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**BUILDING A COMPREHENSIVE FRAMEWORK  
OF AFRICAN MIGRATION PATTERNS:  
THE CASE OF MIGRATION BETWEEN SENEGAL AND EUROPE**

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to Sarah, my project of peace

Vivere una sola vita

in una sola città  
in un solo Paese  
in un solo universo  
vivere in un solo mondo  
è prigioniero.

Amare un solo amico,  
un solo padre,  
una sola madre,  
una sola famiglia  
amare una sola persona  
è prigioniero.

Conoscere una sola lingua,  
un solo lavoro,  
un solo costume,  
una sola civiltà  
conoscere una sola logica  
è prigioniero.

Avere un solo corpo,  
un solo pensiero,  
una sola conoscenza,  
una sola essenza  
avere un solo essere  
è prigioniero.

**Ndjock Ngana\***

\*was born in Cameroon in 1952 and has been living in Italy since 1973. He's the author of the poetry collection *Nhindo black* Anterem Editions, 1994, from which this poem is taken.

Migration is not the evacuation of a place with the consequent occupation of a new one, but the permanent creation of life on the stage of the world; it is building of the world

**Papadopoulos and Tsianos (2009: 85, own translation)**

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## CHAPTER 1

### Migration and mobility: the theoretical and empirical gap in migration studies

#### 1.1 The sociology of migration: which research horizons?

In the last decades, migration studies have focused their attention on the **explanation of the causes of international migration**. The main theories on this phenomenon faced two major sociological perspectives: the micro sociologic and macro sociologic one; while some more recent interpretations have sought to build bridges between the two perspectives, focusing rather on a meso, intermediate level (Ambrosini, 2005).

A first set of explanations focuses on the **micro level**. In particular according to the neoclassical paradigm, migration is conceptualized as a cost-benefit decision, based on wage level differences as crucial explanatory factors (Harris, Todaro, 1970; Arango, 2000). Migrants in their view estimate the costs and benefits of moving to various locations before finally setting in a place where they can be more productive and earn more money (Borjas, 1989). Central to this understanding is the migrant who is considered as an individual rational actor (Faist, 1997) with self-agency. Subsequently the "new economics of migrations", developed in particular by Stark (Stark, Bloom, 1985; Stark 1991), tried to overcome some weaknesses of the dominant economic perspective offered through the neoclassical approach by trying to offer a more complex scenario of the migration decision. Scholars taking this approach argue that migrants do not make their decision in isolation and that families play a central role in the process of international migration through strategies of allocation of human resources aimed at maximizing gains and minimizing risks. Also this more refined version of neoclassical theory has been criticized, ignoring the fact that there may also be structural constraints that impact migrants' mobility, such as distance, physical barriers and immigration laws, that all influence the development of the migration process (Ambrosini, 2005).

In consideration of the **micro level** approach, founded on economic principles and on the individual dimension, some macro theories based on a structural approach were opposed. On a **macro level**, the model of "push and pull factors" brought the attention on one hand to the concept of migratory pressure due to negative economic and demographic repulsion factors in originating areas and on the other to attractive factors in potential destination areas (Lee, 1966; Livi Bacci, Martuzzi Veronese, 1990; Bonifazi, 1998). Another version of the structural approach is the "historical structural approach" that focuses on the structural political economy that has produced global

inequalities. According to this theory, which has its intellectual roots in Marxist political economy, social and historical forces have led to unequal worldwide distribution of resources and power. The theory pivots around the political hierarchy of global markets. Wallerstein (1974), with particular reference to his "world system theory", argues that migration is foremost produced by unequal spatial development between the "core" and the "periphery". Castells (1996) and Sassen (1998), among other theorists inspired by Wallerstein's work, claim that decisions to migrate cannot only be explained by economic wage differences, but also must be understood according to the political origins of these differences.

The initiative of migrants (*agency*) and of their networks are thus seen as a factor that, although rising bottom up in a spontaneous way, is affected by macro structural processes and phenomena's. Nevertheless in migration theory the debate about structure and agency remains still heated, as an open sociological dilemma.

With the aim of overcoming the limitations of both groups of theories, the migration studies over the last two decades have developed some explanations that are at an intermediate, **meso level** between micro and macro theories. In particular the "network theories" (Taylor, 1986; Boyd, 1989; Fawcett, 1989; Gurak, Caces, 1992) conceive individual decisions within social groups, which in turn hinder and mediate between the social and economic conditions determined at the macro level and the actual subjective migration behaviour. Therefore, the social network approach, expands the decision-making goal to larger social units: migrants, potential migrants, returning migrants, and non-migrants are all connected through ties of kinship, ethnicity, and friendship. These networks may facilitate or encourage further migration by providing concrete information and assistance to potential migrants (Massey and Espinosa, 1997; Portes, 1995; Price, 1963).

The theoretical interest of this approach is due to an interpretation of migration networks as part of the agency of migrants, who can actively promote new migration processes, determine the integration paths and develop forms of social mobility (e.g. through entrepreneurship) and collective minority identity through the network ties (Ambrosini, 2006). Therefore, migrants who are part of a network do not appear as isolated individuals who fluctuate in a social vacuum, without other point of reference rather than their rational interests.

Beyond the study of the underlying causes of international migration, research has extensively studied the process of **integration of migrants in the receiving societies**, looking at three main dimensions: the political-legal, the socio-economic, and the cultural-religious ones (Penninx, Martiniello, 2007: 34). A first category of studies compare the processes of integration of various immigrant groups within same local (comparing different urban contexts) or national institutional and political

dimensions. These studies focus on the differences between the different communities, since the national and urban context is the same. A second category of studies considers a number of countries and examines the integration of the same ethnic group in different national contexts. Also these studies find differences in integration outcomes, but primarily attribute them to the different contexts in which the group is integrated (ibidem: 38-39).

Another level of analysis on migration has concentrated its attention on the policies developed by receiving countries regulating the management of migratory phenomenon with particular attention to: the entry system (flow management) and the criteria to stay within the national territory (system of permits); the inclusion in the economic system (access to the labour market); the integration of migrants (access to social, political and civil rights). This analysis has been developed on various levels of local, national and supra-national (bi-lateral and multi-lateral) **policy making** processes and on the impact of policies on migrant population and receiving societies (Caponio, 2004; 2006).

While Willer and Glick Schiller (2002) demonstrated how the concept of nation-state building processes have fundamentally shaped the ways immigration has been perceived and received, the **transnationalism paradigm** allowed to take a major step forward beyond these traditional assumptions (Willer, Glick-Schiller, 2002) emphasizing the common multi-local dimension of social spaces involved in migration, which extend across physical barriers and are able to defy the nation-states sovereignty (Pries, 2007 in Petrillo, Palmas, 2009). Transnationalism has in fact emphasized multi-polar relationships, networks, and migrant practices, showing that migration is not limited to a one nation state and how it covers a much broader space.

Rather than viewing migration in terms of one, or a few discrete moves, transnationalism conceptualizes migration as a continuous flow of people, goods, money and ideas that transgress national boundaries and by doing so, connect different physical, social, economic and political spaces. Authors using transnationalism argue that new forms of human mobility have emerged because airplanes, telephones, satellite technology, faxes, and computers make movement and communication between large distances possible with much greater frequency, speed and regularity and on a much larger scale than was possible in the past (see Ethnic and Racial Studies 1999, 22 (2) for overview articles and Vertovec, 2001). Various definitions of transnationalism have been proposed reflecting the different disciplinary backgrounds of scholars it has attracted. Basch et al. (1994), defines transnationalism as "the processes by which immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement." (1994, p.7). Vertovec emphasizes the importance of people within networks by focusing on the "multiple ties

and interactions linking people or institutions across the borders of nation-states” (1999, p.447). Portes et al., in an economic view, delimits the concept of transnationalism to occupations and activities that require sustained contacts over time across national borders (1999, p.218).

The novelty of transnationalism resides in a profound change in analytical framework, which allowed scholars of migration to firmly shed the tendency to think of nation-states as the containers within which social processes should be analyzed.

Some of the scholars of transnationalism (Levitt, De Wind, Vertovec, 2003), studying the ways in which migrants maintain strong ties and continuous contacts with their countries of origin, realized that relations, flows of people, goods, remittances, social capital, operate and move between specific and local communities in sending and receiving countries (Riccio, 2003), rather than in an abstract and intangible ‘space of flows’ (Sinatti, 2006). Therefore, according to Sinatti (ibidem), the strong emphasis placed by much transnational literature on aspects of mobility, often comes at the cost of a lack of attention for more spatially localized ones. The notion of **translocalism** (Barkan 2006) is thus introduced as a new, mobile way of conceptualizing space, which offers a synthesis between attention for movement and connections across distances, and a concern for local contexts. Translocalities are defined as urban areas that have come to constitute collective nodes of reference for transnational migrants.

The newly edited work by Brickell and Datta (2011) fits into this line of research with the aim of arguing for a spatial understanding of translocality that situates the migrant experience within/across particular ‘locales’ without confining it to the territorial boundedness of the nation-state.

Another emphasis of recent writings related to the transnationalism literature has been on the potential that *diasporas* have for providing benefits for both homeland and destination societies. Much of the current literature on **migration and development** has placed its attention on diaspora members and communities who have shown their ability to mobilize effective development initiatives including remittance transfers, technology transfers, facilitating investment and business development, and encouraging the development of democratic governance institutions in the homelands. Temporary (in the form of circulation patterns) or permanent returns of migrants have also been seen as a potential leverage of development as vehiculating human capital, transfer of skills, links to foreign networks and investments in origin countries.

The newly edited work by Brickell and Datta (2011) fits into this line of research with the aim of arguing for a spatial understanding of translocality that situates the migrant experience within/across particular ‘locales’ without confining it to the territorial boundedness of the nation-state.

## **1.2 The study of mobility in migration studies: a theoretical and empirical gap**

While most literature issued from migration studies often concentrated on describing and explaining the drivers and mechanisms of migration, it could provide only partial answers mainly limiting its perspective to specific parts of the migratory process (departure reasons; settlement and integration dynamics; returns and re-integration in origin countries, etc.) and has hardly been able to build multi-level comprehensive frameworks.

One of the main explanations is that they rely on insufficient preliminary knowledge of the structure of the migration patterns, of their multi-faceted nature and composition, and of the geo-political contextual framework in which they take place.

Migration, particularly as a mobility process, has been understudied (Schapendonk, 2010): the dynamics of travel from the origins to the destination countries, transit to the intermediate ones, mobility and circulation among different origin and destination countries, return and re-settlement in the places of departure remain almost unknown, weakly documented and until now relatively under-researched in the academic field (King, 2000; Zanfrini, 2004; Robin et al., 2000).

This approach was partially provided by some **biographical studies** undertaken by historians, anthropologists and sociologists, through the reconstitution of life histories.

The biographical approach in sociology indicates a set of different methodological techniques aimed at collecting and analyzing written or oral life stories, solicited or self-represented, of people designated as representative of a certain reality or significant because of the peculiarity of their life path.

The biographical approach originated in the tradition of the interpretative paradigm developed by the Chicago School of Sociology. William Isaac Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, two sociologists belonging to the Chicago School, were the pioneers of biographical research in the discipline of sociology. In their well-known study, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, the research was conducted during World War One and was then published in the USA in 1918. Biographical research was therefore developed as an innovative method in the social sciences in order to explain complex migration-specific social phenomena as qualitatively new in terms of the originating and the receiving society (Apitzsch 2006a).

Thomas and Znaniecki's methodology (1939), distinguished by the fact that biographical material was used as sociological data to gain insight into the principles constructing the lives of migrants, inspired the empirical research tradition of the Chicago School from the 1920s onwards. It was here that the use of biographical

material for sociological investigations, particularly in deviance research, was pursued and systematized as a biographical method during the 1930s. In historical studies, in the late 1940s the "oral history", launched at Columbia University and developed by the English School, initiated an approach aimed at studying the "history from below", drawing on the registration of eyewitnesses regarding facts and events of historical importance.

While most biographical qualitative research are retrospective, i.e., reconstitute the paths of life through a narrative reconstruction of past experiences by the interviewer, two recent studies used qualitative dynamic methods (repeated over time) to study the trajectories of migrants and their paths. The first, held by Schanpendonk (2010th) collected migration histories, reconstituting the paths of mobility through multi-local and multi-timing (longitudinal and dynamic) repeated interviews to migrants, at first interviewed face-to-face in depth, and then followed along their trajectories through long distance conversations (via Skype or phone) or mail exchanges. The second, undertaken by Arab (2009: 79), undertook instead a series of qualitative interviews repeated over time, implicating physical displacement along the route of the migrants interviewed, and meeting with them at some following stages of their path.

As for a statistical approach to the study of migrants' mobility, available data on migration are few, weakly comparable and fail to capture the longitudinal character of migration. In most countries departures and returns are not inventoried. As for the destination countries, entries are very imperfectly registered. On one hand, irregular migrations by definition are not included in the official statistics (at least at the entry phase); on the other hand, every country applies its own definition of migration (varying one from another) even in a common space, like EU. Aggregating data on migration flows is thus a very delicate exercise (Flahaux, Beauchemin, Schoumaker, 2010).

Most surveys as are still based on nation-state units. They don't allow to identify common trajectories or patterns across the life course, as they don't capture adequately the lives lived across the sending and receiving context, and more in general flows, linkages, or identities that cross other spatial units or the phenomena and dynamics within them (Khagram, Levitt 2007; Levitt, Jaworsky 2007). As Pries argues (2004, pp. 29 & 31), "without enlarging the conceptual framework to include recognition of pluri-local social spaces, we will probably lose touch with a growing part of the reality of migration, and thus, be unable to sufficiently understand and explain it". However, these cross-sectional data are often inadequate to fully explore the migration processes along time, failing to account for dynamic, longitudinal processes.

As a consequence, there is a lack of insight into (geographical) mobility systems and logics and into the complex interrelations between different stages of the migratory

trajectories. An integrated, comprehensive approach in is nonetheless necessary for a full comprehensive understanding of migration trajectories (from the home country, through the various stages).

As it will be argued later in the chapter 3, biographic survey can be a valid methodological instrument to fill this empirical gap, according to a life course approach. The latter has emerged as a major research paradigm in social sciences, studying the change in individual's lives over time, and how those changes are related to external, contextual events. The concept of the life course refers to a sequence of socially defined, age-graded events and roles that the individual enacts over time. Employed in the current analysis, this approach allows us to focus on individual migrants and their multiple moves associated with migratory paths.

### **1.3 Mobility and territoriality in migration studies**

Territoriality, tangible or intangible, lived or imagined, mobility, are just a few key elements above all in the geographical perspective of migration research. The research on geographical mobility studies the physical migration routes, and the intersecting socio-professional paths of migrants along the path (Gentileschi, 2009). Back in the 1980s Anglo-German geographer Ernst Ravenstein (1885) already analyzed migration flows and the bundles of relationships between communities created by them.

Gildas Simon (2008, in Gentileschi 2009: 111) defines as geographical theories those that: "1. Interpret the mobility according to the categories of space and time, exploring the diachronic dimension; 2. Examine the quality of spaces of origin and destination in terms of creation of migrants flows or their reception, highlighting territorial integration or repulsion factors; 3. Identify in migrants new agents of the organization of space and territory, i.e. *new* "actors", carriers of *ancient* cultures, 4. Examine the spatial transformation induced by in and out migration flows and their local significant, in a globalized context".

The "new mobilities paradigm" and "the mobility turn" (Cresswell, 2006; Hannam et al., 2006; Sheller and Urry, 2006) in geographic study of migration draw attention to a growing field of mobilities research (Blunt, 2007). The wide scope of this research field not only encompasses mobility across a wide range of forms, practices, scales, locations and technologies, but also interrogates the politics of mobility and immobility, the material contexts within which they are embedded, and their representational and non-representational dynamics. This research includes detailed studies of embodied, material and politicized mobilities, often through the development of innovative and mobile methodologies (Blunt, 2007: 685).

The social experience and practices of travel can also be read in a perspective of

"**political anthropology of [migratory] travel**" (Adelkhah e Bayart, 2007), where the emphasis is on the social experience of travel itself, producing determined social impact, in terms of relations between genders, between social classes, between travellers and natives, etc.

Travel, as an analytical category, was furthermore addressed by James Clifford (1999), through an anthropological consideration of its practices of interaction and crossing. In this regard the issue of borders is taken in account as a place of "hybridization and struggle, surveillance and transgression"; the Mexican-U.S. border in Clifford's perspective is then sublimated as metaphor of the crossing between cultures.

Borders, as the lines separating one area of sovereignty from another area of sovereignty (the demarcation of the nation state), in the work of Petrillo and Queirolo Palmas (2009), are seen as floating objects, outward (by controlling who is allowed access or not) and inward (through the implosion of the frontier in any public area) in relation to a particular political space, where strategies and challenges, "agency" and "catches" take place. The borders themselves are finally sublimated to the point of overlapping and being identified with the bodies of the migrants, moving with them in the crossing (ibid.: 25-26) of space, as well as in their daily interactions.

In relation to borders, Alvarez (1995) adopted the perspective of the "**anthropology of borderlands**" which considers them as a laboratory of social and cultural change. Anthropologists and geographers have increasingly challenged the way to look at the political organization of the state and the compartmentalization of the world. Newman and Paasi (1998) argue that boundaries and their meanings are historically contingent, and they are part of the production and institutionalization of territories. In this sense, all boundaries are socially constructed. Attention should be paid to boundary-producing practices and to narratives of inclusion and exclusion. These ideas about boundaries and territoriality are considered particularly important in the contemporary world, where social groups aim to define and redefine the relations between social and physical space.

In the context **borders studies**, particular attention has been then devoted to the African context. The African Borderlands Research Network (ABORNE) was founded in 2007 as an interdisciplinary network of researchers interested in all aspects of international borders and trans-boundary phenomena in Africa. The emphasis is largely on borderlands as physical spaces and social spheres, but the network is also concerned with regional flows of people and goods as well as economic and social processes that may be located at some distance from the geographical border.

In economy, **the migration/remittances corridors** is an approach that has been adopted by experts and policy makers in order to understand the migrant resources, and their accumulation, utilization and interrelations with structural factors, between



sending and receiving countries. The concept of corridors in migration studies, originated from the analysis of migrants' remittances introduced by the World Bank (Herandez Coss, 2005 and 2005b) and introduced the notion of bi-polar migration systems in this analysis. As Gallina explains (2006: 11), "the remittances-corridor approach is a "methodology that attempts to explain the relationship between the remittances flow (frequency and amount) with a set of variables that ranges from the socio-economic characteristics of the migrant groups in the destination country, the families left-behind, the socio-economic and political conditions in the remittances receiving areas, and the macroeconomic situation in both sending and receiving countries". Within each couple of countries corridors within the corridors are furthermore identified, with migrants from the same areas tending to concentrate where the same ethnic or kinfolk groups are found. This further specification suggests the translocalism notion, that focuses on how in transnational contexts phenomena's operate at multiple levels, and at the same time local, regional and/or national ones (see also Levitt 2001a; Price, 2006).

The concept of **migration chains** (*filières migratoires* in French literature) has correspondence with this view, putting into light concentrations of subpopulations of migrants in specific places associated with specific destinations (and, within them, specific urban neighbourhoods and sub-economic sectors). A migration chain is often specific to certain social groups and migrants, to certain sectors of activity in the host destination country, with a compartmentalization effect on migration flows. Migratory pathways or networks are the strongest support for maintaining migration flows. Networks act as an infrastructure underlying mobility. In this perspective migrants will use networks at different stages of their journey: support for the migration project, identification of destinations and a seasonal advance of travel, accompaniment during travel, border crossings, accommodation and access to employment at destination, material and immaterial exchanges with the original village.

The network thus comprises a part of human organization, including all relay migration starting zones to areas of arrival, and it plays an institutional role, forming a system of practical rules of network functioning.

There has been a considerable amount of research focusing on large structural conditions and macro-structural linkages between emigration and immigration countries. For instance, the **migration system theory** has assumed that migration systems create the context in which movement occurs and that these systems influence people's actions on whether to stay or to move. Basically, a migration system includes two or more places - most often nation-states - connected to each other by flows and counter-flows of people. Lately, migration system theory has stressed the existence of linkages between countries other than people, such as trade and security

alliances, colonial ties, and flows of goods, services, information, and ideas. These linkages have usually existed before migration flows occurred. For example, in the case of France and the United Kingdom, most movers used to come from former colonies (Portes, Walton, 1981; Boyd, 1989: 641; Faist, 2000: 50-51, 305-306).

De Haas and Vezzoli (2011) for instance identified and compared the Mexico-US and Morocco-EU corridors as quintessential examples of migration systems, in which exchanges of goods, people and capital have reinforced each other. Within such systems, migration tends to gain its own momentum through the cost and risk-decreasing effects of migrant networks.

#### **1.4 Toward a more dynamic conception of migration processes: the notion of mobility**

Migration theories, which guided much prior research, still provided limited understanding of the complex nature and drivers of migration processes. Traditional understandings of migration and migrants have been based on predominantly static dichotomous categorizations that proved to be inadequate to address the multiple, shifting nature of migration (de Haas, Collyer, forthcoming). Until now, the ways of categorizing migration have been mainly founded on criteria based on following dichotomies, preventing a full comprehension of multi-faceted, fluid, complex, lived experiences of migrants: time/space (permanent v. temporary; internal v. international); location/direction (immigration v. emigration; origin v. destination; 'home' v. 'host'); causes (labour, student, retirement, family; forced v. voluntary) and state perspectives (legal v. illegal; regular v. irregular).

In particular most research has been guided by assumptions which turn out to be rather questionable when confronted to the complexity of migration patterns, conceiving migration primarily as: 1) a one-off move from a departure country "A" to a destination country "B"; 2) directed to Europe (revealing a strong Eurocentric bias); 3) entailing a permanent settlement; 4) and with little or no spontaneous return from Europe to origin countries.

According to this logic, time research concentrated almost exclusively on specific phases of the migration process (settlement and integration in destination countries; temporary returns and circulation between sending and receiving countries; permanent return in origin countries) or on their effect on sending and receiving countries.

One of the strongest limits to a comprehensive and dynamic approach to the study of migration, lies in the fact that both statistical and conceptual analysis frameworks tend to privilege analyses of separate segments of individuals' migratory paths. In this context, "methodological nationalism" still seems to dominate as "an ideological

orientation that approaches the study of social and historical processes as if they were contained within the borders of individual nation-states (Glick Schiller 2009, 4;). This approach proves to be even more inadequate as it is applied to a social field, "cosmopolite" by definition (Beck, 2003), as the one of international migration. As already noted by a number of authors, and pointed out by Agunias (2006: 44), the "permanent settlement migration paradigm" still defines our data collection systems.

As a result, all this previous work seems to rely on insufficient preliminary knowledge of overall structure of the migration patterns, of their multi-faceted nature and composition, and of the contextual framework in which they take place (Bakewell and de Haas, 2007; Cross et al. 2006; Lucas 2006; Hatton, 2004). Also there is still a lack of comprehensive and integrated approach in the study of migration, accounting for the longitudinal trajectories and paths through the various stages.

The notion of mobility, here adopted with a geographical meaning, deliberately wants to stress a more complex understanding of migration, suggesting that 'migration' is not a fixed and immutable category and its current formulation is ultimately tied to the nation-state and the power it exerts over territory (Collyer, de Haas, 2010).

Mobility in this context is a practice, *le fil rouge* that links the various nodes of the migratory path (from origin to receiving countries through eventual intermediate steps), but which also, during the settlement, keeps alive the ties with the countries of origin, through circular mobility and pendulum mobility and the movement of goods, as well as through intangible ties (cultural, social, political, religious) to which the transnationalism theory has given broad account.

The concept of mobility, however, here wants to give an account at the same time of a state of being, as a way of life, as the condition of an increasing part of the world population, as a continuum (of immobility to travel-transit-temporary-circular-permanent migratory behaviour – Collyer, de Haas, forthcoming), as a potential resource to activate and re-activate, as a skill that increasingly draws a line between the movers and the stayers.

The concept of mobility inform all this work throughout, starting from a spatial, physical look at geographical movements of migrants, and subsequently offering more detailed insights on the function and meaning that this mobility assumes in contemporary societies and in lived experiences of migrants themselves.

Through a spatialization of the way of looking at migration (Simon, 2006), a better account of the territorial dimension (Cortes, Faret, 2009) can provide elements for a deeper understanding of the huge and increasingly rapid changes that our times are facing.

## CHAPTER 2

### **Africa: a continent on the move. Recent trends in migrations between Western Africa and Europe. The case of Senegal**

While having general value, a more comprehensive approach to migration mobility turns out particularly useful in the study of migration in the African context. The African migration recent trends have in fact confirmed to be very fluid and rapidly changing, and highlight growingly complex patterns and dynamics.

Various authors have highlighted how extra-continental African migration is a globally marginal demographic phenomenon in comparison to intra-continental movements, and Sub-Saharan group constitute a minority among the migrants settled in Europe (Beauchemin, Lessault, 2009; Ndiaye, Robin, 2010; Trémolières, 2009; Bakewell, de Haas, 2007; Bakewell, 2009; Adepouju, 2005; Bocquier, 1998).

However, in recent years the sub-Saharan African migration to Europe has been catalyzing the attention of policy makers, and has been widely reported to the public opinion by the media (Ndiaye, Robin, 2010). Such public discourses and media communication are based on, and feed in a vicious circle, some misleading myths (de Haas, 2007), depicting African migration as: *massive* movements, an exodus of desperate people escaping from hunger and wars; *invasive*, implying migrant's pressure at frontline states on Europe's southernmost borders disposed at forcing their way into the *Fortress Europe* at any cost; and *irregular*: with a strong (though highly ambiguous) association with illegality, insecurity and deviance.

In terms of policy, a *decalage* has to be highlighted between statistical evidence on sub-Saharan international migration and the extent of political devices put in place in order to control those flows, and a diplomatic marginalization in the setting of bi-lateral and multi-lateral relations between Europe and Africa.

A process of securitization and communitarization of the asylum and immigration policies in Europe has in fact led to an externalization of controls to neighbouring African countries through bilateral and multilateral agreements on border control and readmissions.

At the same time, it was noted (Pastore, 2007) as an halting but gradual European opening to flows from the East of the continent, has been accompanied - and often counter-balanced - by an increasing closure to the flows from the south, namely from Mediterranean Africa (with the partial exception of Morocco), and from Sub-Saharan Africa in particular. This resulted in a progressive decline in opportunities to access to Europe from countries in these areas, as a result of a comprehensive range of policy measures.

The direct effect on the African population residing in the European destination countries is a social marginalization, where the political obsession with sub-Saharan migrants appears to be a powerful factor in the stigmatization of a population already affected by racial stereotypes (Timera, 1997; Beauchemin, Lessault, 2009).

In this chapter, after an overview of chronological patterns of migration from Western Africa, the actual framework will be presented, exploring with particular attention the main trends from Senegal, looking both at intra-continental and inter-continental migration. Finally the more recent connections between the different migratory systems will be highlighted in order to depict how the globalization process is contributing to their complex interlinking.

## **2.1 Historical overview on African migration**

African history is deeply rooted in migration. Mobility has always been engrained in different forms in the history, daily life and experience of people in Africa (Adepoju, 2004; van Dijk Foeken, van Til, 2001).

In pre-colonial times, migration occurred largely in search of security, new safe and fertile land for settlement and farming. Nomadic tribes in search for new pastures, water and trade have always been crossing international borders. One of the largest nomadic groups in the Sahel is the Fulani, who used to move across Niger, Mali, Burkina Faso, Ivory Coast, Nigeria and Senegal (van Nieuwenhuyze, 2009).

Furthermore in a rich past with empires and conquests, religious wars and economic crises, temporary or seasonal migration networks between empires and kingdoms have been an important part of regional livelihood strategies for many centuries. Adepoju (2004) points out that some of the most important mobility patterns were determined by the long distance trans-Saharan trade of salt, gold, slaves, skins, gum, ivory and spices starting as early as the 10<sup>th</sup> century. As mentioned by Bakewell and de Haas (2007), religious education and the pilgrimage trips to Mecca were associated also to major mobility and sometimes settlement of West Africans all across West, North and East Africa.

While mobility is a lifestyle initially linked to nomadism and commercial routes, colonisation gave rise to new types of movements, mainly reflecting the agricultural ambitions of the colonizers (Bossard, 2009). Colonial regime altered the motivation and composition of migration by introducing and enforcing various blends of political and economic structures, imposing tax regimes and establishing territorial boundaries. During the colonial period, the geography of Senegalese migration in Africa was established, modelled on the administrative and military structure of the colony (Robin, Lalou, Ndiaye, 2000).

Nevertheless it should be noted that, while existing networks of trade and movement of people realigned within the new framework of territories defined by colonial rules, others continued to transcend them freely and without much change. The new boundaries generated a vast variety of personal and collective strategies, essentially based on ethnic and family relationships of people living on both sides of state boundaries. The creative porosity of Africa's international boundaries— mainly through migration and trade, but also in other fields, including kinship, traditional authorities, religious ceremonies, health practices, educational institutions and development initiatives – have been defying “partitioned” Africa.

At the time the direct intervention of European powers to control African labour through slavery, stimulated the greatest large scale in human history. Furthermore colonial powers in African migration imposed borders, as an attempt to control the internal movement of people and to extract their labour or taxes, and, at the same time, as a instrument of definition the extent of their authority (Bakewell, de Haas, 2007: 110).

The establishment of new industrial centres and urban areas became a major preoccupation for colonial and independent African governments, fostering rural-urban migration. Expropriation of land and contract labour systems both forced and encouraged new movements (*ibid.*). Patterns of large-scale labour migration were stimulated by the colonial powers in their quest for cheap labour needed for the plantation and estate economies through – compulsory- recruitment policies, contract and forced labour legislation and agreements (van Moppes, 2006). In particular regional migration to areas of crop peanuts, or to areas of coffee and cacao plantations, the British Gold Coast, actual Ghana, or Côte d'Ivoire, took place (Ndiaye, Robin, 2010).

Within Senegalese context the introduction of peanut crops and the construction of the Dakar-Niger railway enabled the development of a new business area in Senegal: the groundnut basin, composed mainly of Sine Saloum, Ndiambour (corresponding to the region of Louga) with some extensions in the regions of Thies and in Baol (in the Tambacounda region). These areas had to recourse to seasonal agricultural workers, called “navetanes” (Robin, Lalou, Ndiaye, 2000) for the cultivation of groundnut. The etymology of "navetane" finds its explanation in the Wolof word meaning *nawete*, "rainy season" (Ndiaye, Robin, 2010). These large displacements, dated from the first quarter of 1900s, based on circular and seasonal movements, let peasants migrate towards rural areas in search of fertile land, in relation to the worsening climate and impoverishment of the soil. Complementarily, during the dry season (*soudure*), when there is no agricultural work, the movement called "noranes" (Mbow, 2001) brought temporary workers from rural to urban areas in order to look for labor opportunities.

These developments stimulated and altered large-scale population movements, giving rise to male-dominated, seasonal and cross-border migration, which subsequently became institutionalized (Adepoju, 2004). In the case of Senegal these colonial links evolved in a variety of migration patterns (Barou, 1987; Tall, 2002).

Some workers were temporarily employed in French administration through blue-collar positions. As a French colony, Senegal had representatives in the French parliament (van Nieuwenhuyze, 2009). It should be noted that Senegal was the capital of French West Africa (A.O.F.). By virtue of that, this country occupied a central place in the colonization policy run by France towards other African countries, playing a role of intermediary between the French administration and the latter. The *Commis* (i.e. citizens who enjoyed the French nationality, according to the French integrationalist policies) of the four colonial cities (Saint-Louis, Dakar, Dakar and Gorée) are considered among the pioneers of Senegalese migration to Europe and in particular to France (Perrone, 2001).

At the same time during the colonial period, at the end of the 19th century, and during the Second World War, the French enrolled *Tirailleurs*. Once the war ended, some of them settled in France for good, engaging mostly in commercial activities. Departures of Sarakollé sailors, known as 'laptots', increasingly due to declining traffic on the Senegal River, enrolled people from the Senegal River Valley in the merchant boats and in the French Navy.

Robin, Lalou and Ndiaye (2000) highlighted how starting from the dawn of Independence and during the 1960s, the African countries of cash crop and France enhanced pro-immigration policies, following the economic boom. Incentives to the free movement of people and recruitment of foreign labour were adopted at that time. In such favourable economic and political environment, Senegalese emigration increased both towards African countries (where Senegal also benefit from free movement) and towards France.

The attainment of independence in the late 1950s and early 1960s substantially altered the traditional free movement of persons and goods across West Africa, stopping the trans-Saharan commerce tradition. The new national governments, anxious to identify their own national territories as sovereign and independent states, enacted migration laws and regulations governing conditions of entry, residence and employment of non-nationals, with the goal of reducing the flow of immigrants as a whole and limit entry to authorized immigrants who were admitted on the basis of their special skills (Adepoju, 2005).

The deteriorating socio-economic conditions and deepening poverty in the late sixties and early seventies propelled a wide variety of migration configurations. The beginning of serious Sahelian droughts that affected the peanut-growing areas in the second half

of the 1960s, and particularly in the 1970s, exhausted the villages reserves, and left only migration as a solution (Tall, 2002). The population increase in this period, combined with old methods of agriculture contributed to this dynamic. The migration of youngster (including women) from the rural communities towards the cities to join a wage economy became a common goal; those who did not find employment in one city emigrated to another, often ending up in the capital Dakar (van Nieuwenhuyze, 2009).

In a following phase the failure of several policies of national development would add to the livelihoods, while problems of continuing desertification and globalization of the economy deepened the crisis in the traditional agricultural system (Camara, 2002; Diop, 2002; Gonin & Lassailly-Jacob, 2002). Foreign debt increased, and finally led to the ill-planned structural adjustment programs (1982-1992) devised and sponsored by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. This led to tremendous economic burdens and austerity measures in education and in the health system, diminishing salaries in the public sector, and reducing access to education, health, food, and social services (Conteh-Morgan, 1997). The disengagement of the Senegalese state resulted in a combination of economic growth with greater poverty. Furthermore in 1994 the currency devaluation made life more expensive because of the rise in cost of necessary imported items (van Nieuwenhuyze, 2009).

Propelled by the globalisation of the economy and by accelerated pauperisation, more families invested in an international migrant, widening the strategy to other regions of the country and other ethnicities (Adepoju, 2004: 73).

The population movement shook the existing balance, by sucking part of the labour force away from the fields, and by creating new needs for socially necessary goods; in fact, it drastically changed the system from a subsistence economy to a monetary capitalism. A small proportion of these migrants found employment in Europe; for historical and linguistic reasons, Senegalese migration was initially oriented towards France. This was not an adventurous enterprise, but a well-prepared long-term project supported and financed by the extended family. Parallel with previous internal forms of migration, the survival of the village and the security of the community was the central aim, expressed in a rotation system: youngster were sent abroad for some years, while marriages and children in home country guaranteed remittances for family and village and made their homecoming more likely (Barou, 2001; Bodin, Quiminal, 1991; Quiminal, 1995). They returned afterwards to let someone else take their place; in absence of visa requirements in France, this did not present a problem. These first flows were composed by Toucouleur (Fulani), and Soninke from the Valley of Senegal river (Ndiaye, 1996; Traore, 1994; Manchuelle 1997; Timera 1996).



After 1973, this system changed considerably because of the economic crisis in Europe and the subsequent closure of borders for migrant workers (Barou, 1987; Bredeloup 1993; Diatta & Mbow, 1999; Traore, 1994). Because of the Fordist crisis in the industrial and construction sectors, migrants started to work as entrepreneurs and in businesses (van Nieuwenhuyze, 2009).

In this sense, the late twentieth century is a transition phase. Major historical trends inflected: the coastal polarity, initiated by the transatlantic and Arab-Muslim slave trade, completed by colonization, is weakened. New trends are emerging, marked by the diversification of the regions of emigration and immigration. Until the early twenty-first century, the crisis multiplies, intensifies and often persists especially in West Africa. Chronic agricultural crises, relayed in urban context by a growing rural exodus, generate persistent economic and social crises (Ndiaye, Robin, 2010).

There are many threads of continuity linking pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial migration patterns. While colonization, war and major political-economic shocks such as the 1972 Oil Crisis clearly treated major shifts in migration patterns, they were overlaid on existing migratory practices and patterns rather working on a "tabula rasa". As the context changes, an increasing number of contemporary migrants from Sub-Saharan Africa are using ancient Saharan caravan trading and migration routes on their journey to North Africa. It is particularly important to recognize the continuity between current migration paths and those of the past, because this is the only way to identify areas of discontinuity and their structural causes (Bakewell, de Haas, 2007).

## **2.2 The picture of contemporary migration from Western Africa and Senegal**

### **2.2.1 Internal migration: the ECOWAS protocol of Free Movement of Persons**

As already pointed out, according to several authors movement *within* the continent still remains a prominent feature of Africa migration (Bakewell, de Haas, 2007). This persistence is partly the outcome of the fact that migrants have always considered the various sub-regions as single economic units within which trade in goods and services flowed. But more important, intraregional migration has been sustained by the persistence and intensification of widespread poverty, the deteriorating economic situation, and the consequences of the various macroeconomic adjustment measures. In addition, conflicts and environmental degradation, particularly in the Sahel regions, desertification, and cyclical famines have further aggravated the pressure for migration from poorer to relatively prosperous regions of the continent.

From the 1970s, three migratory sub-systems guided regional movements: the Ghana–Ivory Coast pole mainly because of the cocoa and coffee economy, and Nigeria and its petroleum godsend, and Senegal because of trade and groundnuts. Nowadays, the three sub-systems continue to attract West African migration. However, their role has changed. Côte d’Ivoire has become a transit country, a stepping stone for wealth accumulation before proceeding to other regional or international destinations. Economic or labour reasons guide migration to or out of Senegal, playing a double role of country of immigration or emigration. Nigeria is a transit zone, where human trafficking networks are organised, in particular (Bossard, 2009).

Furthermore, in addition to the crisis of agricultural production and to endemic unemployment in urban economies, in the last decades, the rapid demographic growth has been identified as one of the concomitant reasons of the huge movements and population re-compositions (CSAO-OCDE, 2006). Sub-Saharan Africa is in fact the last region in the world to go through its demographic transition.

West Africa in particular is at the same time the region with the higher mobility rate and the first immigration region in Africa (CSAO-OCDE, 2006).

Estimates based on population surveys indicate that countries of the region currently host about 7.5 million migrants from another West African country, representing 3% of the regional population. This rate, which has been increasing since 1990, is above the African average (2%) and largely exceeds that of the European Union (0.5%). Furthermore, these evaluations of migrant populations do not adequately portray the reality of the flows. The movements were closely examined only for the 1976–1980 and 1988–1992 periods during which between 500,000 and 1 million people, respectively, moved from one country to another each year. The West African Long-term Perspective Study (WALTPS) estimates that nearly 30 million West Africans changed country of residence between 1960 and 1990, representing an average of one million people per year. Despite statistical uncertainties, West Africa therefore appears as an area of intense intermixing of populations. (Bossard, 2006; CSAO-OCDE, 2006).

An element that was crucial, then, in facilitating intra-regional mobility in West Africa was the establishment of ECOWAS, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), founded in 1975 to enhance free trade and facilitate free movement of factors of production in the sixteen Member States<sup>1</sup>. Its Protocol on Free Movement of Persons and the Right of Residence and Establishment of May 29, 1979 is explicit on the free mobility of labour.

The implementation of the first phase over the first five years abolished requirements for visas and entry permits. Community citizens in possession of valid travel documents

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<sup>1</sup> The ECOWAS countries are: Benin, Burkina Faso, Cape-Vert, Côte d'Ivoire, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Togo

and an international health certificate could enter member states without a visa for up to ninety days. The removal of national barriers to economic activity within the community ensured free movement of nationals of member states, who are regarded as community citizens (ECOWAS, 1999). These rights do not however displace the laws which govern the admittance of aliens into a foreign state. Member states can thus refuse admission into their territory of immigrants deemed 'inadmissible' under their laws. In the case of expulsion, the migrant is to bear the cost and each state undertakes to guarantee the security of the citizen concerned, his family and his property (Adepoju, 2002).

The delayed second phase (Right of Residence) of the Protocol came into force in July 1986, but the Right of Establishment of the Protocol has not been implemented till now. In mid-1999, the ECOWAS travellers' cheque was inaugurated to facilitate commercial transactions and travel within community states. Nationals of ECOWAS countries have taken advantage of these developments to migrate in larger numbers within the Community, but especially to Côte d'Ivoire and Nigeria, the major economic hubs and centres of attraction for immigration in the sub-region.

The formation of ECOWAS was a bold attempt to stimulate the kind of homogeneous society which had once existed in the sub-region. The free movement of persons ushered in by the Protocol on Free Movement accelerated a labour migration momentum that would have occurred anyway (Adepoju, 2002). The meeting of heads of state and government, held in Abuja at the end of March 2000, had as its major agenda the creation of a borderless sub-region. The abolition of the mandatory residency permits and the granting of the maximum 90-day period of stay to ECOWAS citizens by immigration officials at entry points took effect from April 2000. Border posts and checkpoints on international highways, which had till that time menaced free movement of persons and goods, were scrapped and the Nigerian government dismantled all checkpoints between Nigeria and Benin. Border patrols were set up to monitor and police national frontiers, and closer collaboration and information-sharing between the police and internal security agents was set in train.

The Heads of State Summit approved the ECOWAS passport as a symbol of unity to progressively replace national passports over a transitional period of ten years (ECOWAS, 2000). The elimination of rigid border formalities and the modernization of border procedures through the use of passport-scanning machines were designed to facilitate free and easier movement of persons across borders, the ultimate goal being the creation of a borderless West Africa. In effect, ECOWAS countries have only a common external border, which facilitates the internal movement of persons, goods and services (Adepoju, 2006).

As stressed by Adepoju (*ibidem*), in spite of these policy developments, the full adherence to the provisions of the second and third phase of the Protocol in practice has been hampered by the different levels of implementation of the project at the national level and the limited monitoring mechanisms at the Community level (Addy, 2005). The revision of the ECOWAS treaty in 1993 notwithstanding, the poor linkage between migration and development processes; inadequate administrative and institutional capacity for effective migration policies and management; the lack of protection for migrant workers; the poor quality of migration statistics and faltering political support hindered effective intra-regional mobility of labour (Robert, 2004).

As economic instability has deepened, fewer emigrants from West Africa have stable and remunerative work in traditional destinations. Consequently, circulation and repeat migration have expanded to a wider group of alternative destinations, often to places without historical, political, or economic links to the countries of emigration (Adepoju 2005b). Many migrants are thus exploring a much wider set of destinations, and there is also some evidence to support the notion of a pattern of replacement migration, in which migrants of rural origin move to towns to occupy positions vacated by nationals who emigrate abroad. This seems to be occurring in Mali, Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire and Senegal (Adepoju, 2006).

Countries that were once immigrant-receiving have metamorphosed into migrant-sending countries. Since the late 1980s, traditional labour-importing countries (Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana) and attractive destinations for migrants (Ghana, Nigeria, Senegal) have experienced endemic political and economic crises, which also spur out-migration of their nationals. Nigeria, the sub-region's demographic and economic giant, assumed both situations between 1975 and 1990, within a time span of a less than a generation (Adepoju, 2006). This was due to several interlocking factors: the collapse of oil prices and sharp declines in oil revenue, rapid deterioration in living and working conditions, devalued national currency, wage freeze, inflation and protracted authoritarian military rule (*ibidem*).

These factors fuelled a large-scale emigration of workers, both skilled and unskilled, towards developed regions such as the Gulf and the Maghreb states. Côte d'Ivoire today is a country divided, again spurring the emigration of both non-nationals and indigenes (Adepoju, 2005a).

Amongst the top ten destinations for Senegalese emigrants – as listed by the World Bank – are both neighbouring countries (Gambia, Mauritania, Guinea Bissau) as well as more central African countries (Nigeria, Gabon and D.R. Congo), which are rich in natural resources. Significant flows to North African countries are also reported: these constitute at the same time historical places of settlement and transit destinations for migrants trying to reach further destinations, in Southern Europe in particular.

## **2.2.2 Migration to Europe: a rapidly changing picture**

With regard to African migration towards Europe, three phenomena can be highlighted in the last decades: a diversification of migrants' profiles, of destinations, and of migratory routes deployed to reach Europe.

### **A diversification of migrants' profiles and patterns on integration in receiving countries**

Over the years a process of strong *diversification of the profile of Senegalese migrants* heading to Europe occurred, as well. The first migrants were Toucouleur and Soninke from Valley of the Senegal river, little or not at all educated, primarily employed in French manufacturing and construction industries. They were mainly men relying on existing social cohesive networks groups abroad.

Propelled by the globalization of the economy and accelerated pauperization, more families increasingly invested in an international migrant, widening the strategy to other regions of the country and other ethnicities (Adepoju, 2004: 73). With the crisis of the Groundnut Basin, Senegalese people from the Baol (Touba, Diourbel), Djambour (Louga), Cayor (Kebemer), Sine (Kaolack) and Dakar increasingly started to leave for Europe (Riccio, 2005).

Gradually migrants with higher level of education started migrating, some of them with the objective of completing their studies abroad. In addition, women began, especially in France, to rejoin their husbands and to establish new families abroad (while in Italy and Spain, this phenomenon is still reluctant). However, an increasing number of women began to move independently to fulfill their own economic needs, especially directed to countries of recent migration, such as Spain and Italy.

Also the role of the Mouride network has evolved over the years. The latter has played a key role, in particular since the eighties, in financing the travel of *talibés* (disciples) and closely enhancing their socio-economic integration in destination countries, in France, but especially in Italy, thanks to an efficient and cohesive network of support. Real estate investments and the relocation of the family, during migration or at return, in the Mouride capital, Touba, was integral part of the migration plan. The dynamics of Mouride community, and its corollary, the attractiveness of Touba, consolidated and accelerated one other (Robin, Lalou, Ndiaye, 2000). According to Lalou et al. (1996), in the late 1960s, the Mourides represented about 10 percent of Senegalese migrants to Europe, while in the early 1980s, they constituted about 40 percent of them.

In recent years, however, the diversification of the profiles of migrants (by area of origin, education level, ethnicity, religious affiliation to other fraternities, etc..) arriving in Europe has also encouraged a diversification of migration patterns, promoting more individualized and more heterogeneous trajectories.

At the same time also social integration patterns in the new territories of destination undergoes changes. The first arrivals tended in fact to maintain close relations with compatriots, also adopting housing solutions instrumental to a strategy of preservation of the lifestyle, of traditions and of values of the original culture. Benenati (2002) shows how the first Senegalese immigrants in Turin, which date back to the 1980s, mainly originals from the region of Louga and members of the Mouride brotherhood, adopted the residential solution of the "maison des villages": groups of men, all from the same village, and often linked by family ties, shared overcrowded apartments based on a structured internal organization, with timing of common prayers, turn-on cooking, shopping and cleaning, the rotation of beds, according to the different pace of work. This first group, which results almost impervious to outside society, has been increasingly joint and partially replaced by younger migrants with higher levels of education, coming from urban milieu, whose prevalent integration strategy in the receiving society combines a mixture of cultural habits, social and affective relations between the culture of origin and settlement, and by establishing also mixed marriages. Over the years, the Senegalese community has been further standing out not only due to a good socio-economic integration in the territory of residence, but also by a lively propensity to membership, aimed at both targets of internal social cohesion, and integration and dialogue with receiving society (Castagnone, 2007; Riccio, 2007; 2008a; 2008b; Navarra, Salis, 2010).

In terms of economic integration, the Senegalese group has experienced since the very first migration to Europe the access on one hand, to unskilled work in local industries, and on the other, to both formal and informal trade. Moreover, a common strategy among Senegalese in Europe has been a functional interplay between the two activities, through the multi-activity option (Castagnone, 2007): the employees often match in their spare time, on weekends or during summer, (informal) trade activities in order to diversify and multiply the income sources. This was evident, for instance, in the case of Senegalese moving to Romagna's beaches in Italy, as a suitable market for street trade (Riccio, 2008). As highlighted in a study on Senegalese migrants in Turin, Italy (Castagnone, 2006), the Mouride network has played a central role in the organization of its members abroad, especially in the trade sector, but also in the employed work.

As van Nieuwenhuyze (2009:77) states, inside the communities in Europe "one can now find settled migrants at retirement age next to newly arrived undocumented youngster, students as well as international business women, highly skilled specialists recruited by international companies next to women who came for family reunification, some restless adventurers crossing numerous countries and second generation children of the diaspora".

## **A diversification on migratory destinations: a shift to Southern Europe countries**

In Africa until the late 1980s, the post-independence patterns of migration seemed to be strongly influenced by both the colonial experience and the pan-Africanist policies of some states. To some extent the language divide between colonies, especially Anglophone and Francophone, shaped movement towards Europe. Hence, large exchanges of populations between Ghana and Nigeria and circulation of migrants took place in the Anglophone East Africa Community of Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania, whereas Francophone migrants were more likely to move within Francophone west and central Africa (Bakewell, 2009).

Since the late 1980s a *diversification of migratory destinations*, rather than an increase in volume (as the public opinion and the media information tend to stress), has probably been the most significant change that occurred over the last decades. While African migration used to occur mainly in the African space or used to be oriented towards the former colonizer countries (France, UK, Belgium and Portugal), since the 1980s there has been a geographical diversification of migration destinations, with a striking increase especially to southern European countries, primarily Italy and Spain in the case of Senegal.

After the "Thirty Golden" period in France (Robin, Lalou, Ndiaye, 2000), which saw an accelerated development of automotive sector and the implementation of foreign manpower recruitment policies, 1974 marked a turning point, recording the stop of immigration flows. Meanwhile, Senegal has facing one of the most serious periods of drought of its contemporary history. The conjunction of these developments has a direct impact on the social composition and spatial organization of Senegalese emigration. Over the 1970s and 1980s, Senegalese migration is confronted for the first time to two contradictory trends: first of all, economic crises and the stop of political incentives to immigration in host countries led to a closure of borders, and secondly, the different waves of drought that had been affecting Senegal since the early 70s increased the number of candidates. Taken in this dialectic, far from dying out, the Senegalese emigration sought to adapt and to recompose according to the changing realities.

At the same time in South Europe, Italy and Spain in particular show more flexible laws and organize campaigns of regularization of foreign population. In addition, labour markets in these countries in favour of informal recruitment of unskilled labour at competitive prices, mainly in the agriculture, industrial, and building sectors, were also factors of attraction.

The transition from the French to the new destination countries in South Europe takes place at the end of the 1980s. Initially (as shown in ch. 4) the Senegalese arrived in

Italy especially through secondary migration from France, and subsequently they established direct channels of migration from Senegal.

### **A diversification of migratory routes: the role of European externalization policies**

The third phenomenon is finally related to the *diversification of migratory trajectories*. In the last years, a process of securitization and communitarization of the asylum and immigration policies in Europe has led to a internationalization of migration policies, with relevant consequences in terms of externalization of controls to neighbouring African countries.

As explained by Pastore (2007: 7), under the converging thrusts of European integration and globalization, a security model which focuses largely on inter-state boundaries has been abandoned in favour of a much more complex approach. The domains and methods of control have diversified and multiplied, along two main directions: inwards and outwards of the border. Only the external border of the Schengen area of free movement / EU, established in 1995, has maintained, and even increased, its strategic importance for national security. Africa is today perhaps the main area of application of this model of migration control. And Africa is now experiencing the greatest development of this paradigm, applied to both current and potential migration from Africa.

Faced with the political will to control and to limit the entry of non-EU citizens to "Schengen territory", since the last decade European countries have been increasingly adopting restrictive legislative measures, with particular regard to third country nationals (Robin, 2009: 144-150) such as the airport transit visa (ATV), the notion of safe countries of origin, the FRONTEX European Agency and the readmission agreements.

The ATV, established in 1996, introduced for third countries airport transit visas to be issued by the consular services of the member states in case of passage through the international areas of intermediate airports. As a result, when departing from international airports in all ECOWAS Member States (with the exception of Cape Verde), operators, i.e. air carriers, are required to "take precautions at the point of embarkation to ensure that passengers are in possession of the documents prescribed by the States of transit and destination for control purposes". By granting themselves the right to disregard fundamental principles of the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) for the first time, European countries declared their desire to externalize the management and control of their borders to the borders of developing countries.



This system was reinforced by the notion of a safe country of origin (SCO). A country is considered safe "if it ensures respect for the principles of freedom, democracy and rule of law, as well as human rights and fundamental liberties". The stated intention is to combat diverting the right to asylum by implementing new concepts. However, the concept of safe country of origin, which is applied differently by each European country, has the objective to restrict opportunities for asylum from third countries as much as possible.

It is this logic that is behind the "partnership" now being proposed to third countries, which encourages them to carry out stricter checks on foreigners in transit in their territory; West African countries are thus being asked to form a sort of first line of screening of migrants travelling to the EU. Through these "co-operation" agreements, signatory third countries force themselves *de facto* to align their legislation (visas, entry, readmission, fight against illegal immigration, asylum) with the rules and principles established in the EU.

Furthermore, this "co-operation" is often accompanied by a military partnership, such as "agreement of co-operation on illegal migratory flows" signed in 2004 between Italy and Libya, which is seen as a "sieve zone" and reinforced in 2007, through the signature of an agreement of co-operation that provided for mixed patrols, made up of Libyan soldiers and Italian police officers, intervening in Libyan as well as international waters.

At the same time, the European Union has a Mediterranean border patrol agency called FRONTEX (European Agency for the Management of Operational Co-operation at the External Borders of the Member States of the European Union). The aim of this agency is "to coordinate the operational co-operation between Member States in the field of management of external borders, assisting them in the training of national border guards and providing technical assistance and necessary support in organizing joint return operations.

