnationalism: the sending of remittances, investment in assets (land, housing and businesses) in the country of origin, and participation in development initiatives in the country of origin through diaspora organisations. Further analysis will explore how such forms of transnational engagement change over time and according to migrants' different profiles (gender and educational level) and their legal and occupational status in the country of destination.

Overall, between the time of entry into Europe and the time of the study (2008), the number of migrants, regardless of their country of residence, who were sending remittances or who owned assets in Senegal grew markedly, often quadrupling (cf. Figure 8). Indeed, the proportion of migrants sending remittances went from 40% to 45% upon entry in Europe to 75% to 80% at the time of the survey.
It can be observed that, over the duration of their stay abroad, migrants' ownership of assets increased even more dramatically. Whereas the country of residence had little effect on remittances, it was a strong discriminant as regards property owned in Senegal. For example, in France, the proportion of migrants owing assets upon their arrival was 20% and four times higher in 2008. The situation was similar for migrants in Italy. In Spain, where the numbers were the lowest, the proportion of migrants who owned property in Senegal increased by 2.5 times (from 18% to 50%).
A low proportion of migrants contribute financially to diaspora associations: less than 10% upon entry in Europe to under 30% in 2008. The differences among countries may be explained by the long history of emigration to France in comparison with Southern Europe. Nonetheless, the data on Italy contrast with a vast literature that has shown a very high rate of participation in Senegalese associations (Ceschi, Stocchiero, 2007; Castagnone, 2007; Navarra, Salis, 2010). One possible explanation for this study's findings could be the fact that the Senegalese in Italy participate primarily in associations dedicated to encouraging socioeconomic integration, mutual aid and cultural promotion in Italy, rather than in associations that are active in Senegal, which is the type observed in the MAFE data.

**Figure 8: Proportion of migrants owning asset(s), sending remittances, paying associative contributions at survey time, by country of residence, upon entry in Europe and in 2008**




*Source*: MAFE-Senegal biographic survey in Senegal, France, Italy and Spain
*Population*: Current migrants in France, Italy and Spain (cf. Table 1); weighted data
*Interpretation: the graph shows the rate of individuals sending remittances, owning assets, and contributing to associations at two point in time (upon entry into Europe and in 2008), by country of residence in 2008.*

## 2.1 Remittances over time

Remittances often depend on strategies that can vary over time according to gender, education, employment situation or legal status (cf. Figure 9). An analysis of gender relations shows, overall, a slightly greater proclivity of men, as compared with women, to send remittances throughout their stay abroad, and especially during the first four years, during which nearly 80% of men already do, versus slightly more than 60% of women (cf. Figure 9, By gender). This differing behaviour is probably linked to the sociology of the Senegalese family, in which the man is traditionally responsible for providing financial support (Abdoulaye Bara Diop, 1985). After the first few years of living abroad, however, the proportion of female migrants who send remittances increases quite markedly (from 60% to nearly 80% after the first ten years).

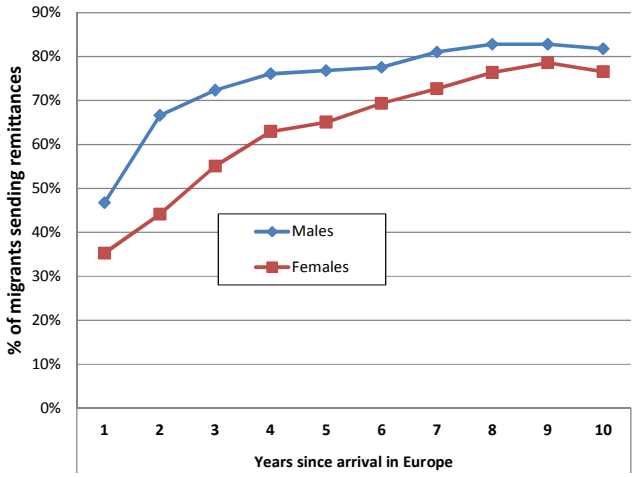
Looking at the diplomas obtained at the time of the survey, one notices that migrants with high levels of education generally have a lesser propensity to send remittances during their stay abroad than those with lower education levels (i.e. ranging from no diploma to a secondary level) (cf. Figure 9, By diploma at time of survey). Nonetheless, these behaviours tend to converge over time. At the end of the first four years, between 70% and 80% of the second category send remittances whereas only half of the more highly educated do. They only reach 80% after they have spent ten years in their new country of residence.

After the first year abroad, the probability of sending remittances increased considerably for those who were employed. For those without employment, however, the slow pace of the first years quickened after a few years of living abroad (cf. Figure 9, By employment status). The difference in remittance behaviours over time can be explained by the steadiness of employees' earnings in comparison with the less regular income of the unemployed.

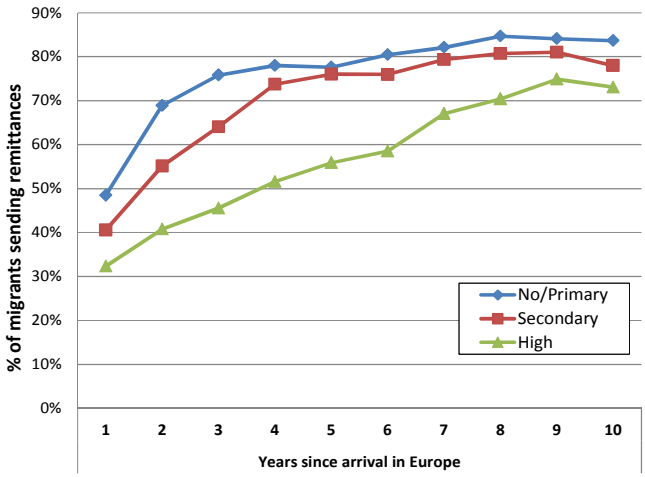
Remittance behaviours are only slightly affected by legal status (cf. Figure 9, By legal status). The precarious conditions of some migrants certainly explain their strategy of securing their earnings by means of remittances to their country of origin.

**Figure 9: Proportion of migrants sending remittances to Senegal, during each year of their stay in Europe (for the first ten years)**

