

Push and pull factors of international migration

A comparative report



EUROPEAN
COMMISSION



THEME 1
General
statistics

A great deal of additional information on the European Union is available on the Internet.
It can be accessed through the Europa server (<http://europa.eu.int>).

Cataloguing data can be found at the end of this publication.

Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 2000

ISBN 92-828-9721-4

© European Communities, 2000

Printed in Luxembourg

PRINTED ON WHITE CHLORINE-FREE PAPER

FOREWORD

International migration flows have increased in magnitude and complexity over the past decades. As a result, migration and potential migration to, for instance, the European Union are receiving ever more attention at policy level. Within this context, the Commission of the European Communities entrusted Eurostat, its Statistical Bureau, and the Netherlands Interdisciplinary Demographic Institute (NIDI) with a project to study the push and pull factors determining international migration flows.

The objective of the study is to improve our understanding of the direct and indirect causes and mechanisms of international migration to the European Union, from an internationally comparative perspective. The results are intended to serve as a basis for the development of policy instruments and to provide tools for estimating future migration.

The project started in 1994 with the preparation of a study on the 'state of the art' in migration theory and research, the identification of national and international research institutes active in this field, and a workshop. Based on the results of this preparatory stage, surveys were set up in a number of countries. The results are being reported on in the present comparative report, as well as in a series of eight individual country monographs.

The focus of the project is on migration from the Southern and Eastern Mediterranean region and from Sub-Saharan Africa to the European Union. Within these regions, seven countries have been selected for primary data collection on migration. The five predominantly migrant-sending countries participating in the project are - in the Mediterranean region - Turkey, Morocco and Egypt; and - in West Africa - Senegal and Ghana. Three migrant-receiving countries are included: Italy and Spain on the northern Mediterranean border, and the Netherlands, in western Europe. Analysis for the latter country is based on secondary data.

In each of the countries involved in the project, local research teams were responsible for data collection and, to a large extent, for data processing and analysis. These country teams consist of researchers of local research institutes, and were invited to participate because of their extensive knowledge of international migration research, experience with survey data collection, and the institutional capacity to carry out surveys. In close consultation with the respective country teams and external experts, NIDI developed the research instruments for the project and provided methodological and technical feedback.



Yves Franchet
Director-General
EUROSTAT



Prof. Dr. Jenny Gierveld
Director
NIDI

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many persons have contributed to the current volume and we gratefully acknowledge their support. In the first place, of course, we thank the members of the country teams participating in the project, who were of vital importance in all its stages. Their names are included in the list of teams in Appendix 10.5. One of the joys of working in a project like this is that it brings together researchers from many different backgrounds, both scientifically and culturally, providing a fertile soil for ideas and solutions to challenging issues.

Apart from the members of the teams, many others have made important contributions. Richard Bilsborrow (University of North Carolina, USA) was of invaluable help in solving complicated sampling issues. Furthermore, a group of experts from different backgrounds commented upon the draft questionnaires. Their constructive criticism and innovative ideas have contributed much to the questionnaires' improvement. They were, in alphabetical order: Joaquín Arango (Complutense University and University Institute Ortega y Gasset, Spain), Richard Bilsborrow (University of North Carolina, USA), Francis Doodoo (African Population and Health Research Centre, Kenya), Sally Findley (Columbia University, USA), Mustafa Kharoufi (National Council for Youth and the Future, Morocco), Brendan Mullan (Michigan State University, USA) and Klaus Zimmermann (University of Munich, Germany).

We also extend our gratitude to the European Commission which, with foresight, commissioned such a large study extending over a number of years. Much of our thanks, of course, goes to our colleagues at Eurostat, in particular to Bernard Langevin, who instigated the project and whose enthusiasm and support were always stimulating; to Luca Ascoli and Thana Chrissanthaki for the many times they helped us with useful advice and for sharing their well-informed knowledge with us; to Gilles Rambaud-Chanoz, as successor of Bernard Langevin, and to Gilles Decand, for their continued and valuable support; and to Antonella Gerard for her cheerful and efficient assistance in administrative matters. Furthermore, we wish to thank Sandrine Beaujean (CESD-Communautaire), for sharing in the organisation of the final Conference that took place in October 1999.

The many valuable and insightful comments made by the discussants during that Conference, where the research teams presented their first results, have helped us to review the present report, and provided interesting ideas for future research: Richard Bilsborrow and Francis Doodoo, both of whom were mentioned before, as well as Thomas Faist (University of Bremen, Germany), Ahmet Gökdere (University of Ankara, Turkey), Bachir Hamdouch (National Institute for Statistics and Applied Economics, Morocco), Graeme Hugo (University of Adelaide, Australia), Dieudonné Ouedraogo (International Development Research Center, Senegal), and Carlota Solé (Autonomous University of Barcelona, Spain),

At NIDI too, we are grateful to our Director, Jenny Gierveld, and the Deputy-Director, Nico van Nimwegen, for their support in completing this large project, and especially to Kène Henkens for his very effective guidance during the last year of the project. Furthermore, we are indebted to all NIDI-colleagues who have contributed at one stage or another: Frank Eelens for his work on the lay-out and contents of the questionnaire, Hans van Leusden for advice on data processing, Marlies Idema and Philippe Oberknezev for research assistance, Vera Holman and Elly Huzen as the projects' tireless secretaries, and Jacqueline van der Helm and Tonny Nieuwstraten for their precise and efficient editorial work.

As this has been a bilingual project, we owe thanks to those who corrected and/or translated our English and French: Willemien Kneppelhout and Catherine van der Wijst-Pineau, and the translators team at Eurostat.

Last but not least, we want to put into the limelight the contribution of all those who are too many to mention by name: the interviewer teams who carried out the field work, with such commitment; and the many thousands of men and women who were willing to answer our numerous questions on their lives, hopes, and experiences.

Jeannette Schoorl
Liesbeth Heering
Ingrid Esveldt
George Groenewold
Rob van der Erf
Alinda Bosch
Helga de Valk
Bart de Bruijn

TABLE OF CONTENTS

FOREWORD.....	III
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	V
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	VII
LIST OF TABLES.....	IX
LIST OF FIGURES.....	XI
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS.....	XIII
1. INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Introduction.....	1
1.2 Contents of report.....	2
2. THEORETICAL APPROACHES IN MIGRATION RESEARCH.....	3
2.1 Existing theoretical approaches.....	3
2.2 Implications for data collection	7
2.3 Surveys of international migration.....	10
3. STUDY DESIGN	13
3.1 Research design.....	13
3.1.1 Key concepts.....	15
3.2 Questionnaire design	17
3.2.1 Micro-level	17
3.2.2 Macro-level	21
3.3 Sample designs.....	22
3.4 Data processing.....	24
3.5 Conclusions: some strengths and limitations	26
4. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SURVEY COUNTRIES.....	29
4.1 Introduction.....	29
4.2 Italy.....	29
4.3 Spain	34
4.4 Turkey	38
4.5 Morocco	43
4.6 Egypt.....	46
4.7 Ghana.....	49
4.8 Senegal	53
5. RECENT MIGRATION: WHO MOVES AND WHO STAYS.....	57
5.1 Introduction.....	57
5.2 Characteristics of migrant and non-migrant households	57
5.2.1 Regional migration patterns.....	57
5.2.2 Demographic characteristics.....	60
5.2.3 Socio-economic characteristics.....	64
5.3 Conclusions.....	70
6. WHY AND WHERE: MOTIVES AND DESTINATIONS	73
6.1 Introduction.....	73
6.2 Motives for migration.....	73
6.3 Countries of destination	77
6.4 Attractiveness of countries	79
6.5 Conclusions.....	83
7. ON THE MOVE: MECHANISMS OF MIGRATION.....	87
7.1 Introduction.....	87

7.2	The role of information	88
7.2.1	Information.....	88
7.2.2	Information topics.....	90
7.2.3	Sources of information	92
7.3	Migration networks.....	93
7.4	Admission and migration strategies	99
7.5	Conclusions.....	103
8.	THE FUTURE OF MIGRATION: INTENTIONS AND POTENTIAL.....	105
8.1	Introduction.....	105
8.2	Migration intentions.....	106
8.2.1	Sending countries	106
8.2.2	Receiving countries.....	110
8.3	Realisation of migration intentions	114
8.3.1	Sending countries	114
8.3.2	Receiving countries.....	119
8.4	Preferred destinations.....	119
8.5	Conclusions.....	126
9.	REFERENCES	130
10.	APPENDICES	138
10.1	Country-specific sample designs and their implementation	138
10.1.1	Introduction.....	138
10.1.2	Sending countries.....	139
10.1.3	Receiving countries	146
10.2	Database design for comparative analyses	149
10.3	Micro and macro questionnaires	153
10.4	Concepts and definitions.....	154
10.5	Participating research teams.....	160
10.6	List of country reports	162

LIST OF TABLES

Table 3.1	Types of questionnaires for the household and individual surveys	19
Table 3.2	Topics covered in the household and individual surveys.....	19
Table 3.3	Topics covered in the macro-level survey for sending countries.....	22
Table 3.4	Topics covered in the macro-level survey for receiving countries.....	22
Table 3.5	Summary information from sample designs and implementation, per country.....	24
Table 4.1	Some demographic and health indicators, Turkey	39
Table 4.2	Some demographic and health indicators, Morocco.....	44
Table 4.3	Some demographic and health indicators, Egypt.....	47
Table 4.4	Some demographic and health indicators, Ghana.....	51
Table 4.5	Some demographic and health indicators, Senegal	55
Table 5.1	Distribution of households by migration status, per region* (%)	59
Table 5.2	Percentage ever married: pre-migration or five years before survey by sex, per sending country*	62
Table 5.3	Household composition: pre-migration or five years before survey, per sending country (%)*	63
Table 5.4	Average household size: pre-migration or five years before survey, per sending country*	64
Table 7.1	Migrants who had information on the country of destination, per topic and sending country (%)*	88
Table 7.2	Migrants who had information on the country of destination, per topic, receiving country and migrant group (%)*.....	89
Table 7.3	Average number of information topics by major destination area, per sending country*	91
Table 7.4	Sources of information about the country of destination, per sending country (%)*	92
Table 7.5	Sources of information about the country of destination, per receiving country and migrant group (%)*	92
Table 7.6	Percentage having information and average number of topics on destination by existence of network in the country of destination, per sending country*.....	95
Table 7.7	Percentage having information and average number of topics on destination by existence of network in the country of destination, per receiving country and migrant group*	95
Table 7.8	Sources of information about the country of destination by existence of network in the country of destination, per sending country (%)*	96
Table 7.9	Sources of information about the country of destination by existence of network in the country of destination, per receiving country and migrant group (%)*	96
Table 7.10	Migrants who ever tried to enter a country undocumented or overstayed a visa/permit, per sending country (%)*	99
Table 7.11	Migrants who ever tried to enter a country undocumented or overstayed a visa/permit, per receiving country and migrant group (%)*.....	101
Table 8.1	Migration intentions of return migrants and non-migrants by sex, per sending country (%).....	107
Table 8.2	Motives to migrate for non-migrants and return migrants, per sending country (%)*	108

Table 8.3	Motives to stay for non-migrants and return migrants, per sending country (%)*	109
Table 8.4	Migration intentions of current migrants by sex, per receiving country and migrant group (%)	111
Table 8.5	Motives to stay for current migrants, per receiving country and migrant group (%)*	111
Table 8.6	Motives to return to country of origin for current migrants, per receiving country and migrant group (%)*	111
Table 8.7	Distribution of family reunification, per receiving country and migrant group (%)*	113
Table 8.8	Current migrants intending family reunification by own migration intentions and family reunification status, per receiving country and migrant group (%)*	114
Table 8.9	Non-migrants and return migrants intending to migrate, intending to migrate within two years, and having taken steps to realise intentions, per sending country (%)*	116
Table 8.10	Steps taken to migrate by non-migrants and return migrants, per sending country (%)*	118
Table 8.11	Current migrants intending to migrate, intending to migrate within two years and having taken steps, per receiving country and migrant group (%)*	119
Table 8.12	Preferred ultimate country of destination of non-migrants and return migrants intending to migrate, per sending country (%)	121
Table 8.13	Main reason for choosing preferred ultimate country of destination of non-migrants and return migrants intending to migrate by sex, per sending country (%)	122
Table 8.14	Main reason for choosing preferred ultimate country of destination of non-migrants and return migrants intending to migrate by major area, per sending country (%).....	125
Table 8.15	Main reason for returning, return migrants in sending countries (%)*.....	127
Table 10.1	Database hierarchy and modular structure, the case of Egypt	150
Table 10.2	Excision and simplified data structure of two-level hierarchical IMS database, Egypt	151

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 4.1	Population change, 1985-1997, Italy	29
Figure 4.2	Age distribution on 1 January 1992 and 1998, Italy.....	30
Figure 4.3	Foreign population in Italy, 1 January 1996	31
Figure 4.4	GDP per capita in US dollars, 1997, Italy	32
Figure 4.5	Annual growth of real GDP, 1985-1997, Italy (%).....	32
Figure 4.6	Percentage unemployed in the labour force, 1997, Italy.....	33
Figure 4.7	Labour force participation by sex and age, 1997, Italy (%).....	33
Figure 4.8	Population change, 1985-1997, Spain.....	34
Figure 4.9	Age distribution on 1 January 1992 and 1998, Spain.....	35
Figure 4.10	Foreign population in Spain, 1 January 1998.....	35
Figure 4.11	GDP per capita in US dollars, 1997, Spain.....	36
Figure 4.12	Annual growth of real GDP, 1985-1997, Spain (%).....	36
Figure 4.13	Percentage unemployed in the labour force, 1997, Spain.....	37
Figure 4.14	Labour force participation by sex and age, 1997, Spain (%).....	37
Figure 4.15	Population change, 1985-1997, Turkey.....	38
Figure 4.16	Age distribution on 1 January 1992 and 1998, Turkey.....	39
Figure 4.17	Foreign population in Turkey, 21 October 1990	40
Figure 4.18	Annual growth of real GDP, 1985-1997, Turkey (%).....	41
Figure 4.19	GDP per capita in US dollars, 1997, Turkey.....	41
Figure 4.20	Percentage unemployed in the labour force, 1997, Turkey.....	42
Figure 4.21	Labour force participation by sex and age, 1997, Turkey (%).....	42
Figure 4.22	Population change, Morocco.....	43
Figure 4.23	Age distribution on 1 July 1995, Morocco	43
Figure 4.24	GDP per capita in US dollars, 1995, Morocco.....	45
Figure 4.25	Annual growth of real GDP, 1975-1994, Morocco (%).....	46
Figure 4.26	Population change, 1990-1996, Egypt.....	46
Figure 4.27	Age distribution in 1986 and 1996 (census dates), Egypt.....	47
Figure 4.28	GDP per capita in US dollars, 1995, Egypt.....	49
Figure 4.29	Annual growth of real GDP, 1975-1994, Egypt (%).....	49
Figure 4.30	Population change, 1990-1996, Ghana	50
Figure 4.31	Age distribution in 1998, Ghana.....	50
Figure 4.32	GDP per capita in US dollars, 1995, Ghana	52
Figure 4.33	Annual growth of real GDP, 1975-1994, Ghana (%).....	52
Figure 4.34	Population change, 1990-1996, Senegal.....	53
Figure 4.35	Age distribution on 20 November 1991, Senegal	54
Figure 4.36	Annual growth of real GDP, 1995, Senegal (%).....	55
Figure 4.37	GDP per capita in US dollars, 1975-1994, Senegal.....	56
Figure 5.1	Sex and age distribution: pre-migration or five years before survey, per sending country (‰)*	61

Figure 5.2	Educational level: pre-migration or five years before survey, per sending country (%)*	65
Figure 5.3	Economic activity or employment status: pre-migration or five years before survey, per sending country (%)*	67
Figure 5.4	Adequacy of financial situation of household: pre-migration or five years before survey, per sending country (%)*	69
Figure 6.1	Main reason for last emigration from country of origin by sex, per sending country (%)*	74
Figure 6.2	Main reason for last emigration by sex, per receiving country and migrant group (%)*	75
Figure 6.3	Main reason for last emigration from country of origin by area of destination, per sending country (%)*	76
Figure 6.4	Main countries of destination, per sending country (%)*	78
Figure 6.5	Main reason for choosing last country of destination by sex, per sending country (%)*	80
Figure 6.6	Main reason for choosing last country of destination by sex, per receiving country and migrant group (%)*	81
Figure 6.7	Main reason for choosing EU or non-EU destination, per sending country (%)*	82
Figure 7.1	Network before migration to the country of destination by sex, per sending country (%)*	93
Figure 7.2	Network before migration to the country of destination by sex, per receiving country and migrant group (%)*	94
Figure 7.3	Network before migration to the country of destination by area of destination, per sending country (%)*	94
Figure 7.4	Migrants expecting help and migrants who actually received help, per sending country (%)*	97
Figure 7.5	Migrants expecting help and migrants who actually received help, per receiving country and migrant group (%)*	97
Figure 7.6	Migrants followed by family or friends from the country of origin by area of destination, per sending country (%)*	98
Figure 7.7	Migrants followed by family or friends from the country of origin, per receiving country and migrant group (%)*	98
Figure 7.8	Percentage having a network of those who entered the current or last country of destination with or without the required papers, per sending country*	102
Figure 7.9	Percentage having a network of those who entered the current or last country of destination with or without the required papers, per receiving country and migrant group*	103
Figure 8.1	Main reason for choosing preferred ultimate country of destination of non-migrants and return migrants intending to migrate by sex, per sending country (%)	123
Figure 8.2	Main reason for choosing preferred ultimate country of destination of non-migrants and return migrants intending to migrate by major area, per sending country (%)	124

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Project background

International migration flows have increased in magnitude and complexity over the past decades. As a result, migration and potential migration to, for instance, the European Union are receiving ever more attention at policy level. Within this context, the Commission of the European Communities entrusted Eurostat, its statistical Bureau, and the Netherlands Interdisciplinary Demographic Institute (NIDI) with a project to study the push and pull factors determining international migration flows. The objective of the project, of which the first results are presented in this comparative report and in a series of eight country reports, is to improve our understanding of the direct and indirect causes and mechanisms of international migration to the European Union, from an internationally comparative perspective. The results are intended to serve as a basis for the development of policy instruments and to provide tools for estimating future migration.

The focus of the project is on migration from the Southern and Eastern Mediterranean region and from Sub-Saharan Africa to the European Union. Within these regions a number of countries have been selected for primary data collection on migration. The five predominantly migrant-sending countries participating in the project are - in the Mediterranean region - Turkey, Morocco and Egypt; and - in West Africa - Senegal and Ghana. With respect to primary data collection in predominantly immigrant-receiving countries, two countries in the Mediterranean region - Italy and Spain - were selected, primarily because of the limited availability of migration data in these countries and because of the fairly recent presence of sizeable immigrant populations. In addition, the Netherlands has been included in the project, based on an analysis of secondary data. In Spain, migrants from Morocco and Senegal were studied, in Italy, migrants from Ghana and Egypt, and in the Netherlands, migrants from Turkey and Morocco.

In each of the countries involved in the project, local research teams were responsible for data collection and, to a large extent, for data processing and analysis. These country teams consist of researchers of local research institutes, and were invited to participate because of their extensive knowledge of international migration research, experience with survey data collection, and their institutional capacity to carry out surveys. In close consultation with the respective country teams and external experts, NIDI developed the research instruments for the project and provided methodological and technical feedback.

Study design

For an explanation of the process of migration (rather than for the measurement of migration flows), specialised migration surveys are the most appropriate method of data collection. As from a theoretical point of view, the aim was to capture both individual, household, and contextual factors that influence people's decisions to move or stay, the project includes both a single-round *micro-level survey* (household and individual data for migrants and non-migrants) and a *macro-level survey* (contextual data at the national, regional, and local or community levels) in each of the selected sending and receiving countries.

The incorporation of non-migrants is an essential and self-evident necessity in order to explain the determinants of migration, and to enhance our understanding of why the majority of people do not migrate. The surveys carried out in the sending countries therefore included a comparison group of *non-migrant households*. As the project's main interest lies with determinants rather than consequences of migration, non-migrant households were not included in the surveys carried out in the countries of destination.

A number of crucial concepts and definitions were adopted for the purpose of this study. The usual concept of *household* was extended to include not only those persons who live together and have communal arrangements concerning subsistence and other necessities of life, but also those who currently reside elsewhere but whose principal commitments and obligations are to that household and who are expected to return to that household in the future or whose family will join them in the future. Therefore, both the household and the shadow household are captured within the definition, a necessary extension for migration studies.

Migration is defined as a move from one place in order to go and live in another place for a continuous period of at least one year. The line has been drawn at one year to allow for comparison with international recommendations, as well as to exclude seasonal migration across international borders. There is a further distinction between recent and non-recent (international) migrants. *Recent migrants* are those who have migrated from the country of origin at least once within a period of ten years preceding the survey. Consequently, a *non-recent migrant* is someone who has migrated from his/her country of origin at least once, but not within the past ten years. Another distinction is that between current and return (international) migrants. *Current migrants* are those who migrated from their country of origin and actually live abroad at the time of the interview. *Return migrants* have lived abroad for a continuous period of at least one year, but have returned to their country of origin, where they live at the time of the interview. A *non-migrant* within the context of this study is a non-international migrant.

Households, too, are divided into recent migrant households, non-recent migrant households, and non-migrant households. A *recent migrant household* is defined as a household in which at least one member - who is still considered a member of that household - has moved from the country of origin during the past ten years, and has since returned after having lived abroad for a continuous period of at least one year, or who is currently living abroad and left the country of origin at least three months ago. A *non-recent migrant household* then is a household in which *all* moves (to live abroad) from the survey country of those persons who are still members of the household took place more than ten years ago. Finally, a *non-migrant household* is a household from which no member has ever left the survey country to live abroad for a period of at least one year or of which no member has currently been living abroad for at least three months.

In principle, any recent migrant, whether return or current, qualified for interviewing about his or her migration experience. However, in order to restrict the number of potential respondents who would be presented with a long individual questionnaire (and therefore reducing the interview burden on households) and in order to avoid getting duplicate answers, and/or answers that may refer to different households in the past, only one recent migrant in any household was selected for a long interview. This migrant was named the *main migration actor*, or *MMA*.

In the sending countries, in principle four regions were purposively selected, based on a combination of criteria related to development and migration history. The focus was on the sampling of migrants to any international destination as well as non-migrants, and in each of the four types of regions that were deduced from these criteria, independent multistage stratified disproportionate probability sampling took place to sample this target population for the survey. The statistical aim was to generate survey data that are representative at the level of these regions. In the receiving countries the aforementioned regionalisation was not explicitly taken into account into the sample designs. In fact, the *a priori* objective was to generate survey results that were representative at the level of the country as a whole. Moreover, the focus in receiving countries was on the sampling of immigrants from two particular immigrant groups. Immigrants that originate from other countries as well as natives were excluded.

In the sending countries, the number of households interviewed was between 1,550 and 1,950, while in the receiving countries 500-670 households were interviewed per immigrant group. Overall, sample designs and sample allocation procedures in the countries aimed to ensure that sufficient numbers of the migrant population were sampled in an efficient and cost-effective manner.

Main conclusions

Given the complexity of the process of international migration and the multitude of factors contributing to it, as well as the varying policy goals of sending and receiving authorities, potential policy responses to migration may vary greatly. For instance, policies may be geared to preventing immigration except for types of movement covered by international treaties, such as those concerning family reunification and political asylum. Or, in response to changing labour market conditions and the consequences of ageing populations, policies may be geared to attracting certain types of labour migration, while aiming to prevent illegal migration. The booming economies in a number of European countries are beginning to show evidence for this, even in the face of persisting unemployment. In practice, it proves hard to control immigration to the extent that only 'wanted' migrants enter countries of destination, and that they only stay for certain periods of time. For, from the migrants' point of view, aiming to improve the conditions of life for themselves and for their families, is a powerful motivation for migration, the more so if conditions at home are poor and offer little or no opportunities for improvement.

Apart from the – at times contradictory - benefits of migration for the countries of destination and for the individual migrants and their families, migration also has an impact on the societies of origin. Migration may be considered a tool for development, through remittances, and through investment of human capital by returning migrants. On the other hand, migration may drain the countries of origin of valuable human resources, especially if too many of those with the highest level of education, the best skills, and the most initiative leave the country. In countries characterised by a true 'culture of migration' combined with poverty and the sense of there being a lack of individual opportunities for improvement of living conditions, energies normally geared towards economic enterprise in the home country are channelled into finding opportunities for migration instead.

Far from being able to answer such complicated questions on migration control and on the link with development in a report presenting first results, we have made some attempts here. Future research on the extensive data sets collected is planned to study many of the issues in much greater detail. Nevertheless, policy responses always remain a matter of choice, research being a major tool to pave the way for well-informed policies and to estimate the potential effects of measures proposed.

Migration versus non-migration

How many people are international migrants, at some point in their lives? Are most households affected by migration of one or more household members? Or is, despite the increased importance of migration, an overwhelming majority of a country's population non-mobile, living in their country of birth all their lives? From the surveys carried out in relatively high-mobility regions in five emigration countries, we can clearly conclude that international migration affects a sizeable percentage of households in those regions. In 16 of the 19 regions studied in five countries, at least one in five households has a household member who migrated abroad within the past ten years. Only in three of the four Turkish regions was recent migration less common. Nevertheless, households without any international migrant in their midst, whether in the past ten years or longer ago, form a clear majority (60 per cent or more) in most regions. But in Tiznit and Nador (Morocco), rural upper and rural lower Egypt, and Touba (Senegal), migration has affected one in two households, or more. In Morocco, migration has become an all-pervasive phenomenon. Among those who have not yet migrated, many say they intend to.

Obviously, lower-mobility regions in the same countries are likely to have fewer migrant households, resulting in lower overall importance of international migration for each country as a whole.

Irrespective of their country of origin, international migrants have a number of characteristics in common: most are men who migrated when they were in their twenties or thirties. Only in Ghana is there a relatively large representation of female migrants. Furthermore, connected with the young age structure of migration, migrants are more often single than non-migrants are, and more often lived at their parent's home, especially in Morocco, Egypt and Senegal. Only in Ghana is living alone a common alternative, but this is a rare and socially not fully accepted household arrangement in the four other, Muslim, countries included in the study. Female migrants are more likely to be married at migration than men, influenced by the fact that women's migration is frequently related to family reunification. Migration of unaccompanied or single women is unusual in the four Muslim countries. Family reunification has occurred especially in the cases of Turkish and Moroccan migration, although this does not show up very prominently in the surveys given the fact that family reunification tends to result in the complete disappearance of the household from the country of origin. Migration of complete households is less important in Senegal and Egypt. The traditional countries of destination of Egyptian migrants have far more restrictive policies on family reunification than the European countries do, and this explains at least partly why wives and children stay behind. The same applies to Senegalese migration in so far as it is migration to new destinations; furthermore, the polygamous family structure has probably both facilitated and necessitated arrangements where wives and children stay in the home country.

In comparison with western countries of destination, the educational level of most of the migrants is still low. Nevertheless, educational levels have risen, in some countries rapidly. In Turkey, Egypt and Ghana migrants are better educated than non-migrants, also after controlling for age differences between the non-migrants and migrants interviewed on this topic. However, in the Senegalese and Moroccan regions studied, where educational levels are lowest, both migrants and non-migrants are equally less-educated.

In each of the five countries, the vast majority of migrant and non-migrant men worked prior to migration or five years prior to the survey, respectively; it is definitely not only the unemployed who are looking across borders for improvement of their situation. Nevertheless, unemployment, too, seems to be a factor influencing migration: in all countries migrants reported consistently higher levels of pre-migration unemployment (compared with non-migrants five years prior to the survey). In Morocco a large number of mostly young men (non-students) were not working but were not looking for work either. Apart from the limited opportunities for finding work, perhaps the pervasive 'culture of migration' plays a role, in which young people prefer to look for opportunities to migrate, as so many of their friends and relatives have done, rather than to try to build their future in Morocco.

Another way in which difficult economic conditions were measured was to ask households to evaluate their past financial situation: was it sufficient to supply the basic needs for the household? The results point to poverty as an incentive for migration. Although migrants did have work, it was not sufficient to meet their needs. In Turkey, Egypt and Ghana, migrants more often reported that they had considered their financial resources to be insufficient than non-migrants did. In Senegal, the same applied for the group who considered their financial situation barely sufficient, but for those in the poorest conditions there were no differences between migrants and non-migrants, which may perhaps be explained by the difficulties very poor migrants face in financing a trip. Only in Morocco did migrants evaluate their financial situation more positively than non-migrants, which is unexpected given the fact that unemployment was relatively high among migrants. Perhaps migrants in this country, although unemployed themselves, lived in (their parents') households that were relatively well off.

Motives for migration and the choice of a country of destination

The five sending countries show many similarities both with regard to the motives for leaving the country of origin and with regard to the motives for choosing a particular country of destination. However, important differences exist in the distribution of the emigration flows of the respective countries, including the degree of orientation towards destinations in the European Union. The history of each of the countries is reflected in their emigration patterns. Previous colonial bonds continue to have an impact on migration flows long after formal colonisation has ended. Of course, a common language and well-established networks contribute to this, also where colonial ties are lacking. Apart from that, historical events such as the mass recruitment of Turkish and Moroccan workers at the end of the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s, still have a strong influence on the continuation of migration flows. Here too, the role of migrant networks should not be underestimated. Other events, such as war and civil conflict, may suddenly generate mass refugee migration from the country concerned and stop immigration flows from other countries. Furthermore, the role of (changing) admission policies and the perception of these policies by (potential) migrants may strongly influence the distribution patterns of emigration flows. For example, frequent campaigns to regularise residence of specific categories of undocumented migrants, (as in Italy and Spain) could encourage undocumented migration to these countries. Last but not least, the geographical situation and distance to other countries should be mentioned as a relevant factor in choosing a country of destination, whether or not in combination with other factors.

The general emigration pattern of sending countries - individual migration, primarily involving men looking for a job or education, or escaping from persecution, followed gradually over time by family reunification migration and family formation migration, primarily involving women - is reflected clearly in the research results from the five sending countries. For male migrants economic motives dominate while for female migrants family-related reasons are more important. The relevance of other reasons, as a main reason, is often limited; for a small group of migrants educational opportunities abroad are the reason for migrating. An exception to the rule that most female migrants leave for family-related motives can be observed in Ghana: economic motives appear to be more important for Ghanaian women. Probably, the minor role of Islam in Ghana compared with the other surveyed countries, and the importance attached to economic independence of women in West African societies, contributes to this. The strong male-female contrast in motives for leaving the country of origin (except for Ghanaians), is confirmed by the Egyptian migrants who were interviewed in Italy and by the Moroccan and Senegalese migrants who were interviewed in Spain.

Reasons for emigration are fairly independent of the choice for an EU country or for another destination. Family reasons are mentioned more often by Turkish and Moroccan recent migrants who left for EU countries, while the opposite is true for Senegalese migrants. Furthermore, there are some remarkable differences with regard to the category 'other reasons'. Except for Egypt, other reasons (which are mostly related to school/study) more frequently underlie migration to non-EU countries. This may indicate that EU countries generally attract fewer migrants for educational purposes than other countries do. This is not surprising given the restrictive admission policies in the European Union, which in practice leave almost only family reunification of close kin and marriage as options to legally enter (most of) the EU countries.

Emigration from Turkey and Morocco is strongly EU-oriented. However, this does not mean that Turkish and Moroccan migrants opt for the same EU countries. When looking at the top five destination countries for recent migrants, Turkey and Morocco have only France and the Netherlands in common. Germany (number one destination for Turks) and Austria (number two) do not attract Moroccans, whereas Italy (number two destination for Moroccans) and Spain (number three) do not attract Turks. Only a minority of Ghanaian and Senegalese recent emigrants are heading for EU countries. The emigration pattern of Ghanaians is clearly mixed, with the USA, Germany, Italy and Nigeria as the top four. This is less true for Senegal: apart from a strong orientation on Italy, Senegalese emigrants tend to move to other African countries (Gambia, Mauritania and Ivory Coast). In addition, France and Spain play modest

roles as destinations for recent migrants from the Dakar and Touba regions. Emigration to EU countries is hardly important among Egyptians; they mainly migrate to Middle Eastern countries (Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Kuwait and Jordan). After the Gulf War, migration to Iraq came to a halt.

Especially in Turkey, Egypt and Ghana, the difference between male and female migrants with respect to the motivation to leave the country of origin decreases when we consider the motivation to choose a particular destination. For Turkish, Egyptian and Ghanaian men the prevalence of economic factors declines notably in the decision to opt for a specific country, in favour of family motives. The reasons for leaving and for choosing a destination do not differ much for male Moroccan and Senegalese migrants. The differences for female migrants are also insignificant. For Egyptian and Ghanaian migrants in Italy, as well as for Senegalese migrants in Spain, the main reasons for choosing that country of destination hardly diverge from the reasons for choosing a country of destination given in the respective countries of origin. Notably different results can only be observed for Moroccans interviewed in Spain: for Moroccan women in Spain, choosing Spain was more often determined by economic motives than would be expected on the basis of the answers that were given in the Moroccan survey, while the opposite is true for Moroccan men. This may indicate a special position of Spain compared with other destinations of Moroccans, both geographically (Spain is the nearest EU country to Morocco) and mentally (Moroccans consider Spain to be relatively easy to enter, even without the required documents).

There are clear differences in motivation for choosing EU countries and for choosing other countries among Turkish migrants: family motives determine two out of every three moves to the EU against one out of every four moves to other countries. Economic reasons appear to be more important in opting for non-EU countries. Other reasons for moving to the EU are hardly mentioned. Other reasons for moving to destinations outside the EU often relate to educational opportunities and easy admission. This conclusion mirrors the history of Turkish migration to the EU against the background of changed admission policies, starting with labour migration towards the end of the 1960s and early 1970s, and followed by family reunification and family formation in the years since. Although a similar conclusion would be expected with regard to Moroccan migration towards the EU, the survey yields diverging results in the sense that economic reasons remain predominant among recent migrants who chose to migrate to a particular EU country in the past ten years. This might indicate that given their perception of the socio-economic situation in the county of origin, Moroccan recent migrants, much more often than Turkish ones, primarily motivate their choice on economic grounds, even when they have actually entered a country on family grounds. The less favourable economic conditions in Morocco compared with Turkey may have contributed to this.

The motivation of Ghanaians to choose a specific country of destination is not substantially influenced by the distinction between EU and non-EU. The orientation of Ghanaian emigration towards 'western' non-EU countries (USA) may explain this. For Senegalese, economic reasons for choosing a specific country of destination are important for three out of every four moves to the EU against one in two moves to other countries. Family reasons are more important when it comes to emigration to non-EU countries (mostly other African countries).

Networks, information and undocumented migration

The majority of recent migrant MMAs, irrespective of their country of origin, have some information on the country of destination before they migrate. The Senegalese in Spain form the only exception to this 'rule'. But even among them, almost one in two had at least some information prior to migration. The topics the respondents from distinct migrant groups had information on differ clearly. In general, most is known on economic topics, especially among male migrants. Surprisingly few migrants professed to know anything on admission regulations. Because of the changes in the admission rules in the EU countries (in general becoming more strict) and because of the long migration histories of some migrant groups, one would expect migrants to know more on the admission regulations. Perhaps it is not knowledge of the regulations themselves that is important but, given the overwhelming impression of limited legal admission options to 'Fortress Europe', knowledge on how to gain access regardless of the rules.

Male migrants have information on more topics than female migrants. This conclusion holds for all migrant groups except for the Turks, and for the Egyptians in Italy. There is no information difference between Egyptian men and women in Italy. Only among the Turks (as studied in the Turkish survey), did women appear to be better informed. Among Turks in the Netherlands, however, as in the other countries, men were found to be better informed. Perhaps this contradictory finding on the Turks is related to the migration history of Turks in the Netherlands, and/or to the fact that a different questionnaire was used in the Dutch study which was, moreover, carried out a few years earlier than the other surveys.

Although in general women are less informed prior to migration, they do more often have a network of family, other relatives and/or friends in the country of destination. But the size of these networks is smaller than those of men. These results are not surprising and are clearly linked with the different migration motives for men and women. Women tend to migrate predominantly in order to join parents or (future) partners whereas men mainly have economic reasons.

Family (and to a somewhat lesser extent friends) are of major importance as a source of information for migrants. Indeed, agencies in the countries of origin and destination are hardly mentioned at all as a source from which migrants get information about their prospective destinations. The limited use of agencies as transmitters of information may also have been affected by their actual presence or absence in a country and, if present, by the type of information these agencies are able to provide. Results from previous studies generally indicate that migrants with a higher socio-economic status are more inclined than low-status migrants to use other sources, such as the media, in addition to relatives and friends.

Both legal and illegal migrants head for the same countries of destination. For example, the destinations of undocumented Moroccans and Turks, just like the legal migrants from these countries, are mainly the EU countries. It is also evident that documented migrants have networks just as often as undocumented migrants do. The frequency with which migrants resort to undocumented entry or stay differs significantly between the migrant groups. The surveys carried out in the sending countries indicate that Turks are most free in admitting that they have ever tried to enter a country illegally or that they have overstayed their visas (more than one in five). Figures for Moroccans and Ghanaians are lower (one in ten), unless refusals to answer are included. In that case, they reach levels comparable to the Turkish figures. The surveys in Italy and Spain show higher proportions of migrants who ever tried to enter or overstay without the proper papers (although not necessarily in Spain or Italy): between 22 and 32 per cent in Italy and between 37 and 51 per cent in Spain, not counting those who refused to answer. These results are somewhat surprising given the fact that undocumented migration is such a sensitive topic to discuss, and that respondents had been expected to be reluctant to answer, or give safe or socially desirable answers.

Among those who report illegal entry or overstay, the proportion reporting to have been successful in their attempts is high, two thirds or more. Obviously, success rates are highest among those in the receiving countries (as those caught and sent back are not surveyed).

Migration intentions and potential

Most non-migrants and returnees in the migrant-sending countries do not intend to migrate abroad (again) at any time in the future. In so far as their intentions to stay at home are motivated by economic reasons, they fall into two opposite categories: either they have no economic need to migrate or, for a smaller group, they lack the financial means to go abroad. In that sense, the general idea is confirmed that a certain threshold of wealth is required for migration to take place. In addition, and not surprisingly, non-mobility is strongly motivated by family ties and, for older people, by their advanced age.

Nevertheless, in some of the sending countries, especially Ghana and Senegal, migration intentions are quite pronounced. As many as about 40 per cent of the Ghanaians and Senegalese interviewed said they intend to migrate, and also among the Turks (27 per cent) and the Moroccans (20 per cent) the figures are significant. Egyptians seem least inclined to migrate, with only 14 per cent expressing future migration intentions. Men more than women, and those with migration experience more than those without, express their intention to migrate. And, as among actual migrants, those intending to migrate tend to be young and single. The intention to migrate is overwhelmingly motivated by economic reasons. As a main motive, family-related reasons or other reasons, such as pursuing an education, are mentioned much less frequently.

In the receiving countries Spain and Italy, both staying and returning are popular options, although quite a large number of migrants profess they do not know yet. In any case, very few want to migrate on to a third country. Generally, 30 per cent of the migrants currently in Spain or Italy intend to return, with the exception of Moroccans among whom the intention to return is half that. But very few plan their return within the near future, that is, within the next two years. The intention to stay is motivated by the relatively secure positions migrants have obtained, or by the fact that the goals set have not (yet) been reached. In some cases migrants say they are prevented from going home because of a lack of financial resources. Economic pull factors, especially the intention to start a business, family-related reasons (such as joining the family, or problems with the children), or dissatisfaction with life in the country of destination are all important factors motivating return.

But, judging from evidence regarding the reasons for returning among those who have already returned, migrants intending to return to the country of origin may well underestimate the risk that they are more or less forced to return, and overestimate their chances of being able to start a business in the country of origin. Family ties are a relevant factor for return but in practice seem less important than they are in the minds of those who intend to return.

Although the intention to migrate is strong in some countries (but keeping in mind that the majority of people have no intention to migrate abroad), intentions appear to be difficult to realise. While general migration intentions vary between 14 per cent (Egypt) and 42 per cent (Ghana), in fact far fewer people consider that they will actually migrate within the next two years. The percentage who intend to do so is generally below 5 per cent, with the exception of Ghana (14 per cent). Asked whether they have actually taken any steps to prepare for migration, the percentages drop even further. And rarely do such preparations include the application and/or acquisition of visas and or residence/work permits.

In general, it can be said that the ultimate preferred country of destination for non-migrants and return migrants intending to migrate resembles the actual country of destination of recent migrants. However, there are some remarkable exceptions to this rule. Especially the wish of many Senegalese and Ghanaians to move to the USA is not reflected in actual patterns. In particular for the non-migrants among them, the USA seems to be the country of their dreams. Furthermore, the attractiveness of Germany to Turks is worth mentioning. Despite the relatively strong representation of Germany in the distribution of actual Turkish emigration, there is room for a considerable increase in the event that the migration intentions of Turkish non-migrants and return migrants would come true. Finally, there is a notable difference among Egyptians in their preference for Saudi Arabia: while almost half of the interviewed

Egyptian non-migrants with migration intentions would like to leave for Saudi Arabia, only a quarter of the return migrants wish to do so.

Most people prefer to move to a certain country for economic reasons but when it comes to the actual move, family-related reasons determine the choice of country. Undoubtedly, admission policies, which generally provide more scope for family migration than for economic migration, contribute to this.

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

International migration flows have increased in magnitude and complexity over the past decades. From an original predominance of labour migration and post-colonial migration flows, migration flows have diversified: family reunion and marriage migration have become much more common and in the past decade refugees and asylum-seekers have arrived in increasing numbers, from many regions in the world stricken by war, civil conflict and poverty. As a result of these developments, migration and potential migration to, for instance, the European Union are receiving ever more attention at policy level. In order to help prepare policies in the broad field of migration, development and integration, there is a need for statistics as well as in-depth research. It is within this context that the Commission of the European Communities entrusted Eurostat, its Statistical Bureau, and NIDI with a project to study the push and pull factors determining international migration flows.

Thus, the object of the study is to improve our understanding of the direct and indirect causes and mechanisms of international migration to the European Union, from an internationally comparative perspective. As a supplement to migration statistics that are collected on a regular basis, from administrative sources, the results are intended to serve as a basis for the development of policy instruments and to provide tools for estimating future migration.

As a preparation to the survey project, a study on the 'state of the art' in migration theory and research, the identification of national and international research institutes active in this field, and a workshop (see Van der Erf and Heering, eds., 1995) were carried out. Based on the results of this preparatory stage, surveys have been set up in a number of countries. The results are being reported on in the present comparative report, as well as in a series of eight individual country monographs (see Appendix 10.6).

The focus of the project is on migration from the Southern and Eastern Mediterranean region and from Sub-Saharan Africa to the European Union. Within these regions a number of countries have been selected for primary data collection on migration. The five predominantly migrant-sending countries participating in the project are Turkey, Morocco and Egypt in the Mediterranean region, and Senegal and Ghana in West Africa.

With respect to primary data collection in predominantly immigrant-receiving countries, two countries in the Mediterranean region - Italy and Spain - were selected, primarily because of the limited availability of migration data in these countries and because of the fairly recent presence of sizeable immigrant populations. In Spain, migrants from Morocco and Senegal were studied, while in Italy the focus was on migrants from Ghana and Egypt. In addition, in the original plans it was foreseen that secondary data from several other receiving countries would be used for an analysis of migration flows to these countries, but in the end, for budgetary reasons, this was limited to the Netherlands only (where migrants from Turkey and Morocco were studied). This approach restricts comparability to a certain degree but it was considered an appropriate 'budget-conscious' decision with respect to countries that already have a fair amount of available data and research on the topic.

In each of the countries involved in the project, local research teams were responsible for data collection and, to a large extent, for data processing and analysis. A list of participating research teams is included in Appendix 10.5. In close consultation with the respective country teams and external experts, NIDI developed the research instruments for the project and provided methodological and technical feedback.

1.2 Contents of report

Chapter 2 places the International Migration Survey (IMS) project in the wider context of theoretical approaches to international migration and existing empirical evidence. In Chapter 3 the research design of the project and the key concepts are discussed, as well as questionnaire and sample designs, data processing, data quality, and the strengths and limitations of the project. Appendices 10.1, 10.2 and 10.4 respectively, contain more details on sample designs, data processing, and concepts and definitions used. After a general demographic and socio-economic description of the countries included in the study (Chapter 4), the main body of the report is devoted to a presentation of the main first results. The characteristics of migrant and non-migrant households are discussed in Chapter 5, and migration motives and destinations in Chapter 6. In Chapter 7, several issues related to the mechanisms of migration, in particular the role of information and of migration networks in the migration process and admission strategies, are discussed. Chapter 8 focuses on migration intentions and potential. Finally, the results are summarised in a separate section.

2. THEORETICAL APPROACHES IN MIGRATION RESEARCH¹

2.1 Existing theoretical approaches

Several authors have reviewed the existing theories and models of international migration (see e.g. Kritz *et al.*, 1981; and more recently Portes and Böröcz, 1989; Kritz *et al.*, 1992; Massey *et al.*, 1993; Bauer and Zimmermann, 1995). From these and other studies, it is obvious that there is no integrated theory on the process of international migration, but rather a set of partial theories and models that have been developed from different disciplinary viewpoints. Many, especially earlier, theoretical models concentrate exclusively on the process of labour migration, while more recent theoretical models have tried to explain why migration continues once it has started. Data requirements, as well as the level of data collection, vary across models and approaches.

One of the most commonly known theoretical concepts in migration research, implicit in economic models of migration, is the so-called *push-pull model* for the explanation of the causes of migration. In its most limited form, the push-pull model consists of a number of negative or push factors in the country of origin that cause people to move away, in combination with a number of positive or pull factors that attract migrants to a receiving country. Lists of push factors include such elements as economic, social, and political hardships in the poorer countries, while the pull factors include the comparative advantages in the richer countries. Combinations of push and pull factors would then determine the size and direction of flows (Portes and Böröcz, 1989). The fundamental assumptions are that the more disadvantaged a place is, the more likely it will produce migration, and that, given inequalities, there will be migration. The general criticism is that such models do not explain why some regions supply migrants while others do not, or not to the same extent, or why within regions some people move and others stay, nor can they explain the direction of flows.

Neoclassical macro-economic theory explains the development of labour migration within the process of economic development (see e.g. Ranis and Fei, 1961; Harris and Todaro, 1970; Todaro, 1976). Wage differentials, caused by differences in the ratio of labour to capital, induce workers from low-wage countries to migrate to countries with high wages, thereby seeking to maximise individual incomes. Migration causes wage differentials to decrease, ultimately leading to an equilibrium in which the remaining wage differential only reflects the material and immaterial costs of moving (Massey *et al.*, 1993). In this type of model that focuses completely on labour markets, wage differentials measured in terms of observed wage rates at origin and at destination are the main explanatory variables.

Neoclassical micro-economic models focus on labour markets as well, but assume that individuals make rational cost-benefit calculations, not only about the decision whether to migrate or not, but also when considering alternative destinations. Against the benefits of expected higher wages - being a function of wage differentials and employment rates - there are various costs. Such costs are, for instance, those related to travel, to wages foregone while looking for work, to efforts involved in adapting to another country (learning a new language and culture, making new friends, etc.), and to the psychological costs of leaving friends and family (e.g. Sjaastad, 1962; Todaro, 1976, 1989; Burda, 1993). Individual characteristics explain why individual cost-benefit calculations produce different outcomes with regard to the decision to migrate. In general, the larger the difference between countries in terms of expected returns, the larger the size of the migration flow. However, even in situations of sizeable (expected) wage gaps, migration may be limited due to the fact that potential migrants expect those gaps to converge in the foreseeable future (option value of waiting). Variables included in these micro-economic models are not only observed earnings in the country of origin and expected earnings in the country of destination, but also the

¹ This chapter draws upon an article written earlier for the project concerned (Schoorl, 1995). See also Schoorl, 1998.

likelihood of finding work, as well as individual characteristics (education, experience, training, language skills), and variables measuring the costs of migration.

A more recent introduction to economic theory, *the new economics of migration*, is the notion that not individuals but rather families or households are the main decision-makers with respect to migration. Their goal is not only to maximise income, but also to minimise risk. Moreover, recent economic models include the functioning of other markets (such as those related to credits and social insurance) in addition to the workings of labour markets (see Stark, 1984, 1991; Katz and Stark, 1986; Taylor, 1986; Ghatak and Levine, 1993). Household risk minimisation, especially in the absence of collective and social insurance systems and of credit systems, takes the form of a diversification of household resources, such as enabling one family member to receive advanced education, while sending another abroad to work and bring in remittances. Economic development does not necessarily reduce the pressures on international migration, as an increase in returns to local economic activities tends to make migration more attractive because remittances can be successfully invested (Massey *et al.*, 1993). Variables included in this type of model are thus both individual and household characteristics, the structure and source of economic production and earnings, data on the type and use of remittances, as well as data on the (perceived) functioning of various markets and the perception of deprivation relative to other households.

Some researchers argue that *labour market factors in receiving countries* rather than in sending countries determine migration (e.g. Piore, 1979). Intrinsic labour demands in modern industrial societies create a constant need for new workers at the bottom of the social hierarchy, who will accept low wages and a lack of social mobility perspectives, motivated by a desire to increase status in their community of origin rather than at destination. The demographic ageing process taking place in modern industrial states may further enhance the demand for low-skilled immigrant labour. Native women have become better educated and have started to look for better paid jobs, the increase in single-parent households has further increased female labour force participation, and the new generations entering the labour market are becoming successively smaller (Massey *et al.*, 1993). Measurement in such models requires information on the structure of labour markets in receiving countries, particularly its segmentation into primary sectors characterised by formal and secure, high-skilled jobs, and secondary sectors with informal, low-status, insecure, and low-skilled jobs, as well as information on wages, employment conditions, etc.

In a separate group of models, the politically induced *movement of refugees* is originally seen as quite distinct from the economically-motivated movement of workers, in the sense that the former move involuntarily, while for the latter there is an element of free choice. In practice, such classifications of 'economic migrants' and 'political refugees' appeared to be oversimplifications, as political and economic causes frequently join forces in producing movement, and freedom of choice has many gradations (see e.g. Kunz, 1981; Zolberg *et al.*, 1989; Suhrke, 1995). Based on this realisation, Richmond (1993) constructed a framework of movement characterised by free decision-making and rational choice ('proactive' migration) at one end of a continuous scale, and by conditions of crisis and intolerable threat (resulting in 'reactive' migration) at the other end. The framework distinguishes underlying predisposing factors (such as extreme inequalities between countries, and political instability) and structural constraints (e.g. border controls) influencing the likelihood of reactive migration, as well as more immediate precipitating events (for instance, the outbreak of war, ethnic conflict, violations of human rights) and enabling circumstances (e.g. individual availability of resources), in addition to feed-back effects.

The models briefly outlined above focus predominantly on labour migration, explaining why labour migration starts and continues under conditions of inequality between labour markets. Some models extend to include factors of political violence among the determinants of migration. However, although these economic and political conditions may continue to play a role, additional causes arise in the course of the migration process. The fact that migrant or refugee communities have been established in countries of immigration leads to the growth of migrant networks that may foster the continuation of migration. In many countries, family reunion has followed labour migration, creating migrant flows in some cases larger than the original labour flows, and generally making migration less selective. This may be illustrated by the migration of Turkish and Moroccan workers and their families to Western Europe (see e.g. Penninx *et al.*, 1993, for the case of the Netherlands). Immigrant-receiving countries have formulated various policies to facilitate integration and/or facilities for return migration. Social institutions supporting migrants have come into existence, as well as mediating organisations that facilitate transportation. Furthermore, by incorporating migrants into society, the social structure and status of work may change, influencing the context for future migration.

A relatively neglected aspect of migration analysis has been the explanation of the direction of migration flows. At the very beginning of a migration process, information and chance factors may partly determine the choice of a particular country. Previous colonial bonds often continue to be reflected in migration flows long after formal colonisation has ended (see Fassmann and Münz, 1992). Obviously, once migration connections have been established, the presence of relatives, friends, and/or others from the same community of origin may form a strong incentive to choose a particular destination. Other factors could be a common language, information about and perceived images of countries through media and other information channels, perception of the likelihood of finding a job, perception of the functioning of admission and integration policies, etc. However, powerful 'push' and 'pull' factors linked to labour market and economic imbalances and political as well as environmental conditions, plus the spectacular advancement of transportation and communication systems may also induce migrants to move to new destinations. The widening of the geographical scope of migration is accelerated by new links established between countries as a result of changing patterns of trade and capital flows in the global economy (Ghosh, 1992).

These and other factors involving the explanation of the continuation of migration and the direction of flows have gradually been incorporated into the body of theory on international migration. Such explanations continue to contain a strong economic core, but these models may help to answer the question why migration continues and even increases, despite high unemployment in receiving countries, tightened admission policies, and increasingly negative attitudes towards migration.

Building on a history of research on the phenomenon of 'chain migration' in recent years, an increasing number of studies have focused on the shape and functioning of *networks* in international migration (see e.g. Harbison, 1981; Massey *et al.*, 1987; Boyd, 1989; Fawcett, 1989; Kritz *et al.*, 1992). Migrant networks may be defined as sets of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants, and non-migrants in areas of origin and destination through ties of kinship, friendship, and shared community origin (Boyd, 1989; Massey *et al.*, 1993). Networks facilitate potential migrants' decisions to migrate by the provision of information and assistance, for instance, with regard to finding work and housing. Migration networks may help overcome restrictions in admission policies, for instance through marriages between members of networks. If marriage markets are bounded by kinship and/or community groups, if ties between countries and communities are reinforced by frequent visits, and if marriage decisions are influenced by families rather than only by individuals, migrant networks may have a strong influence on the continuation of migration (see e.g. Esveldt *et al.*, 1995). Integration policies directed at creating a sound legal position for long-term immigrant residents may independently attract new immigrants, but may also increase the opportunities for those already in such a position to assist new arrivals. In general, networks have a tendency to expand, as in reducing the cost of migration and decreasing its risks, they stimulate new migration. Therefore, migration may be seen as a self-sustaining diffusion process (Massey *et al.*, 1993). However, both a gradual weakening of links between origin

and destination communities (e.g. among the second generation) and an increase in the burden put upon the resident migrant community by an increasing number of potential migrants may in time lead to a decline in the effectiveness of such networks. For instance, earlier arrivals may grow weary of yet another cousin arriving at their doorstep demanding assistance that is sometimes difficult to provide (see e.g. Böcker, 1994; Pohjola, 1991). In terms of causal factors, network theory greatly expands the requirement of data and therefore the burden on data collection. Migrant networks are notoriously difficult to measure, as network ties (type and intensity) are cumbersome to define and risk being understood differently by researchers and by individual respondents.

The migration process, once underway, alters circumstances both at origin and at destination. This phenomenon, termed *cumulative causation*, often increases the likelihood of future migration (Massey, 1990). Outmigration influences social and economic structures and income distributions in the region of origin, depending on the stage in the migration process. Before a rural region starts to participate in a migration system, income inequalities and therefore feelings of relative deprivation may be limited; as the migration process gets underway, remittances of the first group of migrants cause inequalities to increase, and thereby increase the sense of deprivation among those left behind. According to this reasoning, only after a majority in a community have become involved in the migration economy, will income inequalities again decrease (see e.g. Taylor, 1992). Furthermore, the organisation of agricultural production may change as migrants may be more likely to afford and use capital-intensive production methods, or may buy land for investment purposes rather than for production, causing demand for local labour to decrease. On the other hand, the construction of new houses may increase labour demand. Finally, the experience migrants gain in the countries they have moved to is likely to change tastes and motivations, creating a true 'culture of migration' in some societies if migration becomes part of the value system of a community. This approach requires fairly complicated contextual data, including extensive data on income inequalities and on the perception of relative deprivation, migrant networks, economic structure and property distributions, and cultural attitudes and values about migration. At the destination end as well, migration tends to change circumstances. For instance, the social acceptability of work is altered as people start to view certain jobs as low-status immigrant jobs, and refuse to enter those occupations any longer. Therefore, despite high unemployment rates there may be a structural demand for immigrant labour. Immigrants may perceive status differently, at least as long as their primary goal is to earn money and improve their status in their community of origin, or if the fact that by earning an income they have gained independence provides them with a sense of status improvement.

Migration systems theory incorporates many of the theoretical models and elements briefly described above. Migration flows acquire a measure of stability and structure over space and time, allowing for the identification of stable, international migration systems. A migration system may be seen as a set of places linked by flows and counter flows of people, goods, services, and information (Fawcett and Arnold, 1987a; Boyd, 1989; Fawcett, 1989; Moulier Boutang and Papademetriou, 1994; Zlotnik, 1992). Considering migration as taking place within a system where countries and regions are connected by several types of linkages, as well as viewing it as a dynamic process rather than a static phenomenon, inevitably calls for the integration of micro- and macro-level processes. Therefore, research on the causes of migration has to consider both individuals and households (including their migration-related behaviour, motivations, perceptions, etc.) and the economic, social, environmental and political circumstances which create the context for migration and influence individual behaviour. Within a systems framework, individuals and households are regarded as active decision-makers about migration or alternatives to it. They develop strategies for migration, taking into account both influences acting within the system that originate in the potential country of destination and those related to the country of origin (Kulu-Glasgow, 1992). Questions posed by systems-oriented studies include the reasons for migration versus non-migration, the role of states in controlling migration, and the role of networks and information, etc.

The main advantages of systems studies are outlined by Fawcett and Arnold (1987a):

- they pay attention to both origin and destination areas;
- they attempt to explain both mobility and stability;
- elements in the system are in principle studied in combination rather than in isolation;
- other flows than the flow of people are included;
- elements in the system are recognised as interconnected and changes in one part will affect other parts;
- migration is considered to be a dynamic process consisting of a sequence of events over time.

Counterbalancing this impressive list of potential accomplishments of systems-oriented research is an equally impressive list of data requirements at the various levels and places of analysis, implying time series of data.

2.2 Implications for data collection

Existing theoretical approaches are, of course, not mutually exclusive in all respects. Overlaps exist, even under seemingly contradictory assumptions. In terms of data requirements, the more recent approaches tend to be highly demanding, especially those covering migration networks and migration systems. In principle, data at both the individual, household, community, and sometimes wider contextual levels are required, both in sending and receiving countries, for migrants as well as non-migrants, and viewed from a historical perspective. Obviously this places serious demands on data collection, as well as on subsequent analysis (see e.g. Bilborrow and Zlotnik, 1995).

Registration systems do not offer sufficient information by themselves to *explain* the process of migration, in order to understand why some people move and others do not. Given the amount of detail required in recent theoretical models of migration, censuses, and/or large-scale surveys, though generally providing more data on the characteristics of migrants than data from administrative registers, are equally inadequate to cover the migration process adequately, due to questionnaire limitations. Special migration surveys are most suitable for explanation purposes, but the costs are often prohibitive, especially where national coverage and/or large samples are required.

Fawcett and Arnold (1987b) list a number of advantages and disadvantages of survey designs, compared with other forms of data collection, including their flexibility and manageability, their relative accuracy, and the possibility of advanced and innovative research designs involving multi-site sampling and multi-level data collection. In addition, the list of topics that can be addressed in surveys is virtually inexhaustible (although both the respondents' and the interviewers' stamina may fall short).