In June 2006, at the request of Spain, FRONTEX extended its "illegal migration control system" to the North Atlantic, first to the Mauritanian, then the Senegalese coasts. The aim was to "intercept illegal migrants' pirogues" suspected of travelling towards the Spanish Canary Islands.

The identification of potential migrants to Europe and responsibility for the outcome are delegated to the Mauritanian or Senegalese authorities. In 2008, three new agreements were signed by Spain on one side and The Gambia, Guinea-Bissau and Guinea on the other, to extend the FRONTEX surveillance zone.

The issue of the involvement of third countries in the regulation of international migration and the fight against people trafficking remains at the heart of the EU's

thinking, whether it is finding the means to keep asylum-seekers in “protection zones” at least near countries in crisis, encouraging transit countries to readmit those found to be in the EU illegally and taking responsibility for sending them back to their country of origin or helping transit countries transform themselves into advance border posts. (Robin, 2009: 150)

Tightening of European visa policies and the intensification of migration controls at airports and other official ports of entry, prompted an increasing number of West African migrants to avoid official air and maritime links and to cross the Mediterranean illegally from North Africa after crossing the Sahara overland (de Haas, 2007, 15). In this panorama of increasing complexity and fluidity of migration flows and routes towards Europe, *step-by-step migrations* develop progressively as an emerging migration strategy (Bredeloup, Pliez, 2005; Bade, 2000) and transit migrations (conceived as the temporary stay in one or more countries, with the objective of reaching a further destination) assume an increasing role in the strategies adopted by migrants.

These migrations defined as "illegal" in reality are based on changeable conditions of irregularity (Bâ, 2008 ; de Haas, 2007). Clandestinity may arise throughout the migration process and alternate to periods of documented status (Bâ, 2008).

The paths undertaken are therefore becoming increasingly complex, routes are not fixed and varies constantly according to circumstances, to available information (Schapendonk, van Moppes, 2007), and to support networks along the trajectory.

As van Moppes (2006: 9-11) shows, six main routes leading to three major departure areas can be distinguished, and these three areas are as follows:

- 1.** A large stretch of Africa’s west coast, including northern Mauritania (notably Nouadhibou), Western Sahara and southern Morocco. The Canary Islands, in particular Fuerteventura, are the main destination for migrants arriving in this area.
- 2.** Northern Morocco. The Spanish enclaves of Ceuta and Melilla are located in this area, and they constitute direct destinations from the African continent. Furthermore, the northern and north-eastern coasts of Morocco are the main departure areas for small boats heading toward the Spanish mainland, notably Andalusia.
- 3.** The east coast of Tunisia and western parts of the Libyan coast. From these coasts the boats head for Lampedusa, Italy, or Malta, and from further north also for Sicily.

In order to reach these areas of departure, 4 main routes are used by migrants originating from West Africa:

- I.** The West African coastal route (via Liberia, Sierra Leone, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Senegal, The Gambia, Mauritania and Western Sahara) leading to Canary Islands via

Northern Mauritania, Western Sahara or Southern Morocco. Important migrant hub cities along this route are Conakry (Guinea), Dakar (Senegal), Nouadhibou (Mauritania) and the Western Saharan cities of Dakhla and El Aayun.

**II.** The Western Sahara route leading to Canary Islands via Northern Mauritania, Western Sahara or Southern Morocco. This route, more dangerous, implying the crossing of the Sahara, relies on the facilitating role of the smuggler. The starting point and migrant hub city is Bamako, the capital of Mali, or other cities along the Western Niger Valley (Mopti). From here, the Sahara will be crossed, mainly toward Dakar (joining Route I), or the city of Zouérate, in northern Mauritania. From Zouérate, migrants can continue to the northern coast of Mauritania, near Nouadhibou, or cross the border to Western Sahara, and reach the northern coast of Western Sahara near El Aayun, or the southern coast of Morocco.

**III.** The Central Sahara route leading to Canary Islands via Northern Mauritania, Western Sahara or Southern Morocco, or the Spanish mainland via Northern Morocco. This route crosses the Sahara through Algeria, and splits in several directions in northern Morocco. The main starting-point here is the city of Agadez, in central Niger. The migrants taking this option are usually transported in trucks through the desert, often in a convoy. Important hub cities in northern Niger where migrants gather are Sokoto, Kano, Tessaoua and Tahoua. However, migrants also travel from Bamako and the cities of Mopti and Gao in the Niger Valley (Mali) to Agadez. From Agadez, the city of Tamanrasset in southern Algeria is the next main transit point. From Oujda onwards, there are three further options: migrants may be transferred further south from Casablanca to southern Morocco or to Western Sahara. From here, the boats leave for the Canary Islands; The second option from Oujda is north to the Here, migrants may move to the Moroccan coast and either try to enter the Spanish enclave of Melilla, or to reach the Spanish mainland between the cities of Almeria and Malaga, leaving from the large coastal zone near the city of Nador; migrants go from Oujda directly to the northwest coast of Morocco, where migrants can either try to get into the Spanish enclave of Ceuta, or take a boat from the coast south of Tangiers, or the coast near Tetouan. From here, the *pateras* leave for the coast of Spain, to either the coast near Algericas (west of Gibraltar), or the coastline east of Gibraltar, towards Malaga.

**IV.** The Eastern Sahara routes leading to Lampedusa, Pantelleria, Linosa, Sicily, and Malta. These routes seem to go through Agadez in Niger as well. From Agadez, there are two main routes to the departure places in Tunisia and Libya. The first is through Tamanrasset in southern Algeria again, and then through Algeria towards the shores of Tunisia and/or Libya. The second route is more easterly, through the southern Libyan city of Shebba, and then through Libya to the coast.

Along this journey, an industry of border-crossing (Ambrosini, 2005) has been flourishing around the transit "market". This facilitates one or more steps of the routes of migrants, in crossing frontiers, or in the accompaniment of some difficult stretches of the route, such as travelling across the Sahara desert, which requires a thorough knowledge of the area, special equipment and ability to deal with the police and border guards, in order to negotiate the passage. Smugglers also provide for fake passports, access to planes or boats, where necessary.

As de Haas underlines (2007), contrarily to a common image of "unscrupulous traffickers and merciless criminal-run smuggling networks", they are more often non professional operators, former nomads, former fishermen (in the case of *piroguiers*), migrants or ex-migrants who cooperate with local corrupt police and border officials (Brachet 2005) who tend to be locally based and operate alone or in relatively small networks.

The data show that increase controls of EU's external borders have not decreased the number of irregular migrants, which remains a minority of the whole migration from Africa, but rather has led them to use alternative, and increasingly dangerous, routes (Spijkerboer, 2007). Tightening security at one departure point had in fact demonstrated to shift it elsewhere.

The case of Canary Islands is emblematic in this sense. Following the dramatic events in Ceuta and Melilla in October 2005, Moroccan government intensified the securitization of its borders in the Strait of Gibraltar. A domino effect was triggered by a mechanism of "action-reaction" interplay between migration flows and control actions, producing a geographical shift of paths and control devices (Gabrielli, 2008). As a consequence of the closure of this passage for irregular migrants heading to Europe, candidates intending to depart, increasingly chose emigration by sea attempting to reach the Canary Islands (a channel already active since the beginning of the 2000s), a Spanish territory in the Atlantic Ocean. Consequently a rapidly growing number of migrants moved southward from North Morocco to the Atlantic Moroccan coast in order to get to the Canary Islands (de Haas, anno). Faced with political pressure from Spain, the Moroccan government tightened control devices on its Saharan territory, pushing the starting points for boats a little further south to the coast of Western Sahara. The same dynamic was repeated and Morocco extended its control to the coast of the Saharan territory. Subsequently flows redirected the to the least monitored coasts of Mauritania (Gabrielli, 2008). Since 2006, Mauritania proceeded, with the assistance of the European Union, to the strengthening in the control of its coasts. The extension of the control of migration flows to the territorial seas of Mauritania represented a further step to the expansion of the European vigilance towards the African continent. Again, priorities are the expansion and

intensification of migration control, always accompanied by “cooperative” agreements on migration control and on, formal or informal, agreements on readmissions.

Furthermore, smugglers switching to new points of departure on the coast of Senegal, Gambia and Cape Verde, further away from Spain, found alternatives. The West African coasts and the Senegalese ones in particular, have become the starting points for many candidates for illegal emigration to Europe. Therefore new agreements and new negotiations were undertaken with Senegal for a joint management of irregular flows originating from this country. In a quarter-century, Senegal switched from an emigration to an immigration country, but has also become a transit country for African migrants on their way to Europe, thus becoming part of the bi-lateral and multi-lateral negotiation table of European migration policies.

The strengthening of immigration control in the transit areas, producing geographical changes in migration flows as well as their routes, have also had consequences on travel arrangements. Journeys become increasingly long and dangerous (from St. Louis, for instance, it takes from 7 to 10 days to join Canary Islands by sea), hence the frequent shipwrecks of small boats, equipped only with GPS and a non-security system (Ba, 2008).

Both the continuous shift and re-organization of routes, based on the control measures introduced by Europe in cooperation with the countries of the southern Mediterranean and more recently with those sub-Saharan countries, as well as the death toll over the crossings through various routes, show the ineffectiveness of the strategy of containment and control of the extension "Europe's new borders in Africa".

The recent migration trends from Sub-Saharan Africa, and Senegal in particular, as it has been here shown, have confirmed to be very fluid and rapidly changing. In particular relevant shifts in destination countries and in routes deployed to reach them, put into light new mobility paths and strategies employed by migrants. These recent trends show both continuities and discontinuities with traditional mobility patterns, re-inventing their exploitation and their function in the migratory trajectories as the ancient trans-Saharan routes used by migrants in transit towards Europe, or the circular cross border mobility towards neighbouring countries reproducing the pre-colonial seasonal displacements within the sub-region.

## CHAPTER 3

### Research objectives, methodology and data

#### 3.1 Research objectives

With regards to the framework presented in chapter 2, three main geo-political migratory zones emerge, in which contemporary migration from Senegal extends and develops: Sub-Saharan Africa and in particular West Africa, North Africa, and Europe. These areas of migration form three mobility systems, the historical background of which has been retraced in Chapter 2. These mobility systems are becoming increasingly inter-connected and interdependent in a complex and rapidly changing scenario: transnational migration of sub-Saharan Africans (Senegalese in our case) overlaps with local (sub-regional) circulations, and connects to international mobility, which occurs increasingly through Maghreb, where African migrants stay for short or longer periods of time (Alioua).

The objective of this study is therefore to examine the migration strategies in their full complexity, by trying to understand the composition of migratory paths that develop within and between these spaces through the biographical study of the itineraries of interviewed migrants. Two types of migration, in particular, seem to play a role of connection, articulation, and stratification of the increasingly complex and fragmented trajectories that occur between these three systems of mobility. These are transit migration, on the one hand, and temporary circular migration, on the other. The setting is the emergence of fragmented migration that, through trial and error, aspirations and capabilities, agency and institutional framework, draw globalized paths and re-invent the geography of migration.

As already highlighted, prior research has in fact been suffering from an insufficient preliminary knowledge of the structure of the migration patterns, of their multi-faceted nature and composition, and of the geo-political contextual framework in which they are situated.

This study aims to fill these conceptual and empirical gaps by analyzing migration trajectories as:

- 1) *complex mobility systems*, conceiving migration as a continuous process that evolves over migrants' lives through different phases and steps;
- 2) from the *sending* to *receiving* countries, through *intermediate-transit* destinations;
- 3) including *mobility within the EU*; and

4) including (both short and long-term) *circulation* and permanent *returns* to origin countries.

Following these principles, the theoretical and empirical objective of the study is to identify and to analyze the main migration patterns between Africa and Europe, through a longitudinal analysis of their complex composition, geographical extent and constantly changing nature. The analytical effort of understanding and observing underlying regularities and patterns in the apparent complexity and heterogeneity of migration into a comprehensive framework of the phenomenon is an essential preliminary step in order to explain its driving forces and causes.

The study of migratory patterns will therefore be achieved using the following two approaches:

- *longitudinal*, that is, exploring migration trajectories and conceiving migrants' strategies and paths of mobility as a continuous process that evolves over migrants' lives

- *step-wise*, that is, conceiving migration development through different phases (from transit migrations to provisional destinations, long-term settlement in Europe, movements within the European space, back and forth mobility between sending and destination countries, returns to origin countries, movements to other African destinations, etc.) in a "fragmented journey" perspective, as suggested by Collyer and de Haas (forthcoming), as a dynamic way of understanding migration.

The analysis of mobility here presented is based on the identification and the study of space-temporal organization of mobility. The incorporation of migration in space and the complex interplay of different forms of mobility, however, generates particular challenges to the collection as well as statistical analysis of data. This is particularly true of international migration in origin countries but also in areas crossed by transit flows, or by circular migration. In fact, studies on international migration are hampered by specific methodological issues which are not encountered in other fields of demographic research. A full comprehension of international migration, by definition, requires conducting research in several countries: origin and destination countries and increasingly transit countries as well (Beauchemin; González-Ferrer, 2010).

Deficiencies in African censuses and the lack of reliable migration statistics hamper the study of migration. Available data on migration are scattered, weakly comparable and reproduce a national-scale approach. Available sources do not cover all migratory movements and data analysis tend to focus on specific forms of migration, without allowing a broader and more comprehensive view of all forms of mobility and their interconnections. For instance, there is a surprising absence of attention for intra-

European mobility of non-EU Citizens. The only exception concerns secondary refugee movements which, while *en route* from the countries of origin to the aimed destinations, typically pass through one or more 'third countries'. As previously mentioned (see chapter 1), statistical and conceptual frameworks of migration still largely rely on a "methodological nationalist" approach, capturing only separate segments of individuals' migratory paths, based on a nation-state logic and the bureaucratic-legal migration categories they use. Finally, available data fail to capture the longitudinal character of migration.

These limitations particularly apply to migration from sub-Saharan Africa, where the *diversification* and *growing complexity* of migratory flows, rather than an increase in volume (as conveyed by public opinion and the general media), has been the most significant change in the last decades. This lack of data prevents from gaining an improved understanding into the complex and rapidly changing dynamics of African migrations.

### **3.2 The biographic survey "philosophy"**

The quantitative analysis of biographies is considered one of the most satisfactory ways of measuring mobility and has been applied in national and international migration, in order to study migration and to perceive the overall social changes related to it (Golaz, 2005).

The Life course approach was developed in social sciences as a tool to examine the evolution of life trajectories of individuals over time and social processes. The focus of this approach lies on life events—or transitions—of individuals and the ways in which these events constitute their life trajectories (Elder, 1975, 1985), also referred to as "life careers" or "paths" (Kou, Bailey, van Wissen, 2009: 6).

Through the concept of individual trajectory in sociology, the life course approach allows to take into account the specific situations in which individuals are located. The trajectory of an individual, i.e. the path followed in a particular experience with the passing of age, suffers from inter-connected life trajectories of individuals who constitute the system of the individuals' social relations. This means that the individuals depend not only on their own system of meaning, on their constraints and resources, but also on other trajectories they cross and intersect with (Olagnero, Saraceno, 1993).

The objective of the quantitative biographical study as an approach aims at retracing all the life-course of the respondents and at organizing and interpreting material through logical nexus, establishing connections between processes and events (Corbetta, 1999) in individuals' life's (a review of qualitative life course approach was



provided in chapter 1). The difference between the two methods subsists at the level of the reciprocal paradigms they pertain to. Consequently, while qualitative life histories are non structured interviews centred on autobiographical dimensions which interest reside in case studies, quantitative biographic studies apply to the quantitative approach in all the phases of the survey. The sample is (ideally) randomly obtained from a register, the questionnaire is based on closed ended questions, generating categorical, ordinal or numerical variables, and the analysis consists of statistical models that take into account time as a key factor.

In biographical quantitative studies, statistical analysis of the distribution of different events in relation to each other along a life cycle, allows the study of the interaction between events or sets of events. The specificity of the biographical survey is to collect at least three major parallel sets of states and events: residential history, work career path, and milestones of family life (birth, marriage, death, co-residence of spouses, ascendants and descendants) since the birth of the individual to the time of the survey (Golaz, 2005).

The transitions concern status passages or roles that account for particular change in the life of individuals (Elder, 1985; Dykstra and Van Wissen, 1999; Clark and Davies Withers, 2007), such as entering the labour market or becoming a parent, respectively alter employment and family status. Moreover, due to the interdependence between different trajectories, an event in one path can bring about status changes in other paths of the individual (Dykstra and Van Wissen, 1999). The effect of 'parallel trajectories' is particularly well exemplified by migration that is frequently accompanied with alterations in several other life domains (Mulder and Wagner, 1993; Mulder and Hooimeijer, 1999): the completion of higher education or starting cohabitation often imply a change in one's place of residence (Kou, Bailey, van Wissen, 2009). Furthermore in biographic surveys the individual and the events that marked the respondent's life are not decontextualized, allowing an understanding and an interpretation of an individual trajectory, based on past events, the ones of his/her relatives, and the framework within which the individual operates (country of residence, political, economic, social context, etc.). This new paradigm allows a quantitative analysis of fine individual behaviour in relation to past and present characteristics of the individual and his/her environment.

Life-course events and transitions exert powerful influences on mobility and work strategies. The view of migration as an inherent dynamic phenomenon, as part of the life path of individuals within the context in which they live is the most innovative contribution of biographic analysis to the study of migration. Examining migrant biographies provides insight into how individuals construct their life course in terms of geographical, but also social, economic and labour mobility (King and Ruiz-Gelices,

2003). Applying the sociological life course approach to migration and integration research may advance our understanding of immigrant mobility patterns as well as broader migration dynamics. The life course approach, in fact allows to go much beyond a simple cost-benefit analysis, providing understanding of migration processes from the much-needed micro perspective and connecting them with parallel trajectories in other domains of migrants' lives (family, labor career, etc.). At the same time it also allows to study the interplay of structure and agency over a life time course perspective, through the integration of longitudinal contextual macro data, that might impact on individual status at any moment of life. Furthermore the longitudinal approach (i.e. retrospective data, as opposed to cross-sectional data) makes room to a dynamical perspective, as a way of conceptualizing migration as a process, in which people shift from one categorization to another (Collyer, de Haas, forthcoming) in a continuum of changes from one status to another. Finally, as previously highlighted (Golaz, 2005), the biographical approach is particularly suited to study social objects that stand out of traditional demography, such as highly mobile or very heterogeneous populations, as in the case of migrant populations.

### **3.3 The empirical analysis: research method and data**

#### **3.3.1 The MAFE project**

The research here presented draws on the MAFE Senegal dataset which provides a unique opportunity to *empirically* pursue the research objectives here presented.

MAFE (**M**igration **b**etween **A**frica and **E**urope)<sup>2</sup> is an international research project directed by INED (Institut national d'études démographiques) of Paris, and held in collaboration with IPDSR (Institut Population, Développement et Santé de la Reproduction) of the University Cheikh Anta Diop of Dakar, in Senegal, UPF (Universitat Pompeu Fabra) of Barcelona, in Spain, and FIERI (International and European Forum of Migration Research) of Turin, in Italy<sup>3</sup>.

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<sup>2</sup> Research project web site: [www.mafeproject.com](http://www.mafeproject.com)

<sup>3</sup> Results presented in this paper/thesis/article have been obtained using the MAFE-Senegal survey. The Senegalese part of the Migration between Africa and Europe (MAFE) project is coordinated by INED (C. Beauchemin), in association with the Université Cheikh Anta Diop (P. Sakho). The project also involves the Universitat Pompeu Fabra (P. Baizan), the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas (A. Gonzalez-Ferrer), and the Forum Internazionale ed Europeo di Ricerche sull'Immigrazione (E. Castagnone). The survey was conducted with the financial support of INED, the Agence Nationale de la Recherche, the Région Ile de France and the FSP programme 'International Migrations, territorial reorganizations and development of the countries of the South'. For more details, see: <http://www.mafeproject.com/>.

The research yielded new household and individual biographic dataset in 2008, through parallel comparables surveys in both sending (Senegal) and receiving countries (France, Italy, Spain) among both documented and undocumented migrants<sup>4</sup>. France was selected as the historical target of Senegalese migrants, and Italy and Spain were added in the survey to represent new European destinations. All in all, these three countries accounted for 45% of the international Senegalese migrants declared in the 2002 Senegal Census.

### **3.3.2 The household survey**

In the MAFE research two different surveys were undertaken, two corresponding sampling frames were applied and two related questionnaires were designed: a household and an individual one.

The household survey in Senegal consisted of interviews on socio-demographic variables on all the current members of 1,141 "household migrants", i.e. households having declared members<sup>5</sup> abroad with whom the family had had regular contacts within the last 12 months. The household survey collected data at two levels: (1) migrant characteristics, i.e. socio-demographic variables and several variables describing his/her migration experience and his/her relationships with the surveyed household; (2) household characteristics, i.e. socio-demographic characteristics of the heads of household and interview conditions. The questionnaire included a specific module aimed at obtaining contact information for each of the declared migrants (Beauchemin, González-Ferrer, 2010).

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An extended version of the MAFE project was presented at the FP7 of the European including additional data on migration between Ghana and UK/Netherlands; and DR Congo and UK/Belgium. Further research institutions from each country involved in the project contribute to the data collection and analysis: Université Catholique de Louvain-la-Neuve (UCL) in Belgium; University of Maastricht in the Netherlands; University of Sussex (SCMR) in UK; Université de Kinshasa (DSPD) in RD Congo; University of Ghana (CMS) in Ghana. The project started in October 2008 and will last until March 2012.

<sup>4</sup> A direct involvement in the coordination of the project in Italy has allowed a strong participation to all the phases of the research (drawing of the questionnaire; conception of the sampling strategy in Italy; training of the interviewers; pre-test and test of the survey; field supervision; data collection reporting) in tight collaboration with all the project partners. Furthermore **the participation to the project by means of FIERI** guarantees a full access to the research data, original and novel, that will remain undisclosed and at the sole disposal of the research partners until 2012.

<sup>5</sup> The household head's children, his/her spouse(s), and also other relatives of the head or of his/her current spouse.

The household sampling in Senegal was designed to over-represent households declaring migrants and to be representative of the population living in the region of Dakar, where about a quarter of the national population reside and which is an area of high prevalence of international migration. The sampling scheme adopted three-stage stratified random strategy applied on the 2002 Population Census as a sampling frame. At the first stage, census districts, which include about 100 households in Senegalese urban areas, were randomly selected with varying probabilities. At the second stage, households were selected randomly in each of the selected primary sampling units. At the third stage, individuals were selected within the households (*ibidem*: 23).

### 3.3.3 The individual survey

The individual dataset contains biographic data of:

- 601 Senegalese migrants interviewed in Europe, among which 200 in France, 201 in Italy and 200 in Spain<sup>6</sup>
- 1,067 individuals interviewed in Senegal, among which 208 resulted to be returnees

In Europe different sampling methods were combined, choosing the best available option in each country and diversifying the sources and directions of potential biases associated with each sampling strategy. Some features are shared by all countries, however. In all of them, eligible<sup>7</sup> migrants were sampled from two type of sources:

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<sup>6</sup> In France, the selected areas –Ile de France, Rhône-Alpes and Provence-Alpes-Côte d’Azur– included approximately 64 percent of the total population born in Senegal living in France at the time of the survey (INSEE 1999). The regions selected in Italy were Campania, Emilia-Romagna, Lombardia and Toscana, where approximately 64 percent of the Senegalese population lived in 2006 (ISTAT 2006). In Italy and Spain, where Senegalese immigration is more recent and partly oriented towards rural areas, special efforts were made to reach Senegalese migrants living in places of lesser concentration, on the grounds that migrants who live in areas where many other co-nationals reside might differ in a substantial manner from those who reside in more isolated areas. This is the rationale for the inclusion of Campania in Italy, a region that accounts for only 2.6 percent of Senegalese migrants (against 39.3 percent in Lombardia). And, in Spain, a third quota was imposed and respected: the proportion of interviewed migrants living in areas with a large concentration of Senegalese residents had to be equivalent to the real proportion of Senegalese migrants living in those areas in the selected regions (Beauchemin, Gonzalez-Ferrer, anno).

<sup>7</sup> Whatever the variety of the selection sources, the same eligibility criteria applied in all countries to homogenise the type of persons we would interview. Interviewees had to be individuals: (a) born in Senegal, (b) with Senegalese nationality at some point in his/her life, (c) who had migrated to Europe for the first time at age 18 or older and, (d) aged between 25 and 70 at the time of the survey. In all countries, the samples were stratified by sex (half men and half women) and age (with each sex, half aged 25-40 and the other half aged 41-70). Specific regions within each destination country were also selected, instead of carrying out the surveys over their whole territory (Beauchemin, González-Ferrer, 2009: 8).

**1.** migrants whose contact had been provided by the households surveyed in Senegal. The principle on which it based this first sampling technique is that of "matched samples". The methodological consequence of the transnationalism theoretical framework implies in fact the need to operationalize the multi-polarity and the simultaneity of migration processes by means of samples linked between the countries of origin and destination. This approach has been adopted by several studies, including the "Mexican Migration Project (MMP) based on the Ethnosurvey method (Massey, 1987), and the Ghana TransNet Research Programme, based on the Simoultaneous Sample Match (SMS) method (Mazzucato, 2009).

Nonetheless in the MAFE project, the origin-based snowballing method, consisting in recording the contact details in the home country and afterwards retracing the migrants at destination, provided limited results: out of 364 contacts registered in origin country (already not sufficient to cover the final target of 600 interviewed migrants), only 36 individuals, i.e. 6% of the total European sample, were finally interviewed in Europe thanks to contact information recorded in Dakar (Beauchemin and González-Ferrer, 2010). Different reasons explain such result: first of all contact information at origin country was difficult to obtain and often inaccurate; secondly only 17% of the correct contact details resulted in interviews in Europe, i.e. only a few migrants accepted to be interviewed (*ibid.*).

**2.** This first sample was complemented with other samples obtained through two main techniques: 1) quota method, combining various recruitment channels: migrants' associations, public places, and snowballing techniques; 2) probability sampling method in Spain, which used the Municipal Population Register (Padrón) as a sampling frame to draw a random sample of people born in Senegal and living in Spain at the time of the survey. This register presents the unique advantage of including undocumented as well as documented migrants (Beauchemin, González-Ferrer, 2009: 9).

Summing up, the sample of respondents, is composed of current migrants in Europe (Spain, France, Italy); return migrants in Senegal; non migrants in Senegal (see table 1). Data used in this paper are exclusively referred to the individual sample of current migrants interviewed in Europe (601) added up to 208 return migrants interviewed in Senegal.

**Tab. 1: Sample of the research**

	Spain	France	Italy	Senegal	Total
<b>Current migrants</b>	<b>200</b>	<b>200</b>	<b>201</b>	0	601
<b>Returnees</b>	0	0	0	<b>208</b>	208
<b>Non migrants</b>	0	0	0	859	859
<b>Total</b>	<b>200</b>	<b>200</b>	<b>201</b>	<b>1,067</b>	<b>1,668</b>

Source: MAFE-Senegal Survey

The population of surveyed migrants (current + returnees) amount to 809 individuals, among which 58% are men and 42% women. Women were over-represented with the objective of including an equal share of males and females, in order to allow gender analyses<sup>8</sup>.

### 3.3.4 The MAFE individual questionnaire

An identical biographical individual questionnaire, on which the data of this work is founded, was administrated both in Senegal and in the European countries in order to collect complete life histories of migrants, non-migrants and return migrants. It contains multi-topic retrospective information on: dwelling, family (unions and children), work, international migration of the interviewee (including attempts to migrate, return trips to Senegal, transit migration and legal status in foreign countries), migration history of the migrant's relatives (list of their stays abroad, including dates and country names), goods and assets, remittances and contributions to associations in the country of origin.

Data were collected on a yearly basis from birth until the time of survey for each sampled individual, whatever his/her country of residence at the time of the survey.

A questionnaire and a grid were jointly used to collect data from interviewee (see Annex 1). The interview consisted of a cross filling of the questionnaire and the Ageven grid. The questionnaire contains closed-ended questions (with the exception for a few questions) organized in modules according to the main subjects previously mentioned. The "Ageven" grid (*age-evenements*, age-events) was used, jointly to the questionnaire, to help the interviewee to recall important dates of his/her history. It maps the ages and the events of the interviewee and related family and network, which are treated in detail in the questionnaire. Through the Ageven grid the interviewee locates in the time axe the main biographical events in different domains. These events are progressively transcribed on the grid containing a time scale (calendar years) and the time elapsed since the event. This grid allows to

<sup>8</sup> Women in 2008 were : in Spain 16%; Italy 13%; France: 46%

chronologically place the events either by direct dating, or by referring one to the other.

In 2007 INED undertook a pre-test of the MAFE survey kit in a few main cities of the four selected countries (Senegal, Italy, Spain, France), which began by forming the research equip (see footnote 5) and by sharing and discussing among partners a general presentation of the survey and of its protocol. Subsequently a five-day trainers' training was held for the responsible head project of each research institute with the aim of transferring the methodological and management tools to undertake the survey. A survey firm was employed in each country in order to manage the survey; the firms' interviewers were trained (from three to five days, accordingly to the different national equips) by the same researchers who had previously been trained by INED. The training was based on the presentation of the research project and its objectives, on a briefing on the survey kit (questionnaire and Ageven grid + supplementary fiches listing sets of codes for the filling out of the questionnaire); and on practical exercises and simulation of a full interview in classroom. In France, Spain and Senegal the training included also the undertaking of some interviews on the field and a final debriefing in classroom.

A test of the survey was undertaken by the firms' interviewers in late 2007, after which a report meeting took place among national MAFE coordinators both from research institutes and survey firms, highlighting the various problems that occurred during the fieldwork and suggesting some minor changes to the questionnaires on the basis of the indications resulting from the testing. The biographical survey finally took place in 2008 in four countries, where each national survey firm closely collaborated with the related research institutes providing weekly reports on the fieldwork and organizing periodical meetings and check ups on the questionnaires. Once the data collection was achieved, the survey firms undertook the data entry and ran a software test provided by INED aimed at catching the data inconsistencies, immediately correcting them and if necessary going back to the questionnaires or even to the interviewees. After this very preliminary test phase on collected data, a meticulous work of data cleansing was "manually" undertaken by different researchers from all different institutes, contributing to common shared cleaned data files.

### 3.3.5 MAFE data: Opportunities and limits for the study of migrants' mobility

The unique nature of MAFE dataset allows to undertake innovative research on complex structure of individuals' migration, as its data are:

- 1) *multi-topic*: various aspects of the respondents' lives are covered by the questionnaires, including work experience, family formation, residential mobility, legal status, etc.;
- 2) *multi-level*: meso and macro comparable data in four surveyed countries are associated to individual-micro data on migrants;
- 3) *longitudinal*: through retrospective data;
- 4) *transnational*: collected and giving account for both sending and receiving countries

Furthermore MAFE sample comprises both regular and irregular migrants, and actual migrants (in France, Spain Italy), as well as returnees settle back in Senegal.

Albeit the MAFE sample is relatively little, the biographical nature of data allows to look retrospectively at individuals' migration experience and to analyse extended periods of migration experience. The years of observation of migration phenomenon among migrants comprises the period between the date of the first migration of the sampled individuals (current and return migrants) and the year of the interview (2008).

**Tab. 2: Length of observation of the migration experiences observed in the sample**

<u>Years of observation</u>	<u>%</u>
<b>0-5</b>	16.21
<b>6-10</b>	28.22
<b>11-20</b>	27.60
<b>21-40</b>	24.63
<b>41-60</b>	3.34
<b>TOT</b>	100

Source: MAFE-Senegal Survey

For 55% of individuals we dispose of more than 10 years of migration experience observation (including at least one departure, then following –eventual- displacements in third countries, periods of return, and re-departures); only 16% of the sample has been exposed to less than five years of observation. This means that the sample comprises both newly arrived migrants as well as migrants with long-term experience.

Thanks to their retrospective nature, the MAFE data allow to generate unique comprehensive and longitudinal quantitative evidence on the routes used by Senegalese and other African migrants all along their life course, allowing to retrace



the whole migration trajectory of individuals through their different steps<sup>9</sup>. This include itineraries within Africa continuing or not to Europe; their mobility within Europe; and temporary and permanent return to Senegal.

Some major limits should be however highlighted and taken into account, when dealing with the MAFE data. In fact, while the survey put a great effort in including a satisfactory range of different profiles of migrants (women/men; documented/undocumented; newly arrived/ancient migrants; "active" migrants/returnees; etc.), nonetheless the sampling frame entails some limits. In fact having current migrants been sampled at destination in European countries, some main bias derive from this choice. In particular due to the sampling frame available data mainly giving account for a particular type of migration: directed to the three selected European destinations, failing to acknowledge other increasingly important destinations, as the USA, or other Europe countries; and "successful", i.e. migrants captured in the survey are the ones who managed to reach Europe, excluding those who were on their way to Europe, without reaching it as final destination.

Furthermore, for the fact of having sampled migrants already settled in Europe, mainly individuals with Europe-oriented projects were selected.

While, finally, intra-continental movements (both in West Africa and in North Africa) appear as a crucial dimension of mobility from Senegal (cfr. chapter 2), the MAFE survey could only randomly give account of it, mainly through the sample of returnees interviewed in Senegal who previously broadly circulated in the African space. To have a full picture of this second type of migration, the research should have ideally sampled migrants also in African destinations. Nevertheless, as we will see in next chapters, intra-continental migration inevitably emerges as an essential part of the Senegalese mobility scenario.

Nonetheless, it should be emphasized that the MAFE project provides valuable original data on different countries (allowing to overcome the case study approach and leaving room to comparisons), on different profiles of migrants (both documented and undocumented migrants, returnees from different destinations, etc.), and, most of all, on multi-level, multi-topic, longitudinal retrospective biographical data, opening a new, insightful and promising perspective on migration studies, based on the innovative life course approach and opening room for multi-level (micro-meso-macro) ground-breaking research.

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<sup>9</sup> Despite the unique nature of the MAFE data and the valuable information they provide, it should be underlined that MAFE project was not specifically designed to study transit migration: many in-detail information on this particular type of migration are consequently limited or incomplete.

### 3.4 Data analysis

The data analysis on the MAFE sample, aimed at studying migrants' mobility and returnees, progresses through an operation of composition, de-composition and re-composition of the longitudinal trajectories of migrants.

As a first step, the composition of trajectories, is performed through the technique of sequence analysis. Sequence analysis is a statistical tool that arises in scientific fields, such as biology, in particular in the study of DNA composition (Brzinsky-Fay, Kohler, 2006: 435). It was subsequently applied to social sciences, in order to investigate life courses, marital histories, and employment profiles. A sequence is defined as an ordered list of elements, where an element can be a certain status (e.g., employment or marital status), a physical object (e.g., base pair of DNA, protein, or enzyme), or an event (e.g., a dance step or bird call).

Sequence data share some of the properties of cross-sectional time-series and survival data. However, unlike the former, the positions in a sequence refer to a relative, not an absolute, time point. Moreover, sequences are generally seen as an entity of their own, and the interest is in the sequential character of all elements combined (*ibid.*).

In our case, the sequences foster the understanding of the composition of migratory patterns. From a longitudinal study of the various migration steps according to the attributes of space and time, the composition of migratory careers is obtained, consisting of one or more sequential movements, which are located precisely in space and time.

In this perspective, after a presentation of composition and characteristics of the sample taken into consideration for analysis, **chapter 4** will provide an outlook of whole migrants' trajectories, retracing all the migration episodes since the first out-migration from Senegal until the survey year (2008). With this intention, sequence analysis will be displayed in order to visualize and compare the four sub-samples (Spanish, French, Italian and Senegalese). As a result, the main migratory trends of the four sub-samples (actual migrants in three European destination countries and returnees in Senegal) will provide a general picture of these movements according to the four main sub-samples. Some descriptive analysis will complement information (length, direction, numerosity) on migration episodes creating mobility trajectories.

In this chapter some more qualitative insights on reasons for leaving the first time from Senegal and for choosing specific destination countries will provide a review of subjective perceptions, aspirations and self-representations of why people want to migrate and on what influences their choice of migration destination.

Subsequently an operation of de-composition of migratory patterns of individuals is carried out in order to understand the *structure* of their paths and the elements that have determined them. In the course of this work the various episodes that make up the trajectories will be under analysis, with the goal of understanding their general characteristics (length, direction, number) and their role (migrations, returns, re-migrations, secondary migrations, etc.) within the trajectories. An episode, is defined as a time interval that a unit of analysis spends in a specific state, before the occurrence of an event of interest; an episode is characterized by a duration (starting and ending times) and a change in status (e.g. from a country A to a country B).

Migratory paths, therefore considered as trajectories consisting of several episodes, are analyzed by studying the characteristics of the steps (episodes) composing them, looking at their length and status (country of migration) and observing the overall extension, made up of the sum of the different episodes. Two types of mobility will then be particularly taken into account, which, as it has been shown, play an increasingly central role in the composition of the migratory patterns: the transits and the temporary returns (i.e. generating new departures). The characteristics of the two kinds of migration will be analyzed in depth.

**Chapter 5** will focus in particular on transit migration as an emerging form of mobility in a scenario of increasing complexity and fluidity of flows and routes of African migration to Europe, where step-by-step paths plays an increasing role in mobility paths. The concept itself of "transit" will be questioned and problematised, defying some of the most common assumptions that have guided previous researches and discourses on transit migration. Transits will be thus analyzed as movements embedded in broader migration trajectories, as a stage of the migration process. Their position in overall paths, their outcomes, and their more general role in mobility strategies will be here taken in account.

**Chapter 6** will look at another crucial part of migration trajectories, i.e. temporary returns to Senegal, highlighting different forms of circularity between Senegal, African destination and European ones, specifying two parallel systems of mobility.

After having thoroughly studied the segments that constitute trajectories, with particular attention to transits and returns, a third step of the process involves a their *re-composition*. The trajectories will be thus reassembled in **chapter 7** with the goal of determining the main patterns of mobility through a clustering operation of sequences, according to the optimal matching method. The main characteristics of migrants undertaking the different patterns of mobility will be taken into account, in order to highlight some of the elements determining different paths of the Senegalese migration.

All in all the selected approach will allow to understand the articulation of mobility in the individual lives of respondents; at the same time the final objective of this work is to determine main types of mobility, the consistency of such mobility systems, and the profile of migrants adopting each of them.

In **chapter 8** the conclusions are finally drawn, summarizing the main findings of previous chapters at the light of the theoretical framework that guided the work and providing some conclusive remarks on a mobility approach to the study of migration processes.

## CHAPTER 4

### Mobility between Senegal and Europe: a life-course approach to the migration process

#### 4.1 Profile of migrants

The sample of research, as already indicated, is composed of: active migrants in Europe (Spain, France, Italy); returning migrants to Senegal; non migrants in Senegal. Only data on migrants in Europe and the returnees interviewed in Senegal is used in this work. The four homogeneous groups, of approximately 200 individuals each, are shown in the table below.

**Tab.1: Sample of the research**

	Spain	France	Italy	Senegal	Total
<b>Current migrants</b>	200	200	201	0	<b>601</b>
<b>Returnees</b>	0	0	0	208	<b>208</b>
<b>Non migrants</b>	0	0	0	859	<b>859</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>200</b>	<b>200</b>	<b>201</b>	<b>1,067</b>	<b>1,668</b>

Source: MAFE-Senegal Survey

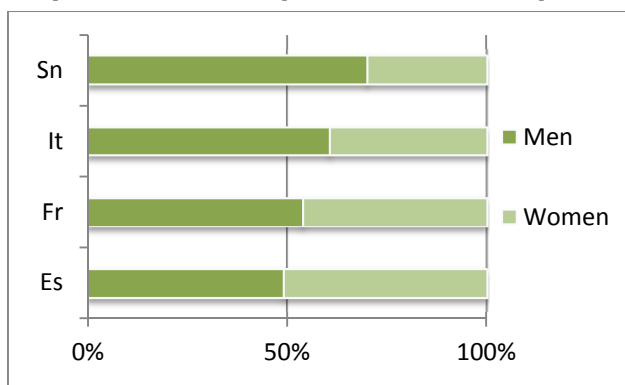
Regarding the gender composition, the sampling strategy in Europe considerably overestimated the female population<sup>10</sup>, in order to also allow analysis of this component of the migrant population.

Migrant women have significantly different characteristics: the reasons and the context for their departures in Senegalese migration still largely rely on family reunification with their husbands or relatives, as will be shown later on in this chapter. They also present different strategies and performances for socio-economic integration at destination. At the same time growing processes of feminization of migration are taking place, through the diffusion of autonomous migrations and individual trajectories, as mentioned in chapter 2.

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<sup>10</sup> Women at 2008 were : in Spain 16%; Italy 13%; France: 46%.

**Graph1: Gender composition of the sample**



Source: MAFE-Senegal Survey

The Spanish sample thus includes 49% of men and 51% women, the French 54% of men and women 46%, the Italian 61% of men and 39% of women. The Senegalese sample, finally, 70% of men and 30% of women.

The largest age group for current migrants is between 35 and 44 years. Women are slightly younger than men, although there is no considerable difference in age.

The returnees have instead a higher average age: half of them, both men and women, are aged 45 years or older. They are in fact older individuals, having previously migrated and settled back in Senegal at the time of the interview.

**Tab.2: Age of the sample at survey time and at first migration**

		MIGRANTS		RETURNEES	
		M	F	M	F
AGE at SURVEY TIME	25-34	25.9	30.0	19.6	17.7
	35-44	42.4	44.3	29.4	32.3
	45+	31.7	25.3	51.0	50.0
AGE AT FIRST MIGRATION	0-17	-	-	14.7	27.4
	18-24	38.8	35.1	35.7	25.8
	25-34	47.9	48.1	39.2	38.7
	35-44	12.3	14.5	9.1	8.1
	45+	0.9	2.3	1.4	0
<b>TOT (a.n.)</b>		<b>328</b>	<b>269</b>	<b>143</b>	<b>62</b>

Source: MAFE-Senegal Survey

As for the age at first migration, the majority of both migrants and returnees left between 18 and 34 years old. We can also observe a significant number of returnees, especially the women among them, who left between 0 and 17 years (following relatives in migration). The reason why migrants are not represented in this range is due to the eligibility criteria of respondents, which required the sampling of individuals who had migrated to Europe for the first time at age 18 or older, and aged between 25

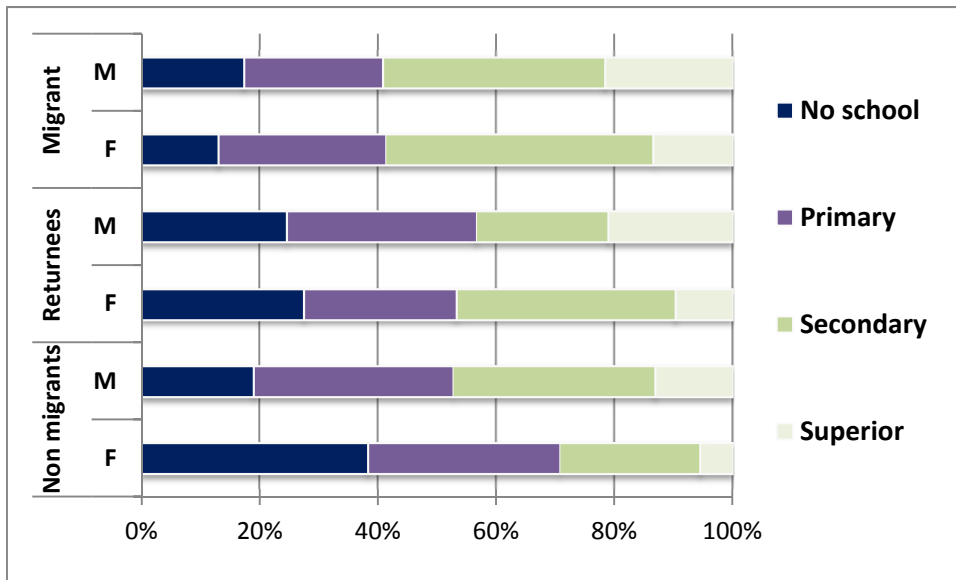
and 70 at the time of the survey (which explains why the age of individuals at the time of the interview age is 25 or over).

The education level is higher for migrants and, to some extent, among women of this group: 60% of the migrant sample have a secondary or superior education; at the same time they present a lower level of illiteracy. Furthermore, among the migrants in Europe who have not undertaken any study within the “French” school system, men prevail over women, in a counter trend with the population in Senegal (where the number of non migrant women with no education is twice that of men).

The differential between men and women highlights at the same time a higher rate of women in the secondary school ranges among migrants and returnees, which decreases among returnees.

Looking at the highest range, the most educated group , of both current migrants and returnees , shows a larger share of individuals with a superior education in comparison to non migrants. Notwithstanding the gender balance within this group it shows a homogeneous differential varying between 8 and 11 percentage points: women are anyway disadvantaged whether they are migrants, migrants or returnees.

**Graph2: Educational level of migrants, returnees, non migrants by sex**



Source: MAFE-Senegal Survey

**Tab3: Differentials education men-women<sup>11</sup>**

	Migrant	Returnees	Non migrants
No school	4.4%	-2.9%	-19.3%
Primary	-4.8%	6.4%	1.2%
Secondary	-7.9%	-14.7%	10.4%
Superior	8.3%	11.3%	7.6%

Source: MAFE-Senegal Survey

## 4.2 The reasons of migration: a self-representation perspective

Over recent decades, migration studies have focused their attention on explaining the reasons for international migration. The main theories on this phenomenon have explored two major sociological perspectives: the micro sociological and the macro sociological , while some more recent interpretations have sought to build bridges between the two perspectives, focusing rather on a meso, intermediate level (Ambrosini, 2005).

According to the micro-level neoclassical paradigm, migration is conceptualised as a cost-benefit decision, based on wage level differences as crucial explanatory factors (Harris, Todaro, 1970; Arango, 2000). Migrants in their view estimate the costs and benefits of moving to various locations before finally setting in a place where they can be more productive and earn more money (Borjas, 1989). Central to this understanding is the migrant who is considered as an individual ,rational actor (Faist, 1997) with self-agency. Subsequently the "new economics of migrations", developed in particular by Stark (Stark, Bloom, 1985; Stark 1991), tried to overcome some weaknesses of the dominant economic perspective offered by the neoclassical approach by trying to offer a more complex scenario of the migration decision. Scholars taking this approach argue that migrants do not make their decision in isolation and that families play a central role in the process of international migration through strategies of allocation of human resources aimed at maximizing gains and minimizing risks. This more refined version of neoclassical theory has also been criticised, ignoring the fact that there may also be structural constraints impacting on migrants' mobility, such as distance, physical barriers and immigration laws, which all influence the development of the migration process.

Some macro theories based on a structural approach were in opposition to the micro level approach, founded on economic principles and on the individual dimension. At a macro level, the model of "push and pull factors" called attention to the concept of migratory pressure due to negative economic and demographic repulsion factors in

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<sup>11</sup> The differentials of education level is computed by subtracting the % of women to the % of men showing their distribution according to the four educational levels. When the sign is negative it means that the % of women is higher than the % of men in that educational level.



origin areas on the one side and to attractive factors in potential destination areas on the other. (Lee, 1966; Livi Bacci, Martuzzi Veronese, 1990; Bonifazi, 1998). Another version of the structural approach is the "historical structural approach" , focusing on the structural political economy which produces global inequalities. According to this theory, which has intellectual roots in Marxist political economy, social and historical forces have led to the unequal distribution of resources and power worldwide. The theory pivots around the political hierarchy of global markets. Wallerstein (1974) , in particular in his "world system theory" , argues that migration is first and foremost produced by unequal spatial development between the "core" and the "periphery". Castells (1996) and Sassen (1998), among other theorists inspired by Wallerstein's work, claim that decisions to migrate cannot only be explained by economic wage differences, but also must be understood in the context of the political origins of these differences. The initiative (agency) of migrants and of their networks is thus seen as a factor which, although rising from the bottom in a spontaneous way, is affected by macro structural processes and phenomena. Notwithstanding, in migration theory the debate about structure and agency still remains heated, and is an open sociological dilemma (Ambrosini, 2005).

With the aim of overcoming the limitations of both groups of theories, migration studies over the last two decades have developed some explanations that are at an intermediate, meso level between micro and macro theories. In particular the "network theories" (Taylor, 1986; Boyd, 1989; Fawcett, 1989; Gurak, Caces, 1992) conceive of individual decisions within social groups, which in turn hinder and mediate between the social and economic conditions determined at the macro level and actual subjective migration behaviour. The social network approach, therefore, expands the decision-making scope to larger social units: migrants, potential migrants, returning migrants, and non-migrants are all connected through ties of kinship, ethnicity, and friendship. These networks may facilitate or encourage further migration by providing concrete information and assistance to potential migrants (Massey and Espinosa, 1997; Portes, 1995; Price, 1963). The theoretical interest of this approach is due to an interpretation of migration networks as part of the agency of migrants, who can actively promote new migration processes, determine the integration paths and develop forms of social mobility (i.e. through entrepreneurship) and collective minority identity through the network ties (Ambrosini, 2006). At the same time migrants who are part of a network are not isolated individuals, fluctuating in a social vacuum, without other points of reference than their rational interests.

Moreover, some recent works have focused on the imagination, on perceptions, motivations, aspirations, expectations and values, showing how in some contexts, where migration becomes deeply rooted into people's behavioural repertoires, a "culture of migration" sets up, as a shared imaginary, fertile ground for the

perpetuation of migration. This culture of emigration as such - operational through a stratification of popular and media discourses, cultural artefacts, social networks and on the material and symbolic images of success driven by migrants themselves - weighs heavily on potential migrants' perceptions, aspirations and behaviour (Collyer, 2006; Pang, 2007; Riccio, 2007).

In their analysis of the perceptions of migrant and non-migrant individuals from source countries, Carling et al. (2010) discuss how two types of imaginations are generally approached as two different stages in migration decision-making: a general decision to move, followed by a place-specific-imagination at the second stage (De Jong, Warland & Root, 1998).

For the first type, Mai's concept of "migratory project" is used, which "both encompasses and transcends physical displacement, as it designates the range of desired and desirable identities and lifestyles through which potential migrants imagine themselves" (2004).

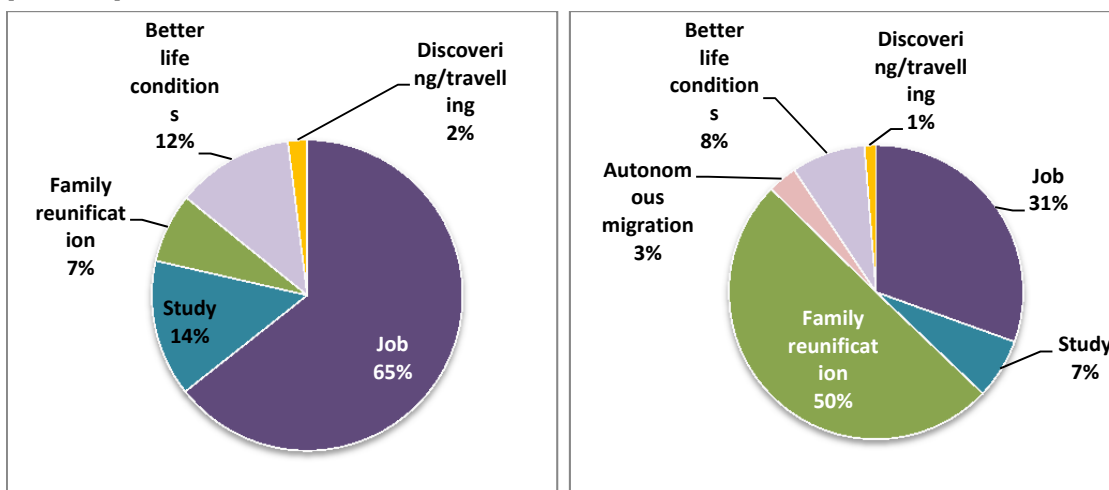
The second type refers to "geographical imaginations", as introduced by Saïd (1978) and further explored by Gregory (1994) which consists in the "subjectivity of the human conception of locations, spaces, countries and the people inhabiting these physical places. In other words: people hold certain images of the world's geographical regions and of the people inhabiting these regions". As such, this concept is very pertinent for the understanding of migration decision-making: imaginations of the qualities of certain places in the world, the people inhabiting these places and the existing social, political and economic possibilities characterizing these places significantly contributes to the decision to migrate and where to migrate (Gregory, 1994).

Following this perspective the objective here is to offer an internal and subjective overview (at the level of perceptions, aspirations and self-representations) of why people want to migrate, and, further in the chapter, what influences their choice of migration destination.

A review of the migrants answers in relation to their first out-migration from Senegal will be thus here presented and will be here discussed and contextualized as socially, culturally and historically embedded. The answers will be presented both in aggregate (through a recoding of responses for major groups) in the graphs 3 and 4, and in the complete form, quoting the full answers recorded during the interviews.

**Graph 3: Reasons for first migration (men) (women)**

**Graph 4: Reasons for first migration**



Source: MAFE-Senegal Survey

As the literature has already profusely illustrated, Senegalese migration is mainly a labour migration driven by **economic reasons (50%)**.

Departure is associated with, to a large extent, especially in its origins, the economic crisis that hit Senegalese households. This was connected to the environmental deterioration and the worsening of the agricultural economy, as described in various testimonies. The severe Sahelian droughts that affected the rural area in the '70s exhausted the villages' reserves, pushing many villagers to embark on initially internal (rural-urban), and subsequently international, migration movements.

*"The drought carried on and it became impossible to work in the fields" F46, France*

The crisis of the countryside also pushed a large proportion of the population (referred to as rural exodus) to leave agricultural work and to seek work in the cities. At the same time the urban economy was unable to absorb the labour supply of rural migrants flocking from the countryside to seek work. The failure of several policies of national development and the measures of structural adjustment imposed on the country by the World Bank deepened its economic crisis .