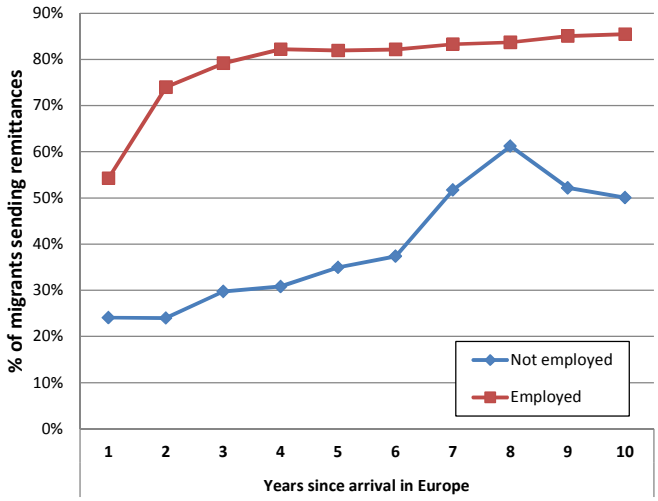
**By gender**



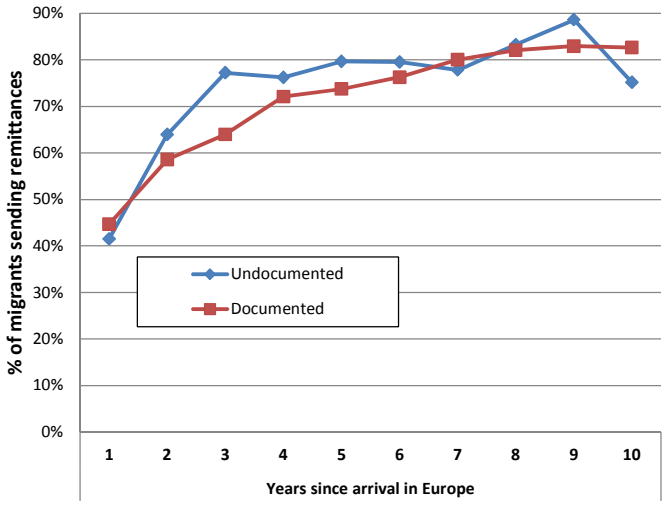

**By education diploma at time of survey**




**By employment status (time varying, i.e. at each year)**




**By legal status (time varying, i.e. at each year)**




*Source*: MAFE-Senegal biographic survey in Senegal, France, Italy and Spain
*Population*: Current migrants in France, Italy and Spain (cf. Table 1); weighted data
*Interpretation:* Rate of sampled migrants sending remittances at each year of stay in Europe, for the first ten years of stay.

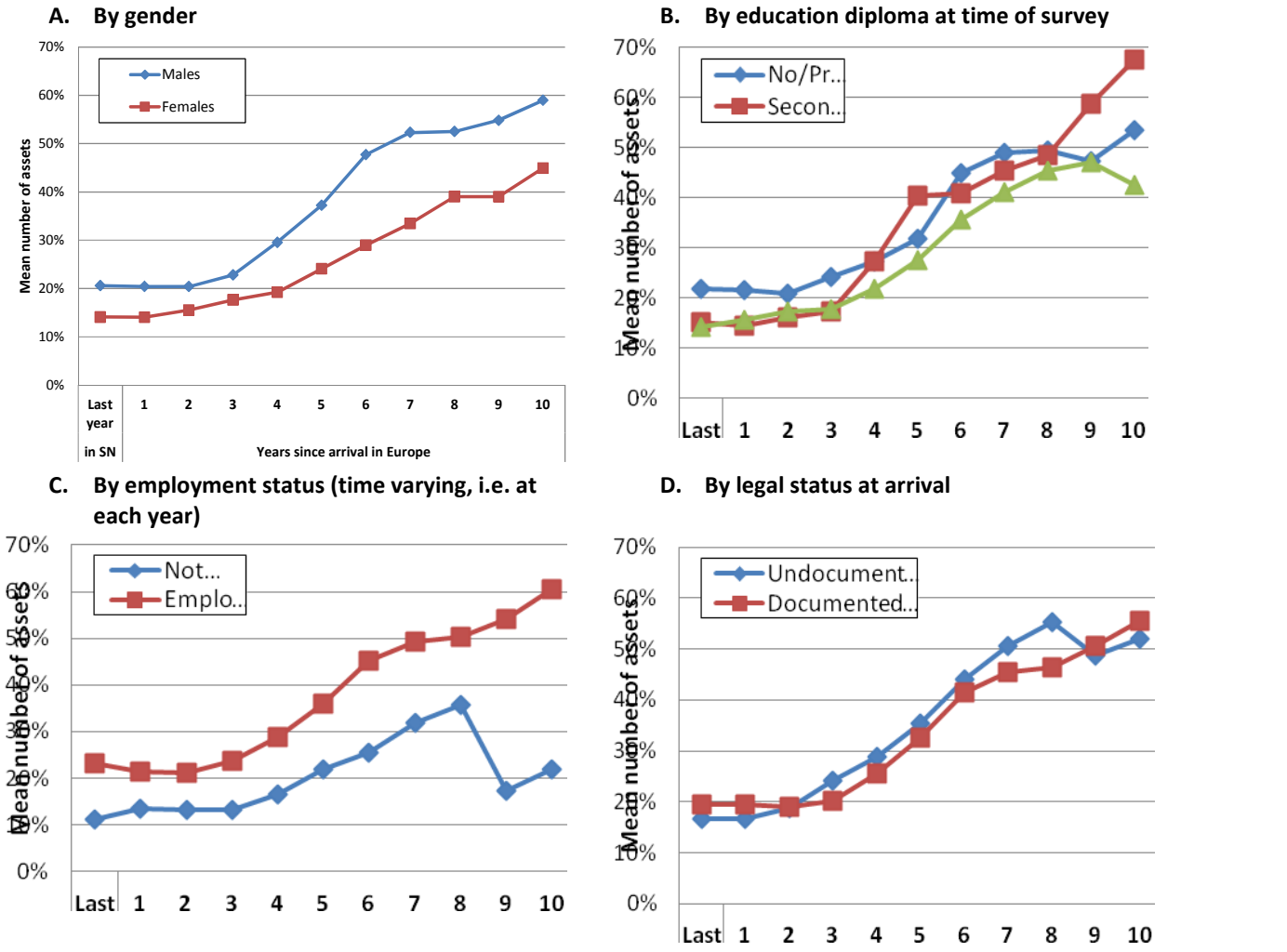
## 2.2 Investments in the country of origin

Investments in assets in Senegal by Senegalese migrants in Europe can be divided into three cases depending on the variables of length of stay abroad, gender and employment status (cf. Figure 10).

While only 20% of all migrants own assets in the first three years after leaving Senegal, the longer the length of their stay abroad, the faster the increase in the number of migrants with property in Senegal, regardless of the explicative variable. Yet investment behaviour does not change significantly depending on education levels, but rather on length of stay and legal status

Nonetheless, the most discriminating factor is employment status (cf. Figure 10 C, By employment status). Whereas more than half of employed migrants own assets after eight year in the country of destination, less than 40% of the unemployed have property in the last two years. It is true that if the period of unemployment lasts a long time, the migrant's survival strategy may consist in reselling the assets acquired. Legal status, on the other hand, does not seem to be a similar discriminant of asset ownership in Senegal. It is, however, interesting to note that, as early as the second year of stay in Europe, the numbers are slightly higher for migrants who were undocumented upon arrival. Their sense of insecurity may well be a factor explaining this nuance in behaviour. Given their situation, illegal migrants may wish to secure the maximum amount of income more than migrants who entered the country legally.

**Figure 10: Mean number of assets in Senegal per migrant in each year of their stay in Europe (for the first ten years)**




*Source*: MAFE-Senegal biographic survey in Senegal, France, Italy and Spain
*Population*: Current migrants in France, Italy and Spain (cf. Table 1); weighted data
*Interpretation:* Mean number of assets owned in Senegal by migrants at each year of stay in Europe, for the first ten years of stay.

### 2.3 Participation in the development of the country of origin through associations

After the first ten years in the country of residence, between 20% and 25% (cf. Figure 11), at the very most, of Senegalese immigrants to Europe contribute to the development of their country of origin through contributions to diaspora associations. Over time, however, strategies are reflected in differentiated behaviours depending on the migrant's gender, level of education, employment situation and legal status upon arrival in the European country of destination.