Against the advantages of surveys, the disadvantages are also well known (see e.g. Fawcett and Arnold, 1987b): the difficulty of obtaining representative samples of relevant groups and the costs involved in creating sufficiently large samples in specialised surveys. In practice, sampling strategies are less than ideal, especially for groups that are difficult to locate, such as undocumented migrants. Furthermore, countries have widely divergent sources of data on international migrants, even leaving aside the fact that there are no uniform definitions of the concept of a migrant. Therefore, sampling for internationally comparative research designs may in practice turn out to be far from ideal. Due to the relative ease of identifying actual or potential international migrants, many studies focus exclusively on areas of high out-migration or in-migration. In any case, the majority of studies are carried out at the destination end only; thus such studies are unable to grasp the determinants of migration and migrant selectivity. Moreover, those who have moved again (either to return or to go elsewhere) are excluded.

A rather wide consensus on the necessity of combining data from different levels has emerged, by sampling households and interviewing various members (e.g. heads of households and/or those members of the household that have migratory experience). In

addition, the need for community-level data - and occasionally data relating to a wider geographical context - has become accepted. However, if such data are collected, they often tend to be collected only with reference to the time of the survey. Obviously, relating such contextual data to individual and household migration decision-making - which may have taken place a number of years earlier - can only be done under the often false assumption that no changes have taken place since. If feasible, community-level data should therefore be obtained in time series.

In research on international migration, non-migrants (including potential migrants) tend to be a rather neglected group. However, in order to study the determinants of migration, it is not only important to study the motivations, characteristics, and circumstances of those individuals and households that have actually migrated, but also of those who decided not to migrate or who have not yet decided, or who have returned after a longer or shorter period abroad (see also e.g. Hammar, 1995; Hammar *et al.*, eds., 1997). Surveys should therefore include both households with migratory experience and households without migratory experience, though the former may be over-sampled relative to the latter category. If the focus is on the causes of international migration, the reference group of (native) non-migrants at destination may be omitted (Bilsborrow *et al.*, 1997).

For practical and funding reasons, research efforts are usually, though not always, limited to studying the migration process either at the receiving or the sending end. Surveys limited to immigrant-receiving countries suffer from the fact that only those who have chosen to migrate to that particular country can be studied, thereby omitting those that have either chosen different destinations, those that have returned, and those that have not (or not yet) migrated. Therefore, such studies alone are insufficient to explain the determinants of migration. Studies limited to migrant-sending countries, on the other hand, may include non-migrants but omit those who have out-migrated, with or without other members of their households. Obtaining information on migration from proxies is less reliable, if not impossible, on topics concerning attitudes and experience abroad. In principle, a linked approach seems most suitable, studying households without migratory experience at origin (if not also at destination), and households with migratory experience both at origin and at destination. There are several ways to approach such linked samples. First, through so-called linked samples, in which migrant households may be interviewed at destination, and their relatives or shadow households at origin. One may either start in the country of origin and follow forward after having obtained addresses of household members/relatives abroad, or in the country of destination and follow backward after having obtained addresses of household members/relatives in the country of origin. In the latter case, additional sampling has to be carried out in order to select households without migratory experience, as well as households of return migrants and households of migrants to other destinations.

An alternative approach is to first interview, at destination, a representative group of migrants from a particular region of origin. By obtaining details on the place of origin of the interviewed migrants, a second sample may be drawn at origin, containing households with migration experience to particular destinations, households with migration experience to other destinations, households of return migrants, and finally households without migration experience.

There are some serious practical sampling problems for both types of research design, in particular for the former. When starting a linked sample at origin, sampling and organisational problems that are likely to arise include, for instance, ensuring sufficient follow-up by obtaining addresses. Respondents often do not know where those who migrated are living, especially not in a situation of irregular migration. Moreover, even if they do know, providing an address requires confidence that the knowledge will not be used against the migrant and/or his/her relatives. Furthermore, follow-up addresses may well be far apart. Extensive travelling by interviewers to locations far apart in the country of destination may be avoided by selecting specific chains of migration. Finally, households that have emigrated as a whole are omitted from the survey.

Sampling and organisational problems may also arise if the process is started at destination. In destination samples, undocumented migrants are more likely to be underrepresented. And, if for instance only those who migrated during the last x years are included - assuming an emphasis on recent trends - sampling issues would be burdened with an additional problem in the selection of respondents, especially in cases of long-established flows. In addition, it may be difficult to obtain sufficient follow-up addresses, although in this case the problem may be less severe, as providing approximate addresses may be perceived as less threatening by respondents. Finally, additional sampling on non-migrant households is necessary.

In order to properly capture the dynamic nature of the migration process and especially the decision-making aspects underlying it, research designs should be longitudinal, so that migrants may be followed from before migration to some time after migration, rather than cross-sectional/retrospectively oriented. Sampling then takes place among the non-migrant population and potential or prospective migrants are followed and interviewed repeatedly starting from (just) before migration for a period of several years. However, in practice, there are limitations and disadvantages to such designs. First, random sampling tends to include too few people who are actually going to migrate within the time framework of the survey; therefore, sampling is often focused on those who are already in an advanced stage of preparing for their migration (e.g. by sampling among visa applicants or upon arrival at destination). Secondly, there is the risk of a high rate of loss of respondents in second and later rounds due to mobility. And, thirdly, longitudinal projects suffer from often prohibitive costs and their time-consuming nature.

There is as yet no integrated set of theoretical models on the causes of international migration nor on the migration process in general. Theoretical models have gradually involved an increasing number of interrelated factors influencing the process of migration, and the decisions people make about migration or alternative options. While economic factors and (perceived) differences in welfare and employment continue to play an important role in all models, major additions involve the inclusion of households; the inclusion of contextual factors, not only those directly related to the places of origin and destination, but also those that are shaped by the migration process itself; the role of migrant networks; the role of admission and integration policies, as well as the perceptions of (potential) migrants of the consequences and effectiveness of such policies. Furthermore, recent research has been increasingly oriented towards viewing the migration process as a dynamic system.

As theoretical models and insights have developed, so have the data requirements to test them. The more recent economic and systems models require increasingly detailed and complex data at different levels of aggregation. Though different theoretical models require different data for their hypotheses to be tested, there is also considerable overlap in data requirements. Nevertheless, as a study of a complete migration system cannot be effectuated within the framework of one (or even several) studies, careful consideration of the choice of research topics and hypotheses is necessary. In this respect, research topics could focus on the determinants of migration decisions and alternative decisions, with particular attention to such factors as individual and household characteristics (including economic factors such as property, remittances), economic, environmental, socio-political, structural, and ethnic contextual factors that influence options and decisions to migrate or stay, information on and perceptions of life and opportunities in destination countries, information on and perceptions of migration control policies, and the shape and function of migration networks.

2.3 Surveys of international migration

To what extent are existing surveys able to comply with the data requirements implied by recent theoretical approaches? If a complete migration system is to be studied, fieldwork has to be carried out in all countries that form part of the particular system, in more or less the same period of time. Few studies have attempted to explain migration from an internationally comparative perspective. Comparing migration processes between countries is already an extremely difficult exercise if based on existing statistics (that vary according to the type of data source and the definition of a migrant, to name but the two most important sources of incomparability). Relatively few survey-based studies have been carried out across countries of origin and/or across countries of destination, or at both the sending and receiving end of migration flows. Those that exist most often concern one country of origin and one country of destination, and are frequently based on (very) small samples. One example among the most common type of study - the qualitative study based on small or very small samples - is an anthropological study by Böcker (1994, 1995) among Turkish immigrants in the Netherlands. In 1988-1989, she studied 28 Turkish households containing 80 adults and 52 children under 18 in one municipality in the Netherlands. A follow-up in Turkey was achieved by interviewing relatives of some of the households interviewed in the Netherlands. Although the study provides many new insights into migration motivations and the functioning of networks, the small numbers do not justify generalisation.

In a study by Massey *et al.* (1987), various forms of data collection were used to study the process of migration from Mexico to the United States. Contrary to the follow-backward procedure applied by Böcker, the Mexican study used an adapted follow-forward procedure. In the original study, four villages were selected from a region in Mexico that formed a major source of migrants to the United States. In the villages concerned, a randomly selected total of 825 households were included in the survey, containing 5,945 persons. Data were collected from these households with the aid of semi-structured questionnaires. In addition, those with prior migration experience were interviewed about their migration histories and experience. Apart from the household and individual data, community-level contextual data were collected, as well as a number of ethnographic case studies. In order to obtain missing information on absent migrants, a further 60 households (367 persons), resident in California for a period of at least three years, and originating from the Mexican villages in the study were interviewed. Chain-referral ('snowballing') was used to locate the US-based migrants. Again, due to sampling procedures and sample sizes, generalisation to Mexico as a whole is not possible.

A study on migration from Eastern and Central Europe, co-ordinated by the UNECE Population Activities Unit, used a methodology comparable to the Mexico-United States study but, partly because of the multi-destination character of the migration, the inclusion of countries of destination was problematic. The design was more complicated in the sense that three sending countries were included instead of just one, and because the destinations were more varied. Furthermore, the intensity of migration is different from the Mexican case, making it more difficult to sample sufficient households with migration experience (Mullan and Frejka, 1995, Jazwinska and Okolski, eds., 1996). Due to a lack of appropriate sampling frames, the first step was to purposively select regions and, within regions, communities to be included in the study, aiming at those in which, according to expert opinion, migration was assumed to be important. If available, registers were then used to draw samples of individuals or households. In the first stage of the two-phase sampling strategy, a preliminary short questionnaire was applied to all randomly selected households to identify households as migrant or non-migrant. The full questionnaire was then used in migrant households only. The preliminary questionnaire included information necessary to identify migration experience, as well as information on household composition, education, age and professional level of the household members. Where the sampling procedure did not result in a sufficient number of migrant households, chain-referral techniques were used to identify additional migrant households. Chain-referral procedures were thus used in Lithuania and in Ukraine, due to high refusal rates among the originally sampled households. Sample sizes were originally set at 600 households in Lithuania, 450 in Poland, and 460 in Ukraine (Mullan and Frejka, 1995). In Poland, of the 1,281 households selected from the sample frame, the short preliminary questionnaire was administered to 900 households, 425 of which appeared to qualify as migrant households. The reasons why households were not surveyed were most often that houses were found to be uninhabited (which is likely to be related to migration), or that they refused to co-operate (due to the sensitivity of the topic) (Jazwinska, 1996).

A fourth example is an older study on migration from the Senegal River valley to France, for which data were collected in 1982 both in France and in a large number of villages in the Senegal River valley (see Condé *et al.*, 1986; Findley *et al.*, 1988). The study started with a survey among 1,219 Senegalese, Malinese and Mauritians working in two major migrant destination regions in France. As part of the survey, the respondents were asked to name their place of origin and a second sample was drawn in 99 villages selected from the places of origin named by the respondents in France. The villages were stratified according to the number of respondents in France who originated from there, and each village was given a sample fraction targeted to include one hundred individual respondents per village. A total of 12,558 individuals (in 1,032 households) were included in the valley survey. Household socio-demographic variables and census-type migration questions were included in the questionnaires, as well as information on the economic characteristics of the household and migration histories for all men older than 15 (including information on migrations to other African destinations). Finally, there was a community-level questionnaire for village characteristics. However, as community and household characteristics were only asked for the date of the survey and not at the date of migration, subsequent analyses are lacking in this respect.

More recently, in 1993, a series of migration surveys were carried out in eight West African countries (Burkina Faso, Guinea, Ivory Coast, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Nigeria, and Senegal). The study, co-ordinated by CERPOD, was entitled *Réseau d'enquêtes sur les migrations et urbanisation en Afrique de l'ouest* (network of surveys on migration and urbanisation in West Africa). It tried to measure migration flows in the five-year period preceding the surveys, 1988-1992 (Bocquier and Traoré, 1998; CERPOD, 1995). The main goal of those surveys was to measure characteristics of the migration and urbanisation process, ambitiously including both levels and trends, and determinants and consequences. In nationally representative samples, all changes of residence were recorded for individuals interviewed.

Migrants currently abroad were covered through a special questionnaire if they had been a member of the household during the five-year reference period. In that case the questions on that migrant were asked to the head of household or the other oldest household member present. The number of households surveyed varied between almost 7 thousand to 13 thousand, Nigeria being an outlier with as many as 34 thousand households. The eight countries together covered nearly 100 thousand non-migrant and migrant households, but as there was no over-sampling of households with international migrants, the number of international migrants included ended up being small (Bilsborrow *et al.*, 1997). As in the other surveys described above, apart from household and individual data, data were collected at the community level too.

One of the rare examples of a longitudinal research design in the study of international migration is formed by a study among Korean and Filipino migrants to the United States (Cariño *et al.*, 1990; Park *et al.*, 1990). For the purpose of the study, one in ten persons aged 18-69 who were issued a visa in 1986 was interviewed, prior to departure. In the two countries, 3,911 persons were interviewed on their socio-demographic characteristics, their family networks, their plans and expectations regarding life in the United States, and their migration histories. In addition, in order to correct for the omission of those who did not apply for an immigrant visa in their home countries but who only adjusted their status after arrival in the United States, a mail survey was carried out among 2,114 Korean and Filipino status-adjusters in 1986. Longitudinal follow-ups took place in 1988-1989, in which 2,079 respondents were traced, and again in 1991-1992 (Fawcett and Gardner, 1994).

3. STUDY DESIGN

3.1 Research design

The objective of the project is to increase our understanding of the determinants and mechanisms of international migration, from a comparative perspective. How do migration flows start? What causes these flows to continue and to eventually decline over time? And which factors influence the direction of migration flows? Although general sources of migration pressure are well known, it is more difficult to discern how and to what extent they may affect specific migration flows. Assuming that many movements are initiated or accentuated by economic factors, and that extreme poverty and social and economic insecurity create a large migration potential, what are the circumstances that turn a potential into an actual migration flow? And why, even though an increasing number of people are becoming migrants, do so many decide not to move, given often sizeable gaps in welfare between places? In other words, what individual characteristics and circumstances set migrants apart from non-migrants? Furthermore, to what extent do these factors change over time with the development of the migration process and within the particular set of countries concerned?

In order to study such questions, the project has tried to incorporate a number of the principal elements that follow from the design and data requirements set by the more recent theoretical approaches to studying processes of international migration.

When explaining the process of migration (rather than measuring migration flows), specialised migration surveys are the most appropriate method of data collection. As, from a theoretical point of view, the aim was to capture both individual, household, and contextual factors that influence people's decisions to move or stay, the project includes both a *micro-level survey* (household and individual data for migrants and non-migrants) and a *macro-level survey* (contextual data at the national, regional, and local or community levels) in each of the selected sending and receiving countries.

Rather than opting for more time-consuming and costly longitudinal surveys, the practical solution of *single-round cross-sectional surveys* with retrospective questioning was adopted. The historical-time dimension is captured by retrospective questioning in the household and individual surveys, and by time-series data collection at the macro-level. The period of ten years preceding the surveys was chosen as the period of interest, for several reasons. First, from a policy point of view a focus on recent migration processes was considered most relevant. Secondly, by narrowing down the time dimension, demands on sample size are decreased, as the need to control for the period of migration becomes less urgent. Both arguments may easily point to an even shorter period. The more limited the delineation of a 'migrant', however, the more complicated it will be to sample for migrants in a population.

As data collection should be sufficiently broad to accommodate subsequent analyses from different angles, a multidisciplinary approach was considered most appropriate. A *systems approach*, including elements of the network and cumulative causation approaches, served as a broad theoretical framework for the construction of the questionnaires. In terms of data requirements, this approach tends to be very demanding. In principle, data at both the individual, household, community, and sometimes wider contextual levels are required, both in sending and receiving countries, for migrants as well as non-migrants, and incorporating a historical perspective.

Both *migrant-sending and migrant-receiving* countries were included. This principle was adhered to less fully than originally intended, however, due to compromises that had to be made - given budget constraints - between sample sizes and the number of countries to be included. Surveys were carried out in five countries that are predominantly senders of migrants: Egypt, Morocco, Turkey, Ghana and Senegal; and in two countries that mainly receive migrants (Spain and Italy), while survey data from the Netherlands were used for secondary analysis. In Spain, migrants from Morocco and Senegal were interviewed, in Italy migrants from Ghana and Egypt. Secondary analysis in the Netherlands includes Turkish and Moroccan migrants; results from these analyses are included and/or referred to in Chapters 6 and 7.

Each of the sending countries selected is characterised by:

- a differentiation between long-established and more recent migration flows;
- a certain magnitude of out-migration;
- a regional differentiation between the levels of development;
- the possibility of finding populations of emigrants from these countries in different receiving countries in the European Union.

Morocco and Turkey were chosen as examples of countries with established migration histories, and an increasing variety of destinations in Europe. Moroccans have traditionally migrated to France, and to a lesser extent to the Netherlands and Belgium, but they have recently been migrating, in greater numbers than in the past, to countries such as Spain and Italy. For Turks, the main destinations are Germany and, at a distance, the Netherlands, other European countries, the United States and, more recently, Middle Eastern countries. Ghanaians have a strong culture of migration, originally linked to the United Kingdom and the United States, but more recently also to such destinations as Italy, Germany and the Netherlands. Among the francophone countries in Africa, Senegal stands out as the country with the largest variation in destinations. France is still an important destination for Senegalese migrants, but Spain, Italy, the United States and others increasingly receive migrants from Senegal. Egypt is perhaps the odd one out, as most of its migration has been to the Gulf States and Libya rather than to Europe. Nevertheless, in smaller numbers Egyptian migrants have moved to southern Europe and Germany as well, and Egypt's migration potential remains significant.

As far as the receiving countries are concerned, Italy and Spain were selected primarily because of the limited availability of migration data in these countries and because of the fairly recent presence of sizeable immigrant populations. The Netherlands on the other hand is a country characterised by an established migration history. Partly because of this, a substantial body of research on migration is available in the Netherlands, based on survey data as well as on statistics derived from the population registers.

The secondary data used for the country report on the Netherlands within the framework of the project were provided by a survey on Turkish and Moroccan migrants, carried out by the Netherlands Interdisciplinary Demographic Institute (NIDI) in 1993 (Esveldt *et al.*, 1995). The NIDI Migration Study (NMS) was a single-round cross-sectional survey with retrospective questioning, using a structured questionnaire. The survey was combined with in-depth interviewing on sensitive issues and on topics that needed clarification. As macro-level data collection was not part of the NMS project, such data have been collected within the framework of the current study, for purposes of comparison within the IMS project.

The objective of the NMS was to study determinants of migration from Turkey and Morocco to the Netherlands, and their consequences for the future perspectives of migrants, as well as for the size and composition of potential future migration flows. Main themes in the NMS were, amongst others, migration motives (reasons for leaving the country of origin, and for choosing the Netherlands in particular) and mechanisms of migration (networks and information).

A detailed description of the research design, key concepts, sample design and questionnaire is given in the Dutch country report (see appendix 10.6). The report also discusses the main differences between the IMS and the NMS and the consequences that these differences may have for comparability.

In order to allow for the comparison of migrants from a specific country of origin in different countries of destination or for the comparison of migration from different countries of origin to a specific country of destination, the IMS project should preferably have included more surveys in receiving countries than were actually realised. The advantage of such comparisons is that they may shed light on the influence of differential economic situations and of political factors on the migration process, as well as on the shaping and functioning of networks under different conditions, for example. Nevertheless, the design still permits various types of *comparison across countries*.

The incorporation of non-migrants is an essential and self-evident necessity in order to explain the determinants of migration, and to increase our understanding of why the majority of people do not migrate. The surveys carried out in the sending countries therefore included a comparison group of *non-migrant households*. As the project's main interest lies with the determinants rather than the consequences of migration, non-migrant households were not included in the surveys carried out in the countries of destination.

3.1.1 Key concepts²

A number of crucial concepts and definitions were adopted for the purpose of the study, after discussion with a group of external experts and after consulting the country research teams. As cross-country comparability was a priority goal, compromises had to be made that were acceptable to all research teams. The concept of the household and the definition of migration were particularly important in this respect, given differences between countries both in cultural aspects and in the history of migration. In addition, the concept of the 'main migration actor' was developed, essentially to limit the burden of interviewing within each household.

For the purpose of the study the usual concept of *household* was extended to include not only those persons who live together and have communal arrangements concerning subsistence and other necessities of life, but also those who are presently residing elsewhere but whose principal commitments and obligations are to that household and who are expected to return to that household in the future or whose family will join them in the future. Therefore, both the household and the shadow household are captured within the definition, a necessary extension for migration studies. The household concept appeared to be one of the most difficult to deal with in the study, not only because of the complication of migration (involving another residence), but also because the type of households varied substantially from one country to another. For instance, the practice of polygamy in Senegal tends to result in large households who either live concentrated in one compound, or geographically separated with each wife and her children occupying their own housing unit. In addition, as a consequence of the migration of the husband, the individual wives may temporarily fall under the responsibility of another man in the family of the husband, usually his father or a brother. In contrast, many of the households in Turkey are of the nuclear type. The latter, though easier to deal with in a survey, is often also more likely to have moved as a whole (and therefore no longer accessible to be interviewed in the country of origin).

² See also Appendix 10.4.

Migration is defined as a move from one place in order to go and live in another place for a continuous period of at least one year. The line has been drawn at one year to allow for comparison with international recommendations, as well as to exclude seasonal migration across international borders. Therefore, the migration history module in the survey questionnaires asks only for those places in which someone has lived for at least one year (a municipality in the case of internal migration in the country of origin, and a country in the case of international migration). There is one exception to this rule. If a migrant has left the country of origin (i.e., the respective sending country included in the project; more precisely defined as the country of birth) at least three months ago and has been *currently living abroad* for at least three months he/she is also considered a migrant as it is still unknown whether he/she will stay there for at least a year.

A further distinction is made between recent and non-recent (international) migrants. *Recent migrants* are those who have migrated from the country of origin at least once within the period of ten years preceding the survey. Consequently, a *non-recent migrant* is someone who has migrated from his/her country of origin at least once, but not within the past ten years.

Another distinction is that between current and return (international) migrants. *Current migrants* are those who have migrated from their country of origin and actually live abroad at the time of the interview. They may, however, temporarily be in their country of birth, for instance for a holiday or to visit relatives. *Return migrants* have lived abroad for a continuous period of at least one year, but have returned to their country of origin, where they live at the time of the interview.

Both current and return migrants can be either recent or non-recent. Note that, because of the interest of the study in recent (e)migration, recent return migrants are those who have both left the country of origin and returned there within the past ten years, most likely a limited selection of all return migrants.

A *non-migrant* within the context of this study is a non-international migrant.

Households too are divided into recent migrant households, non-recent migrant households, and non-migrant households. A *recent migrant household* is defined as a household in which at least one member - who is still considered a member of that household - has moved from the country of origin during the past ten years, and has since returned after having lived abroad for a continuous period of at least one year, or who is currently living abroad and left the country of origin at least three months ago. A *non-recent migrant household* then is a household in which *all* moves (to live abroad) from the survey country of those persons who are still members of the household took place more than ten years ago. Both recent and non-recent migrant households may be classified as belonging to either the current or the return type, or a combination of the two.

Finally, a *non-migrant household* is a household from which no member has ever left the survey country to live abroad for a period of at least one year or of which no member has been living abroad for at least three months.

In principle, any recent migrant, whether return or current, qualified for interviewing about his or her migration experience. However, in order to restrict the number of potential respondents who would be presented with a long individual questionnaire (and therefore reducing the interview burden on households) and in order to avoid getting duplicate answers, and/or answers that may refer to different households in the past, only one recent migrant in any household was selected for a long interview (see also Section 3.2.1). This migrant was named the *main migration actor*, or *MMA*. Rules were set to select MMAs: potential main migration actors (PMMAs) are all recent migrants in the household aged 18-65 who were born in the survey country and who were 18 years or older at the time of their last migration from the survey country. According to these criteria, in any particular household, more than one member of the household may qualify. But from among the PMMAs identified, only the one

who was the first to have left within the ten-year period was selected as the MMA. Additional rules were established to decide on the MMA if several PMMAs had migrated simultaneously.

Choosing the MMA in the way described above implies that it is not necessarily the person who started the migration process in that household who was interviewed on his/her migration experience. Restricting extensive interviewing on migration experience and living conditions prior to migration to the ten-year limit, serves to minimise recall error, and has the additional advantage that insight is gained on heads of household or economic migrants as well as on those who migrated as dependants (with the exception of those who migrated as children). In every household, one person was selected as the *reference person*. In principle, the reference person is the economic head of household, defined as the person who brings in the largest share of the household income. He or she was asked to answer the questions in the household questionnaire; furthermore, the reference person in households that did not contain an MMA, was asked the questions in modules H and J (see Section 3.2.1).

3.2 Questionnaire design³

3.2.1 Micro-level

The aim of the micro-level survey is to describe and interpret the individual and household backgrounds that underlie decisions to migrate or to stay. Given the broad theoretical framework used as a guideline for the development of the questionnaires, a large amount of data had to be collected. In constructing the questionnaires we benefited from the work of other researchers in the field, especially those connected with some of the studies mentioned in section 2.3, and from studies on the design of migration surveys (Bilsborrow *et al.*, 1984, 1997). In order to keep the size of the questionnaires more or less manageable, priority topics for questioning were identified. Draft questionnaires were sent to country teams for comments, and were discussed in a meeting with experts from different disciplinary and regional/cultural backgrounds. An important goal of the project was to make questionnaires as comparable as possible, but to some extent teams were allowed to either add questions that were of particular relevance to their country only; or to drop questions, either for the opposite reason, or because the topic/questions were considered too sensitive and were feared to seriously jeopardise fieldwork results. Examples of additions were some questions in the Ghanaian and Senegalese surveys on dual citizenship of children of migrants; a series of fairly detailed questions in the Senegalese household questionnaire on expenditures (whether in cash or in kind), and the extent to which funds derived from migration were used for this; etc. Questions that were dropped were, for instance, those on ethnicity and religion in Egypt and Morocco. Furthermore, during the pilot tests in several of the participating countries, a question on relative deprivation (asking respondents to rate their household's economic situation relative to that of other households) did not work well, either because admitting to being relatively well-off could induce others to ask for a share in their riches, or because it was considered 'not done' to compare oneself with others. In those cases, the question was dropped. Perhaps most importantly, the series of questions on undocumented migration were left out in Senegal. Of course, it is never easy to interview people about such a very sensitive issue, but it was rendered impossible in Senegal due to a simultaneous general information campaign that tried to explain why migration is not the solution to the population's problems. As this campaign was partly funded by the European Union, it was hard to convince local authorities and respondents that the IMS-project was not connected with the campaign.

³ Questionnaires are available on request.

In some cases, it appeared to be necessary to change the wording of a question in order to better fit the cultural environment. The most obvious examples are those of educational levels and of marital status, that were coded according to each country's educational system and marital practice, respectively. The differential land property structures and land use in Morocco and Senegal, which required adaptations of the series of questions dealing with household (land) property and assets, form a more interesting example.

Survey questionnaires and background material were available in English and French. Where appropriate, the respective country teams took care of translation into local language(s). In addition, teams in the countries of origin provided support with translations for teams in countries of destination. In order to minimise the risk that translations resulted in changes in meaning, frequent contact was maintained with country teams to discuss and explain survey questions and concepts, particularly when evaluating the pilot results, and during interviewer training and the start of the main fieldwork, through visits from a member of the NIDI co-ordinating team to country teams.

Sets of questionnaires cover households and, within each household, its individual members aged 18-65 years. In the sending countries, the targeted groups were:

- recent current and recent return migrant households: households with at least one person who emigrated ten years ago or less;
- non-migrant or non-recent migrant households: households with non-recent migrants and/or non-migrants only.

In receiving countries, only recent migrant households were included.

All sets of questionnaires share the same basic modular design and layout. Each household received a household questionnaire and one or more individual questionnaires. For the sake of comparability, modules were standardised, although, as mentioned above, there was a possibility to accommodate specific conditions and issues relevant to individual countries. There are eight types of questionnaires, three for receiving countries and four for sending countries (see Table 3.1). In Senegal, an additional individual questionnaire - essentially a much shorter version of the other individual questionnaires - was designed for co-wives except the first wife. Pilot testing had revealed that the information acquired from such co-wives tended to be more or less a repetition of the information provided by the first wife (this was influenced by the fact that wives could normally only be interviewed in the presence of other family members). The individual questionnaires are largely identical except for appropriate variations in wording and inclusion or exclusion of some of the questions depending on the type of respondent (current migrant, return migrant, non-migrant), or on the type of country (sending or receiving). However, the non-migrant questionnaire for receiving countries differs from the others in that it includes only two modules (E and F, see Table 3.2 below).

Individual questionnaires were applied depending on the classification of the person, rather than the household. For instance, non-migrant questionnaires were administered not only to members of non-migrant households (in the sending countries), but also to non-migrants in migrant households.

The household section of the questionnaires contains four modules, and the individual questionnaires are divided into ten modules (see Table 3.2). Depending on the type of respondent, shorter or longer versions of the individual questionnaire were used.

Table 3.1 Types of questionnaires for the household and individual surveys

Household questionnaires	
1	Sending countries
2	Receiving countries
Individual questionnaires*	
3	Non-migrant, sending countries
4	Return migrant, sending countries
5	Current migrant, sending countries
6	Current migrant, receiving countries
7	Non-migrant, receiving countries
8	Co-wives (Senegal only)

* Questionnaires 3-6 each consist of a long and a short version. Long versions are asked from MMAs in recent migrant households and from reference persons in non-migrant households only.

Table 3.2 Topics covered in the household and individual surveys

Household modules	
A	Household roster
B	Information about living quarters and housing conditions
C	Economic conditions of the household
D	Remittances
Individual modules	
E	Social and demographic characteristics and social interaction (and integration)
F	Information about work
G	Migration history
H	Household composition in country of origin before the last migration
J	Economic situation before the last migration
K	Motives for move(s) abroad
L	Information about the last/current destination
M	Migration networks and assistance
N	Experiences at destination
P	Intentions for future migration

In the *household* roster (module A) the usual information on each individual member of the household (year and month of birth, sex, relationship to head of household, etc.) was collected from the economic head of household (or, in his/her absence, another member of the household best qualified to respond). The household roster was also used to identify the eligibility of household members for individual questionnaires.

In the three remaining modules of the household questionnaire (modules B through D), the head of household was then asked questions on housing conditions, on economic conditions and assets of the household, and on its perceived financial/economic position relative to other households, as well as questions about remittances received from abroad, and the uses these were put to.

Any adult aged 18-65 years qualified for *individual* interviewing, either as a current international migrant, as a return international migrant, or as a non-international migrant or a non-migrant. However, only MMAs received a so-called migrant long list (modules E through P), while reference persons in non-migrant households received the non-migrant long list (modules E through J and module P). All others eligible for interviewing received a short list only (modules E, F, G and P; for non-migrants in receiving countries modules E and F only). However, in order to reduce the interview burden, in a sub-sample of households in Morocco and Senegal, short-list interviewing was replaced by a more limited series of questions appended to the household roster (see Appendix 10.1).

If eligible household members were not available for an individual interview, direct questioning was substituted - if possible - by interviews with proxy persons. Proxies were allowed for current migrants (including MMAs) in sending countries, but not for return migrant MMAs, who always had to be interviewed in person. In the event that proxies had to be used, questions on attitudes and opinions, as well as certain questions on migrant experience abroad were dropped.

Module E includes questions on marital status and number of children, both at the time of the interview and, if applicable, at the time of (last) migration; on literacy, level of education and languages spoken; on the country of residence of parents and siblings; on attitudes towards gender roles, partly in relation to migration, and on participation in organisations.

Module F asks questions about work, unemployment and benefits, and includes a number of attitudinal questions about planning for the future, partly in relation to migration issues.

Module G contains the person's migration history (all places where he/she has lived a year or longer), including timing or duration, and overall reasons for leaving each place. A few questions to assess the importance of seasonal migration are included in this module as well.

All the modules reserved for detailed questioning on migration (modules H through N) focus on the situation surrounding the last migration from the country of origin. The last rather than the first migration was chosen both to minimise the risks of recall lapse, and because of the project's interest in recent migration.

A small but important part of the individual questionnaires are modules H and J, where the MMA was asked about household composition prior to (last) migration and about his/her employment situation at the time, including an assessment of relative deprivation. The answers to these questions should facilitate analysis of the determinants of migration, in comparison with non-migrant households. Therefore, the reference person in non-migrant households was asked a comparable series of questions: in this case, the reference period was taken as five years prior to the interview, that is, halfway the reference period of ten years for recent migrants.

Module K asks about the MMA's motives to migrate, that is, reasons to leave the country of origin and the reasons to choose a particular country of destination. In addition, motives for return migration are investigated. The questions in this module thus deal with the person's own motives rather than with the formal reason for admission to a country. Finally, the module includes questions on family reunification.

The short module L tries to capture the (perceived) information a migrant had on a number of issues relating to the last or current country of destination at the time of migration, the sources of information, and the role such information may have played in the decision about migration to that country.

Module M focuses entirely on migrants' networks, and the role they played, according to the respondent, in facilitating - or not - the process of migration, either for him/herself, or for relatives and/or friends. The module also asks questions about formal reasons for admission, undocumented migration, routes travelled, and resources used to pay for migration, etc.

The last MMA module (N) contains a series of questions on work experience in the country of destination, and some questions on citizenship, naturalisation, and ethnic identity.

Module P asks questions about people's intentions regarding future migration and, if there are such intentions, to what extent their plans have materialised. Again, there are several attitudinal and opinion questions on the possibility to improve one's life by migrating and on respect for migrants in the community. The module ends with a question on income, categorised in most countries.

In some of the participating countries, qualitative fieldwork formed part of the study. In the Ghanaian study, focus group discussions were organised to investigate people's perceptions of and experiences with international migration. Furthermore, because it was feared that in Egypt it would be hard to find households with migrants to European countries, the original plan was to carry out a small airport survey, in which Egyptians returning from Italy would be followed-up and interviewed. During the screening operation in Egypt, however, it turned out that in one of the screened villages a significant number of households had migrant members living in Italy. It was decided to replace the airport survey with a case study of this village, and a few surrounding villages with the same migration-destination pattern, including both households with migrants to Italy and other households.

3.2.2 Macro-level

The objective of the macro-level questionnaire is to provide information about the contextual or structural aspects of people's environments - both in the countries of origin and in the countries of destination - that influence their choices and possibilities to migrate.

Three levels of observation are distinguished, with a view to incorporating the various determinants contained in the environment: the *local* (or *community*) level, the *regional* level and the *national* level. The survey incorporates a time dimension by collecting contextual information for three points within the past ten years, to assess the particular situation at the time when decisions with regard to migration (or non-migration) were made. For each of the levels, broad guidelines were developed, consisting of core (high-priority) and supplementary (low-priority) questionnaires. It was expected that not all information would be available in all countries and at all levels, and that part of the information collected would be of a qualitative nature, or would take the form of estimates.

The macro-level survey predominantly relies on existing and written data (of either a quantitative or a qualitative nature), although at the community level primary data collection by means of interviews with key informants is usually required. Administrative records, censuses and surveys, central data banks, international, national and regional organisations as well as research publications constitute the major data sources. Therefore, no fixed format has been prescribed for data collection, although preferred formats and definitions are incorporated in the guidelines.

Tables 3.3 and 3.4 list the topics covered in the macro-level surveys for sending and receiving countries, respectively. In the sending countries, information was collected at the national and/or regional level on demographic and health indicators (population composition and growth, mortality and fertility levels, child health, migration, etc.), economic indicators (GDP, debt, inflation and interest rates, remittances, market prices for cash crops, wage levels, income distribution, etc.), development indicators (such as health and utility services, government expenditure in certain sectors, transportation and communication infrastructure, existence of a system of social security), and on employment structure and unemployment, education, presence of development and economic restructuring programmes, gender-specific aspects of access to and control over resources, etc. Furthermore, the ethnic, linguistic and/or religious composition of the population was assessed. Geographical aspects, such as arable land, topography and seasonal fluctuations in, for example, rainfall were described. An important place was reserved for legislation in several fields (including inheritance and migration), and for potentially relevant political aspects, such as the type of government, the human rights situation, international relations, etc.

Table 3.3 Topics covered in the macro-level survey for sending countries

<p>National and regional level</p> <p>A Population, health and migration</p> <p>B Macro-economic and social indicators</p> <p>C Socio-cultural aspects</p> <p>D Indicators of modernisation and development</p> <p>E Legislation and political aspects (national level only)</p> <p>F Geographical aspects</p> <p>Community level</p> <p>A Population, health and migration</p> <p>B Social and economic aspects</p> <p>C Socio-cultural aspects</p> <p>D Availability of services and facilities in the community</p> <p>E Geographical and physical aspects</p>

Table 3.4 Topics covered in the macro-level survey for receiving countries

<p>National and regional level</p> <p>A Migration issues (including statistics and policy-related aspects)</p> <p>B Macro-economic indicators</p> <p>C Social and demographic aspects</p> <p>Community level</p> <p>A Population and migration</p> <p>B Economic aspects</p> <p>C Social aspects and living environment</p>

Several of the national and/or regional indicators are relevant at the local level too (e.g., migration situation, health aspects, employment structure and wage levels, presence of development projects, educational attainment, ethnic composition, local inheritance customs, local interest rates, etc.). In addition, the presence in the community of various facilities is recorded, as well as information on communication and transportation structures and travel costs, on the local agricultural situation including changes in production and technology, any natural disasters, and pollution problems.

Macro-level data collection in the receiving countries stresses the importance of rules and regulations concerning admission and integration, the presence of migrant populations from specific countries of origin, feelings of the native population towards immigration and immigrants; as well as economic indicators, including employment structure, wage levels, the need for seasonal labour, unemployment levels, presence of migrant organisations, trade and investments abroad, etc. At the local level, housing conditions were recorded as well.

3.3 Sample designs

To develop appropriate sample designs in each country that participated in the International Migration Survey project (IMS), at least three constraints must be adequately accounted for in the designs.

- Recognition of the fact that migration is a chain process, whereby migrants tend to originate from specific places and, once they have migrated, tend to concentrate in specific places. Thus, from a theoretical point of view, it is important to collect data that facilitate meaningful analysis of the migration process within the context of particular geographical areas. Therefore, sampling procedures must ensure that a sufficient number of households are sampled in particular geographical areas, rather than to scatter the sample nation-wide.

- The manner in which international migrants can be located and sampled in sufficient numbers as they tend to be - very - rare elements in a country's total population.
- How to overcome, in an efficient and cost-effective manner, the lack of sampling frames and of information on the geographical distribution of international migrants. In this respect, nationally representative sample surveys will place a heavy burden on available financial resources because national-level sampling frames would need to be constructed. Moreover, the financing of the implementation and logistic management of nation-wide field surveys is very costly.

These constraints are recognised in all country-specific sample designs. In the sending countries, teams were advised to purposively identify four regions⁴ by using a combination of the following criteria: (1) a relatively high versus a relatively low level of economic development, and (2) an established versus a recent migration history, thus allowing for the study of different types of migration flows under different economic conditions. The focus in sending countries was on the sampling of migrants to any international destination as well as non-migrants, and in each of the four types of regions that were deduced from these criteria, independent multistage stratified disproportionate probability sampling took place to sample this target population for the survey. The statistical aim was to generate survey data that are representative at the level of these regions. To avoid misunderstandings regarding the reference population for which survey results are representative, the concept of 'region' requires clarification. In most countries where surveys were carried out, a region is an artificial construct and is created by purposively selecting a number of geographical or administrative areas for which it is known or expected that the areas contain relatively high proportions of migrant households. Such areas can be, for instance, existing provinces or voting districts, which may each consist of smaller geographical or administrative units. Moreover, a region that is constructed in this way may contain areas that are not necessarily contiguous and they can be made up of one or more of such areas.

In the receiving countries the aforementioned regionalisation was not explicitly taken into account into the sample designs. In fact, the *a priori* objective was to generate survey results that are representative at the level of the country as a whole. Moreover, the focus in receiving countries was on the sampling of immigrants from two particular immigrant groups. Immigrants that originate from other countries as well as natives were excluded. In these countries, sample designs faced particular problems: (1) the target population is even more 'rare'; (2) an unknown but expected large number of immigrants reside illegally in these countries. Despite these differences between sending and receiving countries, sample designs have a number of features in common.

- All designs attempted to use available quantitative and qualitative information to develop sample designs that sample the target population in sufficient numbers. Among others, information sources that were consulted are recent censuses, household surveys and the expert opinion of key informants.
- Households or individuals were only sampled after multiple sampling stages had been carried out; that is, they were sampled after certain geographical and/or administrative areas had been sampled at different levels of spatial aggregation; for instance, the sampling of villages within districts, and of districts within provinces.
- A screening and stratification stage in the penultimate sampling stage was included in most designs. Prior to the sampling of households, large-scale screening operations were carried out in the fieldwork areas which were sampled in this penultimate stage. With the help of a short screening questionnaire, questions were asked in households in fieldwork areas that made it possible to minimally assign to the household a status of 'recent migrant household' or 'other household'. In most countries, the screening resulted in a stratification that was more detailed in the sense that the group of 'recent migrant households' was further subdivided into 'recent current migrant households' and 'recent return migrant households', while the category of 'other households' was further subdivided into 'non-recent migrant households' and 'non-migrant households'.

⁴ With the exception of Senegal, where only two regions were selected.

- A disproportionate allocation of the total target sample size to the aforementioned 'household migration status' strata. Once screening in fieldwork areas was complete, households were grouped into 'household migration status' strata and the total target sample size was distributed disproportionately over these strata, giving most weight to the stratum of 'recent migrant households'.

Overall, sample designs and sample allocation procedures in the countries aimed to ensure that sufficient numbers of the migrant population were sampled in an efficient and cost-effective manner.

The objectives of the sample designs were two-fold: (1) to generate survey results that are nationally (receiving countries) or regionally (sending countries) representative, (2) to generate probability samples in which households with a particular 'rare' characteristic are over-represented in the sample. The second objective indicates that certain types of households were given a higher probability of getting into the sample than other households. However, as long as selection probabilities⁵ are known and not equal to zero, sample design weights can be computed for all households, so that the sample population, as weighted, represents the whole population in the study areas.

To value the results in the analyses that follow, all sample designs and the manner in which they were implemented are discussed in Appendix 10.1. Table 3.5 presents an overview, by country, of key data regarding sample design and implementation. The table refers to the migration status of households at the time of the main survey. The migration status of some households as determined at the time of screening differs from their status as recorded at the time of the main survey. The longer the time-lag the higher the probability of differentials.

Table 3.5 Summary information from sample designs and implementation, per country

Country	Level of statistical representativeness aimed at	Households screened	Target sample	Households successfully interviewed	Total number of successfully completed household interviews, by migration status of households		
Receiving countries							
Italy	national	Not applicable	1,605	1,177	Egyptian	Ghanaian	
					508	669	
Spain	national	Not reported	1,200	1,113	Senegalese	Moroccan	
					515	598	
Sending countries					recent migrant*	non-recent migrant	non-migrant
Turkey	regional	12,838	1,773	1,564	656	173	735
Morocco	regional	4,512	2,030	1,953	1,061	399	493
Egypt	regional	27,438	2,588	1,941	992	332	617
Ghana	regional	21,504	1,980	1,571	709	43	819
Senegal	regional	13,298	1,971	1,740	711	462	567

* Including households with recent migrants but without an MMA.

3.4 Data processing

During the questionnaire design stage of the household surveys, NIDI developed and administered a questionnaire to country teams to find out about the teams' 'infrastructure' regarding computer hardware and software. Moreover, the teams were asked to give a self-evaluation about their perceived degree of expertise in data processing. This provided information about training needs and duration. Bearing in mind the complex structure and

⁵ In general, the selection probability of a household in a PSU (Primary Selection Unit, e.g. village) is equal to the number of households (n) that need to be sampled in the PSU divided by the number of households (N) present in the PSU, i.e. (n/N).

selection procedures for field data collection, the country teams were requested to give their support to NIDI for the development of an integrated data-processing strategy for all country surveys. All countries supported the initiative.

To arrive at an appropriate integrated data-processing strategy some important prerequisites and assumptions had to be met:

- access to a fairly reliable Internet email connection for the sending and receiving of updates of most recent versions of data-entry programmes and of data files;
- agreement on and use of a data-entry programme, to be designed by NIDI, to process questionnaire data in a standardised manner;
- implementation of a set of data-editing and file creation procedures, formulated by NIDI, to create a set of country-specific databases that have plausible and consistent data.

To facilitate comparative analyses of IMS data from the household sample surveys in the seven countries, it was necessary to strive for standardisation of database design and file format (see Appendix 10.2). It was decided to use the ISSA software as the instrument to develop a common database definition and concomitant set of country specific data-entry programmes. Due to user-friendly data-entry programmes, training of data-entry staff could be short. More specifically, during a typical data-entry session, a set of data-entry screens that mimics the layout of the questionnaire was presented to data-entry staff. All data that were entered and pertained to the same household were scrutinised by means of range and consistency checks. The latter compared data that were entered in different parts of questionnaire(s), in household-level as well as individual-level questionnaires, to ensure that plausible and consistent sets of data were entered into the database. If the data-entry programme detected an inconsistency, the data-entry typist was confronted with an error message on the screen that provided exact information about what the error was. Depending on the error message, data entry was blocked until the error was resolved. Also, during data entry of answers to questions in the household roster, data-entry programmes determined the international migration status of household members and that of the entire household. This information was used, among other things, to present to data-entry staff only those data-entry screens that were 'applicable'. A large number of built-in data-entry verification instructions slowed data entry but ensured that, after completion of data-entry, a country-specific database contained a set of plausible and consistent data. Also, it ensured that in all countries data were entered and scrutinised in an identical manner.

All country data sets conform to the Standard Recode File format (United Nations, 1993). ISSA software (Integrated System for Survey Analysis) has been developed by the Institute of Resource Development at Macro International Inc. for the Demographic and Health Surveys Project (DHS). The software is used, among other things, to process data of ECE/UNFPA-funded Fertility and Family Surveys (FFS) in countries of the ECE region. Although ISSA software can be used to serve many data-processing tasks, it is mainly used for the design of a stand-alone run-time version of a data-entry programme and for interactive and batch editing operations.

Once an edited country-specific ISSA database had been created, a number of sub-set databases were generated that could be read by SPSS statistical software (SPSS, Statistical Package for the Social Sciences). These SPSS sub-set databases were used to carry out analyses for country reports and the comparative report.

Database design, including the development of a user-friendly data-entry interface, went hand in hand with questionnaire design. In a number of cases, after a country-specific ISSA data-entry application was developed, a NIDI staff member visited the country or a country-team member visited NIDI, to test and train country-team members in data-processing procedures and the proper use of the data-entry application. Following this training, teams were also provided with technical backstopping to support local data-processing activities. Although there has been considerable variation in the timing and manner of implementation of the procedures set by NIDI, eventually country-specific databases were produced that contained plausible and consistent data in each participating country.

3.5 Conclusions: some strengths and limitations

Specialised migration surveys offer a unique opportunity to study the determinants of migration, as many earlier surveys have shown. The advantage of the current approach is that the surveys were carried out in several countries, both at the sending and at the receiving end, in more or less the same period, and that comparable survey instruments were used. Furthermore, particular attention has been paid to sampling procedures, in an effort to adhere to rules of probability sampling and to find the migrant needles in the haystack.

Surveys were carried out in fewer receiving countries than originally intended, however (due to budgetary constraints), limiting to some extent the comparative analyses that may be carried out.

The study was carried out in relatively stable countries, without explosive civil conflicts or extreme political upheaval. The type of project - surveys requiring a relatively long time of preparation - could not have been carried out in situations generating refugee flows and, therefore, such forced movements have been excluded from the study. This does not imply, however, that the phenomenon of asylum migration has been totally excluded, too, although perhaps only the margins overlapping with economic flight are touched upon.

Regional rather than nationally representative sample designs were opted for, particularly in the sending countries, for both substantive and practical reasons: (1) the conceptualisation of migration as a chain process; and (2) given the lack of appropriate sampling frames, the high cost and time-consuming nature of preparing and implementing probability samples.

The sampling objective was that samples must generate survey results that are representative for the population at the level of the region. However, the concept of 'region' means something different in different countries and this has implications for the geographical area and population for which the survey results are representative. In most countries, what is referred to as a 'region', must be interpreted as a geographical area that consists of a number of non-adjacent administrative spatial units (e.g., provinces, districts). This requires clarification. In Turkey, Egypt, Morocco, Senegal, and Spain, smaller-size spatial sub-units (sub-districts, census blocks, election areas) were randomly sampled within such regions by the rules of probability sampling, often through multiple stages. Thus, survey results are representative for the population that live in the geographical area defined as 'region'. In Ghana, within each identified region, a number of voting districts were identified using key-informant information and, within these, one election area was selected. This approach yielded survey results are, statistically speaking, not representative for the population in the identified regions, but only for the populations that live in the selected election areas, which are much smaller than the regions as a whole. Although the original objective in Spain was to generate nationally representative survey results, various implementation problems made the results partially representative for a number of provinces. In Italy, an unconventional but

innovative sampling approach resulted in survey results that are representative for the eight provinces in northern and central Italy in which, according to official statistics, about 80 per cent of Egyptian and 35 per cent of Ghanaian immigrants are living.

Surveys carried out in sending countries suffer from two problems. First, households that have migrated as a whole are excluded, and to that extent the study of the determinants of migration is biased. Secondly, in households with migrants who are currently abroad, proxy persons have to supply information on the absent person. This implies that any questions on attitudes or opinions cannot be asked. In addition, proxies are likely to have difficulties in answering questions dealing with the migrants' experiences abroad. In cases where those left behind have little knowledge of their relatives' experiences and/or whereabouts (for instance, if migrants are in an irregular situation, and/or have not yet had a chance to communicate with home, or if those left behind have no formal education and no experience of life outside their own community), proxy information can be of poor quality, despite a proxy's best intentions.

Surveys in the receiving countries necessarily include only those migrants who chose to migrate there, while those who opted for other destinations, those who have returned and, especially, a control group of people who chose not to migrate are excluded. Therefore, surveys at destination have the advantage of collecting first-hand information from migrants, but are limited in the extent to which they can provide insight into the determinants of migration.

In the preparatory stages of the project, considerable thought was given to defining the key concepts, in particular the concepts of household, migration and the identification of key respondents in the household. In practice, it was perhaps hardest to formulate definitions of the household that were easily applicable in any cultural setting and that incorporated the migration context (including both the 'usual' household and the shadow household).

The screening operations may have resulted in some underreporting of migrants in households, to the extent that households considered it wiser to hide the fact that someone had migrated. Country teams that managed to obtain the co-operation of the authorities, key representatives, and through them individual respondents, are likely to have been most successful in combating this problem.

The main fieldwork was carried out between the summer of 1996 (Turkey) and the winter of 1997/1998 (Senegal). Therefore, there was no complete simultaneity. Although this is expected to have some effect on comparability between countries, the effect will probably be limited, as the goal of the project is to study determinants, rather than to measure flows over a specified period. The effect of non-simultaneity of surveys in eight West African countries (see Section 2.3) was thought to be minimal, according to Bocquier and Traoré (1998), although the time variation in that case was only nine months.

As international migration is perceived to be a sensitive topic in many of the participating countries, teams spent a considerable amount of time and effort ensuring good co-operation from the authorities and in the field. Most country teams reported that fieldwork was influenced by the sensitive nature of the topic. In sending countries, for instance, some respondents feared that due to the answers they gave, their relatives abroad would run the risk of being sent back (Morocco, Senegal, and Ghana especially); or that they would be taxed for the income received from migrants. As expected, the problem was more serious in situations characterised by undocumented migration. Again, working to achieve co-operation and confidence in the field appeared to be of crucial importance.

Some problems with dating of events are expected, as in any survey, although the importance of migration in someone's life indicates that answers are not necessarily lacking in precision, perhaps with the exception of proxy responses. It will in any case be important to study the influence of proxy respondents on the survey results. First, interviewing proxies obviously precludes any of the survey questions on attitudes and opinions. Secondly, relatives in the

country of origin often have only a vague idea of the life and work of the migrants abroad, and in some cases do not even know where they are, either because they possess little or no geographical knowledge or because migrants are in an irregular situation and/or have not yet communicated with home. Therefore, the strength of surveys in sending countries lies not so much in the analysis of the migrants' conditions themselves, but in the analysis of migration versus non-migration, in the role that migration is playing in the lives of those left behind, and in the effects of return migration.

Even though each individual questionnaire did not take long to complete, the total interview burden on a household could be considerable if the household consisted of a large number of adults. Furthermore, if not all respondents could be reached, some household members ended up answering not only for themselves but also as proxies, on behalf of other household members.

The questionnaires incorporate many of the elements that, from a theoretical point of view, are considered important in explaining migration. It appeared to be quite a challenging task to try to incorporate widely varying cultural settings into a single series of questionnaires, as well as to arrive at compromises regarding definitions – in particular the delineation of international migration.

Comparability across countries is, to a limited extent, reduced for those questions that were adapted to the cultural settings of individual countries. However, striving to achieve completely identical questionnaires would have resulted in spurious comparability instead.

Important elements in the study are the combination of micro-level and macro-level data collection, and the potential linkage of part of the latter into the micro-level data base, creating opportunities for multi-level analyses, and analyses of the root causes of migration. Furthermore, the inclusion of questions in the household and individual surveys on the situation prior to migration or the situation five years prior to the interview allows for a potentially better estimation of the determinants of migration than the data referring to the current situation only, which most studies have to resort to.

As all adults are asked questions about personal characteristics, education, work and experience with and attitudes towards migration, the role of women in migration receives just as much attention as the role of men. This is further enhanced by the fact that women may just as easily qualify as MMAs as men, as the primary criterion for MMAs is not an economic one, but is determined by who migrated first within the past ten-year period.

4. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SURVEY COUNTRIES

4.1 Introduction

In the following sections a brief description of the demographic and economic situation in each of the seven survey countries will be presented. Attention will be focused on population growth and composition, fertility, mortality and migration from a demographic point of view. In addition, some health indicators will be given for the five sending countries. Economic aspects will be outlined by means of the development of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and the situation in the labour market. For the receiving countries, Italy and Spain, as well as for Turkey, comparisons in this respect are made with the European Union as a whole. Economic conditions in the four remaining sending countries are compared with the 'survey counterparts' (Italy for Egypt and Ghana, Spain for Morocco and Senegal).

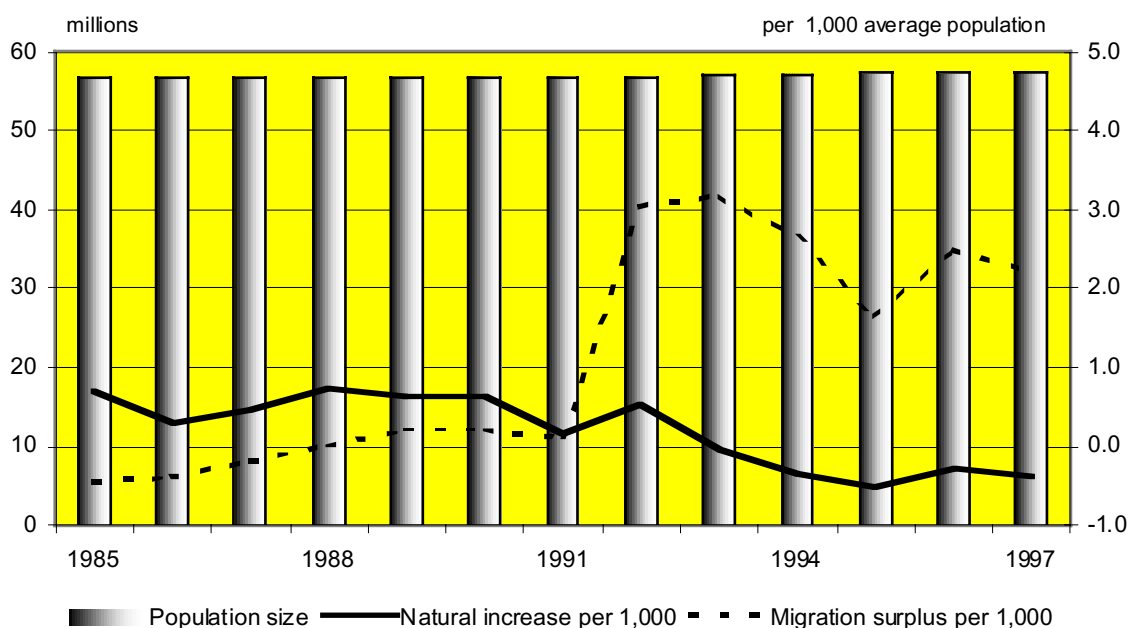
Due to the limitations of data availability and reliability, not all topics could be adequately described for the countries concerned. Furthermore, for the same reasons, one should be careful in drawing conclusions.

4.2 Italy

On January 1st 1998, the total resident population of Italy was estimated at 57.6 million. During the past few years the Italian population has experienced modest growth. This growth is largely due to net migration, while natural growth is negative (Figure 4.1).

The Italian fertility rate is one of the lowest in the world. The decline in fertility began in the 1970s and differed greatly between regions. In southern Italy, the generational replacement was guaranteed until the beginning of the 1980s, while in the rest of the country the decline in fertility was much faster. The national total fertility rate (TFR) in 1995 is 1.18 children per woman, the lowest figure ever registered in Italy.

Figure 4.1 Population change, 1985-1997, Italy



Source: Council of Europe, 1998.

The increase in life expectancy at birth and for the older age groups, together with the decline of fertility, has contributed to a significant modification of the age structure of the Italian population (Figure 4.2). In 1994, life expectancy at birth was 74.3 years for men and 80.7 years for women.

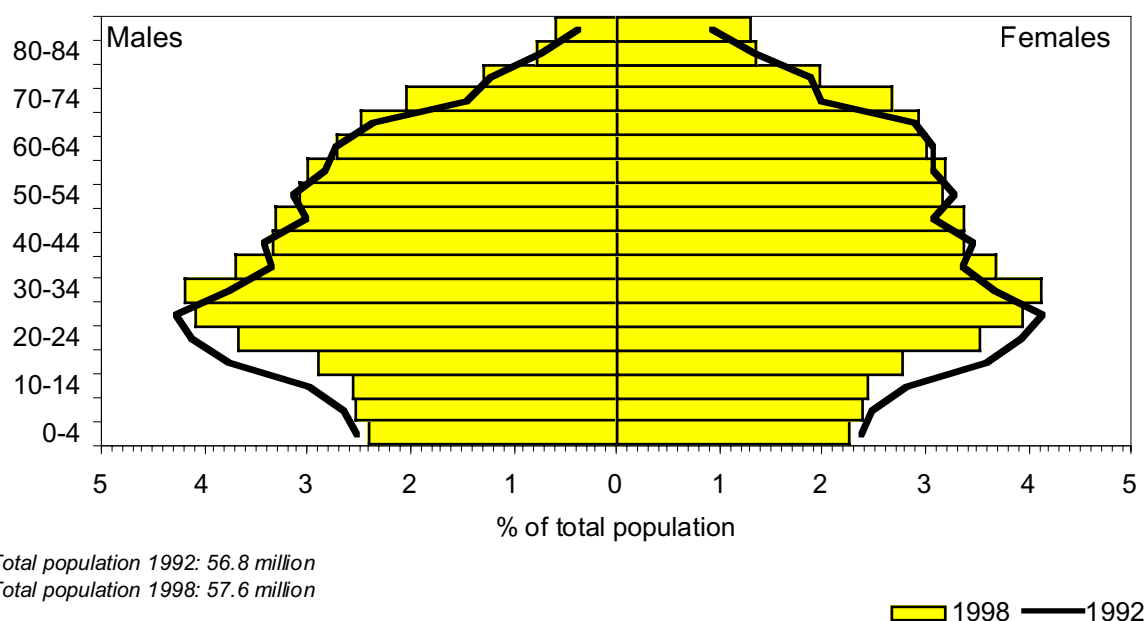
Most Italians are Roman Catholics (98 per cent). Apart from Italian, some other languages are spoken in Italy locally (German, French and Slovenian).