According to the Agence Nationale de la Statistique et de la Demographie (ANSD, 2008), of a workforce of around 3.5 million people, employees in Senegal are less than 10% (nearly 80,000 public servants and 150 to 200.000 employees in the private sector); while 90% of the workers are peasants and workers of the informal sector. The informal sector remains one of the most important labour suppliers and sources of income for the Senegalese population: more than half of workers operate in this sector, in which the left behind of the modern sector, i.e. those who don't hold any professional qualifications and among whom are mostly women (and children), are

employed. Activities such as trade, crafts, fishing, crafts recovery, etc., are practiced in a familiar or self-employment context and are the main niches of the informal workers (Fall, 2010).

The precariousness of employment and unemployment in the country of origin, in addition to the need for a job or a better job (better paid or more stable) are also mentioned as reasons for migrating from Senegal:

*"I did not have a regular job" F25, France*

*"There was the crisis and I could not find work" E165 Spain*

*"Mediocre work conditions" F175 France*

*"The job was low paid" I74 Italy*

*"For a better job, well paid" F3 France*

*"To seek my fortune" I160 Italy*

Family responsibilities, related to the support and maintenance of the family, are also a strong argument. These responsibilities relate to both children and wives, and to the family of origin (brothers and sisters, parents, etc.). Among the Senegalese the maintenance of the family is indeed perceived as an essential moral obligation, often assumed through the choice of emigration.

As a study on Senegalese migration in Turin clarifies "commitment of those who left towards the left back home stems from the concepts of *ngor* and *jom*. *Ngor* stand for reliability, linked to the idea of freedom, nobility, honesty, character. *Jom* - in its meaning of being able to make sacrifices in order to protect one's own dignity and respectability - refers to the fact that a central concept in Senegalese education is respect, which implies not only a simple moral precept, but also involves action and a practical engagement" (Castagnone et al., 2005). Migrants often leave on the solicitation of the family itself, in order to provide financial assistance to family members who would not otherwise be able to sustain themselves on remaining in Senegal. Furthermore, the recognition of the success of migration comes from members of the family and community only on the basis of performance of these duties (ibid.).

*"He could not find work in Senegal, he was the eldest and the solution was to leave in order to ensure his responsibility as the eldest" F83 France*

*"I had to earn to pay for my sisters' keep " I7 Italy*

*"I had to provide for my children and I needed a job and money" I179 Italy*

In many cases the motives for departure are also associated with the dismantling of the main economic axes in the family, which transfers to other members the duty to

provide economic resources to the family, and in particular to the most fragile among them.

*"After the death of my husband I could not maintain decently my children" I72*

*Italy*

*"After the death of my father I had to pay for the family's keep. I had to earn more" I130 Italy*

For others the departure means looking for a job, but it is associated with the implementation of a specific project to be achieved in Senegal and even more than in other cases it embodies the temporary nature of the migration project, anchored to the return to Senegal.

*"I wanted to earn more quickly in order to be able to start up a business" I183*

*Italy*

*"I wanted to earn in order to open a construction company on my own" I4 Italy*

*"I wanted to find a job that allowed me to get home in my homeland" I105 Italy*

For some, the work abroad was already secured and the departure was in these cases supported by an already developed work project:

*"I had a job in Germany" F76 France*

*"I had a contract to deliver courses" S002301 Senegal*

Similarly, several had been pushed to relocate for work, sent by their employer (the military, state, university, or companies), or by reason of their own business, with the goal of internationalizing or strengthening their business abroad, or, as some evidence, to advance in their career:

*"I was nursing in the French Army" S030401 Senegal*

*"For my job the army sent me there for one year" S090501 Senegal*

*"It was Senegal that sent me to Gabon for a well determined job"*

*"Sent as an overseas assigned professor" S060501 Senegal*

*"Accompanying my employer who had a business over there" S115113 Senegal*

*"To provide greater business for my company" I134 Italy*

*"To develop abroad my career in the field of music. In Senegal there are fewer opportunities than in Europe" F47 France*

*"To follow the concert tour for the company I danced for" F71 France*

Among those who have declared a precise and well - determined professional objective in relation to migration, it emerges a group involved in commercial activities, which identified in the migration option the opportunity to extend and to strengthen their business by opening to new foreign markets. It should be underlined here that they are not always formal or highly structured enterprises, but activities issuing from a "business world" of nomadic entrepreneurs (Peraldi, 2001) including a wide range of formal and informal activities and transactions which are not necessarily professional. Indeed, in the studies on Senegalese migration it has been stressed that trade is an institution which supports migrants and links them to their home country (Van Nieuwenhuyze, 2009), as a result of a long tradition of the historical trading system, and represents a way of life and a means of preservation of moral and behaviour values (Castagnone et al., 2005; Barry, 1992; Harding 1992).

The value of trade can be identified especially in the benefits obtained from it as an autonomous activity. This is the fruit of a long tradition of informal organization of the trade system, so familiar in Africa. The autonomy initiative is described as a chance exploitation of congenial skills, such as the talent, the art of getting by, which are also part of a traditional and familiar heritage.

In the Italian case in particular, where trade has played a key role in the integration of Senegalese (Castagnone et al., 2005; Riccio, 2007) into the labour market, it has been highlighted how this activity has been functional to flexible working-time. For some migrants this flexibility was a choice oriented to the maintenance of a back-and-forth mobility ("*va' e vien!*"), and to transnationalism based on "dual presence" (Ceschi, 2006).

The major feature of contemporary migrations from Senegal, as an instrumental, economic-oriented feat, as stated by Ceschi (1999), coexists and intersects however with a transformative dimension of identity operated by the migration journey. The Senegalese have always travelled the continent through seasonal movements and trade, but also through ritual and symbolic journeys in order to accumulate prestige. Much has been written about the concept of the journey among Senegalese, on the myth of the distance, on the imagining of the departure as adventure, as a journey of education, research, of acquisition of knowledge, skills, of emancipation from others. According to this perspective economic migration is not only a necessity driven by economic reason, but is also *yokute*, i.e. a desire to improve and to evolve as a person (Castagnone et al, 2005).

Thus **better life conditions** are evoked as the main reason for departure in 10% of cases, intended as improvement in lifestyle, access to welfare services, more and better opportunities for themselves and their children, expectation to improve their long-term wellbeing.

The expectation of better living conditions, the projection of an improvement in their material and immaterial condition through migration, is also the result of the media and "the influence of others" (Epstein & Gang, 2006, 652), which comes from an imaginary concept built on popular discourse but also on informational input from social networks (Koser & Pinkerton, 2004) typically composed of family and friends, community organizations and intermediaries such as labour recruiters and travel agents (Boyd, 1989). As Riccio (2007) explains, in the collective imagination migrants have become contemporary heroes who embody the new ways of social mobility by conveying desirable and successful lifestyle patterns. Besides the potential impact through information dissemination, participating in a network can also influence imagination through what is called "relative deprivation" (Stark, 1991). The core idea of this concept is that people do not appraise their properties in absolute terms, but rather in relative terms, i.e. in comparison with a reference group (Massey et al., 1998) (Carling et al., 2010).

Several other individuals when explaining their decision to leave did not in the first place cite the need to find a job, but rather gave precedence to other reasons: the feelings aroused by curiosity, by the desire to see and to know, by the spirit of adventure (**discovery/travelling**), the concept of migration as an opportunity for knowledge and discovery, of emotional and spiritual enrichment (Castagnone et al, 2005). "Adventurism", is evoked by different authors (Ceschi, 1999; Kothari 2008 in Schapendonk, 2010a: 1; Fouquet, 2008) as an important motivating factor, especially among juveniles in urban spaces. "*Venturies*" is the nickname that Senegalese migrants exploring as pioneers new unknown regions give to themselves (Pian, 2009: 12).

People's "désir d'ailleurs" (Diop, 2008; Fouquet, 2008) and "imagined worlds" create high aspirations to travel abroad, while many people are not capable of realizing these aspirations because of a combination of strict visa regimes and the lack of financial resources. This leads to frustrations regarding involuntary immobility which is, in the end, an important explanatory factor in Schapendonk (2010a) as to why people enter the EU unauthorised (Carling, 2002).

*"Out of curiosity. To discover other places." F65 France*

*"To expand my knowledge" I56 Italy*

*"For adventure, to discover other countries" F159 France*

*"To travel. It was time to leave. That's life" F96 France*

Some authors also saw in migration an initiatory value, as a rite of passage into adulthood and independent life (Mbodji, 2008; Castagnone et al., 2005; Pian, 2009; Dieng, 2001; Bakewell, 2009; Alioua).

Some respondents (11%), then, left for educational reasons, especially to pursue **study and training opportunities** at a superior level, considered as giving more valid qualifications and professional opportunities than those available in Senegal:

*"To pursue my studies in Medicine" F108 France*

*"To follow advanced studies, in order to improve my living conditions" F39 France*

*"To make A training course in nursery assistance" F41 France*

*"To do my thesis (specialty that does not exist in Senegal)" F57 France*

Some of those who decided to leave for study purposes, as mentioned below, have temporarily left Senegal in order to study Arabic and engage in Coranic studies. There is indeed a dimension of migration which connects to a path of religious studies and research, linked to a course of study within the Senegalese Islamic brotherhoods. As Bava explains (2009), some Islamic study networks are often at the origin of mobility and migration between Sub-Saharan Africa and the Arab world.

Graphs 3 and 4 show how migration is a gendered phenomenon: for both work and study reasons, migration is twice as high for men than for women (61% and 13% for the first, against 30% and 7% for the second group). For the latter **family reunification** is especially crucial in their choice to migrate (for 52% of women, compared to 6% for men). This figure shows that a large proportion of women induced left in a way, through family reunification with their husbands.

Until recently, Senegalese society did not encourage the migration abroad of unaccompanied women, especially when it is carried over long distances and in the absence of a family member already in the destination country (Fall, 2010). It follows that feminine migration flows were once dominated by female students and wives of migrants permanently settled. However, in recent years selective female migration has become a major survival strategy in response to deepening poverty in West Africa (Adepoju, 2002) and as an emerging family strategy in the Senegalese context, where the woman is traditionally responsible for ensuring the continuity of education of children and the management of the family (reproductive tasks), becoming then a marginal candidate for migration. According to the ESAM 2, *Enquête auprès des Sénégalais menage*, (DPS, 2004), women represent 16% of recent emigration from Senegal.



Women thus migrate increasingly in order to fulfil their own economic needs, and to provide for their families, as a result of an impoverishment of the economy, or by passively following their husbands abroad. For a small number of women, migration is also a precious opportunity to free themselves from their environment and to find their own way by themselves, to make their own path to **empowerment** (3%). They are mostly women whose husband's families are no longer able to provide economic support (because of death or divorce by the latter), a condition which determines the total assumption of child care and forces the choice of migration:

*"I had divorced, I had my own household to manage, I could not afford to raise my children, I had to travel in order to live" F182 France*

*"My husband had died" F34 France*

*"My husband died and I wanted to change" E89 Spain*

Alternatively some women found themselves free from family and social ties and obligations and with the possibility of leaving. Some of them claim that they wanted to detach themselves from their original context, freeing themselves from traditional roles which impose on women a position of subordination to patriarchal authority (Djiba et al, 2001).

*"I wanted to get away from my first spouse" F92 France*

*"Could no longer support my husband who married one of his cousins" S020801 Senegal*

*"Before I could not [leave] because I had to take care of my sick mother, then she died" I115 Italy*

*"Because of my divorce and of troubles in getting remarried in Senegal" F19 France*

*"Family problems that push my departure; child of the first union non welcome by the [second husband] family" F193 France*

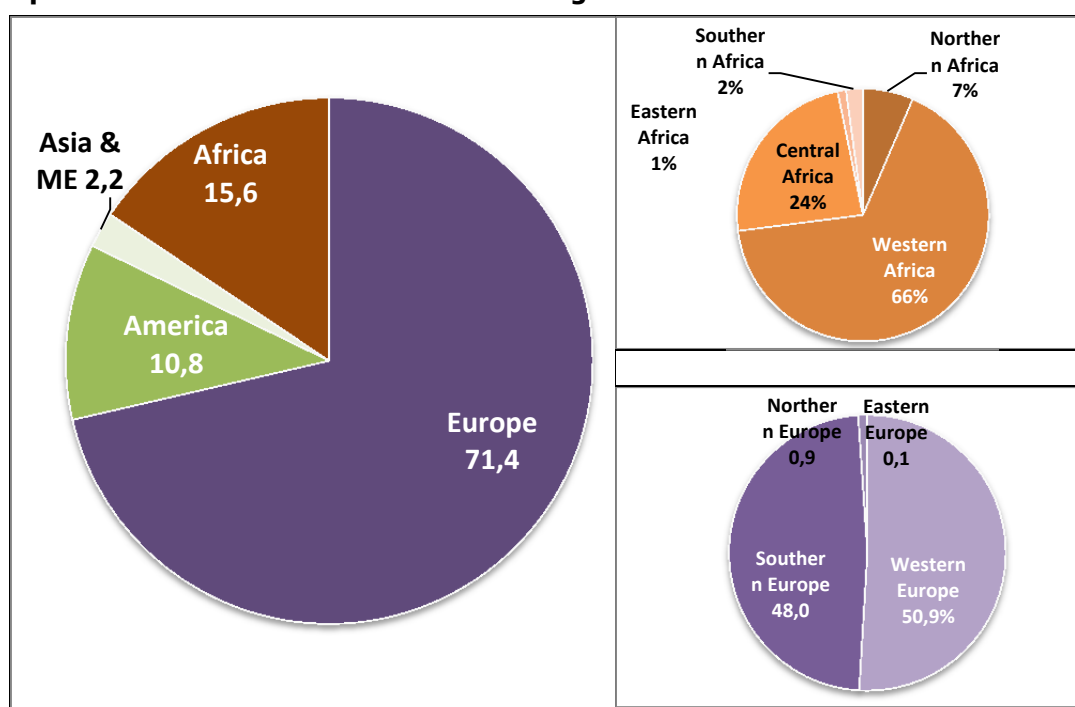
In reality for some of these women the break from the social order and tradition (for which the existence of women is conceived in terms of marriage and family) through divorce, separation, abandonment by her husband, as shown by De Luca and Panareo (2001), had already taken place before departure. Migration in these cases becomes a chance for redemption and liberation from the pressures of the community of origin, in situations of social exclusion and marginalization.

### 4.3 Residence countries of Senegalese migrants

The introductory picture of migrants' profile can be here completed with an overview of the distribution of Senegalese in the world, using the MAFE household survey data. Indeed, while the biographical data will allow us to study the trajectories of the migrants individually interviewed, it is here useful to exploit the data of a household survey conducted in the region of Dakar within 1.203 families with migrant members, in order to obtain a more comprehensive and representative look at the phenomenon.

It should be however noted that the selected households were concentrated in the Dakar region according to the sampling frame. The data here presented thus refers to migrants from households from this region (who may also have been born in other regions of the country, but who have experienced at least one year in Dakar before leaving).

**Graph 5-6-7: Countries of residence of Senegalese abroad at 2008**



Source: MAFE-Senegal Survey (Household data)

According to these data the majority (71.4%) of Senegalese migrants live in Europe, where the most important countries of residence are: France, Italy and Spain (respectively 46.2%, 30.9% and 15.2% of Senegalese in Europe), followed with a large detachment by other countries of West and Mediterranean Africa.

Africa is the second area of Senegalese migration, where 15.6% of expatriates were living in 2008. Within the continent, Senegalese are more concentrated in West Africa (66%), and particularly in Mauritania, Guinea, Ivory Coast, Gambia, Mali, among others. Another historically important pole in internal migration is Central Africa and

particularly Gabon. Northern Africa seems to only be a secondary destination (with a few individuals in Morocco, Tunisia, Libya), as well as Eastern and Southern Africa.

**Tab 4: Countries of residence of Senegalese abroad at survey time (2008)**

MACRO-AREA	COUNTRY	a.n.	MACRO-AREA	AREA	COUNTRY	a.n.	
EUROPE	FRANCE	391	AFRICA	NORTHERN AFRICA	MOROCCO	7	
	ITALY	261			TUNISIA	3	
	SPAIN	129			LIBYA	2	
	GERMANY	15		WESTERN AFRICA	MAURITANIA	35	
	PORTUGAL	15			GUINEA	23	
	BELGIUM	13			IVORY COAST	22	
	SUISSE	12			GAMBIA	15	
	UK	4			MALI	13	
	SUEDE	3			BURKINA	4	
	NORWAY	1			GUINEA-BISSAU	3	
	GRECE	1			CAPE-VERT	2	
MIDDLE EAST	SAUDI ARABIA	16			TOGO	2	
	LEBANON	3			NIGER	1	
	TURKEY	1			SIERRA LEONE	1	
	KUWAIT	1			BENIN	1	
ASIA	JAPAN	2			CENTRAL AFRICA	LIBERIA	1
	CHINA	1		GABON		26	
	SINGAPOUR	1		CAMEROUN		7	
	MALAISIE	1		CONGO		5	
NORTHERN AMERICA	USA	106		ANGOLA		4	
	CANADA	11		GUINEE EQUATORIALE	2		
	GREENLAND	9		EASTERN AFRICA	RWANDA	1	
	ALASKA	1			MOZAMBIQUE	1	
LAT. AMERICA & CARIB.	JAMAICA	1		SOUTHERN AFRICA	SOUTH AFRICA	4	
					<b>TOT.</b>	<b>1185</b>	

Source: MAFE-Senegal Survey (Household data)

Of interest is the percentage of those in the United States confirming the U.S as a target of increasing importance, especially for the most recent migration. Here we find about 9% of total respondents surveyed within the household survey.

These data, however, are static, they are a picture taken at a given time (2008). The reality of migration is much more complex and articulated. As we can see in fact in the following figures, the migrants leave, but then often move to further countries, come back to the country of origin, sometimes settle back for good, sometimes re-migrate. They move into articulated spaces, formulating their strategy through the opportunities and available resources and the barriers opposing their migration projects. That is why it is of primary importance, although it is still an exercise marginally carried out mainly due to lack of data of this nature, to retrospectively look at migratory paths and to understand their nature by reconstructing the tracks in their entirety and complexity and by deconstructing the steps taken.

#### 4.4 Mobility across time: an outlook of individuals' trajectories

Current and returning migrant trajectories will be here retrospectively analyzed, according to a life-course migration approach, retracing all the migration episodes since the first out-migration from Senegal until the survey year (2008). An episode is defined as the time interval that a unit of analysis spends in a specific state, before the occurrence of an event of interest; it is characterized by a duration (starting and ending times) and a change in status (in this case from the country of origin to a country of migration; or from a country of migration to a following one, or back to Senegal, and so on).

In particular two types of mobility were captured in the questionnaire and are available for analysis:

- 1) *migrations*: defined as stays abroad or returns to Senegal of more than one year + short stays abroad or returns (less than one year) with the intention to settle + transit stays (as temporary migrations aimed at reaching further destination countries)
- 2) *short motilities*: short returns of less than a year for vacation (holiday trips, family visits, pilgrimages) or for business reasons (holiday trips, family visits, pilgrimages).

The first type of mobility (migrations) includes mainly both short and long-term movements, but with the common aim to settle in a certain country and with the intention to live there (or eventually to continue on to a following country) for a certain period. The same is for the returns accounted for in this section, defined as returns of more than one year, or of less than one year but with the intention to settle back (even if following departures may have taken place). Analysis in this paper will mainly concentrate on the first type of mobility. Short-term mobility will be instead taken into account in association with short-term returns with the main objective of studying circularity of migrants in their different forms and articulations.

The sequences presented below (graphs. 1 to 4) show the migratory trajectories of Senegalese migrants according to the four samples (France, Spain, Italy, Senegal). The graphs show sequences displaying the different migratory stages of interviewees, including their returns to Senegal.

For every French, Italian, Spanish or Senegalese subsample, a graph was plotted summarizing all stays lasting one year or longer<sup>12</sup>. Moves lasting less than a year (short stays, transit migrations or short returns are here excluded) could not be displayed in these graphs as they would not have been visible. However, information and analysis on short-lasting migrations will be integrated and developed, since these types of

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<sup>12</sup> The limit of those sequences is that of displaying only migrations and returns that last longer than a year; short displacement are thus systematically excluded, as they cannot be visualized in the graphs. The next series of graphs will give instead an account of different types of mobility (short and long term), though not providing information on their length, as will be explained later.

migrations are numerically significant and play an extremely important role, as we will see, within the migratory paths.

Every line in the graph corresponds to a calendar-based individual migratory trajectory: it starts from the year of birth and it ends in 2008, the year of interview.

The France sample displays older migration flows, composed of elderly individuals, where the move to France was often preceded by former, sometimes also long-term, migration episodes mainly in African countries other than Senegal. Until the late 1980s, France in fact had been the most important country of destination in Europe for Senegalese migrants, which can be explained by colonial links. In particular after the introduction in 1985 of a visa for foreigners in France, the Senegalese increasingly began diversifying their destinations.

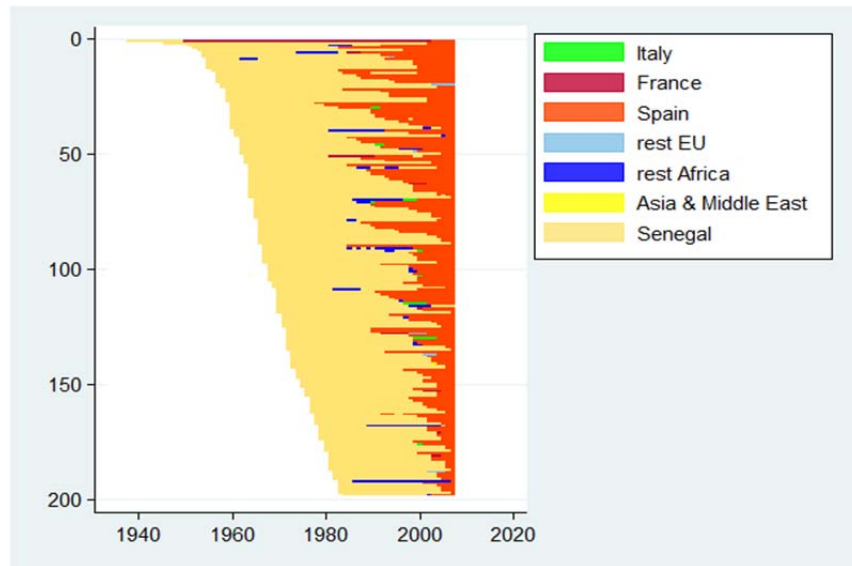
Spain and Italy in particular have evolved into new major migratory destinations since 1990: the graphs of the two sub-samples depict in fact more recent migratory flows. In both countries, Senegalese immigration has been boosted by institutional systems more favourable to the entry and regularization of migrants (through extraordinary regularization programs and labour quota systems), as well as by labour markets attracting unskilled labour at competitive prices, mainly in the agricultural, industrial, and building sectors. Furthermore the large underground economies of these two countries allowed irregular migrants to obtain jobs (even if at unfavourable conditions) without the requirement of residence permits.

Looking at previous migration steps before migrating to the three European countries (at the time of the survey), we observe that in recent years, Spain has been reached directly from Senegal or via other African countries. Italy, instead, was reached by some individuals through other African countries or, interestingly, through France. This last trajectory model (Senegal-France-Italy) has been an intermediate one between the French destination and the Italian one in the scenario of Senegalese migrations to Europe. As a matter of fact, between the late 80s and the early 90s, Italy has in fact been reached as the second-best option by the former Senegalese migrants from France in correspondence to the tightening of the legal conditions of migrants there (Castagnone et al., 2005). We'll come back to this issue in the next chapter.

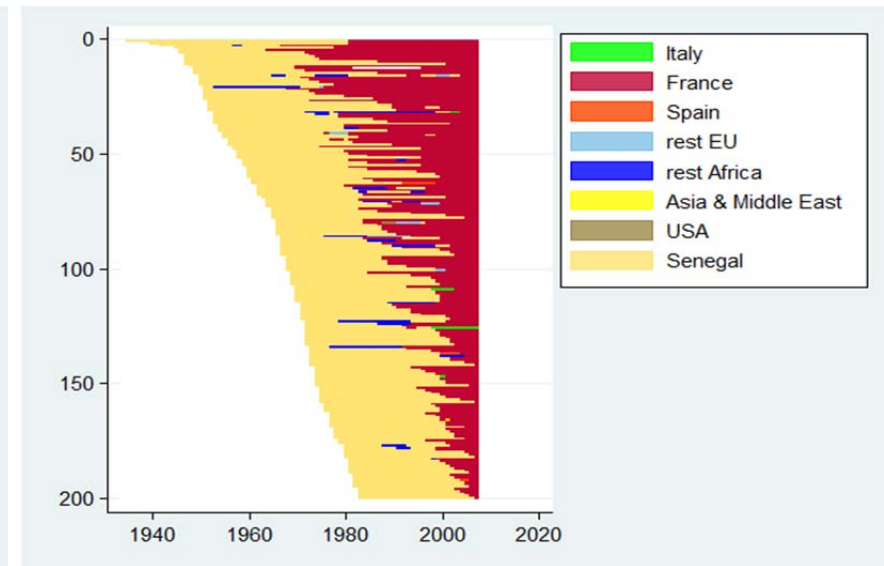
It is here important to remember that the graphs are not representative of the whole of Senegalese migrations abroad, as they are affected by a selection bias, and only show surveyed individuals who were migrants currently staying in France, Italy and Spain. Although Senegalese migration towards the three European countries is currently the most pre-eminent, migration to other countries is widely underestimated.

**SEQUENCES OF MIGRATION EPISODES (>1YEAR) from migrants' year of birth to 2008, by sample**

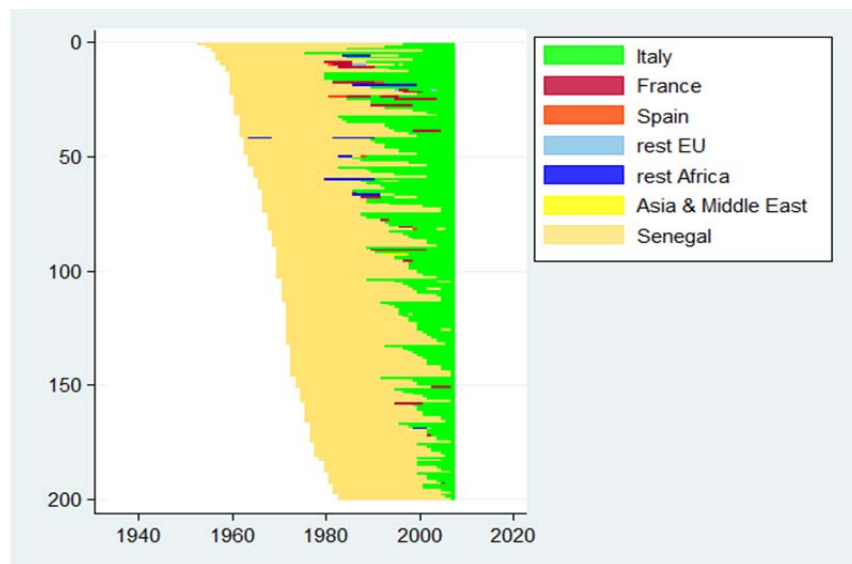
**Graph 8: SPANISH SAMPLE**



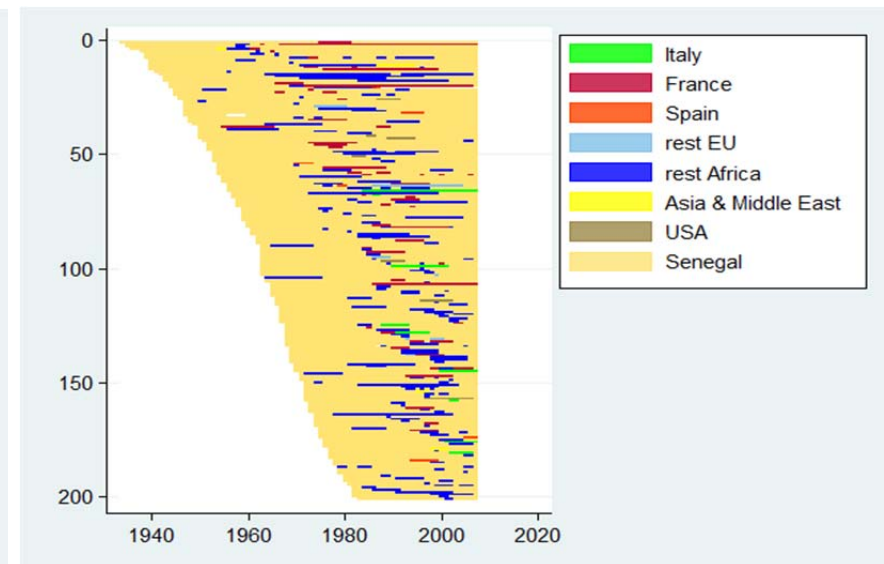
**Graph 9: FRENCH SAMPLE**



**Graph 10: ITALIAN SAMPLE**



**Graph 11: SENEGALESE SAMPLE**



Source: MAFE-Senegal Survey

Finally, the Senegalese subsample of migrants, composed of return migrants who had resettled in Senegal by the time of the interview, shows both long and short migration spells, mainly directed to other African countries, and only secondarily to France. The trajectories followed by the Senegalese subsample represented in the graph are illustrative, as they clearly capture some of the key features of intra-continental migration, and highlight their numerical relevance compared to intercontinental migrations, and degrees of intensity and circularity . Graph 4 in particular shows that returning migrants currently settled in Senegal tend to have first circulated in the African space (and secondarily in France), before resettling in Senegal.

A series of considerations arise from this data. First of all these are less recent migrations: data show that “the further back the departure data, the more frequent and rapid returns are” (Flahaux, Beauchemin, Schoumaker, 2010).

Moreover, this concerns migrations mainly directed towards other African countries where circularity is not hindered by legal barriers such as entry visas and residence permits as is the case in Europe. Historically, intra-regional (and internal) migration was common, in the form of seasonal and circular migration. Van Dijk et al. (2001) depict mobility in Africa as having been a part of the livelihood of African people, a “way of life”, since pre-colonial times.

As a matter of fact in the European samples, characterized by more recent migrations and more rigid legislative barriers, circulation is weaker and the disincentives to return are greater. Besides the precarious legal condition of non EU foreigners in Europe, other explanatory factors such as higher risks and (monetary, bureaucratic) migration costs reduce the probability of return . Uncertainties associated with the socio-economic reinsertion in countries of origin are an additional obstacle to return. Finally, although Senegalese migrants commonly intend to return (Castagnone et al., 2005), other evidence showed that the desire for early repatriation is often not realized for various reasons: Some migrants have started a family abroad, while many others feel obliged to continue meeting the financial needs of their dependent family in Senegal. Furthermore there is also widespread fear of losing the high social status associated with being a migrant on return to Senegal.

## 4.5 Deconstructing migrants' trajectories: characteristics of migrations

The sequences clearly show how a number of migrants had several migrations of different lengths: their trajectories (each represented by a line) are composed of several segments of different colours, which correspond to various countries, the duration can differ widely. We provide here some additional data related to singular episodes of migration, in order to highlight the number and length of migrations (changes of country of residence) which make up the entire trajectories of the interviewees. Some of them may in fact have had a lengthy migration experience of a single movement, from the country of origin to a foreign one with no further movements, others may have experienced periods of migration fragmented into several stages, with passages of varying length in different countries.

In this section, further information is added to that presented in the sequences: in particular we here add to the picture the migrations which lasted less than a year and could not be displayed in the graphs above, but which are, as we shall see, an important segment in the overall framework of migration mobility.

The following table presents the migration episodes of the interviewees, including return migrations to Senegal. It shows in particular the total number of migrations made by respondents at the survey time, according to the four samples.

**Tab. 5: Number of migration episodes per migrant (%)\***

	Es %	Fr %	It %	Sn %*	Man	Woman	TOT (%)	Total (a.v.)
<b>1</b>	69,0	75,0	71,6	69,2	63,8	81,5	<b>71,2</b>	<b>576</b>
<b>2</b>	16,0	8,5	15,9	5,8	13,6	8,7	<b>11,5</b>	<b>93</b>
<b>3</b>	10,5	9,0	7,0	14,9	12,1	8,1	<b>10,4</b>	<b>84</b>
<b>4</b>	2,5	3,0	3,0	1,9	4,0	0,6	<b>2,6</b>	<b>21</b>
<b>5</b>	1,0	1,5	2,0	4,3	3,6	0,3	<b>2,2</b>	<b>18</b>
<b>6</b>	0,5	0,5	0,0	1,0	0,6	0,3	<b>0,5</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>7</b>	0,0	0,5	0,5	1,4	0,8	0,3	<b>0,6</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>8</b>	0,0	0,0	0,0	1,0	0,2	0,3	<b>0,2</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>9</b>	0,5	1,5	0,0	0,5	1,1	0,0	<b>0,6</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>10</b>	0,0	0,5	0,0	0,0	0,2	0,0	<b>0,1</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>TOT (%)</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	
<b>Total (a.v.)</b>	<b>200</b>	<b>200</b>	<b>201</b>	<b>208</b>	<b>472</b>	<b>335</b>		<b>809</b>

Source: MAFE-Senegal Survey

\* data on the Senegalese sample include out-migrations, migrations between third countries, temporary returns to Senegal; and exclude the last migration to Senegal, which is considered as a "final" return to the country of origin, even if it could imply further (unobserved) re-departures



Interviewees undertook between one and ten migration episodes (out-migrations, migration between third countries and temporary returns to Senegal). Those who experienced only one migration dominate (i.e. they left Senegal to join another country without any further movement): they are over 70% of the global sample. 31% of migrants interviewed in Spain, 25% in France, 28% in Italy and in Senegal recorded two or more migrations, thus experiencing articulated trajectories, of which we will try to better understand the characteristics and logic

Returnees, in particular, seem to have been more mobile: one in four faced three or more steps before getting permanently back to Senegal. Migrations of the Senegalese sample in fact started earlier (see Figure 4): returnees are older (see tab. age) and, in statistical terms, were more exposed to the (statistical) "risk" of further migrations.

However, the chronological dimension is not sufficient to explain the migration intensity in terms of mobility (number and duration of movements in different countries). Indeed, this explanation for the Senegalese does not apply to the French one, which despite being a long-term migration, does not present the same characteristics. In the next chapters we will explore in greater depth the mobilities of the different groups, deconstructing migratory trajectories and studying their characteristics and composition, with the final objective of building a comprehensive framework of migratory patterns.

Looking at gender differences, finally, women are less mobile than men. They tend to migrate and settle down at the first (81,5%, compared to 63,8% of men), second (8,7% versus 13,6% of men), or at best the third (8,1% versus 12,2%) country of destination. Only 1,8% of women carry on compared to 10.5% of men. These data are certainly related to the character of feminine migration, which still very much relies on family, who determine the departure and the development of women's migration experiences.

### **Length of migrations**

The duration of migration episodes is another attribute providing useful information in our analysis. The graphs below show respectively the duration of each migration step, and the total length of migration at the time of the interview (which for the Senegalese sample is closed, while for the European market is still in progress). The latter is composed of out-migrations and migrations between third countries, without taking into account the temporary or permanent return periods to Senegal.

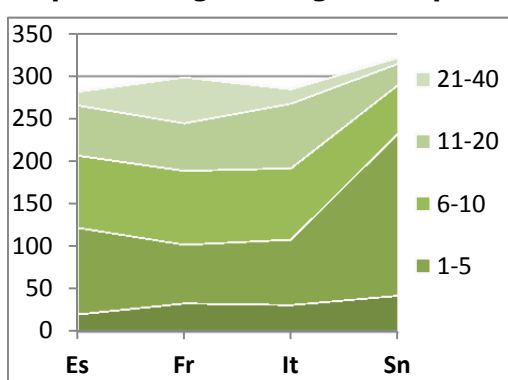
Each migration step lasted from less than a year to 53 years, with an overall average of 7.4 years, while the overall migration experience at the time of the interview ranges from less than a year (for those who left for the first time at the time of the interview)

to a maximum of 58 years, with an overall average of 10.8 years. These data, however, vary considerably among the four samples, as is also visible in the graphs below.

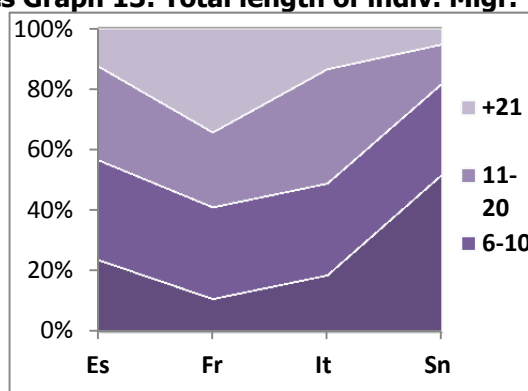
The sample with both longer migratory episodes and global migration experience is the French one, which experimented a long-standing migration. Nonetheless these data are in sharp contrast to those related to the Senegalese sample (also an ancient migration), where half of the respondents' migratory experience lasted no more than five years, and for 80% of them less than ten years. This can be explained by the fact that the past migrations of returnees developed mainly within the intra-continental space (albeit with some migration taking place in Europe), were more numerous but shorter: they show a higher mobility intensity and a stronger circularity (i.e. frequent "long" returns), as will be shown in Chapter 6.

Migration episodes registered among the Italian and Spanish samples lie instead halfway between those of the Senegalese and those of the French sample.

**Graph 12: Length of Migration episodes** **Graph 13: Total length of indiv. Migr.**



Source: MAFE-Senegal Survey



Source: MAFE-Senegal Survey

**Tab 6: Length of Migr. episodes and tot. length of individual migr. means and s.d., max and min. (in years)**

		Es	Fr	It	Sn	TOT
<b><u>Migr. episodes' length</u></b>	<b>Mean</b>	7,3	10,5	8,0	4,1	<b>7,4</b>
	<b>St. deviation</b>	6,8	9,9	6,7	4,9	<b>7,6</b>
	<b>Min</b>	< 1	< 1	< 1	< 1	< 1
	<b>Max</b>	53	44	32	35	53
<b><u>Tot. individual migr. length</u></b>	<b>Mean</b>	10,4	15,7	11,3	6,2	<b>10,8</b>
	<b>St. deviation</b>	7,6	10,5	7,2	6,5	<b>8,8</b>
	<b>Min</b>	< 1	< 1	< 1	< 1	< 1
	<b>Max</b>	58	51	32	41	58

Source: MAFE-Senegal Survey

Our attention must now focus on the migrations of less than a year. As we see from the table, they represent one-tenth of the total migration (126 out of 1187). Among these, 100 out of 126 (80%) are the first or second migration step out of Senegal (sometimes further migration of less than a year will take place) and on the basis of the definition applied in the questionnaire, they are "transit migrations", intended as temporary stays in one or more countries with the objective of reaching a further destination.

The picture here gets complicated: according to what has been highlighted so far, migration is characterized by several steps (the composition varies from one to ten units) of varying duration (less than a year to 58 years) and of different directions (the trajectories of migrants pass through several countries with different sequences). Migrations are then (always in terms of mobility) of varying different natures: there are direct and long-lasting migrations? and short-term migrations which reach one further destination the so-called "transit". In the next chapter, transits will be studied as a crucial part of the mobility patterns of migrants.

### **The reasons for choosing the destination countries**

As already mentioned, migration can be seen as a function of capabilities and aspirations (de Haas, 2010): the first concept includes structural constraints which might support (e.g. through the support of networks abroad) or impede people from moving (e.g. through physical and political barriers, limited knowledge, limited resources), and more in general the social, human and material capital individuals are able to mobilize in order to migrate (level of education, financial capital at disposal, etc.); the second acknowledges that, within a given set of constraints and opportunities, people can make individual choices according to their own knowledge, tastes, preferences, expectations and imagination.

The choice of departure, destination, and construction of the migratory routes, sometimes very articulate in time and space, is also strongly dependent on access to information: the sharing of information plays a key role in particular in the decision making process in the pre-migration phase (Schapendonk, van Moppes, 2007) but is also an important strategy of Sub-Saharan Africans on their way to Europe, in the case of step-wise migrations. The role played by several encouraging factors, in particular the images of western luxury and social success spread by the modern means of communication in West Africa and by the social networks, as already highlighted, is determinant in this sense. The geographical behaviourist theories (Gentileschi, 2009) studied the decision-making of migrants, with particular regard to the degree and content of information held about possible destinations. The already mentioned

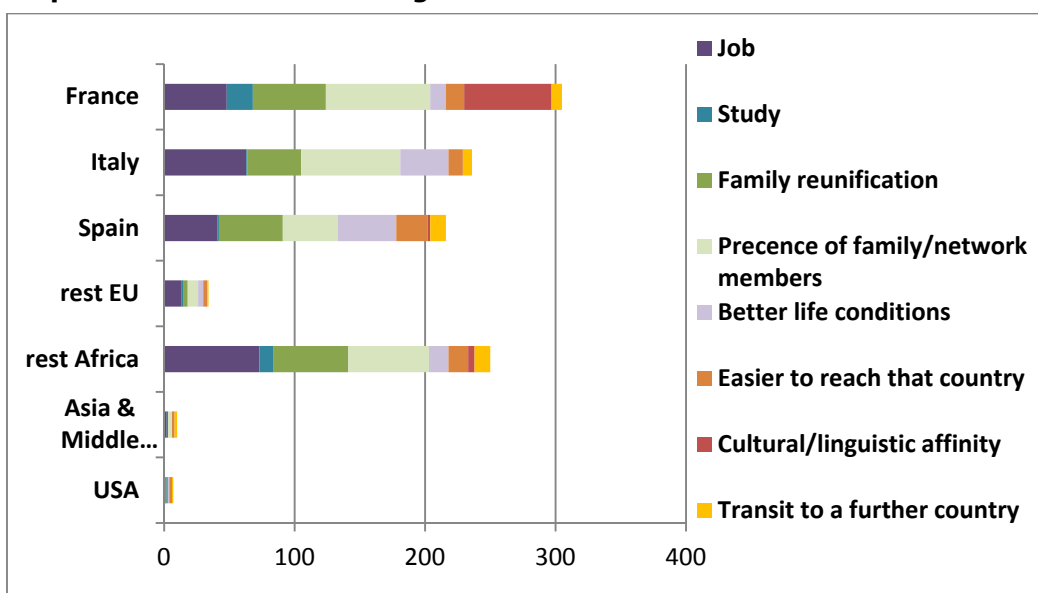
concept of "geographical imaginations" (Gregory, 1994), claim that people hold certain images of the world's geographical regions and of the people inhabiting these regions. These images originate from mythologies, utopian dreams, popular culture, selective perception and prejudices about places and people (Timmerman, 2000, 2006a, 2006b, 2008). Notwithstanding, "geographical imaginations" are not fictitious, but are rather cultural constructions with real, material consequences, orientating trajectories and determining life choices.

What drives, however, given a certain set of information, the decision to choose one country among many? Here we will analyze the reasons supporting the choice of one country over another for interviewees. The reasons we here acknowledge refer to both the first departure from Senegal, to further re-departure from Senegal (in case of return) and to migrations between third countries.

From the answers provided by our respondents it is possible to see elements which recount at first opportunity, and then limits, or the expectations and imagination linked to the destination countries.

However it should be taken in account that the reasons for migrating are not mutually exclusive: choices are operated on the base of multiple factors. The choice here is to provide an overview of the main reason spontaneously offered by interviewees and to look at how these reasons vary according to the different destinations (in order to understand whether and how different countries were selected) and by gender (in order to understand the logic and the strategies employed by women as well as by men).

**Graph 14: Reasons for choosing the destination area**



Source: MAFE-Senegal Survey

As already highlighted in the analysis of reasons for migration as well as the choice of the migration country, the incentive of work intended in particular as the expectation of a more favourable labour market, offering more and better job opportunities and conditions, is determinant and constant for each country.

For some respondents the objective of reaching a certain country where they might look for a job, was linked to a more specific idea around the destination and the type of job aimed for in that country.

*"Going to work in Libya in the oil sector" F18 France*

*"It was good for traders; everybody went there" F96 France*

*"In Italy they were looking for tractor-drivers for the agriculture" I181 Italy*

*" Working as a cook and in port" E172 Spain*

*"I understood that there was work in Mauritania especially in the building sector"  
S128403 Senegal*

As already highlighted, then, some of those who chose the country of migration on the basis of work reasons, were sent by their employer in Senegal or had obtained a contract in that country before leaving.

This issue is also relevant for those who said they were looking for and choosing a particular country in relation to **better life conditions**. These people express therefore an imaginary idea linked not only to better working conditions, but also to a better quality of life, to a more favourable context of welcome and integration, or even a milder climate.

*"I liked the people and the weather" E74 Spain*

*"Italians were more tolerant" I183 Italy*

*"Spain seemed to have more favourable conditions" S089006 Senegal*

*"[Italy] was more willing to accept immigrants. We were only a few" I146 Italy*

Some of them explicitly stated they had been influenced in their choice by the positive opinion of others. This group of responses expresses very clearly the role of returnees and acquaintances abroad, as well as the various public discourses, in the development of a "geographical imagination":

*"News said that Spain was well receiving [foreigners]" E126 Spain*

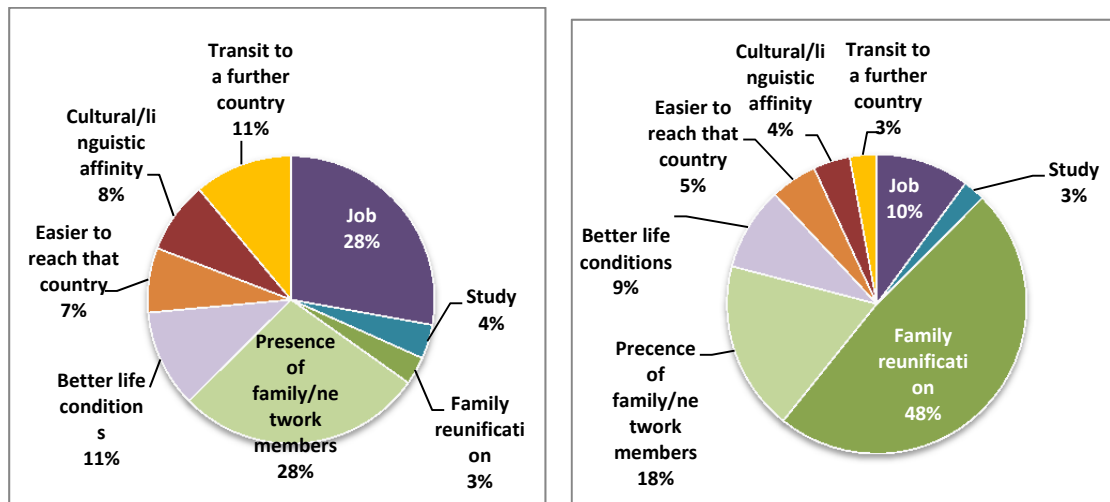
*"I had heard that Spain well received A Africans and that there was work" E81  
Spain*

*"My niece said the weather was good" E82 Spain*

*"Italy was a reference for many Senegalese, there was work there" I141 Italy*

This word-of-mouth phenomenon is evident particularly in relation to Spain and Italy, considered Mediterranean countries, more hospitable, having lifestyles closer to African countries, often mentioned as the "African Europe".

**Graph 15: Reason for choosing dest. country (men) Graph 16: Reason for choosing dest. country (women)**



Source: MAFE-Senegal Survey

Looking again at the reasons for the choice of immigration countries from a gender perspective, we observe again that in 28% of cases men choose the country of migration for work-related reasons, while women only in 10% of the cases. On the contrary a high percentage of the latter leave to **reunify** (48%) with their husbands or other close relatives abroad, or are directed where they already have a **network** of support (18%), friends or family members able to receive them.

For men, the presence of a network of friends, acquaintances, former colleagues, and *ressortissants* from the same area of origin is an equally important reason in choosing the destination (28%), while reunification is cited by only a very small percentage of them (3%).

The choice of destination based on the presence of a support network is constant for all destinations (with a slight advantage for Italy, France and the Rest of Africa). This highlights the role of migrant networks, intended as "sets of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants and non-migrants to one another through relations of kinship, friendship and shared community origin" - (Massey et al., 1993), as highly influential in the migration process, including the choice of destination.

Study being a reason for migration leads almost exclusively to France and to other African countries. Here the links with the former colony are still strong for those who wish to develop part of their education abroad, especially at a higher level, or for those who want to follow some training specializations. In fact, in France it has always been

possible to obtain a recognition of educational qualifications (a process which still has critical implications in other European countries for foreign students) and the two school systems are equalized. The language also played a decisive role in the choice of France as a destination for students from Senegal. Last but not least in France some facilities are provided by the universities themselves, such as the supply of scholarships and entry and residence documents.

Nonetheless most of those who left Senegal in order to pursue their studies abroad, and had planned to attend university in countries other than France, namely in Italy (or in Spain), once having arrived there were not able to complete their course of study, and had to fall back on low-profile activities (in the commerce or in the factory sectors) (Castagnone et al., 2005; Tandian, 2008). The different educational systems, with the consequent problems of obtaining the recognition of educational titles, the language barriers and the poorly internationalized university systems, added to the necessity of earning at the same time their own living (and possibly sending money back home), are additional obstacles to the pursuit of secondary studies in those countries.

Some of those who have expressed this kind of motivation to migrate have left to undertake Koranic or Arabic studies in Islamic countries both in Sub-Saharan Africa (Mali and Mauritania) and North Africa (Morocco, Egypt, Tunisia), especially in view of religious specialization. Bakewell and de Haas (2007) note that the trans-Sahara routes have connected over centuries sub-Saharan and North Africa, where intensive population mobility has been animated by trade, conquest, pilgrimage, and religious education. Some specific destinations, such as Fez in Morocco, played in particular an historic religious role for sub-Saharan populations adhering to the Tijani brotherhood, one of the most prominent Muslim brotherhoods in Senegal, as one of their principal saints is buried in Fes, and the city is therefore an important destination for Tijani pilgrims (Bakewell, 2009).

*"Arab school, we translated the Coran" F18 France*

*"To study the secrets of my religion with a spiritual guide" S088401 Senegal*

**Cultural and linguistic affinity**, are also very strong reasons for those who chose to migrate both in France and in other African countries. The emphasis is put on the historical ties with the former colonial power, France, towards which feelings of deference alternate with feelings of ownership

*"Because I spoke the [French] language" F120 France*

*"France is my country, we had been colonized for long time" F17 France*

*"France is the power that colonized Senegal, so we know it better" F195 France*

*"My only goal was France and I think France is my country. It owes me something" F180 France*

Even for those who chose to migrate within the African space, this is an often stated reason although with different nuances. In this case the advantages of staying in a geographical, social and cultural space close to the home country, avoid the more drastic eradication from the origin context imposed by western destinations, as well as easier adaptation and integration in the receiving context.

*« Because of the easier access to it, it is close to Senegal and there we find the same cultural practices" S053301 Senegal*

Furthermore the possibilities (or impossibilities) of access to migration countries contribute to shape the strategies and migratory patterns. More or less favourable conditions for reaching the destination countries are also mentioned as reasons, in particular related to the geographical proximity, to the possibility of obtaining entry visa and residence documents, to the lower costs of travel.

*"Because it was easier to get in Spain" E89 Spain*

*"Here it was easier to obtain residence permits" E122 Spain*

*"Labour Legislation seemed more flexible than in other European countries" F171 France*

*"It was closer to Senegal" E72 Spain*

*"The gates of Europe" F134 France*

*"The transport ticket wasn't expensive"*

Spain in particular is considered, in the perception of some respondents and mainly in the most recent migrations, a destination easier to be reached, in view of continuing into further countries.

In several cases, in fact, the choice is to temporarily migrate as the first step in a country more easily reached (in term of availability of legal entitlements and travel costs), with the objective of continuing to another destination. These are **transit** spaces, which increasingly form part of new logic and migratory patterns. A separate chapter is devoted to this type of migration, to which the political and scientific debate is recently turning its attention.

The available data show therefore a mix of strategies. In part, emerges the importance of an imagined idea linked to certain destinations and the influence of discourses



related to the destinations, to the expectations or to the inspirations related to departure: Italy and Spain are more often referred to as places where there are better host conditions and a social climate closer to that of the country of origin. France is particularly preferred for its historic role as a colonizing power, having left a strong imprint on Senegal, and standing for decades a major destination for inter-continental migration. Africa, on the other hand, is historically an area of migration, in which mobility is not legally hindered and where a common social, cultural and material background fosters an easy and immediate integration, also offering more opportunities to return, even temporarily.

These images and opinions, however, are subject to change over time: the changes taking place in the legal systems (with a general trend of hardening of legal measures) or in relation to the climate of integration of foreigners, certainly have an influence on the choices of migrants in the country of origin, through the information produced and its circulation at various levels.

In part, the choices are the result of an instrumental strategy, positively or negatively constrained by opportunities, which directs the migrant in a rational way to countries where there are more job opportunities and broader integration opportunities. An example of the first case is the presence of networks of support in the migration countries, playing a determinant role in the first reception and opportunities for integration in the destination country, or those who have obtained a contract in the country of destination before departure, or favourable legislative circumstances (amnesties, for example). An example of the latter is the case of many women who left more or less voluntarily, in order to follow their husbands abroad, without being able to choose autonomously, or those who oriented themselves to more easily reachable countries (cheaper travel, visa easier to obtain, etc.)..

The cultural and linguistic affinity can therefore be intended as midway between opportunities and the imagined ideal. It is partly an instrumental choice, in view of wider successful integration, based on knowledge of the language, on the presence of cultural ties within the country, and the opportunity to more easily pursue educational goals; in part it entails expectations and feelings ranging from redemption to revenge on the ancient colonizer, linked to the French history and civilization of Senegal. These elements however play a secondary role in actual migration to Europe; in a landscape of rapid globalization and changing migratory patterns, destinations are as much idealized as actually crossed and then reached.