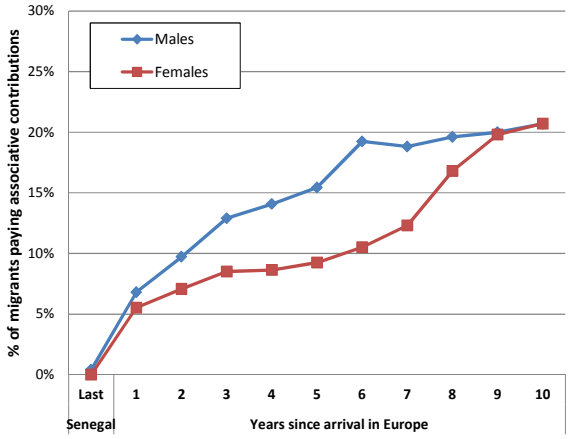
The number of men who pay contributions increases primarily in the first years and less quickly as their stay continues. As for women, they show a lower tendency at first, but the proportion begins to grow after six years of stay. Their later entry into the labour market and their place within the household may explain this behaviour (Fatou Sarr et al., 2010).

In terms of education, the migrants at both end of the spectrum (i.e. high and low levels of education) demonstrate the same attitudes towards contributing to diaspora associations (cf. Figure 11 B). Later in their stay abroad, at around the seventh or eighth year, the behaviour changes. One can observe a convergence between those with low and medium education levels (the former group levels off while the latter catches up), as well as a continued increase in the proportion of highly educated migrants who contribute to such associations.

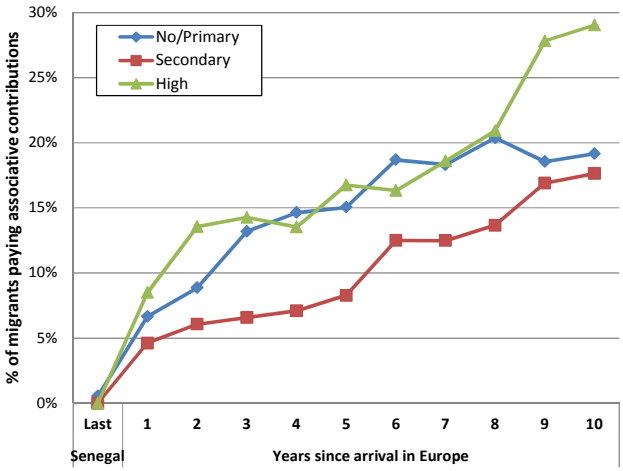
Regarding the relationship between the evolution of contributions and the legal status of immigrants upon arrival in the country of destination, as many documented as undocumented migrants contribute financially to associations, with the proportion growing goes on (cf. Figure 11 D). The trends only begin to diverge after six years of residence in the new country, with the proportion of contributors falling eventually to less than 10% of undocumented migrants.

**Figure 11: Percentage of migrants paying associative contributions, during each year of their stay in Europe (for the first ten years)**

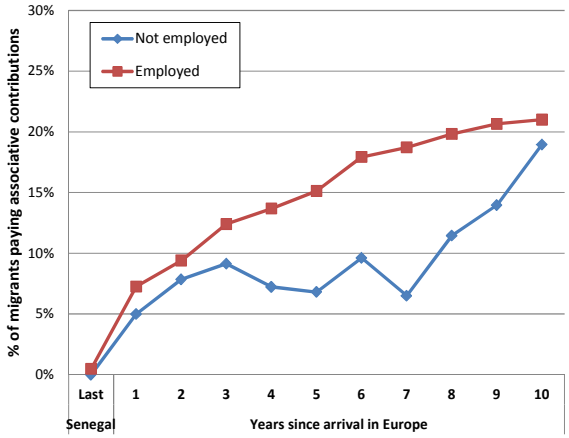
**A. By gender**



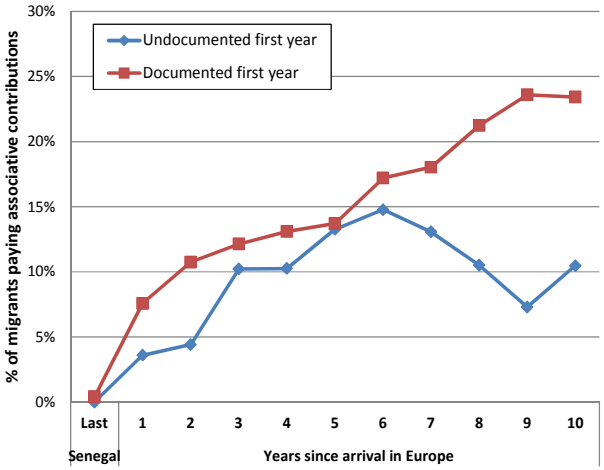

**B. By education diploma at time of survey**




**C. By employment status (time varying, i.e. at each year)**




**D. By legal status at arrival**




*Source*: MAFE-Senegal biographic survey in Senegal, France, Italy and Spain
*Population*: Current migrants in France, Italy and Spain (cf. Table 1); weighted data
*Interpretation:* Rate of sampled migrants paying associative contributions during each year of their stay in Europe, for the first ten years of stay.

# 3. REINTEGRATION OF RETURNEES FROM EUROPE INTO THE SENEGALESE LABOUR MARKET

Senegalese return migration from Europe is marked by a gender ratio largely favourable for men (54.5% versus 45.5%) in contrast to the proportion of migrants who stayed in the destination country, which is almost identical to the gender ratio for the Senegalese resident population (52% versus 48%). Almost half of migrants who returned from Europe are under 45 years old. More than half of returns involved migrants with the lowest levels of education; this is the majority category among migrants who did not return to Senegal. As for migrants with intermediate or high education levels, the proportion of returns was two or even three times higher than those who stayed.

Of migrants who returned to Senegal, two-thirds left France (66.2%) and a fifth, Italy (20. 2%). The rest returned from Spain (13.6%) or from other European countries (6.2%).

The overwhelming majority of migrants (88.9%) who returned to Senegal had residence permits before leaving their country of residence in Europe. In this connection, the literature indicates that a precarious legal status, subject to periodic and uncertain renewals in Europe, inhibits the option of a permanent return, as it would hinder possible future re-departures, if needed (Flahaux, Beauchemin, Schoumaker, 2010; Beauchemin and Megzer, 2010 ; Flahaux and Megzer, 2010; Sakho and Beauchemin, 2010; Castagnone, 2011).

As regards the link between the length of stay abroad and return, four out of five migrants returned after fewer than ten years in the destination country (81%). More than half of returnees went back after fewer than five years (55.5%) and a quarter (25.5%) after between five and ten years. The main motive for return is family reasons, which are cited by a quarter of migrants who returned to Senegal (25.5%). This finding appears to show the considerable weight of family in the country of origin in how migration is managed (Flahaux, Megzer and Sakho, 2011).