At least until the mid-1980s, Italy was one of the main emigration countries in Europe. However, since the beginning of the 1990s outmigration has more or less stopped and new migration flows into the country from the Third World and Eastern Europe have emerged. As a consequence, the size of the foreign population began to increase, and numerous legislative provisions were introduced to deal with the various aspects of the phenomenon, while the immigration question became a permanent fixture on the national political agenda.

At the end of 1996, the number of foreign citizens resident in Italy was 885 thousand, less than 1.5 per cent of the resident population. Of the foreigners 85 per cent came from non-EU countries (see also Figure 4.3). Most settled in the northern regions (about 50 per cent) and belong predominantly to the working age groups. According to 1994 data from the Eurostat database, the main citizenships are Moroccans (12 per cent), Yugoslavs (Federal Republic: 6 per cent), Tunisians (6 per cent) and Germans (5 per cent).

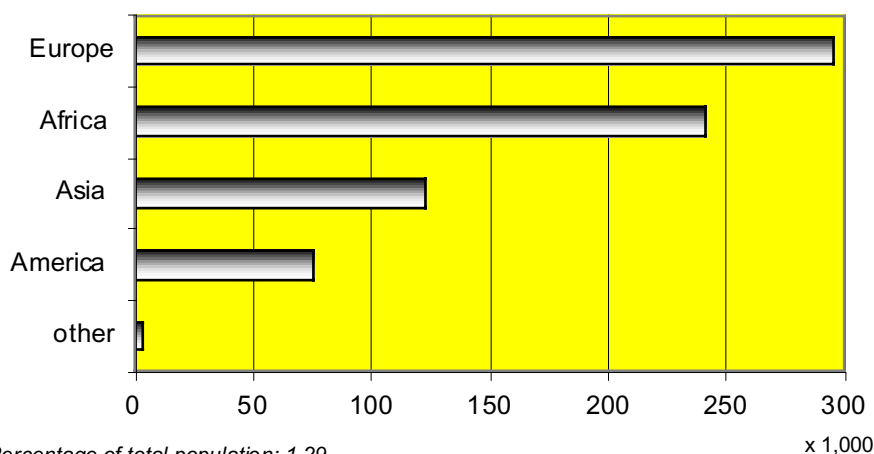
One should bear in mind that in the figures presented above, illegal migrants are not, or at most hardly, included. Among the European countries, Italy probably accommodates the largest illegal population. Minimum indications for the numbers of undocumented migrants can be found in the legalisation procedures that took place in 1986, 1990 and 1996. These procedures resulted in 120 thousand, 220 thousand and 240 thousand legalisations respectively. However, the phenomenon of staying illegally exerts an important attraction to people still living in sending countries. The opinion is widely held that staying in Italy without a residence permit is easy because there are few checks and, even if caught, immigrants are rarely deported. Furthermore, one expects to be legalised, sooner or later (Reyneri, 1998a).

Figure 4.2 Age distribution on 1 January 1992 and 1998, Italy



Source: Council of Europe, 1998.

Figure 4.3 Foreign population in Italy, 1 January 1996



Source: Council of Europe, 1998.

The radical change in Italy's role within the European migratory system was largely influenced by a series of profound transformations in the demographic, economic and social characteristics of the country. As so often happens, demographic changes accurately reflect this set of transformations. In fact, from a demographic point of view, in little more than 30 years Italy has witnessed some extraordinary changes. There is no longer any demographic characteristic today that does not present values and trends that are diametrically opposed to what was still happening in the 1960s. At that time, besides the economic boom, the country was also experiencing a baby boom of considerable proportions. Furthermore, Italy then was still one of the main suppliers of labour for the industrial systems of central and northern Europe, while internal south/north mobility reached its highest values in those years. In brief, the demographic challenge of that time was still that of trying to balance the relationship between growth of the population and growth of resources, which was particularly unbalanced in the south of the country.

From this situation - typical of a society in rapid transition from a basically agricultural and rural system to an industrial and urban one - Italy passed very quickly to being a post-industrial society. Indeed, thirty years onwards, the continuous and decisive decline in the birth rate has brought Italian fertility to the lowest levels in Europe. Now, the main demographic problem faced is adjusting the social and economic structure of the country to the increased weight (both absolutely and relatively) of the elderly population.

Italy now appears to be participating fully in the stage of demographic change which characterises post-industrial, developed societies, and which has been defined as the second demographic transition in order to differentiate it from the demographic system typical of the industrial period. The characteristic features of this new demographic model are:

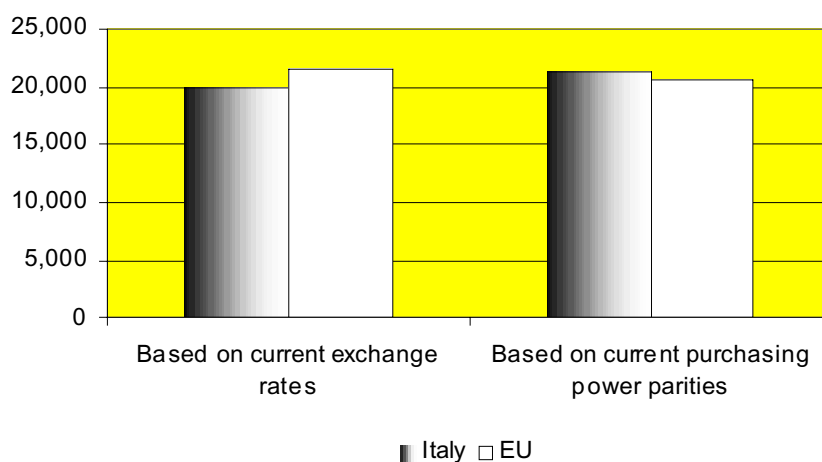
- a basic stability in population size;
- an absolute and a relative increase in the size of the elderly population;
- the development of different forms of family life;
- an increase in immigration and internal mobility which is linked more to the cycle of family life than to economic necessity and which is mainly directed outside the larger urban agglomerations.

Within this framework of general development, the Italian situation has some particular features, linked above all to the marked geographical differentiation in economic and social terms between the north and the south of the country.

From an economic point of view, welfare per head of population in Italy equals more or less the average European Union level. Measured by means of the current exchange rates, the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capita is somewhat lower than the EU average. Based on purchasing power parities however, the per capita GDP is somewhat higher (Figure 4.4).

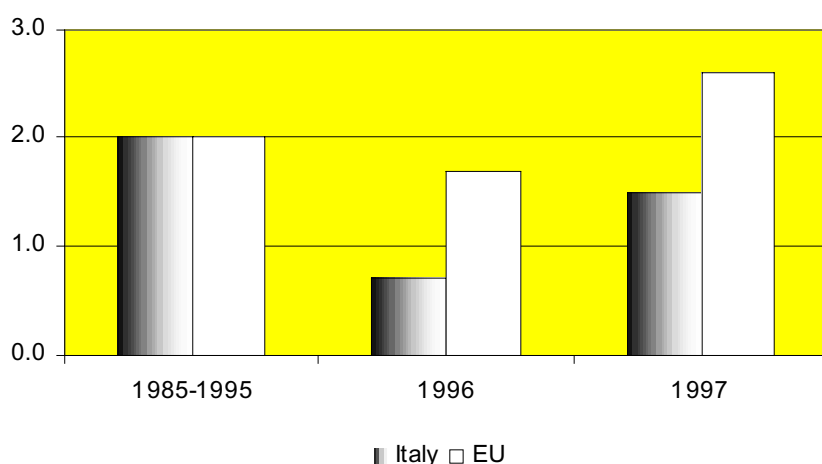
The changes in a country's GDP can be seen as an overall indicator of economic development. From Figure 4.5 it appears that during the years 1985-1995 annual GDP growth in Italy was similar to that in the European Union as a whole (two per cent). However, in the following years, the growth of Italian GDP remained below the EU average, indicating less favourable economic development.

Figure 4.4 GDP per capita in US dollars, 1997, Italy



Source: OECD, 1999.

Figure 4.5 Annual growth of real GDP, 1985-1997, Italy (%)



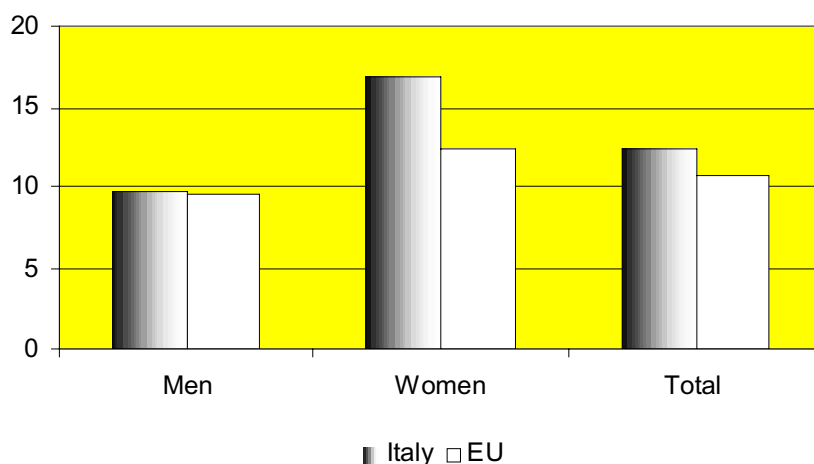
Source: OECD, 1998.

Italy is considered a high unemployment country; its total unemployment rate is among the highest in Europe (12 per cent in 1997). However; according to Figure 4.6 this conclusion affects women much more than men.

This picture is confirmed by Figure 4.7, showing participation rates by sex and age. Italy has an employment pattern unfavourable to women and young people living with their parents, while protecting men in their prime working ages and heads of households (Reyneri, 1998b).

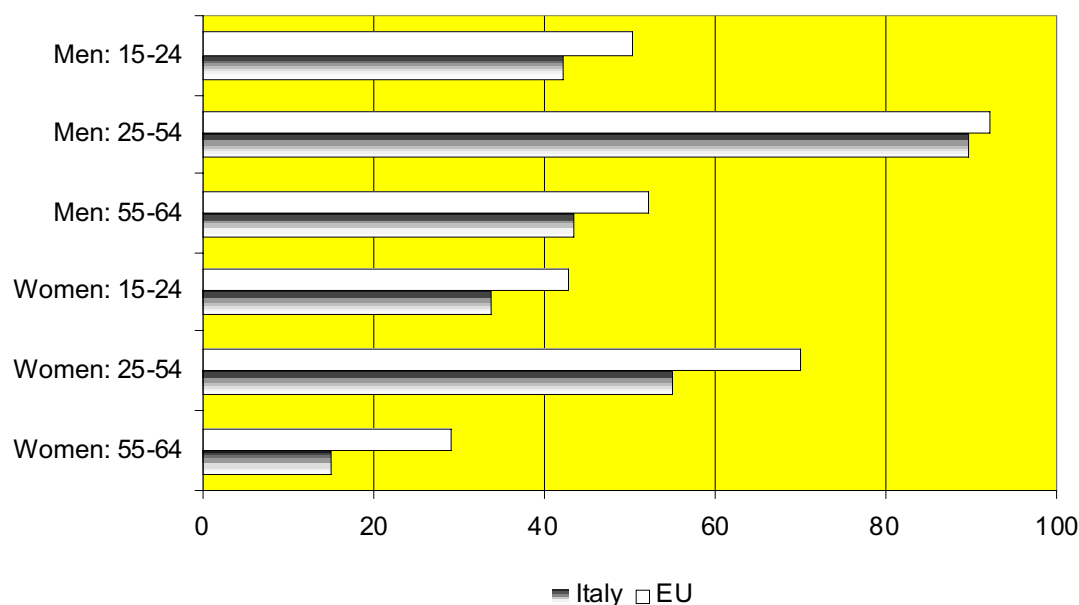
At first sight, high unemployment seems to contradict high (illegal) immigration. However, a careful analysis of the Italian labour market shows that few Italians are in real competition with migrant workers. For the latter category, especially for the undocumented migrants, the so-called Italian underground economy exerts a special pull effect (Reyneri, 1998a).

Figure 4.6 Percentage unemployed in the labour force, 1997, Italy



Source: OECD, 1998.

Figure 4.7 Labour force participation by sex and age, 1997, Italy (%)



Source: OECD, 1998.

4.3 Spain

At the beginning of 1998, the estimated population of Spain was 39.3 million inhabitants (Figure 4.8). Compared to the year before, this implies a population increase of only 0.13 per cent. The main reason why the growth of the Spanish population is slowing down, is the diminishing natural increase as a consequence of the constant and considerable decline of fertility since the late 1970s. Whereas in 1980 the total fertility rate was at replacement level (2.2), the constant decrease lowered it to 1.36 in 1990 and 1.15 in 1997 (Council of Europe, 1998).

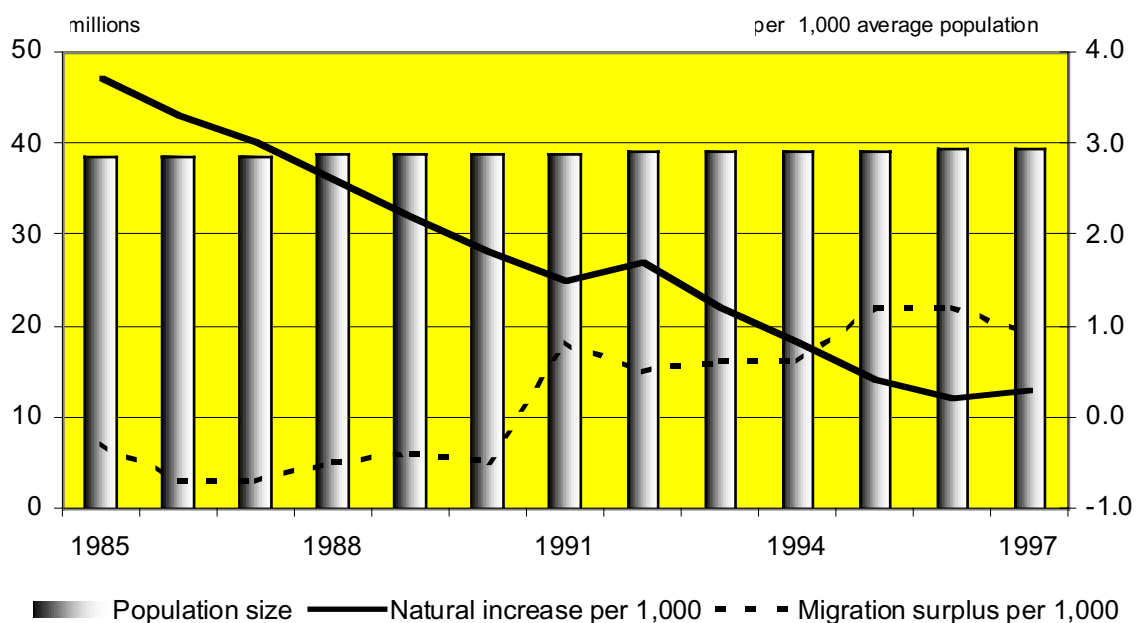
Fertility decline is also the main factor influencing the ageing of the population in Spain (see Figure 4.9). The second important factor is the decrease in mortality. In 1994, life expectancy at birth was 74.4 years for men and 81.5 years for women.

Net (im)migration has been positive since 1991 but it has not yet attained sufficient impact to significantly influence the age structure. The recent positive net migratory balance is mainly due to increasing numbers of immigrants from less developed countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America, as well as from other nations in the European Union (Hoggart and Lardiés, 1996). According to official Spanish immigration data for 1996, most immigrants came from Morocco, Germany, the United Kingdom and Peru.

The vast majority of Spaniards are Roman Catholic (99 per cent). Languages spoken in Spain are Castilian Spanish (74 per cent), Catalan (17 per cent), Galician (7 per cent) and Basque (2 per cent; CIA Factbook, 1999).

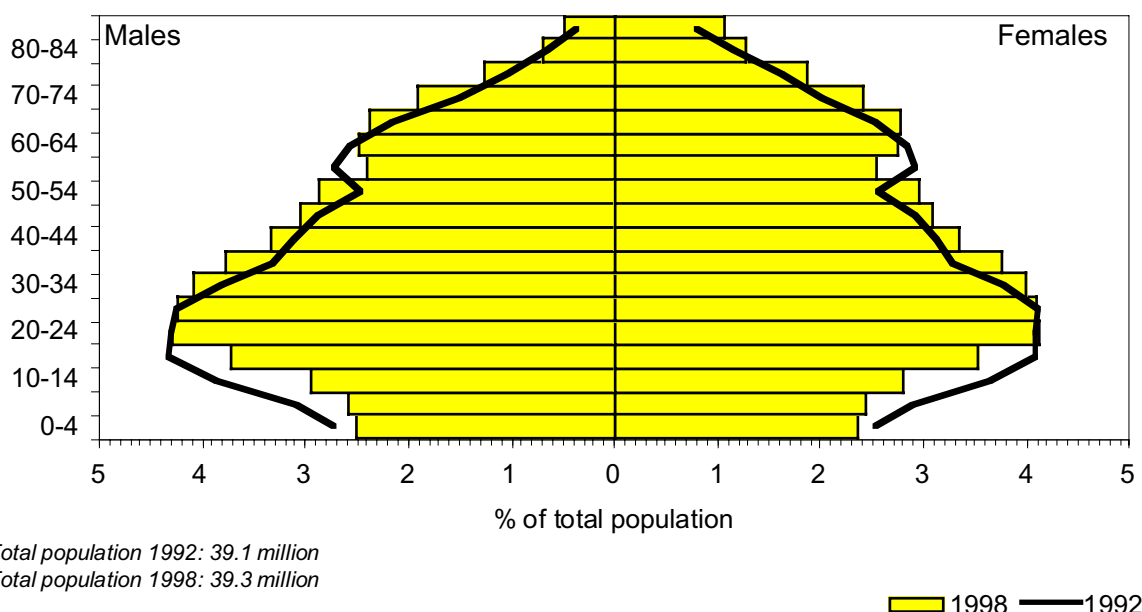
At the beginning of 1998, the number of (legal) foreign citizens residing in Spain was 610 thousand, 1.5 per cent of the total population. The main citizenships were Moroccans (18 per cent), British (11 per cent) and Germans (8 per cent). Furthermore, citizens from the Americas were more numerous than Asian citizens (see Figure 4.10).

Figure 4.8 Population change, 1985-1997, Spain



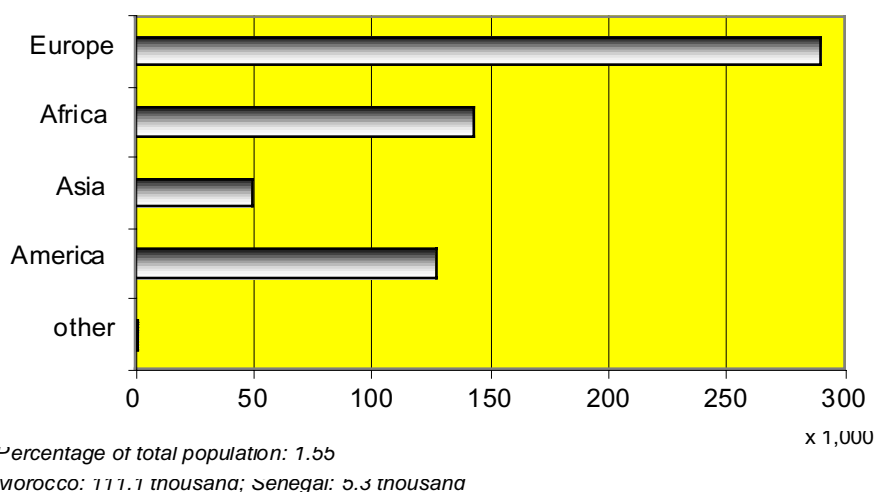
Source: Council of Europe, 1998.

Figure 4.9 Age distribution on 1 January 1992 and 1998, Spain



Source: Council of Europe, 1998.

Figure 4.10 Foreign population in Spain, 1 January 1998

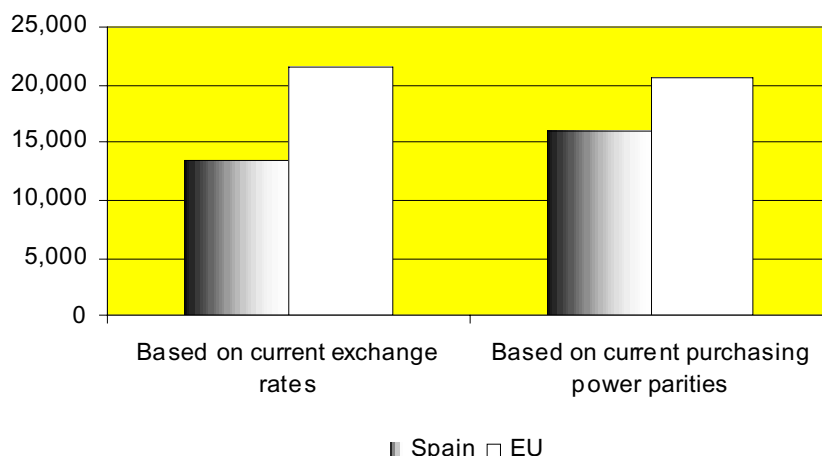


Source: Council of Europe, 1998.

In the figures presented here, illegal migrants are not included, or barely so. It is not easy to find an indication of the numbers of undocumented migrants in Spain. Gonzalez-Pérez (1990) estimated that the number of legal foreign residents constituted about 70 per cent of the total foreign population. Due to the three regularisation campaigns from the mid-1980s to the mid-1990s, in which residence of specific categories of undocumented migrants was legalised, the current percentage may well be somewhat lower (Sarrille, 1996).

Spain's mixed capitalist economy supports a GDP that is lower than the average European Union level on a per capita basis. In 1997 the per capita GDP was 37 per cent lower than the EU average, measured by current exchange rates. Based on purchasing power parities, the per capita GDP was 22 per cent below the level for the Union as a whole (see Figure 4.11).

Figure 4.11 GDP per capita in US dollars, 1997, Spain



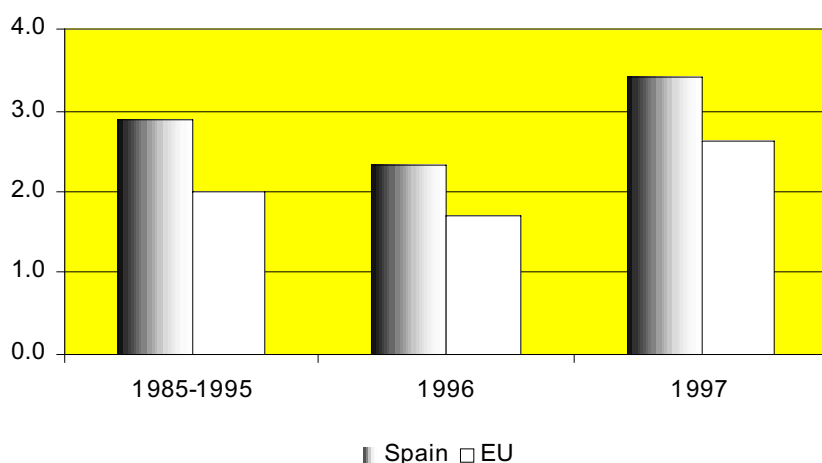
Source: OECD, 1999.

However, Figure 4.12 shows that Spain has been continuously reducing the difference in per capita GDP. This is due amongst other things to the ongoing liberalisation, privatisation and deregulation of the economy, and the introduction of some tax reforms to that end. For 1997, the annual growth rate of GDP was 3.4 against 2.6 for the Union as a whole. The prospects for the years to come are favourable too (OECD, 1997).

Nonetheless, unemployment, at 21 per cent, remains the highest in the EU. The government, for political reasons, has made only limited progress in changing labour laws or reforming pension schemes, which are the key to the sustainability of both Spain's internal economic advances and its competitiveness in a single currency area (CIA Factbook, 1999).

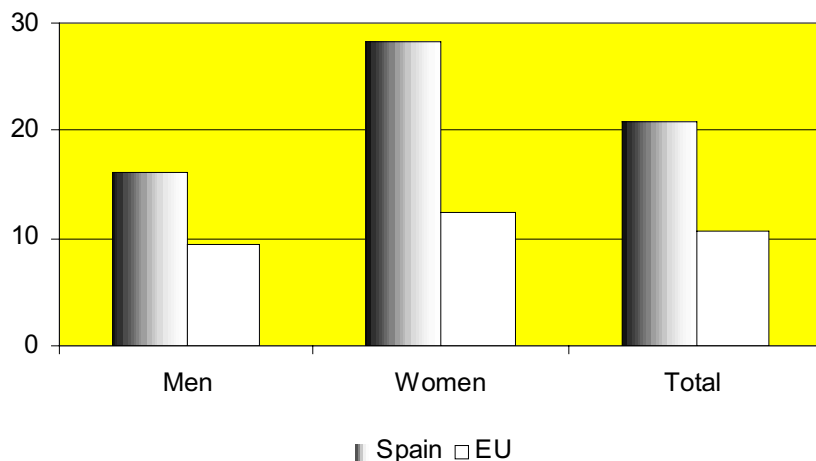
According to Figure 4.13, unemployment affects women much more than men. However, the phenomenon of non-employment requires careful interpretation when drawing conclusions about economic welfare. In countries such as Spain and Italy, high non-employment rates can probably be sustained since many unemployed and inactive individuals share a dwelling with someone in employment which softens the impact of unemployment on households (OECD, 1998).

Figure 4.12 Annual growth of real GDP, 1985-1997, Spain (%)



Source: OECD, 1998.

Figure 4.13 Percentage unemployed in the labour force, 1997, Spain

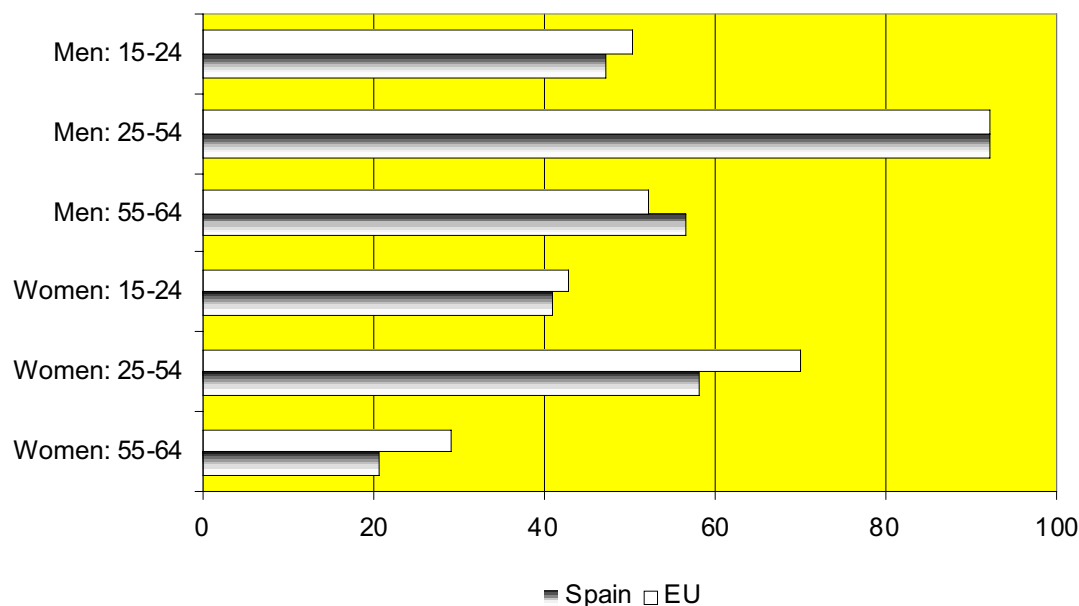


Source: OECD, 1998.

The labour force participation rates in Figure 4.14 emphasise the differences between men and women in Spain. Participation in the labour force, especially among women aged 25 and older, is much lower than in the other countries of the Union. For men the patterns are more similar. It is remarkable that older men show a higher participation rate in Spain than in the Union as a whole.

Finally, as in Italy, high unemployment seems to contradict high (illegal) immigration. Apparently, the Spanish labour market also offers various opportunities to (undocumented) migrants.

Figure 4.14 Labour force participation by sex and age, 1997, Spain (%)



Source: OECD, 1998.

4.4 Turkey

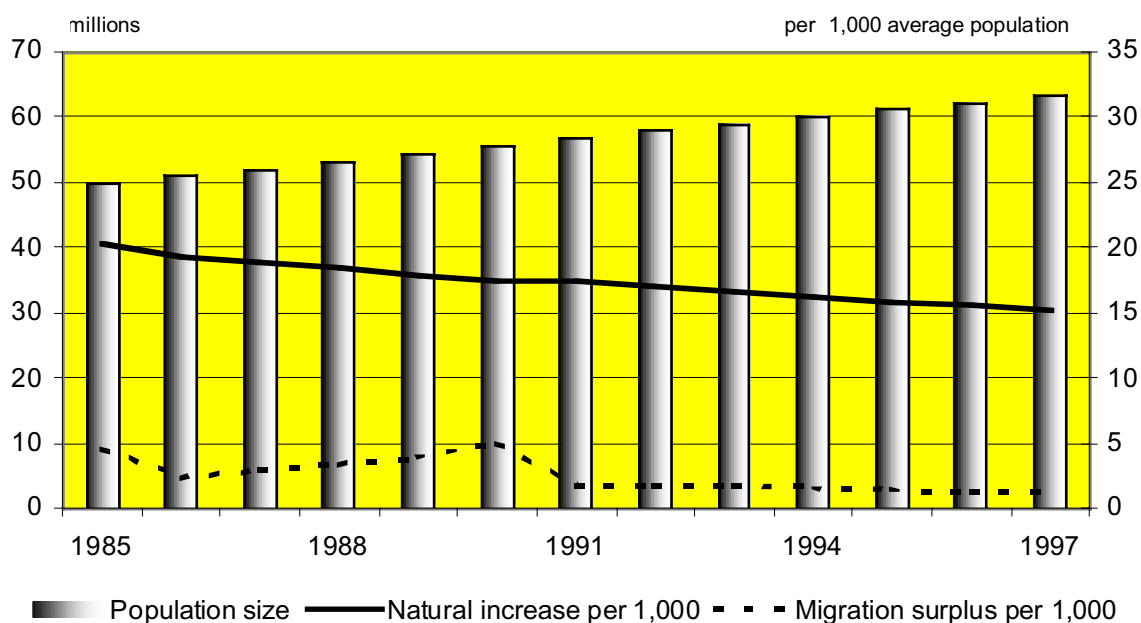
At the beginning of 1998, the estimated population of Turkey was 64.3 million, which is slightly higher than that of Egypt or Iran, the two large countries of the Middle East. In 1997, total population growth was 1.6 per cent, mainly due to natural increase (Figure 4.15).

From 1970 to 1990, the total fertility rate decreased rapidly from 5.6 to 3.0. In the 1990s the decline continued at a lower pace (1996: 2.5). It is expected that the so-called replacement level (that is, a total fertility rate of 2.1) will be reached within a few years. The consequences of the fertility decline for the age structure of the population are clearly visible in Figure 4.16. Nevertheless, Turkey still has a young and hence rapidly expanding population. More than half of the Turkish population is under the age of 25.

Improvements, especially in infant survival rates, have made a large contribution to raising the general expectation of life at birth, from 66 years for women and 63 for men in 1989 to 71 years for women and 66 for men in 1996. The infant mortality rate declined continuously, from about 250 per thousand live births in 1950 to 42 in 1996 (see also Table 4.1). This development is generally credited to lower fertility, improved living conditions, and education among mothers, as well as health services and special immunisation campaigns (OECD, 1998).

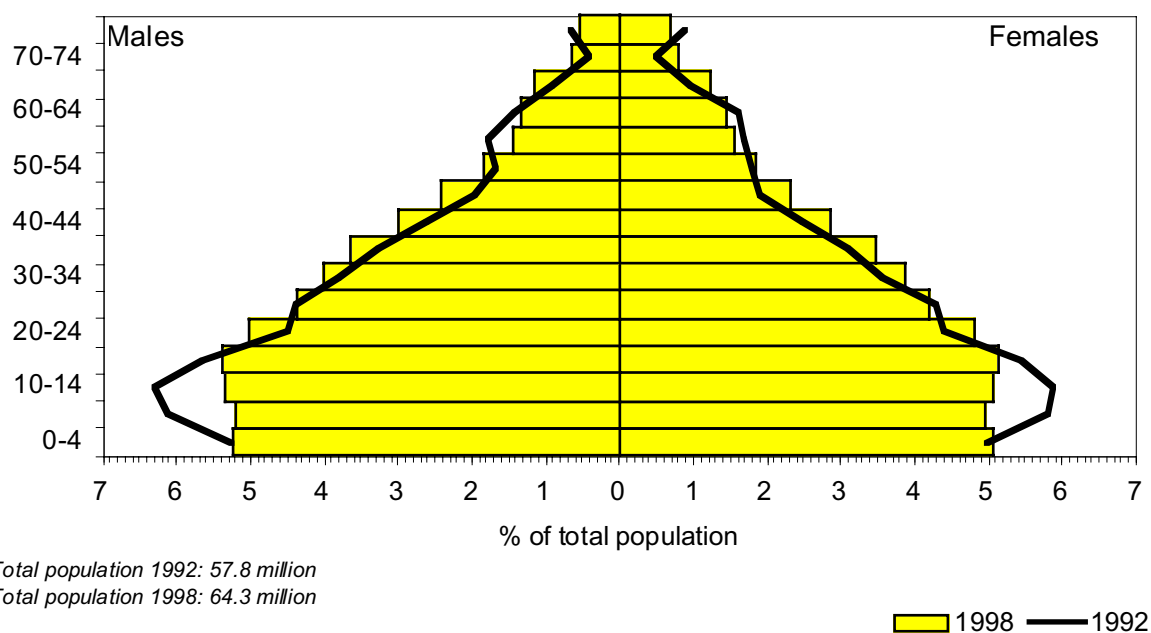
The population of Turkey incorporates two main ethnic groups: Turks and Kurds. Estimates of the size of the latter group vary. For instance, Özsoy *et al.* (1992) arrive at an estimate of approximately 12 per cent in 1992, based on census data on the population with Kurdish as the mother tongue or as the second language. Estimates as high as 20 per cent are also quoted (CIA Factbook, 1999; source of the estimate not documented). Turkish is the official language, Kurdish and Arabic are also spoken. Practically all are Muslim, mostly Sunni Muslim (CIA Factbook, 1999). Ankara is the capital, but Istanbul is the largest city with over ten million inhabitants. More than 70 per cent of the population lives in urban areas (World Bank, 1998)

Figure 4.15 Population change, 1985-1997, Turkey



Source: Council of Europe, 1998.

Figure 4.16 Age distribution on 1 January 1992 and 1998, Turkey



Source: Council of Europe, 1998.

Table 4.1 Some demographic and health indicators, Turkey

Topic	Year(s)	Unity	
Urban population	1997	% of total population	72
Life expectancy at birth			
males	1996	years	66
females	1996	years	71
Total fertility rate	1996	per woman	2.6
Maternal mortality ratio	1990/96	per 100,000 live births	180
Infant mortality rate	1996	per 1,000 live births	42
Adult illiteracy rate			
males	1995	% of all males aged 15+	8
females	1995	% of all females aged 15+	28
Children aged 10-14 in labour force	1997	% of all children aged 10-14	22
Access to sanitation	1995	% of total population	94
Access to safe water			
urban areas	1995	% of population in urban areas	98
rural areas	1995	% of population in rural areas	85

Source: World Bank, 1998; State Institute of Statistics, Ankara.

During the 1960s, when European countries, particularly Germany, started recruiting Turkish workers, large numbers of Turks went to Europe for work. Because of its alleviating impact on unemployment and its improving effects on the balance of payment through workers' remittances, successive Turkish governments supported emigration.

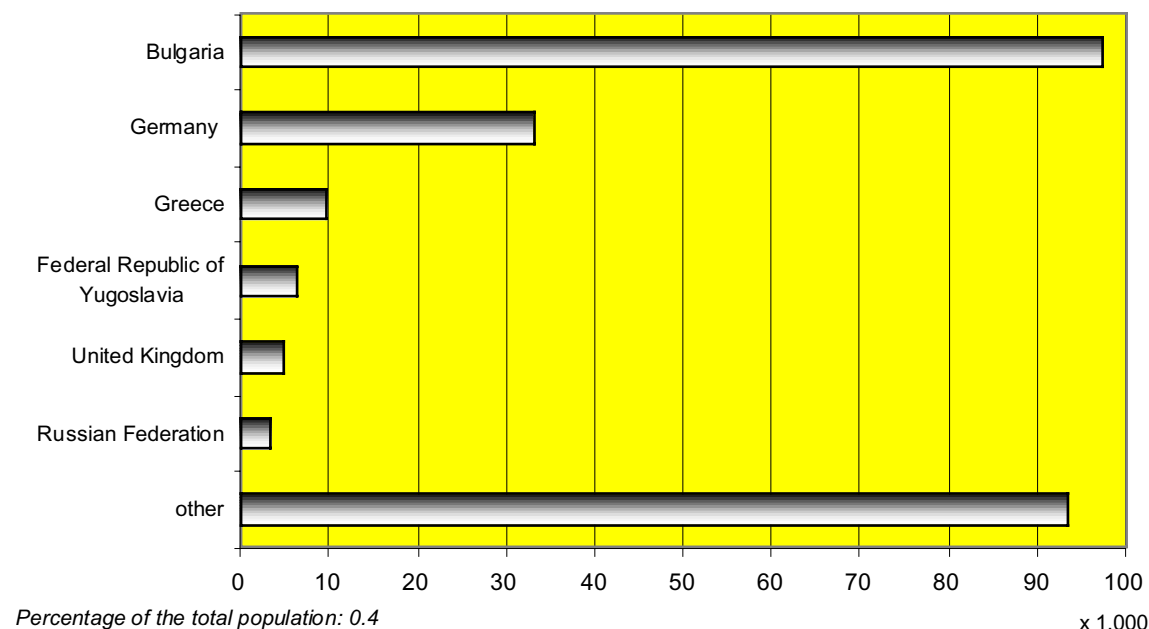
Although labour migration to Western Europe came to a halt in the early 1970s, migration has continued in the form of family reunification and family formation (through marriage) in subsequent years. In addition, two other forms of migration can be observed. Firstly, politically motivated migration, particularly the Kurds since the mid-1980s, and secondly, clandestine labour migration (Koray, 1996).

Despite the now considerably lower levels of emigration from Turkey to western countries, the net figure is still positive. In addition, in the 1990s the Commonwealth of Independent States emerged as new destination countries for Turkish migrants. Most of today's Turkish labour migration takes place to the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) along with North African and Gulf countries (Koray, 1996).

The above mentioned developments may suggest a major annual net migration deficit for Turkey. However in practice, as can be seen in Figure 4.15, there has been a slight positive migration balance in the past ten years. In addition to the considerable numbers of return migrants (Içduygu, 1996), this appears to be due to important movements into Turkey in recent years from neighbouring countries, including Bulgaria, countries south and east of Turkey, and the Turkic Republics of the former Soviet Union. Altogether, estimates show that there was a net international inflow of at least 500 thousand between 1985 and 1990 (OECD, 1998).

The most recent data on the foreign population in Turkey relate to the census of 1990. At that time there were approximately 250 thousand foreign citizens living in Turkey, less than half a per cent of the total population. Indeed, the most numerous category were Bulgarians (almost 100 thousand, mainly ethnic Turks). Figure 4.17 shows some more details.

Figure 4.17 Foreign population in Turkey, 21 October 1990

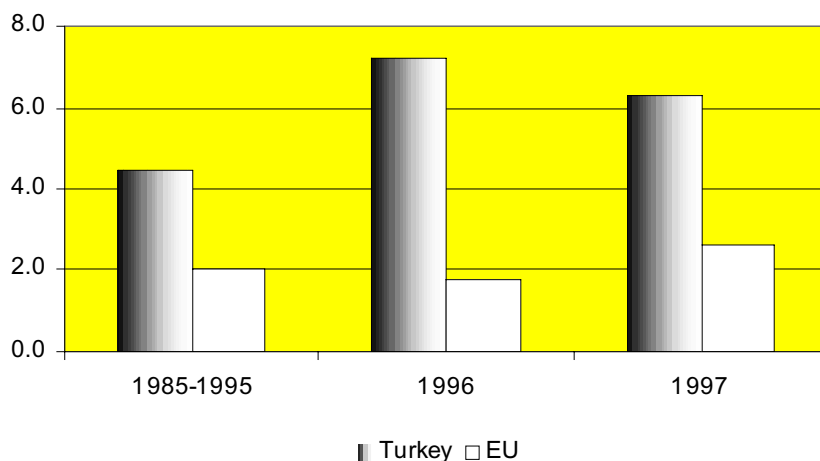


Source: Council of Europe, 1998.

After the census of 1990, Turkey experienced various migration pressures, from Iraq (especially Kurds), from Bosnia and also from African and Asian countries. However, for most of these migrants Turkey was not the final destination but only a transit country. With its liberal visa policy, its geographical proximity to Europe and living standards close to European norms, Turkey has increasingly become a transit zone for of asylum-seekers and other (often illegal) migrants (IOM, 1996).

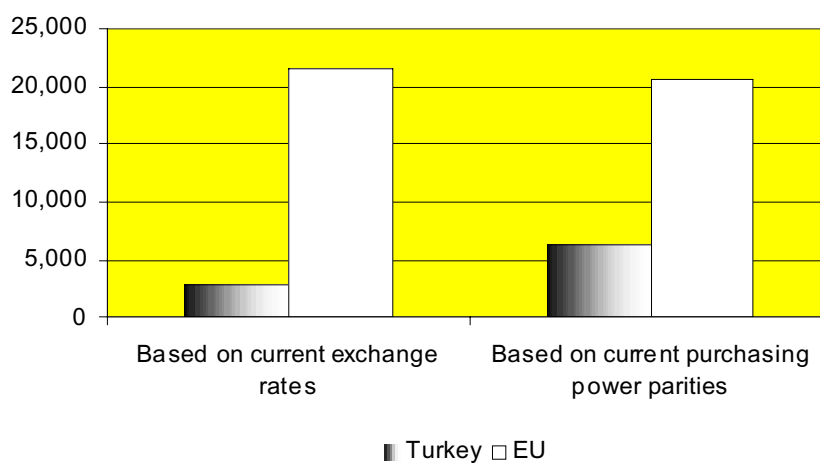
From an economic point of view, major changes have occurred in Turkey since 1980. During the 1960s and 1970s, labour migration was regarded as a means to reduce unemployment and to decrease the deficit in the balance of payments. Workers' remittances made up on average 34 per cent of Turkey's total import values in the 1970s (Turkish Central Bank, 1986). Beginning in 1980, the so-called import-substituting strategy was replaced by an export-oriented strategy. Furthermore, the development of private enterprises was encouraged (Koray, 1996). These policy changes led to remarkable export growth and economic growth (Figure 4.18). However, despite these improvements, the welfare gap and perceived income differences between Turkey and Europe have remained considerable. Based on current exchange rates, the 1997 per capita GDP in Turkey is only 13 per cent of the average level in the European Union. In terms of purchasing power parities the percentage is 31 (Figure 4.19).

Figure 4.18 Annual growth of real GDP, 1985-1997, Turkey (%)



Source: OECD, 1998.

Figure 4.19 GDP per capita in US dollars, 1997, Turkey



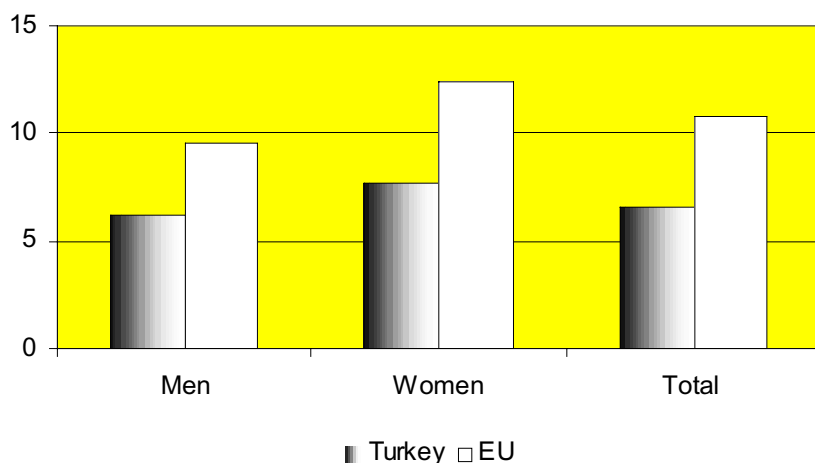
Source: OECD, 1999.

According to Figure 4.20, the official unemployment rate in Turkey is lower than in the European Union, for both men and women. It is believed, however, that 10 to 20 per cent of

the working age population are underemployed or working in the marginal sectors of the economy (Martin, 1991). The majority of the unemployed are young people under the age of 25.

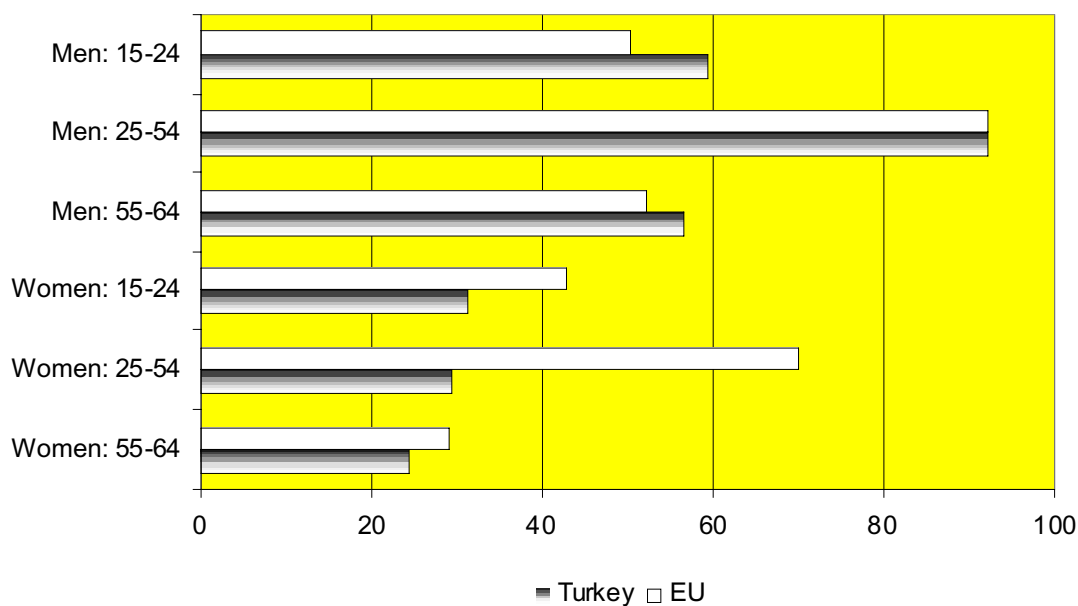
Other than men between 25 and 55, labour force participation rates in Turkey are much lower than in the EU (Figure 4.21). The difference is striking for women aged 25-54 years.

Figure 4.20 Percentage unemployed in the labour force, 1997, Turkey



Source: OECD, 1998.

Figure 4.21 Labour force participation by sex and age, 1997, Turkey (%)



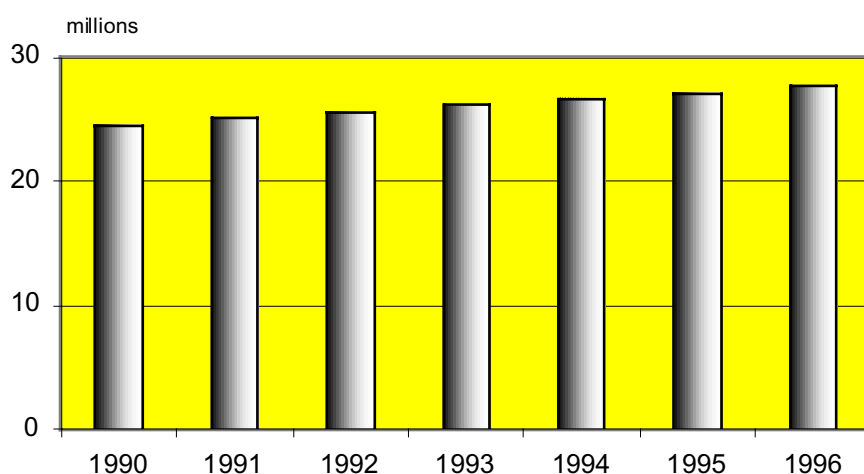
Source: OECD, 1998.

4.5 Morocco

The mid-1996 population of Morocco was estimated at 27.6 million (Figure 4.22). In comparison with the year before, this gives a population growth of 500 thousand (1.9 per cent). Recently, annual population growth has been slightly lower than in the previous year.

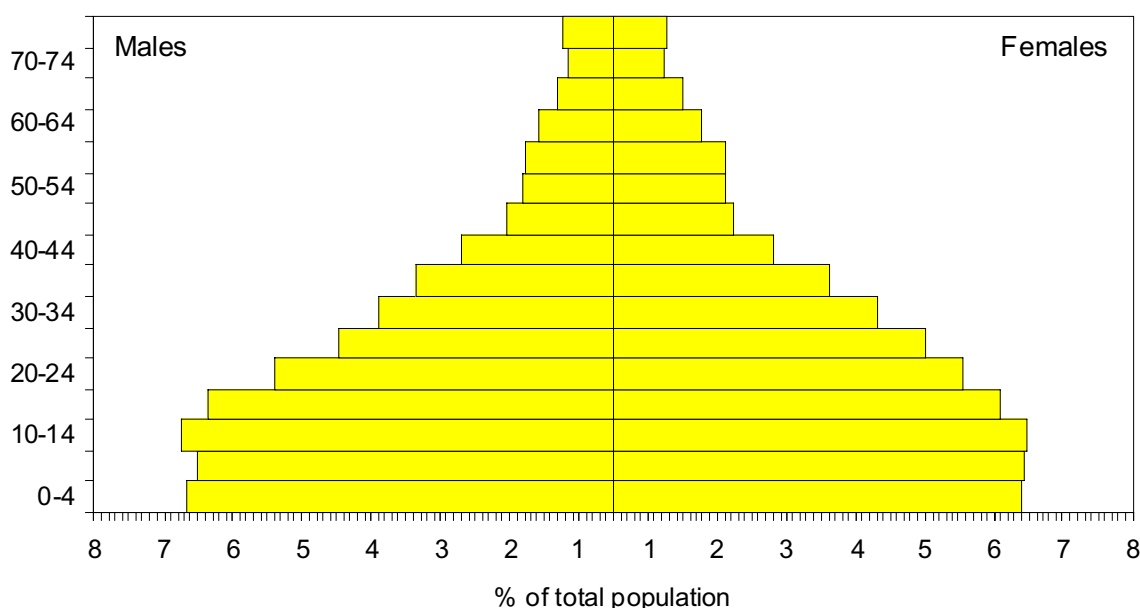
Although recent and reliable data are lacking, it may be assumed that the current net population growth in Morocco is a result of positive natural increase and negative external migration. The main reason why population growth is slowing down seems to be a decline in fertility. Family planning policy, introduced by the Moroccan authorities in 1966, has contributed to a sharp fall in fertility rates, from almost 6 in the second half of the 1970s to 3.3 in 1996 (see also Table 4.2). This development is confirmed by the changing structure of the age pyramid (Figure 4.23).

Figure 4.22 Population change, Morocco



Source: World Resources Institute *et al.*, 1998.

Figure 4.23 Age distribution on 1 July 1995, Morocco



Total population 1995: 27.1 million

Source: United Nations, 1998.

Table 4.2 Some demographic and health indicators, Morocco

Topic	Year(s)	Unity	
Urban population	1997	% of total population	53
Life expectancy at birth			
males	1996	years	64
females	1996	years	68
Total fertility rate	1996	per woman	3.3
Maternal mortality ratio	1990/96	per 100,000 live births	372
Infant mortality rate	1996	per 1,000 live births	53
Adult illiteracy rate			
males	1995	% of all males aged 15+	43
females	1995	% of all females aged 15+	69
Children aged 10-14 in labour force	1997	% of all children aged 10-14	4
Access to sanitation	1995	% of total population	40
Access to safe water			
urban areas	1995	% of population in urban areas	98
rural areas	1995	% of population in rural areas	14

Source: World Bank, 1998.

Of course, another important demographic trend is the decrease in mortality: in less than 20 years general life expectancy at birth went up from 55 to 66 years. Infant mortality halved in this period. In comparison with other African countries surveyed, the current maternal mortality ratio is moderate, lower than in Ghana and Senegal but higher than in Egypt. However, measured in European terms, this ratio is still very high (period 1990-1996: Morocco 372, against e.g. Spain only 7).

About half of the Moroccan population lives in urban areas. The largest cities are Casablanca, Rabat, Marrakech and Fès. Practically all Moroccan inhabitants belong to either the Arab or the Berber ethnic group; and almost all are Muslims. Arabic is the official language. Several Berber languages are spoken. French is often the language of business, government and diplomacy (CIA Factbook, 1999).

Illiteracy rates are high, especially among women (almost 70 per cent in 1995). One of the consequences (or causes) of the lack of education is the prevalence of children in the labour force. However, the official figure of four per cent of all children in the labour force aged 10-14 is relatively low compared to the other survey countries in Africa.

Of the various health indicators that can be determined, two are presented in Table 4.2. Less than half of the population appears to have access to sanitation. As regards access to safe water, there is a poignant contrast between the urban areas (98 per cent) and the rural areas (14 per cent).

Since the 1960s, there has been an emigration movement of Moroccan workers heading mainly for France which recruited several tens of thousands of unskilled workers over a period of about 15 years. Other European countries also sought to recruit Moroccans, such as Belgium, the Netherlands and, to a lesser extent Germany. For the Moroccan authorities this emigration fitted with their strategy of coping with high unemployment and benefiting from migrants' remittances, which were greatly needed to reduce the deficit of the balance of

payments. For example, in 1991, Moroccan migrants' remittances amounted to 8 per cent of the GDP and 80 per cent of the deficit in the balance of goods and services (Berrada, 1993).

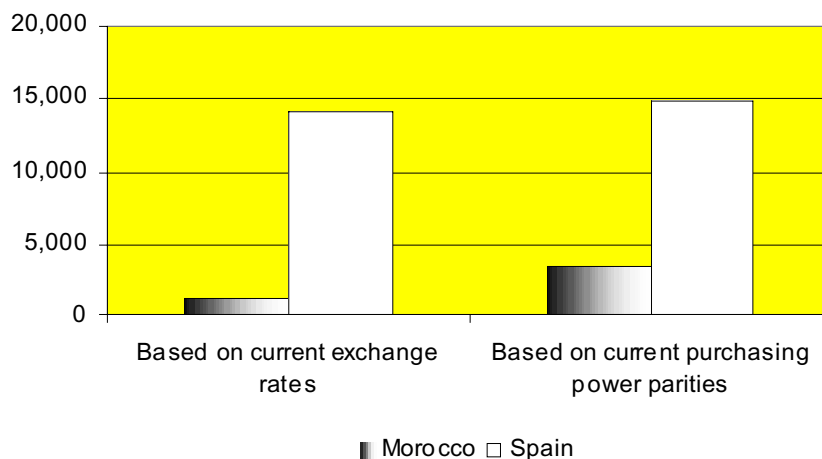
After recruitment of labour migrants in the early and mid-1970s ceased, migration flows continued through family reunion and, later, family formation (by marriage). However, given frequent visits to Morocco and the continuing increase in the transfer of funds to emigrants' families, the attachment of Moroccans to their country has generally not diminished. The strength of family solidarity also explains the emergence of migratory networks which have made it possible to maintain migration to European countries, in spite of the drastic measures taken by the host countries to control those flows. However, the very limited options of emigrating (legally) to Western Europe countries have forced potential candidates to switch to other destinations and to devise various subterfuges in order to emigrate, sometimes at the cost of their lives (Berrada, 1993).

According to Eurostat data, most Moroccan citizens within the European Union live in France (1990: 573 thousand), the Netherlands (1996: 150 thousand), Belgium (1996: 140 thousand), Italy (1993: 96 thousand), Germany (1996: 82 thousand) and Spain (1996: 75 thousand).

Facing the problems that are typical for developing countries, Morocco is trying to restrain government spending, to reduce constraints on private activity and foreign trade, and to keep inflation within manageable bounds (CIA Factbook, 1999). Per capita GDP based on current exchange rates is less than ten per cent of the level in Spain; based on purchasing power rates it is almost one quarter of the Spanish level (Figure 4.24). The World Bank (1998) indicates that one out of every five Moroccans has less than two US dollars a day on which to survive (measured in 1985 international prices). However, this figure is much lower than for example in Senegal and Egypt.

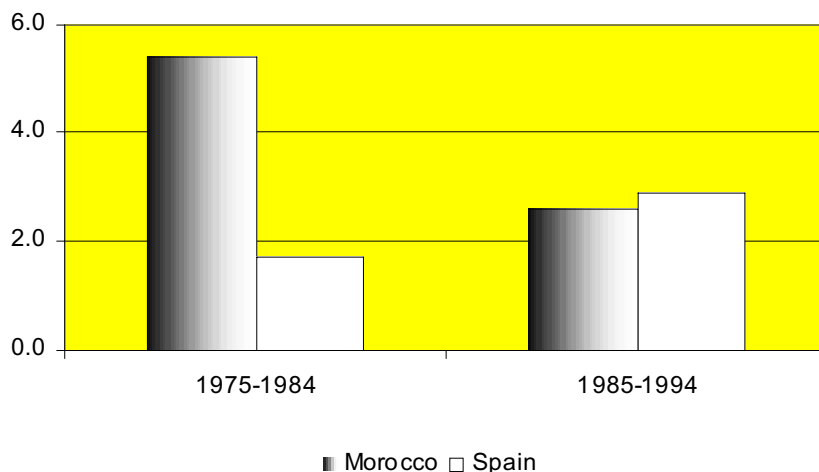
Like other African countries, Morocco experienced high GDP growth rates from the mid-1970s to the mid-1980s and moderate growth rates thereafter (Figure 4.25). The current rates are hardly sufficient to balance population growth, implying that per capita GDP remains at about the same level. In 1997 there was even a decline of real GDP (2.2 per cent) caused by drought conditions which depressed activity in the key agricultural sector, holding down exports (CIA Factbook, 1999).

Figure 4.24 GDP per capita in US dollars, 1995, Morocco



Source: World Resources Institute *et al.*, 1998.

Figure 4.25 Annual growth of real GDP, 1975-1994, Morocco (%)



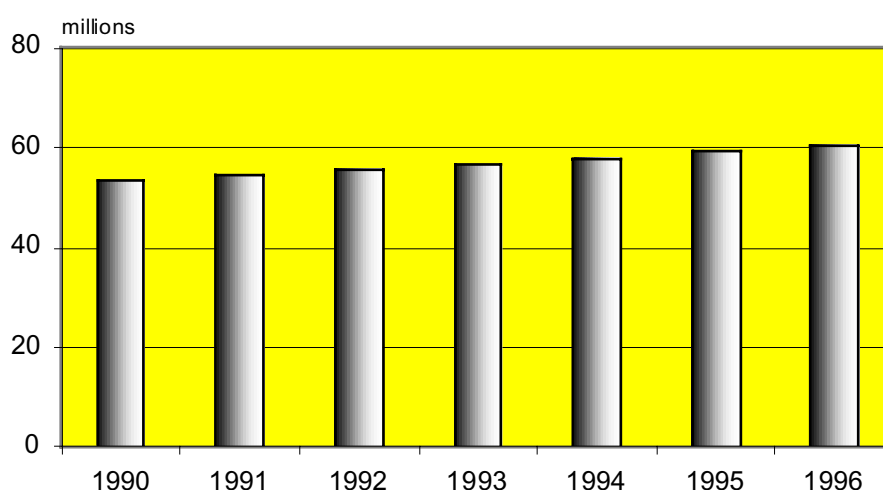
Source: World Resources Institute *et al.*, 1998.