Expectations, potential opportunities, and the projections related to migration are one thing, the real paths taken are another: not all those who left for study were then able to successfully integrate into the educational circuit in the destination countries or the search for economic opportunities and improvement of labour conditions may not

necessarily have been successful, raising alternative routes, or, as in many cases, offering de-qualified positions in the last steps of the labour market.

## **CHAPTER 5.**

### **Transit migration: a piece of the complex mobility puzzle**

#### **5.1 Transit migrations: a tricky sociological object**

The concept of transit migration, first entered the public discourse and the scientific attention during the 1990s, as pushed onto the agenda by various international organizations, think tanks and European institutions (Düvell, 2006), in relation to the growing intensification of flows and diversification of migrations paths towards Europe. The newly emerging "geography of migration" was identified in particular with the process of internationalization and externalization of EU migration policies, and with the related increasing legal restrictions on migration and intensified border controls (Collyer, Düvell, de Haas, forthcoming; Boswell, 2003). The notion of transit migration was thus born as a blurred, politicized (implying concern for the illegal entry of undocumented masses of people) and Eurocentric (assuming that all the migrants settled at the "fringes" of Europe were necessarily oriented to Europe) label (Düvell, 2006).

Since then, although a flourishing of empirical and theoretical literature has contributed to a deeper knowledge of the phenomenon, yet, as Düvell highlighted (2008), there is no single and commonly agreed category or definition for "transit migration" neither in international policy and international law, nor in sociological and anthropological studies. Instead, there are many. Or like some authors state (de Haas and Collyer, forthcoming; Cassarino, Fargues, 2006) there is ultimately an absence of fixed and clear definition of the concept, rather based on (usually implicit) assumptions.

Research on the topic is thus obstructed by significant definition and measurement constraints. As already mentioned, there is an evident problem of definition about transit migrants: transit migration is a process rather than a migration status, a phase that cuts across various migrant categories, irregular as well as regular migrants, voluntary as well as forced migrants, workers as well as students, etc. (Cassarino and Fargues, 2006; Papadopoulou, 2009). Furthermore transits can take place in very different conditions, with the most disparate reasons and intentions, leading to multiple (often unpredictable) outcomes. Some transit migrants may succeed in reaching Europe (often changing their initially desired destination); others get stuck outside the European borders. Finally there are those for whom Europe was not the primary destination, and they had no clear aspiration to go there, but it became so after periods of stay in transit countries (de Haas, 2007). Started as South-South migrations, many migrants develop migration aspirations for Europe on the way and over time,

leading to the development of more or less unexpected forms of transit migration (*ibid.*). Migrants' projects and aspirations are often changeable and in-progress, indicating that migration is often not a linear process. Initial plans can be strongly influenced, changed and re-defined at different phases all along the trajectory (Schapendonk 2010a; 2010b; 2009).

The difficulty of analytically framing the concept of transit is added up to the fact that transiting migrants are not or only partially registered in transit countries, due to their mobility and the (often misconceived) temporary and limited-in-time nature of their stay in those countries.

The notion of 'temporariness' embodied within the concept of transit is also conceptually very difficult to define: how long, or short, transit is supposed to last in order to be interpreted as transit migration, and after what length of stay does 'transit' turn into the beginning of a settlement process? Transits may in fact last for considerable periods of time, with waiting periods varying from weeks to several months and, in some cases, years.

Furthermore, little distinction is made between those in need of international protection (refugees, minors) and other (economic) migrants.

At the same time the available data on migrants' interceptions at borders (notably the Frontex database) are poor, not reliable, and potentially subject to manipulation for political purposes. Furthermore they don't tell us much about the real experiences of migrants. As a consequence, studies on transit migration rarely rely on quantitative research (Collyer, Düvell, de Haas, forthcoming).

All these elements indicate how transit is an extremely fluid concept, and therefore a tricky sociological object, which is difficult to define, operationalize, and capture empirically, and which is subject to several biases influenced by highly politicized discourse. Notwithstanding, as a result of this complexity, the transit phenomenon needs to be further problematized and studied, as it is a relevant emerging phenomenon in a rapidly changing international scenario.

Although prior work has not agreed on a single, shared, valid definition of transit migration, the enquire on transit migration has had the non negligible merit of questioning the more general issue of migrants' mobility and identifying its complexity, by contributing to a more comprehensive study of human mobility in a perspective of "continuous migration", the traditional static conception of migration as a linear, univocal, unidirectional movement from an origin A to a destination B, is challenged.

Transnationalism paradigm allowed to take a major step forward in this direction, catching the multi-local dimension of social spaces involved in contemporary migration, which extend across physical barriers and are able to defy the nation-states

sovereignty (Pries, 2007 in Petrillo, Palmas, 2009). Nonetheless, despite transnationalism has placed an increased emphasis on multi-polar relationships, networks, practices of migrants, defying a "methodological nationalist" approach, this paradigm has mainly concentrated on the "in between-ness" state (Grillo, 2007; Tarrus, 2009: 43), focusing on simultaneity (Levitt, Schiller, 2004; Mazzucato, 2007; Ambrosini, 2008) of migrant multiple belongings, rather than allowing an overall and longitudinal view of the migration process.

Furthermore the nature of transit migration opened up productive discussion of broader conceptual issues such as inherent problems involved in conventional policy categories of "types" of migration (Collyer, de Haas, forthcoming) the growing significance of migration policy in shaping migration outcomes and migrant categories and also the increasingly influential ways in which policy categories affect the ways in which migration is discussed, studied and understood.

## **5.2 Questioning the transit phenomenon in the Afro-European migration**

While having general value, a more comprehensive approach to migration mobility is particularly useful in the study of migrations in the African context. Here the diversification of migratory flows and their routes, rather than an increase in volume (as public opinion and the media tend to stress), has probably been the most significant change that occurred over the last decades (Guilmoto, Sandron 2003), as argued in Chapter 2.

In this latter period, the process of securitization and communitarization of the asylum and immigration policies in Europe has contributed to the process of diversification of migratory trajectories. In turn, this has led to a internationalization of migration policies, with relevant consequences in terms of externalization of controls to neighbouring African countries through bilateral and multilateral agreements on border control and readmission. It is increasingly shared among migration analysts that increasing phenomenon of transit migration is linked to the progressive closure of international borders, with the tightening of the entry procedures and the enforcing of the control measures.

The emerging geo-political framework appears very complex: "The habitual distinction between emigration and immigration countries becomes blurred in the face of increasingly complex combinations" (Bredeloup, Pliez, 2005) and the "migration Great Game" (Pastore, 2008) is enlarging from South Mediterranean neighboring countries to the entire African space, transforming "emigration countries" (such as Senegal, Niger, etc.) into new transit areas for sub-Saharan countries (Fall, 2010; de Haas, 2006).

In this panorama of increasing complexity and fluidity of migration flows and routes towards Europe, *step-by-step migrations* (with a consequent fragmentation of the journey) develop progressively as an emerging migration strategy (Bredeloup, Pliez, 2005) and transit migration (conceived as the temporary stay in one or more countries, with the objective of reaching a further destination) assume an increasing role in the strategies adopted by migrants.

Migration flows from and via Africa to the EU have received considerable attention by scholars, particularly over the last few years. Although several studies have retraced migratory routes mainly for irregular migration directed to Europe, they omit to account for the routes of documented migrants. Furthermore those studies mostly concentrated on the routes employed *on their way to Europe* (van Moppes, 2006; de Haas, 2006; Nyberg Sørensen, 2006), or on some of their segments (Brachet, 2009). Other studies, finally, looked at transit hubs, where significant concentrations of migrants, stuck at the borders of the Southern Mediterranean countries, are waiting to carry on their way to Europe (Pian, 2005; Choplin Lombard, 2009; Ba, Choplin, 2006; Drodz, Pliez, 2006; Boubakri, Mazzella, 2006; among others). However, they notably fail to explore the onward movements once migrants have arrived in Europe or to follow circulations and permanent returns to origin countries.

Furthermore some assumptions are still shared and reproduced, according to whom transit would be mainly associated with:

- 1) a *migratory preliminary phase*, positioned at the beginning of the migration career
- 2) a phenomenon which remains confined in the *African space*, after many transfers and vicissitudes through different countries
- 3) moves necessarily *aimed at entry in Europe*.

The emerging picture is very complex and needs to be inquired into its full complexity, through a comprehensive and critical approach. To meet these standards, transit migration will be analyzed in this article as part of broader mobility strategies, and in doing so, some of the assumptions shared and reproduced in public and common scientific discourse will be questioned.

For this purpose migrant trajectories will be looked as composed of one or more episodes (change of countries) and one or more status (periods of residence in different countries) and transits will be highlighted as segments within those trajectories, and will be explored in their characteristics (through descriptive and sequence analysis) and in their role within the whole migration project, according to a life-course approach.

### 5.3 Transit migrations in the MAFE sample: definition and operationalization of the variable

As already mentioned, the MAFE questionnaire captures two types of migration: 1) migrations of more than a year and 2) migrations of less than a year. The second, short-term, group of movements, is composed in the survey by: 2a) transits (temporary migrations with the intention of reaching one or more countries, or 2b) "failed" migrations (i.e. of those who wanted to settle in that country but then had to leave within a year upon their arrival).

In the current analysis the transit variable was in particular built up adding the modalities of three variables in the questionnaire<sup>13</sup>:

I) migration from the group 2a: short stays (less than a year) outside Senegal explicitly defined as "transits" (answer 3 to question q606)

and migration lasting more than a year obtained from the group 1, crossing and adding up different variables:

II) Answer 3 to question q607: when arrived in the country of stay, the respondent declared he/she "had in mind to go elsewhere, it was therefore a transit country".

III) Answer to open question q605 ("reason for choosing the country of stay, rather to another country") as a transitory destination with the aim of following in successive destination(s).

Transit migration in this work is thus defined as:

1) *voluntary* ( $\neq$  forced): in the sampled population almost no asylum seekers and no refugees were surveyed. Nonetheless rather than applying dichotomous classifications such as between forced and voluntary migration, as suggested by de Haas (2009: 53) it would be more appropriate to conceive migrants in a continuum running from low to high constraints under which migration occurs. As an example, several surveyed women declared they had not migrated by their own will, but upon family obligations, typically as a result of reunification with their husbands or other close relatives. This does not necessarily mean that they were strictly forced to migrate, but such cases should remind us how the decision to migrate and the conditions in which migration occur deal with multiple structural [but also individual and familiar] constraints, although to highly varying degrees (*ibidem*).

2) both *documented* or *non documented* movement: the MAFE project surveyed both documented and undocumented migrants and collected information on the legal status

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<sup>13</sup> See questionnaire on project website: [www.mafeproject.com](http://www.mafeproject.com)

of respondents at any moment of the life course. Legal conditions of migrants are in fact changeable in time and irregular conditions can occur at different moments: "most irregular migrants enter destination countries legally, but subsequently overstay their visas, or engage in prohibited work, through which their status becomes irregular. The other way around, migrants entering or residing in a country illegally can acquire legal residency through obtaining work, marriage or regularization. In the case of overland migration from West Africa, migrants cross many countries, some of which do allow their entry, some of which not, so that a migrant moves in and out of formal regularity and irregularity" (de Haas, 2007: 4).

3) *self-defined*: the transit migrations were explicitly declared as such (component I of the variable, see above) or defined as transitory and provisional (rather than permanent) steps aimed at reaching further destinations (answering a set II and III of questions in the questionnaire), by migrants themselves, and labelled in the study as "transits". As a result both short and long term transits will be taken in account.

4) as *migration aimed at reaching further - both European and non-European - destination countries*.

Both the "self-definition" and the "intention" items in (transit) migration raise some relevant methodological concerns.

While the individual biographical narratives underline the "role of the teller in constructing her/his own life narrative, through a process of selection, ordering and giving meaning to particular events and stories" (Ni Laoire, 2008: 198 in Kou, Bailey and van Wissen 2009), *self-definition* seems to be a crucial element in the identification of transit. This phenomenon is in fact intimately connected to subjective *intention* (albeit submitted to various constraints at different degrees) to move to further aimed destinations (associated with the temporary character of settlement in intermediate transit countries).

Nonetheless it is only *a posteriori* that transit can be defined as such, as a situation that "may or may not develop into further migration" (Papadopoulou-Kourkoula, 2008: 5). Therefore the application of transit definition to a certain migration phenomenon would probably vary according to when the question is asked and would change over time, through the filter of the progressive experienced migration outcomes. As Van Liempt (2007) suggests, ideally the same migrants should be interviewed at different moments along their migration process, in order to be able to capture the changing dynamics of trajectories and to confront the intentions and perceptions of countries prior to moving on, with the final outcomes of these migration processes and how they eventually re-qualify and re-define their experience.



As also Brachet (2008: 2) highlights, it is primarily the intention and the aware project of migrants to continue and to move to further stages, that gives meaning to the concept of transit, even in a phase of prolonged waiting or settlement.

However, these methodological and empirical caveats should not discourage scholarly inquiry into the phenomenon, but they should rather stimulate a questioning of the assumptions that underlie common discourse on transits and raise a critical reflection on the definition and methodological choices.

### **5.3 Space and time: the dynamic coordinates of transits**

The first crucial point is how many migrants did transit all along the migratory “career”. According to the MAFE data, out of the 809 (actual and return) migrants, 94 accomplished transit movements: more than a migrant over ten (11.6%) experienced at least one transit migration, and over 1521 migrations undertaken by the whole sample, 158 were transit migration episodes (10.4%).

As already stated, transit migration will be studied within the global individual trajectories. That implies that all the steps since first migration till the survey time will be taken into account in order to study transits, as pieces of the complex mobility puzzle. For this purpose trajectories will be broken into pieces, i.e. migration “episodes”, in order to analyze their characteristics (length, direction, legal status, etc.) and their different composition.

Through descriptive and sequence analysis, a step-wise approach will be applied in order to visualize how transits are embedded in the broader trajectories. Some sequence analysis will provide an analysis of the *structure* of migrations, reducing different migration events in homogeneous units (one migration step=one unit in the sequence). These units represent migratory events longer or shorter than a year and their sequencing in time jointly constitute migratory routes.

In the graphs below (5-8), each segment of the sequences will therefore have the same length (with each line representing an individual) and the aggregate length of each sequence will be determined by the total number of the migration spells (including returns to Senegal) for each interviewee, of rather than by the total length of the migration.

The different composition (chronological sequencing of units), geographical extent (countries where they occurred), and nature (in this case either *transit* or *all other* migrations) of migration episodes will shape mobility trajectories.

The order of the sequence clustering within each chart is determined by the similarity of the trajectories starting from the first episode of the sequence. This is why the

transits, which are mainly concentrated at the beginning of migration career are displayed in the upper side of the chart.

In particular a first set of graphs (Graphs 5-8) helps in visualizing at a glance some key information on transits: a) transit areas b) their position in the whole migration trajectories c) the number of transits by migrant. These information will be looked at in depth and integrated through some detailed tables.

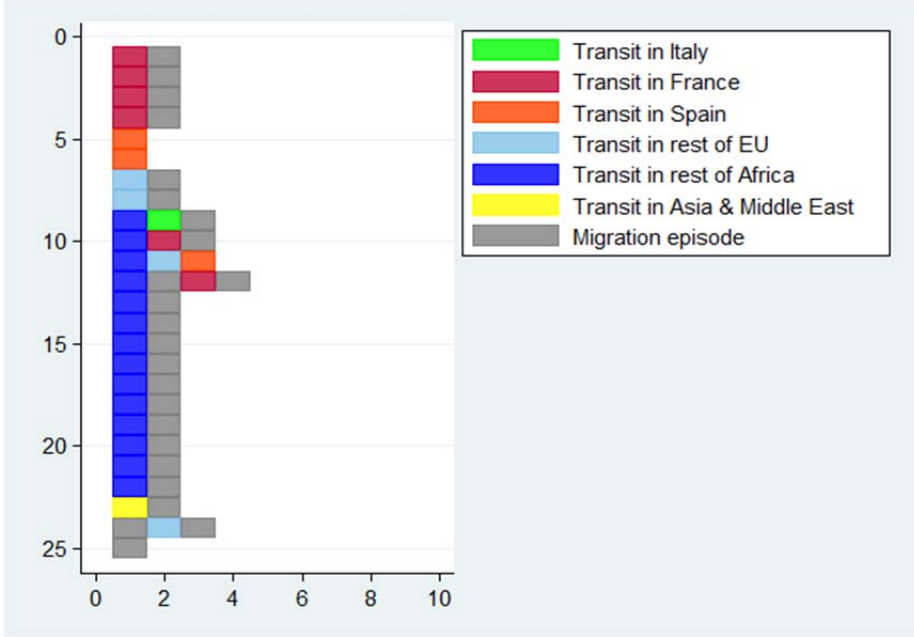
If we take as an example the first line at the top of the graph 5 (corresponding to the whole trajectory of an individual), we can see that this migrant had as a first migration in his life a transit in France, that then led to a further migration, that we know occurred in Spain, as the last (ongoing) episode at the moment of the survey occurred when he was sampled for the interview. We find a similar pattern for the graph 6, where the first step was a transit in Italy, then leading to France, where the migrant was finally interviewed.

The first line of the graph 7 shows an interesting case, where the only episode is a transit in the current country of residence: Italy. It means that this migrant in 2008 (the MAFE survey year) was transiting in Italy as a first migratory step, planning to continue in a further country.

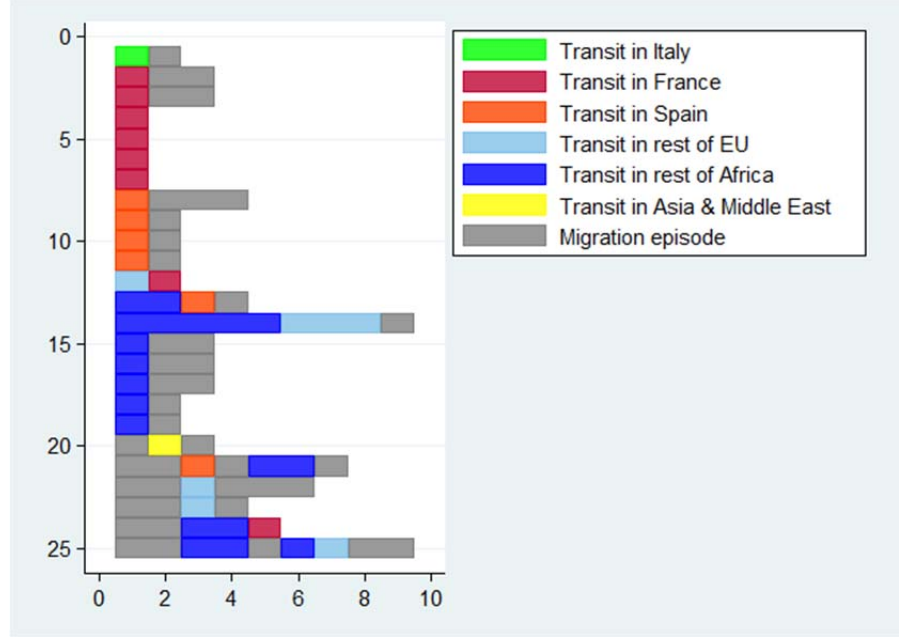
Finally, the first line of the graph 8 tell us that this migrant undertook a first transit in Italy; then had two further migration episodes in two different countries (corresponding to two grey segments in the sequence); then experienced a further transit in a European country other than Italy, France or Spain; finally he undertook two more migration steps, among which, we are aware, the last one is a (permanent) return to Senegal.

**SEQUENCES OF MIGRATION EPISODES (>and< 1YEAR) and TRANSITS (>and< 1YEAR) by sample: TRANSIT AREAS**

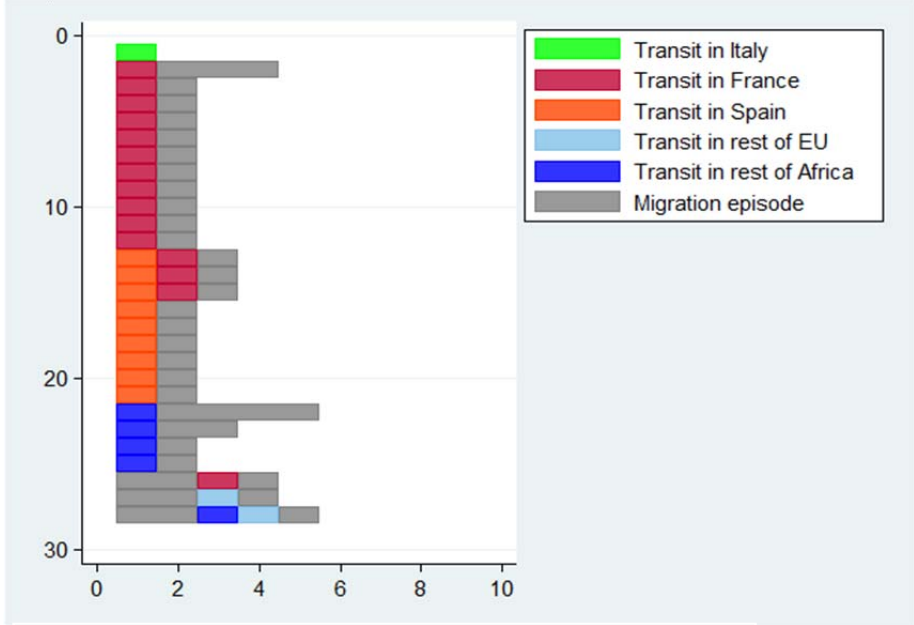
**Graph 1 SPANISH SAMPLE**



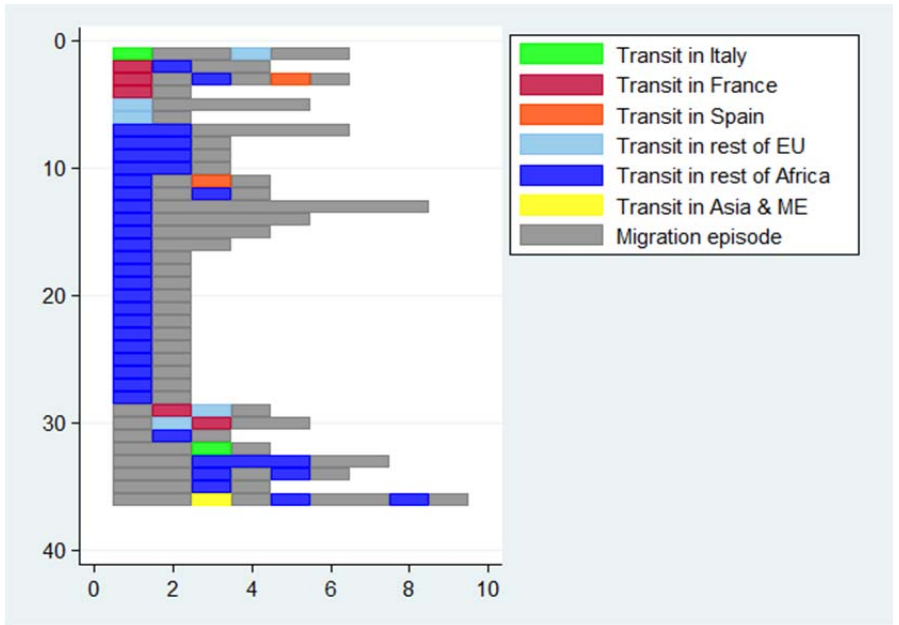
**Graph 2 FRENCH SAMPLE**



**Graph 3 ITALIAN SAMPLE**



**Graph 4 SENEGALESE SAMPLE**



The areas in which transit take place are also presented in the next table (Tab. 2). Here we can observe the total number of transits spent in each area and their distribution according to their length. The information on duration is here complemented, as in the previous sequences, as already mentioned, it was omitted for visualization reasons.

We can thus see that while over 60% of transits last less than a year, 40% of transits lasted for from more than a year to many years. This figure shows that for a number of individuals, transit movement often becomes a semi-permanent condition: a state of "permanent transit" produced by a combination of institutional constraints and migrant aspirations. Yet, despite the prolonged duration, they can still be considered as provisional settlement, oriented to onward migration.

Overall, Africa is the transit space *par excellence*. The data clearly show that for the sampled migrants, half of the transits took place in this space, with a strong predominance of West African (25.9%) and North African countries (20.3%) over Central African countries (3.2%)<sup>14</sup>. In both Western and Northern Africa migrants transited for short as well as for extended periods.

Italy, France and Spain represent 37.3% of the transit areas. Certainly, these figures are over-represented, due to a selection bias (respondents were sampled in these countries of destination). However they offer some highlights on relevant differences among the three countries: Italy does not emerge as a transit country (only 3.2% take place in this country), but rather as a stable "final" destination. Spain is reached as a destination but also as a transit country (13.3% of total transits). Here transits tend to last a few months, but in some cases they may extend to several years. This applies even to a greater extent to France, where 21.5% of detected transits were spent, among which about a third extended to one or more years.

A possible explanation for the higher incidence of transit in France is the possibility of entering France with provisional visas, and the presence of a larger support network of already settled friends and relatives. It has already been mentioned that since the end of the 1980s Senegalese migrations re-oriented to new destinations, particularly to Italy. From a certain time onwards, therefore, the arrivals in France were partly aimed at moving to other countries, mainly to Italy and Spain, as shown below in table 5. According To Tall (2008), in fact, from 1974 onwards several Senegalese in France fell into an irregular situation (as overstayers) as a consequence of French border closure,

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<sup>14</sup> In particular :

- Western Africa: Mauritania (12/40), Mali (7/40), Ivory Coast (5/40), Guinea Bissau (4/40), Gambia (4/40), Guinea (2/40), Niger (2/40), Nigeria (1/6940), Liberia (1/40), Burkina (2/69), Benin (1/69)
- Northern Africa: Morocco (23/33), Tunisia (4/33), Algeria (4/33), Libya (2/33);
- Central Africa: Cameroun (3/6), Equatorial Guinea (1/6), Centre African Republic (1/6), Gabon (1/6).

resulting by the stop to recruitment of foreign manpower. The year 1985 marks a new date for further tightening of conditions of entry and residence in the country, with the introduction of entry visas for several African countries, and with the hardening of the conditions for obtaining such documents. France has become a gateway to Italy, especially since the mid 1990s, both through undocumented entries, thanks to the intermediation of "smugglers" between Nice and San Remo around the border post of Ventimiglia, and by obtaining short-stay visas for the latter country. Spain on the other side has in recent years played an important role as a gateway to Europe, both for documented and non-documented migrants. Both countries correspondingly in this period started adopting admission policies for foreign workers, through ex post amnesties and regularizations, which had as an effect to attract large amount of migrants.

**Tab. 1: Areas of transit episodes by length of transit episodes**

	< 1 year	1 year	2-5 years	6-10 years	>10 years	Total	%	
<b>Spain</b>	15	1	1	2	1	<b>20</b>	<b>12.7</b>	
<b>France</b>	22	4	4	1	3	<b>34</b>	<b>34.0</b>	
<b>Italy</b>	2	2	1	0	0	<b>5</b>	<b>3.2</b>	
<b>West. EU</b>	9	0	1	0	0	<b>10</b>	<b>6.3</b>	
<b>South. EU</b>	4	1	1	0	0	<b>6</b>	<b>3.8</b>	<b>11.4</b>
<b>East. EU</b>	2	0	0	0	0	<b>2</b>	<b>1.3</b>	
<b>West. Africa</b>	20	7	10	4	0	<b>41</b>	<b>25.9</b>	
<b>North. Africa</b>	20	8	4	0	0	<b>32</b>	<b>20.3</b>	<b>49.4</b>
<b>Centr. Africa</b>	2	1	2	0	0	<b>5</b>	<b>3.2</b>	
<b>Asia &amp; ME</b>	1	2	0	0	0	<b>3</b>	<b>1.9</b>	
<b>Total</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>158</b>	<b>100</b>	
<b>%</b>	<b>61.4</b>	<b>16.5</b>	<b>15.2</b>	<b>4.4</b>	<b>2.5</b>	<b>100</b>		

Source: MAFE-Senegal Survey

As already noted in the sequences, transits are mainly located in the first part of the migration career (59.5%). Nevertheless table 5 substantiates the analysis depicted in the graphs 1-4, by showing that over 40% of the transits occur even after the first migration and develop between the second and the eighth stage. They are the first step out from Senegal, but also a strategy adopted in the advanced course of migration, i.e. after having experienced long-term migrations (of several years) in other countries.

**Tab 2: Position of transit in the migration sequence (trajectory)**

	a.n.	%
<b>1</b>	94	59.5
<b>2</b>	22	13.9
<b>3</b>	21	13.3
<b>4</b>	7	4.4
<b>5</b>	7	4.4
<b>6</b>	3	1.9
<b>7</b>	3	1.9
<b>8</b>	1	0.6
<b>Total</b>	158	100

Source: MAFE-Senegal Survey

Some of them are also re-iterated transit migration: different consecutive transits are undertaken, as shown in table 4. In particular among the Senegalese sample (returnees) and the French sample, more than half of all migrants transited more than once or in more than one country (respectively 31/43 and 23/42 migrants). Those residing in Italy and Spain at the survey time had transited comparatively less frequently and in a lower number: individuals gained more direct entry into the two countries, i.e. by undertaking fewer steps. It should anyway taken in account that both Senegalese and French migration are more established, thus migrants from these two groups had longer periods of migration, and higher probability of undertaking a higher number of transits.

**Tab. 3: Number of transit episodes per migrant, by sample**

N. of transits	Spanish s.	French s.	Italian s.	Senegalese s.	Total	%
<b>1</b>	19	19	24	22	84	<b>53.2</b>
<b>2</b>	8	2	8	22	40	<b>25.3</b>
<b>3</b>	0	9	0	9	18	<b>11.4</b>
<b>4</b>	4	4	0	0	8	<b>5.1</b>
<b>8</b>	0	8	0	0	8	<b>5.1</b>
<b>Total</b>	31	42	32	53	158	<b>100</b>

Source: MAFE-Senegal Survey

## 5.4 Transit embeddedness: how do transits fit into the whole migration process? Before and after transits.

But how do transit migrations fit into the whole migration process? From which countries do they generate and where do they lead to? This additional information can tell us much about the role and the outcome of transits in migrant strategies.

According to the available data presented in table 4 and in the graphs 9-12, transit migrations stem mainly from Senegal (70.9%) or from other African countries (18.4%): they are mainly the first step out of Senegal, or those immediately following mostly undertaken in West African or, to a lesser extent, in North African countries. However, they generate (albeit to a lesser extent), even from France (3.8%), Spain (1.9%), or other European countries (5.1%) at an advanced level in the career of migration.

**Tab. 4: Areas before transits by area of transit**

DEPART AREAS		TRANSIT AREAS							Total	%	
		Italy	France	Spain	rest EU	rest Africa	Asia & ME				
	<b>France</b>	1	0	0	1	3	1	6	<b>3.8</b>		
	<b>Spain</b>	0	3	0	0	0	0	3	<b>1.9</b>		
	<b>Italy</b>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	<b>0.0</b>		
	<b>Senegal</b>	3	25	17	10	55	2	112	<b>70.9</b>		
<b>Rest of EU</b>	<b>West. EU</b>	0	2	0	1	1	0	4	<b>2.5</b>	<b>5.1</b>	
	<b>North. EU</b>	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	<b>0.6</b>		
	<b>South. EU</b>	0	1	1	0	0	0	2	<b>1.3</b>		
	<b>East. EU</b>	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	<b>0.6</b>		
<b>Rest of Africa</b>	<b>West. Africa</b>	0	1	1	1	15	0	18	<b>11.4</b>	<b>24.7</b>	
	<b>North. Africa</b>	1	1	1	2	5	0	10	<b>6.3</b>		
	<b>Centr. Africa</b>	0	2	0	0	1	0	3	<b>1.9</b>		
	<b>Asia &amp; ME</b>	1	0	1	3	3	0	8	<b>5.1</b>		
	<b>Total</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>78</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>158</b>	<b>100</b>		

Source: MAFE-Senegal Survey

Nevertheless, although departures from European countries are less frequent than from Senegal or other African countries, it is a striking finding that a proportion of transit migrations occurs after entry in the European space, which fundamentally questions common assumptions in the literature.

The transits occurring in the European space can be read as migrations deliberately and instrumentally aimed at the pursuit of further destinations, as we have assumed for a part of transits occurring in France towards Southern Europe since the 1990s.

They can be further interpreted as re-orientation mobility aimed at recomposing the trajectories and at reformulating the migration project, once in Europe. As Schapendonk argues (2010a), once the European mainland is reached, new opportunities can emerge for migrants within a whole new range of possible destinations inside the European Schengen-zone. Van Nieuwenhuyze (2009) in her recent work on the Senegambians' labour market experience in Europe, brings to light a phenomenon of "continuing mobility" within Europe, which may occur among some migrants. Sometimes inspired by adventure, the motivation to leave is most often the search for better work, and a better life, particularly if things are not going well. Certainly this type of fluid mobility within the European space applies in particular to young and single migrants, who can absorb faster and with less risks the costs of settlement and of residential and labour re-integration in a new country.

Nonetheless, the fact that transits take place within the European space may highlight at the same time the increasing precariousness of migration careers. This precariousness can be linked to the worsening of migrants' legal status, not only at the moment of the entry, but also during the stay abroad. The concomitant precarious nature of labour conditions and opportunities in the European labour markets can render legal status fragile during this period of stay. In this perspective, the fragmentation of the migration paths in Europe can be read as the result of macro-structural changes in migration policies and labour markets.

The following charts (Graphs 9-12) show the sequences of migrants with transit episodes (as previously defined), underlying in a complementary way to the previous group of charts, the areas preceding and following the transits.

As an example we can interpret the first line at the top of the each graph. At graph n. 9 (the Spanish sample), the migrant n.1 had a first migration in Spain, then undertook a transit, afterwards he came back to Spain. It indicates that probably the transit didn't allow to reach the aimed destination, and as a makeshift, he came back to Spain. At graph 10 the migrant went to France as a first migration, then moved to Italy, after which he undertook a transit, that finally led him to France as a stable destination.

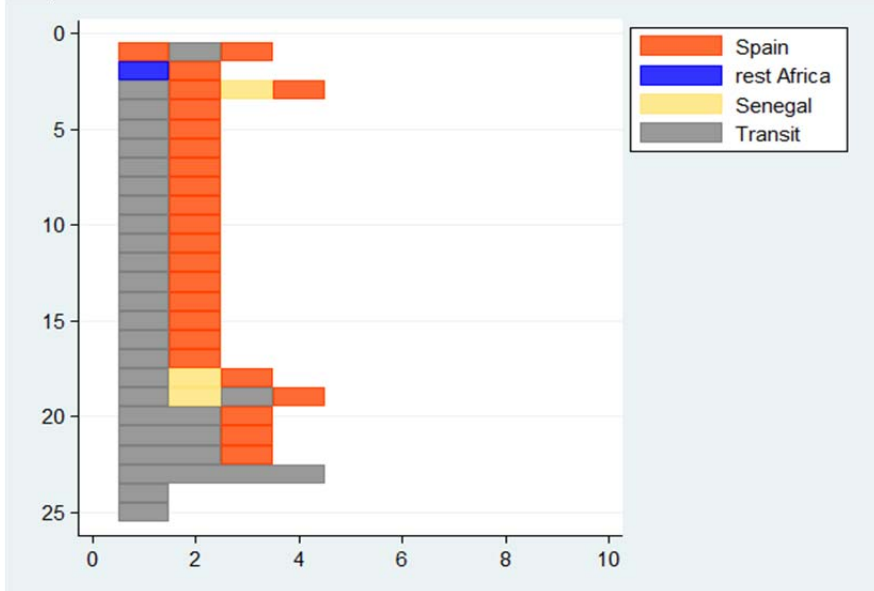
The first line of the graph 11 indicates that this migrant first went to Spain, then had a long-term (lasting more than a year) temporary return to Senegal, after which he/she embarked in a transit that finally let him/her reaching Italy, where he/she was interviewed in 2008.

The last graph (12) shows in its first line another type of trajectory: the migrant left for France and after having spent a period there (longer than a year), he/she came back to Senegal. From here he/she undertook a transit, that, probably unsuccessfully, brought him/her back to Senegal.

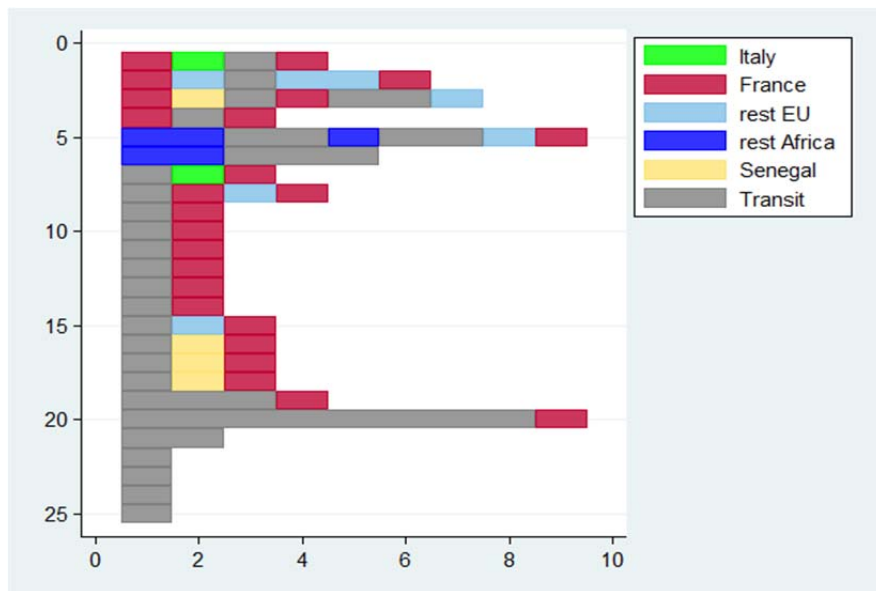


**SEQUENCES OF MIGRATION EPISODES (>and< 1YEAR) and TRANSITS (>and<1 YEAR) by sample: TRANSITS WITHIN THE WHOLE MIGRATION PROCESS**

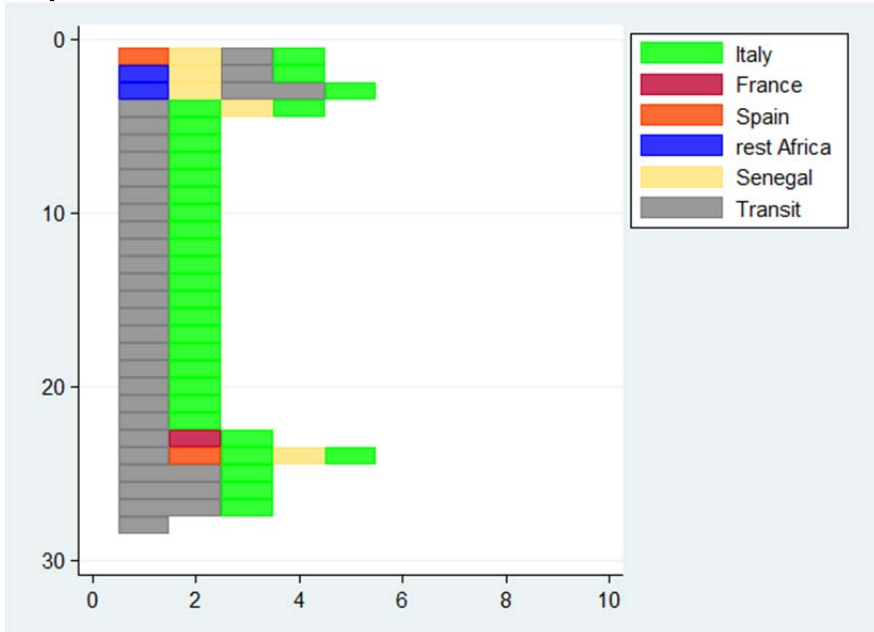
**Graph 9 SPANISH SAMPLE**



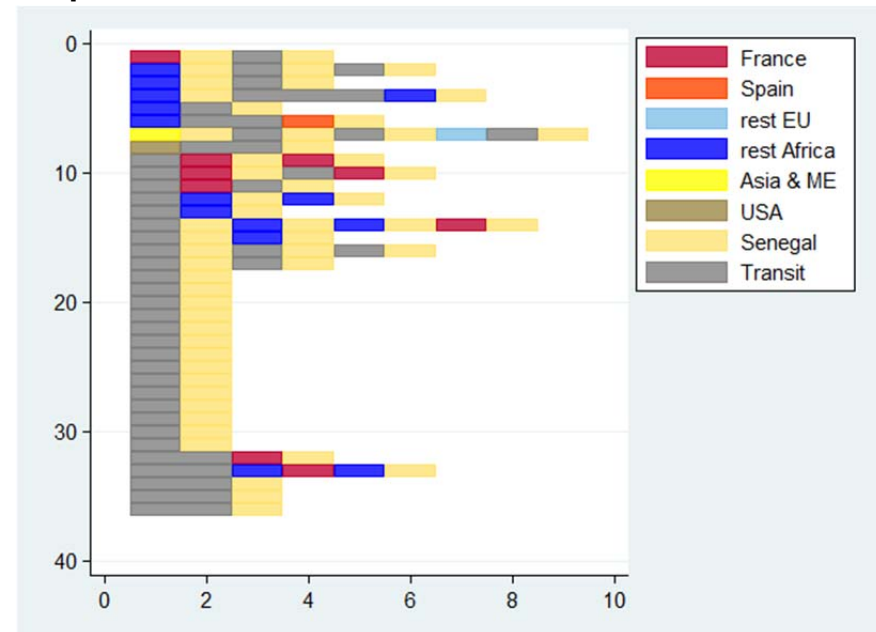
**Graph 10 THE FRENCH SAMPLE**



**Graph 11 ITALIAN SAMPLE**



**Graph 12 SENEGALESE SAMPLE**



Source: MAFE-Senegal Survey

These examples show how different can be migrants' experiences and paths. Despite the heterogeneity and complexity of such mobility patterns, some regularities can be highlighted. Depending on where they have transited, migrants in fact follow different paths. Table 6 shows the areas where transit migrations lead, i.e. where migrants move after having transited.

As already mentioned, transits in France have mainly Italy and Spain as following destinations and more in general transits held in Europe mainly lead to the surveyed (European) countries, as an effect of the sample design.

As for transits undertaken in the African space (which represent 52.7% of the total of transits shown in this graph), those held in Northern Africa are mainly followed by migration to European countries (22 out of 32), while only a little share of transits occurring in Western Africa and in Central Africa (8 out of 46) are followed by migration to European countries.

The logical explanation seems that Senegalese migration passing through Northern Africa is generally more aimed at reaching Europe, and is in fact quite often successful (but, again a strong selection bias is here evident, as we miss the individuals stuck in transit African countries).

**Tab. 5: Areas following transits: where transits lead**

TRANSIT AREAS	FOLLOWING AREAS						
	Italy	France	Spain	rest of EU	rest of Africa	Senegal	Total
Spain	6	9	0	0	0	2	<b>17</b>
France	16	0	7	1	1	3	<b>28</b>
Italy	0	2	1	0	0	1	<b>4</b>
Rest of EU	2	5	4	3	2	2	<b>18</b>
Rest of Africa	Central Africa	0	2	0	0	1	<b>5</b>
	West. Africa	0	3	0	3	14	<b>41</b>
	North. Africa	3	3	11	4	4	<b>32</b>
Asia & ME	0	1	1	0	0	1	<b>3</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>148</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>18.2</b>	<b>16.9</b>	<b>16.2</b>	<b>7.4</b>	<b>14.9</b>	<b>26.4</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: MAFE-Senegal Survey

This does not seem the case for transitory stays in Sub-Saharan space. Here, the analysis yields an image of a (mainly Sub-Saharan) African space dominated by short, temporary, intermittent, and circular internal migrations. This idea is further strengthened if we look at the rate of returns to Senegal after transits: over 46 transits undertaken in other sub-Saharan African countries (Western + Central African countries in the table), 23 are followed by returns to Senegal.

There are two possible explanations for this phenomenon. The first refers to failed transits, as a consequence of immigration restrictions, forcing a return to Senegal or prolonged stays in other African countries, instead of continuing to Europe. In this case, migration intentions do not match actual moves and lead to a second-best option of staying in other African countries or resettlement

in the country of origin. Several studies have recently explored (Pian, 2009; Ba, Choplin 2006; Brachet, 2009; Spiga, 2006; Boubakri, Mazzella, 2006; among others) Sub-Saharan migrant populations “stuck” in Mediterranean or other African countries, who end up working and staying in Saharan migration hubs along the way without ever reaching the desired destination.

The second explanation is that, as already highlighted by other studies (Brachet, 2006; de Haas, 2007), only a minority transiting in the African space through multiple routes actually has Europe as a final destination.

The literature on migration in general and on the transit in particular has often focused on migrants who got to or are trying to get to Europe, but has missed alternative trajectories oriented and developed within the African space. Africa in effect has been since pre-colonial times a continent on the move, in which a culture of mobility is engrained in the history, daily life and experiences of the population (de Btuijn, van Dijk, Foeken, 2001; Brachet, 2009), as explained in chapter 2. Tall (2006) shows how Senegalese international migration is a relatively old phenomenon, oriented to neighbouring areas (Mauritania, Mali, Guinea Conakry, Gambia, Guinea Bissau), to other West African countries (such as Côte d'Ivoire and Gabon) to those of Central African, such as the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) and Cameroon, or to North Africa countries (Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, etc..) through several migration sub-systems centred on continental migration poles.

West Africa is the first region hosting migration from Africa: West African migrations within the region are actually far more numerous than those directed outwards. According to Ndiaye and Robin (2010) these migrations are not replaced by extra-continental ones: on the contrary, both are increasingly articulated in complementary trend through roads, temporary living spaces, practices and new actors.

The ambiguity, or the ambivalence of transit countries, resides precisely in their being at the same time places traversed by transits, as temporary stages, as well as places of historical settlement of intra-continental migration. Bredeloup (forthcoming) points out that the Sahara is not only a space that is crossed, but also a place that is worked on, urbanized by the passage and residence of generations of migrants.

The table below supports these considerations, showing how, even within a very biased framework, African destinations (including both Senegal and other countries) represent more than 17% (a significantly under-estimated figure) of the *expected* final destinations after transits.

**Tab 6: Aimed final destination**

	a.n	%
<b>Italy</b>	31	21.5
<b>France</b>	31	21.5
<b>Spain</b>	37	25.7
<b>Rest of Europe</b>	16	11.1
<b>Rest of Africa</b>	19	13.2
<b>Senegal</b>	6	4.2
<b>USA</b>	3	2.1
<b>Middle East</b>	1	0.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>144</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: MAFE-Senegal Survey

In this perspective they could be seen as long but transitory stays, aimed at pursuing further countries, and belonging to an "African model" of migration, characterized, as already seen, by an intra-continental, fluid, circular, provisional albeit long-term, projects of mobility.

### **5.5 Outcomes of transits: the gap between aimed and actual paths**

Transits, then, as the literature has pointed out, are characterized by a more or less explicit, a more or less conscious, a more or less realistic will to pursue further places, to develop follow on plans. They enclose a project, a potential that consists of the attainment of a further migration. These projects, however, are not always successful. Opportunities and obstacles occur along the way, which often is not precisely and consciously determined: Schapendonk (2010a) insists on how migration patterns are often not the result of a rational plan. Migration projects are rather formulated in abstract ways and the related goals are moving targets, as aspirations, motivations, perceptions change along the life-course, affecting routes and contemplated destinations.

Available data, although they should be looked at with due methodological caution, allow us to systematically compare both aimed for and actual destinations and lengths of the transits undertaken by interviewees.

Looking at the geographical outcomes of transits in table 7, as we might expect (data suffer from a strong bias due to the sampling design), the envisaged countries are primarily Italy, France and Spain (representing more than 70% of the aimed-for, and then actually reached, destinations). The other European countries account for 11% of the envisaged final targets of transits. In over 16% of cases, finally, the stated intentions were to continue in the African space, and mainly in West Africa.

Interesting features emerge, however, especially from the outcome of these migrations, resulting from the crossing of the areas where migrants considered continuing their journeys, and the ones actually achieved.

**Tab 7: Aimed destinations following transits, according to actual following destinations**

AIMED FOLLOWING DESTINATIONS	ACTUAL FOLLOWING DESTINATIONS										Total abs. values	%	Success transits
	Italy	France	Spain	Senegal	West EU	South EU	North Africa	West Africa	Centr Africa				
Italy	26	3	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	31	23.0	26
France	0	18	0	5	0	1	3	0	1	1	28	20.7	18
Spain	0	1	22	13	0	0	0	1	0	0	37	27.4	22
West. Eu	0	1	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	4	3.0	2
North. EU	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	3.0	-
South. EU	0	0	0	5	0	1	0	0	0	0	6	4.4	1
East. EU	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.7	-
North. Africa	0	0	0	0	1	0	5	0	0	0	6	4.4	5
West. Africa	0	2	0	2	1	1	2	4	1	1	13	9.6	4
Centr. Africa	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	3	2.2	1
Middle East	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.7	-
North. America	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.7	-
<b>TOT abs. val.</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>135</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>79</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>20.0</b>	<b>18.5</b>	<b>16.3</b>	<b>24.4</b>	<b>3.7</b>	<b>2.2</b>	<b>7.4</b>	<b>5.2</b>	<b>2.2</b>	<b>2.2</b>	<b>100</b>		<b>58,5</b>

The main result tells us that from the total number of transit migrations, less than 60% have in fact been successful, i.e. continued to the aimed following countries. This finding further strengthens the assertion of a strong mismatch between imagination, expectation, planning and actual outcomes.

According to available data, finally, almost one in four transits (24,4%) has brought back to Senegal within the MAFE sample. Of these 33 individuals: 4 are migrants interviewed in France or in Spain and 29 are returnees interviewed in Senegal. All of them have experienced at least one first unsuccessful transit, which brought them back to Senegal. 11 among them, then, once having come back, re-embarked on another transit (usually in countries other than the first), 2 successfully reached the desired destination in Europe, 2 got to Europe, though not in the previewed country; the other 7, failing again to reach Europe, returned for good to Senegal (although this does not prevent them from embarking on new eventual re-migrations).

The detailed account of these cases allows us to understand with even greater clarity the gap and the permanent tension between the projects and aspirations of migrants and what actually happens. The strategy of "trial and error", implying after an initial failure new re-departures for Europe, combines a step-wise path to a circular mobility for some individuals. Faced with the impossibility of proceeding further, they fall back on a temporary return, allowing the reprogramming of a new trip and the testing of new passage strategies.

Looking at a second crucial aspect that determines the transits, i.e. the length, we see that even in this case only one transit in four took place within the expected times. More than half were

extended by several months or even years. One in five however was a stay that lasted for less than the expected time.

**Tab. 8: Mismatch between aimed and actual duration of transit migrations**

Resulting transits' lengths	abs. values	%
Duration extended of some months	44	27.7
Duration extended of a year or more	45	28.3
Aimed length = actual length	39	24.5
Duration reduced of some months or years	31	19.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>159</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: MAFE-Senegal Survey

We could then imagine the stories of our respondents from a migratory life-course perspective as sequences in which the various migratory events follow each other, concatenated into a process with time and space coordinates, and where we could visualize the departures, returns, the re-departures, the migration between third countries, etc.

Alongside each of these trajectories, we could then imagine a mirror sequence for each individual, telling us at every step a parallel story, the desired and projected, the imagined and the hoped-for. The two would probably hardly ever coincide: time, duration, destination, return and re-starts, are subject to continual re-programming and re-negotiation and are not fixed once and for all, but change along the way, during the experience itself.

In this sense the transits symbolize at the highest level this provisional nature, of difficulty, of unpredictability, and of the ephemeral, which characterizes the migration experience of individuals includes at every step and account for the complexity of the phenomenon which cannot be disregarded in the study of contemporary migration.

## 5.6 The main findings of the analysis on transits

This chapter identified key characteristics of Senegalese migration and of transit migration in particular. This study conceptualized transit migration as a specific segment within broader migration trajectories through adopting a migration life-cycle approach. The analysis compels us to question some prevalent assumptions prevalent in media, policy and academic discourses on the phenomenon of transit migration.

First of all, transits can be *short* as well as *long* migration episodes aiming at continuing migration to other countries. They are episodes that can last up to many years, and despite this duration, these prolonged stays can still be considered as provisional and oriented to onward migration. Transits are in this sense the quintessence of the precariousness of migrants' positions and the concomitant changeability of migration projects and aspirations. As they occur in different contexts they can also lead to very different outcomes. Transits enclose a project, a potential that consists

of the attainment of a further migration. These projects, however, are not always successful. Opportunities and obstacles occur along the way, re-defining plans at different phases all along the trajectory.

Secondly, although transits mainly take place at the beginning of the migration career, they also occur at more advanced stages of migration careers for some migrants. For instance, they can occur as a first step out of Senegal or in between other countries along the trajectory in Africa and Europe. For some individuals transits are re-iterated, i.e. they engage in further following transits at different stages of their route.

Certainly the extension of the concept of transit as movements developed and oriented within the African space on one side, or developed and oriented within the European one on the other side, is unprecedented in the study of transits and its literature. The dominant conception of transit migration associate in fact this phenomenon to movements undertaken within the African space and necessarily directed to entry in Europe. This last type of transit has undoubtedly assumed a growing role in the entry strategies in Europe, highly visible in the media and political discourse. However, transit can also be undertaken and interpreted as a mobility strategy adopted by migrants at different moments and geographical contexts of their migration career.