## 3.1 Returnees' occupational trajectories and changes in job quality over time

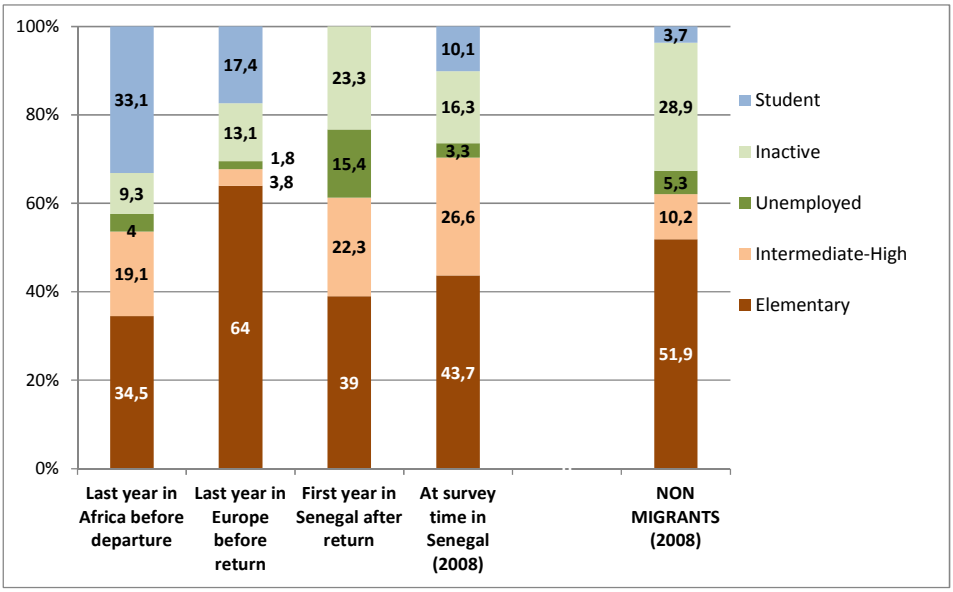
In their most recent stays in Europe, returnees were low-skilled workers (64%), medium to highly skilled workers (3.8%), students (17.4%) or unemployed/inactive (14.9%) (cf. Figure 13). It should however be noted that, in moving from Senegal to Europe, migrants often end up in jobs below their qualifications. After this forced deskilling in Europe, as shown by the analyses in the first part of this paper, the number of individuals in qualified positions in Senegal increases, going from 3.8% in the last year in Europe to 22.3% in the first year back in Senegal, which slightly exceeds the rate when they first left (19.1%). A "brain regain" therefore took place. When compared with the rate upon departure, however, this result indicates a phenomenon of limited scope. Over time, the rate increases further, which suggests that a period of reintegration is required for positive performance. This seems to be a period for readjusting and finding new points of reference after several years of absence. At the time of the survey, migrants' experience was already having a favourable impact in comparison with the situation of non-migrants. Returnees were in fewer low-skilled jobs, twice as likely to occupy a position of high qualification and less likely to be inactive, compared with non-migrants.

In the first year of return, the number of low-skilled individuals was very similar to that at the time of departure (39% versus 34.5%). The dominant trend is for returnees to remain active in the same occupations (43.7%). The proportion of those employed during their last year abroad, even if they are at a slight advantage over those who did not migrate (51.9%), indicates a certain degree of difficulty regarding reintegration.

Of students who migrated (33.1%), half had already changed status in their last year abroad (17.4%). Upon their return to Senegal, some (10.1%) did not hesitate to go back to school, probably in order to improve their qualifications or because they were unemployed or inactive during the first year of return.

In all cases, returnees were in a better professional situation at the time of the survey than non-migrants. They were proportionally less present in low-skill professional activities (43.7% versus 51.9%) and twice as likely to work at a high level of qualification (20.6% versus 10.2%). They experienced less unemployment (3.3% versus 5.3%) and inactivity (16.3% versus 28.9%).

**Figure 13: Occupational status of returnees from Europe at four points in time during their migratory life and of non-migrants at 2008** (%)




*Source*: MAFE-Senegal biographic survey in Senegal, France, Italy and Spain
*Population*: Current migrants in France, Italy and Spain (cf. Table 1); weighted data
*Interpretation:* Distribution of returnees by occupational status at four points in time and of non-migrants.

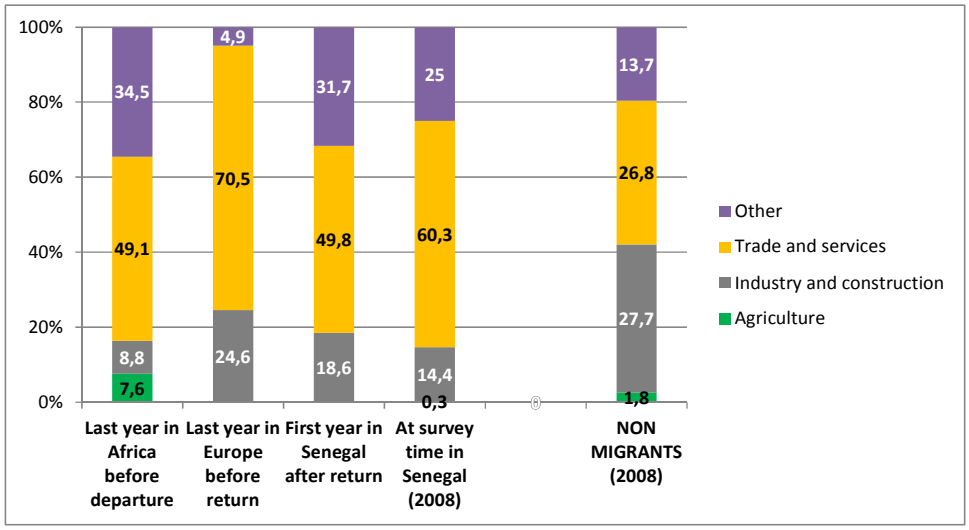
Business and services are the sectors in which the Senegalese are the most active in the labour market during their professional lives (26.8%), and even more so when they live abroad (49.1%) (cf. Figure 14). Slightly less than half of migrants, regardless of their migratory experience, work in the business and service sector. Proportionally, they are twice as numerous in this sector as non-migrants. While some Senegalese returnees try their luck in other sectors of activity during their first year of return (31.7%), many go back to activities that require financial resources more than professional aptitudes over the course of their life in their country of origin (60%).

In addition, an analysis of the returnees' trajectories reveals the effect of their experience abroad. It is true that business and services are sectors of predilection for the Senegalese, both at home and abroad. For example, the survey showed that more than a third of returnees were active in these sectors before leaving (34.5%). At the time of the study, their large numbers (60.3%) compared with non-migrants (51.9%) seems to suggest that the migratory experience is an added value in terms of generating social and financial capital. At the same time, the already high percentage of returnees who had been active in business and services before emigrating from Senegal (49.1%), as well as during their stay in Europe, may support the hypothesis that small-business people have a greater propensity to resettle in Senegal.

It should be noted that the low weight of the agricultural sector in the findings appears to be linked to the survey site. Indeed, the sample was taken in the Dakar region, which is 98% urbanised (see survey methodology). Given the importance of the urban and peri-urban agricultural subsector in the national

economy and its earning opportunities, the number of returnees working there is nonetheless low (0.3%).

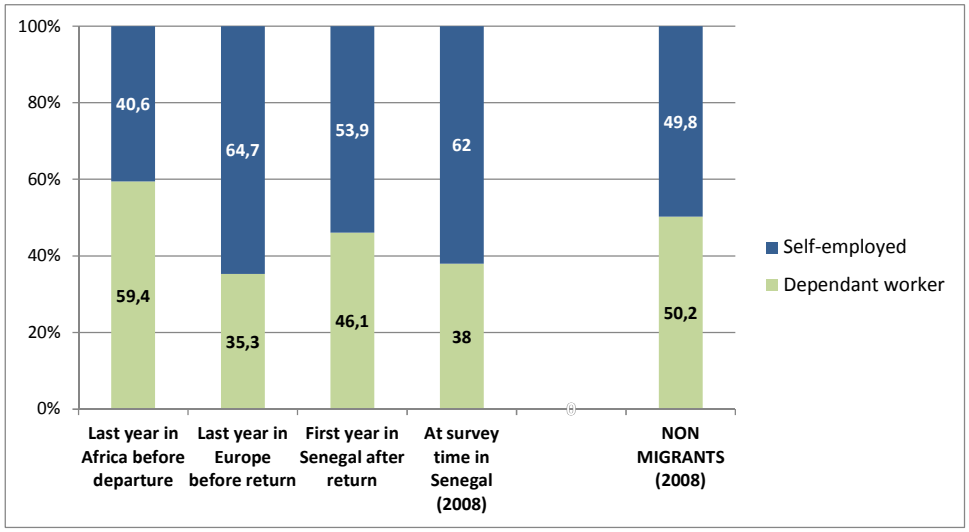
**Figure 14: Employment sector (working population) of returnees from Europe at four points in time during their migratory life and of non-migrants in 2008 (%)**




*Source*: MAFE-Senegal biographic survey in Senegal, France, Italy and Spain
*Population*: Current migrants in France, Italy and Spain (cf. Table 1); weighted data
*Interpretation:* Distribution of returnees by employment sector at four points in time and of non-migrants.