Unemployment is high in Morocco: for 1997 the official unemployment rate was estimated at 16 per cent (CIA Factbook, 1999). However, in reality, the situation was worse because of large-scale underemployment. About half of the labour force is employed in the agricultural sector. In view of the hazards connected with the climatic conditions, jobs in agriculture are vulnerable: drought has been a powerful factor leading to migration from rural to urban areas (Berrada, 1993).

4.6 Egypt

Egypt has the largest population in the Middle East. In mid-1996 it was estimated at 60 million (Figure 4.26). Population growth has fallen from 2.8 per cent in 1985 to 2.5 per cent in 1991 and 2.1 per cent in 1995. It is expected to decline to less than 2.0 per cent by the end of the century. Continued commitment to family planning campaigns, backed by donor assistance, and media emphasis on the advantages of smaller families have resulted in lower fertility rates (Farrag, 1996).

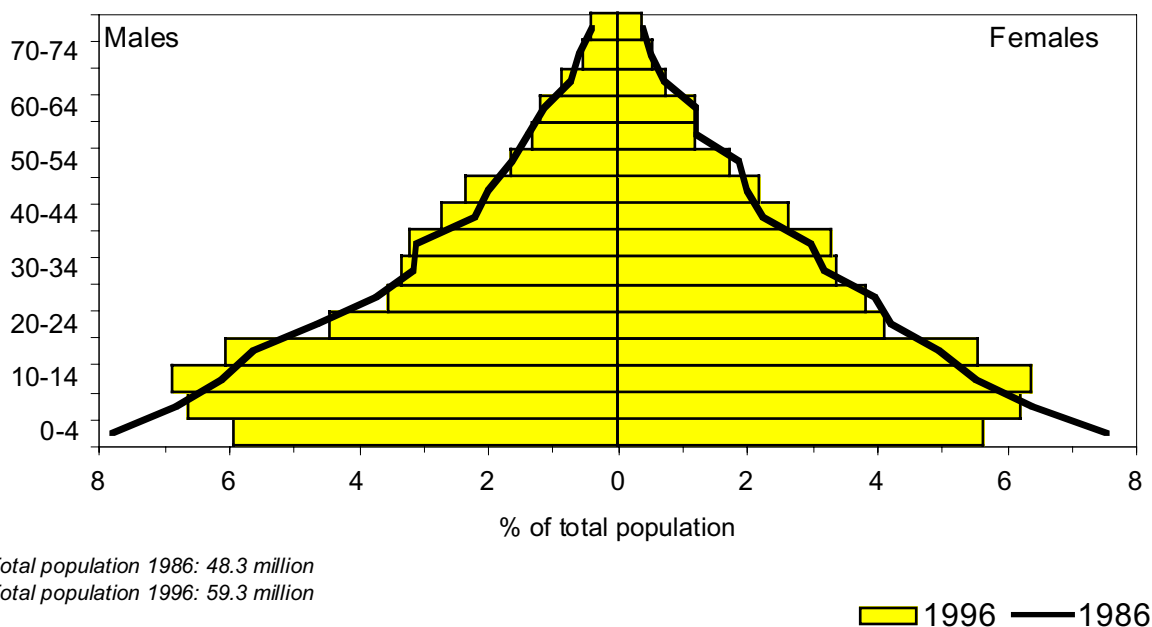
Figure 4.26 Population change, 1990-1996, Egypt



Source: World Resources Institute *et al.*, 1998.

The total fertility rate decreased from 5.1 in 1980 to 3.3 in 1996. This is clearly demonstrated by the change in the population pyramid over the past ten years (Figure 4.27). In 1996, life expectancy at birth was 64 years for males and 67 years for females (Table 4.3). This is higher than the life expectancies in Ghana and Senegal, almost the same as in Morocco, and somewhat lower than life expectancy in Turkey.

Figure 4.27 Age distribution in 1986 and 1996 (census dates), Egypt



Source: CAPMAS, Cairo.

Table 4.3 Some demographic and health indicators, Egypt

Topic	Year(s)	Unity	
Urban population	1997	% of total population	45
Life expectancy at birth			
males	1996	years	64
females	1996	years	67
Total fertility rate	1996	per woman	3.3
Maternal mortality ratio	1990/96	per 100,000 live births	170
Infant mortality rate	1996	per 1,000 live births	53
Adult illiteracy rate			
males	1995	% of all males aged 15+	36
females	1995	% of all females aged 15+	61
Children aged 10-14 in labour force	1997	% of all children aged 10-14	10
Access to sanitation	1995	% of total population	11
Access to safe water			
urban areas	1995	% of population in urban areas	82
rural areas	1995	% of population in rural areas	50

Sources: CAPMAS, Cairo; World Bank, 1998.

During the period 1990-1996, 170 mothers in Egypt died per 100 thousand live births. This maternal mortality ratio is high compared to European countries (e.g. Italy: 12) but low compared to other African countries (for example Ghana: 740; Senegal: 510). Similar conclusions apply with regard to the infant mortality rate that decreased from 120 in 1980 to 53 in 1996.

Almost half of the Egyptian population (45 per cent) lives in urban areas. The majority of the urban population is concentrated in the two largest cities, Cairo and Alexandria. Ethnic groups are predominantly Egyptians, Bedouins and Berbers (together 99 per cent). The vast majority of the population (94 per cent) is Muslim, mostly Sunni. Arabic is the official language. English and French are widely understood by educated classes (CIA Factbook, 1999).

The educational level in Egypt is low, especially for females. Although the proportion of girls in primary education increased from 38 per cent in 1971 to 44 per cent in 1986, illiteracy rates among women are still very high (61 per cent in 1995) and tend to be concentrated in the poorer rural areas in Upper Egypt. This goes some way to explaining the low female labour force participation rate, which was estimated at ten per cent in 1990 (Farrag, 1996). Another cause or consequence of the lack of education is the prevalence of labour among children aged 10 to 14.

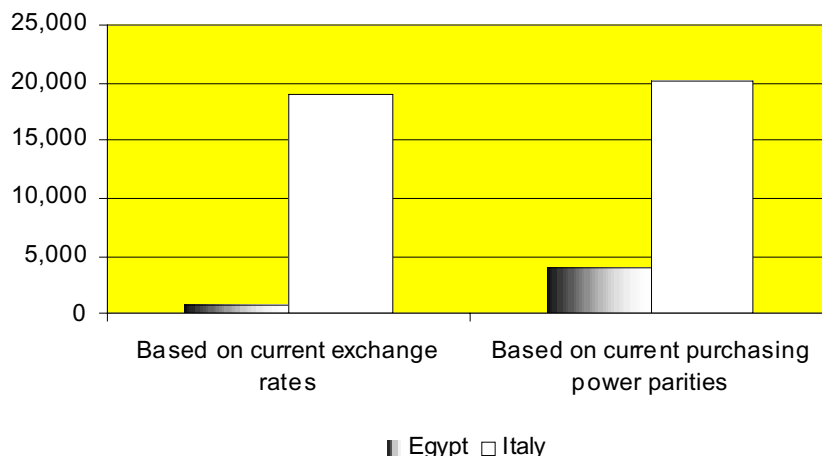
Of the various health indicators that can be determined, two are presented in Table 4.3. The first is access to sanitation, the second access to safe water. Only a small minority of the population appears to have access to sanitation. For most other African countries this situation is more favourable. Egypt scores better for access to safe water: in urban areas more than 80 per cent.

For Egypt, emigration has always been much more important than immigration. According to the U.S. Department of State (1997), about two million Egyptians live abroad. Economic motives are dominant. From the mid-1960s to the mid-1970s, mostly unskilled rural labourers left Egypt. In more recent times, when Saudi Arabia became their favourite destination, the proportion of skilled migrants strongly increased (Farrag, 1996). Within the European Union, most Egyptian citizens live in Italy (1994: 19 thousand), Germany (1996: 13 thousand), Greece (1996: 7 thousand) and France (1990: 6 thousand).

Compared to for example Italy, GDP per capita in Egypt is very low (Figure 4.28). A large proportion of the population lives in poverty. According to the World Bank (1998) about half of the Egyptian population has less than two US dollars a day (measured in 1985 international prices) on which to survive. From the mid-1970s to the mid-1980s, Egypt experienced high GDP growth rates (Figure 4.29). However, from the mid-1980s, Egypt's overall economic growth rate has been reduced to just over two per cent. This is hardly sufficient to balance population growth, implying that per capita GDP remains at about the same level.

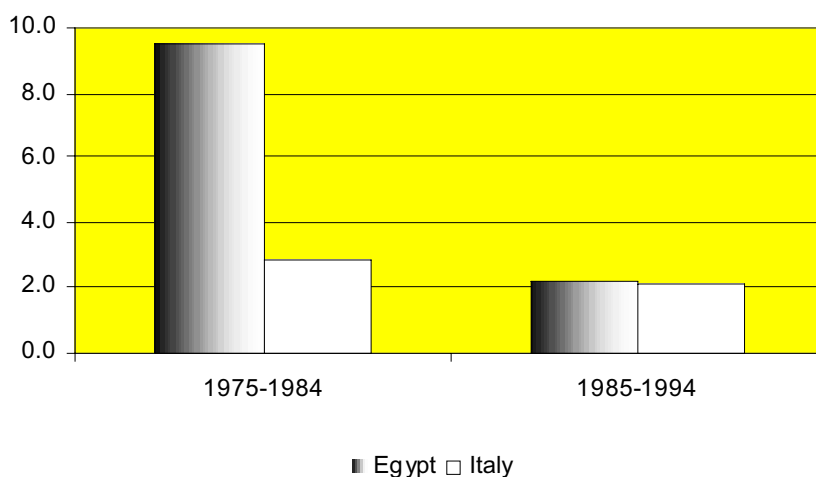
Unemployment estimates vary. Results from Labour Force Sample Survey indicate an unemployment rate of 17 per cent in 1992 (Farrag, 1996), although other sources show lower estimates of 9-10 per cent, for the second half of the 1990s (Census, and CIA Factbook, 1999). In view of this, and the low standard of living, the pressure to migrate is likely to continue in the medium and long term. Since many Egyptians have already migrated in search of better living conditions, the importance of remittances for Egypt's economy has increased tremendously. Foreign exchange earnings from remittances in 1992/93 exceeded the sum of the proceeds from oil exports, Suez Canal dues and tourism (Farrag, 1996).

Figure 4.28 GDP per capita in US dollars, 1995, Egypt



Source: World Resources Institute *et al.*, 1998.

Figure 4.29 Annual growth of real GDP, 1975-1994, Egypt (%)



Source: World Resources Institute *et al.*, 1998.

4.7 Ghana

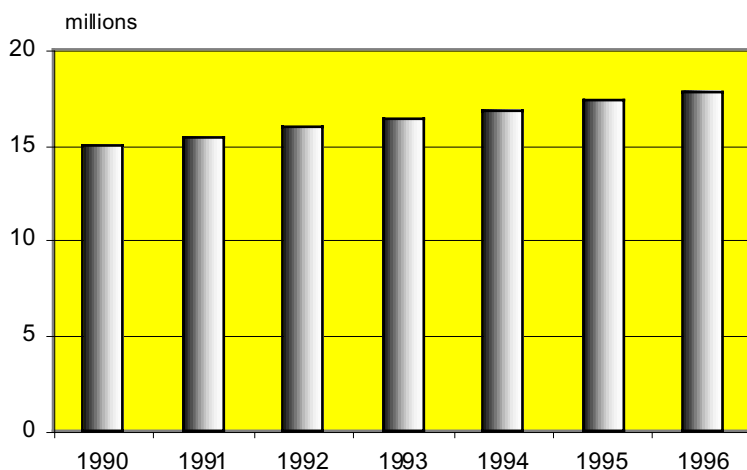
The Republic of Ghana became the first black African colony to gain independence, in 1957. The current population is estimated at about 19 million. Population growth is around three per cent per year and tends to decrease (Figure 4.30). Although there are no recent reliable data, it may be assumed that this growth results from a considerable positive natural increase and a modest negative migration balance.

For 1996, the total fertility rate per woman is estimated at 5.0 (Table 4.4). Compared to other African countries in the survey, this rate is much higher than in Egypt and Morocco and somewhat lower than in Senegal. Similar to the general trend, the total fertility rate in Ghana is rapidly decreasing (from 6.1 in 1992 to 4.3 in 1998; CIA Factbook, 1999).

The high fertility level is reflected in the age structure (Figure 4.31). Almost half of the population in 1998 was younger than 15; only three per cent was 65 or older.⁶

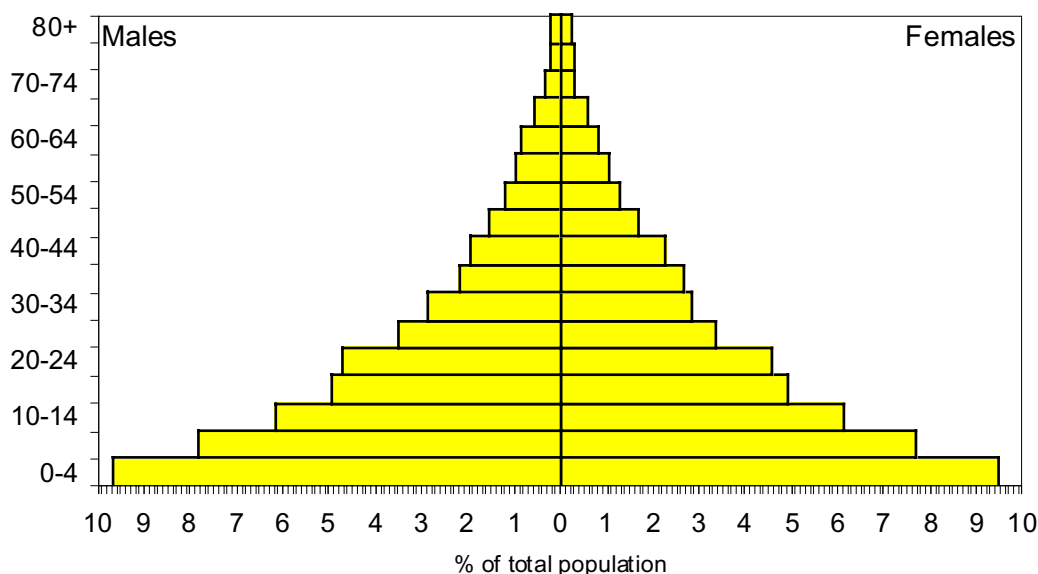
⁶ Because of significant differences between the sources used for Figure 4.31 and Figure 4.30, the latter series have not been extended to 1998.

Figure 4.30 Population change, 1990-1996, Ghana



Source: World Resources Institute *et al.*, 1998.

Figure 4.31 Age distribution in 1998, Ghana



Total population 1998: 19.6 million

Source: University of Ghana, 1999.

However, in view of improved life expectancy at birth, the latter percentage will undoubtedly rise in the coming years. For men, life expectancy at birth in 1996 was 57 years, for women 61 years.

Between 1990 and 1996, 740 mothers in Ghana died per 100 thousand live births. This maternal mortality ratio is highest of the African countries surveyed. The same conclusion applies to the infant mortality rate (71 per thousand live births in 1996).

Although Ghana used to attract many migrants from other African countries to work in cocoa production, due to economic crises it has now become a major emigration country. It is estimated that about ten per cent of the Ghanaian population live abroad, especially in Nigeria (Adepoju, 1995). As a consequence of historic colonial ties, most Ghanaians within the European Union live in the United Kingdom (1996: 31 thousand), followed by Germany (22 thousand).

Table 4.4 Some demographic and health indicators, Ghana

Topic	Year(s)	Unity	
Urban population	1997	% of total population	37
Life expectancy at birth			
males	1996	years	57
females	1996	years	61
Total fertility rate	1996	per woman	5.0
Maternal mortality ratio	1990/96	per 100,000 live births	740
Infant mortality rate	1996	per 1,000 live births	71
Adult illiteracy rate			
males	1995	% of all males aged 15+	24
females	1995	% of all females aged 15+	47
Children aged 10-14 in labour force	1997	% of all children aged 10-14	13
Access to sanitation	1995	% of total population	27
Access to safe water			
urban areas	1995	% of population in urban areas	70
rural areas	1995	% of population in rural areas	49

Source: World Bank, 1998.

Another factor affecting Ghana's demography was refugee movements. By the end of 1994, approximately 110 thousand refugees resided in Ghana. About 90 thousand were Togolese who had fled political violence in their homeland beginning in early 1993. Most Togolese had settled in the Volta Region among their ethnic kinsmen. About 20 thousand Liberians were living in Ghana by the end of 1994, having fled the civil war in their country. Many were long-term residents. As a result of ethnic fighting in northeastern Ghana in early 1994, at least 20 thousand Ghanaians from an original group of 150 thousand were still internally displaced at the end of the year. About five thousand had taken up residence in Togo because of the strife (Ghana homepage, 1999).

Ghanaians come from six main ethnic groups. The Akan (Ashanti and Fanti) are the most numerous group, followed by the Mole-Dagbane, the Ewe, the Ga-Adangbe, the Guan, and the Gurma. Half of the population is Christian, one third follows a traditional religion, the rest (13 per cent) is Muslim. English is the official language. Ga is the main native language. Fanti, Hausa, Fantéewe, Gaadanhe, Akan, Dagbandim and Mampusi are also spoken (CIA Factbook, 1999).

As part of the 1988 economic reform measures, the government of Ghana initiated a functional literacy programme. As a result of the success of the programme's pilot phase, it was expanded nation-wide in 1991. The Non-Formal Education Division (NFED) of the Ministry of Education was established and given the responsibility for the programme aimed at reducing the illiteracy rate within a decade and helping the 5.6 million illiterates become functionally literate by the year 2000 (Buagbe, 1999). In view of the relatively low illiteracy rates, in African terms, this programme has been quite successful.

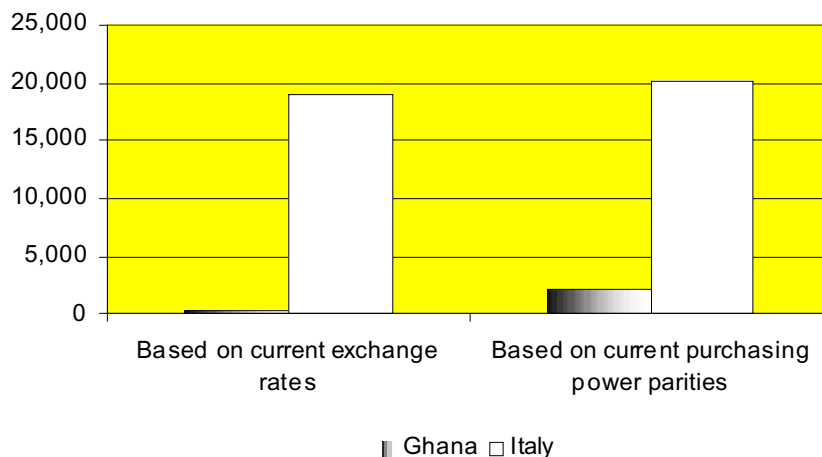
About one third of the population live in urban areas. Most of the population is concentrated in the southern part of the country, with the highest densities occurring in urban areas and cocoa-producing areas. The largest regions in terms of population are Ashanti (about 2 million), Eastern (about 1.7 million) and Greater Accra (about 1.5 million).

Though well endowed with natural resources, Ghana belongs to the poorer countries in West Africa. Based on current exchange rates, the GDP per capita in 1995 was only 364 US dollars (Figure 4.32). This is barely two per cent of for example the Italian level. Measured in power purchasing parities, the GDP per capita in Ghana in 1995 was 2,030 US dollars (ten per cent of the Italian figure).

Ghana is heavily dependent on international financial and technical assistance. Gold, timber and cocoa production are major sources of foreign exchange. The domestic economy continues to revolve around subsistence agriculture, which accounts for 41 per cent of GDP and employs 60 per cent of the work force, mainly small landholders. From the mid-1970s to the mid-1980s, Ghana averaged negative GDP growth rates (Figure 4.33). Devastating drought periods undoubtedly contributed to this development. However, since the mid-1980s, Ghana's overall economic growth rate has recovered to more than four per cent.

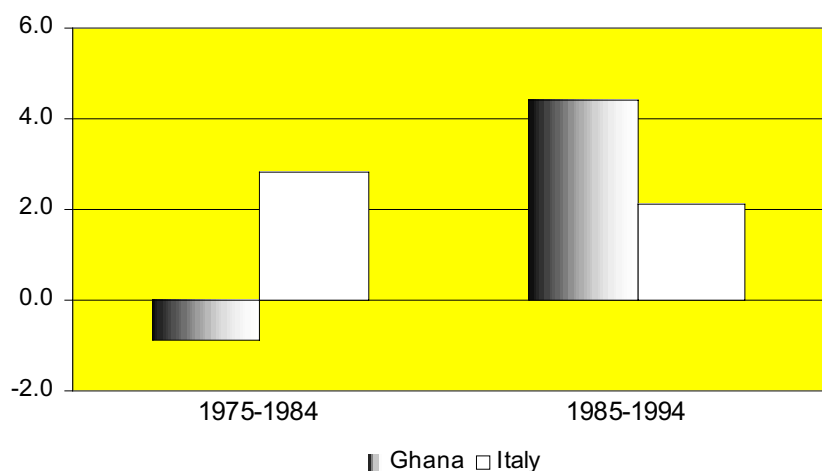
Most government efforts to restore productivity in the Ghanaian economy have been directed toward boosting the country's exports. In particular, the export sector regained some strength by the early 1990s with a resurgence in cocoa, gold, and timber exports. However, although exports have increased, they have been offset by rising imports, with the result that Ghanaians are increasingly subjected to higher prices (CIA Factbook, 1999).

Figure 4.32 GDP per capita in US dollars, 1995, Ghana



Source: World Resources Institute *et al.*, 1998.

Figure 4.33 Annual growth of real GDP, 1975-1994, Ghana (%)



Source: World Resources Institute *et al.*, 1998.

Unemployment was estimated at about 20 per cent in 1997. Despite the revival of the export sector, most Ghanaians continue to find employment with the government or to rely on informal employment for their livelihood (Ghana homepage, 1999).

4.8 Senegal

Senegal has been independent from France since 1960. According to the most recent estimates, the mid-1998 population size of Senegal was 9.7 million (CIA Factbook, 1999). The same source states that the annual growth from mid-1997 to mid-1998 amounted to 3.3 per cent. As this rate was on average 2.7 per cent between 1990 and 1996, this implies an increased growth rate, opposite to the general trend in the other African countries in the survey (see Figure 4.34).

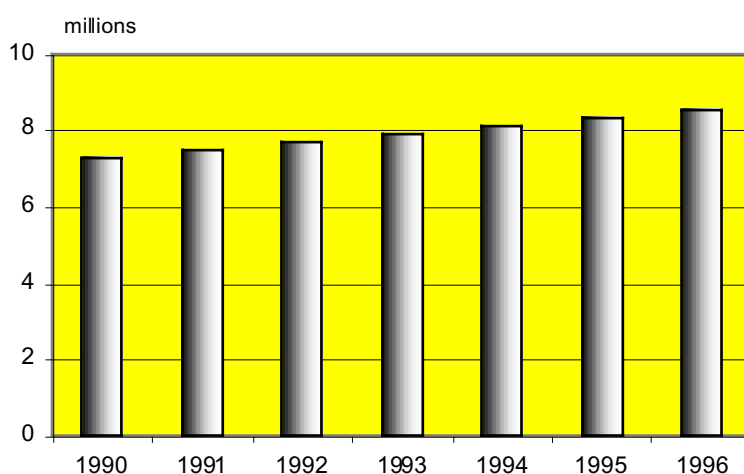
The high population growth is due mainly to high fertility levels. On average, Senegalese women give birth to six (live) children. This high level is strongly related to the position of women in Senegal. Many of them, about 50 per cent, live in polygamous unions. Furthermore, they are often confined to traditional roles and have very limited educational opportunities (Senegal homepage, 1999).

Contrary to the situation in for example Morocco and Egypt, there are no indications for a fertility decline. The opposite seems true: if the recent estimates are reliable, fertility in Senegal is on the rise. Apart from fertility, the decrease in mortality contributes to high population growth. Although life expectancy at birth is still relatively low, there are clear signs of improvement. In 1987, for both men and women, life expectancy at birth was three years less than in 1996. Similar conclusions apply to the maternal mortality ratio and the infant mortality rate.

The few estimates of international migration flows to and from Senegal indicate zero net migration (CIA Factbook, 1999). However, in view of the social and economic situation in the country and the limited possibilities of registering migrants, let alone illegal migrants, it seems more appropriate to assume a negative migration balance.

Within the EU the number of Senegalese citizens is limited. Most of them live in France (1990: 44 thousand), followed by Italy (1994:19 thousand), Spain (1996: 4 thousand) and Germany (1996: 2.5 thousand).

Figure 4.34 Population change, 1990-1996, Senegal



Source: World Resources Institute *et al.*, 1998.

The age pyramid of Senegal, presented in Figure 4.35, is typical for a rapidly growing population. Nearly half of the population is under the age of 15. The share of older people (65+) is only three per cent.

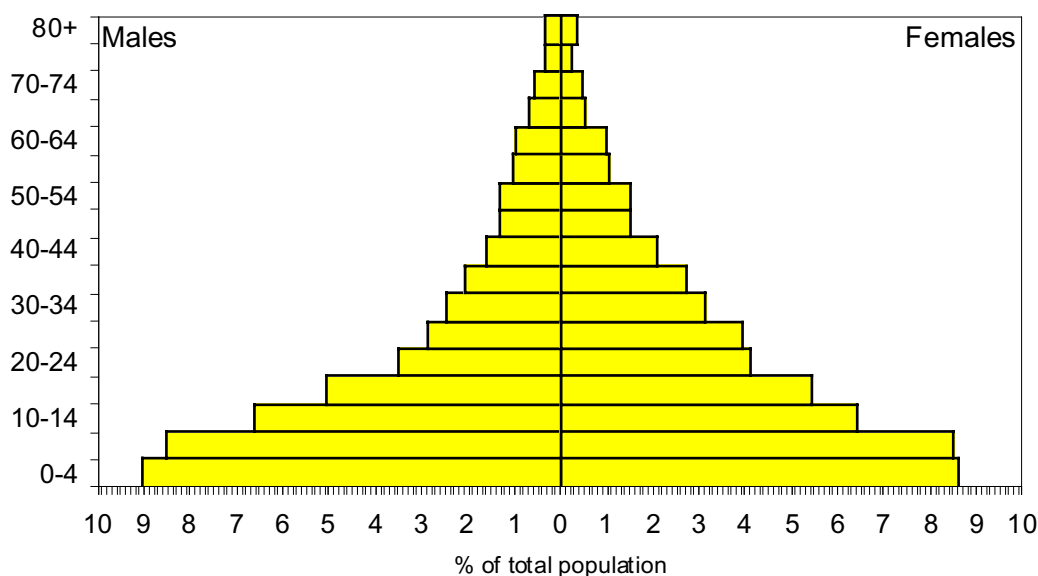
Almost half of Senegal's population lives in urban areas (Table 4.5). Dakar, besides being the economic centre of the country, is the nation's by far most populous city, with a current population of 2.1 million. Other major urban centres are Thiès, Kaolack, and Saint-Louis, all of which are in western Senegal.

The population of Senegal incorporates a diversity of ethnic groups. The largest of these include the Wolof (44 per cent of the population), Fulani and Tukolor (24 per cent), Serer (15 per cent), Diola (5 per cent), and Malinke (4 per cent). French is the official language of Senegal, although Wolof is the most widely understood of the many African languages. About 90 per cent of the people are Sunni Muslim, about 6 per cent are Christian, and 4 per cent follow traditional beliefs (CIA Factbook, 1999).

In Senegal three out of every four women aged 15 or over cannot read and write. The position of women, as mentioned, contributes to this high illiteracy rate. For men this rate is obviously lower (57 per cent in 1995). In theory, education is compulsory in Senegal for all children between the ages of 6 and 12. In the late 1980s, however, only about 48 per cent of primary school age children and 13 per cent of secondary school age Senegalese were actually attending school (CIA Factbook, 1999). The relatively high percentage of children in the labour force (30 of all children aged 10-14) is in line with the aforementioned findings.

Senegal is predominantly agricultural. More than 70 per cent of the labour force are engaged in farming, largely peanut production. Since 1983, the Government has pursued a structural adjustment programme intended to reduce the role of government, to encourage the private sector, and to stimulate economic growth. Nonetheless, the economy remained depressed.

Figure 4.35 Age distribution on 20 November 1991, Senegal



Total population 1991: 7.3 million

Source: United Nations, 1998.

Table 4.5 Some demographic and health indicators, Senegal

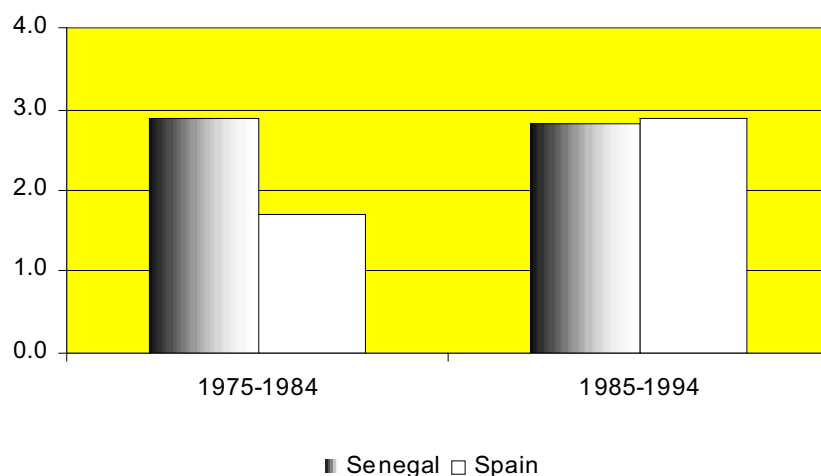
Topic	Year(s)	Unity	
Urban population	1997	% of total population	45
Life expectancy at birth			
males	1996	years	49
females	1996	years	52
Total fertility rate	1996	per woman	5.7
Maternal mortality ratio	1990/96	per 100,000 live births	510
Infant mortality rate	1996	per 1,000 live births	60
Adult illiteracy rate			
males	1995	% of all males aged 15+	57
females	1995	% of all females aged 15+	77
Children aged 10-14 in labour force	1997	% of all children aged 10-14	30
Access to sanitation	1995	% of total population	58
Access to safe water			
urban areas	1995	% of population in urban areas	82
rural areas	1995	% of population in rural areas	28

Source: World Bank, 1998.

A fifty per cent devaluation in January 1994 of the CFA (the local currency pegged to the French franc) has encouraged a regeneration of tourism and other major exports. However, this regeneration of tourism has been offset by internal conflicts.

Government price controls and subsidies have been steadily dismantled. After seeing its economy contract by 2.1 per cent in 1993, Senegal made an important turnaround, thanks to the reform programme, with real GDP growth of 5.6 per cent in 1996 and 4.7 per cent in 1997 (see also Figure 4.36). Annual inflation has been pushed below three per cent and the fiscal deficit has been cut to less than 1.5 per cent of GDP (Senegal homepage, 1999).

Figure 4.36 Annual growth of real GDP, 1995, Senegal (%)

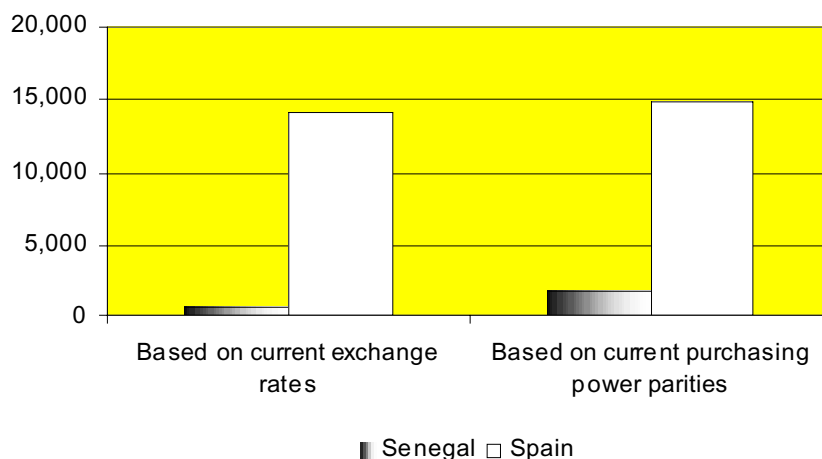


Source: World Resources Institute *et al.*, 1998.

Despite recent improvements in the economic situation, the country's narrow resource base, environmental degradation and untamed population growth will continue to hold back growth in living standards over the medium term. In 1995 the GDP per capita in current exchange rates amounted to 586 US dollars, i.e. four per cent of the Spanish level (Figure 4.37). Measured in purchasing power parities, the GDP per capita was 1,830 US dollars (12 per cent of the Spanish level).

Recent data on unemployment (and underemployment) are not available for Senegal. However, it may be assumed that chronic unemployment is one of the major problem areas in Senegal (CIA Factbook, 1999).

Figure 4.37 GDP per capita in US dollars, 1975-1994, Senegal



Source: World Resources Institute *et al.*, 1998.

5. RECENT MIGRATION: WHO MOVES AND WHO STAYS

5.1 Introduction

How many people migrate, and to what extent are they selective of the population of their country or region of origin? How many households are affected by migration? Does migration tend to attract the educated, and/or those who are unemployed? Given high rates of population growth in the countries studied, does migration serve as a welcome outlet for those for whom there is no place in the labour market, or are countries losing valuable human capital in terms of both skills and experience?

Micro-level research, often carried out in the migrant-receiving countries, usually focuses on migrants themselves: who they are, where do they come from and why do they migrate? For instance, it is well known that young men are strongly represented among migrants, and there are many studies describing the socio-economic characteristics of migrants after migration. The present study has two main advantages. Firstly, data were collected on both migrant and non-migrant households in the countries of origin, allowing for a comparison between the two groups. Secondly, since one should have information on the migrants' situation *before* their migration in order to analyse the determinants of international migration, MMAs in recent migrant households were asked a number of questions about their situation immediately prior to their last migration from their country of origin.⁷ In addition, the comparison with non-migrants requires information about the latter to be collected over a period in time corresponding to the pre-migration situation of the migrants. As the migration experience studied could date back to a maximum of ten years before the survey date, non-migrant reference persons were interviewed about aspects of their household and economic situation approximately five years ago.

It is important to keep in mind that the samples are not nationally selective. Therefore, the results can only be interpreted at the regional level, and countries cannot be compared as a whole. As the sample regions were chosen for their relatively high incidence of international outmigration (among other criteria), if anything, the data are likely to show a higher incidence of migration than would be the case for each country as a whole.

The determinants of migration are complex and interrelated. Macro-level factors such as employment structure and opportunities, wage levels, land and tenure systems, transportation and communication, kinship ties and inheritance systems, community facilities, economic development, regional inequality, ethnic structure, etc., may have a role to play in explaining differences in migration intensity between communities and/or regions. In addition, personal and household characteristics influence the decision to migrate, and these form the topic of this chapter. In particular, demographic factors are taken into account (Section 5.2.2), as are selected socio-economic characteristics of individuals and households (Section 5.2.3). Section 5.2.1 describes the extent of migration in the regions studied.

5.2 Characteristics of migrant and non-migrant households

5.2.1 Regional migration patterns

In most countries, four regions were selected for the survey (see Section 3.3 and Appendix 10.1). Of these, two are characterised by an established migration history, and these may therefore be expected to have a relatively high prevalence of migration. In the two other regions migration is a more recent although significant phenomenon.

⁷ See Section 3.1 for details on the concepts used.

Regions with expected negligible levels of migration have not been included in the study because of the problems involved in locating households with international migrants. Therefore, the overall levels of international migration in the respective countries are likely to be considerably lower than the regional levels reported here.

Nevertheless, as expected, even in these 'high migration regions', most households have no international migrants at all, especially in the regions studied in Ghana (62-77 per cent) and Turkey (66-86 per cent) (see Table 5.1). But in rural Lower Egypt, as well as in Touba (Senegal) and in Moroccan Nador and Tiznit, the percentage of households without international migrants is below 50 per cent. Therefore, in the regions studied, international migration affects a surprisingly high proportion of all households.

In Egypt and Turkey, there tend to be more households with recent migrants in the less developed regions studied, but this is not apparent in the other countries. Recent migrant households are most common in Egypt, especially in the rural areas of Lower and Upper Egypt, and in Moroccan Tiznit. Households with recent migrants are least frequent (less than ten per cent of all households) in the Turkish regions of Denizli/U_ak and Gaziantep/Kahramanmara_, both relatively developed regions. In general, most regions have 20-30 per cent recent migrant households.

Cairo/Alexandria in Egypt, Denizli/U_ak in Turkey, Nador and Tiznit in Morocco, and the two Senegalese regions have a relatively high proportion of non-recent migrant households, over 20 per cent. Other than the two Senegalese regions, these are all regions characterised by established migration patterns. Everywhere except in Denizli/U_ak, Cairo/Alexandria and Dakar/Pikine, recent migrant households are more numerous than non-recent ones, although the difference in the latter two regions is small. Of course, we may partly attribute this to the fact that non-recent migrant households have had a longer chance to move out altogether. But it also seems an indication of the importance of the continuation of out-migration of those who left at least ten years ago, at least when measured against return migration.

The differences between regions are largest in Morocco and Egypt, followed by Turkey. The regions studied in Turkey and Ghana all have between 14 and 38 per cent migrant households, while Morocco, Egypt, and Senegal have between 34 and 57 per cent (with outlying Tiznit reaching as high as 79 per cent). The relatively low levels in Turkey may partly be explained by the fact that migration often involves complete households, albeit that they have moved in stages (family reunification). In addition, Turkey's gradually increasing level of economic development may make emigration less of an attractive choice today than it has been in the past. In Ghana, households tend to be relatively small (see Section 5.2.3), and migration seems more often to involve whole households which, once they have emigrated, are excluded from the survey. Migration from Senegal and Egypt more often takes the form of individual migrants who leave their families behind. Morocco appears to take an intermediate place.

Overall, we found quite a high proportion of households affected by migration, in most of the regions. But there appear to be remarkable differences between the various countries as well. How can these be explained? Apart from macro-level influences, such as differences in historical migration processes and in regional or national socio-economic structures, factors at the household and individual level could play a part in explaining migration. Several of these factors will be explored in the following sections.⁸

⁸ For a more detailed analysis of regional differences we refer to the individual country reports (see Appendix 10.6). In the following chapters of the present comparative report, the regional aspect is excluded from the analyses.

Table 5.1 Distribution of households by migration status, per region* (%)

		Recent migration household	Non-recent migration household	Non-migration household	N (unweighted)
Turkey	Denizli/U_ak	7	24	69	393
	Gaziantep/Kahramanmara_	8	6	86	393
	Yozgat/Aksaray	24	10	66	374
	Adiyaman/_anliurfa	16	8	76	404
Morocco	Nador	30	21	49	335
	Larache	28	12	61	402
	Settat	30	10	60	427
	Tiznit	47	32	21	343
	Khenifra	22	15	63	446
Egypt	Cairo/Alexandria	19	21	60	532
	Urban lower & upper	23	11	66	461
	Rural lower	44	13	43	552
	Rural upper	39	8	52	396
Ghana	Greater Accra	19	5	76	410
	Ashanti	32	6	62	267
	Eastern	25	5	69	460
	Brong Ahafo	23	0	77	434
Senegal	Dakar/Pikine	20	21	59	789
	Diourbel/Touba	28	21	50	951

* Turkey: Denizli and U_ak: developed region with more established migration flows.
 Gaziantep and Kahramanmara_: developed region with more recent migration flows.
 Yozgat and Aksaray: less developed region with more established migration flows.
 Adiyaman and _anliurfa: less developed region with more recent migration flows.

Morocco: Nador: developed region with more established migration flows.
 Larache: developed region with more recent migration flows.
 Settat: developed region with more recent migration flows.
 Tiznit: less developed region with more established migration flows.
 Khenifra: less developed region with more recent migration flows.

Egypt: Cairo, Alexandria: developed region with more established migration flows.
 Urban lower & upper: developed region with more recent migration flows (Dakhalia, Sharkia, Menoufia, Bahera, Giza, Souhag, Menia, Qena).
 Rural lower: less developed region with more established migration flows (Dakhalia, Sharkia, Menoufia, Bahera).
 Rural upper: less developed region with more recent migration flows (Giza, Souhag, Menia, Qena).

Ghana: Greater Accra: developed region with more established migration flows.
 Ashanti: developed region with more recent migration flows.
 Eastern: less developed region with more established migration flows.
 Brong Ahafo: less developed region with more recent migration flows.

Senegal: Dakar/Pikine: developed region with more recent migration flows.
 Diourbel/Touba: less developed region with more recent migration flow.

5.2.2 Demographic characteristics

Most research shows that migration is selective of young men, especially in labour migration, in illegal (undocumented) migration and where cultural settings impede the migration of unaccompanied women, as is the case in many Muslim countries. However, in some countries, emigration of young women is important. An example are the Philippines from where women migrate to for instance the Gulf Countries or Italy to work as domestic servants (see e.g., Barsotti and Lecchini, 1994; Eelens *et al.*, eds. 1992; Lim, 1998; Santo Tomas, 1998); and Turkey and Morocco, from where many women have left for family reunification with their husbands living in western Europe, or for marriage to a compatriot living there (see e.g. Esveldt *et al.*, 1995).

The data from the five migrant-sending countries included in our study confirm these widespread general findings regarding the selectivity of young men (Figure 5.1). Most of the international migrants (recent and non-recent) in the five countries concerned are men. Furthermore, at the time of their last emigration, many of these men were in their twenties: well over 40 per cent of the migrants, except in Ghana (35 per cent). Men aged 30-39 form the next important group in all countries, around 20-25 per cent of all migrants. In Turkey and Morocco, teenage men are also relatively numerous among the migrants, which is probably related to the regulations in many European Union countries concerning family reunification for these long-established migrant groups.

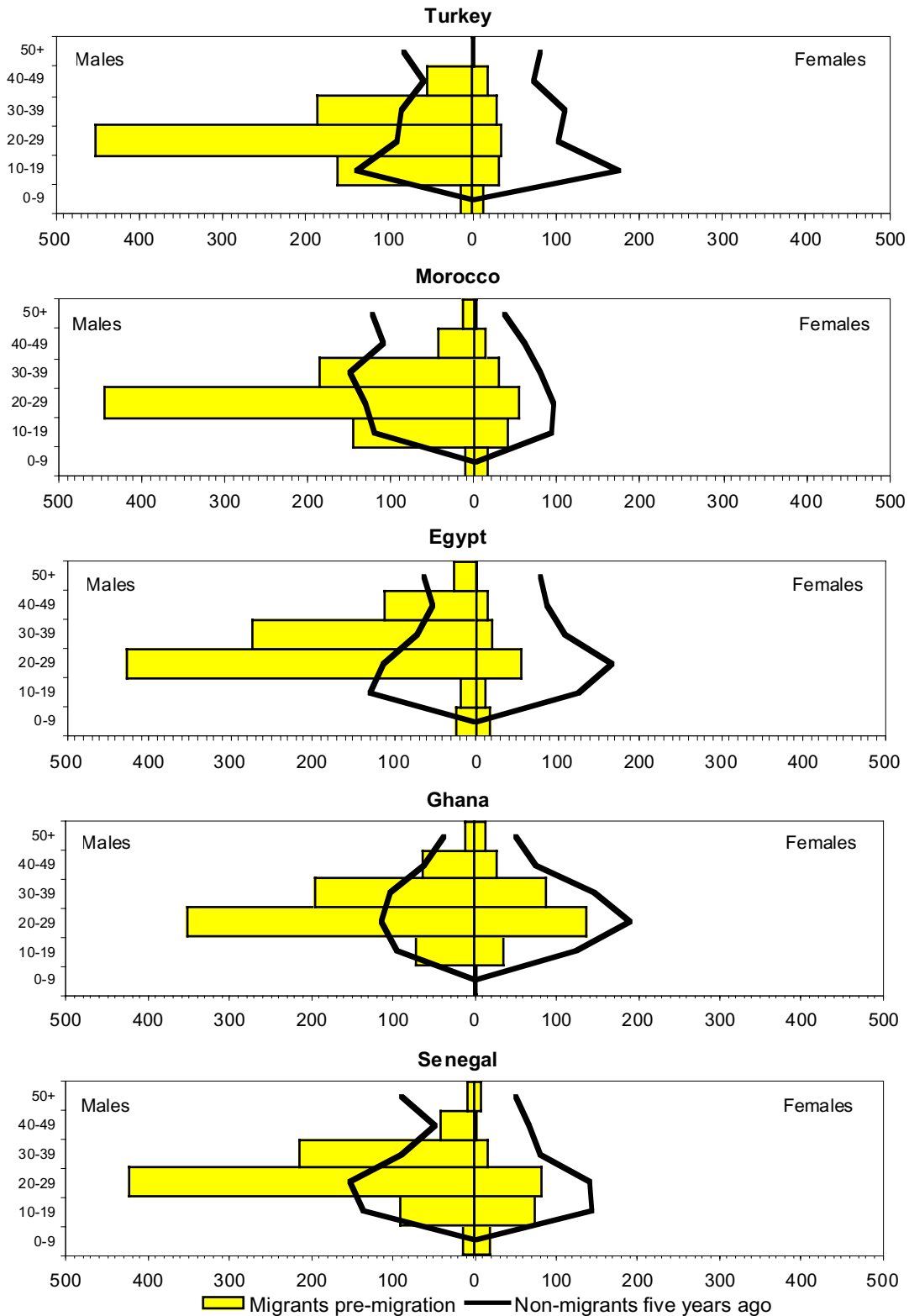
There are far fewer female migrants. Only in Ghana is almost one in four of the migrants a woman in her twenties or thirties. Both Turkish and Moroccan migration is dominated by men, despite the important phenomenon of family reunification and marriage migration. This finding is probably influenced by the fact that only those still forming part of a household in the country of origin are included in the survey. Women, who more often than men migrate for the purpose of family reunification and marriage, are therefore less likely to surface in country-of-origin surveys.

The majority of the non-migrant reference persons (mainly economic heads of household) were ever married, five years prior to the survey: about 80 per cent or over, except for Ghana (69 per cent) (see Table 5.2). Given the young age structure of the migrants, it comes as no surprise that their marital status reflects this: the percentage of ever-married migrants is in the region of 55-60 per cent in Ghana and Egypt, and around 45 per cent in Senegal and Morocco. Only in Turkey two out of three MMAs were married before migration. Among those under 30 years of age, male migrants are more often married than male non-migrants, except in Morocco, where only one in four migrant men said they were married, against one in two among the non-migrants.

The few female MMAs are more likely to be married than the male MMAs. The difference is greatest in Senegal, where 91 per cent of female migrants were married, but only 37 per cent of the male migrants. These women migrate for family reunification. Migration of single women is rare and is generally not viewed positively in this Muslim society.

In line with the migrants' young age structure and the relatively high proportion who have never been married, it comes as no surprise that many MMAs were still living with their parents immediately prior to their last migration. The other important category is that of migrants living with their spouse (and children). Young people migrating from their parents' household are especially common in Morocco, Senegal and Egypt (about 40-50 per cent). This is in marked contrast with Ghana, where only 16 per cent were living with their parents, and almost one in three MMAs were living alone before they migrated, something that is generally not socially well accepted in the other countries.

Figure 5.1 Sex and age distribution: pre-migration or five years before survey, per sending country (%)*



* Persons currently 18-65 years of age and eligible for an individual interview.
 N - Turkey: non-migrants 1,462 men, 1,940 women, 0, 1 missing respectively; migrants 875, 207, 112, 40;
 Morocco: non-migrants 1,007, 870, 0, 0; migrants 1,422, 240, 11, 5;
 Egypt: non-migrants 1,804, 2,784, 0, 0; migrants 1,429, 191, 160, 19;
 Ghana: non-migrants 940, 1,339, 0, 0; migrants 542, 228, 67, 30;

Senegal: non-migrants 1,899, 2,388, 1, 0; migrants 1,467, 201, 167, 38.

Table 5.2 Percentage ever married: pre-migration or five years before survey by sex, per sending country*

	Non-migrants five years ago			Migrants pre-migration		
	M	F	T	M	F	T
Turkey						
% ever married	84	74	79	64	80	66
N	374	350	724	476	48	524
missing	6	1	7	5	1	6
Morocco						
% ever married	87	81	86	38	81	44
N	419	39	458	782	104	886
missing	22	1	23	2	-	2
Egypt						
% ever married	78	89	84	60	60	60
N	280	334	614	870	31	901
missing	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ghana						
% ever married	60	77	69	54	63	56
N	370	398	768	501	174	675
missing	11	15	26	7	5	12
Senegal						
% ever married	80	97	84	37	91	45
N	484	82	566	602	48	650
missing	1	-	1	1	-	1

* MMAs and non-migrant reference persons.

Among the non-migrant reference persons interviewed about their situation five years before the survey, about three out of four were living with their spouse or with their spouse and children (see Table 5.3). Only in Ghana were one-person households a significant alternative (27 per cent of reference persons).

The difference between migrants and non-migrants is particularly striking in Senegal and Morocco. In these two countries, 71 and 78 per cent of the non-migrant reference persons respectively were living with their spouse, but only 28 and 38 per cent of the MMAs were. Instead, around half the MMAs (47 per cent in Senegal and 51 per cent in Morocco) were living with their parents.

Household size differs significantly between the countries, varying from often large and polygamous households in Senegal to smaller nuclear households in Ghana. Irrespective of differences in household size between the countries, households of MMA migrants prior to their last emigration were on average larger than households of reference persons in non-migrant households five years prior to the survey. While average non-migrant household size in Egypt, Turkey and Morocco was between 5.2 and 5.5, it was 6.0 to 6.5 in the recent-migrant households (Table 5.4). Senegalese households are much larger in general: the average household count was 9.0 members in non-migrant households, and 10.6 in migrant households. The Ghanaian households are smallest: 3.8 among non-migrants and 4.3 among migrants; there are relatively many one-person households among them, as was shown in Table 5.3.

Table 5.3 Household composition: pre-migration or five years before survey, per sending country (%)*

	Non-migrants	Migrants
Turkey		
living alone	12	19
with spouse/children (and others)	73	61
with children (and others excluding spouse)	2	3
with parents (and others excluding spouse and children)	13	16
with other relatives and non-relatives	0	0
total	100	100
N	728	524
missing	3	6
Morocco		
living alone	9	4
with spouse/children (and others)	78	38
with children (and others excluding spouse)	5	6
with parents (and others excluding spouse and children)	7	51
with other relatives and non-relatives	1	1
total	100	100
N	455	885
missing	26	3
Egypt		
living alone	5	2
with spouse/children (and others)	69	55
with children (and others excluding spouse)	11	4
with parents (and others excluding spouse and children)	15	39
with other relatives and non-relatives	1	1
total	100	100
N	610	900
missing	4	1
Ghana		
living alone	27	31
with spouse/children (and others)	53	41
with children (and others excluding spouse)	9	5
with parents (and others excluding spouse and children)	8	16
with other relatives and non-relatives	3	7
total	100	100
N	757	673
missing	37	14
Senegal		
living alone	8	6
with spouse/children (and others)	71	28
with children (and others excluding spouse)	10	9
with parents (and others excluding spouse and children)	5	47
with other relatives and non-relatives	7	10
total	100	100
N	565	649
missing	2	2

* MMAs and non-migrant reference persons.

Table 5.4 Average household size: pre-migration or five years before survey, per sending country*

	Non-migrants five years ago			Migrants pre-migration		
	household size	N	missing	household size	N	missing
Turkey	5.4	728	3	6.0	521	9
Morocco	5.5	465	16	6.5	885	3
Egypt	5.2	613	1	6.0	901	-
Ghana	3.8	763	31	4.3	675	12
Senegal	9.0	553	14	10.6	622	29

* MMAs and non-migrant reference persons.

MMAs are generally younger than the reference persons in non-migrant households, but this difference does not explain the differences in household sizes found. Indeed, for MMAs and reference persons under the age of 30, the difference between migrant and non-migrant households is greater in Senegal (6.5 versus 10.4) and in Morocco (4.1 versus 6.6). Thus, non-migrant heads of households under 30 have relatively small households, but MMAs under 30 come from relatively large households.

Summing up, migrants are mostly men in their twenties and thirties, and in some cases (Turkey) teenage men. Only in Ghana is female migration fairly important too. The young age structure is reflected in the household situation of migrants. Many migrants were living with their parents, although a sizeable group were married and living with their spouse (and children) when they left to go abroad.

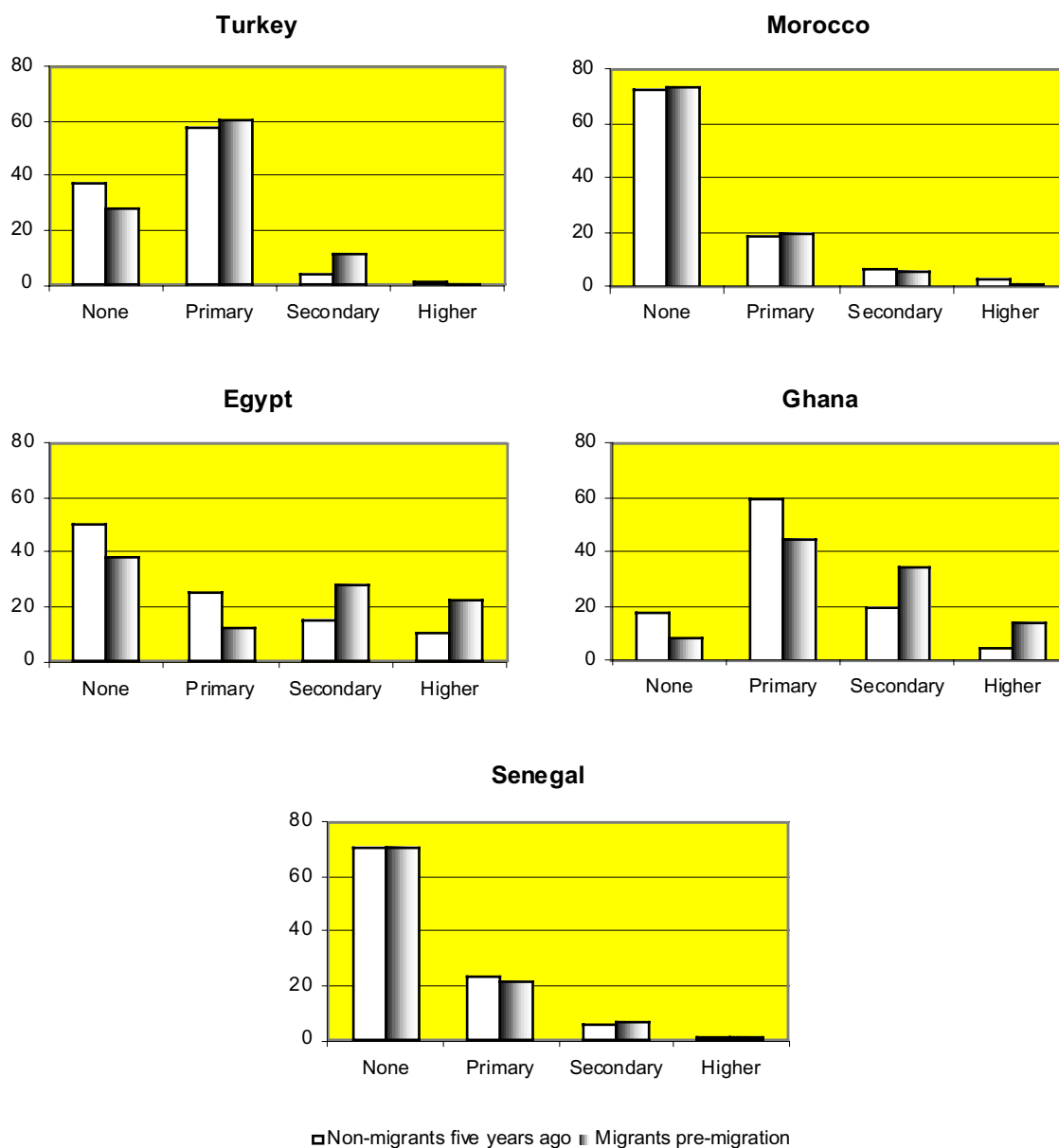
The limited representation of women in all countries other than Ghana is related to the cultural conditions in the countries of origin: migration of unmarried or unaccompanied women is generally not favoured in Muslim societies. Among the five countries included in the study, only the four survey regions in Ghana are predominantly non-Muslim. Family reunification does occur, especially in Morocco and Turkey; witness the large communities residing in many European countries. Men migrating from Egypt and Senegal leave their families at home much more often. For Egyptians, this is influenced by the fact that family reunification is not allowed in many of their main countries of destination (Gulf and Middle Eastern countries). In Senegalese society, with its large polygamous families, wives and children of migrant husbands/fathers are often incorporated into the household of the husband's father (or another senior male relative). Nowadays, with fewer options for legal admission to many countries, migration of families and family reunification have become much more difficult for 'new' migrant flows without a link to extensive migrant communities with established rights.

5.2.3 Socio-economic characteristics

During the 1960s, many of the migrants recruited for the European labour markets were relatively uneducated, especially compared to the population in the receiving countries but also to a certain extent compared to the population at origin. Many of those who went to work abroad had received little or no formal education at home. However, a brain drain has also taken place, partly because students did not always return home after studying abroad, and partly because of migration of skilled workers. (See e.g., Fadayomi, 1996; Kritz and Caces, 1992; Twum-Baah *et al.*, eds., 1995). Countries have at times indicated concern about losing skilled workers, but these have usually been overshadowed by the positive effect of migration in the form of workers' remittances. With educational levels in the main sending countries increasing, all other things being equal, migrants should nowadays be better educated as well. But are they more so than their non-migrating compatriots? Does migration favour the educated?

In Morocco and Senegal, at the time of migration or five years prior to the survey respectively, the vast majority of migrants and non-migrants (more than 70 per cent) had not completed primary education; very few had completed secondary or higher education. Among Turkish migrants and non-migrants most have a primary school diploma (close to 60 per cent), but the proportion with less than that is still significant. In these three countries overall, more than 90 per cent have at most primary education. In Ghana and Egypt more people have secondary education, and the migrants' level of education is clearly higher than that of non-migrants: about one in four non-migrants has completed secondary education but among the migrants it is almost one in two. In the other three countries, there is hardly any difference in educational levels between migrants and non-migrants, with the exception of Turkey, where migrants tend to be over-represented among those with secondary education (see Figure 5.2).

Figure 5.2 Educational level: pre-migration or five years before survey, per sending country (%)*



* Persons currently 18-65 years of age and eligible for an individual interview. N -Turkey: 3,342 non-migrants, 1,014 migrants, missing 103 and 111 resp.; Morocco: 1,835, 1,478, 80, 194; Egypt: 4,568, 1,611, 20, 16; Ghana: 2,160, 675, 119, 132; Senegal: 3,683, 1,702, 606, 170.