The effort in this direction must be twofold and lead on the one hand to a decentralization of the European pole, which is not a necessary or unique destination of migrations from Africa. This distorted conception of transits and intra-African migrations is still a source of serious theoretical misunderstandings (and related political assumptions). It also reveals an empirical vacuum that requires to be filled. The sub-Saharan African space in fact rather emerges as a mobility area with own internal dynamics and characteristics: the data analysis yields an image of a highly circular and fluid space of mobility. Transits occurring in this zone tend to remain within the African space or lead to return to the origin country. This analysis shows the need to further gain insights into south-south intra-continental mobility. As Bakewell recommends, a further effort should therefore be done to study the intra and inter-continental migration as interconnected migration systems: "looking at Africa in isolation can only ever yield a partial picture; equally so does looking at migration out of Africa to the exclusion of intra-continental mobility" (Bakewell, 2009:17).

On the other hand, it seems necessary to pay more attention to intra-European migration and to the role that migration policies, but also the performance and the regulation of labour markets play in shaping migrants' mobility within EU. A broader reflection on the mobility of (non-European) migrants within the Schengen area is another equally unexplored, but important research issue.

As suggested in the editorial of 2009, *Cahiers de l'Urmis* (Potot, Laudanski, 2009), migrants are caught in legislative, social, economic and political constraints, which appear as unprecedented in the European labour market. These constraints compel migrants to adopt innovative migratory practices, among which the European internal mobility hypothesis can be an emerging strategy.

These findings highlight the need to call into question and to radically rethink conventional migration and mobility labels, by going beyond euro-centric conceptualizations and overcoming dichotomous and rigid categories of migrations and migrants (de Haas, 2007; Collyer, de Haas, forthcoming) as imposed by policy makers and the media. This research has shown how transit assume different characteristics and roles all along the life-course. This study has also showed that the whole notion of transit migration itself should be revisited in order to achieve a richer account of its diverse manifestations and its geo-spatial as well as temporal, dimensions.



## CHAPTER 6

### The circular mobility of migrants: two models compared

#### 6.1 Circular migration: a theoretical framework

During the last century, migration was conceived as a permanent process involving dislocation and resettlement, as a uni-linear, one way, univocal displacement movement. Nonetheless over the past three decades, both researchers' and policy-makers' interest in the phenomenon of return migration has been steadily increasing. Cross-border mobility has been sustained by cheaper transportation costs, making return a multiple-stage process; technological means of communication have favoured the development of flows of information, as well as the strengthening of cross-border linkages sustained between origin and host countries, while allowing migrants to better prepare their return. Today return motivations have become diversified and concern different categories of migrants, such as labour migrants (Kubat, 1984; King, 1986), migrant-students (Glaser, Habers, 1974), highly-skilled migrants (Lowell, 2001, McLaughan & Salt, 2002; Iredale & Gruo, 2001; Vertovec, 2002; Cervantes & Guellec, 2002), entrepreneur-returnees (Cassarino, 2000), refugees and asylum-seekers (Cassarino, 2004), etc. Furthermore migrants engage increasingly in repeated migrations, entailing multi-residential strategies. As a consequence, the emphasis turned from 'movement' and/or 'settlement' to 'circulation' or 'temporality', shifting the focus on return as an integral part of the migration process.

Under the theoretical point of view, different theories on international migration formulated a range of hypotheses on the drivers of return migration.

According to neoclassical migration theory migrants are individual, rational, income-maximizing actors who decide to go abroad on the base of the calculated costs and benefits of the migration option. In this perspective return migration is associated with migrants' failure to integrate in the labour market at destination, in terms of expected earnings, employment and duration (Cassarino, 2004).

On the other side, while also the new economics of labour migration (NELM) sees migration and return as a rational decision, the strategy is here collectively issued and defined at the level of the migrants' household. According to this approach return migration is the logical stage after migrants have earned sufficient assets and knowledge to invest in their origin countries (*ibid.*) and is the natural outcome resulting from the successful achievement of the fixed goals (i.e. higher incomes and accumulation of savings).

The structural approach integrates in the analysis a macro perspective on drivers of migration and return, while arguing that the context of settlement, once return take place, shapes the outcome of the return. In this view return is analyzed with particular attention to social and institutional factors in receiving and sending countries.

The social network theory contributed to the debate, allowing the analytical framework of return migration to be better explored, by conceiving individual decisions within social groups. This approach, therefore, expands the decision-making process to larger social units: migrants, potential migrants, return migrants, and non-migrants are all connected through ties of kinship, ethnicity, and friendship (Ambrosini, 2005). In this perspective, social structures increase the availability of resources and information, while securing the effective initiatives of actors, namely return migrants (Cassarino, 2004).

As of the late 1980s, the transnationalist approach was finally formulated as an attempt to build a theoretical and conceptual framework aimed at better understanding the strong social and economic links maintained by migrants between host and origin countries. This approach questions the assumption that orientations and engagement in origin and destination societies are necessarily substitutes and questions the idea that the maintenance of economic and social ties within the two contexts is a manifestation of their inability to integrate.

Thanks to the insights into transnationalism and social network theory, return has been no longer viewed as the end of the migration cycle but as rather constituting a stage in the migration process (Cassarino, 2004: 16). Furthermore the transnationalist approach questions the binary structuralist vision of cross-border movements, taking into account the circularity of migration movements which facilitate the ' capability of migrants to cherish their multiple belonging and to mobilize resources between origin and destination contexts. In this perspective return migration becomes not only an integral part of the mobility of migrants, but assumes a key-role in the maintenance of transnational relationships, as part of a circular system of social and economic relationships and exchanges which facilitates the (re)integration of migrants while conveying social, economic, human and cultural capital.

Such literature intensively contributed to the development of policy measures addressed to circular and temporary migration. Although multiple approaches and practices are applied by different actors, the core idea of temporary and circular migration policies, which imply back-and-forth movements and the eventual return of migrants to their countries of origin, have become more attractive to the EU institutions and to various national governments, on the grounds that they would enable European economies and public coffers to benefit from migrant labour while minimizing the social impacts of immigration (McLoughlin, Munz, 2011: 15).

The notion of circular migration has been furthermore placed in relation to current debates on migration–development linkages, as a possible answer to the key-issue on how to maximize benefits and minimize costs of international migration. The idea underlying the implementation of such programs is that of endorsing a "triple-win" solution: 1) destination countries would benefit from a steady supply of needed workers in both skilled and unskilled occupations, without the requirements of long-term integration; 2) countries of origin would gain from the inflow of remittances; 3) while migrants would be enabled to reinvest their skills and their savings upon return. However it has been underlined that such policies are still based on scarce empirical

knowledge (largely of descriptive nature) and on the lack of a multi-dimensional approach in the analysis of the phenomenon (through the integration of micro, meso and macro level variables). Furthermore they still neglect heterogeneity in the background and the motivations of migrants, assuming return migration as a unitary and homogeneous phenomenon.

## **6.2 Circular migration: the Senegalese context**

A rich literature on transnationalism has provided much insight into the mobility practices of Senegalese migrants from Senegal between Europe and the country of origin. The volume of literature produced on the migration organization of this community is surprising when compared to its relative numerical significance in the international panorama.

Some elements of Senegalese migration in particular, however, have attracted the attention of scholars on migration, identifying it as a paradigmatic case of transnationalism, and making it a fertile ground for analysis. The high propensity to return, the high mobility between countries of origin and of migration, the maintenance of strong emotional, cultural, economic, social and religious ties with the country, the strong attitude to sending remittances, are valid arguments for the candidacy of the Senegal case as *the* model of migrant transnationalism. However all these arguments do not suffice, as these are elements that can be identified at various degrees in almost every migration diaspora.

Three main elements stand out however, as specific for this community (Casagnone et al., 2005; Riccio, 2008; Lacroix, Sall, Salzbrunn, 2008; Grillo, Riccio, Salih, 2000; Schmidt Di Friedberg, 1996), attracting attention and stimulating a rich empirical research, mainly based on a qualitative approach.

The first is related to the organizational structure of Senegalese migration, which has been, since its origin, predominantly based on male temporary labour flows. While in France a gradual process of family reunification and settlement of stable families occurred, in countries of more recent migration (notably Italy and Spain), the male rate is still clearly dominant, however much more than in other migrant communities. In 2008 the men share was of 84% in Spain, 87% in Italy; 54% in France. Even if those countries are seeing a steady, albeit slow increase of family reunifications, women and children still tend to remain in Senegal, representing a structural constraint and the strongest motivation to return. The resistance of Senegalese society to the migration of female family members, especially in rural areas, is largely driven by the need for conservation of the traditional community. Women in fact guarantee economic, organizational, social and cultural survival in those villages where men are mostly absent. Moreover, they are in charge of the reproductive tasks within the family, as the basis of the economic and social fabric. Furthermore the weak tendency of female migration has been associated with an attitude of resistance to dangers of "modernity" and to exposure to western immorality in terms of lack of faith, sexual permissiveness, racism and ignorance (Riccio, 2004; Castagnone et al, 2005).

However since the last decade in particular, a growing, even if still not substantial, process of autonomous migration of women has been observed, especially from the urban areas and towards the most recent destinations of Senegalese migration, i.e. Spain, Italy and USA (Tall, Tandian, 2010; Sakho, Diop, Awissi-Sall, 2011).

Even towards children an emphasis on avoiding them the difficulties associated with integration in Europe has been highlighted, with a preference to provide them with a first socialization and an education in the country of origin (Benenati, 2002), eventually joining their fathers at a more advanced age.

The second element that characterizes Senegalese migration is the role played, especially in international migration directed to Europe or USA, by the powerful network of the Islamic Mouride brotherhood. In Senegalese migration, as in no other, is the close interweaving of the religious and the economic phenomenon, that provided an effective support structure to international migration, through a network of highly efficient information sharing, support in the first settlement and integration in the labour market, especially in the trade sector, but also in the low-skilled employment sectors (Castagnone et al. 2005; Ceschi, 2005a; 2005b). The extraordinary phenomenon of Touba, the capital of Mouridism in Senegal, attests and spatially represents the symbolic and material power that the transnational Mouride institution has been able to mobilize, through an efficient channel of convoy of collective remittances by *talibés* (disciples), and through a huge volume of individual investments in real estate and business (Riccio, 2004; Gueye, 2001; Bava, 2002; 2003; Guolo, 2001; Schmidt di Friedberg, 1994a; 1994b, among others).

The third element consists of a very strong symbolic apparatus that celebrates migration on the one hand, and cautions return as the necessary and inevitable completion of the heroic departure on the other. A Senegalese proverb says: "It is the character that pushes to departure, but it is the courage that will bring you back" (*Fulla mooy wutti, waaye fayda mooy gnibbis*). And one of the many Wolof proverbs on migration, advises: "Who in expatriation will act as a hard-worker, will come back home to live like a king" (*Ku tuki di badolo, bo ngibe don bur*).

The same terminology shows how migration is associated with a warrior's path, after which the migrant receives the consecration, and also attests how challenges and tribulations of the migratory experiences are assumed and accepted in advance. In this modern epic, the return is a "dramatization of success", stimulating a desire to emulate (Dieng, 2001, 56). The migrant who passes the different tests and accesses such consecration is no more *Modou Modou* but becomes *Goulu*, an all-round person who has completed his initiation rite (Fall, 1998). The epic provides the sense of migration as an initiation research, and if exile has replaced the initiation in the sacred wood, migration represents the updated way to acquire skills, maturity, experience, courage (Dieng, 2001, 55). Furthermore among Mourides this self-representation is even stronger as knowledge and work are deeply associated (Riccio, 2001b, 591). The uprooting from the land of ancestors, when leaving the African continent, is thus well recovered with rites and amulets of departure that symbolically bridge the gap and ensure the protection of the ancestors (Castagnone et al., 2005).

This powerful symbolic apparatus constitutes a deep motivation to migrate through the enhancement of migration as an heroic enterprise, the course of which implies the return and consecration by the origin society, as its natural closing.

Senegal is all in all the place where migrants maintain their roots, thanks to a strong sense of belonging, and to the family left behind who gives input to the "journey". Staying between the two worlds means a dependency on Senegalese society. This feeling resides both in the collective imagination and in the expectations of the family left behind, as a member of it sent abroad. The money itself sent back to families, beyond the practical necessity, is viewed as a constant uninterrupted link, a promise of return, which contains the implicit idea of travel as a transitory stay abroad, symbolizing the condition of being between two worlds, among which the centre of attraction is the community in Senegal (Castagnone et al., 2005).

While consistent qualitative empirical research on different groups and areas was undertaken mainly through ethnographies or sociological in-depth qualitative studies, relatively little quantitative evidence exists in the West African region, and more particularly in the Senegalese context to corroborate the existence, size and characteristics of return flows. The most comprehensive insights into return migration to Senegal were provided by the DEmIS survey (*Déterminants de l'Emigration Internationale au Sénégal*), which was carried out in 1997/1998 in the framework of the project "The Push and Pull Factors of International Migration" and under the coordination of Eurostat and NIDI. The surveys on Migration and Urbanization in West Africa (REMUAO) conducted in Burkina Faso, Ivory Coast, Guinea, Mali, Mauritania, Niger and Senegal in 1993 provide another, yet even earlier, data source for the study of return migration flows to the region and to Senegal (Mezger, 2008: 2).

However, no empirical research has been able to account for practices of circularity, looking systematically at repeated migrations and returns. The MAFE data allow instead the longitudinal reconstruction of the migrants' whole paths of mobility, including movements between origin and destination countries.

In this chapter the circularity of migrants will be addressed, reconstructing retrospectively the paths of migrants who had temporary returns and subsequent re-departures from Senegal. In particular, the temporal, iterative, and the spatial dimensions of temporary returns will be taken into account.

The temporal dimension will look at the lengths of returns. The MAFE data captured two types of return: 1) returns longer than a year 2) short returns, lasting less than a year, undertaken for holiday or business reasons (visits to see relatives, stays for holidays, pilgrimage, participation in family events such as a wedding or a funeral; or for economic reasons, such as the preparation or management of investments in the home-country, transnational productive activities, international commerce, etc.).

In this chapter a systematic account of the two types of returns will be provided, looking at their characteristics and analyzing their intensity and repetitiveness across time. Furthermore the spatial

dimension of circularity will be approached by studying the different models of circularity taking place from different areas of migration (distinguishing between the European and African ones). The direction of re-migrations will then be under consideration, looking whether migrants build bi-polar and multi-polar returns, i.e. if they circulate between the country of origin and a single destination abroad or they develop more complex multi-local circular patterns and, if so, what are the privileged areas of circulation.

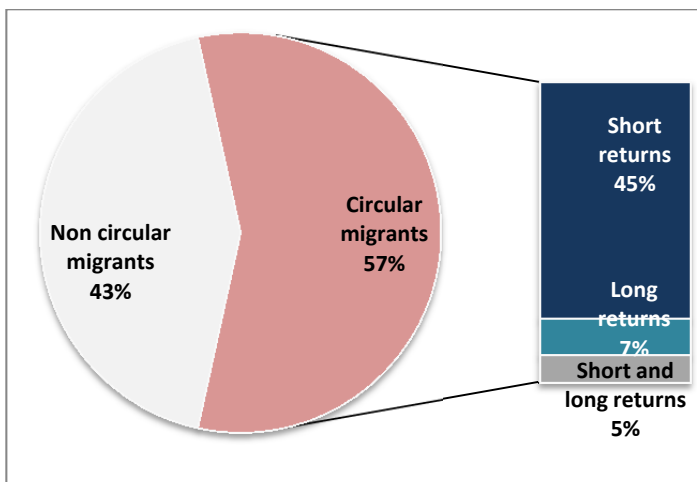
Looking at short-term circularity, the short returns intensity will be taken into account according to the different areas of migration.

All these elements will help to shed light on two parallel systems of circular mobility developing from different geo-political contexts and responding to different migration systems and structural frameworks in Senegalese migration.

### 6.3 Two forms of mobility compared: long vs. short-term returns

At first glance, data tell us that out of 809 respondents, those who register long or short returns during migration are 460, i.e. about 57% of the total respondents.

**Graph 1: Circular migrants in the MAFE sample**



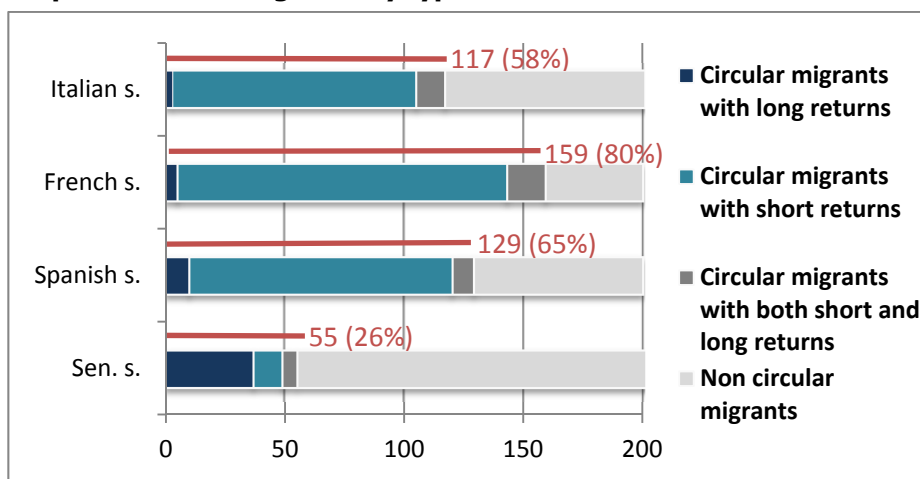
Source: MAFE-Senegal Survey

Among the circular migrants, namely those who have undertaken temporary return and then re-migrated from Senegal, we can distinguish two main types: those who returned only for short periods of less than a year (45%), those who had only long returns, lasting more than a year (7%), and those, finally, who adopted both forms of mobility (5%).

As we can also read from the graph below, the most mobile group (regardless of the type of return) is that of migrants residing in Europe: 80% of Senegalese in France, 65% in Spain, and 58% Italy, have experienced temporary return, among which, mainly short-term ones. To a much lesser extent (26%), also the returnees experienced circular mobility before their re-settlement in

Senegal, but in reverse to the other groups, as they mainly undertook long-term returns. A third group finally, composed mainly of Senegalese living in France and Italy, experienced both forms of mobility.

**Graph 2: Circular migrants by type of return**



Source: MAFE-Senegal Survey

Looking now in more detail at the episodes of returns and their characteristics, we note for interviewees in Senegal an elevated total number of returns (60), from two to four times greater than those undertaken by other samples (25 in the Spanish sample, 27 in the French one and 16 in the Italian one).

Looking at the length of returns, we note that approximately one third (28.9%) lasted more than five years, extending, for three cases, to more than 20 years.

**Tab. 1: Number and length of long returns (absolute values)**

Length of long returns (> 1 year) (absolute values)						
	Es	Fr	It	Sn	Total	%
1-5	17	17	13	44	91	71.1
6-10	5	7	2	7	21	16.4
11-20	2	3	1	7	13	10.2
20+	1	0	0	2	3	2.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>128</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>N</b>	<b>200</b>	<b>200</b>	<b>201</b>	<b>208</b>	<b>209</b>	

Source: MAFE-Senegal Survey

Coming back to the data displayed in table 1 and 2, short returns (of less than a year), as previously mentioned, are much more numerous: 408 people, about half of total respondents, undertook short returns during their migration experience. However, again the phenomenon varies considerably within the four sub-samples: 60.5% in the Spanish group made short returns, 77.5% in the French one, 55.7% in the Italian one, compared to 8.6% of the group of returnees.

**Tab 2: Number of individual short returns**

Number of short returns per migrant (< 1 year) (a.v.)						
	Es	Fr	It	Sn	Total	
<b>1-5</b>	108	82	67	17	274	
<b>6-10</b>	10	34	21	1	66	
<b>11-20</b>	3	28	19	0	50	
<b>21-40</b>	0	11	7	0	18	
<b>Total</b>	<b>121</b>	<b>155</b>	<b>114</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>408</b>	
<b>%</b>	<b>60.5</b>	<b>77.5</b>	<b>56.7</b>	<b>8.6</b>	<b>50.4</b>	
<b>N</b>	<b>200</b>	<b>200</b>	<b>201</b>	<b>208</b>	<b>209</b>	

Source: MAFE-Senegal Survey

The French sample is the one with a greater number of individuals who had repeated short returns for several years. This can be explained by the fact that it is an older migration. In Italy there are fewer migrants with short returns, but with a comparatively high number of returns per person. Migrants in Spain show a large number of migrants with short returns, but a smaller number of individual returns. The returnees, as shown in the table above, had a few short returns, compared to a large number of long returns.

#### **6.4 Long-term circularity: mainly a sub-regional migration strategy**

Circularity is a dynamic phenomenon based on returns and re-departures, which develops longitudinally over time, along the course of the migration experience. For this reason, a useful approach can consist again of a diachronic look at the migration events, according to a fragmented journey perspective (Collyer, de Haas, forthcoming), in order to reconstruct the circulation pattern of repeat migrants.

The analysis of trajectories of those who experienced prolonged returns in the countries of origin and later re-migrations, through the sequence analysis tool, allows us to grasp some key-information on the phenomenon. In particular, the following graph helps us to visualize retrospectively the concatenation of the outward and inward mobility, re-tracing the individual paths and their composition. It also allows the depiction of the places of migration episodes, noting how they are embedded in different trajectories, at which point of the path, and in which geographical coordinates of the migration experience.



Again, as for similar sequences displayed in chapter 5, each line represents an individual and is composed of different segments which represents the migration episodes. Those segments are units holding the same graphic length; the aggregate length of each sequence will thus be determined by the total number of the migration spells for each interviewee.

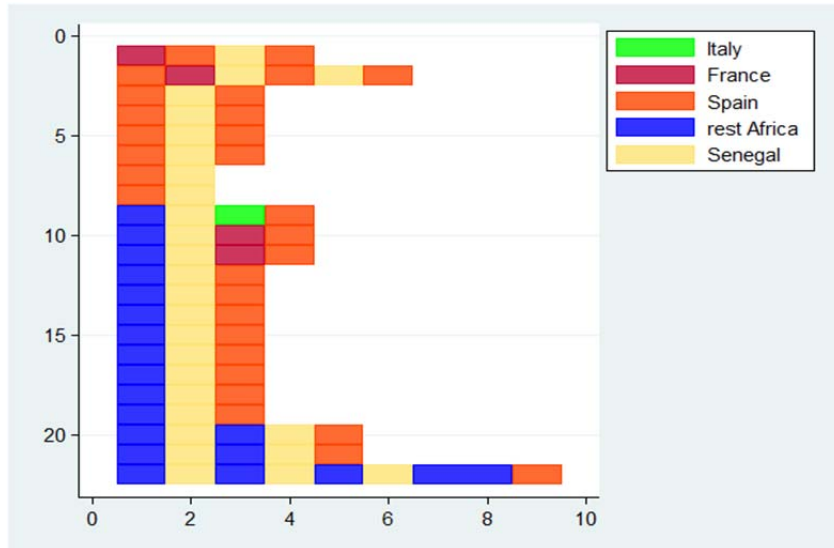
As an example we'll take three examples in order to facilitate the reading of the graphs. If we start by looking at the first row of graph 3, we can see that this migrant had a first migration in France, then moved to Spain, afterward he/she registered a long (>1year) return episode in Senegal, after which he/she came back to Spain, where he/she was residing at the moment of the survey.

The first line of the graph 5 shows a migrant who went to Italy, then came back for one or more years to the home country and left again for Italy.

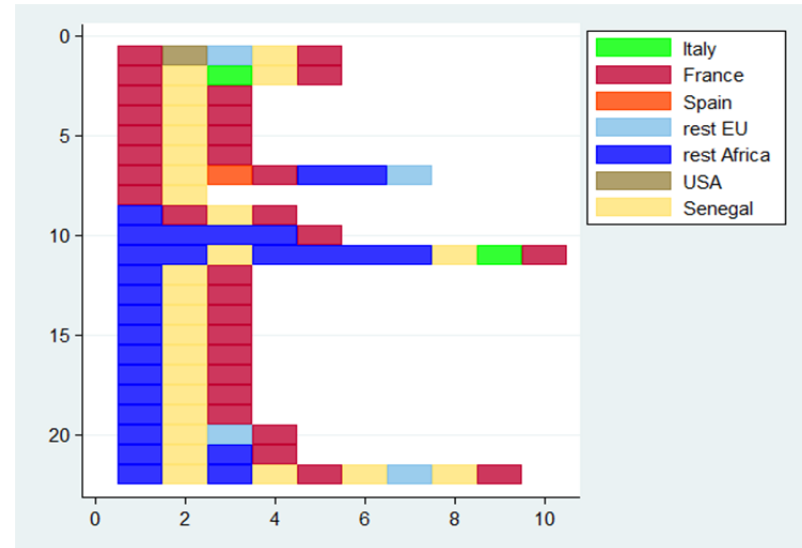
Finally, the first line of the graph 6 tells us that this migrant undertook a first migration to Italy; then had two further migration episodes in France; then experienced a return to Senegal after which he/she moved to an European country other than Spain, France or Italy, and subsequently followed to France. The last episode is a (supposedly permanent) return to Senegal, as we treat this group as returnees, although unobserved re-departures may occur.

**SEQUENCES OF MIGRANTS WITH RETURNS of >1YEAR, by sample**

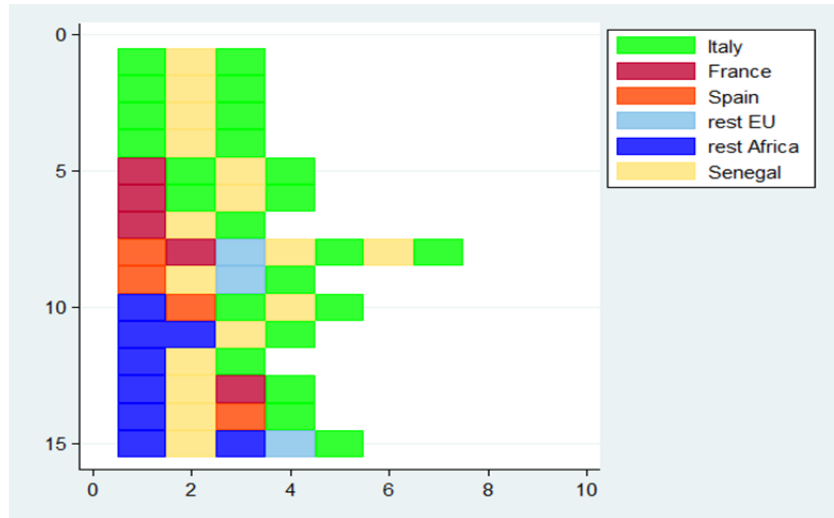
**Graph 3 SPANISH SAMPLE**



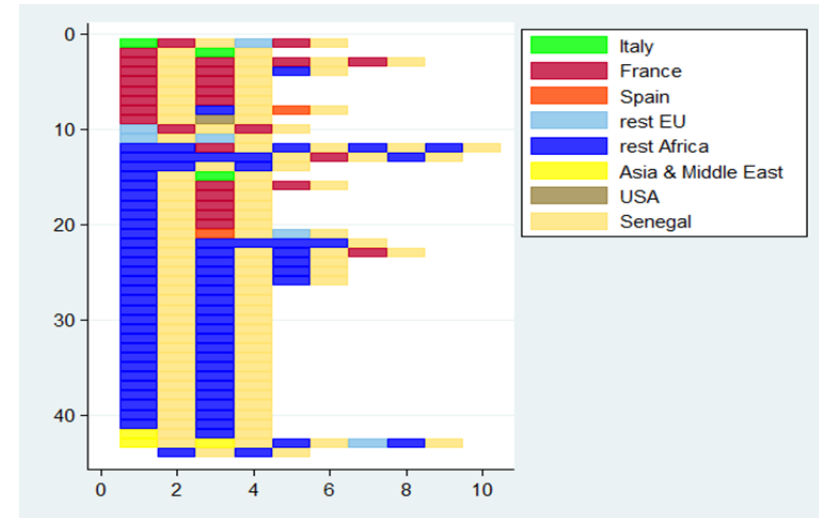
**Graph 4 FRENCH SAMPLE**



**Graph 5 ITALIAN SAMPLE**



**Graph 6 SENEGALESE SAMPLE**



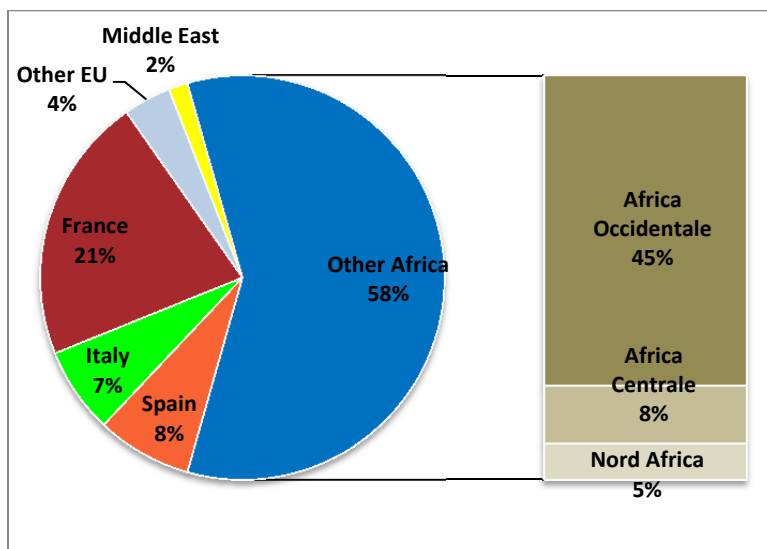
Source: MAFE-Senegal Survey

If crossed also with the following chart (graph 7), we find evidence that the long-term circular migration is a form of mobility adopted mainly by returnees, as already mentioned. Furthermore the great majority of long returns (58%) take place in the intra-African, principally intra-regional, context (to a lesser extent in Northern and Central Africa). Also graph 11 of Chapter 4, showing the migratory trajectories on a calendar-based time axis, allows us to clearly visualize returnee migration patterns, as:

- 1) *numerous*: one returnee out of three has undertaken between one and ten different migration episodes (including temporary returns) before re-settling for good in Senegal (see table 4 Chapter 4);
- 2) *short-term*: i.e. lasting on average about half of the years than those directed to Europe (see tables 4-5 Chapter 4);
- 3) *intermittent*, i.e. characterized by a relevant alternation with periods spent in Senegal, that may extend also for several years.

The returns (with consequent re-departures) significantly took place from France, but mainly not in recent times, as the graph 9 of Chapter 4 shows. In particular, the returns from France take place between the late 1970s until the early 1990s, a period characterized by a tightening of French immigration Laws and policies encouraging more active return, as well as retirement returnees (Metzger, 2008). As will be discussed later, in fact, the circularity is closely related to regulatory frameworks in migration, which affect the chances of return (and re-departures).

**Graph 7: Areas from which migrants come back for long returns in Senegal**

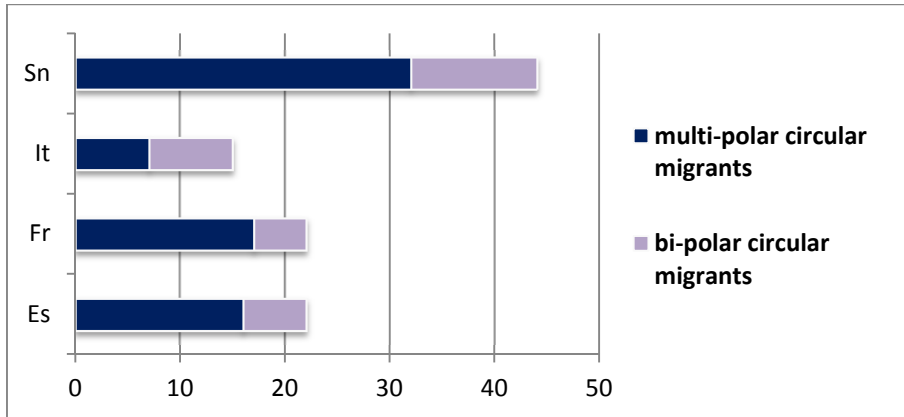


Source: MAFE-Senegal Survey

While short returns, as we have seen, are by definition bi-polar, i.e. they take place between European destinations and Senegal, implying a temporary return from a permanent place of residence abroad, the frame is different for those who undertake long returns, who, coming from a first migration country, may then leave again for a new further destination.

Through returns and the new outward migrations, circular migrants may follow bi-directional (between Senegal and migration to a single country) or multi-directional (i.e. between Senegal and multiple countries of migration) paths.

**Graph 8: Migrants by multi and bi-polar type of circularity**



Source: MAFE-Senegal Survey

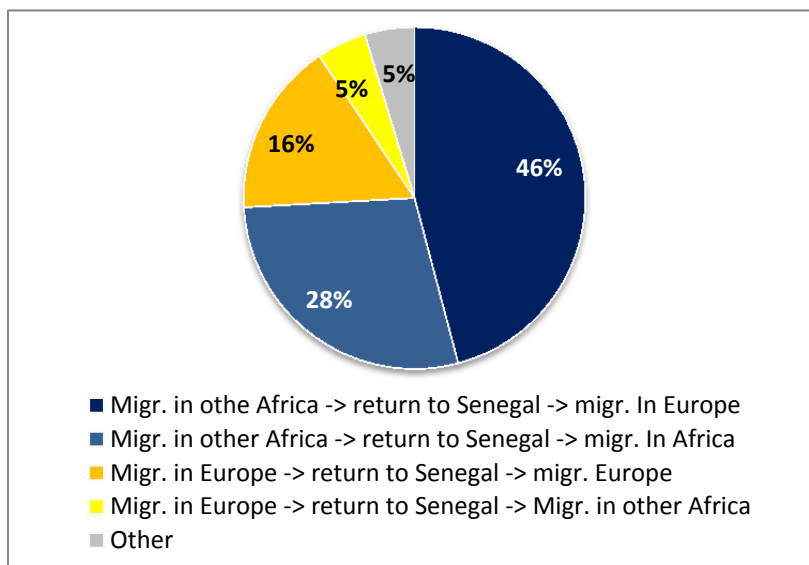
Among the 100 long-term circular migrants, 30 have undertaken bi-polar migration and 70 multi-polar migration.

The first group had one (or repeated) returns from country A with following re-migrations to the same country A. As an example see the first lines of the sequences displayed and already commented on in graphs. 3 and 5.

The second group (with multi-polar circularity) have migrated to a first country A, have come back to Senegal and have left again for a country B. An example is previously provided through the reading of the first line of graph 6. This type of cyclical movement can also be repeated more than once, but always using the same mechanism of extension of migration to new destinations after returns.

Among multi-polar circular migrants, the dominant pattern (46%) implies that individuals return from migration in other African countries and then set off towards Europe. It is again useful to remember that this data is strongly affected by the sample design that captured migrants who successfully reached Europe. As a consequence, this figure is probably over-estimated.

**Graph 9. Return migration multi-polar patterns**



Source: MAFE-Senegal Survey

A significant number of trajectories (28%), however, after returns from African countries, involves re-departure for other destinations always within the intra-continental space. As shown in the table below, circular migration is mainly carried out within the Western sub-region, while all the returns that occur from the countries in Mediterranean Africa lead afterwards to Europe.

**Tab 3: Multi-polar circular migrations: countries before return and after re-departure**

		EUROPE					OTHER AFRICA			Mid. East	USA	Total
		Italy	France	Spain	West. Europe	East. Europe	North. Africa	West. Africa	Centr. Africa			
EUROPE	Italy	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	France	3	0	2	1	1	1	2	1	0	1	12
	Spain	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
	West. Europe	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
	North. Europe	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
OTHER AFRICA	North. Africa	2	4	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	8
	West. Africa	2	14	11	1	0	3	14	3	0	0	48
	Centr. Africa	1	1	1	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	7
	Mid. East	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	3
	Total	9	22	15	6	1	5	21	4	1	1	85

Source: MAFE-Senegal Survey

21% of multi-polar returns, then, originate from Europe: 16% of these lead, after the return, to new re-departures toward other different European countries, while 5% generate new migration in the African space.

This bi-polar pattern is observed mainly among European destinations, in particular Italy (8 out of 42), France (14 out of 42), Spain (6 out of 42), but also among other countries of intra-African migration, and within Western Africa in particular.

**Tab 4: Bi-polar circular migrations: countries before return and after re-departure**

	Italy	France	Spain	Other Africa	TOT
Italy	8	0	0	0	8
France	0	14	0	0	14
Spain	0	0	6	0	6
Other Africa	0	0	0	14	14
TOT	8	14	6	14	42

Source: MAFE-Senegal Survey

The picture that emerges from these data confirms that internal migration is a still active mobility practice which reproduces intra-regional (and sub-regional) mobility and has been rooted in the African livelihood system since pre-colonial times (see chapter 2). These have in fact been historically characterized by temporary, seasonal and circular patterns.

As Jonnson highlights (2009) in the Comparative Report on African migration trends issued from the research program on 'African Perspectives on Human Mobility', alongside a diversification in destinations of forms many internal African movements entail bipolar movements from one location to another, while all the countries highlight a growing prevalence of temporary and circular migration. Most migration from and within the sub-region includes temporary cross-border workers, professionals, female traders, clandestine workers and refugees. It is essentially an intra-regional (mainly from the northern zones to the coastal regions), short-term and male-dominated (Adepoju 2009) migration.

We must also necessarily take into account that the geo-political space in which sub-regional circular migration is oriented is the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). Here, the Protocol on Free Movement of Persons, signed in Lagos in 1979, guarantees Community citizens visa free entry into Member States for ninety days (Adepoju, 2009). It also agrees rights of residence and establishment. As a result, the formation of the ECOWAS stimulated the kind of homogeneous society which once

existed in the sub-region, restoring a free-movement common space inhibited especially since the post-colonial times.

It should nonetheless be considered that although there are no barriers at borders to nationals of ECOWAS space and a regime of free movement is in force, migrants are anyway subject to administrative controls at the border post and at numerous roadblocks and security checkpoints on international highways. Here delays, harassment and extortion of travellers are carried out by the police and border officials taking bribes as forms of unofficial tolls (Adepoju, 2009; Brachet, 2009; de Haas, 2006). It has been underlined how most of the ambitious targets fixed by the ECOWAS initiative were not fully achieved, because of minimal or little institutional resources, as well as economic and political instability in several countries (Adepoju, 2009). Furthermore the level of application of the Protocol remains at a national level (Brachet, 2009).

We find also forms of long term circularity in Europe, although to a much lesser extent, involving mainly direct migration to France and to a lesser extent, to Italy and Spain. This fact is evident in light of the restrictive regime here in force: the stable access to legal migration title is crucial for enabling circular migration. As a matter of fact in the European samples, characterized by more rigid legislative barriers, the long-term circulation is weaker and the disincentives to return are larger. The precarious legal status, subject to periodic and uncertain renewals in Europe, inhibits the option of a permanent return, as it would hinder possible following re-departures, in case of need. In this perspective the migration option should be read as a permanent insurance sustained by personal and collective, material and immaterial costs. Irreversibly giving up the migrating capability to legal conditions (obtained with difficulty over the years) would mean wasting such investment.

Those benefiting from a stable status and a long-term residence permit are able to go back and forth freely, and to build in their "free" practice of space, a territory adequate to their needs and aspirations. This is not the case for those who own short-term legal documents or are undocumented. As a consequence the two groups of migrants do not develop the same territorialities (Simon, 2008, in Hily, 2009: 27). As Sinatti (2010) suggests, the majority of returnees feel free to relocate to Senegal only after having obtained a permanent right of overseas residence. The illegal status of migrants, if not always an insurmountable constraint, however, emerges as a major cause of non-movement (Baby-Collin et al. 2009: 108 The transnational circ).

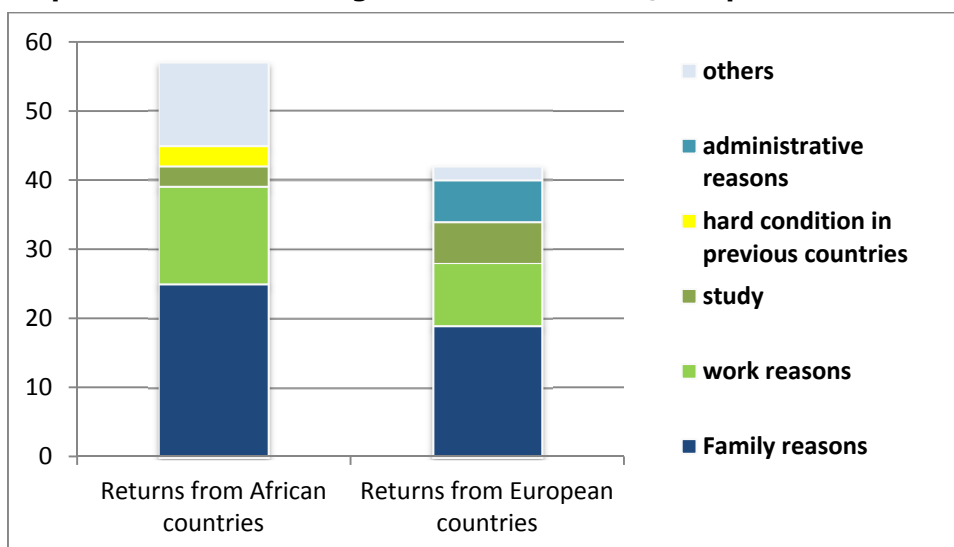
We have seen how the (long term) circularity in the African space is mainly attributable to ancient mobility patterns oriented in the sub-region. To what extent on the other side, can return migrations be connected to circular strategies, intended as the rational behaviour of optimizing or re-optimizing one's economic, social, and personal situation

and of taking advantage of opportunities in both the host and home country (Constant, KF Zimmermann, 2007)? To which extent are they would-be permanent settlement followed by re-migrations related to failed returns, or to new (and better) opportunities that may arise abroad?

As Sinatti suggests (2010), successful migration in the Senegalese perspective could be intended as a definitive reunification with the family in improved economic and social conditions, not forgetting the prestige aspects and the status upgrade. Consequently unsuccessful returns would be the not (economically and socially) sustainable ones. Uncertainties associated with the socio-economic reinsertion of returnees is a strong obstacle to permanent returns and the cause of failed attempts in the re-settling back of many migrants.

The following graph shows the reasons for the return to Senegal according to two groups: returnees and migrants of the three European samples. Again, as in Chapter 4, the objective here is to offer an overview of the subjective reasons that migrants themselves offer for the choice of return, of their orientations, projects, options, narratives through which people describe themselves (Grillo, 2007), rather than giving account of the actual drivers of returns.

**Graph 10: Reasons for long returns from African/European countries**



Source: MAFE-Senegal Survey

If migrants leave in order to take charge of their duty towards the household and the group of origin, driven by a sense of duty and honour (*jom*), the major reason for return has to be again found in the family context. In fact, in both groups the dominant rhetoric around return is associated with family, linked in particular to the need to get closer to home and especially to children. In some case returns are caused



by illness or death of close relatives (parents or partners), which require the presence and assistance of family members abroad.

Among all the logics that structure migration and guide the design of the circulation territories, the family unit, *sensu largo*, undoubtedly plays a central role. "La sphere socio-spatiale de la famille s'impose comme l'un des lieux majeures ou s'elaborent les strategies qui mettront a profit les opportunités, les differentiels existant à travers des differentes points de l'espace de vie tissé à travers les frontieres, celui où s'elaborent, en definitive des nouvelles territorialités » (Baby Collin et al., 2009).

The work motive comes in second place. Some migrants come back after having accomplished their period of work abroad (some declared to have left on appointment of their employer in Senegal - cf. Chapter 4). Others, once the job contract expires, become unemployed without being able to find another employment. Other respondents, finally, opted to come back to Senegal with the goal of setting up a business or to take care of their investments already set up in origin country.

Thirdly there are those, especially migrated in Europe, who after the end of a period of study or training abroad, settled back in Senegal.

Among those who have returned from Europe, we find a group of migrants who have come back as undocumented, some of whom were expelled. The return migration in fact may also play the function of the re-formulation and re-organization of the migration project. It can be functional as a new departure for other destinations that cannot be directly reached from the current country of migration because of insufficient available money or difficulties in obtaining the documents necessary to enter the aimed- for destination. In this sense, circular migration can perform a function similar to transit, as a movement aimed at the re-adjustment of the trajectories and the re-planning of the migration project.

Some returns from African countries have taken place because of difficult conditions in those countries. It should not be underestimated that political and economic instability is one of the major factors that impacts on migration routes within the continent, feeding mainly regional circular movement (Ndiaye, Robin, IMI). In particular the reported cases are referred to the *coup d'état* in September 2002 in Ivory Coast, after which several thousands of migrant workers left the country. Other individuals instead migrated to Mauritania, a Senegalese historical destination of migrants, where in 1989, following Mauritania-Senegal border tensions, ethno-political upheavals culminated in the expulsion of Senegalese and Black Mauritians from the country. In the wake of this crisis, Mauritanian-Senegalese relations degenerated and the balance of power in the country tipped. It was only in 1991 that an agreement was negotiated by the Senegalese President Abdou Diouf to re-open the borders between Senegal and Mauritania (Di Bartolomeo, Fakhoury, Perrin, 2010).

Among other reasons there are returns due to illness of migrants themselves or to retirement.

Even if the return is inscribed in the common horizon of migration and is the ultimate goal of the migration experience for most, according to Robin et al. (2000), 96% of migrants who plan return have not yet set the date on which it could actually take place. Whenever they take place, about half of them are not considered as definitive by the migrants, who are potential candidates for re-departure. The return to the origin country often does not mean breaking with the previous migration experience; the alternative to re-emigrating is preserved, notably by the upkeep of a valid visa or residence permit (*ibidem*). A research into the entrepreneurship of Senegalese immigrants in Italy highlighted how, when business projects are developed in Senegal, returns configure mainly as a shift of the barycentre in favour of the Senegalese pole, and rarely as a final return and a breaking of the migration experience (Castagnone, 2007). Return, in other words, should not be intended as a "closure of the migration cycle, but rather as one of the multiple steps of a continued movement" (Ammassari and Black, 2001, 12, referring to King, 2000).

## **6.5 Short-term circularity: lost in migration or transnational economic actors?**

Besides a long-term mobility, subject to legal restrictions and the risk of inhibition of future re-departures, we observe - as already mentioned at the beginning of the chapter (see Figure 2) - a lively parallel mobility supplying temporary short-term, but constant and repeated over the years, returns. Migration in African countries seem to be participate only marginally in this mobility pattern.

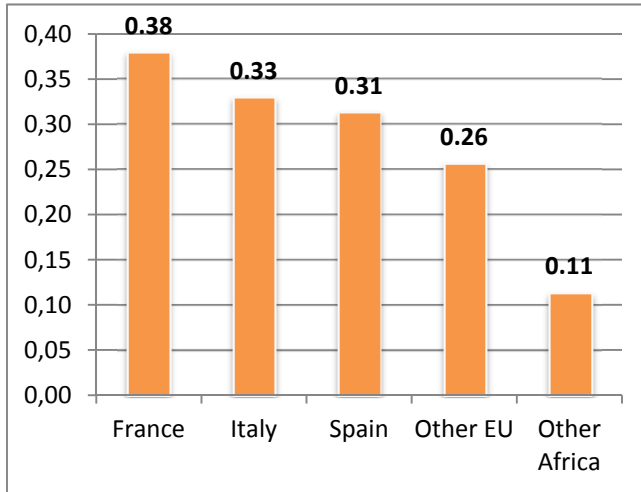
The following chart shows the average rate of short returns by country of migration, obtained by dividing the total number of returns by the total number of years of 'active' migration experience (net of returns).

Among the different samples, the French one shows the highest rate of short returns (on average): the mean being one return every three years (0,38). The Italian and Spanish samples show respectively a mean of 0,33 and 0,31. On average, other European countries and African destinations show an even lower rate (respectively 0,26 and 0,11).

At first sight the returns also seem to be affected by a time effect: from a first observation of data they start to occur after a few years of residence, probably after having obtained a stable legal status and having accumulated enough savings to meet the expenses related to returns. This could explain the higher rate of return to France.

Deeper explanatory analysis, such as an event history analysis, should be here performed in order to test this hypothesis.

**Graph 11: Short return rates (mean) by areas of return**



Source: MAFE-Senegal Survey

Short-term circularity emerges therefore eminently as a European mobility strategy, opposite to long-term circularity and as a predominantly African strategy. As already noted, the legal status of migrants abroad has a profound impact on the opportunities for circular mobility during migration. In this perspective the absence of a stable legal status inhibits the propensity to return permanently or for long periods. In this sense, short and repeated returns, the so-called “shuttle mobility” may reflect in some way the lack of choices available to migrants (Jones, Murray, 1986).

However, the short and intermittent circularity should not only be interpreted as a second-best option, as it entails broader social, cultural, economic significance worth considering.

If definitive return is the common horizon, it is often delayed or even unrealized for very long periods (the myth of return), the periodic short returns emerge in this perspective as “the outcome of compromises made between permanent return and the conflicting benefits offered by staying in migration” (Sinatti, 2010: 1). In this perspective the ideal organization is the transnational one, also evocated as “shuttle mobility” (Pastore, 2008): “living part of the year in Italy and the other part in Senegal, making the best of the two countries” (Riccio, 2004: 933).

The well acknowledged transnationalism of the Senegalese diaspora is fed to a large extent precisely by this tension and strong intention to return. Mobility capability and the willingness to circulate are fundamental aspects, around which is built the life abroad. Faced with the difficulty of embarking on a final return, short-term circular

mobility assumes the function of keeping the rope taut with the country of origin, maintaining and renewing ties, feeding the networks, providing information for a possible future return, etc.

In addition, the intermittent returns have an essential function of symbolic reproduction. They serve to maintain social prestige, represent the reward for the effort abroad, renewing the sense of migration, which is based on material basis (work, income increase), but also on symbolic roots (prestige, increased social status). This condition of privilege has nonetheless to be re-negotiated at every return, re-fed through the distribution of money and gifts, through the visits, etc.. (Castagnone et al). These same returns feed in turn the imagination of the left behind, through the ostentation of the accumulated wealth, forming a symbolic stimulus to departure and nurturing a culture of migration. Thanks also to return, temporary migrants have emerged as new figures of social success (Riccio, 2007: 48), "contemporary heroes who embody the new ways of social mobility, spreading models of existence and life styles that go beyond the mere material success".

Thus back-and-forth mobility is the *fil rouge* that acts as a bridge between the two sides, reconnecting the individual to a collective identity and experience, and having as a reference the parental group in the country of origin, thus helping cultural and symbolic assimilation to the host country. One of the perceived highest risks is in fact that of being *lost in migration* or marrying a philosophy of life different from the one of origin, losing one's roots and breaking the social norms of the sending society (Castagnone et al., 2005). The Senegalese who, on return, show accentuated individualistic behaviour, and do not adhere to the rules of reciprocity and redistribution that regulate relations between members of society, violating the pillar values of the Senegalese society, are derisively nicknamed *toubab*, "white", being deemed in some way as "deviant". In this sense, the Mouride brotherhood ethics conveyed in migration, at least for part of the followers, are a form of protection from upheaval and the possible loss of the origin society's values, and, as already pointed out, contribute to a strict work ethic (Castagnone et al., 2005; Riccio, 2004). This shows that the act of migration is embedded in the social, familiar, communitarian and religious system, exhorting the actors to maintain links with the community of origin. This device protects against the weakening of social ties between migrants and those who did not migrate, the left behind. The connection with the country has nothing natural, it is a construct that evolves and changes over time, during the migratory journey (Lacroix et al., 2008) and which needs to be renewed and fed over time.

The transnational condition (being "in between" two worlds) is also however a card functionally played by Senegalese migrants both during migration (through the cyclical returns, *the "va et vient"*), and at the time of the permanent return to Senegal,

particularly in terms of optimization of the transnational social capital. This same capital will prove to be decisive at the time of final return in the construction of a project of re-settlement and economic re-integration through job search or start-up of a business.

Neither should we underestimate the economic role of shuttle migration in relation to commercial businesses activated by migrants between sending and destination countries. There, a universe of activities issued from a "business world" of nomadic entrepreneurs (Peraldi, 2001), including a wide range of formal and informal activities and transactions not necessarily professional, is in place. These activities rise and feed on the transnational context mapped out by migrants between Senegal and Europe, sometimes drawing complex routes, which are largely based on Mouride networks. These trade routes have developed since the '60s, through migration in France (Bertoncello, Bredeloup, 2000; Ebin, 1992; Bava, 2000, 2002; Peraldi, 2001), and have established over the years, until today, a fertile economic ground "from New York to Naples, through Istanbul et Marseille" (Bava, 2003). In Senegal, the Mouride brotherhood has actually produced a complex system able to play as an identity spiritually and spatially framing and associated with a transnational economic system.

These multiple circulations of persons, goods, cultures and worships in a network set up between several areas illustrate a socialization of spaces, as supports of such transnational mobility that migrants are organizing in "circulatory territories" (Tarrus, 1989, 1993). The latter concept, without removing the issues of ownership or symbolic space, evokes the social rhythms, the identity processes, imagination, usage, practices, interactions and negotiations, that provide sense to territorial support. It does not refer exclusively to the crossing of border space, but to the density of a territory including different social times, different identities and histories of groups using it (Bava, 2003).

Defined by Peraldi (2001) as a "bazaar economy", the economic system activated by transnational migrants entails two articulated competencies: on the one side cross-border mobility, on the other relationship proficiency and communitarian cohesion, which make it possible to convert solidarity and trust networks established in migration into productive and cost-effective relationships, despite the absence of legal regulation (Peraldi, 2001). The given word's game ??, reputation and control on relationships are sufficient to guarantee transactions between trading partners (Lacroix, 2008).

In the typology of economic transnationalism formulated by Ambrosini (2009), four different degrees (from the lowest to the highest) of transnational engagement are to be applied, when dealing with migrant business.