The significant effect of the financial capital accumulated by migrants on their reintegration is confirmed by the type of employment they perform when they return (cf. Figure 15). While the majority left as employees (59.4%), more migrants return as independent workers (62%).

**Figure 15: Type of employment (working population) of returnees from Europe at four points in time during their migratory life and of non-migrants at 2008 (%)**




*Source*: MAFE-Senegal biographic survey in Senegal, France, Italy and Spain
*Population*: Current migrants in France, Italy and Spain (cf. Table 1); weighted data
*Interpretation:* Distribution of returnees by type of employment at four points in time and of non-migrants.

Another way of apprehending migrants' labour market trajectories is by comparing their occupational status at several points in time. The red curve includes all of the returnees working at any given time. It shows that the ISEI score is larger after return than before return. This is largely due to the fact that before departure a significant proportion of people were students (not working, not included in mean ISEI), and held high level employment after return (change in composition). The blue curve is restricted to those working in the last year before departure; it shows only a slightly higher ISEI after return.

**Figure 16: Mean ISEI score among working people in their last year in Africa, their last year in Europe and in every year since their return to Senegal**

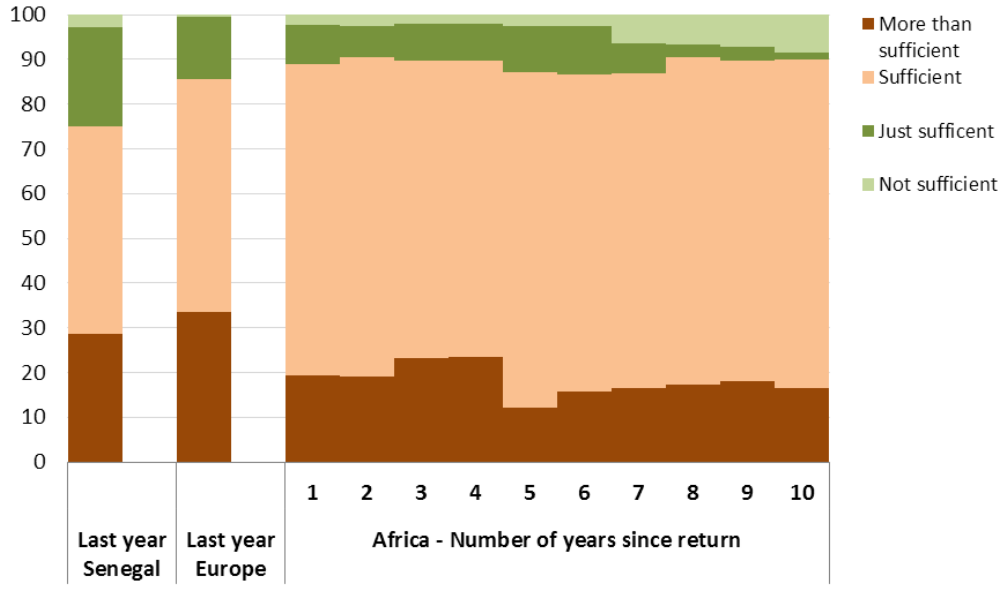

*Source*: MAFE-Senegal biographic survey in Senegal, France, Italy and Spain
*Population*: Current migrants in France, Italy and Spain (cf. Table 1); weighted data
*Interpretation:* The graph presents average occupational scores (ISEI scores) in the last year in Africa, and for the first ten years in Europe. The average score is measured among working people (whose composition may change over time) and shows aggregate changes.

Senegalese returnees' whole career paths colour their perception of living conditions, through their new expectations regarding living standards and the vagaries of their reintegration. In their last year in Senegal, three out of four returnees were satisfied with their living conditions. Except a tiny minority, they were proportionally even more likely to be satisfied during their return to Senegal (more than 95%), regardless of when they were asked during the ten years since their return (cf. Figure 17).

Two specific cases, however, should be examined. The first involves migrants who left satisfying living conditions (close to 30%), who are relatively less likely to be satisfied during the first two years after their return (20%) and, in particular, after four years of living in their country of origin (less than 20%). This changing level of appreciation may be the result of higher quality-of-life expectations. The second case involves those who are unsatisfied with their living conditions, a category that grows significantly six years after their return.

Which of the two groups will produce potential candidates for future migration? The second group is more likely to contain individuals ready for a new departure. As the resources gained through migration run out over time, the youngest returnees might attempt to leave again to find better living conditions than before their return.

**Table 17: Living conditions of returnees (%)**




*Source*: MAFE-Senegal biographic survey in Senegal, France, Italy and Spain
*Population*: Current migrants in France, Italy and Spain (cf. Table 1); weighted data
*Interpretation:* the figures show the distribution of the last occupational status of migrants in Senegal before leaving; the last occupational status in Europe before returning to Senegal, and in each year since their return to Senegal, for the first ten years.

## Conclusions

The first section of this paper explored the economic integration patterns experienced by Senegalese migrants upon their arrival in Europe and afterwards. As the paper has shown, different labour outcomes are primarily influenced by the composition of migrant groups upon arrival, in terms of educational attainments, labour status before leaving and motives for migration.

On the one hand, socioeconomic structural contexts and migration systems give rise to different demands for immigrant labour by attracting specific profiles of migrants on account of available facilities, entry conditions and labour market access (e.g. visas, studentships, linguistic affinity, recognition of diplomas, networks of co-ethnics, available jobs, etc.). The strength of labour demand and the degree to which it is met by immigrant workers may affect public perception – both in the countries of origin and destination – thus influencing destination preferences on one side, and admission policies on the other. On the other hand, it has been stressed how the labour market structure (in terms of sectoral composition, company size, role of the shadow economy, etc.) and the regulatory frameworks in place in the host country (in terms of policies regulating foreigners' entry and access to work) contribute to shaping the migrants' economic integration in the destination country.

Findings have highlighted different outcomes in the three selected destination countries, highly polarized between Spain, with a strong majority of Senegalese migrants entering and remaining at the lowest level of the labour market, an overall dispersion of students and a dramatic downward mobility for medium to highly skilled workers; and France, with a large proportion of students and highly skilled workers. Italy is in an intermediate position in terms of the economic integration of Senegalese migrants, with a huge proportion of unskilled individuals stagnating in low profile positions, but at the same time a small fraction of migrants pursuing their studies, an increasing rate of workers employed in medium to high positions and the number of unemployed migrants decreasing over time.