As on average MMAs are younger than non-migrant reference persons, age differences may be confounding these findings. In most countries (with the exception of Ghana), there has been a rapid improvement in education, which is reflected in the significant difference across age groups: among those younger than 30 there are far fewer without any education and/or with no more than primary education, compared to the age group of 30 or older. The differences observed between migrants and non-migrants are generally maintained for the two age groups, although the differences have decreased among Ghanaians under 30.

In conclusion, in Turkey, Egypt and Ghana, migrants generally have a higher level of education than non-migrants. In Senegal and Morocco, where the overall educational levels are lowest, there is hardly any educational difference between migrants and non-migrants. In comparison to western countries of destination, migrants' educational levels, although increasing, are still low, with many having no more than primary education.

Is migration a solution for a country's surplus labour, that is, are those who are unemployed more likely to migrate, in order to find work elsewhere? Are young people discouraged in even looking for work, knowing their slim chances of finding any job, or any work suited to their qualifications and skills?

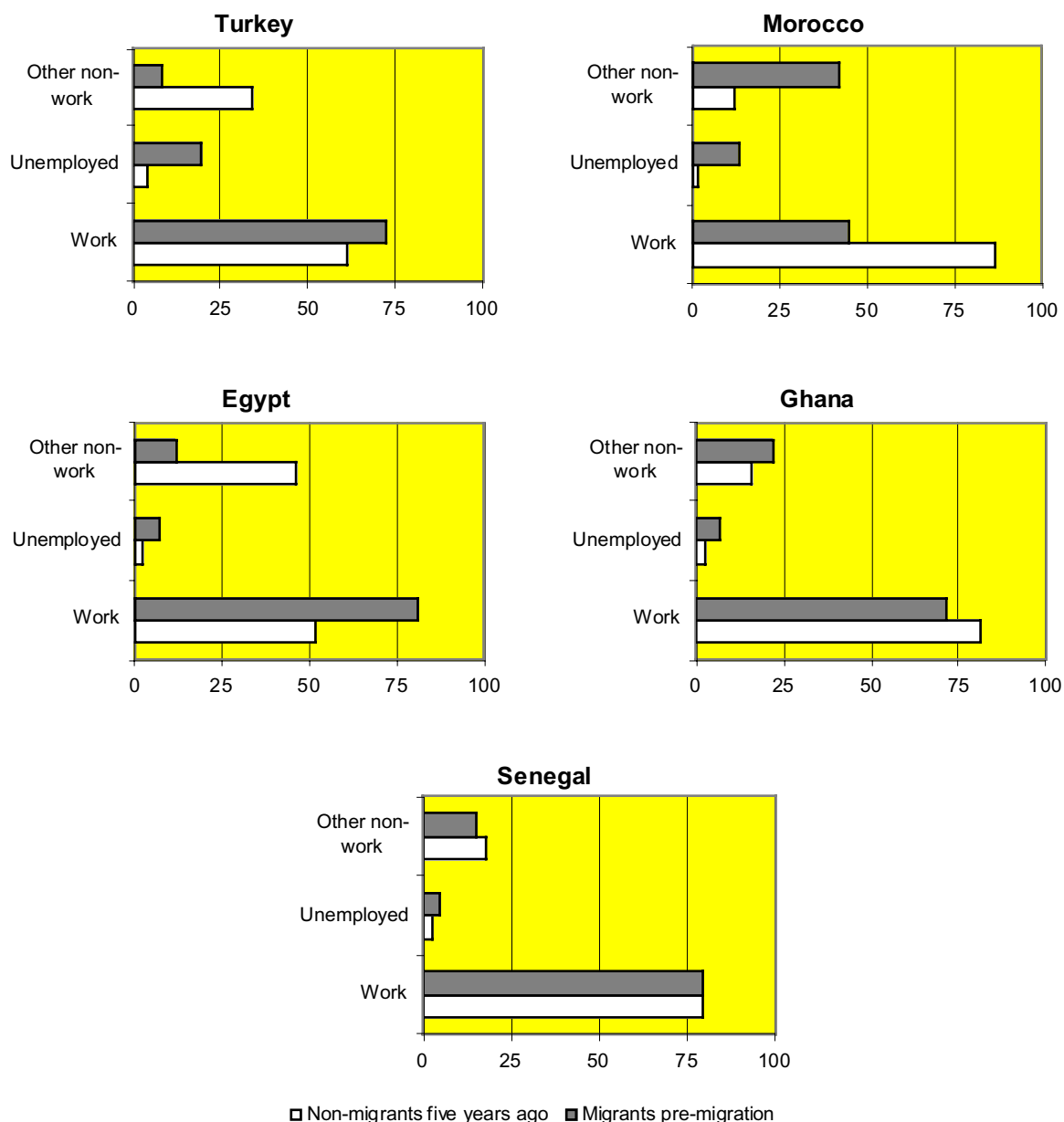
It is clear from Figure 5.3 that in most countries the majority of migrants worked before migration and most non-migrants worked five years prior to the survey. The most important difference between migrants and non-migrants is the higher pre-migration unemployment among migrants. In that sense, migration may be seen as a welcome solution for the surplus in the labour markets.

The patterns summarised in Figure 5.3 are strongly influenced by differences in the age-sex distributions between the non-migrant and the migrant groups. In Egypt, 82 per cent of migrant men and 84 per cent of non-migrant men were working. Men aged 30 or older were more likely to work than those under 30, the difference being due partly to the higher proportion of students among the younger men. Although relatively few respondents indicated that they were unemployed before migration of five years before the survey, unemployment was clearly more pronounced among migrants than among non-migrants. Ten per cent of migrant men under 30 said they were unemployed before they migrated, against only four per cent of non-migrant men. Most non-migrant women were housewives. The few migrant women MMAs in the survey were more often economically active; housewives were in the minority.

In Turkey too the vast majority of both migrant and non-migrant men were working (74 and 87 per cent, respectively). The lower figure among migrant men can be explained by their significantly higher unemployment: 20 per cent against only 5 per cent among non-migrant men. Non-migrant women were more likely to be housewives than migrant women MMAs (although the number of female MMAs was low); nevertheless, over one third of non-migrant women were working too.

Morocco differs from the other countries in the significantly lower percentage of migrant men working before migration: only 50 per cent, compared to 91 per cent among non-migrant men. The difference is most pronounced among men under the age of 30, where almost twice as many non-migrants as migrants had work. The difference is partly due to the higher percentage of migrant men reporting unemployment prior to migration (17 per cent, against only 5 per cent among young non-migrant men). But what is most striking is the high percentage of men reporting that they were not working for other reasons. Some of them were students. But most in this category said they were not working and were not looking for work either: 26 per cent of migrant men under 30 (against only 3 per cent of non-migrant men), and 16 per cent of migrant men aged 30 or over (against 6 per cent of the non-migrant men in that age group).

Figure 5.3 Economic activity or employment status: pre-migration or five years before survey, per sending country (%)*



* MMAs and non-migrant reference persons.
 N - Turkey: 685 non-migrants, 520 migrants, 46 and 10 missing resp.; Morocco: 437, 878, 44, 10;
 Egypt: 590, 897, 24, 2; Ghana: 737, 663, 57, 24; Senegal: 561, 645, 6, 6.

Discussions with the Moroccan research team indicate that the strong ‘culture of migration’ in Morocco, where almost everyone has relatives or friends who have migrated, combined with the often very rare opportunities of securing any job, leads young people to stop looking for work, so as not to hinder any opportunity for migration, should it present itself.

As in the other countries, unemployment among migrant men in Ghana was higher than among non-migrant men. More than in other countries, women in Ghana were economically active, and there is little difference between migrant (80 per cent) and non-migrant women (87 per cent).

Finally, Senegal repeats the familiar pattern of a dominance of workers among the men. There is little difference between migrants and non-migrants, and between younger and older men. The sample contained few female reference persons (heads of household) and few migrant women (MMAs).

Although with the exception of Ghana, there were relatively few migrant women MMAs, the general picture is that these women were comparatively more often economically active prior to migration than non-migrant women (five years prior to the survey).

The majority of migrants and non-migrants work. Nevertheless from the above unemployment emerges to a certain extent as a stimulus for migration. In a wider context, does the perception of poverty influence the decision to migrate? That is, do the poorest migrate, or is a certain threshold of wealth required for potential migrants to realise a move? Evidence from macro-level studies indicates that migration levels associated with the poorest countries are lower than those connected with countries characterised by some economic development. Therefore, the argument that economic development will lead to a decrease in migration is considered to be valid only in the long term. Classic examples in Europe are Italy and Spain, which have shifted from emigration countries to immigration countries during the past decade.

To explore this issue, reference persons in non-migrant households and MMAs in recent-migrant households were asked if the financial situation of their household was sufficient or insufficient (measured in four categories, see Figure 5.4) to buy all the basic needs for the household, five years before the survey, or prior to the last migration respectively. Obviously, the answers should be interpreted with care, as they reflect retrospective opinions that may well have been coloured by experience. In addition, cross-country comparison is hazardous, as the question may be viewed differently in different cultural settings. For example, in Ghana, it is not done to display one's wealth in public as this may result in others demanding a share. In other cultural settings, indicating that one thinks one is better off than others may be considered evidence of unjustified pride and arrogance. On the other hand, some people may be reluctant to admit poverty to an outsider.

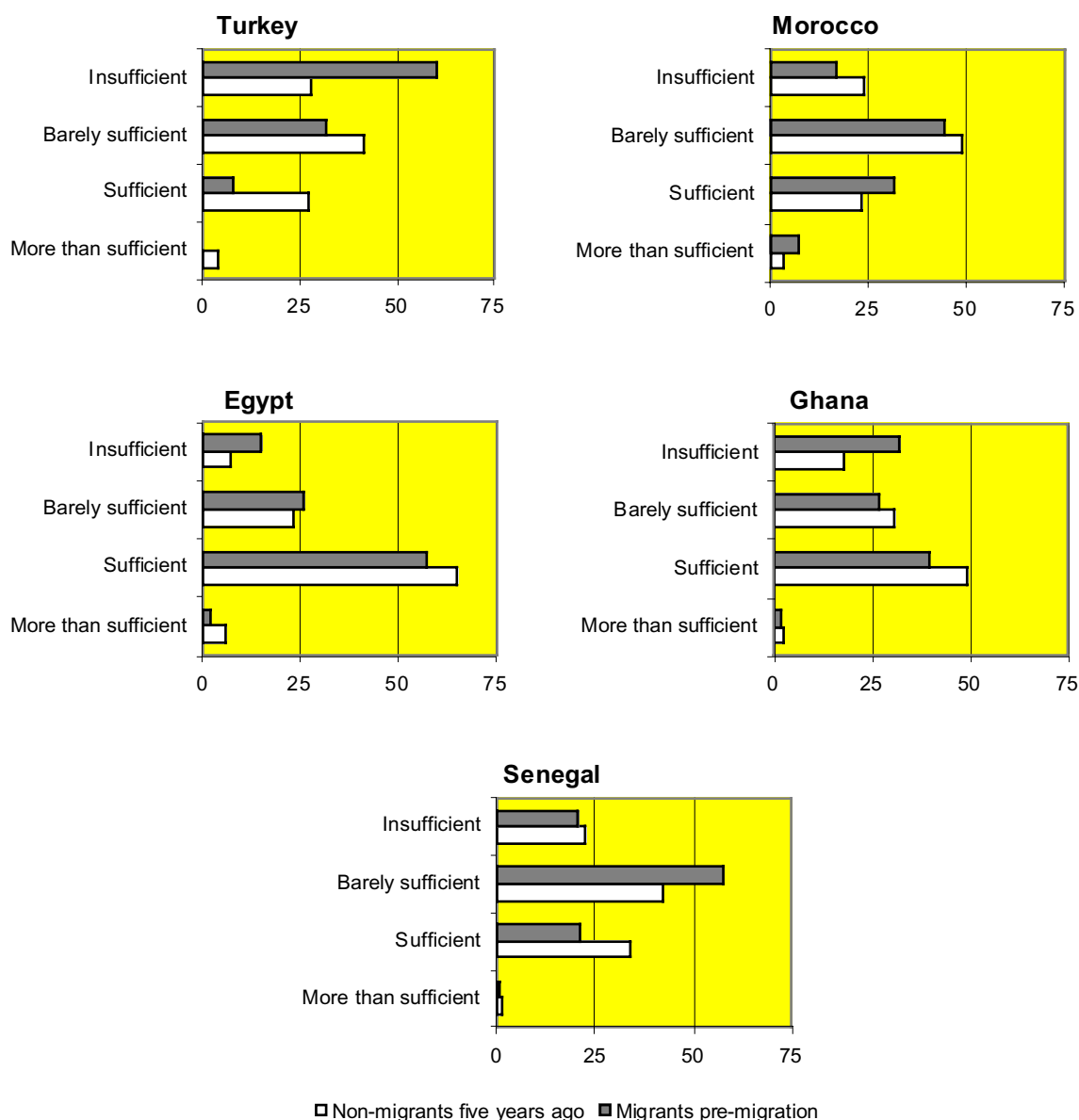
Nevertheless, some findings emerge from Figure 5.4. In Turkey, Egypt and Ghana, migrants pronounce their household's past financial situation insufficient more often than non-migrants. The difference between migrants and non-migrants is most striking in Turkey where the majority of migrants described their situation as insufficient (60 per cent) or barely sufficient (32 per cent), while non-migrants were much more likely to say their situation was sufficient or more than that (31 per cent, against only 8 per cent among migrants).

In Egypt, fewer people reported insufficient financial resources, but twice as many migrants as non-migrants said so (15 versus 7 per cent, respectively). The fact that almost two out of three said that their financial situation prior to migration was sufficient could perhaps be partly influenced by reluctance on the part of migrants to admit their lack of wealth.

As in Egypt, a majority of the respondents in Ghana considered their situation to be sufficient or barely sufficient, non-migrants more so (80 per cent) than migrants (66 per cent). But almost twice as many migrants as non-migrants considered their resources insufficient (18 and 32 per cent, respectively).

Senegal differs from these three countries in that there is hardly any difference between migrants and non-migrants reporting insufficient resources (21-23 per cent). The migrants stand out among those who evaluate their financial situation as barely sufficient, whilst the non-migrants are more likely to consider their situations as sufficient.

Figure 5.4 Adequacy of financial situation of household: pre-migration or five years before survey, per sending country (%)*



* MMAAs and non-migrant reference persons.

N -Turkey: 726 non-migrants, 157 migrants, 5 and 3 missing resp.; Morocco: 479, 135, 2, 0; Egypt: 614, 391, none missing; Ghana: 768, 251, 26, 61; Senegal: 556, 199, 11, 0.

Finally, Morocco is a case apart in the sense that migrants were more likely to say their situation was sufficient or even more than sufficient than non-migrants. An unexpected result considering the fact that unemployment was relatively high among migrants. A possible explanation may be that the answers are biased because of later experience, or that the migrants, although unemployed themselves, nevertheless lived in (their parents') households which were relatively well off.

In conclusion, in four of the five countries there is preliminary evidence for the obvious hypothesis that poverty stimulates migration. Especially in the case of Senegal, the findings seem to fit in with the hypothesis that the poorest cannot migrate because of lack of means, while those who have some means but barely enough, have both the (financial) opportunity and the incentive to go.

5.3 Conclusions

International migration has affected a large proportion of households, at least in the regions that were included in the study. As these were selected because of their expected high incidence of migration, it is important to emphasise that the strong presence of migration is not representative of each of the countries as a whole.

The preceding sections show many similarities between countries, such as the well-established fact that most international migrants are men who migrated when they were in their twenties or thirties. Only in Ghana did we find a relatively large representation of female migrants.

Given the young age structure of migration, it is no surprise that migrants are more often single and more often migrate from their parent's home than non-migrants, especially in Morocco, Egypt and Senegal. Only in Ghana is living alone common, but this is a rare and socially not well accepted household arrangement in the Muslim countries. Non-migrants are usually married men living in households with their wives (and children).

Female migrants are more likely to be married when they migrate than the men, influenced by the fact that some of the women migrate for the purpose of family reunification. Migration of unaccompanied or single women is often not looked upon favourably in the Muslim countries. Family reunification has taken place, particularly in Turkish and Moroccan migration, although it is not revealed clearly in the surveys, since family reunification tends to result in the complete removal of the household from the country of origin. Senegal and Egypt are less influenced in this respect. The traditional countries of destination of Egyptian migrants restrict family reunification much more severely than European countries, resulting in wives and children staying behind. The same applies to Senegalese migration in so far as it is migration to new destinations; furthermore, the polygamous family structure has probably both facilitated and necessitated arrangements where wives and children stay in the home country.

In comparison with western countries of destination the educational level of most migrants is still low. Nevertheless, educational levels have increased, rapidly in some countries. In Turkey, Egypt and Ghana migrants have better education than non-migrants, even after controlling for age differences between the non-migrants and migrants interviewed. However, in the Senegalese and Moroccan regions studied, where educational levels are lowest, there is hardly any difference between migrants and non-migrants.

In each of the five countries the vast majority of migrant and non-migrant men worked before migration or five years before the survey respectively. The common factor in all countries is the higher pre-migration level of unemployment among migrants. Morocco seems to be a special case because of the large number of young men in particular (students excluded) reporting that they were not working and were not looking for work either. This may perhaps be attributed to the limited opportunities for finding work, in combination with the pervasive culture of migration. It leads young people to look for ways to migrate (as so many of their friends and relatives have done) rather than to try to build their future in Morocco.

Unemployment emerges as one of the factors influencing migration. Another way in which difficult economic conditions were measured was to ask households to evaluate their past financial situation: was it sufficient to supply the basic needs for the household? The results point to poverty as an incentive for migration: in Turkey, Egypt and Ghana, migrants more often reported that they had considered their financial resources insufficient than non-migrants. In Senegal, the same applied to the group which considered its financial situation barely sufficient, but for those in the poorest condition there were no differences between migrants and non-migrants, which may perhaps be explained by the difficulties very poor migrants face in financing their trip. It was only in Morocco that migrants evaluated their financial situation more positively than non-migrants, which is unexpected if taken together with the fact that unemployment was relatively high among migrants. Perhaps migrants in this

country, although unemployed themselves, lived in (their parents') households which were relatively well off.

This chapter has explored some of the characteristics of migrants and non-migrants and their households. It provides us with some indications of the determinants of migration. The following chapter will explore individual motivations as another aspect of the determinants of migration.

6. WHY AND WHERE: MOTIVES AND DESTINATIONS

6.1 Introduction

This chapter begins with a discussion of recent migrants⁹ main reasons for their last emigration from their country of origin (Section 6.2). Although the surveys allow for a fairly detailed analysis of the often multiple motivations for migration, within the framework of this first report motives will be grouped into three overall categories only: economic, family-related and other reasons.

For each of the sending countries surveyed, recent migrants' main motives for leaving will be studied by sex and by area of destination. For the latter variable a distinction between EU and other countries will be made. In addition, the main motives for leaving will be studied for recent current migrants in the receiving countries. Comparisons between the corresponding migrant groups will be made: for instance the motives of recent Egyptian migrants interviewed in Egypt and the motives of recent current Egyptian migrants interviewed in Italy. The data quality concerning the latter group may be considered higher because of the lower proportion of proxy answers.

Section 6.3 focuses on the most important countries of (last) destination of recent migrants. Similarities and differences will be shown with regard to the distribution patterns of emigration flows for the five sending countries. Also the degree of orientation towards the EU will be covered.

In addition to the motives for leaving the country of origin, the motives for choosing a specific country of destination are analysed in Section 6.4. In order to avoid getting duplicate answers in the survey, only MMAs were asked for their motives in moving to a particular country.¹⁰ Here too, for each of the sending and receiving countries surveyed the reasons are examined by sex per EU or other destination.

Furthermore, the relation between the reasons for the last emigration from the country of origin and the reasons for moving to a particular destination (again, in relation to the last migration) will be analysed. However, this analysis is hampered by the fact that the groups of respondents differ: MMAs (reasons for moving to a particular country) are only a selected part of the recent migrants (reasons for leaving the country of origin). This implies the exclusion of recent migrants aged under 18 at the time of their last migration, as well as of other recent migrants who did not qualify for MMA. Together with the possibly disturbing effects of proxy answers, especially for current migrants (including MMAs) in the sending countries this means that conclusions should be drawn with care.

Finally, Section 6.5 will summarise the main findings.

6.2 Motives for migration

For all international migrants, the migration history is recorded in Module G¹¹ of the questionnaire. Respondents were asked to indicate the main reason for leaving the country of origin.

⁹ This category includes both current migrants and return migrants.

¹⁰ For more details see Section 3.1.

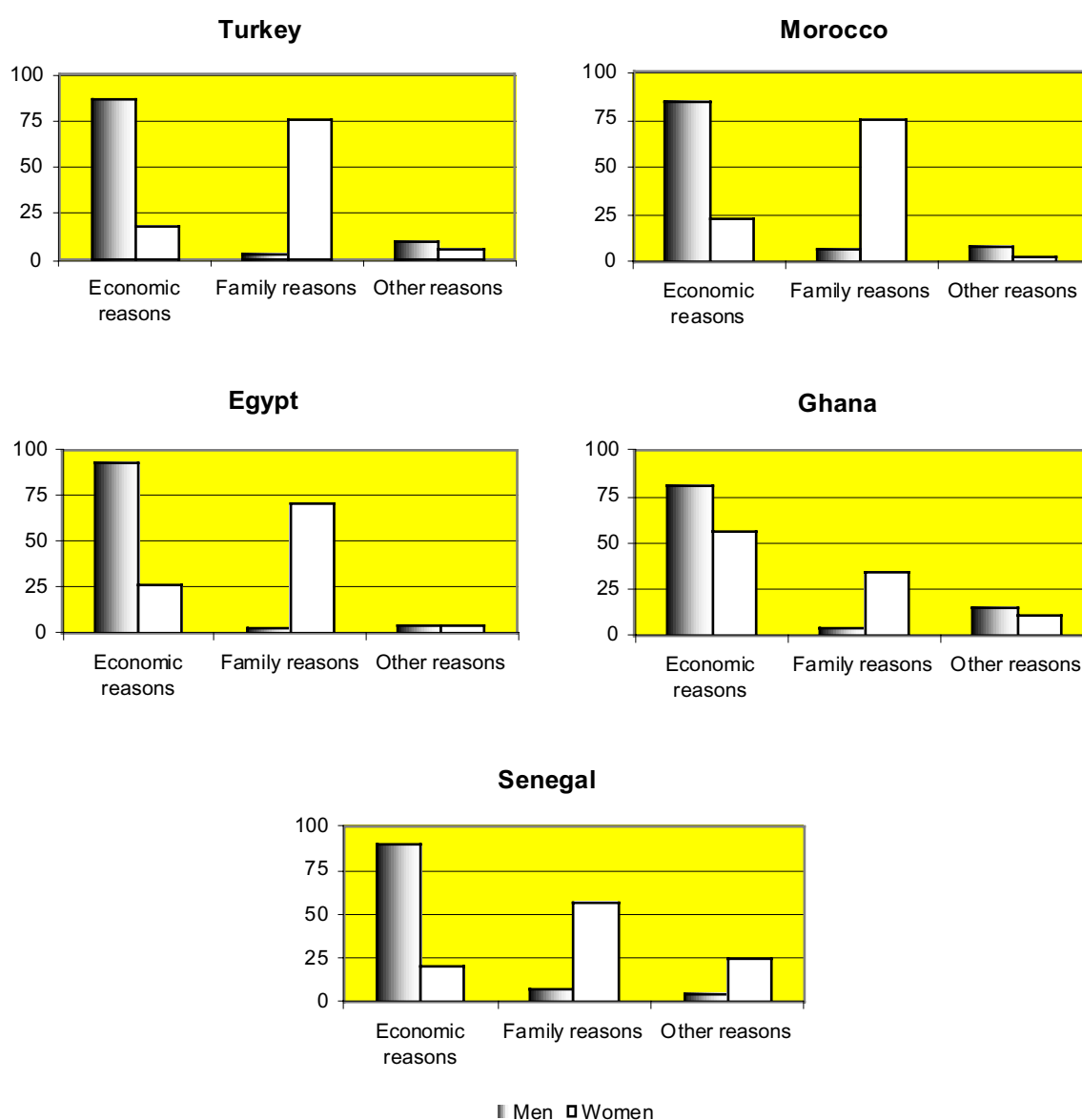
¹¹ The module contains questions on all places where the person concerned lived for at least one year, including timing or duration, and on overall reasons for leaving each place.

The reasons for the last emigration are summarised here in three categories:

- economic reasons, including any reasons that relate to work, employment, or the lack of it, as well as reasons related to job improvement, a better income, or a higher standard of living;
- family-related reasons, such as family reunification or marriage;
- other reasons, e.g. reasons related to school or study, fear of war or persecution, retirement, end of contract, homesickness, expulsion, etc.

In Figure 6.1 the main reasons for leaving, for both men and women, are summarised for the sending countries according to the three categories given. The general picture is clear: for male recent migrants economic reasons are predominant, for female recent migrants family reasons. The relevance of other reasons, as a main reason, is often very limited.

Figure 6.1 Main reason for last emigration from country of origin by sex, per sending country (%)*

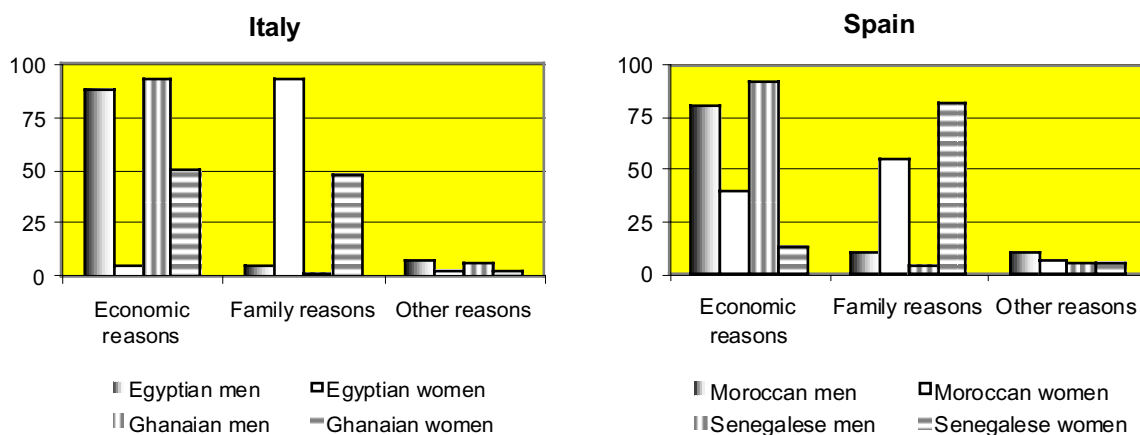


* Recent migrants.
 N -Turkey: 616 men, 113 women, 14 and 1 missing respectively; Morocco: 919, 164, 5, 1;
 Egypt: 1,022, 96, 4, 0; Ghana: 506, 204, 15, 9; Senegal: 799, 78, 12, 1.

For men, the percentage of economic reasons, being the most important for leaving the country of origin, varies from 81 for Ghanaians to 93 for Egyptians. Male recent migrants rarely left primarily because of family reasons (from two per cent in Egypt to seven per cent in Morocco). In the other reasons category, the range is somewhat larger: from 4 per cent in Senegal to 15 per cent in Ghana. The relatively high percentage in the latter country is mainly due to education. Ghana is distinct from the other surveyed countries too with regard to the main reasons of female recent migrants for leaving the country of origin. Only in Ghana are economic reasons (56 per cent) more important than family ones (34 per cent). The minor role of Islam in the Ghanaian regions surveyed compared to the other countries (see also Chapter 4) probably contributes to this. In the remaining countries the percentage of family-related reasons for women to leave varies from 57 in Senegal to 75 in Turkey.

In the receiving countries too, recent current migrants were asked to indicate the main reason for their last move abroad from the country of origin. The results are shown in Figure 6.2.¹² To a large extent, this figure confirms the conclusions drawn for the sending countries. For Egyptians in Italy the differences between men and women are even more evident than for recent migrants in Egypt: almost all female Egyptian recent migrants in Italy left Egypt primarily for family reasons. For Ghanaian women in Italy economic motives for having left Ghana are important, as in Ghana, although in Italy the difference between economic and family reasons is negligible. Educational motives, frequently mentioned by male recent migrants in Ghana, are rare in the answers given by the Ghanaian male migrants in Italy. This might indicate that countries other than Italy are chosen to improve one's educational level. However, the inclusion of return migrants in the answers given in Ghana as well as the influence of proxy answers may also (partly) explain this difference. The contrast between Moroccan men and women in Spain is less pronounced than in the country of origin: Spain attracts more Moroccan women for primarily economic reasons and fewer for primarily family reasons than would be expected on the basis of the answers given in the country of origin. Although the numbers are small, the opposite seems true for female Senegalese recent migrants in Spain: more family motives and less economic motives.

Figure 6.2 Main reason for last emigration by sex, per receiving country and migrant group (%)*



* Recent current migrants.

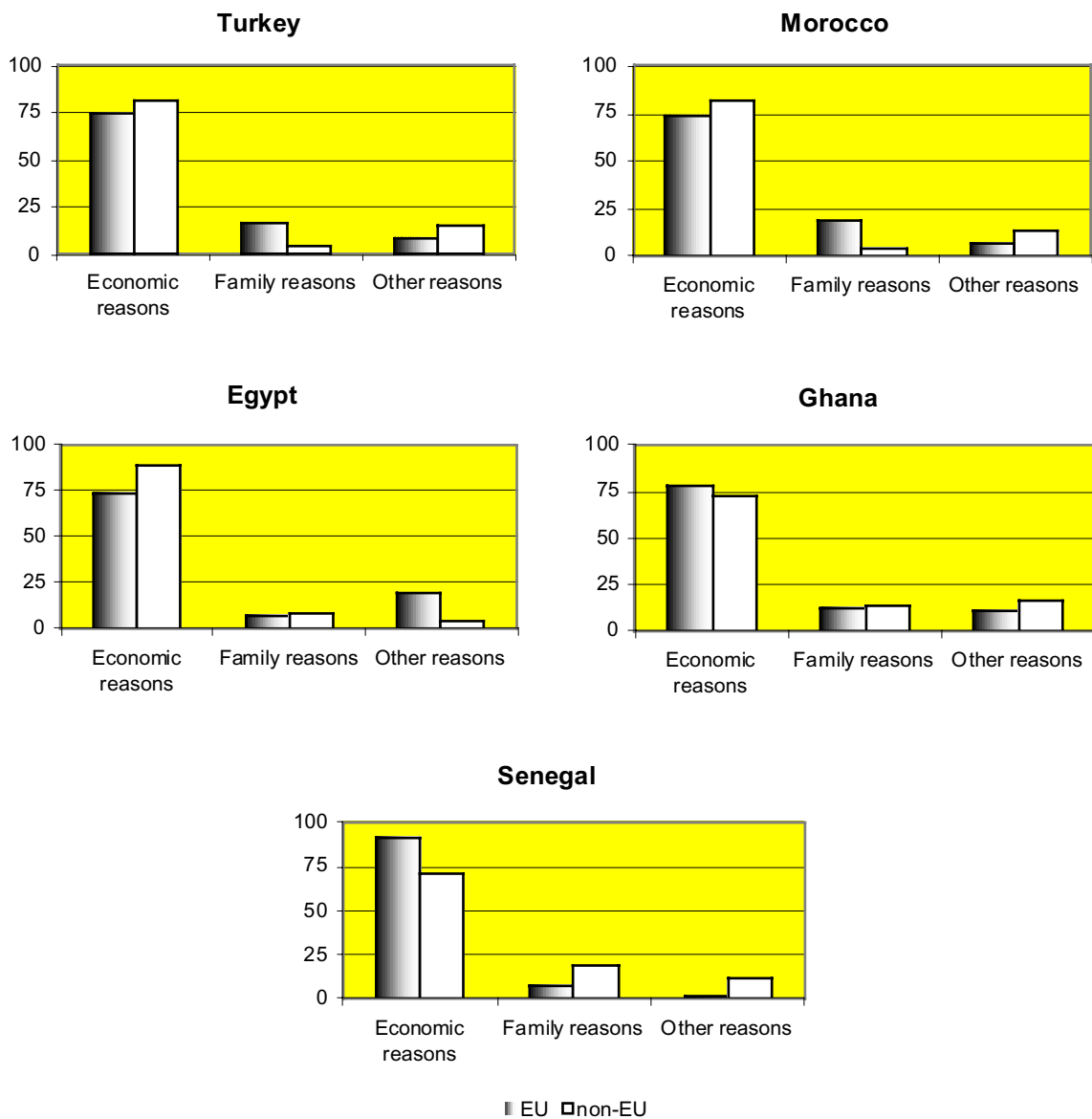
N - in Italy: 516 Egyptian men, 176 women, 6 missing; 567 Ghanaian men, 232 women, 10 missing; in Spain: 512 Moroccan men, 315 women, 58 missing; 461 Senegalese men, 75 women, 36 missing.

¹² The same pattern was found for Turks and Moroccans in the Netherlands (see country report the Netherlands).

One might wonder whether the main reasons for leaving the country of origin are connected with the country of destination. In this respect a distinction is made in Figure 6.3 between EU and other countries for the five sending countries. From this figure it appears that there are only slight differences when the main reasons for the last emigration are crossed with the area of destination.

Family reasons are given more often for Turkish and Moroccan recent migrants who left for EU countries, while the opposite is true for Senegalese migrants. Given the migration history to EU countries (long for Turks and Moroccans, short for Senegalese, except for those in France) this conclusion is as expected. In the cases of Ghana and Egypt, family reasons seem to be not related to the area of destination. Furthermore, there are some remarkable differences in the 'other reasons' category. With the exception of Egypt, other reasons (mostly related to school/study) underlie migration to non-EU countries more frequently.

Figure 6.3 Main reason for last emigration from country of origin by area of destination, per sending country (%)*



* Recent migrants.
 N - Turkey: 553 EU, 170 non-EU, 21 missing; Morocco: 1,024, 50, 17;
 Egypt: 113, 1,002, 7; Ghana: 256, 408, 70; Senegal: 488, 388, 14.

This may indicate that EU countries generally attract fewer migrants for educational purposes than other countries. This would not be surprising given the restrictive admissions policies in the European Union. Almost the only options to enter (most of) the EU countries legally are for family reunification of close kin, marriage or, with less certainty, for asylum (see e.g. Schoorl and Idema, 1997). A few exceptions are made only for high-level education, or specific professional categories. Remembering the relatively high educational level of Egyptian migrants (see Chapter five), this may help to explain the special position of Egyptians in this context.

6.3 Countries of destination

In Figure 6.4 the main countries of last destination of all recent migrants are shown for each of the sending countries surveyed. It is worth repeating here that households that migrated as a whole are not included in the surveys in the sending countries. To that extent there may be a bias in the study of the determinants of migration. This should be kept in mind when judging the following results.¹³

While reasons for emigration show a remarkable resemblance between the countries, large differences appear to exist in the distribution pattern of the emigration flows in the respective countries (cf. Chapter 4). Emigration from Turkey and Morocco (as measured in the survey) is strongly EU-oriented. From Morocco, only four per cent leave for a non-EU country. Although the equivalent Turkish percentage is significantly higher (21), it includes a substantial flow to (non-EU) Switzerland (8 per cent). The conclusion that emigration from both Turkey and Morocco is mainly directed towards EU countries does not mean that the same EU countries are involved. Only France and the Netherlands are common destination countries when considering the top five for Turkey and Morocco. Almost half of the Turkish migration is directed towards Germany, followed at some considerable distance by Austria and France (both about ten per cent). However, Germany and Austria do not attract Moroccans, whereas France is the number one destination for Moroccans, closely followed by Italy (28 per cent) and Spain (20 per cent). These last two countries in turn do not seem to be attractive to Turks.

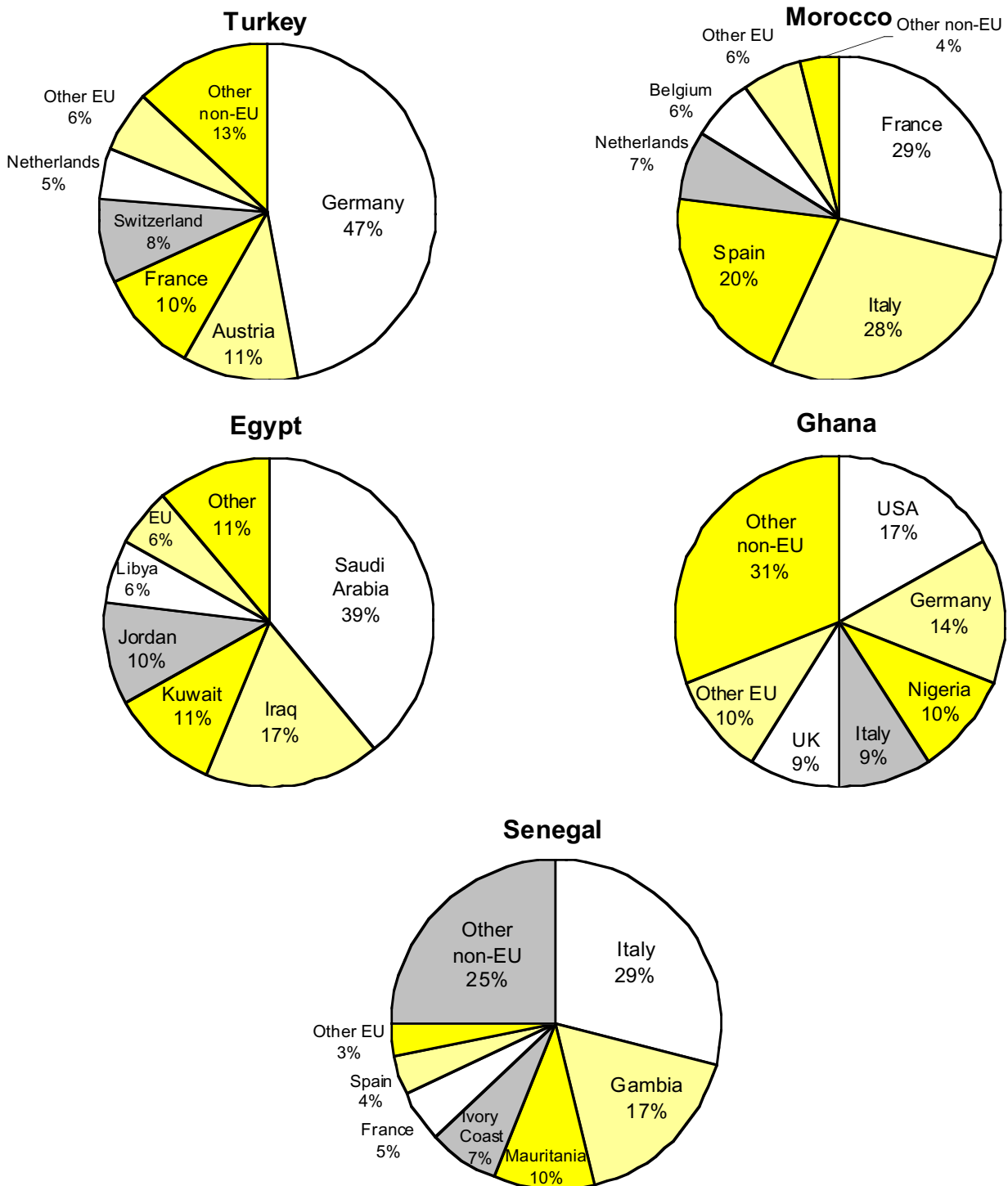
The Sub-Saharan African countries show completely different emigration patterns. Only a minority of Ghanaian and Senegalese emigrants head for EU countries (43 and 41 per cent respectively). The emigration pattern of Ghanaians is clearly mixed, with the USA, Germany, Nigeria and Italy as the top four. This is less so for Senegal: apart from a strong orientation towards Italy, Senegalese emigrants in particular leave for other African countries (Gambia, Mauritania and Ivory Coast). In addition, France and Spain play modest roles.

For Egyptians, emigration to EU countries is of minor importance (only six per cent). Instead, Egyptian migrants move mainly to other Middle East countries. Saudi Arabia is the most favourite destination (almost 40 per cent), followed by Iraq (17 per cent), Kuwait (11 per cent) and Jordan (10 per cent).

The great variety in the emigration distribution patterns of the countries surveyed underlines, amongst other things, the relevance of the (migration) history of each of those countries. Previous colonial bonds (e.g. Morocco and France, Morocco and Spain, Ghana and the UK, Senegal and France) continue to be reflected in migration flows long after the end of formal colonisation. Of course, a common language and well-established networks do contribute to this, also where there are no previous colonial ties (for instance Egyptians moving to Arab speaking countries).

¹³ For Turks and Moroccans this bias is probably more evident than for the other populations surveyed. However, the bias effects may be weakened by the fact that migration of whole households often relates to 'old' migration, while this study concentrates on recent migration.

Figure 6.4 Main countries of destination, per sending country (%)*



* Recent migrants.

N - Turkey: 736, 8 missing; Morocco: 1,077, 14; Egypt: 1,121, 1; Ghana: 699, 35; Senegal: 888, 2.

Apart from that, historical events such as the mass recruitment of Turkish labourers at the end of the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s, still have a strong influence on the continuation of migration flows. Here too the role of migrant networks should not be underestimated (for more details see Chapter 7). Other events, such as the recent war in Iraq, may suddenly stop migration flows (from Egypt to Iraq). Differential admission policies (especially with respect to family reunification) bias the results so that destinations where disproportionately large shares of whole households have moved, show up less here (for

example: the Netherlands for Turks). Last but not least the geographical situation and distance to other countries should be mentioned as a relevant factor in choosing a country of destination, whether or not combined with other factors (e.g. Senegal and Gambia, Morocco and Spain, Ghana and Nigeria).

6.4 Attractiveness of countries

All MMAs were asked for their motives in choosing a particular country of destination. Respondents were requested to indicate their two most important reasons, the first of which is included in the present analysis. As in Section 6.2, the motives are grouped into three overall categories of economic, family-related, and other reasons.

Although there may be a strong relationship between the reasons to leave a country and the reason to choose a specific country of destination, they should be clearly distinguished from each other. For example, one leaves the country to get a job (economic motives) and chooses a destination where family members can assist in finding a job (family motives). Another example: the decision to leave is caused by income considerations (economic reasons) while the destination is determined by the possibilities of easy admission (other reasons).

From an analytical point of view, making comparisons between the reasons for leaving the country of origin and the reasons for choosing a particular destination may yield relevant conclusions. However, one should note that the groups of respondents differ: all recent migrants answered questions about the motives for leaving while questions about the choice of destination were only answered by a select part of this group, the MMAs. Since the motives expressed by MMAs may not necessarily be representative of all recent migrants, one should be careful in drawing conclusions.¹⁴

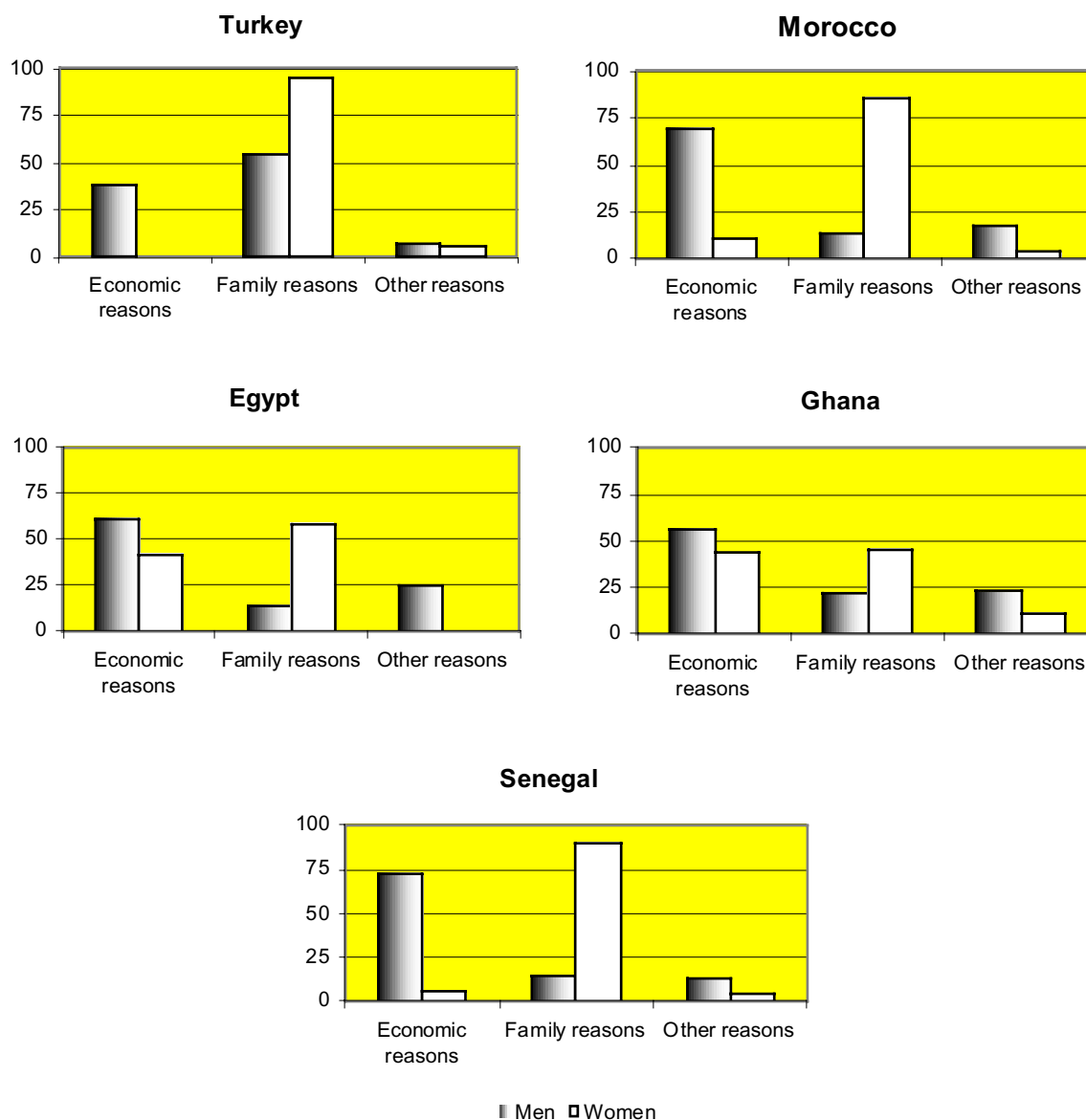
For MMAs in each of the sending countries, Figure 6.5 illustrates the main reasons for choosing the last country of destination. Although direct comparisons are hazardous, there are some striking differences between this figure and Figure 6.1. The predominance of economic reasons for male Turkish migrants to leave the country of origin is not reflected in the choice of destination. This indicates that many Turks leave their country for economic reasons and choose a country of destination within the context of family reasons. For Egyptian and Ghanaian men too, the prevalence of economic factors declines notably when it comes to the decision to leave to go to a specific country, in favour of family motives. Finally, for male Moroccan and Senegalese migrants the reasons for leaving and choosing a particular country do not differ much.

Although the numbers of female MMAs are relatively low, the results suggest that there are also few deviations between Figures 6.1 and 6.5 with regard to female migrants. Family reasons remain uppermost in the choice of a particular country. Again, economic reasons are also important only for Ghanaian women.

To summarise the above: the strong contrast between male and female migrants with respect to the motivation to leave the country of origin declines when it comes to the motivation for choosing a particular country of destination. This is especially true for Turkey, Egypt and Ghana.

¹⁴ Of course, it is possible to analyse the motives for leaving the country of origin for MMAs only. However, these analyses have not been carried out for this publication.

Figure 6.5 Main reason for choosing last country of destination by sex, per sending country (%)*

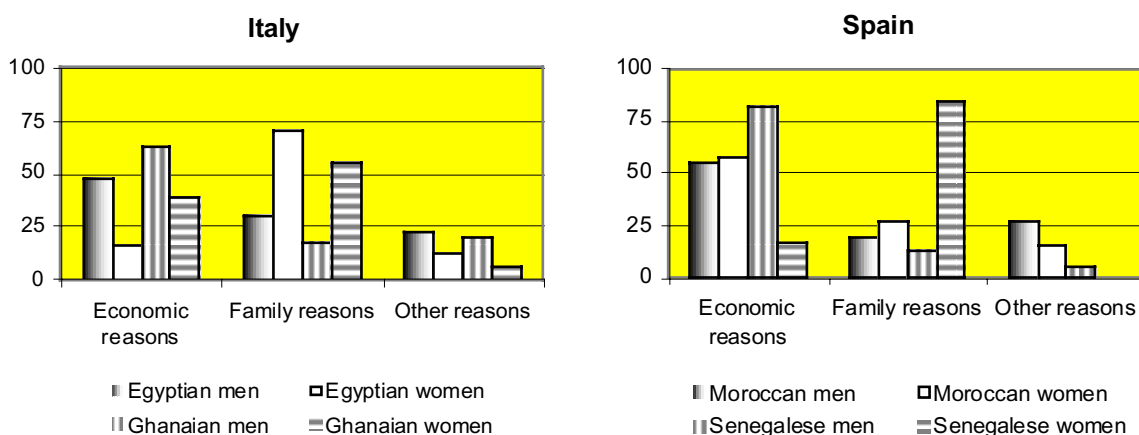


* MMAs.
 N -Turkey: 418 men, 46 women, 64 missing; Morocco: 756, 97, 35;
 Egypt: 843, 27, 29; Ghana: 476, 165, 46; Senegal: 556, 45, 50.

Given similarities in migration history and hence the existence of extensive family networks, it may be somewhat surprising that those networks appear to be more decisive for male Turkish MMAs than for male Moroccan MMAs in the choice of the country of destination. A clear explanation of this divergence between Turks and Moroccans is hard to give. It might indicate that given their perception of the socio-economic situation in the county of origin, male Moroccan MMAs base their choice to emigrate primarily on economic reasons much more frequently than male Turkish MMAs, even when they choose a particular country for family-related reasons. More favourable economic conditions in Turkey than in Morocco (see also Chapter 4) may have contributed to this.

In Italy and Spain, MMAs from selected countries were asked to indicate the main reason for choosing that particular country. The results are presented in Figure 6.6.

Figure 6.6 Main reason for choosing last country of destination by sex, per receiving country and migrant group (%)*



* MMAs.

N -in Italy: 482 Egyptian men, 24 women, 2 missing; 543 Ghanaian men, 123 women, none missing; in Spain: 410 Moroccan men, 136 women, 52 missing; 399 Senegalese men, 43 women, 72 missing.

For Egyptian and Ghanaian migrants in Italy, as well as for Senegalese migrants in Spain, the resemblance to Figure 6.5 is clearly visible. Obviously, the motivation by Egyptians and Ghanaians in Italy in choosing that country corresponds with the general motivation of Egyptians and Ghanaians in choosing a country of destination. The same holds for Senegalese in Spain.

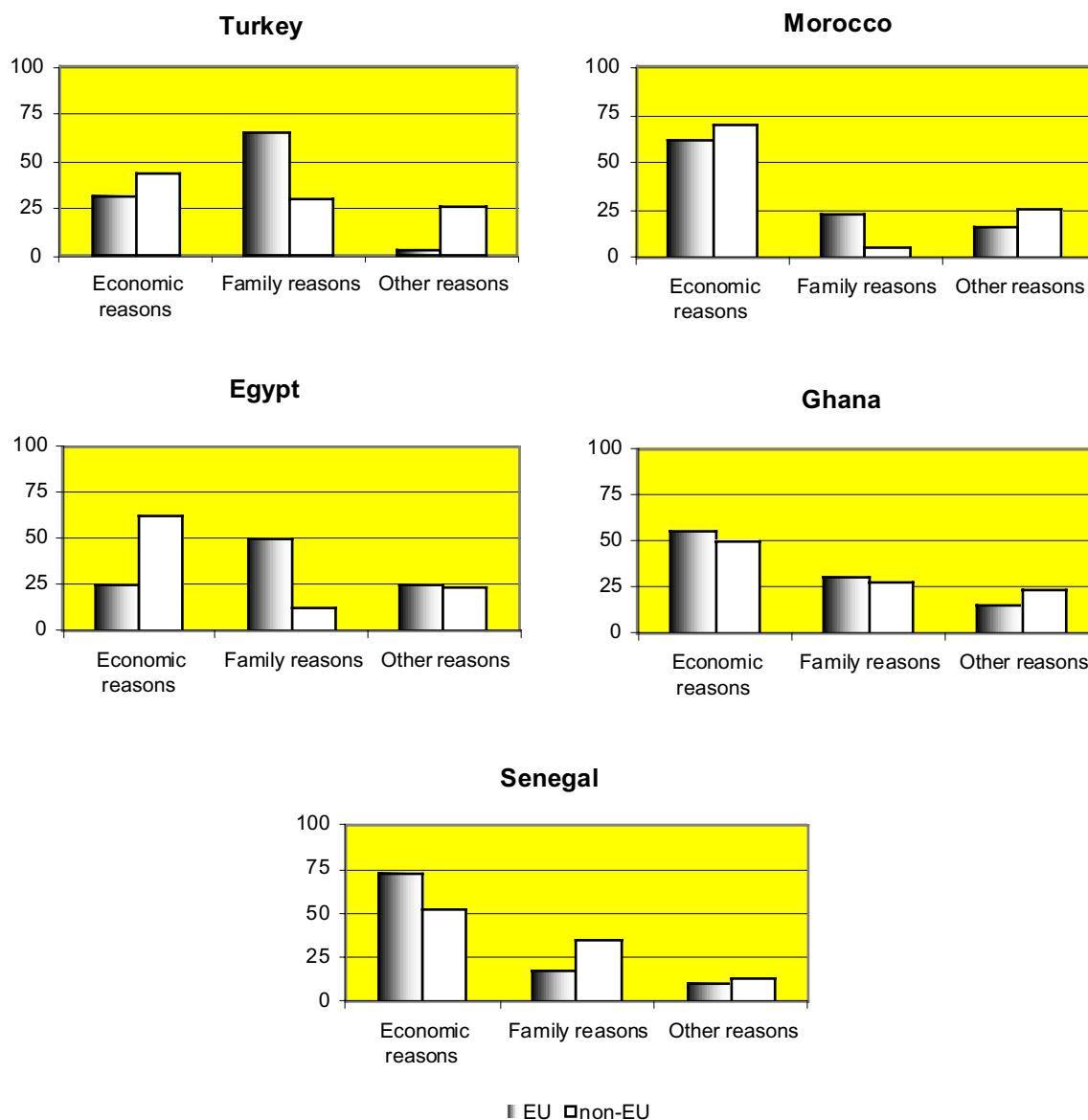
Notably different results are observed only for Moroccans interviewed in Spain: for Moroccan women the choice of Spain was more often determined by economic motives than could be expected on the basis of the results in Figure 6.5, while the opposite is true for Moroccan men.¹⁵ This might indicate a special position for Spain compared to other destinations of Moroccans, both geographically (Spain is the nearest EU country to Morocco) and mentally (Moroccans consider Spain relatively easy to enter, even without the required documents; see Chapter 7).

Finally, Figure 6.7 focuses on differences in motivation between the choice of EU and other countries. These differences are manifest for Turkish MMAs: family motives determine two out of every three moves to the EU against one out of every four to other countries. Economic reasons appear to be more important when a non-EU country is chosen. Other reasons for moving to the EU are hardly mentioned by Turkish MMAs; other reasons for moving to destinations outside the EU often relate to educational opportunities and perceived easy admission.

As noted before, the picture for Moroccan MMAs is quite different from the Turkish one. Although family reasons play a more substantial role in choosing the EU (23 per cent) than in choosing other destinations (5 per cent), economic reasons remain dominant (62 per cent). Again this might indicate that given their perception of the socio-economic situation in the country of origin, male Moroccan MMAs base their choice primarily on economic reasons much more often than male Turkish MMAs do, even when they have actually entered a country for family reasons. Less favourable economic conditions in Morocco than in Turkey (see also Chapter 4) may have contributed to this.

¹⁵ A similar conclusion was drawn with regard to the motives for leaving the country of origin (Figure 6.2 compared to Figure 6.1).

Figure 6.7 Main reason for choosing EU or non-EU destination, per sending country (%)*



* MMAs.

N - Turkey: 352 EU, 103 non-EU, 66 missing; Morocco: 805, 43, 40; Egypt: 88, 775, 32; Ghana: 220, 337, 60; Senegal: 361, 230, 61.

Further investigation of the differences between EU and non-EU destinations is not appropriate in the Moroccan case because there is hardly any emigration to countries outside the EU (see also Figure 6.4). While the inverse is true for Egypt (hardly any emigration to the EU), analyses of the differences in motivation between EU and other countries are not appropriate in the Egyptian case either. The (Middle East) country of destination is chosen by Egyptian MMAs primarily on economic grounds. Family reasons play only a modest role. Other reasons (for destinations outside the EU) often relate to (easy) admission rules.

The motivation of Ghanaian MMAs to choose a specific country of destination is hardly influenced by the distinction between EU and non-EU. The fact that the USA, an 'EU-like country', is the most important non-EU destination for Ghanaians may (partially) explain the similar patterns. Irrespective of the distinction between EU and non-EU, about half of the surveyed Ghanaian MMAs decided on a destination on economic grounds. For one third family reasons prevailed while in the category other reasons, for both EU and non-EU destinations, educational opportunities were mentioned most often.

For Senegalese, three quarters of moves to the EU are motivated by economic reasons against one in two to other countries. On the other hand, family reasons are more important when it comes to emigration to non-EU countries (35 per cent against 17 per cent). This is not surprising given their short EU migration history (with the exception of France) and the migration links with other African countries that have been in existence for longer.

6.5 Conclusions

In general terms, the five sending countries show many similarities in motives for leaving the country of origin as well as in motives for choosing a particular destination. However, large differences appear to exist in the distribution pattern of the emigration flows of the respective countries, including the degree of EU orientation. The great variety in the emigration distribution patterns of the countries surveyed underlines amongst other things the relevance of the (migration) history of each of those countries. Previous colonial bonds continue to be reflected in migration flows long after formal colonisation has ended. Of course, a common language and well established networks contribute to this, also where colonial ties are lacking. Apart from that, historical events such as the mass recruitment of Turkish and Moroccan labourers at the end of the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s, still have a strong influence on the continuation of migration flows. Here too, the role of migrant networks should not be underestimated (see also Chapter 7). Other events, such as wars and civil conflicts, may suddenly generate mass emigration (refugee) flows from the country concerned and stop immigration flows from other countries. Furthermore, the role of (changing) admission policies and the perception of these policies by (potential) migrants may strongly influence the distribution patterns of emigration flows. For example, frequent regularisation campaigns (as in Italy and Spain) could encourage undocumented migration to these countries. Last but not least the geographical situation and distance to other countries should be mentioned as a relevant factor in choosing a country of destination, whether or not combined with other factors.

The main reasons for deciding to leave the country of origin are strongly related to the distinction between men's and women's motives. In general, economic motives predominate for male migrants while family-related reasons predominate for female migrants. The relevance of other reasons, as a main motive, is often limited. Mostly, those other reasons involve educational opportunities. This conclusion reflects the general emigration pattern of sending countries, starting with individual migration, primarily involving men looking for a job or education, or escaping from persecution, and is followed gradually over time by family reunification migration and family formation migration, primarily involving women.

Ghana is the exception to the rule that by far most female migrants leave for family motives: economic motives appear to be more important for Ghanaian women. The minor role of Islam in Ghana compared to the other countries surveyed probably contributes to this.