The first, the lowest level, the "symbolic transnationalism" entails a symbolic connection between origin and destination countries, where transnational practices consist of evocating atmospheres, cultures and practices from the origin country. The

second level, the "mercantile transnationalism", implies a movement of merchandise from origin countries and the displacement of economic operators. The third degree, the "connective transnationalism" consists of physical or immaterial transfer of money or messages. The fourth and last level of economic transnationalism, classified as "circulatory" is at the top of the scale of intensity and involvement in transnational ties, implying common physical movements across borders, with repeated trips between the sending and receiving countries. The transnational trade activated by Senegalese migrants is a pertinent example of the latter level of economic transnationalism.

Street trading in particular has been in Senegalese immigration in Italy since the early 1980s, a lifeline for those who had no professional training, and prevalent particularly among those who were undocumented. This activity created a niche market ensuring an independent activity, to which immigrants could easily access thanks to family and previous personal experience gained in the country of origin in the informal sector. The option itself of trade in Senegalese migration has been associated with a strategy of integration into the labour market that has favoured the freedom of movement and autonomy in the management of working time. In this framework the choice of self-employment in the destination country can also be read as functional to the "back and forth" mobility (Riccio, 2007; Castagnone et al., 2005), allowing prolonged and frequent returns between origin and host countries. This situation of "dual presence" (Riccio, 2009a; Ceschi and Riccio, 2010), which is a counterpoint to the "double absence" of Sayad (2002), allows the articulation of experiences and practices of migration in relation to a double territorial orientation and a bifocal logic.

## **6.6 The main findings of the analysis on circular migration**

It has been highlighted on several occasions how the final return is embedded in the migration project of Senegalese abroad. The condition that most Senegalese share is that of living in migration as a temporary experience with the permanent feeling of the future return (Castagnone et al., 2005; Mboup, 2000; Sinatti, 2010). Continually deferred, permanent return acquires the status of a myth (ibid.), assuming the characteristics of a delayed-release planning, a goal pursued and not well defined in different ways and times. This sentiment, that has been defined as "low desire" (Castagnone et al, 2005), is a state of mind that accompanies the daily lives of migrants abroad oriented towards an undefined and idealized future.

While for most Senegalese migrants *successful* return is in fact still associated with *definitive* return, this desire for permanent resettlement in the home society often does not mean actual economic advancement. As a result long-term returns emerge as attempts characterized by uncertain outcome and strong reversibility through new re-departures, in a prolonged condition of "unsettled return" (Sinatti, 2010).

Some empirical evidence based on previous work (Megzer, Flahaux 2010; Chauvet, Gubert, Mesplé-Somps, 2009) demonstrated the positive performances of returnees in the economic re-integration in origin country. Notwithstanding those works fail to, or only marginally succeed in, capturing the unsuccessful return experiences (unsatisfactory access and integration in labour market or failure of business activity) having led to new re-departures and to "settlement in mobility" (Morokvasic, 2004). In the analysis of return migration it is thus necessary to consider the failed returns generating further re-departures and circular movements in order to fully understand the phenomenon in its complexity. The figure of migrants "stuck in mobility" seems thus opposite, but complementary to the one of transit migrants, "stuck in immobility" (see Chapter 5), who are stranded and unable to continue, indefinitely prolonging their stay in intermediate countries, waiting to reach the goal fixed in advance.

At the same time migrant circularity can be read as the result of constant adaptation and in-progress adjustment of the migration project, fluid and changing, continuously faced with opportunities and obstacles between one-off migration from the home to the host country and back home, and new possible migration options. It is the case of some registered multi-polar circular movements initially developed within the African space, then leading to Europe. Not being able to get to the aimed –for destination directly from the first country of migration, these migrants return to Senegal and re-program from here a new departure. As already shown in the analysis on transits (see chap. 5), even returns prove migration to be an ongoing process, subject to a continuous tension between imagination, plans, desires, projects, that fold, re-formulate, adapt, organize creatively according to the opportunities and constraints.

On the other side, temporary short-term circulation, taking place mainly between Europe and Senegal, appears as a compromise, a second-best choice, in relation to the difficulties imposed by labour and legal status and by increasingly restrictive immigration policies which inhibit fluid mobility between the territories of origin and destination.

In the analysis of returns, however, the benefits that regular "comers and goers" may obtain by multi-local residential strategies, making of mobility an economic, social, cultural resource, through a "globalization from below", should not be underestimated. In this perspective back and forth movements may also be the product of a calculated mobility strategy embracing the best of both the country of migration and country of origin, accumulating human, economic, social trans-national capital conditions, and funded and feeding on the "in between" condition, as in the case of transnational traders.

This second, quite distinct, form of circular mobility attests to how the policy regime in destination countries plays a key role in shaping forms, intensity and reversibility of

circularities. In this view, while temporary and circular migration policy tools are increasingly advocated and implemented by European governments, structural constraints and the role of states and other institutions still represent one the strongest limits to a genuine self-determined circularity.



## CHAPTER 7

### **Migration patterns: towards a comprehensive framework of migrants' mobility**

This chapter aims at *recomposing* migrants' trajectories, analyzed in previous chapters in their sub-components (events) (cf. chapter 4) with a particular focus on transit and repeated returns in the country of origin (cf. chapter 5 and 6), with the objective to obtain an empirical definition of the main mobility patterns in Senegalese migration.

The yearly time scale set of sequences, previously provided in chapter 4 (graphs 8-11), displayed trajectories on a calendar based approach, with the length of sequences representing the actual length of events. Nonetheless this approach does not entirely enable to fulfil the aim of discovering behavioural regularities within a group of individuals. As Billari (2001) indicates, with sequences on time scale and with a long time span (e.g., 20 years), and in our case with different lengths, the probability that two sampled cases can be represented by the same sequence becomes very low, tending towards zero, thus preventing a classificatory operation. Furthermore, the time scale sequences did not enable to visualize migration episodes shorter than a year, hence excluding them from the analysis. These short-term migration episodes are nonetheless crucial as these mainly represent transit and temporary return movements, which play an increasing role in migration strategies, as has been theoretically debated and empirically shown in previous chapters.

Therefore, as in chapters 5 and 6, this chapter will use sequences to provide an overview of the *structure* of migration, including long and short term migrations, and converting events of different lengths in homogeneous units, in which one migration step represents one unit in the sequence, irrespective of its length. Their different composition (chronological sequencing of units), geographical location (countries where they occurred), and nature (out-migrations; further migrations; returns; re-departures; etc.) shape mobility trajectories. The succession of one or more episodes in the same macro-area (i.e., rest of EU; rest of Africa; Asia and Middle East) indicates that the individual moved between different countries within that same macro-area. As in previous sets of sequences (in chapters 5 and 6) each horizontal line corresponds an individual's complete migration path from the first migration until the survey date, thus displaying his/her entire migration career. This is the first step in order to lay the foundation of a comprehensive mobility framework for this study.

The next step will consist of comparing trajectories through distance measures obtained via optimal matching analysis (OMA); and, based on the results of the comparison, of grouping similar sequences through cluster analysis (Brzinsky-Fay,

Kohler, 2006). The latter technique aims to divide a set of objects (such as variables or individuals or, in this case, migration careers), into a set of clusters or classes, in such a way that the objects in a class are maximally similar to each other and maximally different to the objects (migration careers) in other cluster with regards to a specific list of descriptive indicators that characterize these objects. The objective is to identify groups of objects that show similar characteristics. In other words, this technique allows to study the occurrence of patterns in different sequences (Billari, 2001).

This will result in the detection of main mobility patterns, which will be further analyzed with regards to their structure and geospatial composition. Also the characteristics of migrants within each of these mobility patterns will be studied in order to construct profiles of migrants adopting different mobility patterns.

This further empirical effort allows to meet the objective of reducing heterogeneity and complexity of individual trajectories by discerning patterns that can be more easily generalized. Ultimately social theory formation is precisely about striking a delicate balance between the desire to acknowledge the intricate complexities and the richness of social life on the one hand and the scientific need to discern underlying regularities, patterns and trends on the other (de Haas, 2010: 5).

## **7.1 Three main migration patterns**

In order to identify the clusters, a first rough grouping of sequences was performed by establishing three main groups through the setting of following criteria: the first type of "linear migration" comprised trajectories with only one out-migration episode, or, in the case of the returnees one out-migration episode and a final return spell to Senegal. The second type of "step-wise migration" comprised out-migration and secondary migration episodes with no intermediate returns. The third type of "circular migration" included trajectories with one or more return to Senegal and subsequent re-departures. The theoretical base for the choice of these three main types of mobility stems from the contribution of previous studies and from empirical results on circular migration obtained in chapter 6, and on transit migration in chapter 5.

Within the second and third groups, a further step of clustering has been undertaken through optimal matching analysis (OMA). This led to a refinement of the classificatory operation within these two groups, presenting more "turbulent" (in terms of number of different spells) and diverse sequences.

This chapter will treat each of these obtained clusters (linear migrations, step-wise migrations, and circular migrations) in detail and will provide insights on their geospatial composition and orientation. Furthermore, the characteristics of individuals within each "mobility pattern" cluster are displayed in table 1 and will be further

analyzed in paragraphs 7.2 to 7.4. Table 1 has to be read by column within each section (i.e. group of rows: sex; year departure of first migration; reason for first migration; instruction level), presenting the proportion found in each cluster (expressed in percentage) data. Total absolute values are reported in column and by row (at the bottom and at the right of the table).

**Tab. 1: Characteristics of migrants undertaking linear, step-wise, circular patterns of mobility**

	LINEAR PATTERN			STEP-WISE PATTERN				CIRCULAR PATTERN				TOT % by column	TOT abs. value s
	%			%				%					
	Within EU	Within Africa	TOT lin. patt.	Within EU	African leading to Europe	Within Africa	TOT Step- wise patt.	Within EU	African leading to Europe	Within Africa	TOT Circ. patt.		
<b>Sex</b>													
M	49.5	64.3	<b>52.0</b>	74.7	82.5	81.8	<b>77.7</b>	66.7	76.7	62.5	<b>70.0</b>	<b>58.3</b>	<b>472</b>
F	50.5	35.7	<b>48.0</b>	25.3	17.5	18.2	<b>22.3</b>	33.3	23.3	37.5	<b>30.0</b>	<b>41.7</b>	<b>337</b>
<b>Year depart. first migration</b>													
1950-1970	1.2	11.2	<b>2.9</b>	5.1	5.0	18.2	<b>6.2</b>	6.1	16.3	20.8	<b>14.0</b>	<b>8.7</b>	<b>70</b>
1971-1990	25.2	39.8	<b>27.6</b>	20.3	45.0	45.5	<b>30.0</b>	51.5	60.5	41.7	<b>53.0</b>	<b>32.6</b>	<b>261</b>
1991-2000	39.5	36.7	<b>39.0</b>	39.2	35.0	27.3	<b>36.9</b>	36.4	16.3	37.5	<b>28.0</b>	<b>36.1</b>	<b>289</b>
2001-2008	34.1	12.2	<b>30.4</b>	35.4	15.0	9.1	<b>26.9</b>	6.1	7.0	0.0	<b>5.0</b>	<b>22.6</b>	<b>181</b>
<b>Reason for first migration</b>													
Work	48.3	43.3	<b>47.4</b>	56.5	53.3	62.5	<b>56.1</b>	39.4	47.4	50.0	<b>45.1</b>	<b>48.6</b>	<b>368</b>
Study	13.4	10.3	<b>12.9</b>	8.7	20.0	12.5	<b>11.2</b>	21.2	18.4	0.0	<b>13.2</b>	<b>12.7</b>	<b>96</b>
Network abroad	1.7	9.3	<b>3.0</b>	8.7	6.7	0.0	<b>6.5</b>	0.0	10.5	0.0	<b>4.4</b>	<b>3.6</b>	<b>27</b>
Family reunification	25.1	27.8	<b>25.6</b>	2.9	6.7	12.5	<b>4.7</b>	18.2	18.4	40.9	<b>24.2</b>	<b>22.5</b>	<b>170</b>
Better life conditions	10.4	6.2	<b>9.7</b>	21.7	13.3	12.5	<b>18.7</b>	15.1	5.3	9.1	<b>9.9</b>	<b>12.3</b>	<b>93</b>
Other	1.1	3.1	<b>1.4</b>	1.4	0.0	0.0	<b>0.9</b>	0.0	0.0	0.0	<b>0.0</b>	<b>0.4</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>Educational level</b>													
No schooling/ primary ed.	22.0	35.1	<b>24.2</b>	20.3	50.0	54.5	<b>32.3</b>	24.2	34.9	54.2	<b>36.0</b>	<b>26.8</b>	<b>217</b>
Secondary education	57.9	54.6	<b>57.3</b>	59.5	42.5	36.4	<b>52.3</b>	48.5	48.8	41.7	<b>47.0</b>	<b>54.9</b>	<b>444</b>
Tertiary education	20.1	10.3	<b>18.5</b>	20.3	7.5	9.1	<b>15.4</b>	27.3	16.3	4.2	<b>17.0</b>	<b>17.7</b>	<b>143</b>
<b>TOT % by column</b>	<b>59.5</b>	<b>12.1</b>	<b>71.6</b>	<b>9.8</b>	<b>4.9</b>	<b>1.4</b>	<b>16.1</b>	<b>4.1</b>	<b>5.3</b>	<b>3.0</b>	<b>12.4</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>TOT abs. values</b>	<b>481</b>	<b>98</b>	<b>579</b>	<b>79</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>130</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>100</b>		<b>809</b>

Source: MAFE Senegal Survey (own calculations)

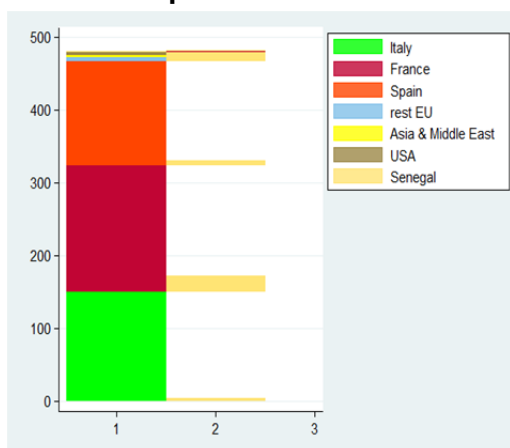
## 7.2 Linear migration

Linear migration entails direct, one-way moves from Senegal to destination countries. Migrants from this group leave the origin country, Senegal, and settle in a foreign destination (for shorter or longer periods) without further re-settlement. This first mobility pattern representing 71.6% of all migratoin careers fits within a more conventional understandig of migration as transition from a place A (departure country) to a place B (destination country) and, eventually, a permanent return back to point A (in the case of returnees).

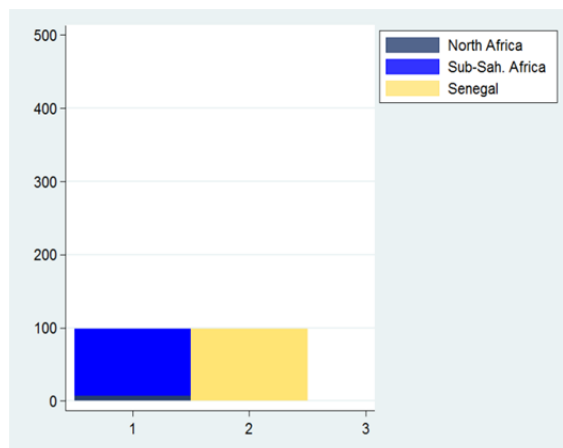
It should however be noted that we are working with a right censored process, i.e. with observations stopping in 2008, with a limited retrospective observation window, which will be longer for migrants who begun their migration career longer ago, either because they were born earlier or migrated at an earlier age. Thus, having undertaken only one migration so far does not necessarily exclude further movements to other countries, such as returns to Senegal for the European sample, or future re-emigrations for returnees in the Senegale sample. Linear migration may in fact potentially evolve in circular (for the returnees in Senegal, who may decide to leave again in migration) or in step-wise (for actual migrants, who could decide to embark onto secondary migration) patterns. The results presented here are thus dependent on the age composition of the sample and the length of the observation window.

**Graph 1: Linear migration**

**Towards Europe**



**Towards Africa**



Source: MAFE-Senegal Survey (own calculations)

Within the linear migration pattern, a further distinction was made between the trajectories towards Europe and those in Africa, as shown in graph 1.

The sequences displaying two episodes, with the second episode indicating a return to Senegal, are the ones undertaken by returnees, who were settled back in Senegal at the time of the survey. As previously mentioned, due to the sampling bias, European

destinations, and in particular Italy, Spain and France, prevail over African destinations, representing 481 and 98 of all 579 individuals in this cluster, respectively.).

According to the results presented in table 1, linear migrations directed to Europe are equally undertaken by men and women (respectively 52% and 48%), while migration within Africa show a greater imbalance between men (64.3%) and women (35.7%).

The fact that women undertake mainly linear migration patterns (towards Europe in particular) indicates that their migration projects are less exploratory than for men and more predictable, as directed to destinations where family members or network members are already settled and ready to receive them. Furthermore direct, linear migration are less dangerous and less exhausting, implying less tortuous paths. Finally, women, being more often responsible for the children, are geographically more stable and require greater salience of the support network.

The stated main reasons for migration seem homogeneous for the two subgroups, with work (47.4%), family reunification (25.6%) and study (12.9%) predominating. Consistently with data presented in graphs 3-4 in chapter 4, these groups present strong gender differences: Men predominantly move for work reasons, while women mainly move family reunification reasons, in order to join their husbands abroad.

While 50% of migration towards (almost exclusively sub-Saharan) Africa, took place before the 1990s, migration towards Europe (graph on the left) prevailed in more recent times (more than 34% after 2000, and almost 40% between 1990 and 2000). We must here consider that linear pattern migration is here over-represented in a dynamic perspective, that is, many of the trajectories undertaken in more recent time have a higher probability to evolve in the following years into step-wise or circular patterns.

The group directly migrating to African destinations and subsequently returning to Senegal show a low average level of education in comparison to those who have migrated to Europe. As will be discussed below, this educational selection is a recurrent feature for migration directed towards Africa and Europe.

### **7.3 Step-wise migration**

The transition from linear to step-wise migration marks the distinction that Ma Mung (2009: 144) underlined between "international monomigrations", which are built on linear migration patterns between the country of origin and the migratory destination, and "plurimigrations", entailing the crossing of several subsequent countries. Step-wise migration consists in fact of fragmented mobility steps across different countries out of Senegal, both in the African and/or in the European space. These paths are characterised by a more or less high level of "migration turbulence", in which multiple

moves (from 2 to 9 different spells) lead to the composition of step-by-step migration. Step-wise migration accounts for 16,1% of all sequences within the sample.

Within the step-wise cluster, three sub-groups of step-wise movement were distinguished through optimal matching and cluster analysis (graph 2)<sup>15</sup>.

As Billari (2001) highlights, one of the difficulties in OMA (optimal matching analysis) is to understand which variables in the definition of specific clusters are more relevant (optimal) than the others. In this case the procedure consisted in preliminary (manually) setting the criteria of the mobility structure (linear, step-wise, circular), as previously explained, and in refining the cluster groups, further specifying the geographical scope of each cluster. Based on an analysis of the dendograms, the optimal number of clusters was set at three, thus yielding three main sub-types of movements within each cluster: a set of sequences occurring mostly in European space, another taking place in African space, and a third group of sequences leading from Africa to the Europe. This procedure has been applied within the step-wise and the circular macro-clusters, while within linear cluster two main more clearcut sub-groups were identified: a first set of direct trajectories oriented towards European countries and a second one towards African ones.

The first sub-group obtained within the step-wise macro-cluster (cf. graph 2, picture at the top on the left and cf. table 1) displays a set of movements within the European space and is the most prominent within the linear pattern. Once in Europe, places of arrival may or may not be places where migrants settle for good. As reported by a migrant from Cameroon interviewed in Madrid by Schapendonk (2010a: 10): "*Once you are inside [Europe], the real migration begins*", meaning that completely different structure of opportunities often emerge once the European mainland is reached. Once there, migrants face a whole new range of possible destinations within the European Schengen-zone, in which the destination choice responds to different needs and expectations, such finding a (better) job, join family in other European countries,

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<sup>15</sup> The basic idea behind optimal matching is to measure the dissimilarity of two sequences by considering how much effort is required to transform one sequence into the other one. In its most elementary method, transforming sequences entails three basic operations. For this aim, 3 elementary operations (insertion: a state is inserted into the sequence; deletion: a state is deleted from the sequence; and substitution: a state is substituted by another one) are computed in order to transform one sequence in another, each one entailing a specific assigned cost (Billari, 2001). The sum of such costs of operations is computed and the distance (dissimilarity) between sequences is calculated as the minimum cost of transforming one sequence into the other one (ibidem). The specific dynamic Needleman-Wunsch algorithm produces a distance matrix (Brzinsky-Fay, Kohler, 2006), that is then employed as an input for clusteranalysis, which generates different possible sets of clustering, depicted in a dendogram (tree diagram used to illustrate the arrangement of the clusters produced by hierarchical clustering).

seizing better opportunities emerging in other countries, accessing to and maintaining regular status, and so on. As already argued in chapter 5, some of the intra-European movements, on the grounds of their transitory nature and of their function to reach other countries, may be assimilated to transit migration, with an continuous re-adjustment of the final objective of the migration project.

As international migration continues to grow in volume, frequency, and complexity, secondary migration (defined as moves from one foreign countries to a further destination(s) with no intermediate return migration to origin country)<sup>16</sup> has become more salient. This is partly a consequence of extensive migrant networks, which may enhance the mobility opportunities for migrants, allowing a better re-definition and re-adjustment of the migratory project once in Europe. Re-migration within Europe could also be read as a response to changing immigration policies and labour market transformations in immigrant-receiving countries, encouraging the search for better opportunities and settlement conditions in further destinations. Countries that are easier to enter then become a stepping-stone to migrants' final destinations (Takenaka, 2007). It should however stressed that intra-European migration is still a completely unexplored phenomenon, whose extent and dynamics are mostly ignored by research.

Data from this first sub-group show that Italy, in particular, was largely reached by migrants coming from France, Spain, and, to a lesser extent from African intermediary destinations. This statement is in line with the previous considerations in chapters 2 and 4, depicting Italy as a new destination of Senegalese migration, which initially reached via other European countries, especially France. Only later, Italy became a direct destination, mainly from Senegal. On the contrary (as already highlighted in chapter 5) Italy plays a relatively minor role as a stepping-stone towards more distant countries.

The second sub-cluster in graph 2 (at the top on the right) shows preliminary steps in North African and Sub-Saharan countries eventually leading to Europe, while the third one (at the bottom on the left) depicts intra-African (mainly within Sub-Saharan and in particular West African countries) step-wise mobility mainly leading back to Senegal as a final outcome.

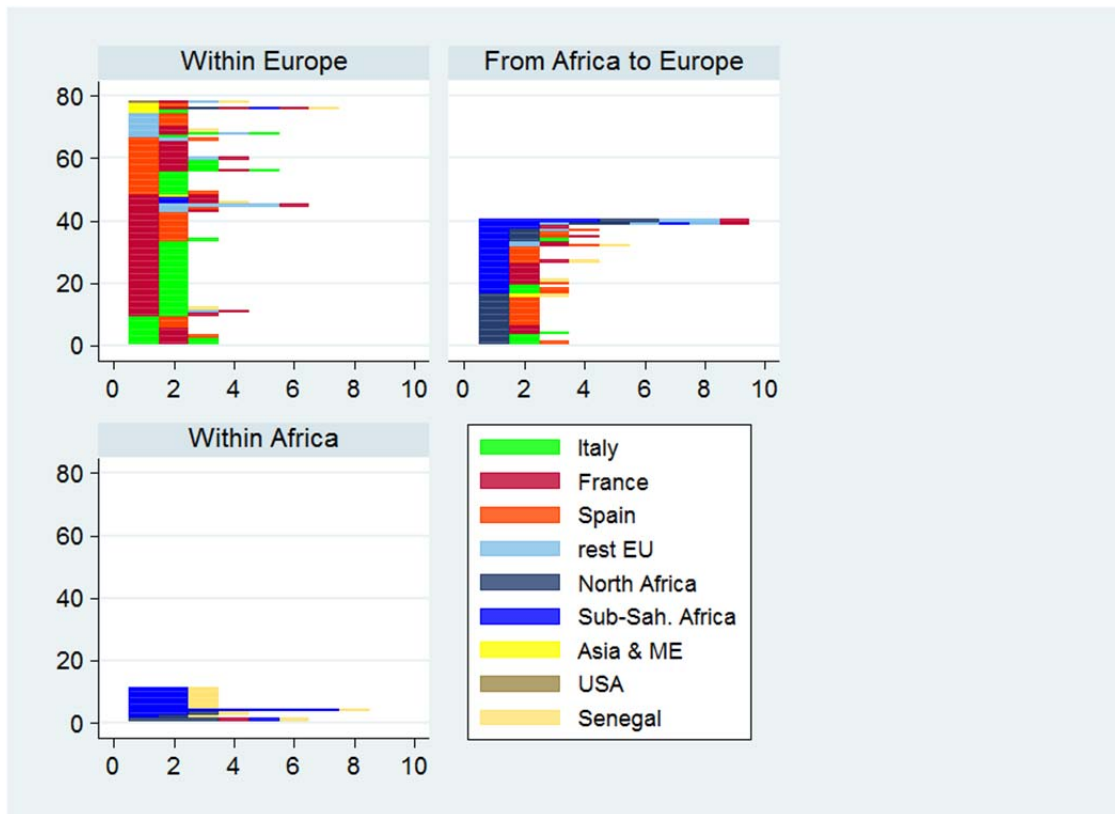
As already debated in chapters 2 and 5, step-wise migration is strongly associated with transit movements, and is an emerging strategy used by migrants aiming to reach

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<sup>16</sup> "Secondary Migration" is originally a legal term which refers specifically to refugees who are placed for resettlement initially in one location in the United States, and who decide to relocate to another part of the United States during their first eight months in the country.

Europe in an era of tightening entry procedures in European destination countries. Such movements mainly - albeit not exclusively - take place in African intermediate countries.

**Graph 2: Step-wise migration**



Source: MAFE-Senegal Survey (own calculations)

The phenomenon of 'pulverization of migratory paths' also seems to be related, as argued by Schapendonk (2010a; 2010b; 2009) to the fact that migrants' projects and aspirations are changeable along the path. Initial plans are influenced, changed and re-defined in the "transit phase". Transits may well be self-conscious strategies aimed at entering Europe, but their outcomes varies: some migrants are able to access to Europe, often leaving aside initially desired destinations in order to migrate to other places, while others get stuck outside the European borders. For others, finally, Europe was not the primary destination, as they had not a clear aspiration to go there, but it can become a viable option after residing in some transit countries (Schapendonk 2010b; de Haas, 2007). Started as South-South migration, these trajectories often turn into migration aspirations for Europe, with more or less unexpected forms of transit migration occurring (Schapendonk 2010b).



Unlike the linear migration, the step-wise migration is mainly undertaken by men (77.7%), and in particular by the sub-groups that migrated within the African space or between Africa and Europe.

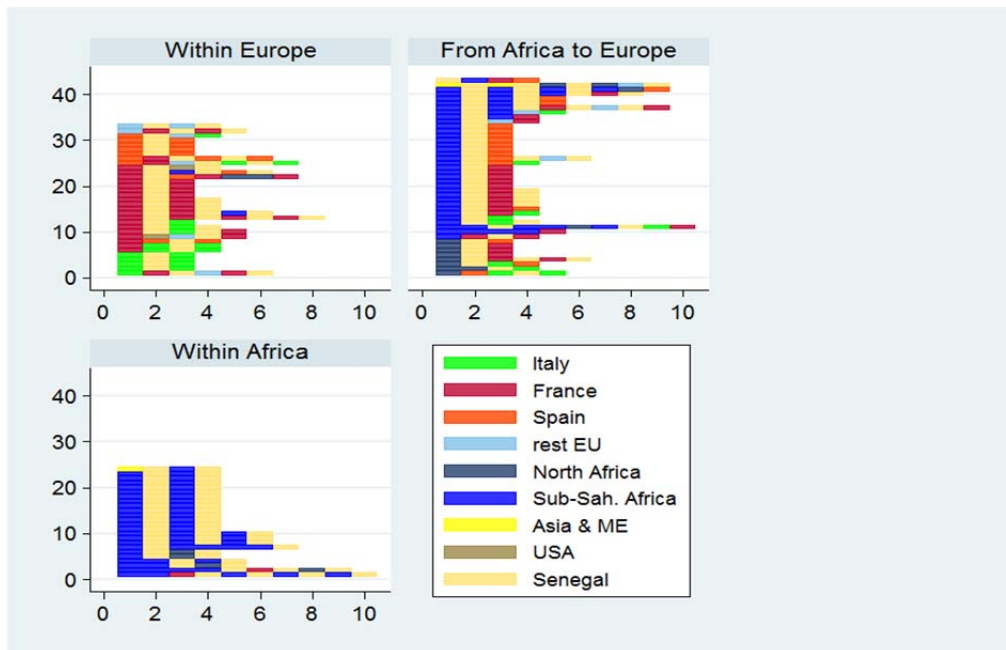
One out of three step-wise intra-European trajectories began in the last decade, which might indicate a new and emerging phenomenon of secondary movements within Europe, those developed between Africa and Europe are slightly less recent. The intra-African step-wise trajectories (mainly within Sub-Saharan Africa), finally, pertain to the eldest migration, reproducing historical mobility patterns oriented in the sub-region (cf. chapter 2).

Those who have undertaken step-wise paths mention quite different reasons for leaving at the first departure than the other two groups. First of all, better life conditions are highly relevant for this group (18.7%), especially for step-wise migrants within Europe (21.7%). This could explain how step-wise migration are oriented to the search of work, but also to a broader improvement of quality of life, which may imply further re-orientations of the migratory project in different subsequent destinations. Family reunification, on the contrary, seems here far less important (4.7%) as a reason to migrate.

## **7.4 Circular migration**

Circular migration is the third migratory pattern, which entails repeated out-migrations and temporary long-term (longer than a year) returns to the country of origin (the "pendulum migrants" evocated by de Haas, 2010). This pattern develops in three possible forms of mobility: a bi-polar circularity within European Union, involving returns from European destinations and re-departures to Europe; a multi-polar circular migration, from African countries back to Senegal and re-emigration to Europe; and, finally, a repeated mobility between African destinations and the country of origin.

**Graph 3: Circular migration**



Source: MAFE-Senegal Survey (own calculations)

The first and the third groups concern particularly the Senegalese sample, which is composed by returnees. This can also be noticed in the first and the third plots of graph 2, where most of the sequences' lines end with the Senegalese spell. They reveal, indeed, an older migration: trajectories developed within the African space or between Africa and Europe, generated respectively in 76.8% and in 62.5% of cases between 1950s and 1990s.

As already noted in Chapter 6, among migrants staying in Europe, circularity seems far less frequent than among the sample of returnees. It should nonetheless be mentioned that the circular migration from Europe counterbalances the lack of long returns with a multiple annual short visits to Senegal that allow migrants to maintain ties with their native country through this different -second-best- strategy, as discussed in chapter 6.

As in the case of step-wise migration, also circular migration is mainly undertaken by men (70%). Migrants' level of education considerably varies within the three sub-types. In the case of circular migration undertaken from Europe, over a quarter of individuals (27.3%) has a higher education level (the highest of all groups); those who circulated from African space and carried on to Europe also show a high level of education (16.3% own some title from tertiary education), while those who circulated within the African space instead have a much lower educational level (45.7% did not attend school or only primary school).

The main stated reason for the first departure from Senegal also varies within the three sub-groups: while stated motives for intra-African migration is neatly divided between work (50%) and family (40.9%) options, for individuals migrating to European destinations or between other African countries and Europe, study is also referred as an important reason for departure (21.2 and 18.4% of cases respectively), whereas family reunification is a much less reported reason to migrate (mentioned in only 18% of cases).

## 7.5 A comprehensive framework of mobility

The final objective of this chapter is to build a comprehensive framework of migration patterns from Senegal based on the data presented and analysed throughout along this study. The analysis of the characteristics of individuals who have undertaken the different mobility patterns provide a profiling of migrants according to the different migration patterns, summarized in table 2.

**Table 2: Senegalese migration patterns according to structure and space of mobility**

	<b>Linear migration</b> <b>72%</b>	<b>Step-wise migrations</b> <b>16%</b>	<b>Circular migrations</b> <b>12%</b>
<b>Towards/ within Europe</b> <b>73%</b>	Gender-balanced, recent migration of individuals with medium to high level of education. Work, family reunification and study are the main stated reasons for migration at first departure. Network seems not relevant in the choice to migrate.	Male-dominated, more recent migration of individuals with higher levels of education. Work and better life conditions are the main reasons for leaving at first departure.	Prevalently male, quite recent migration of individuals with very high levels of education. After work, studying is an important reason for migrating, followed by family reunification and better life conditions.
<b>From Africa to Europe</b> <b>10%</b>		Male dominated, quite recent migration of individuals with medium-low levels of education. Both sub-Saharan and North African countries are a step on the way to subsequently enter into Europe. Work, study and better living conditions are the main stated reasons for leaving at first departure.	Male-dominated, long term established migration of individuals with lower levels of education. Initial migration mainly in Sub-Saharan Africa is undertaken with circular patterns oriented on migration towards Europe. Work, study and family reunification are the main reasons for migrating. Network abroad is relevant in the choice to migrate.
<b>Towards/ within Africa</b> <b>17%</b>	Prevalently male migration of individuals with medium to low levels of education. Work, family reunification and study are the main reasons for migration at first departure. Network is relevant in the choice to migrate.	Male-dominated long-term established migration of individuals with low levels of education. Work, study, family reunification and better life conditions are the reasons for leaving at first departure.	Male-dominated ancient migration of individuals with very low levels of education. Work and family reunification are the main reasons for migrating, followed by the desire of better life conditions.

Source: MAFE-Senegal Survey (own calculations)

To synthesize, the clusters identify three main classes of mobility: linear migrations (representing 72% of all surveyed individuals); step-wise migrations (16%) and circular migrations (12%); and three main spatial patterns: within Europe (73%); from Africa to Europe (10%); and within Africa (17%).<sup>17</sup> The intersection of the different mobility classes with the three main geographical patterns allows to outline the profile of migrants according to the main types of migration trajectories:

1) *Those who have undertaken migration exclusively within the European space through linear, broken or circular patterns.*

While the linear paths are equally undertaken by women and men, the more complex step-wise and circular trajectories are predominantly undertaken by men. The level of education of those who migrated to Europe is medium to high, with a high over 20% holding a tertiary level education degree. The achievement of better living conditions is the main stated migration motive within all Europe-focused migration patterns. Migrants in this group, which possess relatively high human capital seem more motivated and/or more able than migrants from other groups to leverage their skills and resources to activate subsequent forms of mobility after the first out-migration. They do so by looking for other (better) job in other European countries or re-investing their human capital and skills in the origin country through periodical returns to Senegal.

2) *Those who have undertaken transit routes or circular migration that, after one or more steps in African countries – including intermediate returns in the case of circular migration - led to Europe.*

Here both transit and circular migration can be read as part of a strategy of adaptation and in-progress adjustment of the migration project, in which migrants continuously face opportunities and obstacles between one-off migration from origin country, including eventual return migration to Senegal, and new possible migration options.

Step-wise migration from Africa to Europe is a comparatively recent phenomenon Senegalese emigration. It takes place both in the sub-Saharan and the North African space. This patterns include initial steps in (mainly Sub-Saharan) African countries, and sub-sequent returns and re-departures to Europe, are less recent and largely date from before the 1990s. Particularly in step-wise migration and, to a lesser extent, in circular migration, Mediterranean Africa plays a connecting role and an intermediate step between Senegal and Europe. The level of education of migrants in this group is low. A sizeable proportion of migrants in this group have no or only primary education,

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<sup>17</sup> These percentages have limited value since the sample is likely to be biased towards European migration. See comment below.

although around 20% stated that “studying” was the main reasons for migrating (cf. tab. 1 in this chapter).

3) *Migrants who migrated exclusively within the African space, either directly, either through broken or circular patterns.*

This mainly pertains to long-term established migration within Sub-Saharan Africa, which mostly took place before the 1990s and where migrants have a much lower level of education in comparison to those who migrated to Europe, probably concerning an earlier, less educated population. These patterns belong to established models of intra-regional migration in particular, as detailed in chapter 2, based on male-dominated, seasonal and cross-border mobility. It is important to mention that North Africa is only marginally involved in these movements, and that it mainly serves as an intermediate space for migrants planning to go to Europe.

## CHAPTER 8

### **Conclusions. Main findings and some final remarks.**

The objective of this study has been to question in an innovative way the composition of migratory mobility within Africa and between Africa and Europe, by trying to understand the composition of paths developed within and between these spaces, through the biographical study of the routes of interviewed migrants.

The specific theoretical and empirical aim was to identify and analyze the main migration patterns between Africa and Europe through a longitudinal analysis of their complex composition, geographical extent and changing nature over time. The analytical effort of understanding and discerning patterns in the apparent complexity and heterogeneity of migration is an essential preliminary step in order to subsequently explain its driving forces and causes.

While most migration studies concentrate on describing and explaining the drivers and causal mechanisms of migration, this can only provide partial responses. This is because they tend to limit their perspective to specific segments of the migration process, such as people's reason to leave and settle, the factors that determine integration in receiving societies; or their return and re-integration in origin countries. However, such approaches have a limited use for building more comprehensive frameworks for explaining migratory mobility. One of the main reasons is that such studies rely on insufficient preliminary knowledge of the geographical and longitudinal *structure* of migration patterns as well as the geo-political context in which they take place.

While this is a general gap in migration research, this particularly applies to research on the nature and determinants of African international migration patterns, which have remained almost entirely unexplored. The few available studies have been largely based on aggregated and unreliable data sources that are not able to capture the multi-level and longitudinal dimensions of the phenomenon. Transnational data collection and longitudinal methodological approaches are necessary to understand the complexity of migration patterns and to fully take into account the interrelated connections between origin and destination countries.

Based on extensive and unique new survey data collected by the MAFE project, this study analyzed longitudinal trajectories of individual migrants, and it attempted to question conventional migration and mobility categories through the methodical analysis of these trajectories. The resulting alternative categorization defies Euro-centric conceptualizations of migration and helps to overcome dichotomous,

bureaucratic and static categories of migration and migrants as imposed by policy makers and the media.

From the framework presented in chapter 2, three main geo-political migratory spaces emerge, *within* which and *between* which contemporary migration from Senegal evolves: Sub-Saharan Africa and, particularly, West Africa; North Africa; and Europe. These migratory spaces form three systems of mobility, whose historical background were traced back in Chapter 2. These migratory spaces have become increasingly inter-connected and interdependent in a complex and rapidly changing fashion. In particular, we have seen that transnational migration of sub-Saharan Africans (Senegalese in our case) overlaps with sub-regional circulations, and are connected with international mobility to and through Maghreb, where African migrants stay for shorter or longer periods on their way to Europe.

In chapter 4, entire migration trajectories were retrospectively tracked, providing an overview of trends of Senegalese migration in recent history. It also offered some qualitative insights on the reasons why migrants left Senegal for the first time and why they chose specific destination countries. This provided a review of perceptions, aspirations and self-representations with regards to migration, highlighting how stated decisions to leave is mainly associated to economic reasons (the desire to find a job or a better job, or sent by employers) or to family reunification, but also is also related to broader expectations of achieving improvements in lifestyle and overall quality of life, the spirit of adventure and travelling, and, in the case of female migrants, to gender empowerment.

By investigating the individual trajectories, chapters 5 and 6 investigated the segments of "transit" and "temporary return" in more detail. This analysis showed the increasingly crucial role of these segments as connections between different mobility systems. The main findings of chapter 5 indicate that transits can pertain to short or long migration episodes aiming at continuing the migration to other countries. These type of movements occur mainly at the beginning of migration careers, they also frequently occur at later stages of migration trajectories, and can be re-iterated several times (i.e. many consequent transits undertaken by individuals). Finally, the analysis highlighted how transits can be adopted as a mobility strategy by migrants at different moments and in different geographical contexts of their migration career. Transits occur both with intra-continental migration in and through African countries with the aim of reaching Europe as well as within the European migratory space.

Chapter 6 highlighted two parallel systems of circular mobility that originate from different geo-political contexts and that are part of different migration systems and structural frameworks in Senegalese migration. The first one, long-term circulation, is adopted mainly in intra-African regional context. Some of them are re-oriented within



the sub-regional space, reproducing the “traditional” circular patterns in African space. Others exhibit registered multi-polar circular movements initially developed in the sub-region, but eventually leading to Europe. The second one, temporary short-term circulation, consists of frequent intermittent visits of less than a year to the home country. This circulation emerges eminently as an European mobility strategy and can be perceived as the outcome of compromises made between the wish to return permanently and the benefits offered by staying abroad. The absence of a stable legal residency status inhibits the propensity to return permanently or for long periods from Europe. In this sense, short and repeated returns, may reflect in some sort the lack of choices available to migrants, attesting how the policy regime in destination countries plays a key role in constraining forms, intensity and reversibility of circularities.

By analyzing the intersections of the different mobility structures (linear, step-wise and circular) and geographical areas (sub-Saharan Africa, North Africa and Europe) in which Senegalese migration evolves, chapter 7, finally elaborates a typology of the main patterns of mobility between Africa and Europe and outlines the profiles of migrants who predominate particular mobility patterns.

The remainder of this chapter summarizes the main results of this study and gives some concluding remarks.

## **8.1 Which re-composition between migratory macro-systems?**

The migrants’ need to implement strategies responding to economic crisis situations, and their need to adapt to increasing immigration restrictions have contributed to the increasing diversity and complexity of migration patterns: the diversification of the profiles of migrants (see chapter 2); increasing temporal complexity of movement in terms of displacement, total duration, frequency of moves, and individual or generational repeatability (see chapter 4) as well as increasing spatial complexity of movement such as in the form of diversification of migration routes, expansion of destinations, multiplication of successive places of settlement and the use of transit points (see chapter 5 and 6).

More in general, nowadays, West Africa constitutes a “globalised migration field” (*champ migratoire mondialisé*) (Ndiaye, Robin, 2009), connected to the world by international migration, through the overlapping, and the re-composition of different migratory systems.

The forms of mobility that contribute to increasing interconnectivity between West African and European migration systems are twofold: *connecting mobilities* which are deployed with the aim to reach Europe, and *maintaining mobilities*, which serve to maintain existing link between migratory destinations and origin places. The step-wise

and circular migration operating within Africa space with an orientation towards Europe via provisional stages in Sub-Saharan and North Africa, belong to the first type. Circular movements, entailing both long and short term returns to Senegal from European destinations, belong to the second type (see chapter 6).

## **8.2 A precarisation of migration trajectories in three steps**

Both connecting and maintaining forms of migration, supplemented by an emerging intra-European migration, highlight the precarisation (implying growing uncertainty, non-legality, difficulty and vulnerability) of migratory projects and the redeployment of systems of mobility. This precarisation happens in three steps:

### **1) At the entrance to Europe**

The analysis in chapter 7 of the mobility trajectories of Senegalese migrants included in the MAFE dataset showed the prevalence (representing more than 70% of all moves) of linear, direct migration to European destinations. However, this figure is overestimated, as it does not take in account the likelihood, especially for more recent trajectories, to evolve in step-wise or circular patterns, that is, to be followed-up by future returns to Senegal or re-migration within Europe.

The remaining 30% of the migrants adopted more complex migratory paths. In particular, step-wise trajectories studies in chapter 5 build a path along the process, which is not pre-defined: "Migrants travel from place to place, and decide on the spot about the city or country that will be their next destination. This decision depends on which option is the best, cheapest or easiest way for the migrant to continue their trip, and in many cases which decision is made really depends on the moment. Sometimes they stay for a while in a place to work, in order to earn some money for the rest of their trip" (Grillo, 2007). While some may have a clear-cut project, others will consciously or unconsciously simultaneously consider several options and shift from one option to the other, as personal and collective circumstances change (cf. Grillo, 2007: 209).

Transit migration is strongly associated to the progressive closure of international borders, the tightening of the entry procedures and the enforcing of the control measures. Finally, it should be emphasized that, although the phenomenon of step-wise migration between Senegal and Europe has recently entered the political and scholarly debate, it is not a recent phenomenon: No less than half of the sample undertook this kind of migration before the 1990s. Although transit migration seems to have become more prevalent in recent years, the attention by media and policy makers

to this phenomenon have also give the unwarranted impression that this is a new phenomenon.

Individual migration trajectories are thus fluid and changing, either because projects and goals change over time with changing circumstances, or because intentions and aspirations have to be balanced with capabilities, both negatively (family constraints, legal barriers, limited economic resources, etc.) and positively (network of support abroad, professional experience, owning of residence documents, etc..) (de Haas, 2010).

## **2) Circulation between Europe and origin countries**

The second level of precarisation of the migration project is linked to the return project. While permanent return is embedded in initial migratory projects as the aimed final outcome of the migration experience of many Senegalese abroad, this return are typically continually postponed, particularly among those who migrated to Europe. Through this continuous postponement, the return often acquires the status of a myth.

While the reasons for and the conditions leading to returns are multiple, the legal status of migrants abroad has undoubtedly a profound impact on the opportunities for circular mobility during migration. The absence of a stable legal residency status generally inhibits the possibility to return permanently or for longer periods. In this context, short-term circularity, composed of repeated short visits to origin country, emerges as an important European mobility strategy. This contrasts with long-term circularity adopted in African destination contexts as a compromise - or a bypass strategy - between the desire to permanently return to Senegal and the opportunities migration provides.

Both the step-wise mobility patterns oriented to Europe and the short-term circular mobility behavior of Senegalese migrants settled in Europe suggest how the policy regime in destination countries has, rather than stopping migration, shaped forms, intensity and reversibility of migration patterns and of individual migratory projects.

Individual migratory projects can be conceptualized as the outcomes of continuous dialectics between the agency, aspirations and projects of migrants; contextual factors such as legislative systems, structural opportunities of access and integration into labor markets; and intermediate structures, notably migrant networks. As a result, at the individual there is often a permanent gap between individual aspirations, expectations and desires and the actual outcome of migratory trajectories as shown in chapter 5.

### **3) Socio-economic integration in destination countries**

A certain number of the migrants who migrated to Europe opted to re-migrate onward to further intra-European countries. The present study has categorized this pattern as "step-wise migration within Europe".

This pattern can be interpreted as a pro-active strategy of migrants (and an expression of their agency) who gradually build a migratory path in order to get to the desired destination or to a country that matches as closely as possible their expectations. They do so by using functional access to certain countries where it is easier to enter (thanks to easier regulations or the presence of support networks), with the objective of continuing to onward destinations. As chapter 5 showed, some of this intra-European migration may be seen as "transits", as their function is to organize or re-arrange their journey, from migrants continue to the aimed destination. This shows that the usual association of "transit" with African migration is erroneous.

However, we can also interpret this phenomenon as unsuccessful socio-economic integration in first destinations in Europe and, therefore, another dimension of precarisation. In fact, data analysis showed that these migrants tend to be confined unstable, precarious segments of the labor market, characterized by unskilled, "dead-end", low-paid and low-profile jobs (the "3 d" jobs: dirty, dangerous, demanding) with little prospects to making careers and progressing into more attractive jobs. Furthermore, these migrants suffer from structural barriers, as language deficiencies, problems with recognition of educational qualifications, further limited their access to the formal and public sectors.

Furthermore, because networks may facilitate migrants' economic integration in destination societies and provide them with information on (better) jobs or employers, they play a crucial role in the work strategies and occupational outcomes. At the same time, they tend to channel migrants towards unskilled and low-paid jobs, which are often the only ones for which their compatriots have useful information and contacts. So, although they provide access to work, networks do not necessarily always have a positive impact on the type of work and career prospects of migrants (Portes, 1998; de Haas, 2010).

Within this perspective, the fragmentation and precarisation of mobility patterns within Europe could be linked to increasingly restrictive migration regulations and increasingly unstable labour markets and precarious working conditions. This has various repercussions for migrants in terms of settlement, residency, work, family reunification and opportunities and resources to maintain linkages with origin countries. The fact that those who undertake intra-European re-migration, have a high level of human capital (education), as shown in chapter 7, leads to the hypothesis that for some migrants, intra-European mobility may also be aimed at achieving upward

socio-economic mobility, as it may allow them better use their competencies and know-how in the labor market.

As also another study on secondary migration (in the US) has pointed out (Takenaka, 2007), re-migrants tend to be relatively higher skilled and educated than one-time, "linear" migrants. In a world where human capital, just like financial capital, has become more mobile, owners of human capital may migrate multiple times in search of the highest return to their human capital. Thus, secondary migrants possess more human capital than those who only migrate once. Within this perspective, we can say that linear migration primarily involves the mobility of labor, and step-wise migration rather the mobility of human capital.

Finally, it is important to mention the quest for a "better life" as the motive for triggering secondary migration within Europe, which is often intended as a lifestyle improvement, enabling migrants to access to welfare, more and better opportunities for themselves and their children, expectation to improve their long-term material and immaterial wellbeing (see chapter 4).

There is almost no empirical research on mobility of non-European migrants within Europe. Nonetheless, the MAFE data and this analysis suggests that this is an important phenomenon, which should open avenues for future research on the magnitude, direction and dynamics of re-migration as well as how individual characteristics, networks and contextual factors shape this kind of mobility.

### **8.3 The competence of mobility: "spatial" capital**

A significant proportion of the interviewees show that they make a competent use of mobility that allows them, through various devices and strategies, to build and to readjust their routes according to the conditions and constraints that they face and new situations that emerge along their life course.

In other words, mobility, as a form of know-how, thus becomes part of migrants' skills (Hily, 2009 : 26) we can say that the accumulation of these skills constitutes a veritable "spatial capital" (Roulleau-Berger p. 145-146). According to Ndiaye and Robin (2010), a growing proportion of migratory routes are not primarily oriented towards areas of production of economic wealth, but increasingly towards places where functional mobility "know how" - for instance, on migration itineraries and how to circumvent border controls - is concentrated and where overland or overseas migration routes can be accessed.

In this context, professionals possessing "spatial know-how", of "entrepreneurs of mobility" have made a business of border crossings (Ambrosini, 2005: 243). These are the smuggler, who often, more than "unscrupulous traffickers and merciless criminal-

run smuggling networks", are non professional operators, former nomads, former fishermen (in the case of *piroguiers*), or even migrants or ex-migrants who tend to be locally based and operate alone or in relatively small networks (de Haas, 2007).

In this context, "the migration know-how" furthermore relies on the fact of "being in the networks" (Arab, 2009 : 78). In transnational pluri-migration, the size and extension of networks seems to play a decisive role in the production of spatial capital on migration routes. The more extensive the professional and social networks, the more the spatial capital is increased on the migratory routes (Ma Mung, 2009: 145). The role of networks is not only crucial for the material support provided along the route and the initial settlement at the destination. They are also crucial as devices for information sharing *en route*, as an important survival strategy of sub-Saharan African migrants heading for Europe, as Schapendonk and van Moppes (2007) have also shown. In this perspective, social capital has a virtuous impact on spatial capital.

As we have seen, the re-adjustment of routes during the migration process allow therefore to conceive a process of social mobility which serves to find the best possible match with the needs and expectations of migrants. This is achieved through migration to several successive destinations where to find better opportunities and conditions on legal status, employment or a better job, family reunification, and so on. In this perspective, geo-spatial mobility serves to improve socio-economic mobility.

Finally, circular mobility plays a crucial role in re-producing the economic (through the distribution of gifts and money) but also symbolic, social and cultural (through the staging of success) dimensions of migration.

As de Haas (2009) suggests, experienced migrants who have moved several times in their life, are more likely to intend to return, and they are probably even more disposed (exposed) to leave again, reflecting the less settled nature of their life histories. The experience as well as economic, social and cultural resources accumulated in different places, (Rouilleau-Berger, 2009: 145-146) that can be deployed (or not), for instance when difficulties arise after resettlement origin countries or if new (and better) opportunities abroad arise .

However, mobility is not necessarily positive, and can also be associated to wandering, instability, insecurity, and can be perceived as suspicious and uncontrollable (Bertoncello, 2009). Beck<sup>18</sup> relates the new inequalities produced by economic globalization to the increasing feeling of tension between receiving societies and foreigners. From his point of view, the most important distinction is between those who are able or not to take advantage of transnational relations and the power of

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<sup>18</sup> From "Intervista a Ulrich Beck: I nuovi egoismi nati sul territorio", in La Repubblica, 03/06/2008.

mobility. Sassen (2008) distinguishes the "global class of disadvantaged", which is formed by the majority of people who "do not belong to the transnational mobile class or the new global civil society of international elites." In this perspective, "although covering the lowest social status, migrants are different from the local working class, as, because of attitude, courage and family ties, they use to live in a transnational way". It is precisely this element, that local residents do not possess, to increase their coefficient of "dangerousness" and suspicion within the host society (Castagnone, Gasparetti, 2009).

#### **8.4 Future research perspectives**

One of the central objectives of migration theory - and a crucial question for policy makers - is to improve the identification of the factors determining migration. Existing research on migration determinants has been dominated by neo-classical economic perspectives (in which migration decisions are framed as a cost-benefit calculus), Euro-centric approaches (omitting crucial sending contextual variables), and uni-dimensional models of the drivers of international migration (exclusively based either on a macro or a micro approach). Although theories on international migration have acknowledged the multi-level character of migration drivers, the exact role, relative importance of and the interaction between micro (migrants' individual characteristics and agency), meso (family, community, local and transnational networks) and macro (the legal and institutional framework, economic conditions in origin and destination countries, etc.) level factors has remained largely unexplored.

Finally, research on migration determinants still rely on insufficient preliminary knowledge of the structure of the migration patterns and trends in particular with regards to their multi-faceted nature and composition, and of the geo-political contextual framework in which they occur.