A deep gap, as expected, was found between France, as a former colonial power and an older destination country for the Senegalese, and Spain and Italy, as more recent Southern European destinations characterised by common characteristics with regard to labour demand and regulations. Interestingly, the MAFE data go beyond this common perception by shedding light on important differences between Spain and Italy, too. Analyses have provided evidence of different migrant profiles heading towards the two countries, and of different labour performances over the medium term, with Spain showing much worse results in terms of the economic integration of Senegalese migrants.

The study also found evidence of over-qualification, with the economic integration of Senegalese migrants into Europe occurring mainly in low-skilled jobs that do not correspond to their qualifications and under precarious conditions. These findings highlight the importance of transparent assessment and recognition processes, whose outcomes should be linked, where appropriate, to the provision of additional "bridging" courses that enable migrants to obtain qualifications that are familiar to employers (OECD). In addition, a system to recognise and transfer educational qualifications and professional skills should be implemented.

The integration into the labour market of the Senegalese in Europe, finally, is strongly affected by gender. Women show a much higher risk of inactivity, especially in France, where female migration is strongly based on family reasons, while Spain and Italy show higher rates of female participation in the labour market. This result suggests that women who have migrated more recently to new destination countries have a higher probability of being active in the labour market. This situation could result from different factors, such as more vulnerable conditions for families in contexts of lower social protection, changing roles within families, higher rates of women migrating alone, or the absence of familiar reunification.

Further explanatory analysis is needed in order to test the role of the different factors that contribute to driving economic integration in the destination country.

In the second section, the paper highlighted how economic transnational engagement towards Senegal (observed in remittances, investment in assets, associative participation) grows over time and depending on different categories (women/men; low/medium/high level of education; documented/undocumented; employed/unemployed).

The analysis indicates that remittance behaviours are tied to gender relations within Senegalese society. A woman is freer to use resources as she wishes than a man, who must contribute to the maintenance of the family. It can also be observed over time that the least educated men and migrants who are employed begin sensing remittances earlier than women, the most educated migrants and the unemployed. These behavioural differences can likely be explained by social constraints, family wealth and economic insecurity.

As for investments in the country of origin, the data show that the longer the stay in the destination country, the higher the number of migrants owning property. Of particular note is the strategy by undocumented migrants to secure resources by sending remittances as soon as they earnings increase. Few, however, contribute financially to the activities of migrant development associations. This can perhaps be explained by the migrants' urban origins (they come from Dakar) or because their sense of community is less established.

In terms of migrants' strategies for re-entering the local labour market upon their return, they seem to privilege the sectors in which they can make the most of the financial and/or human added value gained through migration and their stay abroad: business and services. Lastly, analysis of returnees' reintegration into the labour market, although based on a limited number of cases and almost entirely on migrants who returned from France, provides evidence of positive outcomes over time, both in

terms of labour market participation, with lower rates of unemployment and of inactivity, and the level of jobs obtained, with a higher proportion of individuals in highly skilled positions.

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# ANNEXES

## ANNEX 1: Profile of migrants

**Table 5: Migrants' socioeconomic characteristics at the time of the survey (%)**

| | Spain | | France | | Italy | | Total | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Level of education** | **Males** | **Females** | **Males** | **Females** | **Males** | **Females** | **Males** | **Females** |
| No/primary | 78.64 | 73.26 | 43.69 | 49.52 | 49.11 | 57.59 | 56.15 | 53.71 |
| Secondary | 18.98 | 23.28 | 19.49 | 27.61 | 38.01 | 31.99 | 26.14 | 27.6 |
| Higher | 2.38 | 3.46 | 36.81 | 22.86 | 12.88 | 10.42 | 17.7 | 18.69 |
| **Total** | **100** | **100** | **100** | **100** | **100** | **100** | **100** | **100** |
| | | | | | | | | |
| **Age** | | | | | | | | |
| 25-34 | 49.9 | 46.73 | 22.71 | 28.14 | 26,0 | 55.04 | 32.06 | 34.07 |
| 35-44 | 33.91 | 33.69 | 25.12 | 30.29 | 48.29x | 36.04 | 36.26 | 31.48 |
| 45-64 | 16.19 | 18.12 | 52.18 | 41.57 | 25.7 | 8.92 | 31.67 | 34.25 |
| **Total** | **100** | **100** | **100** | **100** | **100** | **100** | **100** | **100** |
| | | | | | | | | |
| **Duration of stay in Europe** | | | | | | | | |
| 1-4 years | 36.87 | 30.09 | 10.65 | 7.63 | 13.09 | 31.37 | 19.4 | 13.67 |
| 5-9 years | 40.87 | 35.24 | 21.71 | 36.81 | 30.77 | 38.41 | 30.78 | 36.81 |
| 10 years and over | 22.26 | 34.67 | 67.64 | 55.55 | 56.14 | 30.23 | 49.83 | 49.52 |
| Total | **100** | **100** | **100** | **100** | **100** | **100** | **100** | **100** |
| | | | | | | | | |
| **Residence permit in 2008** | | | | | | | | |
| No | 31.96 | 9.68 | 7.29 | 9.86 | 16.77 | 18.02 | 18.21 | 10.86 |
| Yes or does not need | 68.04 | 90.32 | 92.71 | 90.14 | 83.23 | 81.98 | 81.79 | 89.14 |
| **Total** | **100** | **100** | **100** | **100** | **100** | **100** | **100** | **100** |
| | | | | | | | | |
| **Residence permit at arrival (first year)** | | | | | | | | |
| No | 55.18 | 26.9 | 11.84 | 6.85 | 38.69 | 31.14 | 34.68 | 12.64 |
| Yes or does not need | 44.82 | 73.1 | 88.16 | 93.15 | 61.31 | 68.86 | 65.32 | 87.36 |
| **Total** | **100** | **100** | **100** | **100** | **100** | **100** | **100** | **100** |
| N | ***98*** | ***102*** | ***108*** | ***92*** | ***124*** | ***79*** | ***330*** | ***273*** |