Other than for Ghanaians, the sharp contrast in motives between male and female migrants for leaving the country of origin is confirmed by Egyptian migrants who were interviewed in Italy, and by Moroccan and Senegalese migrants who were interviewed in Spain.

Comparison of EU destinations with others tells us that there are only slight differences in the main reasons for emigration. Family reasons are given more often for Turkish and Moroccan recent migrants who left for EU countries, while the opposite is true for Senegalese migrants. Furthermore, there are some remarkable differences with regard to the category 'other reasons'. With the exception of Egypt, other reasons (mostly related to school/study) more frequently underlie migration to non-EU countries. This may indicate that EU countries generally attract fewer migrants for educational purposes, than other countries. This is not surprising given the restrictive admission policies in the European Union, which in practice leave almost only family reunification of close kin and marriage as options to enter (most of) the EU countries legally.

Emigration from Turkey and Morocco is strongly EU-oriented. However, this does not mean that the same EU countries are concerned. When looking at the top five destination countries, Turkey and Morocco have only France and the Netherlands in common. On the other hand, Germany (number one destination for Turks) and Austria (number two) do not attract Moroccans, whereas Italy (number two destination for Moroccans) and Spain (number three) do not attract Turks. Only a minority of Ghanaian and Senegalese emigrants head for EU countries. The emigration pattern of Ghanaians is clearly mixed with the USA, Germany, Italy and Nigeria as the top four. This is less true for Senegal: apart from a strong orientation towards Italy, Senegalese emigrants moved to other African countries (Gambia, Mauritania and Ivory Coast). In addition, France and Spain play modest roles. Emigration to EU countries is hardly important to Egyptians. Instead, Egyptian migrants moved mainly to Middle East countries (Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Kuwait and Jordan). After the Gulf War migration to Iraq came to an end.

The strong contrast between male and female migrants with respect to their motivation to leave their country of origin declines, especially in Turkey, Egypt and Ghana, when focusing on the motivation for choosing a particular destination. For Turkish, Egyptian and Ghanaian men the prevalence of economic factors in the decision to choose a specific country declines noticeably in favour of family motives. The reasons for leaving and choosing do not differ much for male Moroccan and Senegalese migrants. The deviations for female migrants are also insignificant. For Egyptian and Ghanaian migrants in Italy, as well as for Senegalese migrants in Spain, the main reasons for choosing the country of destination hardly diverge from the results of the choice of destination obtained in the respective countries of origin. Notably different results are observed only for Moroccans interviewed in Spain: for Moroccan women, choosing Spain was determined more often by economic motives than could be expected on the basis of the answers that were given in the Moroccan survey, while the opposite was true for Moroccan men. This may indicate a special position for Spain compared to other destinations of Moroccans, both geographically (Spain is the nearest EU country to Morocco) and mentally (Moroccans consider Spain relatively easy to enter, even without the required documents; see Chapter 7).

The differences in motivation between the choice of EU and other countries are manifest for Turkish migrants: family motives determine two out of three moves to the EU against one in four moves to other countries. Economic reasons appear to be more important in the choice of non-EU countries. Other reasons for moving to the EU are hardly mentioned. Other reasons for moving to destinations outside the EU often relate to educational opportunities and easy admission. This conclusion mirrors the history of Turkish migration to the EU against the background of changed admission policies, starting with labour migration towards the end of the 1960s and early 1970s, and followed by family reunification and family formation in the years thereafter. Although a similar conclusion could be expected pertaining to Moroccan migration towards the EU, the survey yields diverging results in the sense that economic reasons remain predominant for the MMAs who chose to migrate to a particular EU country during the past ten years. This might indicate that Moroccan MMAs, given their perception of the socio-economic situation in the county of origin, base their choice primarily on economic reasons much more often than Turkish MMAs, even when they have actually entered a country for family reasons. Less favourable economic conditions in Morocco than in Turkey (see also Chapter 4) may have contributed to this.

The motivation of Ghanaians in choosing a specific country of destination is not substantially influenced by the distinction between EU and non-EU. The orientation of Ghanaian emigration to 'western' non-EU countries (USA) may explain this. For the Senegalese, economic reasons for choosing a country are important for three out of every four moves to the EU against one in two to other countries. On the other hand, family reasons are more important when it comes to emigration to non-EU countries (mostly other African countries).

7. ON THE MOVE: MECHANISMS OF MIGRATION

7.1 Introduction

Information plays an essential role in migration decision-making. It not only affects the decision as to whether or not to migrate, but also the choice of destination. In addition to individual background characteristics such as sex, education and life-cycle stage, other factors such as for example the nature, amount and source of information are also perceived to be essential in the migration decision (Hugo, 1987). Information allows the potential migrant an improved assessment of the costs and benefits of migration and also has a motivational aspect.

Amongst other sources, information is channelled through networks. Personal networks (based on family, friendship and community ties) in potential destination countries are one of the main factors in shaping and sustaining international migration (Massey *et al.*, 1987; Boyd, 1989; Hugo, 1981; Gurak and Caces, 1992). An elaborate study on the migration system in the Philippines showed network support variables to be the most important factor in predicting migration behaviour (Sycip and Fawcett, 1988). For instance networks not only take care of passing on information, but also transmitting remittances, organising a job or housing beforehand and giving financial assistance. In this way the network reduces costs and risks and thereby facilitates the decision to migrate.

Networks are also a way to gain access (legally or illegally) to a particular country, for instance through marriage between members of networks. This is especially the case if kinship and/or community groups play an important role in the selection of a mate. The role of kin and networks is actually enhanced by the European Union's restrictive admission policies, which in practice leave almost only family reunification of close kin and marriage as options to enter (most of) the EU countries legally (Schoorl and Idema, 1997).

The functioning of networks in the migration process may be powerfully affected by the type of society the migrant comes from. Migrant networks may exert strong influences on the continuation of migration in societies characterised by family obligation and reciprocal exchange, with strong ties between migrants and their communities of origin (reinforced by visits or remittances), and family decision making (see e.g. Esveldt *et al.*, 1995).

Migration networks play a role in legal as well as illegal migration processes. More restrictive admission policies in the countries of the European Union imply that residence permits can almost exclusively be acquired by close family and marriage partners of resident migrants. This implies that other migrants who do not fulfil these requirements have to use other methods to enter and reside in a country. Networks will play a facilitating role in these migration processes too.

The first part of this chapter (Section 7.2) deals with the role of information in the migration process. It will focus on the question of whether migrants have information on the country of destination, the topics they have information about and the sources of information. The second part (Section 7.3) discusses the role of migration networks. Analyses are carried out on network size, variation in networks between men and women, and migrants moving to EU and other destinations. In addition, the relationship between networks and information on the country of destination is explored. For example, do migrants with a network more often have information and use other sources than those without a network? The last network issue examined here, is the frequency with which migrants are followed by family or friends.

Section 7.4 refers to admission and migration strategies. Undocumented migration to any destination in the past as well as undocumented migration to the current (last) country of destination is analysed. One of the main issues is whether networks of irregular migrants are distinct from those of regular migrants. Do migrants who say that they entered their last country of destination undocumented, more often have networks at destination than those who say that they did have the required papers when entering the country? This information is limited to the last destination since questions on networks referred to migration to the last destination (whether undocumented or not) only. Moreover, those migrants who entered with legal papers but overstayed their visa are not included in the analyses. Therefore the results on illegal migrants' use of networks can only be indicative. This section also examines irregular migration to any past destination. Analysis is carried out on the migrants who report ever having entered or stayed in a country without the required papers. Other analyses cover the strategies used, the degree of success of attempts to stay and reside undocumented and the most important destinations. The final section of the chapter (7.5) will summarise the major findings and conclusions.

As in the previous chapters a distinction will be made in terminology between those respondents in the receiving country and those in the sending country. For example 'Moroccans', 'Moroccans at origin' and 'Moroccans in the sending country', refers to Moroccans who were part of the survey in Morocco whereas 'Moroccans in Spain' refers to the Moroccans who were interviewed in Spain. 'Moroccans in the country of origin' also include Moroccans living abroad (outside Morocco, probably even in Spain), but all of them are part of the survey which was carried out in Morocco.

7.2 The role of information

7.2.1 Information

In general the vast majority of the respondents say that they had information on their last country of destination before migration. Tables 7.1 and 7.2 present the figures for the different migrant groups in the sending and receiving countries separately. When interpreting the results on information before migration, one should bear in mind that nothing is known regarding the quality of the information.

Table 7.1 Migrants who had information on the country of destination, per topic and sending country (%)*

	Turkey	Morocco	Egypt	Ghana	Senegal
Topics					
level of wages	36	63	64	54	42
opportunities to find work	46	64	62	68	64
cost of living	26	28	50	55	35
unemployment/disability benefits	17	14	7	18	3
child allowance	20	12	4	22	4
health care system	28	13	14	25	10
admission regulations for foreigners	25	24	26	35	36
school system	15	10	12	31	12
attitude towards foreigners	23	12	15	33	26
taxes	7	8	5	17	4
No information at all	40	28	24	20	22
N	514	854	901	643	581
Missing	18	34	-	44	70

* MMAs; percentages do not add up to 100 because more than one topic could be mentioned.

Table 7.2 Migrants who had information on the country of destination, per topic, receiving country and migrant group (%)*

	Italy		Spain	
	Egyptians	Ghanaians	Moroccans	Senegalese
Topics				
level of wages	45	32	57	15
opportunities to find work	56	57	68	27
cost of living	26	17	49	14
unemployment/disability benefits	9	2	26	8
child allowance	9	3	20	6
health care system	13	9	27	11
admission regulations for foreigners	33	21	13	12
school system	10	5	20	4
attitude towards foreigners	33	21	14	15
taxes	8	4	9	7
No information at all	31	31	15	64
N	508	665	594	508
Missing	-	1	4	6

* MMAs; percentages do not add up to 100 because more than one topic could be mentioned.

For the sending countries the percentages of migrants without information vary roughly from 20 to 40 per cent. The Ghanaians seem to have been best informed whereas the Turks quite often have no information at all. Ghanaians did not only most often have information on almost all topics compared to the other migrant groups, but they also relatively frequently said that they had information on many different topics.

For the receiving countries, the percentage of Senegalese in Spain without information is the most striking. Almost two thirds of the Senegalese migrants seem to have had no knowledge of Spain at all before arrival. There is no easy and clear explanation for this extremely low percentage. The influencing factors could be the relatively short migration history of Senegalese to Spain, the great distance between Senegal and Spain and the still small numbers of Senegalese moving to Spain (see Chapter 4). On the other hand, the Moroccans in Spain are relatively well informed. Only 15 per cent of them indicated they did not know anything at all about Spain before migration (this is considerably lower than what their compatriots in Morocco reported). The explanation might be that Moroccans live relatively close to Spain. Other research results have shown that potential migrants have more information on nearby destinations than on distant locations (Gould and White, 1974; Schwartz, 1973). Information is probably easier to get from television and other media as well as from migrants who had gone to Spain earlier.

The results concerning information before migration show a difference between men and women. However, these conclusions should be interpreted carefully because of the small number of female respondents.¹⁶ The results seem to indicate that men generally are more informed than women, meaning that men less often have no information at all. Turkish men seem to be an exception here: 43 per cent of them knew nothing about the destination country before migration, compared to only 20 per cent of the Turkish women.

Contrary to Turkish women, Moroccan women mostly do not have any information at all (68 per cent). Moroccan men seem to be more informed (22 per cent had no information at all) compared to Moroccan women and Turkish men. Of the Egyptian migrants almost one quarter say they had no information at all about their future country of residence. The percentages of men and women having no information only differ slightly (women do have information

¹⁶ In the case of Turkey, Egypt, Senegal, Egyptians in Italy, and Senegalese in Spain the number of female MMA respondents was less than 50.

somewhat less often than men). There is no difference here between the sexes for Ghanaians and Senegalese.

The general conclusion that men tend to be more informed than women is also valid for migrant groups in the receiving countries. Among Ghanaian migrants in Italy, the percentage of women with no information is 45, versus 28 per cent of the men. The Moroccan women in Spain also confirm the general pattern; almost 20 per cent of them had no information at all on Spain before arrival (compared to 14 per cent of the men). Senegalese women in particular often indicated that they were not informed at all about Spain before they moved there (82 per cent, versus 62 per cent of the men). These results are in line with earlier findings for Turks and Moroccans in the Netherlands (see country report for the Netherlands). The Egyptians in Italy are the only exception to the general pattern. Around one third (31 per cent) had no information at all, but there is no significant difference between men and women (percentages are 31 and 36 respectively).

Part of the difference between men and women can be explained by the fact that most women migrate for family reasons, either to follow their parents or husband, or in order to get married (see Chapter 6). The destination is thus already set by the presence of the parents or (future) husband. Information on potential countries of destination is not directly necessary to them. However men's migration goals are mainly economic, which means that it is essential for them to know for example in which country they might have the best opportunities to find work.

7.2.2 Information topics

Tables 7.1 and 7.2 above list the topics migrants knew something about before migration. The subjects that are mentioned most often by the migrants are the economic topics 'opportunities to work' and 'level of wages', generally in this order. This is not really surprising since most respondents are men from countries where they are in general the main family wage earner. The information the migrant had will have been about those subjects that are of direct relevance to the person.

The least mentioned information topic in sending as well as receiving countries is 'taxes'. For the sending countries only Ghanaian migrants say they knew something about this subject. Other subjects not many migrants knew anything about before arrival were unemployment or disability benefits, child allowances, health care systems, and school systems. Turkish and Ghanaian migrants most often report knowledge on these topics. Roughly one quarter of the Turkish and Ghanaian migrants had some information on the health care system. These two migrant groups and the Senegalese often had information on the attitude towards foreigners as well. The Moroccans and Egyptians are less informed on these subjects. Again, only the Ghanaian migrants (in Ghana) say that they had some information on the school system. Their interest in the school system is, however, directly related to their migration goal: a relatively large proportion of the Ghanaian migrants migrated for educational reasons (often to the USA or the United Kingdom).

In general, roughly 20 to 35 per cent of the migrants in both the sending and the receiving countries said they had information on admission regulations for foreigners. From these figures one may conclude that a high 65 to 80 per cent of the migrants did not know anything at all about the admission regulations when moving to their migration destination. The result for the Moroccan and Senegalese migrants in Spain is most striking. Almost 90 per cent of them claim that they did not know anything about Spanish admission regulations for foreigners before they came to Spain. This might be an indication that people, knowing in general that the admission rules are strict, just try to migrate, attracted by the presence of their family or friends in the country of destination, and trusting that they will help. In particular the Senegalese migrants in Spain seem to have had hardly any information at all before arrival in Spain (see above). A possible explanation is that they migrate with assistance of Muslim brotherhoods they belong to in Senegal, especially those from the Touba region. It seems that for the Senegalese the presence of a network in Spain is the most important 'pull factor', although they say that their motives to go to Spain are mainly economic (see Chapter 6).

The results show that men generally were more informed about economic subjects. With respect to other subjects men in general had more or at least as much information at migration as women. For some migrant groups women seem to have had more information on most socio-cultural or socio-economic subjects such as the health care and school system, cost of living, child allowances, attitudes towards foreigners, and admission regulations for foreigners. However, it is not possible to draw clear conclusions based on these figures, as they are based mostly on small numbers of women. Only Ghanaian women knew significantly more about the cost of living and the health care system than (Ghanaian) men.

The distinct types of migration (as mentioned before women mainly migrate to join parents or husband and men often migrate for economic reasons) may cause the general difference between both sexes. Even if men migrate with their family, they still are the ones who are economically responsible for the family according to the mainly Islamic cultures of most of these migrant groups. The situation seems to be different for (often Christian) Ghanaian women, who generally appear to have more information than any of the other female migrant groups on many of the topics (they also more frequently have economic reasons for migration than the other women, see Chapter 6).

Table 7.3 presents the average number of topics about which migrants were informed (by destination region) for the sending countries. As above, the Ghanaians are relatively well informed and there is only a small difference between those Ghanaians going to the EU and those going to other destinations. This same trend can be found for the other sending countries. It is only for Egyptian migrants moving to EU destinations that the average number of topics seems to be greater than for those who go to other (mainly Arabic) countries. It is, however, difficult to draw clear conclusions on this point, as the number of Moroccan migrants going to non-EU destinations and of Egyptian migrants going to EU destinations is low.

For the other sending countries there is only a small difference in the number of information topics between migrants going to EU and to other countries. This does not support the hypothesis that migrants moving to a destination further away are less informed about their future country of destination than those living closer. The Senegalese for example illustrate this. If the Senegalese at origin going to EU destinations (mainly Italy; see Chapter 6) are compared with the Senegalese going to non-EU destinations (mainly surrounding African countries), both groups have the same average number of information topics (Table 7.3).

Table 7.3 Average number of information topics by major destination area, per sending country*

	EU	Non-EU	Total	N	Missing
Turkey	2.4	2.5	2.4	503	29
Morocco	2.5	2.3	2.5	846	42
Egypt	3.3	2.5	2.6	895	4
Ghana	3.8	3.5	3.6	563	122
Senegal	2.4	2.3	2.4	590	60

* MMAs.

The trend is more obvious when the non-EU destinations are split into two: the group of migrants who moved to the USA or Canada and those who went to an African destination. Ghanaians who migrated to another African destination have information on a smaller number of topics, 2.7 versus 4.0 for those who migrated to the USA or Canada.

7.2.3 Sources of information

The major sources of information (in both the sending and the receiving countries including the Netherlands) are family and friends in the country of destination (Tables 7.4 and 7.5). In the sending countries, the percentages vary from 56 per cent for the Egyptian migrants to 83 per cent for the Moroccans. The second most important source is family and friends in the country of origin, varying from 34 per cent of the Turks to 67 per cent of the Moroccans.

Only Ghanaian migrants mention agencies (in country of origin and destination) as sources of information. Ghanaians not only have information on a relatively large number of topics, but they also seem to get their information from many different sources. Apart from agencies, Ghanaian migrants also used school and tourists to obtain information. Television and newspapers are a fairly important source for the other migrant groups as well, except for the Senegalese and Egyptians who rely almost solely on family sources. In fact, television, radio and newspapers are hardly mentioned by them.

Table 7.4 Sources of information about the country of destination, per sending country (%)*

	Turkey	Morocco	Egypt	Ghana	Senegal
Have been there before	7	5	13	9	14
Family at destination	74	83	56	69	70
Family at origin	34	67	47	34	45
Television/radio	31	25	5	19	5
Newspapers, etc.	19	19	5	30	2
School	5	14	1	22	3
Agencies at origin	7	7	1	10	5
Agencies at destination	1	5	0	8	1
Tourists	-	6	0	9	2
Other sources	1	1	3	2	4
N	325	625	675	519	482
Missing	1	-	-	1	7

* MMAs.

Table 7.5 Sources of information about the country of destination, per receiving country and migrant group (%)*

	Italy		Spain	
	Egyptians	Ghanaians	Moroccans	Senegalese
Have been there before	6	8	10	11
Family at destination	55	50	69	59
Family at origin	44	42	43	24
Television/radio	18	14	33	5
Newspapers, etc.	20	22	13	5
School	5	10	9	3
Agencies at origin	5	7	4	2
Agencies at destination	0	0	1	1
Tourists	0	-	12	11
Other sources	1	3	6	14
N	344	456	502	200
Missing	-	-	-	1

* MMAs.

These results confirm what has been indicated by previous research (see e.g. Fawcett and Arnold, 1987a). Goodman (1981), explaining the focus on personal networks as a source of

information, furthermore states that “migrants attach higher credibility to information from trusted friends and relatives. Migrants therefore minimise the uncertainty regarding the destination by acting upon information from personal contacts rather than market or government sources, even if the opportunities provided through these sources appear comparable”. The results presented above are in line with and confirm these findings.

7.3 Migration networks

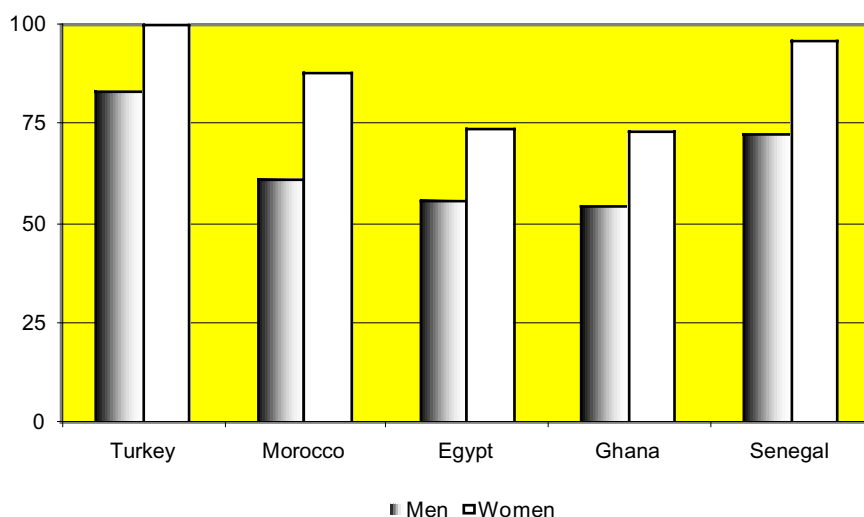
Migration networks are an influential factor in the migration decision (see for instance Massey *et al.*, 1987; Boyd, 1989; Fawcett, 1989). Migration networks serve to reduce the costs and risks of migration, making it a more attractive option (Ritchey, 1976; Wilpert, 1992). Networks further facilitate migration by giving assistance before, during and after the migration, not only by giving information, but also by for instance financing travel costs or helping to find housing or a job (Choldin, 1973; Gurak and Kritz, 1987; Hugo, 1981). In this way networks make international migration attractive as a strategy for survival or to improve one’s situation (Lomnitz, 1976; Massey *et al.*, 1993).

Most migrants in both sending and receiving countries (including the Netherlands) had a network (defined as the presence of family, relatives or friends in the country of destination before migration of the MMA) in the country of destination before migration (Figures 7.1 and 7.2).

The percentage of migrants with a network is lowest for the Egyptians and the Ghanaians, although the majority of these groups has a network too. Among all migrant groups women seem more often to have a network at destination than men. The percentages vary from 56 per cent for the Egyptians to 85 per cent for the Turkish migrants.

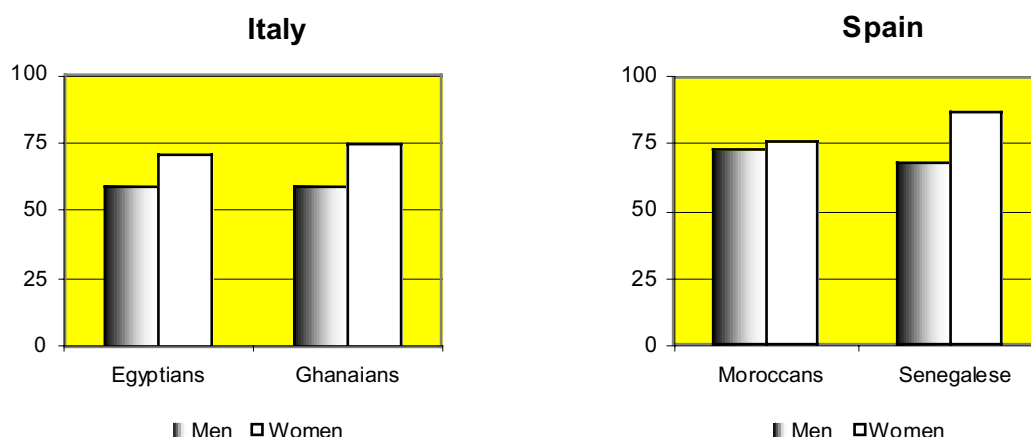
The high percentage of women with a network in the country of destination reflects the importance of family reasons for migration; the presence of the network (parent or partner) is often the actual reason for their migration (see Chapter 6).

Figure 7.1 Network before migration to the country of destination by sex, per sending country (%)*



* MMAs.
 N - Turkey: 475 men, 48 women, 7 missing; Morocco: 759, 101, 28;
 Egypt: 864, 30, 5; Ghana: 486, 168, 33; Senegal: 584, 47, 20.

Figure 7.2 Network before migration to the country of destination by sex, per receiving country and migrant group (%)*

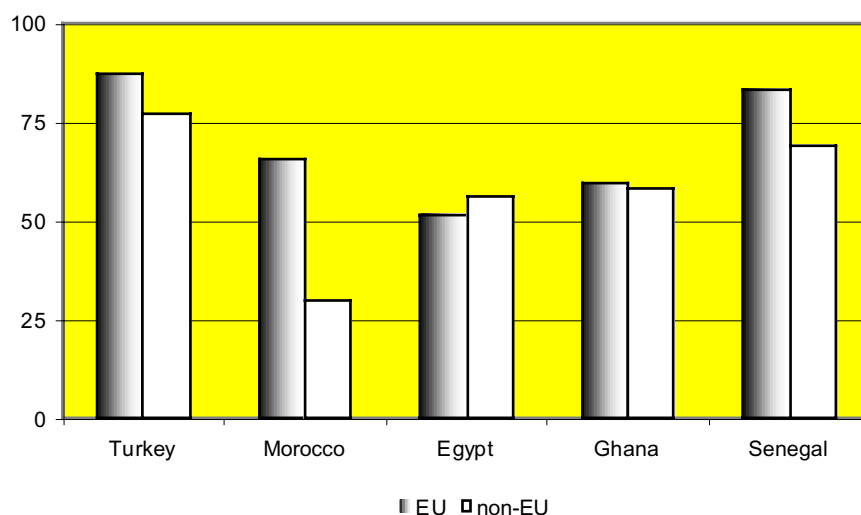


* MMAs.
 N -Egyptians: 484 men, 24 women, none missing; Ghanaians: 543, 123, none missing;
 Moroccans: 440, 153, 5; Senegalese: 456, 46, 12.

Network patterns differ slightly between migrants going to EU countries and those who move to countries outside the EU (Figure 7.3). In the case of Turkish, Moroccan and Senegalese migrants moving to non-EU countries, the existence of networks is rarer. As both Turkish and especially Moroccan migrants hardly ever go to a non-EU destination (see Chapter 5), this result is only relevant in the Senegalese case.

It has been suggested that it is the number (and possibly the nature) of the linkages rather than the simple presence of a network that affects migration. As Sycip and Fawcett (1988) say: "Respondents who have amongst others more auspices and adult relatives in destination are more likely to migrate there." Network size can be of importance (even more so for those who do not only migrate for family reasons) because the chance of assistance for the migrant will be higher if the network is larger.

Figure 7.3 Network before migration to the country of destination by area of destination, per sending country (%)*



* MMAs.
 N -Turkey: 384 EU, 126 non-EU, 20 missing; Morocco: 806, 46, 36;
 Egypt: 92, 798, 9; Ghana: 222, 349, 46; Senegal: 366, 257, 28.

The size of the networks varies enormously between the countries. On average Turkish migrants have the largest networks at destination (6.1) while Ghanaian migrants have the smallest (2.3). The larger network size of the Turkish migrants is caused by the relatively high percentage having a network of 4 persons or more (42 per cent, compared to roughly 20 per cent for the other migrant groups). Most migrant groups have a network consisting of an average of approximately three persons.

There is a size difference in men's and women's networks in both the sending and the receiving countries. Although women tend to have a network more often than men, their networks are (often considerably) smaller than men's networks. This applies to all female migrant groups. For women, the network size varies from 1.6 to 2.3 persons on average against a network size of 2.2 to 6.7 persons on average for men. Once again this is probably related to the migration pattern: most women migrate for family reasons (in the case of a marriage the network may even consist of one person only). So in fact approximately 70 per cent of the female migrants of most migrant groups have a network that consists of one person. For men this percentage varies between 30 and 50 per cent. The women's network may consist mainly of the person they want to join and this will be decisive, rather than the presence or size of a network. One might conclude that for persons who do not migrate for family reasons, the network size seems to be of some importance, as it is generally larger.

Tables 7.6 and 7.7 show that migrants with a network have information more often, and that this information covers a greater variety of topics than migrants who did not have a network. The results for the separate migrant groups are remarkably similar. Turkish and Senegalese migrants are in slight contrast with the other migrant groups as for them the discrepancy in information between those with and without a network is larger than for the other groups. Results for the migrant groups in Spain and Italy as receiving countries show a similar pattern to those in the sending countries. Earlier findings among Turks and Moroccans in the Netherlands are also in line with this (see country report for the Netherlands).

Table 7.6 Percentage having information and average number of topics on destination by existence of network in the country of destination, per sending country*

Network	Turkey		Morocco		Egypt		Ghana		Senegal	
	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no
Information (%)	64	37	79	63	84	66	87	71	88	53
Number of topics	2.6	1.4	2.9	1.8	2.9	2.2	3.9	3.2	2.5	1.5
N	384	126	522	313	483	411	376	251	470	116
Missing		20		53		5		60		65

* MMAs.

Table 7.7 Percentage having information and average number of topics on destination by existence of network in the country of destination, per receiving country and migrant group*

Network	Italy				Spain			
	Egyptians		Ghanaians		Moroccans		Senegalese	
	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no
Information (%)	77	58	75	60	87	79	41	26
Number of topics	3.0	1.6	2.0	1.2	3.2	2.4	1.4	0.7
N	296	212	393	273	428	164	347	155
Missing		-		-		6		12

* MMAs.

To find out whether there is a relation between networks and information, an analysis has been done on information sources of those with and without a network. The results are

presented in Tables 7.8 and 7.9. Those migrants who have relatives or friends at destination mainly get their information from them. Migrants who did not know anyone in the country of destination before migration, still say that they used this information source, but to a much lesser extent. It probably concerns friends or relatives who had previously given information but had since left the country. Migrants with no network at destination more often say that in general they received information from relatives and friends living in the country of origin. In addition, most groups use the media (television, radio, newspapers), school, agencies at origin, and sometimes tourists as sources of information.

Summing up, the 'network-migrants' concentrate on relatives and friends, especially those living in the destination country, while the 'no-network migrants' use several different sources. For Moroccan migrants this difference is not so clear-cut. Senegalese migrants in Spain and at origin remarkably often mention the category 'other sources' but what sources these are is not known.

Table 7.8 Sources of information about the country of destination by existence of network in the country of destination, per sending country (%)*

Network	Turkey		Morocco		Egypt		Ghana		Senegal	
	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no
Been there before	7	10	4	8	12	16	8	12	16	10
Family at destination	78	40	88	71	73	29	84	44	84	-
Family at origin	33	50	68	67	39	60	35	32	44	49
Television/radio	31	40	26	20	5	6	11	31	3	8
Newspapers, etc.	18	30	19	18	4	8	24	39	1	3
School	4	10	12	16	0	1	16	32	2	8
Agencies at origin	5	18	6	9	0	3	7	16	3	15
Agencies at destination	-	-	3	8	-	1	7	12	2	-
Tourists	**	**	5	9	-	1	5	15	1	5
Other sources	-	9	1	2	2	4	2	2	-	28
N	264	60	420	198	399	271	326	179	402	76
Missing		2		7		5		15		11

* MMAs.

** Not asked.

Table 7.9 Sources of information about the country of destination by existence of network in the country of destination, per receiving country and migrant group (%)*

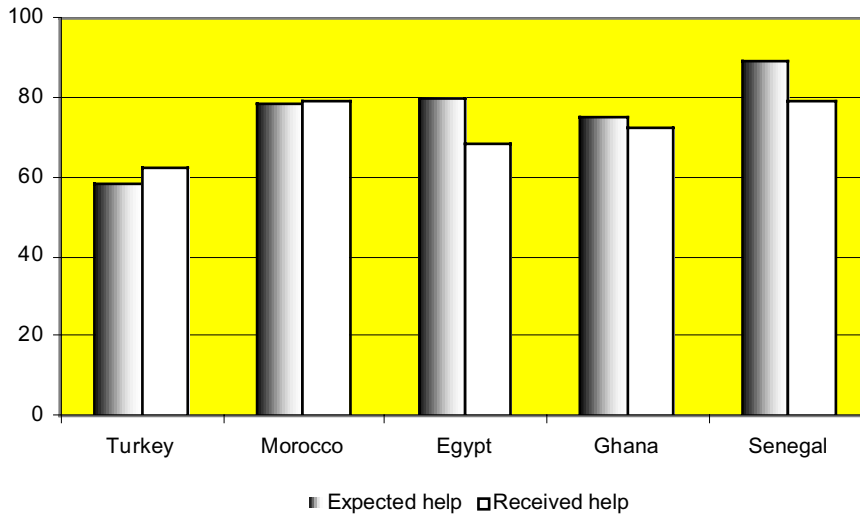
Network	Italy				Spain			
	Egyptians		Ghanaians		Moroccans		Senegalese	
	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no
Been there before	7	6	12	-	10	10	12	8
Family at destination	74	17	70	12	83	27	71	15
Family at origin	35	62	38	49	45	38	23	31
Television/radio	16	22	8	27	31	42	5	5
Newspapers, etc.	18	22	14	36	11	21	4	10
School	5	6	8	14	6	16	3	3
Agencies at origin	2	10	5	9	1	10	1	3
Agencies at destination	0	-	1	-	1	-	1	-
Tourists	0	-	-	-	11	14	11	13
Other sources	1	-	2	6	5	12	7	39
N	225	119	297	159	369	131	150	46
Missing		-		-		2		4

* MMAs.

The migrants' expectations with regard to receiving assistance before, during or after migration may also influence the migration decision. The vast majority of migrants in the

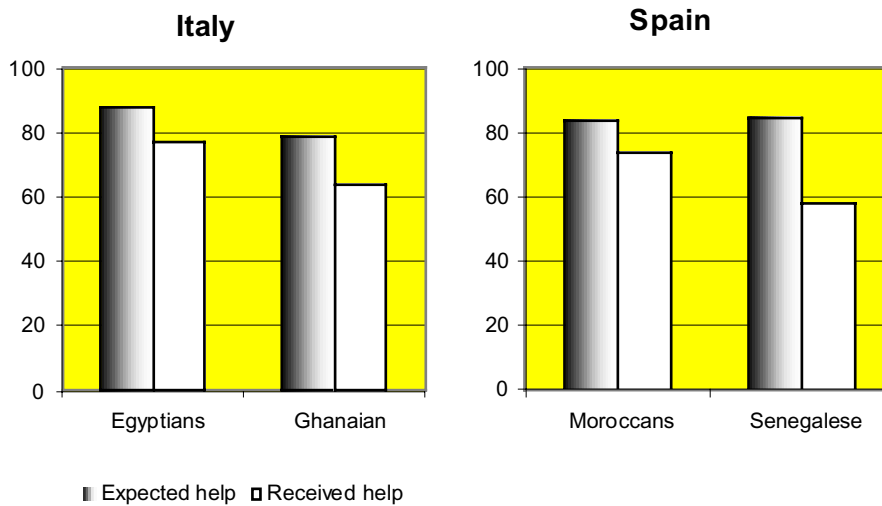
sending and receiving countries expected to get some form of assistance (Figures 7.4 and 7.5) and a large number of them actually did get it. However, amongst all migrant groups except for the Turks and Moroccans, migrants got help less often than they expected. The Senegalese migrants living in Spain in particular expected much more help than they actually received.

Figure 7.4 Migrants expecting help and migrants who actually received help, per sending country (%)*



* MMAs.
 N -Turkey: 113 expected, 405 received, 3 and 8 missing respectively;
 Morocco: 95, 494, 0, 32; Egypt: 215, 478, 0, 7; Ghana: 146, 372, 31, 18; Senegal: 155, 479, 0, 29.

Figure 7.5 Migrants expecting help and migrants who actually received help, per receiving country and migrant group (%)*

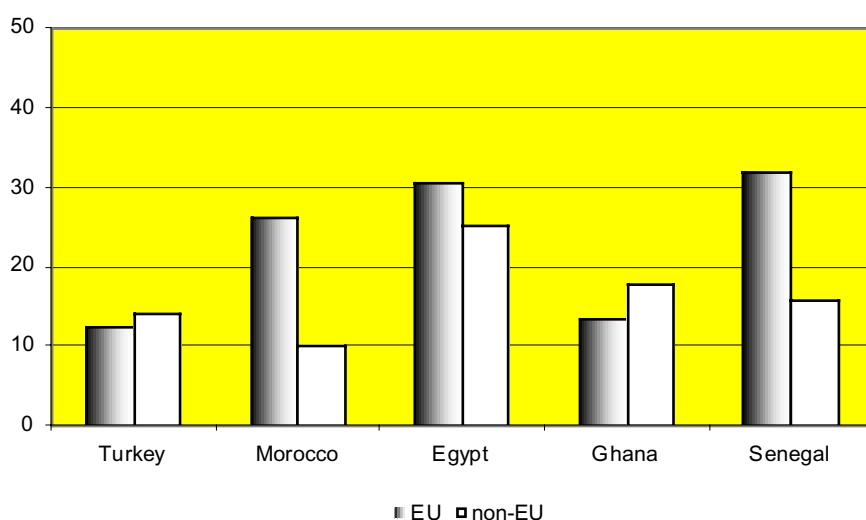


* MMAs.
 N -Egyptians: 296 expected, received 296, none missing;
 Ghanaians: 391, 393, 2, 0; Moroccans: 427, 429, 2, 1; Senegalese: 352, 351, 0, 1.

The results described underline the importance of networks in transferring information. Networks can pull new migrants and in this way they sustain migration flows. The number of migrants who were followed by others (new migrants) may also illustrate this (Figures 7.6 and 7.7). The percentages of followers vary from 12 per cent of the Turkish migrants to 26 per cent of the Moroccan migrants. If the destination countries are divided into EU and non-EU destinations, the pattern becomes more differentiated for all migrant groups except the Turks. Moroccans, Egyptians and Senegalese living in one of the EU countries are much more often followed by new migrants than those in non-EU countries.

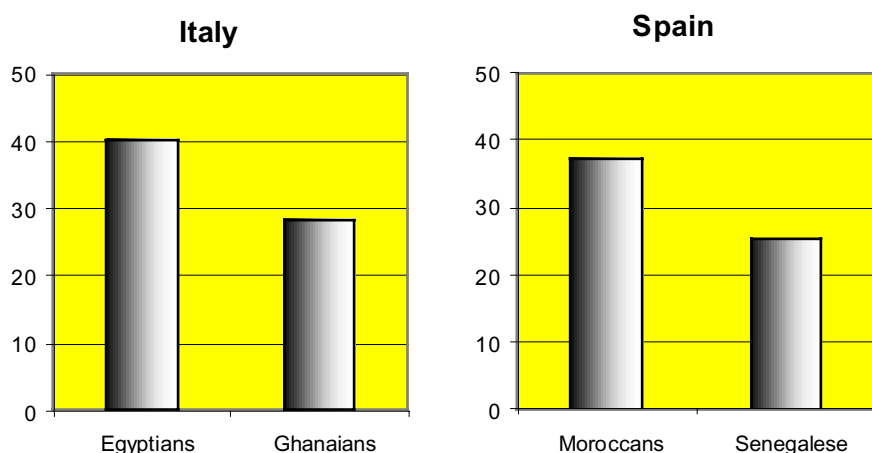
Migrants living in Italy or Spain also indicate that relatives or friends have followed them relatively often (ranging from 25 per cent for Senegalese in Spain to 40 per cent of the Egyptians in Italy). The use of proxy respondents for migrants who were not present themselves in the sending countries, results in only minor differences in the cases of Egypt and Senegal.

Figure 7.6 Migrants followed by family or friends from the country of origin by area of destination, per sending country (%)*



* MMAs.
 N -Turkey: 384 EU, 126 non-EU, 20 missing; Morocco: 800, 46, 42;
 Egypt: 92, 798, 9; Ghana: 226, 357, 34; Senegal: 377, 262, 4.

Figure 7.7 Migrants followed by family or friends from the country of origin, per receiving country and migrant group (%)*



* MMAs.
 N -Egyptians: 508, none missing; Ghanaians: 666, 0; Moroccans: 594, 4; Senegalese: 509, 5.

In the case of Egypt for example the respondents themselves said somewhat more often (29 versus 22 per cent) that other migrants had followed them. Among the Senegalese the respondents themselves mentioned less often that they had been followed by others than the proxy-persons (16 versus 26 per cent).

7.4 Admission and migration strategies

The EU countries' national admission regulations have become increasingly restrictive in the past decade. An undesirable side effect of restrictive admission policies is that it may bring an increase in undocumented migration and applications for asylum. In order to study undocumented migration, the IMS included questions about this form of migration. Respondents were asked: "have you ever tried to enter a country without all the required papers, or stay after your visa or permit had expired?" In order to allay sensitivities, this question was introduced with a generalised statement "some people are known to outwit the admission regulations of other countries." As questions on undocumented migration are sensitive, those who refused to answer these questions or said they 'don't know', will be included in the analysis as well. We assume that in most cases the migrants giving such answers did try to enter a country without the required papers or to overstay their visa. Proxy respondents' overall answers (for migrants who were not present themselves) with respect to undocumented migration do not seem to differ from those of the migrant respondents themselves. However, the more detailed information about the methods used seems to be less reliable when answered by proxy respondents.

The levels of undocumented migration vary greatly between countries, although the success levels of undocumented migration are strikingly similar. In short, if migrants try to bypass the rules, they are generally very successful. However, if one includes in the analysis those migrants who were not successful, did not try, or refused to answer, the total percentage of actual successful undocumented migration is much lower. This conclusion still holds when the migrants who refused to answer the question on undocumented migration were in fact successful illegal migrants.

One should of course bear in mind that undocumented migration is a very sensitive topic, possibly affecting the reliability of the answers given. The questions are particularly sensitive when interviewing the migrants themselves in their country of destination instead of a proxy person who is less personally involved. It is important to realise this in comparing percentages between countries. Table 7.10 presents the results of the analyses on undocumented migration.

Of the Turkish migrants (MMAs only) less than one quarter say that they have ever tried to enter a country without the required papers (12 per cent) or tried to overstay their visa or permit (10 per cent; see Table 7.10).

Table 7.10 Migrants who ever tried to enter a country undocumented or overstayed a visa/permit, per sending country (%)*

	Never tried	Ever tried		Refused/ don't know	Total	N	Missing
	complied with rules	enter undocumente d	overstay visa/permit				
Turkey	72	12	10	6	100	524	6
Morocco	66	8	2	25	100	888	-
Egypt	93	2	4	1	100	899	-
Ghana	66	4	6	24	100	668	19

* MMAs; for Senegal not applicable.

If the group who refused to answer or said they don't know are included, the percentage of undocumented migration increases to 28 per cent. All other respondents said that they have never tried anything like this, which means that about 72 per cent of the Turkish migrants claim to have never entered or stayed in a country without the required documents.

Those Turkish migrants who admitted to have ever tried to enter a country undocumented or to have overstayed their visa/permit, were reportedly the most successful. Only about 13 per cent of the ones who tried did not succeed. However, if the total group of Turkish MMAs is included in the analysis only 17 per cent has ever been successful in illegal migration. If we take into consideration that a substantial proportion of the MMAs refused to answer these questions and assuming that all of them did try to migrate illegally too, the percentage of successful illegal migration is between 17 and 28 per cent. Germany and Switzerland were the most important destination countries (almost 90 per cent) for these undocumented migrants; about two thirds were destinations in the European Union, and almost all countries were European countries. This is in line with the main destination countries of legal Turkish migrants and thus not very surprising (also taking the existing networks into consideration).

Of the Moroccan migrants only ten per cent indicated that they had ever tried to enter a country without the required papers or to overstay their visa/permit. This percentage is quite low, but a quarter of the Moroccan migrants refused to answer the question or said they did not know. Taking into account that this group might indeed have tried to migrate illegally, a maximum of 65 per cent of the Moroccans complied with the admission regulations of the country of destination. The most used method for undocumented migration of Moroccans was to enter without the required papers.

Two thirds of the Moroccans who said that they had tried to enter or stay illegally, were successful. The destination countries most often mentioned by Moroccans in relation to illegal migration were Italy and Spain. Over 80 per cent wanted to go to these two countries, and the remainder mentioned other EU countries. There are probably several reasons for this. Morocco has a long history of migration to EU countries such as Spain, France, Belgium and the Netherlands. Moreover, EU countries are nearby and relatively easy to reach. In addition, in the case of Spain and Italy for instance, there is the advantage of a short distance and relatively easy undocumented entry or overstaying on a visa in combination with the additional benefit of a fairly high chance of regularising one's illegal position given the recurrent official regularisations (European Commission, 1996; Reyneri, 1998a).

Almost all Egyptian migrants said that they had never tried to enter or stay in a country undocumented. Only six per cent said that they had tried undocumented migration and only one per cent refused to answer. Of the six per cent who did try, all reported success. Favourite countries for the Egyptians were Saudi Arabia, Iraq and Jordan (each around 24 per cent). Only 20 per cent of the undocumented migrating Egyptians went to one of the EU countries (half of them to Italy). These countries reflect the destination patterns of legal migrants. The main method used by the Egyptian migrants was overstaying their visa.

Like the Moroccans, ten per cent of the Ghanaian migrants said that they ever had tried to enter a country illegally or overstayed their visa or permit. About two thirds said they had never done this, and almost one quarter refused to answer this question or said they did not know. Only the Moroccans equal this high percentage of refusals and 'don't knows'. Of those migrants who did try, only 14 per cent did not succeed. However, of the total group only five per cent both tried and succeeded in entering or staying illegally in a country.

Ghanaians differ from the other migrant groups in their preference for mainly other African countries as migration destination (e.g. Nigeria 29 per cent, Ivory Coast 13 per cent). In fact roughly two thirds said they tried to enter or stay illegally in an African country, while less than 20 per cent went to an EU country (mainly Germany and Italy). For almost all migrants their last country of destination is the same country as the one they mentioned having entered or stayed in without the required documents.

One has to bear in mind that the results presented above reflect the percentage of migrants who were successful in their attempt to migrate or stay undocumented. When analysing the total group of MMAs for all migrant groups, the number of respondents saying they had tried successfully to by-pass the admission rules are of course lower.

With respect to the results for the receiving countries it is important to note that the questions on undocumented migration refer to whether respondents have ever tried to enter or stay in any country illegally. Thus, the answers do not necessarily refer to Italy or Spain.

Approximately 60 per cent of the Egyptians in Italy said that they have never tried to enter a country without the required papers or stayed after the visa or permit had expired (Table 7.11).

Almost one third immediately admitted that they had tried undocumented migration in the past. And almost 90 per cent of those who admitted they had ever tried to enter or reside undocumented said that they had succeeded. This comes down to roughly one quarter of the total group and between 26 to 38 per cent if the refusals are included. For most of the Egyptian migrants Italy was the destination country.

The Ghanaians were more reluctant to answer the questions on undocumented migration. Almost 18 per cent refused to do so. Nevertheless, 60 per cent said they have never tried to enter or stay in a country illegally, which means that 22 per cent had tried to bypass the admission regulations. All Ghanaian migrants named Italy as the country where they tried to bypass the rules. Of those who said that they had ever tried to do so, around two thirds did succeed. Of the total group of Ghanaian migrants in Italy only 14 per cent had ever tried and succeeded in bypassing the rules. Along with the migrants who refused to answer, this means that the percentage of successful illegal migration lies between 14 and 38.

In Spain more than one third of the Moroccan and half of the Senegalese migrants say they have ever tried to bypass the rules. Eight per cent of the Moroccans and 15 per cent of the Senegalese refused to answer or said they did not know.

Table 7.11 Migrants who ever tried to enter a country undocumented or overstayed a visa/permit, per receiving country and migrant group (%)*

	Never tried	Ever tried		Refused/ don't know	Total	N	Missing
	complied with rules	enter undocumente d	overstay visa/permit				
Italy							
Egyptians	58	17	15	10	100	508	-
Ghanaians	60	7	15	18	100	666	-
Spain							
Moroccans	55	17	20	8	100	591	7
Senegalese	34	15	36	15	100	504	10

* MMAs.

Almost all the Moroccans and Senegalese who said they had tried to migrate illegally, claimed to have been successful (97 and 92 per cent respectively). For the total group of MMAs these percentages of successful migration are 34 and 43 per cent respectively. Together with the migrants who did not want to answer the question, the percentage lies between 34 and 44 per cent for the Moroccans and between 43 and 62 per cent for the Senegalese.

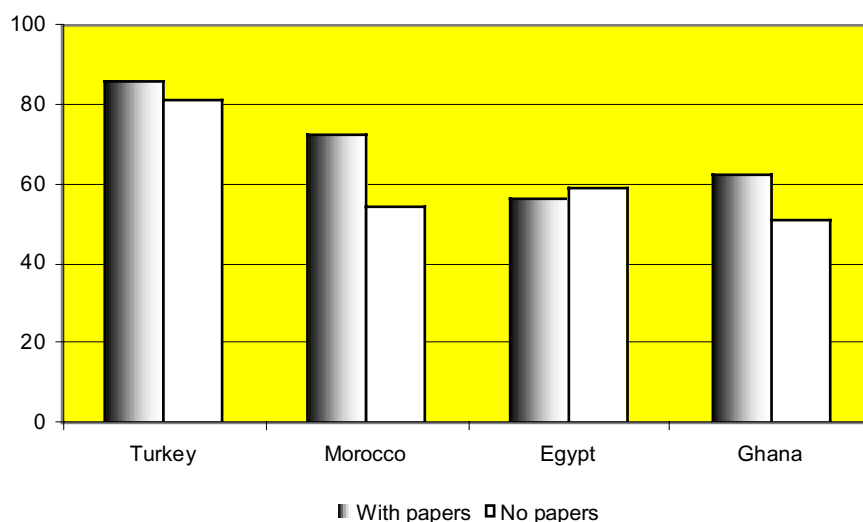
Spain was the destination country in which both Moroccans and Senegalese most frequently tried to enter or stay in illegally (97 and 87 per cent respectively). The Senegalese also mentioned for example France (3 per cent), Italy (6 per cent) and Morocco, whereas the Moroccans say they have tried EU countries only. Perhaps Senegalese see Morocco as a transit country en route to their final destination on the northern Mediterranean coast: Spain. For Moroccans Spain is of course one of nearest EU countries, and thus relatively easy to reach.

The percentages of successful undocumented migration by migrants in Italy and Spain are very high compared to the percentages indicated by migrants in the sending countries. Reasons for this may include the geographical position of both countries and their relatively flexible admission policies with frequent regularisations of illegal migrants and a quota system for labour migrants in Spain (see also European Commission, 1996).

To find out whether migrants who enter without any papers differ from regular migrants in having a network at destination, the question referring to entry into the last or current country of destination was analysed. The findings are presented in Figures 7.8 and 7.9. In interpreting the results one should bear in mind that questions on networks refer only to the last/current migration destination (whether undocumented or not). The migrant is first asked whether he/she had a visa or residence or work permit when entering this country. This is followed by a question on the existing network in the country of destination before migration.

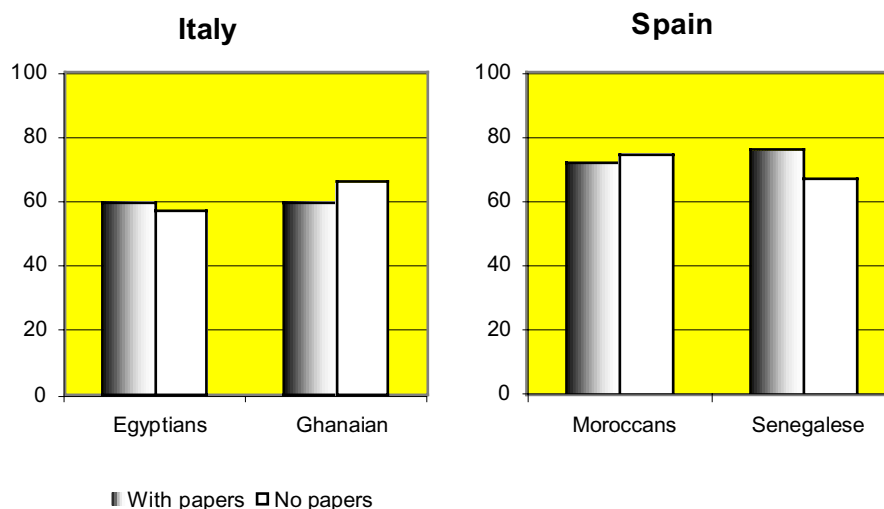
Networks also seem to play an important role in the migration of these undocumented migrants. Only Moroccans who entered the last/current country of destination without any papers, indicate much less frequently that they had a network there. For all other migrant groups there is hardly any difference between documented and undocumented migrants.

Figure 7.8 Percentage having a network of those who entered the current or last country of destination with or without the required papers, per sending country*



* MMAs.
 N - Turkey: 386 with papers, 131 without papers, 15 missing;
 Morocco: 504, 349, 35; Egypt: 843, 53, 5; Ghana: 437, 145, 105.

Figure 7.9 Percentage having a network of those who entered the current or last country of destination with or without the required papers, per receiving country and migrant group*



* MMAs.
 N -Egyptians: 405 with papers, 102 without papers, 1 missing;
 Ghanaians: 584, 81, 1; Moroccans: 346, 248, 4; Senegalese: 405, 102, 7.

7.5 Conclusions

This chapter presents the results of the analyses with respect to information, networks and undocumented migration. The data on these topics are available for the main migration actors only. The analyses and conclusions are therefore concentrated on this group of (recent) migrants.

With respect to information on the country of destination (before migration) one can clearly conclude that the majority of all migrant groups have some sort of information on the country of destination. The Senegalese in Spain form the only exception to this 'rule'. However, even among the Senegalese around half of the migrants (46 per cent) had information before migration. The respondents from distinct migrant groups clearly had information on different topics. In general most is known on economic topics, especially among male migrants. Surprisingly few migrants knew anything about admission regulations. Since the changes in admission rules in EU countries (in general becoming more strict) and the end of labour recruitment and because of the long migration history of some migrant groups, one would expect migrants to know more about admission regulations in order to acquire residence. These results could be an indication that other (more important) considerations are made before migration. Further analysis is necessary to find out whether there is a difference between migrants going to EU destinations and those going to non-EU countries with respect to knowledge on admission rules. An clear example of a difference from the analyses between EU and other destinations is that new migrants more often follow migrants going to EU countries than those heading for other destinations.

Male migrants are more informed than female migrants. This conclusion holds for all migrant groups except for the Turks and for the Egyptians in Italy. There is no difference between the sexes regarding information for the Egyptians in Italy. Among the Turks the women are better informed. For the Turkish respondents in the Netherlands, however, the first conclusion (that men are more informed) applies. This might be related to the migration history of Turks to the Netherlands starting with (male dominated) labour migration. Also the fact that a different questionnaire was used in the Dutch study and the fact that the study was carried out a few years earlier could have influenced this result.

Although women are less informed they do more often have a network. But their network size is smaller than that for men. This result can clearly be linked with the different migration reasons for men and women. Women tend to migrate predominantly in order to join parents or (future) partners whereas men mainly have economic reasons. This implies that it is logical for women to more often know someone in the country of destination because this is the reason for their migration. The smaller network size is also the result of this specific family orientated migration reason; women know primarily those whom they are going to join in the country of destination.

Family (and to a somewhat lesser extent friends) are of major importance for migrants' information supply. Indeed, agencies in the countries of origin and destination are hardly mentioned at all as a source from which migrants get information about their prospective destinations. The low level of use of agencies as transmitter of information may also have been affected by their actual presence or absence in a country and, if present, by the type of information these agencies are able to provide (see also Fawcett and Arnold, 1987a). Results from previous studies in general indicate that migrants with a higher socio-economic status are more inclined than low-status migrants to use other sources, such as the media, in addition to relatives and friends (Goodman, 1981). Further analysis is needed to examine this relationship.

The migration destinations for legal as well for as illegal migrants are found to be the same. For example, undocumented Moroccans and Turks, just like the legal migrants from these countries, mainly head for the EU countries. It is also evident that undocumented migrants have networks just as often as documented migrants. This could be the explanation for the similarity in destination countries; networks are thus of great importance for legal as well as illegal migration. The final conclusion that can be drawn with respect to undocumented migration is that the level of undocumented entry or stay differs significantly between the migrant groups. The number of migrants who are successful in their attempts to enter or stay illegally is high. One should bear in mind that topics related to undocumented migration are very sensitive and that respondents probably do not want to answer or give socially desirable answers. Our conclusions may also be affected by these biases and it is therefore hard to make general statements on undocumented migration.

8. THE FUTURE OF MIGRATION: INTENTIONS AND POTENTIAL

8.1 Introduction

International migration has an important place in today's world. Nevertheless, given the lack of solid and comparable statistics in many countries, even simple past and current trends are often hard to describe. And where statistics are available, the phenomenon of undocumented migration, perhaps the inevitable consequence of the decreased options for legal migration and the continued gap in wealth and opportunities between countries, renders such data less valid.

Given the problems in measuring current migration trends, estimating future trends is an even more daunting task. Extrapolation of past trends tends to be hazardous, as can be easily demonstrated from available population projections (see e.g. Keilman, 1990). Scenarios could incorporate the influence of changing admission policies, approximating factors on the demand side. In addition, survey data on migration intentions, in combination with macro-level economic data, may provide some insight into the supply side.

However, as 'intentions' are vague and probably reflect unfulfillable dreams and wishes at least as much as conscious planning, we cannot use the answers to such a question as a straightforward predictor of future migration behaviour. In both sending and receiving countries, intentions about future migration are likely to have only limited predictive value. Perhaps a majority of prospective migrants in sending countries will never leave. Even migrants who originally arrived with the firm intention of returning and the idea that this would be only a temporary move, often adjust their plans later on, because their economic goals change or because adult children refuse to return with their parents, etc.

In order to approximate potential future behaviour somewhat better, respondents with migration intentions were also asked to indicate when they intended to migrate and, if this was within the next two years, whether they had already taken specific steps in preparation of migration.

This chapter deals with these migration intentions. Among those who have never migrated so far, do many intend to do so, and if so, who are they and have they taken any steps to prepare for migration? Do non-migrants differ in their intentions from return migrants, whose experiences abroad may influence their decisions about another move? Where do potential migrants prefer to go, and why there?

Obviously, intentions are likely to be influenced by both the socio-economic situation in the country of origin, and the expectations potential migrants have about countries of destination.

Everyone interviewed in the surveys in the sending countries was asked whether or not they intended to migrate abroad. In the receiving countries the question was phrased slightly differently: respondents were asked whether they intended to stay in the country where they were living now, whether they intended to return to their country of origin, or whether they intended to move on to another country. Depending on the answers given, further questions were then asked on the timing of, and reasons for intended future migration, or on the reasons for intended immobility. With respect to the latter, respondents were asked to state the two main reasons affecting their intentions. However, only the first reason mentioned is presented in the analyses in this chapter.

The questions on future intentions were posed to everyone in the age group 18-65 in each of the households. In this chapter we look at the following groups:

- non-migrants and return migrants in the sending countries. They were asked questions on their intentions to migrate abroad for the first time, or to migrate abroad again, respectively;
- current migrants in the receiving countries. The questions put to them referred to their intentions to return to their country of origin, or to migrate on to a third country.

8.2 Migration intentions

8.2.1 Sending countries

Turning to overall migration intentions first, several things are clear from Table 8.1.