The comprehensive analysis of migration patterns of this study, aims to constitute a sound base for undertaking further research. This can be done through applying a comprehensive theoretical and empirical framework bridging the gap between analytical levels. This can increase our insight into how and to what extent changing economic and policy conditions (macro-level), size, structure and strength of networks, families and households (meso-level), as well as individual factors such as education, age, gender shape migration patterns in multi-level, dynamic and interrelated ways.

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## **ANNEX 1: The MAFE questionnaire and AGEVEN grid**

# MAFE



Recherche sur les  
Migrations entre  
l'AFrique et l'Europe

## Biographic Questionnaire 2008

### UCAD / IPDSR – INED

Survey IE0216

<b>IDENTIFIER:</b> Household <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> Individual: <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>  NO. OF CD: <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>  <b>No. of address record file in Europe</b>  <b>COUNTRY IN WHICH SURVEY TAKES PLACE:</b>  1. Senegal  2. France  3. Spain  4. Italy  <b>REGION:</b> _____  <b>TOWN/ MUNICIPALITY:</b> _____	<b>FAST READING:</b> _____ <b>DATE :</b> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <b>_0_8_</b>
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<b>INTERVIEWER'S NAME:</b> _____  <b>No.</b> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <b>DATE :</b> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <b>_0_8_</b>	

STARTING TIME \_\_ H \_\_

## PRESENTATION OF THE STUDY TO THE RESPONDENTS

---

Hello, my name is ..... I am taking part in a study on the question of migration between Senegal and various countries in Europe, and on the relationships between people living in Senegal and their families or friends who live abroad.

Before we start, I would like to briefly present the study to you and inform you about your rights.

This study has been organised by the University of Dakar and several European research institutions: the 'Institut National d'Etudes Demographiques' (Paris, France), the University Pompeu Fabra (Barcelona, Spain), and FIERI (Turin, Italy). The study is carried out in close cooperation with ENDA Tiers-Monde.

### **WHY THIS STUDY?** → *Hand out the INFORMATION LEAFLET and present the study*

- For several years now, African migrations have been occupying a **central position in the political debate and the media** both in Europe and Africa. Nonetheless, we observe that the discussions are often not based on quantitative (or measurable) information, but rather on preconceived opinions.
- The **dimensions and causes** of Senegalese migration remain therefore largely unknown, and the **impact of migration** on the living conditions of Senegalese families or on the country's development has not yet been adequately evaluated.
- With this study, which is organised by Senegalese and French researchers, we would like to **produce statistical data** based upon the real life experiences of Senegalese people, and that may help to better understand migration and its consequences in the country of origin.
- The findings of this study will also be discussed on the occasion of **public debates**, bringing together citizens, researchers and political decision-makers. The ultimate objective of this study is hence to establish the link between real-life experience and migration and development policies.

## **HOW IS THIS GOING TO HAPPEN?**

- To carry out this study **we meet people with very different migration experiences**: people who have always lived in Senegal, people who have lived abroad and who returned to Senegal, and also people who live currently in Europe.
- The first data concerning households living in Dakar has already been collected in January and February 2008. This information is primarily about the households' living conditions and the relations between the families and their migrants.
- Today, this questionnaire concerns you, **your life**. There are questions about the places where you lived since your childhood, about your occupations, your family life, the trips and stays abroad you may have experienced, etc. All these questions will allow us to study the relationship between the **fact of migrating or not migrating** and people's economic and family-related conditions.
- Since everyone's experience is different, **the duration** of the interview varies between 30 min and one hour and a half, depending on the person.

## **RIGHTS AND CONFIDENTIALITY OF ANSWERS**

- If a question makes you feel uneasy, **you are never obliged to answer**. You can also decide to stop the interview at any time.
- We guarantee the confidentiality of the information you provide us. In the context of my work, I am myself **bound to professional secrecy**.
- Your name and your address will not be recorded in the questionnaire; this information serves only to find you today, it will be destroyed after the data collection.

It will not be possible to recognize the respondents in any of the publications using the data.

Before we start: **Do you have any questions?**

**Q1 – The respondent is:** 1. A man 2. A woman

To begin with, I would like to note the major events and periods of your life on this grid. We will begin at the time of your birth. Later we will look at these periods of life in some more detail.

**Q1A – To start with, and to help us to set a time scale, could you tell me in which year you were born (or your age)?** |\_1\_|\_9\_|\_|\_|

*AGEVEN: Locate year of birth in the grid, note 0 in the columns titled "age", and fill in these columns by retracing the age till the current age of the respondent.*

## HISTORY OF HOUSING LIVED IN FOR AT LEAST 1 YEAR

## COLUMNS 3.1 AND 3.2

Now we will talk about each **DWELLING** in which you lived for at least one year, starting from your childhood till now. Some dwellings may be located in the same town or village

*Note housing periods of at least one year or equivalent to one academic year in the grid. Indicate, if there is space, the shorter periods in the column "comments and specifications": e.g. housed for 5 months at his uncle's place at Pikine.*

- **1<sup>st</sup> dwelling:** **When you were born, in which town/village was the dwelling where you lived? In which country?**

*AGEVEN: at year 0, note in CAPITAL LETTERS the name of the town/village and of the country where the 1st dwelling was located.*

**Until when (what age) did you stay in this dwelling?**

*Locate the year of housing change and draw an arrow indicating the time spent in the first dwelling.*

- **2<sup>nd</sup> dwelling:** **And then, where did you live? And until when did you stay in this dwelling?**

*AGEVEN: Note in CAPITAL LETTERS the town/village and the name where the 2<sup>nd</sup> dwelling was located and the year of moving into this new dwelling unit. Ascertain the time spent in this second dwelling and draw an arrow up to the 3<sup>rd</sup> dwelling...*

- *PROCEED in this way for each dwelling until the current dwelling and **go to Q2.***

**Q2 – Is there a place which you would consider to be your village or your town of origin in Senegal?**

1. Yes

2. No → Q3

**Q2V – What is the name of this locality?**

**Q2D – In which département is it located?** |\_|\_|\_|\_|\_| see list of département codes

**Q3 – At present, to which ethnic group would you say you belong in the Senegalese society?**

0. No ethnicity    1. Wolof    2. Mandingue    3. Pular    4. Serer    5. Diola    6. Soninké

7. Other ethnicity, *Specify*:

**Q4 – What is your religion?**

*Muslim:*    1. Khadre    2. Layène    3. Mouride    4. Tidiane    5. Other Muslim, *Specify* :

*Christian:*    6. Catholic    7. Protestant    8. Other Christian, , *Specify* :

*Other:*    9. Animist    10. Other religion, *Specify*

11. Without religion

## CITIZENSHIP

## COLONNE 9

• **What is/are your nationality/nationalities by birth?** Note the nationality or nationalities at year 0 in the column 9: Senegalese, French...

• **And later on, did you change your nationality or acquire a new nationality/citizenship?** 1. Yes

2. No → **Family History: Q5**

**When did you change your nationality/citizenship?**

**And which nationality/nationalities do you have at the moment?**

*AGEVEN: Note ALL the nationalities at every change that occurred: Senegalese + Guinean, Spanish, Senegalese + French...*

• *EXPLORE if further changes have taken place later on.*

## FAMILY HISTORY: PARENTS, BROTHERS AND SISTERS

---

Now let's talk about your family

**Q5 - How many brothers have you had in total?** |\_\_|\_\_|

*Take into account ALL brothers, even if they are not from the same fathers or mothers and even if they are deceased.*

**Q6 - And how many sisters have you had in total?** |\_\_|\_\_|

*Take into account ALL sisters, even if they are not from the same fathers or mothers and even if they are deceased.*

**Q7 - Are you the first-born of the family?** 1. Yes 2. No

**Q8 - Did you father work when you were 15 years old?** 1. Yes

2. No 9. DK 0. Father unknown or deceased at that age *if 2, 9, 0 → Q10*

**Q9 - Would you say he was:**

*Wage-earner:* 1. Higher-level occupation 2. Skilled employee or worker 3. Unskilled employee, worker, labourer

*Non-wage employment:* 4. Employer 5. Self-employed (without employees) 6. Apprentice/trainee, intern 7. Family help 9. NSP

**Q10 - What was your father's level of education?** 1. No schooling 2. Primary school  
3. Secondary studies (collège, lycée) 4. Higher education

**Q11 - What was or were his nationalities?**

1. 2. 3.

**Q12 - Is he still alive?** 1. Yes 2. No → **Q12A - In which year did he die?** |\_\_|\_\_|

**Q13 - And what was or were your mother's nationalities?**

1. 2. 3.

**Q14 - Is she still alive?** 1. Yes 2. No → **Q14A - In which year did she die?** |\_\_|\_\_|



We will now recollect the main events of your family life: the partnerships, the children that you have had. Certain situations may not fit your personal life history, but this study has to be applicable to everybody, in Senegal and in Europe, and we must therefore foresee all possible situations.

To begin let's talk about the **PARTNERS** that you have had in your life, being married to them or not. Please indicate also those partners from whom you have separated or who are deceased.

- *1st partnership:* **When did your first partnership start?**

**To make it easier to remember, could you give me the first name of this partner?**

*AGEVEN:* Note: P (partnership), the number of the partner and the first name of the partner - "P 1 Biram" - in the grid at the start year of the partnership.

**Is this partnership still continuing today?**

*If not:* **When and how did it come to an end?**

Note: S (separation), D (divorce) or DT (death) + no. of the partner + first name of the partner at the end year of the partnership: "D 1 Biram"

**Did you have any CHILDREN with this partner? Please indicate also the children who are deceased.**

*If yes:* **In what year was the 1st child that you had with this partner born? (How old is the first child that you had with this partner now?)**

**What is his/her first name?**

*AGEVEN:* Note in the grid: B (birth), the number of the child, the number of the partnership in which it was born and the first name of the child: "B1 P1 Fatou" at the year of birth.

**And the 2<sup>nd</sup> child that you had with this partner, when was he/she born?**

Note the birth of the 2<sup>nd</sup> child in this partnership at the year of birth in the grid, "B2 P1 Souleymane".

**And the 3rd child** PROCEED in this way for all children born in this partnership.

- **Have you had another partnership?...** REPEAT the questions for each partnership: beginning and (possibly) end of every partnership + births and deaths of children.

- *At the end: RECAPITULATE:* **Have you had any other children (outside of partnership) ?** 1. Yes 2. No

Note these possible births outside of partnership in the grid: "B\_OP Aminata"

**Are all your children still alive?** 1. Yes 2. No

Note the death(s): DT (death) + the number of the child + the number of the union in which it was born + first name of the deceased child at the year of death: e.g.: "DT2 P1 Souleymane".

IF EGO HAS NEVER HAD ANY PARTNER OR CHILD, MARK OFF:  NO PARTNER (Q15)  NO CHILD (Q16)

Now I would like to talk with you about the countries where your family members or the members of your contact circle have lived

Since you were born:

**Q17F** - Has your **father** already lived for at least a year outside Senegal? 1. Yes 2. No *If yes: note 01* |\_\_|\_\_|

**Q17M** - And has your **mother** already lived for at least a year outside Senegal 1. Yes 2. No *If yes: note 01* |\_\_|\_\_|

**Q17B** - And one or several of your **brothers**, have they already lived for at least a year outside Senegal? 0. No brother 1. Yes 2. No *If yes: Q17nB – How many?* |\_\_|\_\_|

**Q17S** - And one or several of your **sisters**? 0. No sister 1. Yes 2. No *If yes: Q17nS – How many?* |\_\_|\_\_|

**Q17P** - And one or previous of your **partners or previous partners**? 0. No partner 1. Yes 2. No *If yes: Q17nP – How many?* |\_\_|\_\_|

**Q17C** - And one or several of your **children**? 0. No child 1. Yes 2. No *If yes: Q17nC – How many?* |\_\_|\_\_|

**Q17O** - And **other relatives or friends** on whom you could count or could have counted to take you in and to help you migrate outside Senegal? 1. Yes 2. No *If yes: Q17nO – How many?* |\_\_|\_\_|

**Q17T – Total :** |\_\_|\_\_|

**FILTER:** - IF Q17T = 0 (No member of the family or the contact circle lived outside Senegal for at least one year) → Go to UNION

MODULE Page 10

- Otherwise → Describe the trajectory of each person. NEXT PAGE

## TRAJECTORIES OF THE MIGRANTS AMONG FAMILY MEMBERS AND CONTACT CIRCLE

- 1st person: AGEVEN. Note at the bottom of column 4:
  - the **sex** of the person
  - the **first name** of the person (optional)
  - the **relationship** between this person and the respondent
    - Identify clearly the type of relationship:  
*For the partners and children, record the identifier from the family-related columns 2.1 and 2.2 (e.g. P1, B4, etc.)*  
*For other persons indicate clearly: uncle, cousin, school friend...*
  - If the person is a friend or a partner: **Since when do you know this person?** Note the year at the bottom of the column..

1st country: **When did he or she start living in a country outside Senegal?**

**In which country was that?** Note the 1st country where he/she lived for at least one year at the line of the year of departure.

**And until when did he/she live in that country?** Draw an arrow to indicate the period of time spent in the country.

2<sup>nd</sup> country: **And then, in which country did he/she live for at least one year?** Note the 2<sup>nd</sup> country at the year when the person started living there.

**Until when did he/she stay in that country?** Draw an arrow to indicate the period of time spent in the country.

CONTINUE until the current country of residence and draw a line until today.

- PROCEED in the same way with the second person...

**ATTENTION:** - Start the trajectories as early as possible... at least from the moment on when Ego first met the person whose trajectory he/she is describing.  
- If the person is deceased: Note DT at the corresponding year.

## MODULE: PARTNERSHIPS

I WOULD NOW LIKE TO ASK YOU SOME MORE QUESTIONS ABOUT YOUR PARTNERSHIPS.

100 – Count in Ageven (column 2.1) the number of partnerships. You have had  partnerships.

Questions	P 01	P 02	P 03	P 04	P 05
<b>No. of the partner/spouse</b> <i>see AGEVEN</i>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
<b>102S – 102E Start and end years of the partnership</b> See AGEVEN – If ongoing <i>cross out the end year</i>	<input type="text"/> Start <input type="text"/> End	<input type="text"/> Start <input type="text"/> End	<input type="text"/> Start <input type="text"/> End	<input type="text"/> Start <input type="text"/> End	<input type="text"/> Start <input type="text"/> End
<b>If the partnership ended</b> 103 – Type of dissolution (see AGEVEN) 1. Separation or divorce 2. Partner deceased	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
<b>First name of the partner/spouse</b> <i>Information not retained in data entry</i>	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
<b>104 – Did you marry him/her?</b> 1. Yes 2. No → 106	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
<b>105 – In which year did you get married?</b>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
<b>106 – At the beginning of this partnership, your partner/spouse was:</b> 1. Single, never married 2. Married 3. Separated/Divorced 4. Widowed	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
<b>107 – In which country was he/she born?</b> <i>Note answer in plain text</i>					
<b>108 – At the time of your marriage / the beginning of your partnership, what was/were his or her nationalities?</b>	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
<b>109 – What was his/her level of education at that time?</b> 1. No schooling 2. Primary school 3. Secondary schooling (middle school, high school)	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>

4. Higher education					
Questions	P 01	P 02	P 03	P 04	P 05
<p><b>110 – At the beginning of your partnership, was your partner/spouse primarily:</b></p> <p>1. Active, he/she was working <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>2. Looking after the home or family; economically inactive → <b>FILTER</b></p> <p>3. Unemployed, searching for a job → <b>FILTER</b></p> <p>4. Pupil, student → <b>FILTER</b></p> <p>5. Other inactive (ill, retired ) <b>FILTER</b></p>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<p><b>111 – Was he/she:</b></p> <p><i>Wage-earner:</i></p> <p>1. Higher-level occupation <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>2. Skilled employee or worker <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>3. Unskilled employee, worker, labourer <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p><i>In non-wage employment:</i></p> <p>4. Employer <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>5. Self-employed (without employees) <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>6. Apprentice, intern <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>7. Helping family member in a family business or farm <input type="checkbox"/></p>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<p><b>FILTER:</b> If Ego is a WOMAN, MARRIED TO THIS PARTNER (Q104 = 1) → 112  Otherwise → Go to next partnership</p>					
<p><b>112 – Did you have co-wives in this partnership?</b></p> <p>1. Yes <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>2. No → Go to next partnership</p>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<p><b>113 – How many?</b></p>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<p><b>114 – What was your rank among the wives?</b></p>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

- **FOLLOWING PARTNERSHIPS** → Additional sheets
- **Otherwise, CHILDREN MODULE** → Next page

# MODULE: CHILDREN

**200 – COUNT THE NUMBER OF CHILDREN IN AGEVEN 5 (COLUMN 2.2):**

CHILDREN. DO NOT REPEAT THE QUESTION ABOUT THE NUMBER OF CHILDREN TO THE RESPONDENT

**NOW I WOULD LIKE TO ASK A FEW QUESTIONS ABOUT YOUR CHILDREN. SO YOUR FIRST CHILD IS...**

Questions	C 01	C 02	C 03	C 04	C 05
<b>201B – 201D – Year of birth and possibly year of death</b> See AGEVEN <i>If child is alive, cross out year of death</i>	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> Birth <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> Death	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> Birth <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> Death	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> Birth <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> Death	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> Birth <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> Death	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> Birth <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> Death
<b>202 – No. of child</b> see AGEVEN	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>
<b>203 – Number of the partnership in which the child was born</b> see AGEVEN – <i>If birth occurred outside union; note 00</i>	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>
<b>First name of child</b> <i>Information not retained in data entry</i>	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
<b>204 – Is this child a girl or a boy?</b> 1. Male 2. Female	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
<b>205 – In which country was he/she born?</b> <i>Note answer in plain text</i>					
<b>206 – What is/are his/her nationalities:</b> <b>Write down in plain text ALL nationalities held</b>					..

- FURTHER CHILDREN → Next page
- Otherwise, DWELLINGS MODULE → Page 14

Questions CHILDREN	C 06	C 07	C 08	C 09	C 10
<b>201B – 201D – Year of birth and possibly year of death</b> See AGEVEN <i>If child is alive, cross out year of death</i>	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> Birth                                      Death	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> Birth                                      Death	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> Birth                                      Death	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> Birth                                      Death	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> Birth                                      Death
<b>202 – No. of child</b> see AGEVEN	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>
<b>203 – Number of the partnership in which the child was born</b> see AGEVEN – <i>If birth has occurred outside union; note 00</i>	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>
<b>First name of child</b> <i>Information not retained in data entry</i>	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
<b>204 – Is this child a girl or a boy?</b> 1. Male 2. Female	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
<b>205 – In which country was he/she born?</b> <i>Note answer in plain text</i>					
<b>206 – What is/are his/her nationalities:</b> <b>Write down in plain text ALL nationalities held</b>					..

- FURTHER CHILDREN → Additional sheets
- Otherwise, DWELLINGS MODULE → Next page

## MODULE: HOUSING HISTORY

LET'S COME BACK TO THE DWELLINGS WHERE YOU HAVE LIVED.

300 – Count in AGEVEN (column 3.1): YOU HAVE THUS LIVED IN |\_\_|\_\_| DWELLINGS.

*INTERVIEWER: IN THIS MODULE YOU HAVE TO FILL IN ONE COLUMN FOR EACH OF THE DWELLINGS OCCUPIED BY THE RESPONDENT.*

*SPECIAL CASE: IF THE RESPONDENT COMMUTES BETWEEN TWO DIFFERENT PLACES OF RESIDENCE DURING A CERTAIN PERIOD OF TIME: FILL IN A COLUMN TO DESCRIBE EACH OF THE DWELLINGS, PLACE A CURLY BRACKET OVER THE 2 COLUMNS AND NOTE THE FREQUENCY OF CHANGEOVER (E.G. 7 MONTHS IN FRANCE; 3 MONTHS IN SENEGAL, OR WEEKDAYS IN BOARDING SCHOOL; WEEKENDS AT MY UNCLE'S PLACE). μμμ*

Questions	D 01	D 02	D 03	D 04	D 05
<b>301S – 301E – Years of arrival in and departure from the dwelling</b> <i>see AGEVEN</i> <i>If ongoing cross out the end year</i>	__ __      __ __  Start        End	__ __      __ __  Start        End	__ __      __ __  Start        End	__ __      __ __  Start        End	__ __      __ __  Start        End
<b>302 – Name of the COUNTRY</b> <i>see AGEVEN</i>					
<b>303 – You lived then in "name of the TOWN or VILLAGE"</b> <i>see AGEVEN – in CAPITAL letters</i>					
<b>FILTER: If SENEGAL → 304</b> <b>If FRANCE, SPAIN or ITALY → 306</b> <b>If ANOTHER COUNTRY → 307</b>					
<b>304 – In which département is this town/village located?</b> <i>see Codes of Départements</i>	_ _ _ _	_ _ _ _	_ _ _ _	_ _ _ _	_ _ _ _
<b>FILTER: If département = 0101, 0102, 0103 or 0104 (Dakar region) → 305</b> <b>Otherwise → 307</b>					
<b>305 – In which district did you live?</b> <i>In CAPITAL letters</i> → 307	→ 307	→ 307	→ 307	→ 307	→ 307
<b>306 – What is the region where you lived called?</b> ? <i>See Codes of regions</i>	_ _	_ _	_ _	_ _	_ _



Questions	D 01	D 02	D 03	D 04	D 05
<b>307 – When you arrived in this dwelling you lived</b> <i>Read out</i> <b>0. Alone? → 309</b> <b>With family members?</b> 1. Your father 2. Your mother 3. Your partner(s) 4. One or several brothers 5. One or several sisters 6. Your son(s) 7. Your daughter(s) 8. Another parent; <i>Specify</i> <b>With other persons?</b> 9. One or several friends 10. Other, <i>Specify</i>	  <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>  .. .. .. .. .. ..	  <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>  .. .. .. .. .. ..	  <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>  .. .. .. .. .. ..	  <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>  .. .. .. .. .. ..	  <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>  .. .. .. .. .. ..
<b>308 – Who was at that time the head of household?</b> 1. Yourself 2. Somebody else	<input type="checkbox"/> 2 <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
<b>309 – And you were yourself:</b> 1. Housed (non-rent paying) 2. Tenant or participating in payment of rent → <b>311</b> 3. Owner or leaseholder → <b>311</b> 4. Resident in a hostel, student residence → <b>311</b> 5. Other → <b>311</b>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Questions	D 01	D 02	D 03	D 04	D 05
<p><b>310 – You were housed by</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Your partner, himself or herself owner of the dwelling</li> <li>2. Your partner, not owner himself</li> <li>3. Your father/mother who were owners ..</li> <li>4. Your father/mother who were not owners</li> <li>5. Another member of the family</li> <li>6. A friend</li> <li>7. Other (host institutions, employer ), <i>Specify</i></li> </ol>	<p style="text-align: center;"> _ </p>	<p style="text-align: center;"> _ </p>	<p style="text-align: center;"> _ </p>	<p style="text-align: center;"> _ </p>	<p style="text-align: center;"> _ </p>
<p><b>311 – What type of dwelling was it?</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. A room</li> <li>2. An apartment</li> <li>3. A traditional dwelling (shack, hut, mud brick, cob or adobe construction ) ..</li> <li>4. A multi-storey house/detached house, built with stone or brick</li> <li>5. A single storey house, built with stone or brick</li> <li>6. Other, <i>Specify</i></li> </ol>	<p style="text-align: center;"> _ </p>	<p style="text-align: center;"> _ </p>	<p style="text-align: center;"> _ </p>	<p style="text-align: center;"> _ </p>	<p style="text-align: center;"> _ </p>

Questions	D 01	D 02	D 03	D 04	D 05
<p><b>312 – <u>When you lived in this dwelling</u> would you say that the financial situation of the household regarding the purchase of staple goods was</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. More than sufficient?</li> <li>2. Sufficient?</li> <li>3. Just sufficient?</li> <li>4. Insufficient?</li> </ol>	_	_	_	_	_
<p><b>313 – And relative to other people from your village/town, would you say that your living conditions were:</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Better?</li> <li>2. Equivalent?</li> <li>3. Less good?</li> </ol>	_	_	_	_	_

- **NEXT DWELLINGS** → *Next page*
- *Otherwise; go to HISTORY OF ACTIVITY AND INACTIVITY* → **Page 22**

Questions DWELLINGS	D 06	D 07	D 08	D 09	D 10
<b>301S – 301E – Years of arrival in and departure from the dwelling</b> <i>see AGEVEN</i> <i>If ongoing cross out the end year</i>	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> Start                      End	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> Start                      End	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> Start                      End	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> Start                      End	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> Start                      End
<b>302 – Name of the COUNTRY</b> <i>see AGEVEN</i>					
<b>303 – You lived then in "name of the TOWN or VILLAGE"</b> <i>see AGEVEN – in CAPITAL letters</i>					
<b>FILTER: If SENEGAL → 304</b> <b>If FRANCE, SPAIN or ITALY → 306</b> <b>If ANOTHER COUNTRY → 307</b>					
<b>304 – In which department is this town/village located?</b> <i>see Codes of Départements</i>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
<b>FILTER: If département = 0101, 0102, 0103 or 0104 (Dakar region) → 305</b> <b>Otherwise → 307</b>					
<b>305 – In which district did you live?</b> <i>In CAPITAL letters</i> → 307	→ 307	→ 307	→ 307	→ 307	→ 307
<b>306 – What is the region where you lived called? See Codes of regions</b>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>

Questions	D 06	D 07	D 08	D 09	D 10
<b>307 – When you arrived in this dwelling you lived</b> <i>Read out</i> <b>0. Alone? → 309</b> <b>With family members?</b> 1. Your father 2. Your mother 3. Your partner(s) 4. One or several brothers 5. One or several sisters 6. Your son(s) 7. Your daughter(s) 8. Another relative; <i>Specify</i> <b>With other persons?</b> 9. One or several friends 10. Other, <i>Specify</i>	  <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>  .. .. ..	  <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>  .. .. ..	  <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>  .. .. ..	  <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>  .. .. ..	  <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>  .. .. ..
<b>308 – Who was at that time the head of household?</b> 1. Yourself 2. Somebody else	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
<b>309 – And you yourself, were:</b> 1. Housed (non-rent paying tenant) 2. Tenant or participating in payment of rent → <b>311</b> 3. Owner or leaseholder → <b>311</b> 4. Resident in a hostel, student residence → <b>311</b> 5. Other → <b>311</b>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Questions	D 06	D 07	D 08	D 09	D 10
<p><b>310 – You were housed by</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Your partner, himself or herself owner of the dwelling</li> <li>2. Your partner, not owner himself or herself</li> <li>3. Your father/mother who were owners ..</li> <li>4. Your father/mother who were not owners</li> <li>5. Another member of the family</li> <li>6. A friend</li> <li>7. Other (host institutions, employer ), <i>Specify</i></li> </ol>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<p><b>311 – What type of dwelling was it?</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. A room</li> <li>2. An apartment</li> <li>3. A traditional dwelling (shack, hut, mud brick or adobe construction )</li> <li>4. A multi-storey house/detached house, built with stone or brick ..</li> <li>5. A single storey house, built with stone or brick</li> <li>6. Other, <i>Specify</i></li> </ol>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Questions	D 06	D 07	D 08	D 09	D 10
<p><b>312 – When you lived in this dwelling: would you say that the financial situation of the household regarding the purchase of goods of primary necessity was</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. More than sufficient?</li> <li>2. Sufficient?</li> <li>3. Just sufficient?</li> <li>4. Insufficient?</li> </ol>	_	_	_	_	_
<p><b>313 – And relative to other people from your village/town, would you say that your living conditions were rather</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Better?</li> <li>2. Equivalent?</li> <li>3. Less good?</li> </ol>	_	_	_	_	_

- **NEXT DWELLINGS** → *Additional sheets*
- *Otherwise; go to HISTORY OF ACTIVITY AND INACTIVITY* → *Next page*

We will now talk about what you have been doing since your childhood: I would like to ask you about the periods of STUDIES, of PROFESSIONAL TRAINING, of WORK, at HOME or if you were UNEMPLOYED, etc.

Note in the grid the primary activities lasting at least for 1 year (or equivalent duration to one academic year). Indicate, if there is enough space; the shorter activity periods in the column titled "Comments and Specifications" e.g. 5 months unemployed after dismissal.

- 1<sup>st</sup> activity / inactivity: **What did you do at the age of 6? What was your primary occupation?**

AGEVEN: Note the primary activity at 6 years: "school", "tended the flock"; "at home"...

**Until when did you continue (adjust) going to school / staying at home / tending the flock ?**

AGEVEN: Locate the year where the first change in the occupation occurs and draw an arrow to the 2nd occupation.

- 2<sup>nd</sup> activity / inactivity: **And then; what did you do? And until when?**

AGEVEN: Note the new activity or inactivity at the line of the year when it begins and draw an arrow to the 3rd occupation.

- Continue in the same way for each activity or inactivity period, up to the respondent's current situation.

**ATTENTION:** Always start a new activity period when Ego changes country, even if his or her activity remains the same.

Study periods

- Do not differentiate between different levels of schooling.
- Indicate possible interruptions in the education periods.

Occupation periods: Consider as a change in the time period every change in activity consisting in:

- A change in occupation, profession, status
- A change of employer



- If EGO has no formal education Encircle the code 00 below
- If EGO has some formal education: **Q18 – Let's talk about your studies: Which is the last school year you attended?** Encircle the corresponding code

<p><b>00</b> : No schooling</p> <p><b>01</b> : Pre-school (nursery school)</p> <p><b>Elementary - Primary</b></p> <p><b>02</b> : Pre-school (age 5-6)</p> <p><b>03</b> : First year primary (age 6-7)</p> <p><b>04</b> : 2nd year primary (age 7-8)</p> <p><b>05</b> : 3rd year primary (age 8-9)</p> <p><b>06</b> : 4th year primary (age 9-10)</p> <p><b>07</b> : 5th year primary (age 10-11)</p>	<p>→ Go to</p> <p><b>Activities Module</b></p>	<p><b>Secondary – Middle school</b></p> <p><b>08</b> : 1st year secondary</p> <p><b>09</b> : 2nd year secondary</p> <p><b>10</b> : 3rd year secondary / vocational</p> <p><b>11</b> : 4th year secondary / vocational</p> <p><b>Secondary – High school</b></p> <p><b>12</b> : 1st year high school</p> <p><b>13</b> : 2nd year high school</p> <p><b>14</b> : Final year high school</p>	<p>→ Go to</p> <p><b>Q19</b></p>	<p><b>Higher education</b></p> <p><b>15</b> : 1<sup>st</sup> year (DEUG 1 or equivalent) / BTS 1</p> <p><b>16</b> : 2<sup>nd</sup> year (DEUG 2 or equivalent) / BTS 2</p> <p><b>17</b> : 3<sup>rd</sup> year (BA or equivalent)</p> <p><b>18</b> : 4<sup>th</sup> year (MA or equivalent)</p> <p><b>19</b> : 5<sup>th</sup> year (DESS, DEA or equivalent)</p> <p><b>20</b> : 6<sup>th</sup> year and higher (PhD studies )</p>	<p>→ Go to</p> <p><b>Q19</b></p>
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**Q19 – Do you have a diploma?**    1. Yes    → **Q19D – Which is the highest diploma you have attained?**    .....

2. No

# MODULE – PERIODS OF ACTIVITY AND INACTIVITY

LET'S TALK IN SOME DETAIL ABOUT THE DIFFERENT EDUCATIONAL AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUSES YOU HAVE HAD IN YOUR LIFE...

**400** – Count (column 5) the different periods in Ageven: [ ] [ ] WITHOUT FORGETTING THE SCHOOLING AND ECONOMICALLY INACTIVE PERIODS.

Questions	A 01	A 02	A 03	A 04	A 05
<b>401S – 401E - Start and end years</b> <i>see AGEVEN</i> <i>If ongoing cross out the end year</i>	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>   <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> Start End	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>   <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> Start End	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>   <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> Start End	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>   <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> Start End	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>   <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> Start End
<b>402 – During this period, you were primarily:</b> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Studying (enrolled in an educational institution → <b>406</b> Economically active; including family help, apprentice/trainee or intern</li> <li>Unemployed → <b>406</b></li> <li>Homemaker → <b>406</b></li> <li>Retired → <b>406</b></li> <li>Other inactive, Specify → <b>406</b></li> </ol>	<input type="text"/> ..... .....	<input type="text"/> ..... .....	<input type="text"/> ..... .....	<input type="text"/> ..... .....	<input type="text"/> ..... .....
<b>403 – What was your exact occupation during this period?</b> <i>Describe very precisely: occupation, level of qualification, sector</i>	..... ..... ..... <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	..... ..... ..... <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	..... ..... ..... <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	..... ..... ..... <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	..... ..... ..... <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>
<b>404 – Were you</b> <b>Wage-earner:</b> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Higher-level occupation</li> <li>Skilled employee or worker</li> <li>Unskilled employee, worker, labourer</li> </ol> <b>In non-wage employment</b> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Employer → <b>406</b></li> <li>Self-employed (without employees) → <b>406</b></li> <li>Apprentice/trainee, intern → <b>405</b></li> <li>Helping family member in a family business or farm → <b>406</b></li> </ol>	<input type="text"/>    <input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>    <input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>    <input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>    <input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>    <input type="text"/>

Questions	A 01	A 02	A 03	A 04	A 05
<b>405 – Who was your employer?</b> 1. A public or semi-public administration 2. An International Organisation 3. An association (co-operative, trade union, church, NGO ) 4. An(other) private company 5. Private individual (domestic work)	_	_	_	_	_
<b>406 – All-in-all would you say that during this period you had enough to live on from day-to-day?</b> 1. Yes, absolutely 2. No, not at all 3. It depended	_	_	_	_	_
<b>407 – At one moment or another during this period, did you receive <i>Read:</i></b> 1. A wage, income from your main activity? 2. Income from moonlighting, small jobs, occasional employment? 3. An unemployment benefit? 4. A retirement pension, disability pension, other type of pension? 5. Social benefits (family allowances, welfare benefits) 6. A scholarship? 7. Income from rents, interest or other capital income? 8. Other resources?  <b><i>If no resource → Check off and go to the next period</i></b>	_   _    _   _    _   _    _   _    _   _    _   _   No resource <input type="checkbox"/>	_   _    _   _    _   _    _   _    _   _    _   _   No resource <input type="checkbox"/>	_   _    _   _    _   _    _   _    _   _    _   _   No resource <input type="checkbox"/>	_   _    _   _    _   _    _   _    _   _    _   _   No resource <input type="checkbox"/>	_   _    _   _    _   _    _   _    _   _    _   _   No resource <input type="checkbox"/>
<b>408 – Taking into account all your income sources: what approximate amount of money did you personally have at your disposal per month at the end of this time period?</b>	<b>Amount:</b> _____ Currency:	<b>Amount:</b> _____ Currency:	<b>Amount:</b> _____ Currency:	<b>Amount:</b> _____ Currency:	<b>Amount:</b> _____ Currency:

- Next periods of ACTIVITY or INACTIVITY → Next page
- Otherwise, go to HISTORY OF GOODS AND BUSINESSES → Page 28

Questions ACTIVITY - INACTIVITY	A 06	A 07	A 08	A 09	A 10																				
<b>401S – 401E - Start and end years</b> <i>see AGEVEN</i> <i>If ongoing cross out the end year</i>	<table style="width: 100%; border: none;"> <tr> <td style="border: none; text-align: center;"> _ _ _ </td> <td style="border: none; text-align: center;"> _ _ _ </td> </tr> <tr> <td style="border: none; text-align: center;">Start</td> <td style="border: none; text-align: center;">End</td> </tr> </table>	_ _ _	_ _ _	Start	End	<table style="width: 100%; border: none;"> <tr> <td style="border: none; text-align: center;"> _ _ _ </td> <td style="border: none; text-align: center;"> _ _ _ </td> </tr> <tr> <td style="border: none; text-align: center;">Start</td> <td style="border: none; text-align: center;">End</td> </tr> </table>	_ _ _	_ _ _	Start	End	<table style="width: 100%; border: none;"> <tr> <td style="border: none; text-align: center;"> _ _ _ </td> <td style="border: none; text-align: center;"> _ _ _ </td> </tr> <tr> <td style="border: none; text-align: center;">Start</td> <td style="border: none; text-align: center;">End</td> </tr> </table>	_ _ _	_ _ _	Start	End	<table style="width: 100%; border: none;"> <tr> <td style="border: none; text-align: center;"> _ _ _ </td> <td style="border: none; text-align: center;"> _ _ _ </td> </tr> <tr> <td style="border: none; text-align: center;">Start</td> <td style="border: none; text-align: center;">End</td> </tr> </table>	_ _ _	_ _ _	Start	End	<table style="width: 100%; border: none;"> <tr> <td style="border: none; text-align: center;"> _ _ _ </td> <td style="border: none; text-align: center;"> _ _ _ </td> </tr> <tr> <td style="border: none; text-align: center;">Start</td> <td style="border: none; text-align: center;">End</td> </tr> </table>	_ _ _	_ _ _	Start	End
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Questions	A 06	A 07	A 08	A 09	A 10
<b>405 – Who was your employer?</b> 1. A public or semi-public administration 2. An International Organisation 3. An association (co-operative, trade union, church, NGO ) 4. An(other) private company 5. Private individual (domestic work)	_	_	_	_	_
<b>406 – All-in-all would you say that during this you had enough to live on from day-to-day?</b> 1. Yes, absolutely 2. No, not at all 3. It depended	_	_	_	_	_
<b>407 – At one moment or another during this period, did you receive Read:</b> 1. Income from your main activity? 2. Income from moonlighting, small jobs, occasional employment? 3. Unemployment benefit? 4. A retirement pension, disability pension, other type of pension? 5. Social benefits (family allowances, welfare benefits)? 6. A scholarship? 7. Income from rents, interest or other capital income? 8. Other resources? <b>If no resource → Check off and go to the next period</b>	_   _   _   _   _   _   _   _   _   _   _   _   _   _  No resource <input type="checkbox"/>	_   _   _   _   _   _   _   _   _   _   _   _   _   _  No resource <input type="checkbox"/>	_   _   _   _   _   _   _   _   _   _   _   _   _   _  No resource <input type="checkbox"/>	_   _   _   _   _   _   _   _   _   _   _   _   _   _  No resource <input type="checkbox"/>	_   _   _   _   _   _   _   _   _   _   _   _   _   _  No resource <input type="checkbox"/>
<b>408 – Taking into account all your income sources: what approximate amount of money did you personally have at your disposal per month at the end of this time period?</b>	<b>Amount:</b> _____ <b>Currency:</b>	<b>Amount:</b> _____ <b>Currency:</b>	<b>Amount:</b> _____ <b>Currency:</b>	<b>Amount:</b> _____ <b>Currency:</b>	<b>Amount:</b> _____ <b>Currency:</b>

- Next periods of ACTIVITY or INACTIVITY → Additional sheets
- Otherwise, go to HISTORY OF GOODS AND BUSINESSES → next page

## MODULE: HISTORY OF ASSETS AND BUSINESSES OWNED IN SENEGAL AND ELSEWHERE

Now we will talk about the assets or businesses that you may have bought over your lifetime, or that you may have received or inherited from somebody.

1. Are you <u>CURRENTLY</u> owner			2. And <u>in the past</u> , have you been owner, in Senegal or elsewhere,			Total
of one or several plots of land (agricultural land, building plot, or under construction)	1. Yes → How many? 2. No → <i>Note 00</i>	Q20PC	of plots that you don't own anymore?	1. Yes → How many? 2. No → <i>Note 00</i>	Q20PP	
of one or several dwelling units (house, apartment ) in Senegal or elsewhere?	1. Yes → How many? 2. No → <i>Note 00</i>	Q20DC	of dwelling units that you don't own anymore?	1. Yes → How many? 2. No → <i>Note 00</i>	Q20DP	
of a business, venture, commercial premises even on a rental basis (shop, workshop, taxis ), in Senegal or elsewhere?	1. Yes → How many? 2. No → <i>Note 00</i>	Q20BC	of a business, a venture, commercial premises even on a rental basis that you don't own anymore?	1. Yes → How many? 2. No → <i>Note 00</i>	Q20BP	
<b>Total</b>		Q20TC			Q20TP	Q20TOT

**FILTER:** If NO ASSET (Q20TOT = 0) → Go to TRANSFERS, Page 32  
Otherwise → Fill out one column per owned asset

Follow the order of the table: plots of land, then dwelling units, then businesses currently owned before continuing with the assets owned in the past.

Questions	AS01	AS 02	AS 03	AS 04	AS 05
<b>LET'S FIRST TALK ABOUT YOUR...Encircle the type of asset</b>	Plot – Dwelling Business	Plot – Dwelling Business	Plot – Dwelling Business	Plot – Dwelling Business	Plot – Dwelling Business
<b>501S – Since when are you the owner of this asset?</b>	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> Start	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> Start	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> Start	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> Start	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> Start
<b>FILTER: If Ego is no longer owner of the asset → 501E</b>					
<b>Otherwise → 503</b>					
<b>501E - And until when did you own this asset?</b>	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> End	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> End	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> End	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> End	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> End
<b>502 – You don't own this asset anymore because</b> 1. You sold it? 2. You have donated / bequeathed it? 3. You went bankrupt? 4. For another reason? <i>Specify</i>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
<b>503 – Is the asset we are talking about:</b> <b>Plot of land</b> 1. A building plot, or with a building currently under construction → <b>510</b> 2. A plot for agricultural use → <b>504</b> <b>Dwelling unit</b> 3. A traditional dwelling (shack, hut, mud brick or adobe construction) → <b>505</b> 4. A single-storey house or a concession → <b>505</b> 5. A multi-storey house or a detached house → <b>505</b> 6. An apartment → <b>505</b> 7. An apartment block → <b>505</b> <b>Businesses and ventures</b> 8. A business, commercial premises (shop, workshop) → <b>507</b> 9. A business, venture without walls (patent, goodwill & tools & merchandise, taxis) → <b>508</b>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>

Questions	AS 01	AS 02	AS 03	AS 04	AS 05
<b>504 – Most of the time, this plot has been used</b> 1. As grazing land/pasture → 509 2. As an orchard → 509 3. For market gardening → 509 4. For irrigated crop-growing → 509 5. For other types of crop → 509 6. Has been unused → 510	_	_	_	_	_
<b>505 – Did you own the plot before the construction of the dwelling?</b> 1. Yes 2. No → 507	_	_	_	_	_
<b>506 – Since when?</b>	_ _	_ _	_ _	_ _	_ _
<b>507 – Most of the time, this asset has been:</b> 1. Rented out (dwelling, commercial premises)? → 510 2. Operated (business, )? → 508 3. Used free of charge for personal use? → 509 4. Unoccupied, unused? → 510	_	_	_	_	_
<b>508 – What is/was the activity performed?</b> <i>Note response in plain text</i>	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
<b>509 – This asset has been operated or used</b> <i>Read out</i> <b>0. By yourself?</b> <b>By family members?</b> 1. You father 2. Your mother 3. Your partner(s) 4. One or several brothers 5. One or several sisters 6. One or several of your sons 7. One or several of your daughters 8. Another relative; <i>Specify</i> <b>By other persons?</b> 9. One or several friends 10. Somebody else, <i>Specify</i>	_ _	_ _	_ _	_ _	_ _



Questions	AS 01	AS 02	AS 03	AS 04	AS 05
<b>510 – In which country is this asset located?</b> Note answer in plain text					
<b>FILTER: If 510 = SENEGAL → 511</b> <b>Otherwise → 513</b>					
<b>511 – In which town or village?</b> <i>In CAPITAL letters</i>	..				
<b>512 – In which département?</b> <i>see Codes of Départements</i>	_ _ _ _	_ _ _ _	_ _ _ _	_ _ _ _	_ _ _ _
<b>513 – And how did you obtain this asset:</b> 1. Somebody gave it to you (inheritance or other) → <b>Go to next asset</b> 2. You bought it or built it 3. A bit of both	_	_	_	_	_
<b>514 – You bought it (or built it)</b> <i>Read out</i> 1. On a leasing/hire-purchase basis? 2. From your personal savings? 3. With a bank loan or a mutual insurance fund? 4. With the money from a tontine? 5. With a government aid? 6. With a loan from a family member or a friend? 7. With a gift or the money from an inheritance? 8. Differently? <i>Specify</i>	_   _   _    _   _   _	_   _   _    _   _   _	_   _   _    _   _   _	_   _   _    _   _   _	_   _   _    _   _   _
<b>FILTER: If 514=6 or 7 among others → Go to 515</b> <b>Otherwise → Go to the next asset</b>					

Questions	AS 01	AS 02	AS 03	AS 04	AS 05
<b>515 – The persons who have lent or given you money to pay for this asset, are they</b>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
<b>Family members?</b>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
1. You father	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
2. Your mother	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
3. Your partner(s)	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
4. One or several brothers	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
5. One or several sisters	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
6. One or several of your sons	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
7. One or several of your daughters	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
8. Another parent; <i>Specify</i>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
<b>Other persons?</b>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
9. One or several friends					
10. Other, <i>Specify</i>					

**FILTER: If Ego has one or more members of his contact circle outside Senegal → 516**

Otherwise → Go to the next asset

516 – Are these persons of your family or contact circle who live or who lived outside Senegal and about whom we talked before?	1. Yes	2. No	1. Yes	2. No	1. Yes	2. No	1. Yes	2. No	1. Yes	2. No
	↘ Migrant Code		↘ Migrant Code		↘ Migrant Code		↘ Migrant Code		↘ Migrant Code	
	M	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	M	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	M	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	M	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	M	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
<i>If yes, write down the Migrant Code given in AGEVEN Column 4</i>	M	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	M	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	M	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	M	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	M	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
	M	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	M	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	M	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	M	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	M	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
	M	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	M	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	M	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	M	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	M	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>

• **FOLLOWING ASSETS** → Additional sheets

• *Otherwise, Go to TRANSFERS* → Next page

## TRANSFERS

## COLUMN 6

**Q21 -Have there been periods at any time of your life during which you used to send regularly money to somebody who was living in a different country from the one where you were at the time (for example, from Senegal to Morocco, from France to Senegal, from Spain to Italy )?**

1. Yes → from which year(s) to which year(s)?

→ And in what country did the persons to whom you sent money live?

*AGEVEN: Note "TR + Name of the country" at the start year and draw an arrow to the end of this period.*

→ Have there been further periods when you used to send money regularly?

2. No

## INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION ATTEMPTS

## COLUMN 7

**Q22 – We have already talked about the places where you lived for at least one year. But have you already made plans to leave and settle in a different country, without, however, having so far been successful in getting there?**

1. Yes      2. No → Go to *STAYS OF LESS THAN 1 YEAR*, page 36

**To which countries did you want to go? List the countries**

1 -	4 -	7 -
2 -	5 -	8 -
3 -	6 -	9 -

- *1st country:* **In which year did you make your first plans to go to this country?**

*AGEVEN: Note the name of the country in the line of the year when the first measures were initiated.*

**Did you abandon your plans to go to this country?**

*If YES → When? AGEVEN: Draw an arrow until that year and note "end".*

*If NOT : AGEVEN : Draw an arrow until the very top of the column*

- *2<sup>nd</sup> country:* **CONTINUE IN THE SAME WAY for every country.**

## MODULE: MIGRATION ATTEMPTS

**800 – I WOULD LIKE TO ASK YOU SOME MORE QUESTIONS ABOUT THE COUNTRIES TO WHICH YOU WOULD HAVE LIKED TO GO, BUT YOUR MIGRATION PLANS HAVE NOT (OR NOT YET) BEEN REALIZED.**

Count in AGEVEN and write down the number of periods during which Ego has undertaken steps to leave: |\_|\_|\_|

Questions	AT01	AT02	AT03	AT04	AT05
<b>801S – 801E – Start and end years of the plans to migrate.</b> See AGEVEN: If plans are ongoing : cross out the end year	_ _ _   _ _ _  Start End	_ _ _   _ _ _  Start End	_ _ _   _ _ _  Start End	_ _ _   _ _ _  Start End	_ _ _   _ _ _  Start End
<b>802 – COUNTRY AIMED FOR: Note the name of the country to which Ego wanted to go.</b> See AGEVEN	..	..	..	..	..
<b>803 – For what reasons did you want to leave the country where you were living?</b>  Note precisely and verbatim the entire response	..	..	..	..	..
	..	..	..	..	..
	..	..	..	..	..
	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

<p><b>804 – For what reasons did you prefer to go to “<i>country aimed for</i>” rather than to <u>another country</u>?</b></p> <p><i>Note precisely and verbatim the entire response</i></p>	<p>..</p> <p>..</p> <p>..</p> <p>.....</p> <p>.....</p> <p>.....</p>	<p>..</p> <p>..</p> <p>..</p> <p>.....</p> <p>.....</p> <p>.....</p>	<p>..</p> <p>..</p> <p>..</p> <p>.....</p> <p>.....</p> <p>.....</p>	<p>..</p> <p>..</p> <p>..</p> <p>.....</p> <p>.....</p> <p>.....</p>	<p>..</p> <p>..</p> <p>..</p> <p>.....</p> <p>.....</p> <p>.....</p>
--	--	--	--	--	--



**Q23 – And have you already stayed for periods of less than a year outside Senegal (but spending at least one night there)?**  
 This can also be a country where you have lived for a longer period at another time in your life.

1. Yes

2. No → { - If Ego has already lived outside Senegal (column 3.2) → *Module LONG AND SHORT STAYS OUTSIDE SENEGAL, page 37*  
 - If ego has never lived outside Senegal → *END of the interview; Note the time on page 50*

**In which countries have you stayed?** *List the countries*

1.	.....	5.	.....	9.	.....	13.	.....
2.	.....	6.	.....	10.	.....	14.	.....
3.	.....	7.	.....	11.	.....	15.	.....
4.	.....	8.	.....	12.	.....	16.	.....

• *1st country:* **In which year did you go there for the first time?**

- Was it a :**
- Holiday trip, a family visit, a pilgrimage? **"HOL"**
  - Business trip, trip for educational or training purposes? **"BUS"**
  - Country where you stopped over before going to another country? **"TRANSIT"**
  - Country where you intended to stay and settle down? **"SET"**

*AGEVEN: Note the Name of the country + the motive, at the year of the stay. E.g. Spain BUS, Ivory Coast HOL, Mauritania TRANSIT, Cameroun SET...*

**Did you visit this country again later on, staying again for less than a year?**

*If yes: In which year(s)? And for what reason(s)?*

*In AGEVEN: Note ALL stays of less than a year in this country in the lines corresponding to the years when the trips took place, and specify the motive.*

• *2nd country: CONTINUE IN THIS WAY for each country.*

**ATTENTION:** - If during a period of several years the respondent visits a country or several countries for the same reason every year: GROUP these stays outside Senegal. Note the country or countries and the motive at the beginning of the time period and draw an arrow to the end of the period.

- *DON'T FORGET to explore other possible stays outside this time period.*

## MODULE: LONG AND SHORT STAYS OUTSIDE SENEGAL

(= TRANSIT STAYS + STAYS WITH INTENTION TO SETTLE + STAYS OF MORE THAN 1 YEAR)

LET'S LOOK IN SOME MORE DETAIL AT THE HISTORY OF YOUR STAYS OUTSIDE SENEGAL

**600T – Count (column 8) every transit stay (TRANSIT)** (recount a country if it is cited several times in AGEVEN): |\_|\_|

**600S - Count (column 8) every stay of less than a year outside Senegal with the intention to settle (SET)** (recount the country if it is cited several times) : |\_|\_|

**600M – Count (column 3.2) every STAY OF MORE THAN 1 YEAR outside Senegal** (count a country several times if Ego went there repeatedly): |\_|\_|

**600TOT - TOTAL :** |\_|\_|

Fill in one column per stay, category by category (TRANSIT, then SET, then stays of more than a year), following a chronological order within each category.

Questions	S01	S02	S03	S04	S05
<b>601S – 601E – Start and end years of the stay outside Senegal - see AGEVEN</b> <i>If stay is ongoing, cross out end date</i>	_ _   _ _  Start End	_ _   _ _  Start End	_ _   _ _  Start End	_ _   _ _  Start End	_ _   _ _  Start End
<b>602 – COUNTRY OF STAY/ARRIVAL</b> <i>see AGEVEN, columns 3.2 and 8</i>	. ....	. ....	. ....	. ....	. ....
<b>603 – In which country were you just before arriving in “country of stay”?</b> <i>Do not rely on AGEVEN</i>	....	....	....	....	....
<b>604 – For what reasons did you leave this country?</b> <b>Note precisely and verbatim the entire response</b>	.. .. ..... ..... .....	.. .. ..... ..... .....	.. .. ..... ..... .....	.. .. ..... ..... .....	.. .. ..... ..... .....



Questions	S01	S02	S03	S04	S05
<p><b>605</b> – And for what reasons did you choose to go to “country of stay” rather than to another country?</p> <p><i>Note precisely and verbatim the entire response</i></p>	..	..	..	..	..
<p><b>606</b> – See AGEVEN: INTERVIEWER, note: Was it...</p> <p>1. A TRANSIT stay → 608</p> <p>2. A stay to SETTLE → 610</p> <p>3. A stay of MORE THAN 1 YEAR</p>	_	_	_	_	_
<p><b>607</b> – When you arrived in “country of stay”</p> <p>1. You considered it to be your final destination, where you had planned to go to from the outset → 610</p> <p>2. You didn’t have a clear idea about the country where you wanted to go → 610</p> <p>3. You had in mind to go elsewhere, it was therefore a transit country</p>	_	_	_	_	_
<p><b>608</b> – Which country did you want to reach just afterwards?</p> <p><i>Note the name of the country</i></p>	..	..	..	..	..
<p><b>609</b> – And which country did you want to reach at the very end?</p> <p><i>Note the name of the country</i></p>	..	..	..	..	...