**Table 6: Occupation status of migrants by gender, education, legal status, and country of residence (2008)**

| | Legal status | | Country | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Occupational status (total population)** | **No res. permit** | **Res. permit** | **Spain** | | **France** | | **Italy** | | **Total** | |
| | | | **Males** | **Females** | **Males** | **Females** | **Males** | **Females** | **Males** | **Females** |
| Employed | **84.7** | 82.5 | 81.4 | 72,0 | 81.79 | 71.79 | 97.64 | 57.4 | 87.5 | 69.97 |
| Unemployed | 12.5 | 5.2 | 15.71 | 5.14 | 7.67 | 1.81 | 2.36 | 13.15 | 8.13 | 3.71 |
| Student | 0 | 4.2 | 0,0 | 0,0 | 9.29 | 6.26 | 0,0 | 0,0 | 3.1 | 4.62 |
| Inactive | 2.7 | 8.1 | 2.89 | 22.86 | 1.24 | 20.13 | 0,0 | 29.45 | 1.28 | 21.7 |
| **Total** | **100** | **100** | | | | | | | | |
| **N** | 106 | 477 | | | | | | | | |
| P-value (chi2) | 0.01 | ** | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | |
| **Total** | **100** | **100** | | | | | | | | |
| N | 100 | 402 | | | | | | | | |
| P-value (chi2) | 0.06 | * | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | |
| **Employment sector (working population)** | | | | | | | | | | |
| Agriculture | 0.4 | 12.0 | 3.1 | 19.56 | 10.96 | 0,0 | 0,0 | 2.27 | 1.49 | 6.39 | 1.64 |
| Industry and construction | 14.7 | 25.3 | 28.0 | 39.72 | 7.86 | 23.01 | 1.17 | 45.85 | 14.2 | 36.91 | 3.46 |
| Business and services | 30.9 | 60.6 | 52.1 | 40.72 | 78.54 | 51.61 | 72.96 | 43.92 | 69.13 | 45.46 | 73.31 |
| Other | 53.9 | 2.0 | 16.7 | 0,0 | 2.64 | 25.38 | 25.86 | 7.97 | 15.18 | 11.25 | 21.59 |
| **Total** | 100 | **100** | **100** | | | | | | | | |
| N | 70 | 89 | 375 | | | | | | | | |
| P-value (chi2) | | <0.01 | *** | | | | | | | | |
| **Level of occupation (working population)** | | | | | | | | | | |
| Elementary | 41.0 | 98.0 | 80.9 | 100,0 | 96.6 | 71.18 | 72.96 | 89.3 | 84.82 | 86.56 | 77.42 |
| Intermediate | 23.1 | 0.0 | 7.9 | 0,0 | 1.88 | 11.72 | 11.86 | 3.71 | 6.05 | 5.21 | 9.89 |
| Higher | 35.9 | 2.0 | 11.1 | 0,0 | 1.52 | 17.11 | 15.18 | 6.99 | 9.13 | 8.24 | 12.69 |
| **Total** | 100 | **100** | **100** | | | | | | | | |
| N | 70 | 89 | 375 | | | | | | | | |
| P-value (chi2) | | <0.01 | *** | | | | | | | | |
| **Type of employment (working population)** | | | | | | | | | | |
| Dependant worker | 91.4 | 62.2 | 82.6 | 77.97 | 76.17 | 87.3 | 86.61 | 76.3 | 78.08 | 80.21 | 84.28 |
| Self-employed | 8.6 | **37.8** | **17.4** | 22.03 | **23.83** | **12.7** | **13.39** | **23.7** | **21.92** | **19.79** | 15.72 |
| **Total** | 100 | 100 | 100 | | | | | | | | |
| N | 70 | 89 | 375 | | | | | | | | |
| P-value (chi2) | | <0.01 | *** | | | | | | | | |

## ANNEX 2: Labour transitions from Africa to Europe

**Table 7: Comparison of last occupational status in Africa before first migration and the first occupational status in Europe (%), by gender (migrants in any of the three countries: Spain, France, Italy)**

| Last status in Africa | | First status in Europe | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | ***Men*** | Elementary | Intermediate/High | Unemployed | Inactive | Students | ***Total*** | *N* |
| | Elementary | 84.9 | 0.3 | 11.9 | 1.3 | 1.6 | *100* | **198** |
| | Intermediate/High | 56.0 | 12.7 | 10.5 | 5.0 | 15.8 | *100* | **33** |
| | Unemployed | 63.5 | 0.0 | 28.8 | 0.0 | 7.7 | *100* | **29** |
| | Inactive | 71.2 | 0.0 | 6.4 | 4.8 | 17.6 | *100* | **13** |
| | Students | 31.8 | 5.0 | 1.8 | 0.0 | 61.4 | *100* | **52** |
| | *All* | 71.4 | 2.2 | 11.5 | 1.5 | 13.4 | *100* | **325** |
| | ***Women*** | Elementary | Intermediate/High | Unemployed | Inactive | Students | ***Total*** | *N* |
| | Elementary | 61.6 | 1.5 | 4.3 | 26.1 | 6.4 | *100* | **95** |
| | Intermediate/High | 38.7 | 13.9 | 1.4 | 32.9 | 13.1 | *100* | **25** |
| | Unemployed | 59.9 | 8.3 | 23.4 | 5.7 | 2.7 | *100* | **21** |
| | Inactive | 22.6 | 0.6 | 0.9 | 71.5 | 4.3 | *100* | **86** |
| | Students | 17.3 | 1.9 | 3.1 | 22.4 | 55.3 | *100* | **43** |
| | *All* | 36.0 | 3.3 | 3.4 | 39.4 | 17.9 | *100* | **270** |
| | ***All*** | Elementary | Intermediate/High | Unemployed | Inactive | Students | ***Total*** | *N* |
| | Elementary | 81.3 | 0.5 | 10.8 | 5.2 | 2.3 | *100* | **293** |
| | Intermediate/High | 49.9 | 13.1 | 7.2 | 14.9 | 14.8 | *100* | **58** |
| | Unemployed | 62.9 | 1.3 | 28.0 | 0.9 | 6.9 | *100* | **50** |
| | Inactive | 36.1 | 0.5 | 2.4 | 53.0 | 8.0 | *100* | **99** |
| | Students | 26.3 | 3.9 | 2.3 | 8.5 | 59.1 | *100* | **95** |
| | *All* | 61.2 | 2.5 | 9.2 | 12.4 | 14.7 | *100* | **595** |

**Table 8: Comparison of first occupational status in Europe and the occupational status at survey time (%), by gender (migrants in any of the three countries: Spain, France, Italy)**

| | | Status at survey time | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| First status in Europe | ***Men*** | Elementary | Intermediate/High | Unemployed | Inactive | Students | ***Total*** | *N* |
| | Elementary | 87.4 | 3.8 | 7.0 | 1.8 | 0.0 | *100* | **228** |
| | Intermediate/High | 32.8 | 67.2 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | *100* | **9** |
| | Unemployed | 70.7 | 6.2 | 23.2 | 0.0 | 0.0 | *100* | **33** |
| | Inactive | 86.6 | 13.4 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | *100* | **7** |
| | Students | 26.5 | 50.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 23.5 | *100* | **46** |
| | *All* | 76.1 | 11.8 | 7.6 | 1.3 | 3.2 | *100* | **323** |
| | ***Women*** | Elementary | Intermediate/High | Unemployed | Inactive | Students | ***Total*** | *N* |
| | Elementary | 79.7 | 3.6 | 1.7 | 15.0 | 0.0 | *100* | **122** |
| | Intermediate/High | 6.0 | 90.7 | 3.4 | 0.0 | 0.0 | *100* | **9** |
| | Unemployed | 31.9 | 0.0 | 65.8 | 2.3 | 0.0 | *100* | **16** |
| | Inactive | 52.7 | 6.8 | 0.2 | 37.4 | 2.9 | *100* | **98** |
| | Students | 17.5 | 50.1 | 4.1 | 8.6 | 19.7 | *100* | **27** |
| | *All* | 54.2 | 15.8 | 3.7 | 21.7 | 4.6 | *100* | **272** |
| | ***All*** | Elementary | Intermediate/High | Unemployed | Inactive | Students | ***Total*** | *N* |
| | Elementary | 86.1 | 3.7 | 6.1 | 4.1 | 0 | *100* | ***350*** |
| | Intermediate/High | 22.7 | 76.0 | 1.3 | 0 | 0 | *100* | ***18*** |
| | Unemployed | 66.5 | 5.5 | 27.8 | 0.2 | 0 | *100* | ***49*** |
| | Inactive | 56.0 | 7.4 | 0.2 | 33.8 | 2.6 | *100* | ***105*** |
| | Students | 23.4 | 50.0 | 1.4 | 3.0 | 22.2 | *100* | ***73*** |
| | *All* | 69.7 | 13 | 6.5 | 7.2 | 3.6 | *100* | ***595*** |