- Most people do not intend to migrate abroad.
- Nevertheless, the overall intention to migrate is quite strong in the regions studied in Ghana and Senegal: around 40 per cent of the population studied say they intend to migrate. With 14 per cent, intentions are relatively weak in Egypt. Turkey and Morocco take intermediate positions (27 and 20 per cent respectively).
- People with international migration experience (return migrants) more frequently intend to migrate than those without migration experience (non-migrants). As many as one in two return migrants in the two West African countries say they intend to migrate abroad again, and even in the country with the weakest intentions, Morocco, one in four returnees intends to migrate again. However, as the non-migrants are by far the larger group, the effect of returnee intentions on the totals cited above is minimal.
- The difference between returnees and non-migrants is most pronounced in Egypt, among both men and women. In Ghana and Turkey the difference is due to male returnees' stronger intentions to migrate again, but there is no difference between female non-migrants and returnees. On the other hand, in Morocco and Senegal both return migrant men and non-migrant men have the same migration intentions. Surprisingly, female returnees in Senegal (whatever their migration experience) say they intend to migrate again as frequently as the men do. In Senegal, only female non-migrants are much less likely to express an intention to migrate. In Egypt, too, return migrant women are much more intent on migrating than non-migrant women, and they are comparable to non-migrant men in that respect.
- Not unexpectedly, men consistently express an intention to migrate more frequently than women do, among both returnees and non-migrants. And non-migrant men intend to migrate more often than female returnees. This is undoubtedly related to the fact that men more often end up migrating, but perhaps also by the fact that women are frequently – especially in Muslim countries – not the ones who make decisions in the family about migration, at least not independently. The interview situation is likely to be of influence too: particularly in cases where other household members are present during the interview, women may be more inclined to withhold their own opinions and ideas. Having said that, in these cases this is not reflected in a larger number of “don't know” answers.

Why do people migrate, or intend to migrate, or why do they prefer to stay in their home country? In a study dealing with both internal and international migration, De Jong and Gardner (1981, p. 39) classify the commonly cited motives for migration as maximisation of actual or expected returns, social mobility and social status attainment, residential satisfaction, affiliations with family and friends, and the attainment of life-style preferences.

Table 8.1 Migration intentions of return migrants and non-migrants by sex, per sending country (%)

	Return migrants			Non-migrants			Total		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
Turkey									
yes	41	21	38	33	21	26	34	21	27
no	59	79	62	67	79	74	66	79	73
don't know	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	388	85	473	1,476	1,968	3,444	1,864	2,053	3,917
missing	2	-	2	1	-	1	3	-	3
Morocco									
yes	28	-	27	29	4	20	29	4	20
no	67	100	68	58	85	68	58	85	68
don't know	5	-	5	13	11	12	12	11	12
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	243	11	254	1,020	895	1,915	1,263	906	2,169
missing	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Egypt									
yes	32	19	30	21	4	12	24	5	14
no	64	78	66	71	94	84	69	93	82
don't know	4	3	4	8	2	5	7	2	4
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	877	147	1,024	1,816	2,814	4,630	2,693	2,961	5,654
missing	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ghana									
yes	56	38	51	48	37	41	49	37	42
no	35	49	39	42	55	49	41	54	49
don't know	9	13	10	10	9	9	10	9	9
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	235	93	328	942	1,328	2,270	1,177	1,421	2,598
missing	1	1	2	4	14	18	5	15	20
Senegal									
yes	47	48	47	48	26	38	48	28	39
no	46	52	48	41	70	54	42	68	53
don't know	7	1	5	11	5	8	10	4	8
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	583	167	750	1,922	1,921	3,843	2,505	2,088	4,593
missing	-	-	-	2	1	3	2	1	3

In comparison, the most commonly cited motive for not moving is the desire to maintain one's community-based social and economic ties. But most research focuses on why people move rather than why people do not move, and this emphasis undoubtedly contributes to our limited ability to explain and predict the mover-non-mover decision.

Migration is usually a function of multiple motives (De Jong and Gardner, 1981, p. 43). Our study does, indeed, try to capture multiple motives, although we restrict the presentation in this chapter by only discussing the main motives mentioned. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that the main reason for the intention to migrate is overwhelmingly an economic one: in all countries 80-90 per cent of non-migrants and return migrants give an economic reason, such as unemployment or insufficient income, or more generally the wish to improve one's standard of living (Table 8.2).

Table 8.2 Motives to migrate for non-migrants and return migrants, per sending country (%)*

	Turkey		Morocco		Egypt		Ghana		Senegal	
	non	return	non	return	Non	return	non	return	non	return
Economic reasons	80	91	91	80	83	86	79	73	89	93
Family reasons	7	2	5	7	9	7	5	12	3	2
Other reasons**	13	7	5	14	8	7	15	15	8	5
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	506	141	186	62	376	269	813	163	926	254
Missing	-	-	3	-	-	-	57	3	1	1

* Non-migrants and return migrants intending to migrate.

** Other reasons: education, adventure, fear of persecution, etc.

Other reasons that figure more or less prominently are education (Ghana, and to a lesser extent Senegal), and family reunification (Morocco, Turkey). In comparison, family-related motives (family reunification in particular) or the category of 'other reasons', the most important one being education, are dwarfed by the economic reasons.

We have seen above that return migrants more often intend to migrate again than non-migrants, which is probably related to the fact that having once migrated makes later migrations easier from a psychological point of view. However, there may be more to it: in Turkey, Egypt and Senegal returnees somewhat more often than non-migrants give economic reasons for their intention to migrate again, indicating perhaps that the previous migration(s) did not fulfil the goals set.

Economic reasons for non-migration fall into two opposite categories: respondents either indicate that there is no financial need for them to migrate (the largest group), or say that they would like to migrate, but lack the resources to do so.

There are substantial differences among the countries in reported answers on reasons for non-migration (Table 8.3). A lack of means to migrate is most often reported in Ghana (23 per cent of non-migrants), Senegal (14 per cent), and Turkey (13 per cent). Non-migrants in Morocco (as much as 33 per cent) and Turkey (15 per cent), fairly frequently indicate that there is no financial need for them to migrate. In all countries, especially in Egypt (64 per cent), and to a lesser extent in Senegal (40 per cent) and Morocco (30 per cent), family ties are an important reason for non-migrants to intend to stay at home, in line with the findings by De Jong and Gardner (1981). In the category of other reasons, age is by far the most important: I am too old to migrate abroad.

With the exception of Morocco, return migrants more often than non-migrants indicate there is no financial need for them to migrate, or that they are too old now, and they say less often that a lack of means prevents them from migrating.

To what extent do those who intend to migrate differ from those who do not? Are, as is the case among actual migrants, intended migrants mainly young men with relatively more education, and somewhat more often unemployed (cf. Chapter 5)? Does having parents children and/or siblings abroad influence people's plans to migrate? Furthermore, is there a difference between those without any experience in international migration and return migrants, who have, perhaps, more realistic ideas about life abroad?

Table 8.3 Motives to stay for non-migrants and return migrants, per sending country (%)*

	Turkey		Morocco		Egypt		Ghana		Senegal	
	non	return	non	return	non	return	non	return	non	Return
No financial needs	15	22	33	14	9	21	10	30	6	16
Lack of means	13	8	4	0	1	1	23	3	14	11
Family reasons	20	7	30	10	64	42	23	23	40	36
Other reasons**	52	63	32	75	27	37	45	44	40	37
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	1,59	228	518	141	2,671	524	960	115	1,911	366
Missing	3 4	3	18	3	1	-	163	5	6	-

* Non-migrants and return migrants not intending to migrate.

** Other reasons: old age, health problems, do not like living abroad, study, problems in obtaining permits or visa or passport, etc.

In order to study these questions, regression analyses were carried out in which the intention to migrate was the dependent variable. Base populations were non-migrants and return migrants in the sending countries. Independent variables included were age (younger than 30 versus 30 years and older), sex, marital status (ever married or not), completed level of education (none, primary, secondary, higher) having close relatives (parents, brothers or sisters, children) abroad or not, and employment status (working or not). Whether the dependent variable was dichotomised (yes, intention to migrate versus no, or do not know) or divided into three categories (yes, no, with the undecided/don't know category in the middle) did not alter the results significantly.

As shown in Chapter 5, recent migration is selective of young single men. Furthermore, in several countries migrants were also somewhat more likely to be unemployed (Turkey, Ghana) or otherwise not working (Morocco). In Egypt, Turkey and Ghana, migrants were found to be somewhat better educated than non-migrants.

This picture is generally reflected in the migration intentions. Those who intend to migrate, are again young, single men compared with those who do not intend to migrate. The role of having work and a higher education varies per country, as was the case for actual migrants and non-migrants. Generally, a higher level of education has a positive influence on the intention to migrate, except in Morocco and in Turkey. But while in Turkey those with a lower education intend to migrate, the better educated were the ones who actually migrated.

In all countries the majority of migrants and non-migrants were working, although migrants were less likely to work than non-migrants (except in Egypt and Senegal). But in Morocco, Ghana and Senegal, it is those with work who are more inclined to migrate in the future. Having previous international migration experience is important only in Egypt, Ghana, and Senegal, in the sense that it has a positive influence on intentions to migrate in the future. The role of family abroad seems limited in influencing migration intentions. In Egypt and Ghana the variable is significant in the expected direction, but in Morocco those without family abroad indicate an intention to migrate more often.

The same regression analyses repeated for each of the two groups (non-migrants and return migrants) generally indicate that for return migrants, young workers in particular or young men in general and in the case of Turkey the higher-educated, intend to migrate, although the variance explained is mostly low, and the results show little consistency. The non-migrants, being the larger group, obviously show results that are largely comparable to the total group: young working men, who are either less (Morocco and Turkey) or better educated (the other countries) intend to migrate. Having family abroad appears to be generally irrelevant, with the exception of a positive influence on non-migrants in Egypt and Ghana and on return migrants in Senegal.

In sum, most people do not intend to migrate abroad. Nevertheless, in some of the sending countries, especially in Ghana and Senegal, the intention to migrate is quite pronounced. Men more than women, and those with migration experience more than those without, express an intention to migrate. Generally, as among actual migrants, those intending to migrate tend to be young and single. The intention to migrate is overwhelmingly motivated by economic reasons. In so far as intentions not to migrate are motivated by economic reasons, they fall into two opposite categories: either there is no economic need to migrate, or the respondent lacks the financial resources to go abroad. As expected, non-mobility is also strongly motivated by family ties and, for older people, by their advanced age.

8.2.2 Receiving countries

If we turn our attention to the migrants living in the receiving countries, what can we say about their migration intentions? Obviously, they have more choices: they can of course intend to stay in the host country, but in opting for migration, they have the choice between returning home and migrating to a third country. It is often said that migrants use the southern European countries as transit countries to move further north. To the extent that they travel on immediately, we cannot judge whether this is the case. But among those who have stayed in Spain or Italy for a while, we can examine whether they intend to move onward.

The data show very little evidence that this is the case (Table 8.4). The majority of the migrants interviewed say they intend to return or intend to stay. The percentage intending to move elsewhere is small among all four groups.

- Few intend to migrate to a third country: generally well below 4 per cent, except among the West African men interviewed in Spain and Italy (6-8 per cent).
- Returning to one's home country is favoured by a larger group: approximately 30 per cent for men and women in all groups, with two exceptions: intentions to return are much lower among Moroccans in Spain (14 per cent). They are low among Senegalese women in Spain as well, as most answered that they did not yet know what they intended to do.
- Staying in the host country is clearly a popular option as well. It is the choice of half the Moroccans in Spain, and of about one third of the Egyptians and Ghanaians in Italy. Only among Senegalese women in Spain does staying seem to be less of an option, but this is strongly influenced by the very high percentage of women who say they do not know yet (two in three). In all groups, the uncertainty is significant: generally, about one in three is undecided.

Why do migrants intend to return or, alternatively, intend to stay in the destination country? As in the sending-country surveys, multiple reasons have been asked for, but in this overall report, only the main reasons are presented below (Tables 8.5 and 8.6).

One third of the Senegalese intended stayers in Spain and about half of the intended stayers in the three other migrants groups say they want to stay because of the relatively secure positions they have reached there: a satisfactory job or, to a lesser extent, sufficient income. On the other hand, one in ten Senegalese said they intended to stay because they could not (yet) afford to go back. Family ties are another important reason why migrants want to stay.

Only among the Senegalese this reason does not figure prominently, as few have their families with them. Other important reasons for staying are that the migration goals have not (yet) been met (38 per cent of Senegalese intended stayers), or that they feel that life there suits them well and/or they have friends there (13 and 10 per cent of the Ghanaians and Egyptians in Italy, respectively).

Table 8.4 Migration intentions of current migrants by sex, per receiving country and migrant group (%)

	M	F	T	M	F	T	
Italy		Egyptians				Ghanaians	
stay	35	26	32	31	39	33	
return	28	31	29	29	28	29	
move onward	4	1	3	6	2	5	
don't know	34	43	36	34	32	34	
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	
N	533	180	713	592	238	830	
missing			3			-	
Spain		Moroccans				Senegalese	
stay	48	51	49	29	13	27	
return	15	12	14	33	19	31	
move onward	3	1	2	8	3	7	
don't know	33	36	34	31	65	35	
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	
N	536	321	857	499	78	577	
missing			69			21	

Table 8.5 Motives to stay for current migrants, per receiving country and migrant group (%)*

	Egyptians in Italy	Ghanaians In Italy	Moroccans in Spain	Senegalese in Spain
No financial needs	50	47	50	33
Lack of means	3	5	3	11
Family reasons	21	16	24	3
Other reasons	26	32	24	53
Total	100	100	100	100
N	211	261	389	147
Missing	1	-	7	3

* Current migrants not intending to return or to migrate onwards.

Table 8.6 Motives to return to country of origin for current migrants, per receiving country and migrant group (%)*

	Egyptians in Italy	Ghanaians in Italy	Moroccans in Spain	Senegalese in Spain
Economic push factors	8	6	4	5
Economic pull factors	13	26	31	32
Family reasons	30	42	29	46
Other reasons	49	26	36	17
Total	100	100	100	100
N	185	221	119	190
Missing	-	1	2	1

* Current migrants intending to return.

Economic pull factors, family-related reasons or dissatisfaction with life in the country of residence are all important factors motivating return. Economic pull factors, the main one being the intention to start a business in the home country, are mentioned by 26-32 per cent of the migrants; only among the Egyptians, economic pull factors were mentioned less frequently. On the other hand, economic push factors, such as unemployment, a low income, or an unsatisfactory job, do not motivate many migrants to go back (4-8 per cent). Obviously, family-related reasons figure prominently, especially in those migrant groups that have left their families back home; close to 30 per cent among the Moroccans and Egyptians, versus over 40 per cent among the two West African groups. Wanting to join the family back home is the major factor, but problems with children are also fairly frequently mentioned as a reason for intending to return. Homesickness, or a general dislike of life in the host country, or a strong sense of belonging in the home country are the most frequent reasons mentioned in the category 'other factors': they vary from 42 per cent among Egyptians in Italy to only 5 per cent among Senegalese in Spain.

As we have seen above, intentions among migrants currently living in Spain or Italy to migrate to a third country are very limited. However, a sizeable group intends to return or intends to stay, or does not know yet. Regression analyses indicate that among the Moroccans in Spain the better educated and those without work and without family outside Morocco more frequently intend to return. Also among the Egyptians in Italy, having no work influences return intentions, but for the Senegalese in Spain, the opposite is the case. For the two West-African groups age (over 30) is a factor. In addition, among the Ghanaians in Italy, a higher education and being married influences return migration intentions positively. Further analysis should find out to what extent return intentions are associated with a migrant's perceived success: does he/she return after having earned sufficient money or, more generally, after having reached his/her goals, or is it the disappointed who leave? And do migrants' expectations concerning re-integration influence their return intentions?

Usually, migrants migrate alone. To what extent do they intend to have their family join them later on, given that they did not already do so? Obviously, this will partly depend on the admission policies in the receiving countries.

MMA migrants in receiving countries were asked the following questions:

"During the time of your current residence in Italy/Spain, did you leave your spouse at home, or did you bring your spouse along, either immediately or after a while, or weren't/aren't you married yet?"

"Do you intend to bring (other) family members to live here in this country? If yes, who are they (spouse and/or children)?"

Among the Moroccan men in Spain and the Egyptian men in Italy, over 50 per cent were not married (see Table 8.7). Many, although fewer, among the Ghanaians in Italy (43 per cent) and the Senegalese in Spain (37 per cent) were not married either, but among the latter two groups, the percentage who were married but left their spouses back home was substantial too: 37 per cent among the Ghanaian men and as much as 59 per cent among the Senegalese. Family reunification so far has been fairly limited: practically none of the Senegalese men have brought their spouses (4 per cent only), contrary to the Egyptian men, among whom this is 30 per cent. About one in five Ghanaian and Moroccan men have participated in family reunification with their spouses. The fairly large groups of Moroccan and Ghanaian women are mostly single. The much smaller numbers of Senegalese and Egyptian women have usually migrated within the framework of family reunification. Overall, among men and women combined, family reunification with a spouse (or occasionally marriage to a native spouse) varied from 10 per cent (Senegalese) to 18 per cent (Moroccans), 24 per cent (Ghanaians) to 32 per cent (Egyptians). These figures leave scope for future family reunification. But do migrants actually want that?

Table 8.7 Distribution of family reunification, per receiving country and migrant group (%)*

	M	F	T	M	F	T	
Italy		Egyptians			Ghanaians		
spouse left back home	18	-	17	37	5	32	
fam. reunif. with spouse	30	80	32	21	39	24	
not married	53	20	51	43	56	45	
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	
N	483	24	507	541	120	661	
missing			1			5	
Spain		Moroccans			Senegalese		
spouse left back home	25	8	21	59	7	55	
fam. reunif. with spouse	19	15	18	4	77	10	
not married	56	77	62	37	16	35	
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	
N	439	152	591	454	44	498	
missing			7			17	

* MMAs.

Providing the largest potential for family reunification, the first to examine are those who left their spouses back home. In this group, indeed, the intentions for family reunification (with spouse and /or children) are strongest: almost 40 per cent among the Egyptian men, and 60 per cent among the Ghanaian men in Italy. And among both Moroccan and Senegalese men over half intend to have their families join them (51 and 57 per cent respectively). There are very few married migrant women who left their spouses back home, in all the migrant groups. Among those who are not currently married, intentions to bring over family members (children mostly, or in some cases future partners), are much weaker: usually below 10 per cent, with the exception of Moroccan women (13 per cent) and Senegalese men (17 per cent) in Spain, and Ghanaian women in Italy (21 per cent, mostly wanted to have their children join them). In the last group, i.e. those who already have their spouses with them, relatively few can be expected to have the intention of bringing over other family members. It is hard to draw any conclusions about this group because of their small numbers. Intentions in favour of family reunification are mostly negligible too, with the exception of Ghanaian men and women, who want to have their children join them (43 per cent) (Table not presented).

Considering the three factors combined (already reunited with spouse; intentions to import family members; and intentions for own migration), it is obvious that those who have so far left their spouses back home but who intend to stay in the country of destination, are most likely to want their family members to join them (70-80 per cent) (Table 8.8).

In sum, among migrants living in Spain or Italy, both staying there and returning are popular options, although quite a large number profess they do not know yet. In any case, few intend to migrate on to a third country. The intention to stay is motivated by the relatively secure positions migrants have obtained, or by the fact that the goals set by migration have not (yet) been met. In some cases migrants say they are prevented from going home because of a lack of financial resources. Economic pull factors, especially the intention to start a business, family-related reasons (such as joining the family, or problems with the children), or dissatisfaction with life in the country of destination are all important factors in motivating return.

Table 8.8 Current migrants intending family reunification by own migration intentions and family reunification status, per receiving country and migrant group (%)*

	Egyptians in Italy			Ghanaians in Italy			Moroccans in Spain			Senegalese in Spain		
	%	N	mis.	%	N	mis.	%	N	mis.	%	N	mis.
Spouse back home												
intend to stay	74	24	-	80	71	1	70	58	1	71	81	-
intend to return	15	33	-	42	80	-	32	22	-	39	11	-
intend to migrate	-	3	-	67	7	1	50	2	-	29	14	-
onw.												
don't know	48	24	-	64	66	2	44	40	-	74	67	-
Reunified with spouse												
intend to stay	-	40	-	44	55	-	9	54	1	40	10	-
intend to return	-	39	-	28	50	-	7	14	-	27	12	-
intend to migrate	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	2	-
onw.												
don't know	3	76	-	61	30	-	13	34	-	11	25	1
Not married												
intend to stay	7	11	1	15	88	4	12	17	4	27	46	1
intend to return	1	69	-	12	47	-	10	65	5	27	49	3
intend to migrate	-	11	1	-	32	-	-	12	1	15	20	-
onw.												
don't know	-	74	1	10	12	7	7	97	6	6	53	1
Total												
intend to stay	15	17	1	40	21	5	23	28	6	54	13	1
intend to return	4	14	-	30	18	-	14	10	5	34	17	3
intend to migrate	-	14	1	11	39	1	6	17	1	19	36	-
onw.												
don't know	8	17	1	34	21	9	17	17	6	38	14	2

* MMAs migrants who intend to have their families join them.

8.3 Realisation of migration intentions

8.3.1 Sending countries

Intentions are often hard to realise in practice. They tend to reflect wishes and dreams, and are generally bad predictors of actual future behaviour. In order to narrow down the value of the intentions, those who say they intend to migrate abroad were asked when they intended to move abroad. If this was within two years, they were also asked whether they had actually taken any steps to realise their intentions.

Thus, while intentions to migrate among non-migrants varies from 12 per cent in Egypt to around 40 per cent in the two West African countries, the percentage who intended to migrate within the next two years is actually quite low: just one per cent of all non-migrants in Egypt, 2 per cent in Turkey, around 4 per cent in Morocco and Senegal. Only in Ghana was the figure as high as 13 per cent (Table 8.9). Return migrants were found to intend to migrate more often than non-migrants (ranging from 27 per cent in Egypt to 51 per cent in Ghana). They also said more often than non-migrants that they intended to migrate soon, that is, within the next two years: roughly double the percentages found among non-migrants.

The large differences between general intentions and intentions within two years are due to the large percentage of people who say they do not really know when they would migrate (rather than to people who say it will happen in the more distant future). It is again indicative of the vagueness of intentions, which is in turn influenced by the fact that people lack the financial means and the certainty of being admitted.

Table 8.9 Non-migrants and return migrants intending to migrate, intending to migrate within two years, and having taken steps to realise intentions, per sending country (%)*

	Non-migrants			Return migrants			Total		
	%	N	miss.	%	N	miss.	%	N	miss.
Intentions to migrate*									
Turkey	26	3,444	1	38	473	2	27	3,917	3
Morocco	20	1,915	-	27	254	-	20	2,169	-
Egypt	12	4,630	-	30	1,024	-	14	5,654	-
Ghana	41	2,270	8	51	328	2	42	2,598	10
Senegal*	38	3,843	1	47	750	-	40	4,593	-
Within two years*									
Turkey	2	3,444	1	4	473	2	2	3,917	3
Morocco	4	1,915	-	8	254	-	4	2,169	-
Egypt	1	4,630	-	6	1,024	-	2	5,654	-
Ghana	13	2,270	8	23	328	2	14	2,598	10
Senegal	5	3,843	1	7	750	-	5	4,593	-
Taken steps*									
Turkey	1	3,444	1	2	473	2	1	3,917	3
Morocco	3	1,915	-	7	254	-	3	2,169	-
Egypt	0	4,630	-	4	1,024	-	1	5,654	-
Ghana	8	2,270	8	18	328	2	8	2,598	10
Senegal	2	3,843	1	5	750	-	2	4,593	-

* All non-migrants and return migrants respectively = 100%.

Even though the wishes were narrowed down to a period of two years in the immediate future, they are still only wishes. Have people who intend to migrate within two years taken actual steps to migrate?¹⁷ Again, the figures go down even further: they are now below one per cent (in Egypt and Turkey), or in the order of 2-3 per cent (Senegal and Morocco) of all non-migrants. Only in Ghana does the figure stand out once again: 8 per cent of all non-migrants interviewed say they have taken steps to prepare for their migration. Return migrants are again more likely to have taken steps. Ghana is number one, with 18 per cent of all those who have migrated in the past taking steps to migrate once again. In the four other countries, the figures are considerably lower (ranging from seven per cent in Morocco down to less than two per cent in Turkey).

What does this tell us about potential migration overall, from the – high migration - regions studied? First, that general intentions to migrate are highest in Ghana and Senegal (around 40 per cent), and lowest in Egypt (14 per cent). Secondly, that intentions to migrate within two years are a fraction of the general intentions; most people report they do not yet know when. In Ghana it is still 14 per cent, but in the other countries it is down to less than 5 per cent of the population. Thirdly, when asked about actual steps taken, in Turkey and Egypt less than one per cent of the population had done so, about 2.5 per cent in Senegal and Morocco, and 8 per cent in Ghana.

Which steps have potential migrants taken? We asked about applications or possession of relevant documents, that is: a passport, other exit documents if required, an entry visa and/or a residence permit for the country of destination, and travel tickets.

¹⁷ Question not asked in the Spanish and Italian surveys to migrants intending to return to their home country.

Let us first look at Ghana, whose residents seem to show most initiative in preparing for migration. What does it consist of? Among the small group of return migrants who took steps to prepare for another departure, the most common steps taken are applications or possession of a (Ghanaian) passport (83 per cent of those who said they have taken any of these steps). Significant numbers have either obtained or applied for entry visas (7 and 17 per cent) or residence permits (5 and 12 per cent). Among the larger group of non-migrants who say they intend to leave within two years and who have taken some steps, the actual steps taken are limited though, and consist mostly of having a passport (42 per cent) or of having applied for one (15 per cent). The applications for entry visas (eight per cent) and residence permits (four per cent) are very small. Most non-migrants have done nothing yet to acquire such papers, or say they will do this later (Table 8.10). The other countries show a similar difference between return migrants and non-migrants. The former are more likely to have a passport.

In Senegal, the small group of return migrants indicate relatively frequently that they do not need papers; perhaps because they have dual nationality. One in four have already applied for an entry visa, but few have one. About half say they have travel tickets or are in the process of obtaining them. Non-migrants: one third have a passport, and another 13 per cent have applied for one. Entry visas are applied for by six per cent, but few have obtained one.

Two in three return migrants, and one in two non-migrants in Morocco are in possession of a passport. Again, entry visas have been applied for, but not received. This is a small group, but 18 per cent of the returnees say they either have a residence permit or do not need one. This is much less so among non-migrants, not many of whom have applied for or have obtained destination papers, or do not need to. A negligible minority have travel tickets. A large majority are postponing all these matters to a later date.

Quite a large number of Turkish return migrants intending to migrate again still have to obtain passports (two in three). But note that this is a very small group, as very few with migration intentions have actually taken any steps to prepare for migration. The non-migrant group is small too, and the number of missing answers here is fairly large. Entry visas have been applied for but have hardly been obtained.

Most of the small group of Egyptian return migrants with migration intentions have a passport (two in three). Some already have residence permits (eight per cent). Among non-migrants who say they have taken steps to migrate within two years, only one in four has a passport, and few if any have any other documents.

Finally, given the fact that they have experience with migration, return migrants intending to migrate again more often than non-migrants with migration intentions say that they intend to migrate within the next two years. If so, they are also more likely than non-migrants to have taken steps to put their plans into action. Nevertheless, such steps normally involve obtaining documents from the country of origin (passports, other exit documents) rather than documents from the country of destination (visas, residence permits, etc.).

In sum, although the intention to migrate is strong in some countries (keeping in mind that the majority of people have no intention to migrate abroad), intentions are not easy to realise. While general intentions to migrate vary between 14 per cent (Egypt) and 42 per cent (Ghana), far fewer people believe they will realise their intentions within the next two years: the percentage who intend to do so is generally below 5 per cent, with the exception of Ghana (14 per cent). When asked whether they have actually taken any steps to prepare for migration, the percentages drop even further.

Table 8.10 Steps taken to migrate by non-migrants and return migrants, per sending country (%)*

	Turkey		Morocco		Egypt		Ghana		Senegal	
	non	return	non	return	non	return	non	return	non	return
Passport										
Applied	11	14	9	16	9	13	15	30	13	10
Obtained	32	18	51	67	28	66	42	53	32	38
neither app/obt	45	24	36	14	50	18	29	6	44	23
Later	12	44	5	1	13	-	13	11	10	3
not needed	1	-	1	3	1	4	-	-	-	27
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	62	15	329	67	72	57	260	64	122	47
missing	26	-	-	-	-	-	7	-	2	1
Exit docs										
applied	7	13	4	14	1	7	8	14	9	13
obtained	-	33	2	3	4	8	1	9	3	7
neither app/obt	68	9	80	72	83	61	66	35	75	45
later	25	45	11	1	12	20	24	37	12	6
not needed	1	-	3	10	1	4	1	5	1	28
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	58	14	329	67	72	57	249	64	122	47
missing	30	1	-	-	-	-	18	-	2	1
Entry visa										
applied	17	1	4	13	1	7	8	17	6	25
obtained	-	-	1	1	3	2	2	7	2	2
neither app/obt	68	13	81	75	83	75	64	31	80	34
later	14	77	11	1	12	12	26	42	12	7
not needed	-	8	3	10	1	4	-	3	-	33
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	59	14	329	67	72	57	252	64	122	47
missing	29	1	-	-	-	-	15	-	2	1
Residence permit										
applied	3	1	2	8	-	1	4	12	2	7
obtained	-	-	1	7	3	8	-	5	1	7
neither app/obt	79	47	83	73	84	75	59	29	82	48
later	14	52	11	1	12	12	33	48	15	7
not needed	4	-	3	10	1	4	3	5	-	30
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	58	14	329	67	72	57	249	64	121	45
missing	30	1	-	-	-	-	18	-	3	3
Travel ticket										
applied	3	-	2	-	-	1	3	4	3	23
obtained	-	-	1	-	3	-	1	9	1	28
neither app/obt	75	13	80	76	72	76	53	28	72	41
later	22	87	14	12	24	18	40	56	25	9
not needed	-	-	3	12	1	4	2	4	-	-
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	59	14	329	67	72	57	251	64	120	45
missing	29	1	-	-	-	-	16	-	4	3

* Non-migrants and return migrants intending to migrate within two years.

8.3.2 Receiving countries

We have seen in section 8.2 that few migrants intend to migrate to a third country: only two-three per cent of the Moroccans in Spain or the Egyptians in Italy. Figures for the other two groups were slightly higher: five per cent for Ghanaians in Italy, and seven per cent for Senegalese in Spain. Return is more popular: about 30 per cent of the Senegalese, Ghanaians and Egyptians want to return; but only 14 per cent of the Moroccans. It does therefore not follow that to stay is the most popular option: one in three professes they do not know yet what their future migration plans are.

For those who do say that they want to migrate on, or want to return, how soon do they intend to do so? In Spain, fewer than one per cent of the migrants residing there now want to move on to a third country within the next two years (Table 8.11). Even among those who do want to migrate onwards this is a small minority: more than 90 per cent intend to stay in Spain for at least the next two years. In Italy the figures are marginally higher: 1.5 per cent of all current migrants intend to move onwards within the next two years. As in Spain, fewer have taken steps, but among those who want to move on, more are likely to intend to do so within two years than in Spain. But in both countries, the numbers of potential onward migrants are so small that hardly anything meaningful can be said about them.

About 30 per cent of current migrants (except Moroccans in Spain: 14 per cent) intend to return, but they are not in a hurry to do so. One in ten Egyptians intends to return within two years (38 per cent of all those with the intention of returning).

Among the other three nationalities, return intentions in the near future are below five per cent. However, there is considerable uncertainty about the future, as expressed in the high percentages who say they do not know yet.

Table 8.11 Current migrants intending to migrate, intending to migrate within two years and having taken steps, per receiving country and migrant group (%)*

	Egyptians in Italy			Ghanaians in Italy			Moroccans in Spain			Senegalese in Spain		
	%	N	miss	%	N	miss	%	N	miss	%	N	miss
Intentions to migrate onw.	3	713	3	5	830	-	2	857	69	7	577	21
Within two years	2	713	3	1	830	-	-	857	69	1	577	21
Taken steps	-	713	3	1	830	-	-	857	69	1	577	21
Intentions to return	29	713	3	29	830	-	14	857	69	31	577	21
Within two years	11	713	3	5	830	-	-	857	69	1	577	21

* All migrants = 100%.

8.4 Preferred destinations

This section deals with the ultimate preferred country of destination of people who intend to migrate: non-migrants and return migrants in the sending countries and current migrants in the receiving countries. However, as stated earlier, few surveyed current migrants in the receiving countries intend to migrate to a third country. Return is much more popular. Therefore, drawing conclusions is hardly justified on the basis of the small numbers of migrants in the receiving countries intending to move on. The only thing that might be said is that Moroccans and Senegalese in Spain prefer to ultimately move to another EU country whereas the majority of Egyptians and Ghanaians in Italy opt for a non-EU country.

On the basis of the numbers of respondents intending to migrate in the sending countries much more can be said about the ultimate preferred destination of non-migrants and return migrants in these countries. Table 8.12 shows the main results. First of all, a comparison with the actual country of destination of recent migrants (i.e. current and return migrants; see Figure 6.4) will be made. Next, differences in preferences between non-migrants and return migrants will be discussed.

For Turkey, it appears that Germany is even more attractive to non-migrants and return migrants who intend to migrate than to those who have actually moved to these countries: almost two out of every three prefer Germany as their ultimate destination. Although to a lesser degree, the same is true for the Netherlands and the category non-EU countries. Switzerland maintains its position (preferred by eight per cent who intend to migrate and by eight per cent of those who actually migrated) while Austria and France emerge as less attractive to potential migrants than they were to recent migrants. Remarkable differences in preference between Turkish non-migrants and Turkish return migrants can be observed in relation to Switzerland (preferred more by return migrants), other EU countries (preferred more by non-migrants) and other non-EU countries (preferred more by return migrants).¹⁸

Spain, Italy and France remain the main preferred ultimate destination countries for Moroccan non-migrants and return migrants who intend to migrate. Compared with those who actually moved, the position of Spain has become more important at the expense of France and Italy. For Spain there is no difference in preference between Moroccan non-migrants and Moroccan return migrants. However, discrepancies in this respect can be found for Italy (preferred by return migrants) and France (preferred by non-migrants).

For Egyptian non-migrants and return migrants who intend to migrate, Saudi Arabia is still the favourite destination. Due to the recent conflicts in the region, Iraq has disappeared from the list of preferred destinations. Iraq's position has been taken over by Kuwait. Furthermore, it is worth mentioning that the United Arab Emirates have entered the list at the expense of Jordan. Although still modest, the share that prefer a country of the EU has increased among non-migrants and return migrants who intend to migrate, compared with the migrants who left for an EU country in the past ten years. Looking at differences concerning the preferred ultimate destination between Egyptian non-migrants intending to migrate and Egyptian return migrants intending to migrate again, it appears that non-migrants show a stronger preference for Saudi Arabia and are less inclined to move to Kuwait.

The USA is by far the most popular ultimate destination among Ghanaian potential migrants, followed at a distance by Germany and the United Kingdom. More than 40 per cent wish to move to the USA against only 18 per cent of the actual movements of recent migrants. As a result, Italy and Nigeria have disappeared from the list of most preferred countries.

The high scores for the USA, Germany and the UK apply especially to Ghanaian non-migrants; for return migrants they are substantially lower.

Surprisingly, the USA is also the most preferred destination for potential Senegalese migrants while hardly any Senegalese migrants actually moved to this country. Italy, the number one for recent migrants, is the second most preferred destination, followed by France, the number five for recent migrants. Gambia, Mauritania and Ivory Coast, important destinations for recent migrants, are not among the favourite countries. Similar to the situation in Ghana, the USA is preferred in particular by non-migrants. This is also true as regards Italy. Return migrants show more variety in their preferred ultimate destination.

¹⁸ Note that in particular in Turkey many respondents (about 20 per cent) did not know which country they would ultimately prefer to migrate to. In the other surveyed countries these numbers were almost negligible.

Table 8.12 Preferred ultimate country of destination of non-migrants and return migrants intending to migrate, per sending country (%)

	Non-migrants	Return migrants	Total
Turkey			
Germany	64	63	64
Netherlands	9	7	8
Switzerland	7	15	8
Other EU country	16	6	15
other non-EU country	4	9	5
total	100	100	100
N	621	149	770
missing	200	22	222
Morocco			
Spain	26	25	26
Italy	20	28	21
France	21	13	20
other EU country	29	34	30
other non-EU country	3	-	2
total	100	100	100
N	208	56	264
missing	3	4	7
Egypt			
Saudi Arabia	48	26	41
Kuwait	16	24	19
United Arab Emirates	11	9	11
EU countries	12	13	13
other countries	12	27	17
total	100	100	100
N	440	247	687
missing	-	3	3
Ghana			
USA	42	36	41
Germany	15	9	14
UK	11	8	11
other EU country	14	18	14
other non-EU country	18	30	19
total	100	100	100
N	764	147	911
missing	45	10	55
Senegal			
USA	37	27	36
Italy	21	16	21
France	12	13	12
other EU country	14	18	15
other non-EU country	16	25	17
total	100	100	100
N	968	236	1,204
missing	8	2	10

In general, it can be said that the ultimate preferred country of destination for non-migrants and return migrants intending to migrate resembles the actual country of destination of migrants who recently moved. However, there are some remarkable exceptions to this rule. Especially the wish of many Senegalese and Ghanaians to move to the USA is not reflected in the actual pattern. For the non-migrants among them in particular, the USA seems to be the 'country of their dreams'. Furthermore, the attractiveness of Germany to Turks is worth mentioning. Despite the relatively strong representation of Germany in the actual distribution of Turkish emigration, there is room for a considerable increase in the event that the migration intentions of Turkish non-migrants and return migrants will come true. Finally, there is a notable difference among Egyptians in their preference for Saudi Arabia: while almost half of the interviewed Egyptian non-migrants with migration intentions would like to leave for Saudi Arabia, only a quarter of the return migrants wish to do so.

The non-migrants and return migrants in the sending countries who intend to migrate were asked about their motives for choosing a particular ultimate country of destination:

"Why do you consider moving to this particular country to live there?"

Respondents were asked to name their two most important reasons, the first of which is included in the present analysis. As in Chapter 6, the motives are grouped into three overall categories of economic, family-related, and other reasons.

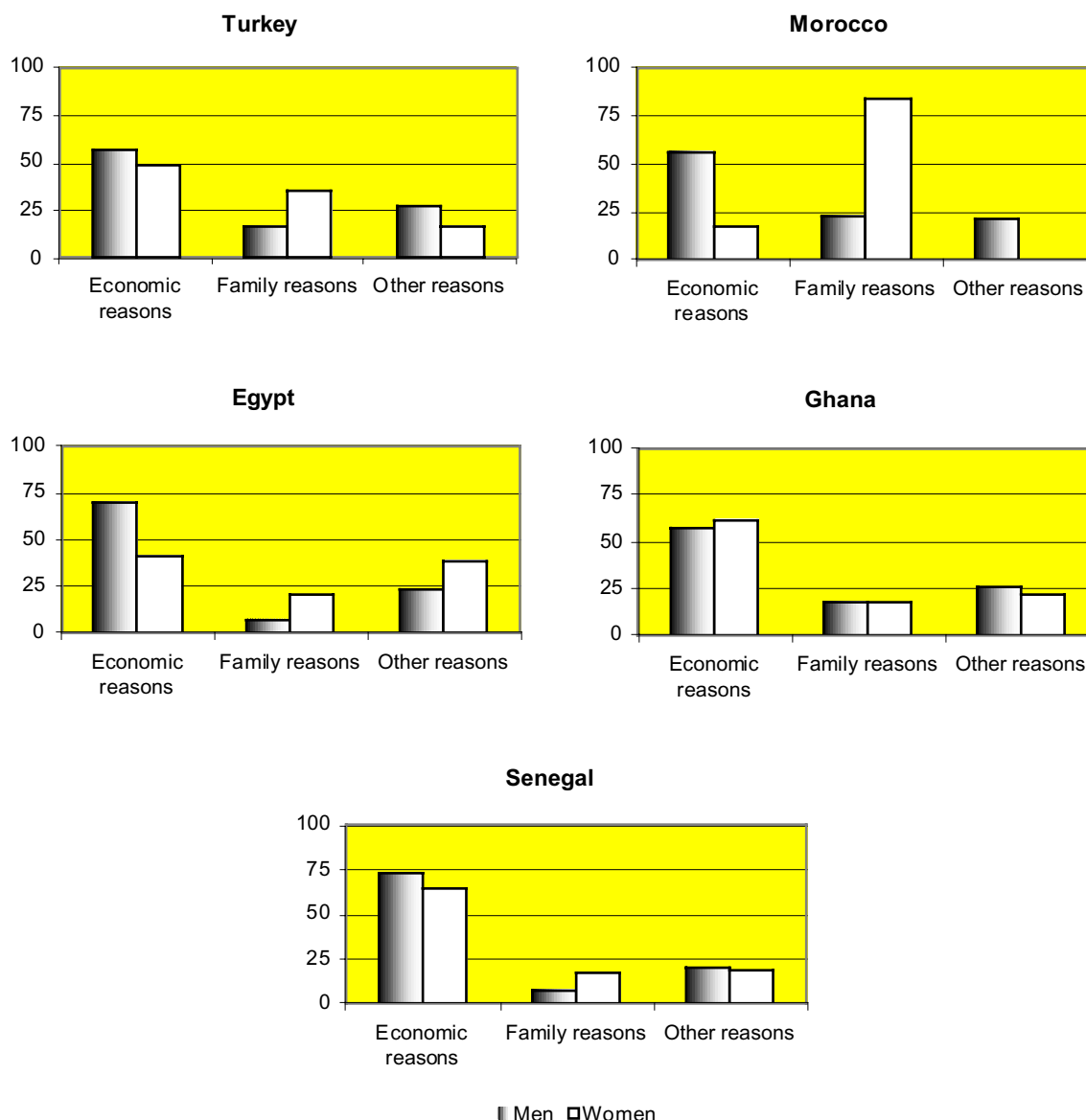
Figure 8.1 summarises the main reasons for preferring a specific ultimate country of destination among both men and women. The differences in this respect between non-migrants and return migrants are shown in Table 8.13.

In all surveyed sending countries, the majority of men with migration intentions choose a particular destination for economic reasons. This picture is most pronounced in Egypt and Senegal. With the exception of Moroccan women, economic reasons are also dominant for women who intend to migrate, especially in Senegal and Ghana.

Table 8.13 Main reason for choosing preferred ultimate country of destination of non-migrants and return migrants intending to migrate by sex, per sending country (%)

	Turkey		Morocco		Egypt		Ghana		Senegal	
	non	return	non	return	non	return	non	return	non	return
Men										
economic reasons	64	40	62	33	73	65	56	63	71	81
family reasons	19	12	26	11	8	5	18	17	9	1
other reasons	16	48	12	56	18	30	25	21	20	18
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	148	102	93	55	221	217	367	105	468	180
missing	3	-	5	2	-	-	38	17	1	-
Women										
economic reasons	49	22	17	-	46	-	63	31	62	76
family reasons	34	44	83	-	18	42	16	50	19	7
other reasons	16	33	-	-	36	58	22	19	18	17
Total	100	100	100	-	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	263	22	21	-	97	11	369	34	331	45
Missing	7	-	-	-	-	-	28	1	-	1

Figure 8.1 Main reason for choosing preferred ultimate country of destination of non-migrants and return migrants intending to migrate by sex, per sending country (%)



N -Turkey: 250 men, 285 women, 3 and 7 missing; Morocco: 148, 21, 7, 0; Egypt: 438, 108, 0, 0; Ghana: 472, 403, 55, 29; Senegal: 648, 376, 1, 1.

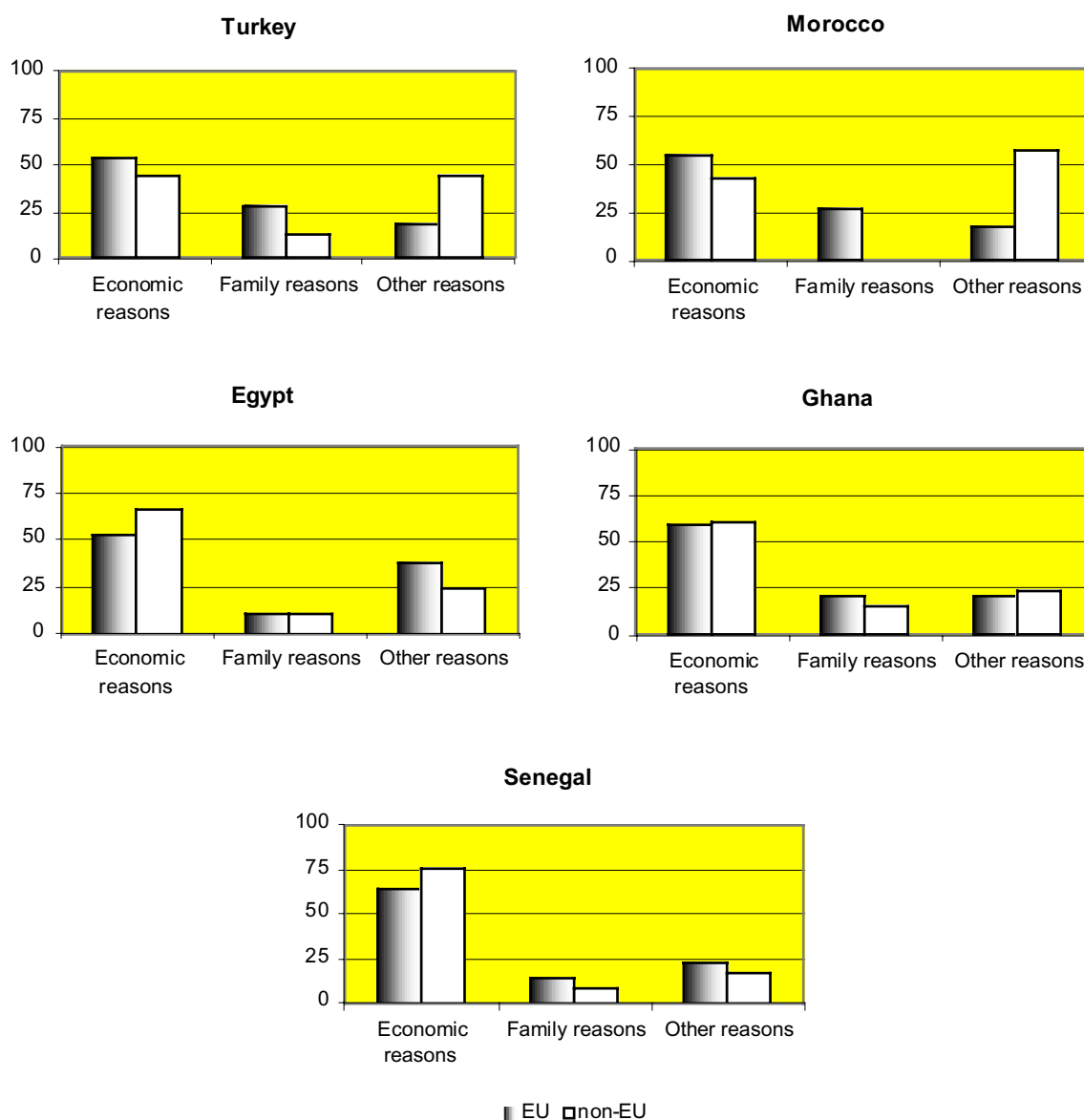
When comparing Figure 8.1 with Figure 6.5, it appears that family reasons, again except for Morocco, are much less important for the choice of a preferred ultimate destination by non-migrants and return migrants than they were for the destination of MMAs. This is most pronounced for Turkish men and women, Senegalese women and Egyptian women. It indicates that most people prefer to move to a particular country for economic reasons but when it comes to the actual move, in many cases this country or another country is chosen for family-related reasons. Undoubtedly, admission policies, which generally provide more scope for family migration than for economic migration, contribute to this.

According to Table 8.13, the differences between non-migrants and return migrants in their motivations for choosing a preferred ultimate destination are considerable. However, drawing conclusions for women in this respect is hardly possible given the small numbers of female return migrants in the surveys who intended to migrate again.

For Turkish, Moroccan and Egyptian men the diversity in motives is bigger among return migrants than among non-migrants. This is partly due to the circumstance that several of these return migrants motivate their choice by saying that they have been there before. Contrary to the situation in the aforementioned groups, it is noteworthy that economic motives among Ghanaian and Senegalese return migrants are more important in choosing an ultimate destination than among the non-migrants in these countries.

Figure 8.2 and Table 8.14 focus on differences in reasons for choosing an ultimate preferred EU country and for choosing another country.

Figure 8.2 Main reason for choosing preferred ultimate country of destination of non-migrants and return migrants intending to migrate by major area, per sending country (%)



N -Turkey: 430 EU, 103 non-EU, none missing; Morocco: 158, 5, 7, 0; Egypt: 81, 462, 0, 0; Ghana: 296, 552, 16, 43; Senegal: 543, 480, 0, 0).

Table 8.14 Main reason for choosing preferred ultimate country of destination of non-migrants and return migrants intending to migrate by major area, per sending country (%)

	Turkey		Morocco		Egypt		Ghana		Senegal	
	non	return	non	return	non	return	non	return	non	return
EU country										
economic reasons	55	44	60	32	57	38	59	48	61	73
family reasons	30	16	31	12	9	17	19	43	16	4
other reasons	14	40	9	56	34	46	21	10	22	23
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	334	96	108	50	48	33	255	41	423	120
missing	-	-	5	2	-	-	11	5	-	-
Other country										
economic reasons	54	26	43	-	66	64	60	61	74	86
family reasons	13	11	-	-	12	6	16	12	9	2
other reasons	33	63	57	-	22	30	24	27	17	13
total	100	100	100	-	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	75	28	4	1	270	192	457	95	375	105
missing	-	-	-	-	-	-	37	6	-	-

Comparing Figure 8.2 with Figure 6.7 shows, for Turkey, that family reasons, as stated earlier, are much less important to non-migrants and return migrants who intend to move to a preferred destination than to MMAs who have actually moved to a certain destination. Nevertheless, family reasons, at a lower level, remain a more decisive factor for the choice of an EU country than for the choice of another country. Economic reasons, too, are more important for the choice of an EU country. As a consequence, non-EU countries are preferred by Turkish non-migrants and return migrants because of reasons other than family and economic factors, such as educational possibilities.

The picture of Morocco in Figure 8.2, contrary to that in Figure 6.7, is quite similar to the Turkish one. This may be attributed to the fact that the motivation for choosing a specific EU destination among Moroccan non-migrants and return migrants hardly differs from the motivation for opting for the actual EU destination of Moroccan MMAs. Further investigation of the differences between EU and non-EU is not appropriate in the Moroccan case because there is hardly any intended emigration to countries outside the EU.

As the inverse is true for Egypt (hardly any intended emigration to the EU), analyses of the differences in motivation between EU countries and other countries are not appropriate in the Egyptian case either. The preferred country of destination is primarily chosen by Egyptian non-migrants and return migrants on economic grounds. The role of family reasons is negligible. Other reasons (for non-EU destinations) relate to a wide variety of motives.

The motivation of Ghanaian non-migrants and return migrants to choose a specific country of destination is hardly influenced by the distinction between EU and non-EU. The same conclusion was drawn in the context of the motivation of the actual destination of Ghanaian MMAs. Irrespective of the distinction between EU and non-EU, about half the surveyed Ghanaian potential migrants opt for an ultimate destination on economic grounds, almost a quarter choose a destination on family grounds and another quarter on other grounds.

For Senegalese, economic reasons for choosing a particular country are decisive for about 60 per cent of the intended moves to EU countries against three out of every four moves to non-EU countries. Irrespective of the preferred ultimate destination, the role of family reasons appears to be very modest. Figure 6.5 presents another picture: 75 per cent of the Senegalese MMAs went to EU countries for economic reasons against 50 per cent to other destinations. Furthermore, family reasons determined the decision to move to other countries among more than a quarter of the Senegalese MMAs.

As was the case in Table 8.13, the differences in Table 8.14 between non-migrants and return migrants in motivating their choice of a preferred EU or non-EU destination are considerable. However, drawing conclusions for some categories in this respect is hardly possible given the small numbers of respondents in the surveys (e.g. Moroccan and Turkish return migrants choosing a non-EU country and Egyptian return migrants who opt for an EU destination).

Among Turkish and Moroccan return migrants who prefer an EU destination as well as among Egyptian return migrants who prefer another destination, there is more diversity in motives (i.e. more other motives) than among the corresponding non-migrants. As stated earlier, this is partly due to the circumstance that several of these return migrants motivate their choice by the fact that they have ever been there before. Contrary to the situation in the aforementioned groups, it is worth noting that economic motives for choosing an ultimate destination are more important to Senegalese return migrants than to the non-migrants in this country.

Section 8.2.2 has paid attention to the current migrants in the receiving countries who intend to return to their country of origin. Their main reasons for their intended return were summarised in Table 8.6. For the sake of comparison, the reasons for the actual return of return migrants in the sending countries are presented in Table 8.15.

Looking at the reasons why current migrants in the receiving countries want to return, two categories are important for all groups: the wish to join the family and the wish to start a business. Homesickness and the sense of belonging to the country of origin are also important motives among Egyptians and Ghanaians in Italy.

The actual reasons for returning to the country of origin (Table 8.15) appear to be quite different from the reasons of intended return. Many returned because they were sent away by the authorities or because their labour contract had ended. Only very few returned to start a business, because of homesickness, or the sense of belonging to the country of origin. However, family reasons remain important among Senegalese and Ghanaian return migrants, although at a lower level than among the recent migrants who intend to return. Noteworthy in this context is the fear of war or persecution among several Egyptians who returned. This was mainly due to the war in Iraq.

In sum, it might be concluded that migrants intending to return to their country of origin underestimate the risk that they are more or less forced to return and overestimate their chances of starting a business in the country of origin. Family ties are a relevant factor in the return of migrants, but in practice less important than they are in the minds of those who intend to return.

8.5 Conclusions

Most people in the migrant-sending countries do not intend to migrate abroad at any time in the future. In so far as their intentions to stay at home are motivated by economic reasons, they fall into two opposite categories: either they have no economic need to migrate or, for a smaller group, they lack the financial means to go abroad. In that sense, it confirms the general idea that a certain threshold of wealth is required for migration to take place. In addition, and not surprisingly, non-mobility is strongly motivated by family ties and, for older people, by their advanced age.

Table 8.15 Main reason for returning, return migrants in sending countries (%)*

Turkey		Morocco	
Sent away by authorities	30	Sent away by authorities	28
Laid off/end contract	27	Laid off/end contract	13
Could not find job	8	Bad health	13
Belong here	8	Could not find job	8
Saved enough money	3	Did not like job	5
Other reasons	24	Other reasons	33
Total	100	Total	100
N	119	N	72
Missing	9	Missing	1
Egypt		Ghana	
Laid off/end contract	19	Join the family	16
Fear of war/persecution	16	Sent away by authorities	15
Low income	15	Start business	9
Parents wanted it	10	Completed education	7
Marriage here	4	Laid off/end contract	6
Other reasons	36	Other reasons	46
Total	100	Total	100
N	350	N	188
Missing	-	Missing	51
Senegal			
Other family reasons	21		
Join the family	12		
Sent away by authorities	12		
Parents wanted it	8		
Low income	7		
Other reasons	40		
Total	100		
N	119		
Missing	-		

* MMAs.

Nevertheless, in some of the sending countries, especially Ghana and Senegal, migration intentions are quite pronounced. As many as about 40 per cent of the Ghanaians and Senegalese interviewed said they intend to migrate, and also among the Turks (27 per cent) and the Moroccans (20 per cent) the figures are significant. Egyptians seem least inclined to migrate, with only 14 per cent expressing future migration intentions. Men more than women, and those with migration experience more than those without, express their intention to migrate. And, as among actual migrants, those intending to migrate tend to be young and single. The intention to migrate is overwhelmingly motivated by economic reasons. As a main motive, family-related reasons or other reasons, such as pursuing an education, are mentioned much less frequently.

In the receiving countries Spain and Italy, both staying and returning are popular options, although quite a large number of migrants profess they do not know yet. In any case, very few want to migrate on to a third country. Generally, 30 per cent of the migrants currently in Spain or Italy intend to return, with the exception of Moroccans among whom the intention to return is half that. But very few plan their return within the near future, that is, within the next two years. The intention to stay is motivated by the relatively secure positions migrants have obtained, or by the fact that the goals set have not (yet) been reached. In some cases migrants say they are prevented from going home because of a lack of financial resources. Economic pull factors, especially the intention to start a business, family-related reasons (such as joining the family, or problems with the children), or dissatisfaction with life in the country of destination are all important factors motivating return.

But, judging from evidence regarding the reasons for returning among those who have already returned, migrants intending to return to the country of origin may well underestimate the risk that they are more or less forced to return, and overestimate their chances of being able to start a business in the country of origin. Family ties are a relevant factor influencing return, but in practice seem less important than they are in the minds of those who intend to return.

Although the intention to migrate is strong in some countries (always keeping in mind, however, that the majority of people have no intention to migrate abroad), intentions appear to be difficult to realise. While general migration intentions vary between 14 per cent (Egypt) and 42 per cent (Ghana), in fact far fewer people consider that they will actually migrate within the next two years. The percentage who intend to do so is generally below 5, with the exception of Ghana (14 per cent). Asked whether they have actually taken any steps to prepare for migration, the percentages go down even further. And rarely do such preparations include the application and/or acquisition of visas and or residence/work permits.

In general, it can be said that the ultimate preferred country of destination for non-migrants and return migrants intending to migrate resembles the actual country of destination of recent migrants. However, there are some remarkable exceptions to this rule. Especially the wish among many Senegalese and Ghanaians to move to the USA is not reflected in actual patterns. For the non-migrants among them in particular, the USA seems to be the 'country of their dreams'. Furthermore, the attractiveness of Germany to Turks is worth mentioning. Despite the relatively strong representation of Germany in the distribution of actual Turkish emigration, there is room for a considerable increase in the event that the migration intentions of Turkish non-migrants and return migrants would come true. Finally, there is a notable difference among Egyptians in their preference for Saudi Arabia: while almost half of the interviewed Egyptian non-migrants with migration intentions would like to leave for Saudi Arabia, only a quarter of the return migrants wish to do so.

Most people prefer to move to a certain country for economic reasons but when it comes to the actual move, family-related reasons determine the choice of country. Undoubtedly, admission policies, which generally provide more scope for family migration than for economic migration, contribute to this.

9. REFERENCES

- Adepoju, A. (1995), The dynamics of emigration: Sub-Saharan Africa. In: R. van der Erf and L. Heering (eds.), *Causes of international migration*. Luxembourg: Eurostat, pp. 187-200.
- Barsotti, O. and L. Lecchini (1994), Social and economic aspects of foreign immigration to Italy. In: H. Fassmann and R. Münz (eds.), *European migration in the late 20th Century*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, pp. 81-92.
- Bauer, T. and K. Zimmermann (1995), Modelling international migration: economic and econometric issues. In: R. van der Erf and L. Heering (eds.), *Causes of international migration*. Luxembourg: Eurostat, pp. 95-115.
- Berrada, A. (1993), *Migration, mutation and economic development in Morocco*. Paper presented at the Conference on Migration and International Co-operation: Challenges for OECD countries, Madrid, 29-31 March.
- Bilsborrow, R.E., A.S. Oberai and G. Standing (eds.) (1984), *Migration surveys in low income countries: guidelines for survey and questionnaire design*. London/Sydney: Croom Helm.
- Bilsborrow, R.E., G. Hugo, A.S. Oberai and H. Zlotnik (1997), *International migration statistics. Guidelines for improving data collection systems*. Geneva: International Labour Office.
- Bilsborrow, R. and H. Zlotnik (1995), The systems approach and the measurement of the determinants of international migration. In: R. van der Erf and L. Heering (eds.), *Causes of international migration*. Luxembourg: Eurostat, pp. 61-76.
- Blangiardo, G. (1993). Una nuova metodologia di campionamento per le indagini sulla presenza straniera, In: L. Di Comite and M. De Candia (eds.), *I fenomeni migratori nel bacino mediterraneo*. Bari: Cacucci.
- Bocquier, P. and S. Traoré (1998), Migration and urbanization in West Africa: methodological issues in data collection and inference. In: R.E. Bilsborrow (ed.), *Migration, urbanization, and development: new directions and issue*. New York: UNFPA, pp. 249-273.
- Böcker, A. (1994), *Turkse migranten en sociale zekerheid: van onderlinge zorg naar overheidszorg?* Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Böcker, A. (1995), Migration networks: Turkish migration to Western Europe. In: R. van der Erf and L. Heering (eds.), *Causes of international migration*, Luxembourg: Eurostat, pp. 151-171.
- Boyd, M. (1989), Family and personal networks in international migration: recent developments and new agendas. In: *International Migration Review*, vol. 23, no. 3, pp. 638-670.
- Burda, M.C. (1993), The determinants of East-West German migration: some first results. In: *European Economic Review*, vol. 37, no. 2-3, pp. 452-461.