Questions	S01	S02	S03	S04	S05
<b>610 – What precise steps have you taken to reach “country of stay”</b> <i>Read:</i> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Applied for enrolment at a university?</li> <li>2. Obtained a place at a university?</li> <li>3. Applied for a scholarship?</li> <li>4. Obtained a scholarship?</li> <li>5. Requested a housing certificate, an accommodation certificate?</li> <li>6. Obtained a housing certificate, an accommodation certificate?</li> <li>7. Applied for documents (<i>Specify which ones</i>)?</li> <li>8. Obtained documents (<i>Specify which ones</i>)?</li> <li>9. Saved money?</li> <li>10. Participated in the Green Card lottery?</li> <li>11. Other, <i>Specify</i></li> <li>12. Nothing at all → 612</li> </ol>					
<b>611 – In which year did you initiate these first steps?</b>	_ _ _	_ _ _	_ _ _	_ _ _	_ _ _
<b>612 – At the beginning, for how long did you plan to stay in “country of stay”?</b>	_ _ _  years  _ _ _  months  _ _ _  weeks  _ _ _  days Permanently <input type="checkbox"/>	_ _ _  years  _ _ _  months  _ _ _  weeks  _ _ _  days Permanently <input type="checkbox"/>	_ _ _  years  _ _ _  months  _ _ _  weeks  _ _ _  days Permanently <input type="checkbox"/>	_ _ _  years  _ _ _  months  _ _ _  weeks  _ _ _  days Permanently <input type="checkbox"/>	_ _ _  years  _ _ _  months  _ _ _  weeks  _ _ _  days Permanently <input type="checkbox"/>
<b>FILTER :</b> <i>If it is about a SHORT STAY of less than a year (606 = 1 or 2) → Go to 613</i> <i>Otherwise → 615</i>					

Questions	S01	S02	S03	S04	S05
<b>613 – And for how long did you stay in the end?</b>  	_ _  months  _ _  weeks  _ _  days ..	_ _  months  _ _  weeks  _ _  days ..	_ _  months  _ _  weeks  _ _  days ..	_ _  months  _ _  weeks  _ _  days ..	_ _  months  _ _  weeks  _ _  days ..
<b>614 – Being able to live in a country often depends on the type of documents one has. Would you tell me if you had during your stay in “country of stay”</b>  1. A visa 2. A residence permit (residence card, refugee card ) 3. You didn't need any visa or permit 4. You didn't have any permit 5. You were in a different situation; <i>Specify</i>	_ _  .. .. ..	_ _  .. .. ..	_ _  .. .. ..	_ _  .. .. ..	_ _  .. .. ..
<b>615 – Which means of transportation did you use to go to “country of “stay”?</b> 1. Plane 2. Bus / Train 3. Car 4. Ship 5. Pirogue, patera 6. Other, <i>Specify</i>	_ _   _ _	_ _   _ _	_ _   _ _	_ _   _ _	_ _   _ _

Questions	S01	S02	S03	S04	S05
<p><b>616 – You have travelled</b></p> <p><i>Read:</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. With your father?</li> <li>2. With your mother?</li> <li>3. With your partner(s)?</li> <li>4. With one or several brothers?</li> <li>5. With one or several sisters?</li> <li>6. With your son(s)?</li> <li>7. With your daughter(s)?</li> <li>8. With another relative? <i>Specify</i></li> <li>9. With an official delegation?</li> <li>10. With a group of musicians, a sports team?</li> <li>11. With one or several friends?</li> <li>12. With a smuggler?</li> <li>13. With somebody else? <i>Specify</i></li> <li>0. Alone?</li> </ol>					
<p><b>617 – Who decided about your trip/migration?</b></p> <p><i>Read :</i></p> <p>0. Yourself → <b>619 if the only answer</b></p> <p><b>Family members?</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Your father</li> <li>2. Your mother</li> <li>3. Your partner</li> <li>4. One or several brothers</li> <li>5. One or several sisters</li> <li>6. One or several of your son(s)</li> <li>7. One or several of your daughter(s)</li> <li>8. Another relative, <i>Specify</i></li> </ol> <p><b>Other persons?</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>9. Your employer</li> <li>10. Other, <i>Specify</i></li> </ol>					
<p><b>FILTER : If Ego has one or more members of his family or contact circle outside Senegal → 618</b></p> <p><b>OTHERWISE → 619</b></p>					

Questions	S01	S02	S03	S04	S05
<b>618 – Are these persons in your family or contact circle who live or lived outside Senegal and about whom we talked before?</b>  <i>If yes, write down the Migrant Code given in AGEVEN Column 4</i>	1. Yes      2. No ↘ Migrant Code M  ___  M  ___  M  ___  M  ___	1. Yes      2. No ↘ Migrant Code M  ___  M  ___  M  ___  M  ___	1. Yes      2. No ↘ Migrant Code M  ___  M  ___  M  ___  M  ___	1. Yes      2. No ↘ Migrant Code M  ___  M  ___  M  ___  M  ___	1. Yes      2. No ↘ Migrant Code M  ___  M  ___  M  ___  M  ___
<b>619 – And who helped to finance your migration?</b> <i>Read :</i> <b>0. Yourself → 621 if the only answer</b> <b>Family members ?</b> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Your father</li> <li>2. Your mother</li> <li>3. Your partner</li> <li>4. One or several brothers</li> <li>5. One or several sisters</li> <li>6. One or several of your son(s)</li> <li>7. One or several of your daughter(s)</li> <li>8. Another relative</li> </ol> <b>Somebody else?</b> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Your employer, school, university</li> <li>2. A friend</li> <li>3. A marabout</li> <li>4. Somebody else, <i>Specify</i></li> </ol>	___   ___   ___   ___   ___   ___   ___	___   ___   ___   ___   ___   ___	___   ___   ___   ___   ___   ___	___   ___   ___   ___   ___   ___	___   ___   ___   ___   ___   ___
<b><i>FILTER : If Ego has one or more members of his family or contact circle outside Senegal → 620</i></b> <b><i>OTHERWISE → 621</i></b>					
<b>620 – Are these persons in your family or contact circle who live or lived outside Senegal and about whom we talked before?</b>  <i>If yes, write down the Migrant Code given in AGEVEN Column 4</i>	1. Yes      2. No ↘ Code Migrant M  ___  M  ___  M  ___  M  ___	1. Yes      2. No ↘ Code Migrant M  ___  M  ___  M  ___  M  ___	1. Yes      2. No ↘ Code Migrant M  ___  M  ___  M  ___  M  ___	1. Yes      2. No ↘ Code Migrant M  ___  M  ___  M  ___  M  ___	1. Yes      2. No ↘ Code Migrant M  ___  M  ___  M  ___  M  ___

Questions	S01	S02	S03	S04	S05
<p><b>621</b> – When you arrived in “country of stay”, would you say that you were able to speak the official language</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Without any difficulty</li> <li>2. With some difficulty</li> <li>3. Not at all</li> </ol>	_	_	_	_	_
<p><b>FILTER:</b> <i>If it is a SHORT STAY, of less than a year (606 = 1 or 2) → Go to next column</i>  <i>Otherwise → 622</i></p>					
<p><b>622</b> – Did you follow any language course to improve your proficiency of the official language during your stay in this country?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Yes</li> <li>2. No</li> </ol>	_	_	_	_	_
<p><b>FILTER:</b> <i>If Ego has no child → 624</i>  <i>Otherwise → 623</i></p>					
<p><b>623</b> – Did any of your children go to a school free of charge during your stay in “country of stay”?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Yes</li> <li>2. No</li> </ol>	_	_	_	_	_
<p><b>624</b> – Did you or a member of your family receive health care free of charge, or that did not cost you anything personally?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Yes</li> <li>2. No</li> </ol>	_	_	_	_	_
<p><b>625</b> – While you lived in “country of stay”, did you make any monetary or in-kind donations to help the inhabitants of one or several villages/districts in Senegal, e.g. to build facilities or to help buying medicines or seeds ?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Yes</li> <li>2. No → <i>Go to next stay</i></li> </ol>	_	_	_	_	_

Questions	S01	S02	S03	S04	S05
<p><b>626</b> – For which villages/districts in which towns did you make the donations? Please indicate if there are several.</p> <p><i>Note response in plain text and in CAPITAL letters</i></p>	V1 : ... .. V2 : ... .. V3 : ... ..	V1 : ... .. V2 : ... .. V3 : ... ..	V1 : ... .. V2 : ... .. V3 : ... ..	V1 : ... .. V2 : ... .. V3 : ... ..	V1 : ... .. V2 : ... .. V3 : ... ..
<p><b>627</b> – In which départements are these villages/towns located?</p> <p><i>See list of Department codes</i></p>	V1 :  _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _  V2 :  _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _  V3 :  _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _	V1 :  _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _  V2 :  _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _  V3 :  _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _	V1 :  _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _  V2 :  _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _  V3 :  _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _	V1 :  _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _  V2 :  _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _  V3 :  _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _	V1 :  _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _  V2 :  _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _  V3 :  _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _
<p><b>628</b> – Did you contribute to building...</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. A school?</li> <li>2. A health centre?</li> <li>3. A borehole (to supply water)?</li> <li>4. An irrigation system?</li> <li>5. A mosque?</li> <li>6. Something else? <i>Specify</i></li> </ol> <p><i>For every answer, encircle the village(s)/town(s) that received the support</i></p>	<input type="checkbox"/> V1 or V2 or V3 <input type="checkbox"/> V1 or V2 or V3 <input type="checkbox"/> V1 or V2 or V3 <input type="checkbox"/> V1 or V2 or V3	<input type="checkbox"/> V1 or V2 or V3 <input type="checkbox"/> V1 or V2 or V3 <input type="checkbox"/> V1 or V2 or V3 <input type="checkbox"/> V1 or V2 or V3	<input type="checkbox"/> V1 or V2 or V3 <input type="checkbox"/> V1 or V2 or V3 <input type="checkbox"/> V1 or V2 or V3 <input type="checkbox"/> V1 or V2 or V3	<input type="checkbox"/> V1 or V2 or V3 <input type="checkbox"/> V1 or V2 or V3 <input type="checkbox"/> V1 or V2 or V3 <input type="checkbox"/> V1 or V2 or V3	<input type="checkbox"/> V1 or V2 or V3 <input type="checkbox"/> V1 or V2 or V3 <input type="checkbox"/> V1 or V2 or V3 <input type="checkbox"/> V1 or V2 or V3
<p><b>629</b> – And did you make donations to supply</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Medicines?</li> <li>2. Books?</li> <li>3. Sport facilities?</li> <li>4. Seeds?</li> <li>5. Agricultural material?</li> <li>6. Something else? <i>Specify</i></li> </ol> <p><i>For every answer, encircle the village(s)/town(s) that received the support</i></p>	<input type="checkbox"/> V1 or V2 or V3 <input type="checkbox"/> V1 or V2 or V3 <input type="checkbox"/> V1 or V2 or V3 <input type="checkbox"/> V1 or V2 or V3	<input type="checkbox"/> V1 or V2 or V3 <input type="checkbox"/> V1 or V2 or V3 <input type="checkbox"/> V1 or V2 or V3 <input type="checkbox"/> V1 or V2 or V3	<input type="checkbox"/> V1 or V2 or V3 <input type="checkbox"/> V1 or V2 or V3 <input type="checkbox"/> V1 or V2 or V3 <input type="checkbox"/> V1 or V2 or V3	<input type="checkbox"/> V1 or V2 or V3 <input type="checkbox"/> V1 or V2 or V3 <input type="checkbox"/> V1 or V2 or V3 <input type="checkbox"/> V1 or V2 or V3	<input type="checkbox"/> V1 or V2 or V3 <input type="checkbox"/> V1 or V2 or V3 <input type="checkbox"/> V1 or V2 or V3 <input type="checkbox"/> V1 or V2 or V3

• **FOLLOWING STAYS** → Additional sheets

• Otherwise, Go to **ASSOCIATIONS** → Next page

**Q24 – In the time that you spent abroad, were you at any time paying contributions or membership fees to one or more associations that finance projects in Senegal or support migrants in Europe?**

1. Yes → **From which year(s) to which year(s)?**

*AGEVEN: Note “Cont” at the year when the contributions started.*

*Draw an arrow and note the word “end” at the end of this period.*

*DON'T FORGET to find out if there have been further periods of membership in migrant associations.*

2. No

**Q25 – Over the years that you lived outside Senegal, did you seek asylum?**

1. Yes

2. No → **Go to RESIDENCE PERMITS, Page 46**

• *1st application:* **When and in what country did you first seek asylum?**

*AGEVEN: Note this application “AA + country” at the year when it was submitted, e.g. AA-Spain*

**Were you granted a refugee status?**

Yes, I obtained the status → *AGEVEN: Note the obtainment of the refugee status “refugee + country” at the year it was granted.*

No: It was denied → *Note “Denial+ country” at the year of the denial*

No: I haven't yet received the answer → *Prolong the arrow to the end of the column*

**Do you still have the refugee status? 1. Yes 2. No**

*If not: Since which year do you no longer have refugee status? → AGEVEN: Note “End” at the end year.*

• *2<sup>nd</sup> application? (If the 1st application was not successful). CONTINUE in this way with every application*



## RESIDENCE AND WORK PERMITS

## COLUMNS 11 AND 12

(FOR ALL STAYS OUTSIDE SENEGAL THAT LASTED MORE THAN A YEAR)

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EXPLAIN: Opportunities for living or working in a country may depend on the type of document you have. Therefore I would like to retrace together with you the different types of documents and residence permits that you may have had or not when you left Senegal and while you lived abroad. Could we try to retrace this together? The questions concern all countries where you lived. If some countries don't require any residence permits, don't hesitate to let me know.

- **1st PERIOD OF LIFE OUTSIDE SENEGAL**

RESIDENCE PERMITS (colonne 11)

- 1<sup>er</sup> status: **When you arrived in "Name of the country", did you :**
  - "NNRP" - Not Need any Residence Permit in this country
  - "V" - have a Visa
  - "RP" - have a Residence Permit (permit of stay, residence permit, refugee status )
  - "NP" - No permit
  - Other - Specify

AGEVEN : Note NNRP, V, RP, NP or Other (and specify) at start year

NB : in the start year, Ego may have a simple visa, then obtain another form of permit (NNRP, RP, NP, Other). Note: V + RP

- 2<sup>nd</sup> status: **And then? Did your situation change?**

AGEVEN : Draw an arrow to the new situation and note the new status at the year of change. Explore all status changes over this period.

WORK PERMITS (column 12)

- 1<sup>st</sup> status : **And with regard to the sphere of work: when you arrived in "name of the country" did you:**
  - "NNWP" - Not need any work permit (you had the right to work without ever requesting a legal authorisation)
  - "WP" - have a work permit (you had a permit allowing you to work in whatever company, in whatever type of occupation)
  - "SWP" - a selective work permit, on request or limited to a specific activity (for every new employment you had to request and obtain a new permit)
  - "NWP" - No work permit (in principle, you didn't have the right to work in this country)
  - Other - Specify

AGEVEN: Note NNWP, WP, SWP, NWP, Other (and specify) at the start year.

- 2<sup>nd</sup> status: **And then? Did your situation change?**

- **2<sup>nd</sup> PERIOD OF LIFE OUTSIDE SENEGAL: CONTINUE in this way for each period outside Senegal**

## RETURN TRIPS TO SENEGAL OF LESS THAN A YEAR

(FOR ALL STAYS OUTSIDE SENEGAL)

COLONNE 13

### Finally, let's talk about your return trips to Senegal

- *1st period of life outside Senegal*: **When you lived in “name of the country”**; did you return for short periods of less than a year to Senegal?
- *If yes*: **In which year(s) did you return?**

*AGEVEN*: Note: "R1", "R2"...at each year of return. There can be several return trips in the same year.

**Are there among these return trips any where you had the intention of staying, of permanently making your home in Senegal?**

*If yes*: *AGEVEN*: Add SET (intention to settle) next to the return trip that is concerned: R2 SET.

- *2<sup>nd</sup> period of life outside Senegal*: **And when you lived in “Name of the country”**, did you return for a period of less than a year to Senegal?
- CONTINUE in the same way for each of the periods of life outside Senegal.

**ATTENTION** : If the respondent returned over a period of several years every year to Senegal : Note “AR” (Annual Returns) at the beginning of the period and draw an arrow to the end of this period of annual returns.

IF NO RETURN, LONG (column 3.2) OR SHORT (column 13), MARK:  → END OF THE INTERVIEW; Note the time on page 50.

## MODULE: RETURN TRIPS TO SENEGAL (SHORT STAYS TO SETTLE AND RETURNS OF MORE THAN ONE YEAR)

I would now like to ask you some more questions about the circumstances in which you returned to Senegal to stay or live there.

700S - Count (column 13) each RETURN to Senegal lasting less than a year, but with the intention of settling (R+ SET):

700R - Count (column 3.2) each RETURN to Senegal OF MORE THAN ONE YEAR:

700TOT - Total :

Fill out one column for each return to Senegal. E.g. if the total is = 6, fill out 6 columns.

Questions	R01	R02	R03	R04	R05
<b>701S – 701E – START and END years of the return to Senegal</b> <i>See AGEVEN – If it is a final return, cross out the end year.</i>	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> Start                      End	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> Start                      End	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> Start                      End	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> Start                      End	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> Start                      End
<b>702 – From which country did you come?</b> <i>Attention! Ask systematically, don't rely on AGEVEN.</i>	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
<b>703 – see AGEVEN. INTERVIEWER, note: Was it:</b> 1. A return to Senegal of more than 1 year (col. 3.2 in Ageven) → 705 2. A return to SN of less than a year with the intention of settling (col. 13 in Ageven)	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
<b>704 – For how long did you stay in Senegal?</b>	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> months <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> weeks <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> days ..	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> months <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> weeks <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> days ..	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> months <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> weeks <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> days ..	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> months <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> weeks <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> days ..	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> months <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> weeks <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> days ..

Questions	R01	R02	R03	R04	R05
<b>705 – When you arrived back in Senegal, for how long did you intend to stay?</b>  	_ _ _  years  _ _ _  months  _ _ _  weeks  _ _ _  days Definitely <input type="checkbox"/>	_ _ _  years  _ _ _  months  _ _ _  weeks  _ _ _  days Definitely <input type="checkbox"/>	_ _ _  years  _ _ _  months  _ _ _  weeks  _ _ _  days Definitely <input type="checkbox"/>	_ _ _  years  _ _ _  months  _ _ _  weeks  _ _ _  days Definitely <input type="checkbox"/>	_ _ _  years  _ _ _  months  _ _ _  weeks  _ _ _  days Definitely <input type="checkbox"/>
<b>706 – For what reasons did you return to live in Senegal</b>  <i>Note the precise answer in plain text.</i>	   ..... ..... .....	   ..... ..... .....	   ..... ..... .....	   ..... ..... .....	   ..... ..... .....
<b>707 – With whom did you return:</b>  <i>Read:</i> <b>0. Alone?</b> <b>With family members ?</b> <b>Family members?</b> 1. Your father 2. Your mother 3. Your partner 4. One or several brothers 5. One or several sisters 6. One or several of your son(s) 7. One or several of your daughter(s) 8. Another relative  <b>Other persons?</b> 9. One or several friends 10. Other, <i>Specify</i>	_ _ _   _ _ _   _ _ _   _ _ _   _ _ _   _ _ _   _ _ _   _ _ _   _ _ _   _ _ _   _ _ _	_ _ _   _ _ _   _ _ _   _ _ _   _ _ _   _ _ _   _ _ _   _ _ _   _ _ _   _ _ _   _ _ _	_ _ _   _ _ _   _ _ _   _ _ _   _ _ _   _ _ _   _ _ _   _ _ _   _ _ _   _ _ _   _ _ _	_ _ _   _ _ _   _ _ _   _ _ _   _ _ _   _ _ _   _ _ _   _ _ _   _ _ _   _ _ _   _ _ _	_ _ _   _ _ _   _ _ _   _ _ _   _ _ _   _ _ _   _ _ _   _ _ _   _ _ _   _ _ _   _ _ _

Questions	R01	R02	R03	R04	R05
<b>708 – Which persons decided about your return:</b> <i>Read :</i> <b>0. Yourself?</b> → <i>End of the interview, if the only answer</i> <b>Family members?</b> 1. Your father 2. Your mother 3. Your partner 4. One or several brothers 5. One or several sisters 6. Your son(s) 7. Your daughter(s) 8. Another relative, <i>Specify</i> <b>Someone else?</b> 9. Your employer 10. The authorities of the country where you lived 11. Other, <i>Specify</i>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
<b><i>FILTER : If Ego has or has had one or more members of his family or contact circle outside Senegal → 709            Otherwise → END OF INTERVIEW, Note time</i></b>					
<b>709 – Are these persons of your family or contact circle who live or lived outside Senegal and about whom we talked before?</b>  <i>If yes, write down the Migrant Code given in AGEVEN Column 4</i>	1. Yes      2. No ↘ Code Migrant  M   <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> M   <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> M   <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> M   <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	1. Yes      2. No ↘ Code Migrant  M   <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> M   <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> M   <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> M   <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	1. Yes      2. No ↘ Code Migrant  M   <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> M   <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> M   <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> M   <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	1. Yes      2. No ↘ Code Migrant  M   <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> M   <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> M   <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> M   <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	1. Yes      2. No ↘ Code Migrant  M   <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> M   <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> M   <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> M   <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>

**We are now at the end of the interview. I thank you very much for your participation.**

**Would you like to make any comments or give us your opinion about this questionnaire or this study?**

**END TIME :** | h | min

**INTERVIEWER'S OBSERVATIONS – TO BE FILLED OUT AFTER THE INTERVIEW**

- E1 – This person was :**
1. Easily persuaded to participate → E2
  2. A bit difficult to persuade
  3. Very difficult to persuade

**E1A – For what reasons was he/she reluctant to participate? And which arguments enabled you to convince him/her in the end?**

..  
..

- E2 - The reception by the respondent was:**
1. Very good over the entire interview
  2. Good, but reluctant on certain questions → E2R – Which ones?
  3. Quite reluctant or suspicious over the entire duration of the interview
  4. Other: *Specify:*

**E3 – In what language(s) did you conduct the interview?**

- E4 – And were any other person(s) present during the interview?**
1. yes
  2. no → E5

**E4I – Did you have the impression that this presence influenced the respondent in his/her answers?**

1. Yes, the entire questionnaire
2. Yes, certain parts of the questionnaire → E4Q – Which ones (specify the nb of the questions)?
3. No

- E5 – Were there any interruptions?**
1. Yes → E5A - *Specify*
  2. No

**E6 - According to you, was the respondent's general comprehension of the questions:**

1. Very good
2. Adequate, but not perfect
3. Bad

- E7 – And did the respondent have problems answering certain questions?**
1. Yes → E7D – Which ones? No.:
  2. No

- E8 – Did the respondent refuse to answer certain questions?**
1. Yes → E8R - Which ones? No. :
  2. No

**THANK YOU FOR YOUR COOPERATION!**

# INFORMATION TO TRANSCRIBE AFTER THE INTERVIEW BASED ON THE BIOGRAPHICAL GRID

**MODULE: MIGRATIONS AMONG FAMILY OR CONTACT CIRCLE MEMBERS**

SEE AGEVEN COLUMNS 4

900 – Count in AGEVEN the number of family or contact circle members who have lived outside Senegal |\_\_|\_\_| and fill in one column per person. (in principle, number equal to Q17TOT).

MIGRANTS IN THE FAMILY/NETWORK	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5
<b>901 – Relationship:</b> the person is Ego's .. : Code: 1. Partner + No. 2. Son / daughter + No. 3. Father / mother 4. Brother / sister 5. Uncle / aunt 6. Nephew / niece 7. Cousin 8. Grandfather / grandmother 9. Grandson / granddaughter 10. Son-in-law / daughter-in-law; stepson / stepdaughter 11. Brother-in-law / sister-in-law 12. Co-wife 13. Other relative, <i>Specify</i> 14. Friend 15. Other, <i>Specify</i> <i>If the person is Ego's child or partner indicate his or number given in AGEVEN.</i>	Relationship:  __ __   No. Partner (Q101):  __ __   No. Child (Q202):  __ __	Relationship:  __ __   No. Partner (Q101):  __ __   No. Child (Q202):  __ __	Relationship:  __ __   No. Partner (Q101):  __ __   No. Child (Q202):  __ __	Relationship:  __ __   No. Partner (Q101):  __ __   No. Child (Q202):  __ __	Relationship:  __ __   No. Partner (Q101):  __ __   No. Child (Q202):  __ __
<b>902 – Sex:</b> 1. Male 2. Female	__	__	__	__	__
<b>903M – Year in which they met</b> <i>Cross out if the person is not a partner or a friend</i>	__ __	__ __	__ __	__ __	__ __
<b>903D – Year of death</b> <i>Cross out if the person is not deceased</i>	__ __	__ __	__ __	__ __	__ __



MIGRANTS IN THE FAMILY/CONTACT CIRCLE	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5																																																																																
<b>904 – Country 1 (1st country outside of SN).</b> <i>In plain text and CAPITAL letters</i>																																																																																					
<b>904S – 904E – Start and end year of the stay in “Country 1”</b> <i>Cross out if the person is currently still living in this country</i>	<table border="1"> <tr> <td> </td><td> </td><td> </td><td> </td> <td> </td><td> </td><td> </td><td> </td> </tr> <tr> <td>Start</td><td>End</td><td></td><td></td> <td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td> </tr> </table>									Start	End							<table border="1"> <tr> <td> </td><td> </td><td> </td><td> </td> <td> </td><td> </td><td> </td><td> </td> </tr> <tr> <td>Start</td><td>End</td><td></td><td></td> <td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td> </tr> </table>									Start	End							<table border="1"> <tr> <td> </td><td> </td><td> </td><td> </td> <td> </td><td> </td><td> </td><td> </td> </tr> <tr> <td>Start</td><td>End</td><td></td><td></td> <td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td> </tr> </table>									Start	End							<table border="1"> <tr> <td> </td><td> </td><td> </td><td> </td> <td> </td><td> </td><td> </td><td> </td> </tr> <tr> <td>Start</td><td>End</td><td></td><td></td> <td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td> </tr> </table>									Start	End							<table border="1"> <tr> <td> </td><td> </td><td> </td><td> </td> <td> </td><td> </td><td> </td><td> </td> </tr> <tr> <td>Start</td><td>End</td><td></td><td></td> <td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td> </tr> </table>									Start	End						
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• **Following migrants** → next page

• **MODULE RETURNS** → Page 59

MIGRANTS IN THE FAMILY/CONTACT CIRCLE	M6	M7	M8	M9	M10
<p><b>901 – Relationship:</b> the person is Ego's .. :</p> <p>Code:</p> <p>16. Partner + No.  17. Son / daughter + No.  18. Father / mother  19. Brother / sister  20. Uncle / aunt  21. Nephew / niece  22. Cousin  23. Grandfather / grandmother  24. Grandson / granddaughter  25. Son-in-law / daughter-in-law; stepson / stepdaughter  26. Brother-in-law / sister-in-law  27. Co-wife  28. Other relative, <i>Specify</i>  29. Friend  30. Other, <i>Specify</i></p> <p><i>If the person is Ego's child or partner indicate his or number given in AGEVEN.</i></p>	<p>Relationship:  _ _ _ </p> <p>No. Partner (Q101):  _ _ </p> <p>No. Child (Q202):  _ _ </p>	<p>Relationship:  _ _ _ </p> <p>No. Partner (Q101):  _ _ </p> <p>No. Child (Q202):  _ _ </p>	<p>Relationship:  _ _ _ </p> <p>No. Partner (Q101):  _ _ </p> <p>No. Child (Q202):  _ _ </p>	<p>Relationship:  _ _ _ </p> <p>No. Partner (Q101):  _ _ </p> <p>No. Child (Q202):  _ _ </p>	<p>Relationship:  _ _ _ </p> <p>No. Partner (Q101):  _ _ </p> <p>No. Child (Q202):  _ _ </p>
<p><b>902 – Sex:</b></p> <p>3. Male  4. Female</p>	<p> _ </p>	<p> _ </p>	<p> _ </p>	<p> _ </p>	<p> _ </p>
<p><b>903M – Year in which they met</b></p> <p><i>Cross out if the person is not a partner or a friend</i></p>	<p> _ _ </p>	<p> _ _ </p>	<p> _ _ </p>	<p> _ _ </p>	<p> _ _ </p>
<p><b>903D – Year of death</b></p> <p><i>Cross out if the person is not deceased</i></p>	<p> _ _ </p>	<p> _ _ </p>	<p> _ _ </p>	<p> _ _ </p>	<p> _ _ </p>

<b>MIGRANTS IN THE FAMILY/CONTACT CIRCLE</b>	<b>M6</b>	<b>M7</b>	<b>M8</b>	<b>M9</b>	<b>M10</b>																				
<b>904 – Country 1 (1st country outside of SN).</b> <i>In plain text and CAPITAL letters</i>																									
<b>904S – 904E – Start and end year of the stay in “Country 1”</b> <i>Cross out if the person is currently still living in this country</i>	<table border="0"> <tr> <td> _ _ _ </td> <td> _ _ _ </td> </tr> <tr> <td>Start</td> <td>End</td> </tr> </table>	_ _ _	_ _ _	Start	End	<table border="0"> <tr> <td> _ _ _ </td> <td> _ _ _ </td> </tr> <tr> <td>Start</td> <td>End</td> </tr> </table>	_ _ _	_ _ _	Start	End	<table border="0"> <tr> <td> _ _ _ </td> <td> _ _ _ </td> </tr> <tr> <td>Start</td> <td>End</td> </tr> </table>	_ _ _	_ _ _	Start	End	<table border="0"> <tr> <td> _ _ _ </td> <td> _ _ _ </td> </tr> <tr> <td>Start</td> <td>End</td> </tr> </table>	_ _ _	_ _ _	Start	End	<table border="0"> <tr> <td> _ _ _ </td> <td> _ _ _ </td> </tr> <tr> <td>Start</td> <td>End</td> </tr> </table>	_ _ _	_ _ _	Start	End
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• **Following migrants** → next page

• **MODULE RETURNS** → Page 59

MIGRANTS IN THE FAMILY/CONTACT CIRCLE	M11	M12	M13	M14	M15
<p><b>901 – Relationship:</b> the person is Ego's ... :</p> <p><i>Code:</i></p> <p>31. Partner + No.  32. Son / daughter + No.  33. Father / mother  34. Brother / sister  35. Uncle / aunt  36. Nephew / niece  37. Cousin  38. Grandfather / grandmother  39. Grandson / granddaughter  40. Son-in-law / daughter-in-law; stepson / stepdaughter  41. Brother-in-law / sister-in-law  42. Co-wife  43. Other relative, <i>Specify</i>  44. Friend  45. Other, <i>Specify</i></p> <p><i>If the person is Ego's child or partner indicate his or number given in AGEVEN.</i></p>	<p>Relationship:  _ _ _ </p> <p>No. Partner (Q101):  _ _ </p> <p>No. Child (Q202):  _ _ </p>	<p>Relationship:  _ _ _ </p> <p>No. Partner (Q101):  _ _ </p> <p>No. Child (Q202):  _ _ </p>	<p>Relationship:  _ _ _ </p> <p>No. Partner (Q101):  _ _ </p> <p>No. Child (Q202):  _ _ </p>	<p>Relationship:  _ _ _ </p> <p>No. Partner (Q101):  _ _ </p> <p>No. Child (Q202):  _ _ </p>	<p>Relationship:  _ _ _ </p> <p>No. Partner (Q101):  _ _ </p> <p>No. Child (Q202):  _ _ </p>
<p><b>902 – Sex:</b></p> <p>5. Male  6. Female</p>	<p> _ </p>	<p> _ </p>	<p> _ </p>	<p> _ </p>	<p> _ </p>
<p><b>903M – Year in which they met</b></p> <p><i>Cross out if the person is not a partner or a friend</i></p>	<p> _ _ </p>	<p> _ _ </p>	<p> _ _ </p>	<p> _ _ </p>	<p> _ _ </p>
<p><b>903D – Year of death</b></p> <p><i>Cross out if the person is not deceased</i></p>	<p> _ _ </p>	<p> _ _ </p>	<p> _ _ </p>	<p> _ _ </p>	<p> _ _ </p>

<b>MIGRANTS IN THE FAMILY/CONTACT CIRCLE</b>	<b>M11</b>	<b>M12</b>	<b>M13</b>	<b>M14</b>	<b>M15</b>
<b>904 – Country 1 (1st country outside of SN)</b> <i>In plain text and CAPITAL letters</i>					
<b>904S – 904E – Start and end year of the stay in “Country 1”</b> <i>Cross out if the person is currently still living in this country</i>	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>   <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> Start      End	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>   <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> Start      End	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>   <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> Start      End	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>   <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> Start      End	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>   <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> Start      End
<b>905 – Country 2</b> <i>In plain text and CAPITAL letters</i>					
<b>905S – 905E – Start and end year of the stay in “Country 2”</b> <i>Cross out if the person is currently still living in this country</i>	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>   <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> Start      End	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>   <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> Start      End	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>   <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> Start      End	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>   <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> Start      End	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>   <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> Start      End
<b>906 – Country 3</b> <i>In plain text and CAPITAL letters</i>					
<b>906S – 906E – Start and end year of the stay in “Country 3”</b> <i>Cross out if the person is currently still living in this country</i>	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>   <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> Start      End	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>   <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> Start      End	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>   <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> Start      End	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>   <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> Start      End	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>   <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> Start      End
<b>907 – Country 4</b> <i>In plain text and CAPITAL letters</i>					
<b>907S – 907E – Start and end year of the stay in “Country 4”</b> <i>Cross out if the person is currently still living in this country</i>	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>   <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> Start      End	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>   <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> Start      End	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>   <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> Start      End	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>   <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> Start      End	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>   <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> Start      End
<b>908 – Country 5</b> <i>In plain text and CAPITAL letters</i>					
<b>908S – 908E – Start and end year of the stay in “Country 5”</b> <i>Cross out if the person is currently still living in this country</i>	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>   <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> Start      End	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>   <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> Start      End	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>   <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> Start      End	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>   <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> Start      End	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>   <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> Start      End
<b>909 – Country 6</b> <i>In plain text and CAPITAL letters</i>					
<b>909D – 909F - Start and end year of the stay in “Country 6”</b> <i>Cross out if the person is currently still living in this country</i>	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>   <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> Start      End	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>   <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> Start      End	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>   <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> Start      End	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>   <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> Start      End	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>   <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> Start      End

• **FOLLOWING MIGRANTS** → Additional sheets

• **MODULE RETURNS** → Next page

**MODULE RETURNS TO SENEGAL OF LESS THAN A YEAR WITHOUT INTENTION TO SETTLE** SEE AGEVEN COLUMN 13

1000 -Count in AGEVEN all returns (R1, R2, etc., and each AR) without including the returns to settle marked as "R SET": |\_\_|\_\_|

*If there is a return every year over a period of several years, group these returns in one single period.*

	Start and end years
1001S – 1001E – 1st return to Senegal	__ __   __ __  Start End
1002S – 1002E – 2 <sup>nd</sup> return to Senegal	__ __   __ __  Start End
1003S – 1003E – 3rd return to Senegal	__ __   __ __  Start End
1004S – 1004E - 4th return to Senegal	__ __   __ __  Start End
1005S – 1005E - 5th return to Senegal	__ __   __ __  Start End
1006S – 1006E - 6th return to Senegal	__ __   __ __  Start End
1007S – 1007E - 7th return to Senegal	__ __   __ __  Start End
1008S – 1008E - 8th return to Senegal	__ __   __ __  Start End
1009S – 1009E – 9th return to Senegal	__ __   __ __  Start End
1010S – 1010E – 10th return to Senegal	__ __   __ __  Start End
1011S – 1011E – 11th return to Senegal	__ __   __ __  Start End

	Start and end years
1012S – 1012E – 12th return to Senegal	__ __   __ __  Start End
1013S – 1013E - 13th return to Senegal	__ __   __ __  Start End
1014S – 1014E – 14th return to Senegal	__ __   __ __  Start End
1015S – 1015E – 15th return to Senegal	__ __   __ __  Start End
1016S – 1016E – 16th return to Senegal	__ __   __ __  Start End
1017S – 1017E – 17th return to Senegal	__ __   __ __  Start End
1018S – 1018E – 18th return to Senegal	__ __   __ __  Start End
1019S – 1019E – 19th return to Senegal	__ __   __ __  Start End
1020S – 1020E – 20th return to Senegal	__ __   __ __  Start End
1021S – 1021E – 21th return to Senegal	__ __   __ __  Start End
1022S – 1022E – 22th return to Senegal	__ __   __ __  Start End

1100 -Count in AGEVEN the stays outside Senegal marked VAC or BUS: |\_\_|\_\_| **ATTENTION:** don't count those stays marked SET or TRANSIT

*Motive: Several answers are possible.*

*If over a period of several years the respondent travels every year to one or several countries for the same motive: GROUP these stays outside Senegal on a single line. Indicate the start and end dates of this period of repeated travelling. List all countries in which Ego stayed during this period.*

	Start and end years	COUNTRY note in plain text	Motive		Start and end years	COUNTRY note in plain text	Motive
1101S – 1101F 1 <sup>st</sup> stay outside Senegal	__ __   __ __  Start End	1101P	1101M 1. VAC 2. BUS	1106S – 1106F 6 <sup>th</sup> stay outside Senegal	__ __   __ __  Start End	1106P	1106M 1. VAC 2. BUS
1102S – 1102F 2 <sup>nd</sup> stay outside Senegal	__ __   __ __  Start End	1102P	1102M 1. VAC 2. BUS	1107S – 1107F 7 <sup>th</sup> stay outside Senegal	__ __   __ __  Start End	1107P	1107M 1. VAC 2. BUS
1103S – 1103F 3 <sup>rd</sup> stay outside Senegal	__ __   __ __  Start End	1103P	1103M 1. VAC 2. BUS	1108S – 1108F 8 <sup>th</sup> stay outside Senegal	__ __   __ __  Start End	1108P	1108M 1. VAC 2. BUS
1104S – 1104F 4 <sup>th</sup> stay outside Senegal	__ __   __ __  Start End	1104P	1104M 1. VAC 2. BUS	1109S – 1109F 9 <sup>th</sup> stay outside Senegal	__ __   __ __  Start End	1109P	1109M 1. VAC 2. BUS
1105S – 1105F 5 <sup>th</sup> stay outside Senegal	__ __   __ __  Start End	1105P	1105M 1. VAC 2. BUS	1110S – 1110F 10 <sup>th</sup> stay outside Senegal	__ __   __ __  Start End	1110P	1110M 1. VAC 2. BUS

- **FOLLOWING STAYS** → Next page
- **MODULE CITIZENSHIP** → Page 62

	Start and end years	COUNTRY note in plain text	Motive		Start and end years	COUNTRY note in plain text	Motive
1111S – 1111F 11 <sup>th</sup> stay outside Senegal	Start End	1111P	1111M 1. VAC 2. BUS	1118S – 1118F 18 <sup>th</sup> stay outside Senegal	Start End	1118P	1118M 1. VAC 2. BUS
1112S – 1112F 12 <sup>th</sup> stay outside Senegal	Start End	1112P	1112M 1. VAC 2. BUS	1119S – 1119F 19 <sup>th</sup> stay outside Senegal	Start End	1119P	1119M 1. VAC 2. BUS
1113S – 1113F 13 <sup>th</sup> stay outside Senegal	Start End	1113P	1113M 1. VAC 2. BUS	1120S – 1120F 20 <sup>th</sup> stay outside Senegal	Start End	1120P	1120M 1. VAC 2. BUS
1114S – 1114F 14 <sup>th</sup> stay outside Senegal	Start End	1114P	1114M 1. VAC 2. BUS	1121S – 1121F 21 <sup>th</sup> stay outside Senegal	Start End	1119P	1119M 1. VAC 2. BUS
1115S – 1115F 15 <sup>th</sup> stay outside Senegal	Start End	1115P	1115M 1. VAC 2. BUS	1122S – 1122F 22 <sup>th</sup> stay outside Senegal	Start End	1120P	1120M 1. VAC 2. BUS
1116S – 1116F 16 <sup>th</sup> stay outside Senegal	Start End	1116P	1116M 1. VAC 2. BUS	1123S – 1123F 23 <sup>th</sup> stay outside Senegal	Start End	1121P	1121M 1. VAC 2. BUS
1117S – 1117F 17 <sup>th</sup> stay outside Senegal	Start End	1117P	1117M 1. VAC 2. BUS	1124S – 1124F 24 <sup>th</sup> stay outside Senegal	Start End	1122P	1122M 1. VAC 2. BUS



## MODULE CITIZENSHIP

SEE AGEVEN COLUMN 9

1200 – Count in AGEVEN the number of periods during which ego had one or several nationalities: |\_\_|\_\_|

	Start and end years	Nationalities held <i>in CAPITAL letters</i>							
<b>1200S – 1200F– Nationality or nationalities by birth</b>	<table style="width: 100%; border: none;"> <tr> <td style="border: none; text-align: center;"> _ _ _ </td> <td style="border: none; text-align: center;"> _ _ _ </td> </tr> <tr> <td style="border: none; text-align: center;">Start</td> <td style="border: none; text-align: center;">End</td> </tr> </table>	_ _ _	_ _ _	Start	End	N :	..	N :	..
_ _ _	_ _ _								
Start	End								
		N :	..	N :	..				
<b>1201S – 1201F – 1<sup>st</sup> change</b> <i>Cross out if no change</i>	<table style="width: 100%; border: none;"> <tr> <td style="border: none; text-align: center;"> _ _ _ </td> <td style="border: none; text-align: center;"> _ _ _ </td> </tr> <tr> <td style="border: none; text-align: center;">Start</td> <td style="border: none; text-align: center;">End</td> </tr> </table>	_ _ _	_ _ _	Start	End	N :	..	N :	..
_ _ _	_ _ _								
Start	End								
		N :	..	N :	..				
<b>1202S – 1202F – 2<sup>nd</sup> change</b> <i>Cross out if no change</i>	<table style="width: 100%; border: none;"> <tr> <td style="border: none; text-align: center;"> _ _ _ </td> <td style="border: none; text-align: center;"> _ _ _ </td> </tr> <tr> <td style="border: none; text-align: center;">Start</td> <td style="border: none; text-align: center;">End</td> </tr> </table>	_ _ _	_ _ _	Start	End	N :	..	N :	..
_ _ _	_ _ _								
Start	End								
		N :	..	N :	..				
<b>1203S – 1203F – 3<sup>rd</sup> change</b> <i>Cross out if no change</i>	<table style="width: 100%; border: none;"> <tr> <td style="border: none; text-align: center;"> _ _ _ </td> <td style="border: none; text-align: center;"> _ _ _ </td> </tr> <tr> <td style="border: none; text-align: center;">Start</td> <td style="border: none; text-align: center;">End</td> </tr> </table>	_ _ _	_ _ _	Start	End	N :	..	N :	..
_ _ _	_ _ _								
Start	End								
		N :	..	N :	..				

## MODULE ASYLUM

SEE AGEVEN COLUMN 10

1300 – Count in AGEVEN the number of times ego sought asylum: |\_\_|\_\_|

	Country where asylum was sought	Year of application	Year when refugee status was obtained <i>Cross out if not obtained</i>	Year when refugee status was denied <i>Cross out if not denied</i>	End year of refugee status <i>Cross out if no end year</i>
<b>1301- 1<sup>st</sup> application for asylum</b>	1301C .....	1301S  _ _	1301O  _ _	1301D  _ _	1301E  _ _
<b>1302- 2<sup>nd</sup> application for asylum</b>	1302C .	1302S  _ _	1302O  _ _	1302D  _ _	1302E  _ _
<b>1303- 3<sup>rd</sup> application for asylum</b>	1303C .	1303S  _ _	1303O  _ _	1303D  _ _	1303E  _ _

1304- 4 <sup>th</sup> application for asylum	1304C	1304S	1304O	1304D	1304E
		_ _	_ _	_ _	_ _

**MODULE RESIDENCE PERMITS**      AGEVEN COLUMN 11

1410 – Number of periods of residence status: |\_|\_|\_|

	<b>Start and end years</b> <i>Cross out end date if status is ongoing</i>	<b>Residence status</b> <i>Encircle the status(es). If "other" indicate answer in plain text</i>
<b>1411S – 1411E – 1st period of residence title</b>	_ _      _ _ _  Start    End	<b>V   RP   NP   NNRP</b>
<b>1412S – 1412E - 2<sup>nd</sup> period of residence title</b>	_ _      _ _ _  Start    End	<b>V   RP   NP   NNRP</b>
<b>1413S – 1413E – 3rd period of residence title</b>	_ _      _ _ _  Start    End	<b>V   RP   NP   NNRP</b>
<b>1414S – 1414E – 4th period of residence title</b>	_ _      _ _ _  Start    End	<b>V   RP   NP   NNRP</b>
<b>1415S – 1415E - 5th period of residence title</b>	_ _      _ _ _  Start    End	<b>V   RP   NP   NNRP</b>
<b>1416S – 1416E – 6th period of residence title</b>	_ _      _ _ _  Start    End	<b>V   RP   NP   NNRP</b>
<b>1417S – 1417E – 7th period of residence title</b>	_ _      _ _ _  Start    End	<b>V   RP   NP   NNRP</b>
<b>1418S – 1418E - 8th period of residence title</b>	_ _      _ _ _  Start    End	<b>V   RP   NP   NNRP</b>
<b>1419S – 1419E - 9th period of residence title r</b>	_ _      _ _ _  Start    End	<b>V   RP   NP   NNRP</b>
<b>1420S – 1420E - 10th period of residence title</b>	_ _      _ _ _	<b>V   RP   NP   NNRP</b>

**MODULE WORK PERMITS**      COLUMN 12

1510 – Number of periods of work permits: |\_|\_|\_|

	<b>Start and end years</b> <i>Cross out end date if status is ongoing</i>	<b>Work status</b> <i>Encircle the status(es). If "other" indicate answer in plain text</i>
<b>1511S – 1511E – 1st period of residence title</b>	_ _      _ _ _  Start    End	<b>WP   NWP   SWP   NNWP</b>
<b>1512S – 1512E – 2<sup>nd</sup> period of residence title</b>	_ _      _ _ _  Start    End	<b>WP   NWP   SWP   NNWP</b>
<b>1513S – 1513E – 3rd period of residence title</b>	_ _      _ _ _  Start    End	<b>WP   NWP   SWP   NNWP</b>
<b>1514S – 1514E - 4th period of residence title</b>	_ _      _ _ _  Start    End	<b>WP   NWP   SWP   NNWP</b>
<b>1515S – 1515E - 5th period of residence title</b>	_ _      _ _ _  Start    End	<b>WP   NWP   SWP   NNWP</b>
<b>1516S – 1516E – 6th period of residence title</b>	_ _      _ _ _  Start    End	<b>WP   NWP   SWP   NNWP</b>
<b>1517S – 1517E – 7th period of residence title</b>	_ _      _ _ _  Start    End	<b>WP   NWP   SWP   NNWP</b>
<b>1518S – 1518E – 8th period of residence title</b>	_ _      _ _ _  Start    End	<b>WP   NWP   SWP   NNWP</b>
<b>1519S – 1519E - 9th period of residence title</b>	_ _      _ _ _  Start    End	<b>WP   NWP   SWP   NNWP</b>
<b>1520S – 1520E - 10th period of residence title</b>	_ _      _ _ _	<b>WP   NWP   SWP   NNWP</b>

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	Start	End	
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## MODULE TRANSFERS

SEE AGEVEN COLUMN 6

1600 – Count in AGEVEN the periods of REGULAR TRANSFERS: |\_\_|\_\_| and fill in one column for each period

	1 <sup>st</sup> period TR	2 <sup>nd</sup> period TR	3 <sup>rd</sup> period TR	4 <sup>th</sup> period TR	5 <sup>th</sup> period TR																				
<b>1601S – 1601E – Start and end years of transfers</b> <i>Cross out if ongoing</i>	<table border="1"> <tr> <td> _ _ </td> <td> _ _ </td> </tr> <tr> <td>Start</td> <td>End</td> </tr> </table>	_ _	_ _	Start	End	<table border="1"> <tr> <td> _ _ </td> <td> _ _ </td> </tr> <tr> <td>Start</td> <td>End</td> </tr> </table>	_ _	_ _	Start	End	<table border="1"> <tr> <td> _ _ </td> <td> _ _ </td> </tr> <tr> <td>Start</td> <td>End</td> </tr> </table>	_ _	_ _	Start	End	<table border="1"> <tr> <td> _ _ </td> <td> _ _ </td> </tr> <tr> <td>Start</td> <td>End</td> </tr> </table>	_ _	_ _	Start	End	<table border="1"> <tr> <td> _ _ </td> <td> _ _ </td> </tr> <tr> <td>Start</td> <td>End</td> </tr> </table>	_ _	_ _	Start	End
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<b>1601P – Destination countries of transfers</b> <i>Note in plain text all countries</i>	..... .....	..... .....	..... .....	..... .....	..... .....																				

## MODULE ASSOCIATIONS

SEE AGEVEN COLUMN 14

1700 – Count in AGEVEN the number of periods Ego paid contributions to ASSOCIATIONS: |\_\_|\_\_| and fill in one column for each period

	1st Contribution	2nd Contribution	3rd Contribution	4 <sup>th</sup> Contribution	5 <sup>th</sup> Contribution																				
<b>1701S – 1701E – Start and end years of contribution payments</b> <i>Cross out if ongoing</i>	<table border="1"> <tr> <td> _ _ </td> <td> _ _ </td> </tr> <tr> <td>Start</td> <td>End</td> </tr> </table>	_ _	_ _	Start	End	<table border="1"> <tr> <td> _ _ </td> <td> _ _ </td> </tr> <tr> <td>Start</td> <td>End</td> </tr> </table>	_ _	_ _	Start	End	<table border="1"> <tr> <td> _ _ </td> <td> _ _ </td> </tr> <tr> <td>Start</td> <td>End</td> </tr> </table>	_ _	_ _	Start	End	<table border="1"> <tr> <td> _ _ </td> <td> _ _ </td> </tr> <tr> <td>Start</td> <td>End</td> </tr> </table>	_ _	_ _	Start	End	<table border="1"> <tr> <td> _ _ </td> <td> _ _ </td> </tr> <tr> <td>Start</td> <td>End</td> </tr> </table>	_ _	_ _	Start	End
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# MAFE



Migrations  
between Africa  
and Europe

Biographic Questionnaire 2009

University of Sussex – University of Maastricht – University of Ghana

## AGEVEN RECORD GRID

IDENTIFIER :          
Household Individual

No. Enumeration area/Neighbourhood :

No ADDRESS FILE IN EUROPE :

COUNTRY: 1. Ghana 2. UK 3. Netherlands

INTERVIEWER'S NAME: .....

NO. INTERVIEWER:

DATE OF INTERVIEW:

YEARS	1. AGE	2. FAMILY HISTORY		3. HOUSING HISTORY		1. AGE
		2.1 PARTNERSHIPS	2.2 CHILDREN	This dwelling is situated in which:		
				3.1 TOWN OR VILLAGE?	3.2 COUNTRY?	
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YEARS	COMMENTS AND OBSERVATIONS
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YEARS	4. RESIDENCE HISTORY OF FAMILY MEMBERS AND PERSONAL NETWORK						
	Father - Mother - Brothers - Sisters - Partners - Children - Other relatives and friends						
	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M6	M7
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Sex	M W	M W	M W	M W	M W	M W	M W
	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M6	M7

YEARS	4. RESIDENCE HISTORY OF FAMILY MEMBERS AND PERSONAL NETWORK						
	Father - Mother - Brothers - Sisters - Partners - Children - Other relatives and friends						
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Sex	M W	M W	M W	M W	M W	M W	M W
	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M6	M7

YEARS	4. RESIDENCE HISTORY OF FAMILY MEMBERS AND PERSONAL NETWORK						
	Father - Mother - Brothers - Sisters - Partners - Children - Other relatives and friends						
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Sex	M W	M W	M W	M W	M W	M W	M W
	M8	M9	M10	M11	M12	M13	M14

YEARS	4. RESIDENCE HISTORY OF FAMILY MEMBERS AND PERSONAL NETWORK						
	Father - Mother - Brothers - Sisters - Partners - Children - Other relatives and friends						
	M8	M9	M10	M11	M12	M13	M14
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	M8	M9	M10	M11	M12	M13	M14

YEARS	5. ACTIVITY AND INACTIVITY HISTORY	6. TRANSFERS
	What did you do ? <small>Schooling, Training, Apprenticeship, Employment, Family help, Unemployment, Retired, Housemaker, Without occupation</small>	Periods and countries of TR
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YEARS	5. ACTIVITY AND INACTIVITY HISTORY	6. TRANSFERS
	What did you do ? <small>Schooling, Training, Apprenticeship, Employment, Family help, Unemployment, Retired, Housemaker, Without occupation</small>	Periods and countries of TR
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YEARS	7. MIGRATION ATTEMPTS	8. STAYS OF LESS THAN A YEAR OUTSIDE GHANA	
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YEARS	7. MIGRATION ATTEMPTS	8. STAYS OF LESS THAN A YEAR OUTSIDE GHANA	
		Country + Motives : TRANSIT - SET	Country + Motives : HOL - BUS
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YEARS	9. CITIZENSHIP	STAYS OUTSIDE GHANA				
		10. ASYLUM	PERMITS:		13. RETURNS TO GHANA	14. ASSOCIATIONS
			11. RESIDENCE	12. WORK		
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YEARS	9. CITIZENSHIP	STAYS OUTSIDE GHANA				
		10. ASYLUM	PERMITS:		13. RETURNS TO GHANA	14. ASSOCIATIONS
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