## ANNEX 3: Migrants' economic contribution to the country of origin

**Table 9: Proportion of migrants owning assets, sending remittance and/or paying contributions to associations at the time of the survey, by socioeconomic and demographic characteristics**

| | Remittances | Assets (mean number) | Association | N |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | |
| **Gender** | | | | |
| Male | 0.79 | 0.77 | 0.21 | 330 |
| Female | 0.70 | 0.64 | 0.18 | 273 |
| ***Chi2 (p-value)*** | 0.02 (**) | 0.16 (n.s) | 0.31 (n.s.) | |
| **Occupational Status** | | | | |
| Employed | 0.78 | 0.72 | 0.21 | 480 |
| Unemployed | 0.44 | 0.65 | 0.15 | 39 |
| Student | 0.52 | 0.33 | 0.14 | 18 |
| Inactive | 0.58 | 1.14 | 0.22 | 66 |
| ***Chi2 (p-value)*** | <0.01 (***) | 0.01 (*) | 0.71 (n.s.) | |
| **Type of employment (working population)** | | | | |
| Dependant worker | 0.82 | 0.73 | 0.22 | 374 |
| Self-employed | 0.79 | 0.72 | 0.17 | 104 |
| ***Chi2 (p-value)*** | 0.51(n.s.) | 0.96 (n.s.) | 0.26 (n.s.) | |
| **Country** | | | | |
| Spain | 0.75 | 0.50 | 0.20 | 200 |
| France | 0.79 | 0.91 | 0.28 | 200 |
| Italy | 0.74 | 0.62 | 0.09 | 203 |
| ***Chi2 (p-value)*** | 0.45 (ns) | <0.01 (***) | <0.01 (***) | |
| **Education (diploma)** | | | | |
| No/Primary | 0.78 | 0.71 | 0.21 | 351 |
| Secondary | 0.72 | 0.76 | 0.16 | 158 |
| Higher | 0.78 | 0.77 | 0.25 | 94 |
| ***Chi2 (p-value)*** | 0.37 (n.s.) | 0.77 (n.s) | 0.18 (n.s). | |
| **Legal status** | | | | |
| No residence permit | 0.63 | 0.26 | 0.08 | 87 |
| Residence permit | 0.79 | 0.82 | 0.22 | 506 |
| ***Chi2 (p-value)*** | <0.01 (***) | <0.01 (***) | <0.01 (***) | |
| **Total** | 0.76 | 0.73 | 0.20 | 603 |

## ANNEX 4: Profile of returnees

**Table 10: Socioeconomic characteristics of returnees and non-returnees from Europe in Senegal at the time of the survey (%)**

| | Returnees from Europe | Non returnees (from Europe) |
|---|---|---|
| **Sex** | | |
| Male | 68.6 | 45.5 |
| Female | 31.4 | 54.5 |
| **Total** | **100.0** | **100.0** |
| | | |
| **Level of education** | | |
| No/primary | 53.7 | 81.0 |
| Secondary | 27.9 | 11.6 |
| Higher | 18.4 | 7.4 |
| | **100.0** | **100.0** |
| **Age** | | |
| 25-34 | 8.7 | 41.9 |
| 35-44 | 39.1 | 27.6 |
| 45-64 | 52.2 | 30.5 |
| **Total** | **100.0** | **100.0** |
| | | |
| **Country before return** | | |
| France | 66.2 | - |
| Italy | 20.2 | - |
| Spain | 6.2 | - |
| Other European countries | 7.4 | - |
| **Total** | **100.0** | |
| | | |
| **Legal status before return** | | |
| Documented | 88.9 | - |
| Undocumented | 11.1 | - |
| | | |
| **Years in Europe** | | |
| Fewer than 5 years | 55.5 | - |
| 5-9 years | 25.5 | - |
| 10 years and over | 19.0 | - |
| | | |
| **Motives for return** | | |
| Family reasons | **25.5** | |
| Work | **8.3** | |
| Studies | **16.5** | |
| Difficult living conditions | **2.7** | |
| Administrative reasons | **10.4** | |
| Investment | **3.1** | |
| Other | **12.3** | |
| Missing | **21.2** | |
| | | |
| N | **62** | **1001** |
| | | |

**Table 11: Occupational status of returnees from Europe and non-returnees in Senegal at 2008 (%)**

| | Returnees from Europe | Non returnees |
|---|---|---|
| **Occupational status (total population)** | | |
| Employed - Elementary | 43.7 | 51.9 |
| Employed - Intermediate/High | 26.6 | 10.2 |
| Unemployed | 3.3 | 5.3 |
| Student | 10.0 | 3.7 |
| Inactive | 16.3 | 28.9 |
| **Total** | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| **N** | **62** | **1001** |
| P-value (chi2) | 0.30 | n.s. |
| | | |
| **Employment sector (working population)** | | |
| Agriculture | 0.3 | 1.8 |
| Industry and construction | 14.4 | 27.7 |
| Business and services | 60.3 | 26.8 |
| Other | 25.0 | 13.7 |
| **Total** | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| N | 43 | 613 |
| P-value (chi2) | 0.14 | n.s. |
| | | |
| **Level of occupation (working population)** | | |
| Elementary | 62.1 | 83.5 |
| Intermediate | 9.5 | 9.1 |
| Higher | 28.4 | 7.4 |
| **Total** | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| N | 43 | 613 |
| P-value (chi2) | <0.01 | *** |
| | | |
| **Type of employment (working population)** | | |
| Dependant worker | 38.0 | 50.2 |
| Self-employed | 62.0 | 49.8 |
| **Total** | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| N | 43 | 613 |
| P-value (chi2) | 0.29 | n.s. |
| | | |
| **Mean ISEI score (working population)** | 50.1 | 33.9 |
| N | 43 | 613 |
| P-value (F-test) | <0.01 | *** |

**Table 12: Occupational status of returnees from Europe at four points in time during their migratory life (%)**

| | Last year in Africa before leaving | Last year in Europe before returning | First year in Senegal after return | At survey time in Senegal |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Occupational status (total population)** | | | | |
| Employed - Elementary | 34.5 | 64.0 | 39.0 | 43.7 |
| Employed - Intermediate-High | 19.1 | 3.8 | 22.3 | 26.6 |
| Unemployed | 4.0 | 1.8 | 15.4 | 3.3 |
| Inactive | 9.3 | 13.1 | 23.3 | 16.3 |
| Student | 33.1 | 17.4 | 0.0 | 10.1 |
| **Total** | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| **N** | 63 | 64 | 61 | 62 |
| | | | | |
| **Employment status (active population)** | | | | |
| Unemployed | 6.9 | 2.6 | 20.1 | 4.5 |
| Employed | 93.1 | 97.4 | 80.0 | 95.5 |
| **Total** | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| N | 34 | 41 | 42 | 45 |
| | | | | |
| **Employment sector (working population)** | | | | |
| Agriculture | 7.6 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.3 |
| Industry and construction | 8.8 | 24.6 | 18.6 | 14.4 |
| Business and services | 49.1 | 70.5 | 49.8 | 60.3 |
| Other | 34.5 | 4.9 | 31.7 | 25.0 |
| **Total** | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| N | 34 | 41 | 42 | 45 |
| | | | | |
| **Type of employment (working population)** | | | | |
| Dependant worker | 59.4 | 35.3 | 46.1 | 38.0 |
| Self-employed | 40.6 | 64.7 | 53.9 | 62.0 |
| **Total** | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| N | 34 | 41 | 42 | 45 |
| | | | | |
| Mean ISEI score (working population) | 43.3 | 39.0 | 50.4 | 50.1 |
| N | 34 | 41 | 42 | 45 |