- Cariño, B.V., J.T. Fawcett, R.W. Gardner and F. Arnold (1990), *The new Filipino immigrants to the United States: increasing diversity and change*. Honolulu, Hawaii: East-West Center. Papers of the East-West Population Institute, no. 115.
- Centre d'Etudes et de Recherche sur la Population et le Développement (CERPOD) (1995), *Migrations et urbanisations en l'Afrique de l'ouest: résultats préliminaires*. Bamako, Mali.
- Choldin, H.M. (1973), Kinship networks in migration process. In: *International Migration Review*, vol. 7, no.2, pp. 163-176.
- Condé, J., P.S. Diagne and N. Ouaidou (1986), *Les migrations internationales sud-nord. Une étude de cas: les migrants maliens, mauritaniens et sénégalais de la vallée du fleuve Sénégal, en France*. Paris: OECD.
- Council of Europe (1998), *Recent demographic developments in Europe, 1998*. Strasbourg.
- De Jong, G.F. and R.W. Gardner (1981), Motivations for migration: an assessment and a value-expectancy research model. In: G.F. De Jong and R.W. Gardner (eds.), *Migration decision making. Multidisciplinary approaches to microlevel studies in developed and developing countries*. New York: Pergamon Press, pp. 13-58.
- Direction de la Prévision et de la Statistique (1998), *Enquête sur les Migrations et l'Urbanisation au Sénégal (EMUS), 1992-1993. Rapport national descriptif*. Dakar.
- Eelens, F., T. Schampers and J.D. Speckmann (eds.) (1992), *Labour migration to the Middle East. From Sri Lanka to the Gulf*. London: Kegan Paul International Ltd.
- Erf, R. van der and L. Heering (eds.) (1995), *Causes of international migration*. Luxembourg: Eurostat.
- Esveldt, I., I. Kulu-Glasgow, J. Schoorl and H. Van Solinge (1995), *Migratiemotieven, migratienetwerken en partnerkeuze van Turken en Marokkanen in Nederland*. The Hague: Netherlands Interdisciplinary Demographic Institute (NIDI).
- European Commission (1996), *Comparative research on international migration and international migration policy. Migration from the Maghreb and Turkey to the European Union, and from Mexico, Guatemala and El Salvador to the United States*. Luxembourg: European Communities.
- Fadayomi, T.O. (1996), Brain drain and brain gain in Africa: dimensions and consequences. In: A. Adepoju and T. Hammar (eds.), *International migration in and from Africa: dimensions, challenges and prospects*. Dakar/Stockholm: Population, Human Resources and Development in Africa/Centre for Research in International Migration and Ethnic Relations, pp. 143-159.
- Farrag, M. (1996), *Emigration dynamics in Egypt*. Paper presented at the IOMUNFPA Workshop on Emigration in the Arab Region, Geneva, 7-8 October.
- Fassmann, H. and R. Münz (1992), Patterns and trends of international migration in Western Europe. In: *Population and Development Review*, vol.18, no. 3, pp. 457-480.
- Fawcett, J.T., and F. Arnold (1987a), Explaining Diversity: Asian and Pacific Immigration Systems. In: J.T. Fawcett en B.V. Cariño (eds.), *Pacific Bridges. The new immigration from Asia and the Pacific Islands*. New York: Center for Migration Studies, pp. 453-473.

- Fawcett, J.T. and F. Arnold (1987b), The role of surveys in the study of international migration: an appraisal. In: *International Migration Review*, vol. 21, no. 4, pp. 1523-1540.
- Fawcett, J.T. (1989), Networks, linkages and migration systems. In: *International Migration Review*, vol. 23, no. 3, pp. 671-680.
- Fawcett, J.T. and R.W. Gardner (1994), Asian immigrant entrepreneurs and non-entrepreneurs: a comparative study of recent Korean and Filipino immigrants. In: *Population and Environment*, vol. 15, no. 3, pp. 211-238.
- Findley, S., D. Ouedraogo and N. Ouaidou (1988), From seasonal migration to international migration: an analysis of the factors affecting the choices made by families of the Senegal river valley. In: *African Population Conference, Dakar 1988*. Liège, IUSSP. vol. 2, pp. 4.3.39-53.
- Ghatak, S. and P. Levine (1993), *Migration theory and evidence: an assessment*. London: Centre for Economic Policy Research. Discussion paper no. 769.
- Ghosh, B. (1992), Migration, trade and international economic cooperation. Do the interlinkages work? In: *International Migration*, vol. 30, no. 3/4, pp. 377-398.
- Gonzalez-Pérez (1990), El reciente incremento de la población extranjera en España y su incidencia laboral. In: *Investigaciones Geográficas*, 8, pp. 7-36.
- Goodman, J.L. (1981), Information, uncertainty and the microeconomic model of migration decision making. In: G.F. De Jong and R.W. Gardner (eds.), *Migration Decision Making: multidisciplinary approaches to microlevel studies in developed and developing countries*. New York: Pergamon Press, pp. 130-148.
- Gould P.R. and R. White (1974), *Mental maps*. New York: Penguin.
- Gurak, D.T. and M.M. Kritz (1987), Los patrones de migración de los Dominicanos y de los Colombianos en la ciudad de New York: el rol de las redes de parentesco. In: J. del Castillo and C. Mitchell (eds.), *La inmigración dominicana en los Estados Unidos*. Santa Domingo: Universidad APEC, pp. 153-184.
- Gurak, D.T. and F. Caces (1992), Migration networks and the shaping of migration systems. In: M.M. Kritz, L.L. Lim and H. Zlotnik (eds.), *International migration systems. A global approach*. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 150-176.
- Hammar, T. (1995), Development and immobility: why have not many more emigrants left the South? In: R. van der Erf and L. Heering (eds.), *Causes of international migration*. Luxembourg: Eurostat, pp. 173-186.
- Hammar, T., G. Brochmann, K. Tamas and T. Faist (eds.) (1997), *International migration, immobility and development. Multidisciplinary perspectives*. Oxford/New York: Berg.
- Harbison, S.F. (1981), Family structure and family strategy in migration decision-making. In: G.F. De Jong and R.W. Gardner (eds.), *Migration decision-making: multidisciplinary approaches to microlevel studies in developed and developing countries*. New York: Pergamon Policy Studies, pp. 225-251.
- Harris, J.R. and M.P. Todaro (1970), Migration, unemployment, and development a two-sector analysis. In: *American Economic Review*, vol. 60, no. 1, pp. 126-142.

- Hoggart, K. and R. Lardiés (1996), *Immigration into Spain from the European Union*. Contributed paper to the Mediterranean Conference on Population, Migration and Development, Palma de Mallorca, 15-17 October.
- Hugo, G.J. (1981), Village-community ties, village norms, and ethnic and social networks: a review of evidence from the Third World. In: G.F. De Jong and R.W. Gardner (eds.), *Migration Decision Making: multidisciplinary approaches to microlevel studies in developed and developing countries*. New York: Pergamon Press, pp. 186-224.
- Hugo, G.J. (1987), Demographic and welfare implications of urbanization: direct and indirect effects on sending and receiving areas. In: R.J. Fuchs, G.W. Jones and E.M. Pernia (eds.), *Urbanization and Urban Policies in Pacific Asia*. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, pp. 136-165.
- İçduygu, A. (1996), *Migration from Turkey to Western Europe: recent trends and prospects*. Paper presented at the Mediterranean Conference on Population, Migration and Development, Palma de Mallorca, 15-17 October.
- International Organization for Migration (IOM) (1996), *Transit migration in Turkey*. Budapest. Migration Information Programme.
- Jazwinska, E. and M. Okolski (eds.) (1996), *Causes and consequences of migration in Central and Eastern Europe*. Warsaw: Migration Research Centre, Institute for Social Studies University of Warsaw.
- Jazwinska, E. (1996), Methods, approaches, research techniques. In: E. Jazwinska and M. Okolski (eds.), *Causes and consequences of migration in Central and Eastern Europe*. Warsaw: Migration Research Centre, Institute for Social Studies University of Warsaw, pp. 51-67.
- Katz, E. and O. Stark (1986), Labor migration and risk aversion in less developed countries. In: *Journal of Labor Economics*, vol. 4, no. 1, pp. 131-149.
- Keilman, N.W. (1990), *Uncertainty in national population forecasting: issues, backgrounds, analyses, recommendations*. Amsterdam/Lisse: Swets and Zeitlinger.
- Koray, S. (1996), *Dynamics of demography and development in Turkey: Implications to the potential for migration to Europe*. Paper presented at the Mediterranean Conference on Population, Migration and Development, Palma de Mallorca, 15-17 October.
- Kritz, M.M., C.B. Keely and S.M. Tomasi (eds.) (1981), *Global trends in migration: theory and research on international population movements*. New York: Center for Migration Studies.
- Kritz, M.M. and F. Caces (1992), Science and technology transfers and migration flows. In: M.M. Kritz, M.M., L.L. Lim and H. Zlotnik (eds.), *International migration systems. A global approach*. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 221-242.
- Kritz, M.M., L.L. Lim and H. Zlotnik (eds.) (1992), *International migration systems. A global approach*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Kulu-Glasgow, I. (1992), *Motives and social networks of international migration within the context of the systems approach: a literature review*. The Hague: Netherlands Interdisciplinary Demographic Institute (NIDI), Working paper no. 3.
- Kunz, E.F. (1981), Exile and resettlement: refugee theory. In: *International Migration Review*, vol. 15, no.1, pp. 42-51.

- Lim, L.L. (1998), *The processes generating the migration of women*. Paper prepared for the United Nations Technical Symposium on International Migration and Development, The Hague, 29 June-3 July.
- Lomnitz L. (1976), An ecological model for migration studies. In: D. Guillet (ed.), *New approaches to the study of migration*. Houston: Rice University, pp. 131-146.
- Martin, P.L. (1991), *The unfinished story: Turkish labour migration to Western Europe*. Geneva: International Labour Office.
- Massey, D.S. (1987), The ethnosurvey in theory and practice. In: *International Migration Review*, vol. 21, no. 4, pp. 1498-1522.
- Massey, D., R. Alarcón, J. Durand and H. González (1987), *Return to Aztlán: the social process of international migration from Western Mexico*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Massey, D.S. (1990), Social structure, household strategies, and the cumulative causation of migration. In: *Population Index*, vol. 56, no.1, pp. 3-26.
- Massey, D., J. Arango, G. Hugo, A. Kouaouci, A. Pellegrino and J.E. Taylor (1993), Theories of international migration: a review and appraisal. In: *Population and Development Review*, vol. 19, no. 3, pp. 431-466.
- Ministero dell'Interno (1998), *Relazione sulla presenza straniera in Italia e sulle situazioni di irregolarità (Report on foreign immigration in Italy and on the irregular situations)*. Rome.
- Moulier Boutang, Y. and D. Papademetriou (1994), Typology, evolution and performance of main migration systems. In: *Migration and development. New partnerships for co-operation*. Paris: OECD, pp. 19-35.
- Mullan, B. and T. Frejka (1995), The UNECE international migration surveys in Lithuania, Poland, and Ukraine: methodological issues. In: R. van der Erf and L. Heering (eds.), *Causes of international migration*. Luxembourg: Eurostat, pp. 223-253.
- Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) (1997), *Economic Outlook, June 1997*. Paris.
- Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), 1998, *Employment Outlook, June 1998*. Paris.
- Özsoy, A.E., I. Koç and A. Toros (1992), Türkiye'nin etnik yapısının ana dil sorularına göre analizi (Ethnic structure in Turkey as implied by the analysis of mother tongue data). In: *The Turkish Journal of Population Studies*, vol. 14, pp. 101-114.
- Park, I.H., J.T. Fawcett, F. Arnold and R.W. Gardner (1990), *Korean immigrants and U.S. immigration policy: a predeparture perspective*. Honolulu, Hawaii: East-West Center. Papers of the East-West Population Institute, no. 114.
- Penninx, R., J.J. Schoorl and C.S. van Praag (1993), *The impact of international migration on the receiving countries: the case of the Netherlands*. Amsterdam/Lisse: Swets and Zeitlinger.

- Piore, M.J. (1979), *Birds of passage: migrant labor in industrial societies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Pohjola, A. (1991), Social networks - Help or hindrance to the migrant? In: *International Migration*, vol. 29, no. 3, pp. 435-444.
- Portes, A. and J. Böröcz (1989), Contemporary immigration: theoretical perspectives on its determinants and modes of incorporation. In: *International Migration Review*, vol. 23, no. 3, pp. 606-630.
- Ranis, G. and J.C.H. Fei (1961), A theory of economic development. In: *American Economic Review*, vol. 51, pp. 533-565.
- Reyneri, E. (1998a), *Addressing the employment of migrants in an irregular situation: the case of Italy*. Paper presented at the Technical Symposium on International Migration and Development, The Hague, Netherlands, 29 June-3 July.
- Reyneri, E. (1998b), *Unemployment patterns in the European countries: a comparative view*. (draft).
- Richmond, A.H. (1993), Reactive migration: sociological perspectives on refugee movements. In: *Journal of Refugee Studies*, vol. 6, no. 1, pp. 7-24.
- Ritchey, P.N. (1976), Explanations of migration. In: *Annual Review of Sociology*, vol.2, pp. 363-404.
- Santo Tomas, P. (1998), *Enhancing the capabilities of emigration countries to protect men and women destined for low-skilled employment: the case of the Philippines*. Paper prepared for the United Nations Technical Symposium on International Migration and Development, The Hague, 29 June-3 July 1998.
- Sarrille, G. (1996), *Migratory and total population increase: the case of Spain in the Mediterranean*. Contributed paper to the Mediterranean Conference on Population, Migration and Development, Palma de Mallorca, 15-17 October.
- Schoorl, J. (1995), Determinants of international migration: theoretical approaches and implications for survey research. In: R. van der Erf and L. Heering (eds.), *Causes of international migration*. Luxembourg: Eurostat, pp. 3-14.
- Schoorl, J.J. (1998), *A multi-country approach to study the determinants of migration*. Paper prepared for the United Nations Technical Symposium on International Migration and Development, The Hague, 29 June-3 July 1998.
- Schoorl, J.J., B.J. de Bruijn, E.J. Kuiper and L. Heering (1996), *Migration from African and eastern Mediterranean countries to western Europe*. Paper presented at the Mediterranean Conference on Population, Migration and Development, Palma de Mallorca, 15-17 October.
- Schoorl, J.J. and M.E. Idema (1997), *Migration Networks in Europe*. Paper prepared for the Conference on International Migration at Century's End: Trends and Issues. Barcelona, May 7-10.
- Schwartz, A. (1973), Interpreting the effect of distance on migration. In: *Journal of Political Economy*, vol. 81 pp.1153-1169.

- Sjaastad, L.A. (1962), The costs and returns of human migration. In: *Journal of Political Economy*, vol. 70, no. 5, part 2, pp. 80-93.
- Stark, O. (1984), Migration decision making: a review article. In: *Journal of Development Economics*, vol. 14, pp. 251-259.
- Stark, O. (1991), *The migration of labor*. Cambridge: Basil Blackwell.
- Suhrke, A. (1995), Analysing the causes of contemporary refugee flows. In: R. van der Erf and L. Heering (eds), *Causes of international migration*. Luxembourg: Eurostat, pp. 201-221.
- Sycip, L.M. and J.T. Fawcett (1988), *Expectations, family networks, and emigration: a study of Filipino decision-making*. Honolulu: East-West Population Institute. Report no. 238.
- Taylor, J.E. (1986), Differential migration, networks, information and risk. In: O. Stark (ed.), *Research in human capital and Development. Volume 4*. Greenwich, Conn.: JAI Press, pp. 147-171.
- Taylor, J.E. (1992), Remittances and economic inequality reconsidered: direct, indirect, and intertemporal effects. In: *Journal of Policy Modeling*, vol. 14, pp. 187-208.
- Todoaro, M. (1976), *Internal migration in developing countries*. Geneva: International Labour Office.
- Todoaro, M.P. (1989), *Economic development in the Third World*. New York: Longman Publishers.
- Turkish Central Bank (1986) *Istanbul Chamber of Commerce, Economic Report*. Publication no. 1991-28. Ankara.
- Twum-Baah, K.A., J.S. Nabila and A.F. Aryee (eds.) (1995), *Migration research study in Ghana. Volume 2: International migration*. Accra: Ghana Statistical Service.
- United Nations (1993), *Standard Recode Files and Standard Country Reports*. Geneva.
- United Nations (1997), *International migration and development*. New York.
- United Nations (1998), *Demographic Yearbook 1996*. New York.
- United States Department of State (1997), *Lebanon Country Report on Human Rights Practices for 1996*. Washington DC.
- University of Ghana (1999), *Population Impact Project (PIP)*, Legon, Department of Geography and Resource Development.
- Wilpert C. (1992), The use of social networks in Turkish migration to Germany. In: M.M. Kritz, L.L. Lim and H. Zlotnik (eds.), *International migration systems. A global approach*. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 177-189.
- World Bank (1998), *World Development Report 1998/99*. New York: Oxford University Press.

World Resources Institute, The United Nations Environment Programme, The United Nations Development Programme, and the World Bank (1998), *World Resources 1998-99*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Zlotnik, H. (1992), Empirical identification of international migration systems. In: M.M. Kritz, L.L. Lim and H. Zlotnik (eds.), *International migration systems. A global approach*. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 19-40.

Zolberg, A.R., A. Suhrke and S. Aguayo (1989), *Escape from violence: conflict and the refugee crisis in the developing world*. New York, Oxford University Press.

Internet sites

Buagbe, I.A. (1999), <http://ili2.literacy.upenn.edu/sltip/country/ghana.htm>.

CIA Factbook (1999), www.odci.gov/cia/publications/factbook.

Ghana homepage (1999), <http://www.ghanaweb.com>.

OECD (1999), <http://www.oecd.org/std/gdpperca.htm>.

Senegal homepage (1999), <http://www.republicofsenegal.com/area&pop.htm>.

10. APPENDICES

10.1 Country-specific sample designs and their implementation

10.1.1 Introduction

The main objective of the IMS project is to study the determinants and consequences of international migration in a number of countries. As fully-fledged nationally representative surveys are too costly, these issues are often studied in particular regions within countries.

To sample elements, such as households and individuals with or without an international migration experience, a *sampling frame* must be available to sample from. A sampling frame must contain the elements of interest to the study. In the case of studies that investigate processes underlying international migration, such sampling frames must contain elements, say households, with one or more members that have an international migration experience and households without such members. Below, elements that make up a sampling frame are called population elements. Population elements that are selected by sampling procedures and make up the sample are called sample elements.

If an appropriate sampling frame is available, sampling procedures may require the selection of elements in various steps or stages, which may include: (1) the stratification of elements into relatively homogenous groups according to some characteristic, such as geographical location or migration status of the household; (2) the sampling of elements in multiple stages, such as the sampling of smaller geographical or administrative areas within larger ones, and then the sampling of elements within these smaller areas.

Depending on the nature of the study, sampling procedures can be designed that ensure that all elements that are drawn from the sampling frame into the sample have the same chance of being selected, called a self-weighting sample. Conversely, sampling procedures could be geared to draw a sufficient number of members of a particular interest group into the sample by giving some members a greater chance of being selected. Often, such 'disproportionate' sampling is used for the investigation of elements in a population that have a 'rare' characteristic. Such elements are 'oversampled' in order to attain a sufficient number of cases for statistical analysis.

There are various sampling strategies to sample elements with 'rare' characteristics, such as households with an international migration experience. The 'model' approach adopted for the international migration surveys was to identify particular regions in a country where concentrations of international migrants are expected, using key informants and various data sources (e.g. census data); then to classify spatial units within these regions according to the prevalence of households with an international migration experience, and stratify these units according to the magnitude of prevalence rates; subsequently, to sample spatial units from each stratum, giving higher selection probabilities to units with higher migration prevalence rate; then to screen in the sample of spatial units all households to determine their international migration status, and stratify households according to migration status (e.g. recent migrant, non-recent migrant, non-migrant); and lastly, to oversample households of interest to the study by allocating a disproportionately large share of total sample size to the stratum of recent migrant households (see Bilsborrow *et al.*, 1997). As we shall see below, the countries that participated in the study accommodated the model design to deal with constraints posed by the availability of adequate information for sample design and by fieldwork budgets and logistic management.

When data obtained from oversampled elements are analysed, applying sample-design weights must compensate for their disproportionately high selection probabilities. The weight for each element is the inverse of its selection probability. Analysis of information from elements sampled with different selection probabilities must take into account such weights. In 'weighted analysis' the relative importance of information on elements that are over- and undersampled is scaled to the relative frequency of the elements in the population from which these elements were sampled. Weights can be normalised so that the sum of the weights equals the total number of elements in the sample. The mean value of these normalised weights is one. Elements that are oversampled will have weights that are less than one, and elements that are undersampled will have weights that are in excess of one. For instance, a final weight of 0.50 'attached' to a household means that all information from this household is counted 0.50 times in weighted statistical analyses.

The values of weights are computed from the data collected on the population from which the samples were drawn. In general, a sample design weight can be defined as the ratio between the 'what-if' or PPES-selection probability divided by the actual selection probability:

$$\frac{P(x)^{PPES}}{P(x)^{actual}}$$

where $P(x)^{actual}$ is the *actual selection probability* of a household and those of all higher order sampling units under which the household is subsumed (e.g. census block, district, region). The values that selection probabilities take depend on the manner in which the target sample size is allocated to strata, the fraction of PSU's sampled within strata, and the fraction of households sampled within PSU's. $P(x)^{PPES}$ is the *'what-if' selection probability, or PPES-selection probability* (Probability Proportional to Estimated Size) of a household and those of all higher order sampling units under which the household is subsumed. The values of PPES-selection probabilities are computed from estimates of population sizes of regions, districts, census blocks and strata. In a self-weighting multistage stratified PPES sample design, the selection probabilities associated with multiple stages and strata generate *overall* or *final* selection probabilities for households that have identical values.¹⁹

10.1.2 Sending countries

In *Turkey*, the target sample size was set at 1,800 households, to be equally divided over the four regions so that in each region 450 households would be selected. Contrary to many countries, data are available on the international migration experience of households and on the economic development at the district level. A census question in the 1990 Census asked, in each household, whether any household member was living in another country on the census day. Furthermore, a recent nation-wide socio-economic survey facilitated the classification and ranking of all 850 districts according to their level of economic development. In this way, four regions with distinct economic and migration history characteristics were composed by purposively selecting a number of districts, which are spatially non-contiguous, to form a particular region. The regions are situated south, east and south-west of Ankara and in the south-east of Turkey. The aforementioned prior information appeared to be sufficiently detailed to add an urban-rural dimension to the sample design. Each district was split into an urban and a rural sub-district. Within each region, all sub-districts were sorted according to a measure of migration intensity, the sub-districts 'P-value', that is, the proportion of households in the sub-district with at least one international migrant. Two strata were formed, according to these P-values: a stratum with sub-districts with high P-values and a stratum with sub-districts with low P-values.

¹⁹ For instance, a multistage stratified sample design may generate sets of region-specific weights, district-specific weights, census block-specific weights, and household migration-status category weights. These weights are computed with the aid of the aforementioned formula. By multiplying a particular combination of such weights the overall sample design weight for a household is computed. In addition, a non-response weight is added to the multiplication to account for household non-response which differs across migration status categories, census blocks, districts and regions.

The selection of sub-districts from these two strata went as follows. First, based on information on interviewer workload from the pilot survey and planned duration of the main survey, the expected workload that a team of interviewers could handle per day was estimated at 12 households. Thus, $450/12=37.5$ (rounded to 37) batches of households had to be interviewed in each region. Second, these 37 batches of 12 households each were then distributed over the sub-districts in the two strata in proportion to the magnitude of the sub-district's P-values, according to the systematic selection method.²⁰ This method ensures that more batches of households are allocated to sub-districts with high P-values than to sub-districts with low P-values. In the end, zero batches of households were allocated to certain sub-districts whereas one or more batches were allocated to other sub-districts. Although sampling procedures in urban and rural sub-districts differ, the general approach was to sample and interview a maximum of ten 'recent migrant households' and at least two 'other types of households' from each batch of a hundred screened and categorised households. Third, in the selected sub-districts screening, sampling and interviewing was combined. The screening took place in batches of a hundred households. The number of batches of a hundred households to be screened in a particular sub-district equals the number of batches of 12 households that were allocated to a selected sub-district. At the time of the screening survey, every household was asked a number of questions that made it possible to minimally assign the household the status of 'recent migrant household' or 'other type of household'.

In the end, some 12,838 households were screened and categorised and 1,773 households were actually sampled, 1,564 of which were successfully interviewed (656 recent migrant households, 173 non-recent migrant households, and 735 non-migrant households). The Turkish survey was the first to be held: the fieldwork was carried out from July to September 1996. The survey results are representative for the populations in the four regions.

In *Egypt*, in 1995, CAPMAS projected 1986 Census information to develop a nationally representative and self-weighting 'Master Sample' for the year 1996. This 'Master Sample' served to create a sampling frame for the screening survey of international migrants. The results of the screening survey would subsequently create the sampling frame for the international migration survey. With the exception of 5 frontier areas, all governorates in Egypt, including Cairo and Alexandria, were grouped into four regions characterised by different levels of economic development and international migration experience. Thus, a multistage, stratified, self-weighting, Master Sample of 'areas' was designed in which 71 thousand households were sampled within the 21 governorates (40,520 urban and 30,480 rural households). An urban 'area' consists of about two thousand households and a rural 'area' of about one thousand households. An 'area' is a spatial unit and comprises 'segments'. An urban 'segment' consists of 200 households and a rural 'segment' consists of 100 households. Across regions and governorates, all 'areas' were grouped into an urban and a rural stratum. Independent sampling of 'areas' (i.e. Primary Sampling Units, PSU) took place in the two strata using systematic selection. Within the selected 'areas', 'segments' (i.e. Secondary Sampling Units, SSU) were randomly sampled and, ultimately, within sampled 'segments', households were randomly sampled. The sampling procedures ensured that all households have the same chance of being selected, making the Master Sample design 'self-weighting'.

²⁰ Sampling of 'every k^{th} element'.

The next step was to estimate how many households would need to be sampled and screened from this Master Sample of 71 thousand households to ensure that a predetermined number of recent migrant household interviews could be generated. The predetermined total target sample size was 1,600 households, composed of 600 recent current, 400 recent return migrant and 600 non-recent/non-migrant households. These numbers were increased to compensate for an anticipated non-response rate of about 25 per cent.²¹ Based on information from previous migration studies it was estimated that about ten per cent of the households in the four regions would be recent migrant households. Therefore, it was decided to subsample and screen about 30 thousand households from the Master Sample to ensure that, after screening, about three thousand recent migrant households would be in the subsample. This number was considered sufficient for the sampling of the predetermined one thousand recent current and recent return migrant households.

The sampling strategies used for the Master Sample and the screening survey ensured that half of all Egyptian governorates, including Cairo and Alexandria, and all four regions would be represented in the sample of 'areas' and 'segments'. After the international migration status of these 30 thousand households was determined, households were grouped by region into three international migration status strata (i.e. recent current, recent return and non-migrant/non-recent migrant households). The total sample size was allocated to the four regions in about equal numbers and to the different international migration status strata in a way that ensured that the sample would contain the predetermined number of households from each migration status group. Systematic selection was used to sample households within the four regions and three migration status strata.

In conclusion, in Egypt, the sampling, screening and stratification of 30 thousand households from a nation-wide Master Sample of 'areas' and 'segments' containing 71 thousand households, facilitated the sampling of a target sample of 2,588 households from four regions and from three 'household migration status' strata. A total of 1,943 households were successfully contacted and interviewed, 604 of which are 'recent-current' migrant, 546 'recent-return' migrant and 793 'non-migrant/non-recent migrant' households. The fieldwork took place in the period April-June 1997.

In *Morocco*, the traditional emigration areas are the Rif and the Sous, and more recently also central Morocco, the Mid-Atlas and Jebala regions. Suitable sampling frames were absent but with information from previous migration studies and expert knowledge, the Moroccan team identified five out of the 49 provinces for which it is thought that international migration is or has become important. In addition to differences in levels of economic development, these five provinces differ with respect to the orientation of emigrants to countries of destination. In the north, bordering the Mediterranean Sea, the province of Nador was selected because of the high and established level of emigration, in particular to the Netherlands and Germany. In the south, bordering the Atlantic Ocean and south of Agadir, Tiznit was selected as it is the main place for emigration of Moroccans to France. More recently, international migration has also become important in the provinces of Settat (near the Atlantic Coast and Casablanca), Khenifra (in the mountainous and dry Centre South region) and Larach (Atlantic coast in the north, south of Tanger). The sample design described below generates data representative at the level of provinces for these five provinces.

²¹ For the purpose of a case study, an additional 100 households were selected in a purposive manner in one particular area to study international migration to Italy.

From secondary data it is estimated that about 3.5 per cent of urban households and 2.5 per cent of rural households have one or more members with an international migration experience. From this prior knowledge, the target number of households to be sampled in urban and rural areas was estimated at 1,130 households and 1,110 households, respectively, including a compensation of 5-10 per cent for non-response. A stratified, multistage sample design with disproportionate allocation in the last sampling stage was developed.

All 'villes' (towns) and 'communes rurales' (rural municipalities) in the five provinces were grouped into an urban or rural stratum. Within strata, the units were grouped according to province and a number of socio-economic, environmental and international migration history criteria. Using 1995 census data, within the urban stratum 11 out of 47 'villes' were sampled with selection probabilities in proportion to the estimated number of households in the 'villes'. In the same manner, in the rural stratum, 15 out of 117 'communes rurales' were sampled. The sampling strategies in the two strata were such that in each province two 'villes' and two to four 'communes rurales' were sampled. A second sampling stage was introduced by the random sampling of 'quartiers' within the selected 'villes' and by the random sampling of 'douars' within the selected 'communes rurales'. A total of 23 'quartiers' and 26 'douars' were eventually selected to carry out the fieldwork and 4,512 households were screened to determine their international migration status. After screening, all households were classified into five migration status strata in which all recent migrant, non-recent current migrant, non-recent return migrant, mixed²² and non-migrant households were grouped. The urban and rural target sample was distributed over the strata by allocating a disproportionately large share of the target sample to the stratum of recent migrant households.

As compared to the other sending countries, additional selection criteria were introduced to determine who in the household was eligible for interviewing. This was done because of a relatively stronger sensitivity on the part of respondents than elsewhere to particular migration questions. Part of the sampled households was interviewed exhaustively, that is, all adult household members were interviewed (the same approach as in all other countries), while a larger part of the sampled households was interviewed only partially to reduce interviewing time. Partial interviewing implied that, in migrant households, only migrants (and in Senegal also the head of household) received an individual questionnaire, while in non-migrant households only the reference person/head of household received an individual questionnaire. For the other adult members in these households, a limited number of questions (concerning work or economic activity, education, marital status, etc.) were added to the household roster and answers were supplied by the head of household. Eventually, a total of 1,953 households were successfully interviewed. Almost 50 per cent of these households are so-called recent current migrant households (784) or recent return migrant households (169). The fieldwork was carried out mainly from May to October 1997. The survey results are considered representative for the populations in the five provinces.

In *Senegal*, one third of the Senegalese population of 8.5 million (1996) lived in the regions of Dakar and Diourbel, the study areas for the project. These regions cover only 2.5 per cent of the total surface area of Senegal. In the past 25 years rural-rural and rural-urban migration has increased, instigated by recurrent droughts and crop failures since the 1970s. Particularly during the last decade, international migration to other African countries and to Europe (France, Spain, Italy) increased and the Dakar and Diourbel regions became the most important focal points for international immigrants and emigrants. Of the two regions, the Dakar region is economically more highly developed than the Diourbel region. In 1993, about 40 per cent of the (negative) migration balance was due to emigration to other African countries whereas 60 per cent was accounted for by migration flows to countries outside Africa. Since the 1980s, a number of migration studies have been conducted in Senegal and neighbouring

²² A mixed household (*ménage mixte*) is a household in which more than one type of migrant is present, such as recent and non-recent current and/or return migrants.

countries that provide new insights into national and regional migration flows.²³ However, systematic data collection on international migration flows to Europe has not yet taken place.

To increase the probability of getting enough (recent) migrant households in the sample and to ensure proper management of fieldwork, given budgetary constraints, the actual study area was limited to a set of smaller spatial units within the two regions. Within the Dakar region, and within the 'departements' of Dakar and Pikine, five 'communes' were selected as the actual study areas. Within the Diourbel region, eight specific spatial units (called villages) in the Touba city agglomeration were identified as the actual study areas. Thus, in the case of Senegal, the concept of 'region' should be interpreted as an area consisting of a number of *purposively* selected lower level administrative areas within the Dakar region and within the Touba agglomeration. This is the level for which survey results are representative.

Suitable sampling frames for the study of households with a recent international migration experience are absent. The 1988 census listing of census blocs (Districts de Recensement (DR)) was chosen as a starting point to develop a suitable sampling frame for the sampling of households for the international migration study. At that time, census blocks were relatively small geographical areas, created within regular administrative areas, to serve as working areas for interviewer teams. A census block in 1988 contained about a thousand persons. Since then, much has changed and the number of persons in a large number of census blocks has increased dramatically. These blocks were identified with the aid of local key informants and subdivided to create a new set of census blocks, in which each block is of manageable size for interviewing. This revised set of blocks was developed to represent the aforementioned 'communes' in Dakar/Pikine and 'villages' in the Touba agglomeration.

However, nothing was known about the prevalence of households with a recent international migration experience in these census blocks. This issue was resolved by developing a questionnaire for key informants working at the administrative level of the 'quartier' within 'communes' and 'villages' in the two study areas. With the aid of the responses to the questions, the prevalence of recent international migrant households could be determined and the census block labelled as 'migrant' and 'non-migrant'. Subsequently, in each of the two regions, two strata could be constructed: (1) a stratum with 'migrant census blocks', (2) a stratum with 'non-migrant' census blocks. Eventually, the two strata of the Dakar/Pikine study area contained 149 'migrant' and 319 'non-migrant' census blocks, respectively. The two strata in the Touba region contained 84 'migrant' and 618 'non-migrant' census blocks, respectively.

A stratified, two-stage, sample design was created in which the target sample of 1971 households was divided between the two study areas Dakar/Pikine (1.8 million inhabitants) and Touba (266 thousand inhabitants). Within each study area, the allocation between the two strata was based on the rule that 80 per cent of the households to be sampled would be sampled in the stratum containing 'migrant' census blocks and 20 per cent in the stratum of 'non-migrant' census blocks. The consequence of this sampling strategy is that households in the much less populated agglomeration of Touba were oversampled, as were the households in the strata with 'migrant' census blocks. The reason for the relative over-representation of respondents from Touba in the survey is that this agglomeration has recently become a major focal point for international immigrants and emigrants.

²³ Enquete sur les migrations dans la vallee du Fleuve Senegal (OECD/USED), in 1982, on migration flows to France from Mauritania, Mali and Senegal (see e.g. Condé *et al.*, 1986); and: Enquête Migration et Urbanisation au Senegal (EMUS), 1992, in seven countries in West Africa (Direction de la Prévision et de la Statistique, 1998).

Thus, in each of the four strata in the Dakar and Touba study areas, a number of census blocks were sampled. Subsequently, each sampled census block was screened to determine, for all households, what the international migration status of the household was. Finally, a fixed number of households of a particular type (recent, non-recent and non-migrant households) were sampled within each of the screened census blocks. However, in practice, first an *a priori* decision had to be taken about the sampling of these fixed numbers of different types of households, before census blocks could be sampled from the strata. These fixed numbers were deduced by using existing information sources and by specifying a number of special conditions. The 1993 Demographic and Health Survey revealed that census blocks in Dakar and Touba consist, on average, of about 170 households. Previous migration studies indicate that in these blocks one can expect to find *at least* ten per cent migrant households. To ensure that a sufficient number of (recent) migrant households would be sampled in each census block, the following restrictions were introduced into the sample design: (1) the number of migrant households to be interviewed from a sampled census block must be about twice the number of non-migrant households; (2) the number of *recent* migrant households to be sampled in a census block must be about equal to the sum of the non-migrant and non-recent migrant households to be sampled; (3) the total number of households to be sampled in a census block must be inflated by about ten per cent to compensate for non-response.

On the basis of the above information and conditions, it was possible to determine the total number of households to be sampled in a census block, as well as the desired composition in terms of households of different type. To start with, at least 17 migrant households (10 per cent of 170) can be expected in a census block and this number was chosen as the minimum number of migrant households to be interviewed in a census block. In fact, this number was raised to 18 to compensate for non-response. Moreover, $18/2=9$ non-migrant households would need to be included in the total number of households to be sampled in a census block. Consequently, the total number of households to be sampled within a census block is $18+9=27$ households. More specifically, it was also stated that about half of the total would need to be allocated to the sampling of *recent* migrant households. Thus, in each sampled census block the target number of households to be sampled was set at 27 households, consisting of 13 recent migrant households ($27/2$), 5 non-recent migrant households ($18-13$), and 9 non-migrant households ($18/2$). After these deliberations the total number of census blocks to be sampled could now be computed, being $1971/27=73$. It was decided that 35 census blocks would be sampled in the Dakar/Pikine study area and would be sampled from a listing of 568 census blocks (i.e. 149 'migrant' census blocks and 319 'non-migrant' census blocks), whereas 38 census blocks would be sampled in the Touba agglomeration from a list consisting of 154 census blocks (i.e. 69 'migrant' census blocks and 85 'non-migrant' census blocks). Another decision was that in each study area, about 80 per cent of the blocks to be sampled would be sampled from the stratum of 'migrant' census blocks. In each of the four strata, the aforementioned number of census blocks were eventually sampled and screened, and the aforementioned batch of 27 households was sampled and interviewed in each selected census block.

A total of 13,290 households were eventually screened in the sample of 73 census blocks. Within these blocks, a total of 1,971 households were sampled and visited. From these households, a total of 1,742 households produced completed interviews; of these, 37 per cent come from recent migrant households, 30 per cent from non-recent migrant households and 33 per cent from non-migrant households. The fieldwork took place in the months November 1997 to February 1998. The survey results are representative for the populations in the two regions.

In *Ghana*, with an estimated population of about 13 million people, the international migration study was carried out in 17 electoral areas in the four administrative regions of Brong Ahafo, Ashanti, Eastern, and Greater Accra. These regions are located in a belt that runs west and south of Volta Lake to the coast of the Gulf of Guinea. With some 6.4 million inhabitants, they are considered to be the main regions from where international migration to Europe has taken place. Greater Accra and Ashanti are identified as regions with a high prevalence of established and recent national and international migration compared with Brong Ahafo and Eastern regions. For instance, it is estimated that more than 40 per cent of the residents in the Greater Accra region were born outside this region.

The 1996 voting register was used as the sample frame. Voters are registered and listed by constituency (i.e. voting district). Depending on the region, a region consists of 22-33 constituencies. Each constituency is further subdivided into electoral areas (EA). An electoral area consists of 2.5 to 5 thousand persons aged 18 and over. Since the regions cover very large areas, it was decided to choose a number of electoral areas within each region as the study areas. Thus, in the case of Ghana, the concept of region is defined as a group of non-adjacent and purposively selected electoral areas.

In each region, electoral areas were purposively selected in two steps. Firstly, three strata within each region were formed to group all constituencies and electoral areas: (1) regional capital constituencies; (2) constituencies in other urban areas in the region; (3) constituencies in rural areas in the region. From the first two strata, one constituency was chosen by judgement. From the third stratum, one or two constituencies were chosen based on discussions with district assembly members and chiefs. Secondly, within each selected constituency, one electoral area was purposively chosen, leading to a sampling frame of 17 electoral areas in 4 regions from which to sample households.

A screening census was carried out in each of the selected electoral areas to determine the migration status of households. Then, households were grouped into a stratum of recent current migrant households, a stratum of recent return migrant households or in a stratum of non-migrant/non-recent migrant households. Total target sample size was set at 1,980 households, including a 10 per cent compensation for anticipated non-response. The sample was equally subdivided and allocated to the four regions. Within a region the batch of 495 households was allocated to electoral areas in a manner that would meet the following conditions: (1) at the regional level, half of the allocation of 495 households must go to the recent current - and recent return migrant household stratum, the other half to the non-migrant/non-recent migrant household stratum; (2) at the electoral area level, the sample allocation to the substratum of recent migrant households was made dependent on whether the electoral area belonged to a constituency in stratum one, two or three.

Overall, in the 17 electoral areas 21,475 households were screened and classified into household migration status strata. Based on data from the screening surveys in the 17 electoral areas it is estimated that the reference population for which the sample results are representative amounts to approximately 75 thousand persons. Subsequently, the total sample size of 1,980 households was allocated to regions, electoral areas and migration-status strata within electoral areas. Eventually, a total of 1,576 households were successfully interviewed, of which 457 were recent current migrant households, 253 recent return migrant households and 866 non-recent/non-migrant households, respectively. The fieldwork was carried out in the summer of 1997 (August-September). The survey results are representative for the populations in the four groups of electoral areas, called regions.

10.1.3 Receiving countries

In *Spain*, Moroccan and Senegalese immigrants are the observational units for this study, but their numbers are small. The 1991 Census, the sampling frame for the Spanish sample design, counted 1,202 Senegalese immigrants and 35,318 Moroccan immigrants among the 40 million residents in Spain. At that time, these immigrants were located in 25-30 provinces of the 52 provinces in Spain. It is important to note that 32 per cent of all Moroccan immigrants counted were living in the provinces of Mellila and Ceuta. These provinces are located in North Africa, bordering Morocco and the Strait of Gibraltar. The share of Moroccan immigrants in the total population in these two provinces is 4 per cent and 25 per cent, respectively, whereas these provinces account for less than 0.5 per cent of the Spanish population. A further 42 per cent of the Moroccan immigrants live in the provinces of Gerona, Málaga and Barcelona. The Senegalese immigrant population is more spread out across the country, but 55 per cent were concentrated in five provinces only: Las Palmas, Barcelona, Valencia, Gerona and Alicante.

The initial approach was to design a nationally representative two-stage, stratified, probability sample design. The target was to sample six hundred households in each of the two immigrant groups. This number included a compensation of 20 per cent for non-response. For each immigrant group separately, identical sample designs and procedures were applied. It was decided to take census blocks as the primary sampling units (PSU). The Spanish territory is subdivided into 31,881 census blocks, but Moroccan and Senegalese immigrants have been recorded in only 5,342 and 359 census blocks, respectively. The sample design aimed to sample Moroccans in 107 census blocks, located in 25 provinces, and to sample Senegalese immigrants in 174 census blocks, located in 30 provinces. The same sampling strategy was adopted for each separate immigrant group. First, all census blocks containing members of the particular immigrant group were grouped into strata according to the percentage of immigrants of that particular immigrant group. More specifically, the percentage is defined as 'the number of immigrants present of a particular group in the census block as a percentage of the total number of immigrants from that group in Spain'. The most efficient stratification appeared to be the grouping of census blocks with Moroccan immigrants into five strata and those with Senegalese immigrants into four. Thus, strata differ regarding the number of census blocks, whereby the high prevalence stratum contains fewer census blocks than the lower prevalence stratum. Second, the total target sample of households was distributed uniformly over the strata so that, relative to the number of census blocks in the strata, more households were to be sampled in the higher prevalence rate strata. Third, the *a priori* decision was taken to sample more households from census blocks in higher prevalence rate strata. For instance, for the Senegalese immigrant group, a total of 3, 6, 9 and 12 households would be sampled in census blocks in each of the four strata, respectively. Fourth, based on the aforementioned uniform allocation of total target sample size to the strata and based on the fixed number of households to be sampled from census blocks in different strata, the number of census blocks to be sampled was computed and blocks were sampled from each stratum, using the systematic selection method. Fifth, all households in the selected blocks were screened to determine whether they were Moroccan (or Senegalese) households. In fact, 'double' screening took place to identify: (1) dwellings with immigrants; (2) dwellings with households with a Main Migration Actor (MMA). After screening, the predetermined number of (MMA) households were sampled from the blocks using the systematic selection method. Thus, the sampling design entailed the disproportionate allocation of total sample size to the higher prevalence rate strata, and the over-sampling of households in blocks sampled from the higher prevalence rate strata.

After the sample was drawn, the geographical spread of census blocks was found to be too large to handle, given budgetary constraints and the time frame set for the completion of fieldwork. Two modifications were introduced *after* the selection of the sample, which distorted the probabilistic nature of the sample: (1) reduction of the numbers of households to be sampled in blocks that belong to the 'low prevalence' stratum, whereas the numbers of households sampled in the high prevalence rate stratum were increased; (2) the substitution, in a purposive manner, of census blocks that were once sampled with, logistically speaking, more convenient ones. The overall effect of this was that the number of census blocks for visitation was reduced by some 15 per cent. This 'geographical concentration' of the sample

is of particular importance when analysing data of the Moroccan respondents since initially sampled blocks, located in the provinces of Ceuta and Melilla in North Africa, were replaced by blocks located in the Málaga province. Consequently, some 42 per cent of the questionnaire information on Moroccan respondents come from Moroccans living in the Málaga province.

But even after these modifications were implemented, the Spanish team was confronted with another problem. The screening of many sampled census blocks did not appear to contain the expected number, if any, of Moroccan and/or Senegalese immigrants. This is probably due to changes in the place of residence of these immigrants between '1991 Census day' and the start of the survey in 1997. To cope with this problem and to ensure that the fieldwork would generate a sufficient number of interviews for analysis, interviewers were instructed to continue 'searching' for additional immigrants. Interviewers asked respondents in sampled households whether they knew of other immigrant households nearby or in adjacent census blocks. If the answer was affirmative, such 'non-sample households' were traced and interviewed. This approach is known as 'snowballing'.

The fieldwork was carried out from July to November 1997. To facilitate management of the actual fieldwork, the census blocks that were selected were grouped into five fieldwork regions: Madrid, Catalonia, Levant, Andalucía and Canarias. A total of 1,113 households were successfully interviewed providing detailed migration information for 596 Moroccan and 507 Senegalese respondents. The consequence of the sample implementation is that survey results are not representative of the two immigrant groups at the national level. At the same time it is difficult to make a firm statement about the population for which these results are representative because part of the data were collected from non-sampled households. More specifically, three out of four interviews taken from the Moroccan respondents come from Moroccans who live in just 3 of the 52 provinces in Spain (i.e. Málaga 42 per cent, Gerona 19 per cent, Barcelona 13 per cent). Almost half of the information collected from Senegalese respondents come from Senegalese who were interviewed in the provinces of Barcelona (16 per cent), Las Palmas (15 per cent) and Valencia (14 per cent).

In *Italy*, the objective was to study the Egyptian and Ghanaian immigrants, with the help of a survey that would target some 800 households per immigrant group. Immigration is a fairly recent phenomenon in Italy, in particular from Third World countries. Egyptian and Ghanaian immigrants constitute the tenth and fourteenth largest immigrant populations (relative to the population of immigrants from developing countries and Eastern Europe). In 1997, there were 23.5 thousand Egyptian and 15.6 thousand Ghanaian documented immigrants. As in the case of Spain, members of the study population are truly 'rare' elements in this population of almost 60 million, and their registration is said to be poor. Moreover, the Ministry of the Interior, in 1998, estimated that undocumented immigrants constitute as much as 18-27 per cent of the total number of legal immigrants (Ministero dell'Interno, 1998). In the absence of any proper sampling frame, and the set objective to generate nationally representative survey results for the Egyptian and Ghanaian immigrant populations, traditional sampling strategies were considered inappropriate. Instead, an alternative sampling methodology was adopted (Blangiardo, 1993), known as the 'Centre Sampling Method' (CSM). The main features of this methodology are: (1) the listing of all types of points-of-aggregation, that is, popular meeting places of immigrants from a particular country; (2) the *ex-post*, instead of *ex-ante*, determination of respondent selection probabilities with the aid of answers to a special questionnaire; (3) the inclusion of both legal and illegal immigrants in the sample. The underlying assumption of the method is that any immigrant, legal or illegal, visits at least one major meeting place known to be frequented by peer members of the immigrant group (see below).

CSM essentially entails the following. Firstly, on the basis of local key-informant information, scattered data sources and information from the pilot survey, a number of geographical areas in Italy were identified in which, according to experts, most of the Egyptian and a large part of the Ghanaian immigrant populations reside. Egyptians tend to concentrate in the metropolitan areas of Milan and Rome and they do not move around much. Conversely, the Ghanaian

immigrants are more widely dispersed across the country and tend to move around more frequently. Guided by budget constraints and fieldwork logistics, two regions were defined, each consisting of four 'local areas': (1) Centre-South, consisting of the four provinces in which Rome, Latina, Naples and Caserta are located; (2) North, consisting of the four provinces in which the cities of Milan, Brescia, Bergamo and Modena are located. The estimation is that about 77 per cent of the documented and undocumented Egyptian immigrants and 36 per cent of the Ghanaian immigrants live in these two regions. Secondly, within each of the provinces in the two regions, a screening took place in search of all *major* meeting places/centres that are known to be frequented by Egyptians or Ghanaian immigrants. The screening was subcontracted to persons who deal with these immigrants in their regular paid or voluntary jobs (e.g. Caritas). In this way, sampling frames were constructed containing the 'major' meeting places, also called 'aggregation points'. Examples are: mosques/places of worship, entertainment venues, (health) care and aid institutions, telephone calling centres, public squares, informal shelter places, and population registers. Thirdly, in each 'local area' (e.g. Milan province) a purposively determined number of aggregation points are randomly sampled, with replacement, from these sampling frames of immigrant-specific 'aggregation points' and within the selected ones, respondents are sampled among visitors of these 'aggregation points'. Respondents that were interviewed were also visited at home if other persons that were eligible for interviewing lived in their households.

It is important to note that, at the time of the interview, the *ex-ante* selection probability of a randomly selected respondent in a particular 'aggregation point' cannot be known, because it is a function of: (1) the frequency of visits to that centre by all the group members (e.g. Egyptians), and of (2) the number of other 'aggregation points' that are being visited by the respondent. To be able to compute, *ex-post*, the selection probabilities of respondents and to compute weights to compensate for differentials therein, all respondents were posed a number of additional questions, for instance, the question 'which of these other aggregation points was visited'. With the aid of the response on the additional questions, 'attendance-to-aggregation point' profiles were created. They were used to compute the *ex-post* selection probabilities of respondents and local-level sample design weights. In addition to this type of weight, other weights were computed that essentially re-scale the ratios of Egyptians/Ghanaians and males/females in the sample population to those found in the most highly accredited official statistical sources for Egyptian and Ghanaian immigrants in Italy. These latter weights were applied because it is not valid to assume, *a priori*, that the existing ratios in the population are found in these meeting places. For each respondent, the component weights were combined into an overall sample design weight, which was used in analyses to ensure that the survey information obtained from a limited number of respondents can represent the population of Egyptian and Ghanaian immigrants in the two study areas, centre-south and north Italy. By interviewing these respondents, a total of 1,605 households were eventually contacted (i.e. 756 Egyptian and 849 Ghanaian households) 1,178 of which were successfully interviewed (i.e. 509 Egyptian and 669 Ghanaian households), in the period March-June 1997. Thus, the survey results are representative for the population of Egyptian and Ghanaian immigrants that live in the eight provinces that constitute the two study areas. According to official statistics 77 per cent of the Egyptian and 36 per cent of the Ghanaian immigrants in Italy live in these provinces, respectively.

10.2 Database design for comparative analyses

A two-level hierarchical and modular structure characterises all country-specific IMS databases. This is a reflection of the manner in which the specific set of household and individual-level questionnaires have been designed. In fact, database and questionnaire design went hand in hand. The first level relates to variables in which all household questionnaire information is stored, the second level relates to variables in which all individual questionnaire information is stored.

The design of data-entry programmes based on a two-level hierarchical database structure has certain advantages:

- during data entry, household-level information about migration status characteristics of household members, provided by one reference person in the household can be tested against information provided by eligible household members in individual-level questionnaires (plausibility and internal consistency);
- during data entry, values entered in household identification variables can be evaluated in order to avoid duplication. The data-entry programme has been designed to continuously verify, during data entry, the validity and consistency of values entered in these identification variables, to minimise violation of database integrity. Also, for a complete set of questionnaires pertaining to one household, household identification values need to be entered only once;
- after data entry, household and individual questionnaire data are kept together in the database. This is accomplished by linking logical records that contain household and individual respondent data of a particular household by means of a unique combination of values entered in the household identification variables;
- after data entry, subset-databases can be created that contain, in one and the same logical record, individual respondent information as well as household-level information. For instance, subset-databases can be created in which the unit of observation is the household, a household member or an eligible household member, or a person's place of residence at a specified point in time.

In short, ISSA IMS-country databases are two-level hierarchical files with cases that vary according to the number and length of logical records.

To provide more insight into database design, Table 10.1 presents a 'map' of the database and Table 10.2 visualises the way raw data from processed questionnaires are actually stored and saved in a country-specific IMS-database.

Table 10.1 shows how database variables are grouped into 'sections'. Database sections correspond with questionnaire modules. A group of sections constitutes a 'level' in the hierarchical database. The variables in database section 00 to section 05 store data that are collected by questions in the household questionnaire. The variables of sections 10-97 store data that pertain to questions in all types of individual level questionnaires. In most cases, names of database variables correspond with names of question numbers in questionnaire modules. Thus, P35 refers to question 35 in Module P.

With the help from a complete set of questionnaires it is easy to interpret the sequence of numbers (Table 10.2, an excision of a country-specific raw data-file). To facilitate interpretation, a large number of questionnaire data (i.e. records 6-10, 12-22 and 24-32) have been suppressed for presentation purposes.

Table 10.1 Database hierarchy and modular structure, the case of Egypt

SECTION	FORM	VARIABLES							
SEC00	FORMHHCP	COUNTRYC HTOWNTYP A22AA	HREG HDAY HMMA	HPROV HMONTH NUPERS	HDIST HYEAR ELIG	HVILL HRESULT KEYERCOD	HSTRUC INTCODE	HHNUM HSUBSAMP	HSTATSCR HVISITS
	FORM001	SHHOUR	SHMINUTE						
SEC01	FORM01	HLINE A8 A15 A19B A27	A2 A9 A16A A20 A28	A3 A10 A16 A21 MELIG	A4 A11A A17A A22	A4A A11B A17B MELDU	A6 A12 A18 A24	A7A A13 A19AA A25	A7B A14 A19A A26
	* No form	HPUNCH							
SEC08	FORM08	MMATYPE A23C	TYPEMAT A23D	A22A	HHMIGTYP	MSHH1	TMSHH1	A23A	A23B
SEC02	FORM02	B1 B8	B2 B8A	B3	B5	B5A	B5B	B6	B7
SEC03	FORM03	C1 C8 C9H C12F C17 C30	C2 C9A C10 C12G C18 C31	C3 C9B C11 C12H C19 C32	C4 C9C C12A C12I C25 C33	C5 C9D C12B C13 C27 C34	C6A C9E C12C C14 C27	C6B C9F C12D C15 C28	C7 C9G C12E C16 C29
SEC04	FORM04	D1 D3BB D4G D7BC D9B D10B	D1A D3BC D4H D7BD D9C D10C	D2 D4A D5 D7BE D9D D10BA	D3 D4B D6 D7BF D9E D10BB	D3AA D4C D7 D7BG D9F D10BC	D3AB D4D D7A D7BH D9G EHHOUR	D3AC D4E D7BA D8 D10	D3BA D4F D7BB D9A D10A
SEC05	FORM05	HE1A FS1	HE1B	HE1C	HE1D	HE1E	HE2	HE3	HE4
SEC10	FORM10	PCOUNTRC PSUBSAMP PROXY SPMINUTE	PYEAR PTOWNTYP PROXYLN	PREG PLINE PDAY	PPROV PMIGTYPE PMONTH	PDIST MIGTEKST PRESULT	PVILL MSINDIV PINTCODE	PSTRUC MSINDIVT PVISITS	PHNUM RISMMA SPHOUR
SEC20	FORM20	E1 E15 E22 E26C E33A E35 E45A E48B	E2 E16 E23 E26D E32B E36 E45B E48C	E8 E17 E24 E27 E33B E37 E45C E48D	E9 E18A E25A E28 E32C E38 E45D E48E	E10 E18B E25B E29 E33C E39 E45E E49	E12 E19 E25C E30 E32D E40 E46 E50	E13 E20 E26A E31 E33D E41 E47 E51	E14 E21 E26B E32A E34 E44 E48A E52
SEC30	FORM30	F1 F9 F17 F23AB	F2 F10 F18 F24	F3 F11 F19 F24G	F4 F12 F20 F25	F5 F13 F21 F26	F6 F14 F22 F27	F7 F15 F23	F8 F16 F23AA
SEC40	FORM40	NUMIGMOV							
SEC41	FORM41	MHOCCURS G7A	G2 G7B	G3 G8	G4	G5A	G5B	G6A	G6B
SEC42	FORM42	G9	G10	G11	G12				
etc. 50, 60, ..									
SEC96	FORM96	P1 P8 P14 P19 P20H P31C EPMINUTE	P2 P9A P15A P20A P20I P32	P3 P9B P15B P20B P20J P33	P4 P10 P15C P20C P30A P34	P5 P11A P15D P20D P31A P35	P6 P11B P15E P20E P30B P36	P6A P12A P16 P20F P31B P37	P7 P12B P16A P20G P30C EPHOUR
SEC97	FORM97	IE1 IE6C	IE2 IE6D	IE3 IE7	IE4A IE8	IE4B IE9	IE5	IE6A	IE6B

Table 10.2 below presents all *logical records* that belong to one particular *case*. In other words, it shows the manner in which the data-entry programme stores the data contained in a complete set of questionnaires of a particular household in the database. A case in the database encompasses all data that pertain to one particular household, including in-depth information on certain individuals in that household. Household and individual questionnaire information is stored in logical records. All logical records that belong to the same case start with a list of values that are associated with so-called household identification variables. The concatenation of such values creates a unique 'household identification code'.

Table 10.2 Excision and simplified data structure of two-level hierarchical IMS database, Egypt

Record number	Position																									
	1-19						20-21	22-23	24-27	28-46						47-48	69									
1	2	1	1	5	4	3	1	5	4	0	0			2	1	1	5	4	3	1	5	4	4	3	2	
2	2	1	1	5	4	3	1	5	4	0	1	1	1	1	3	6										3
3	2	1	1	5	4	3	1	5	4	0	1	2	2	2	2	5										3
4	2	1	1	5	4	3	1	5	4	0	1	3	3	1	3											6
5	2	1	1	5	4	3	1	5	4	0	1	4	4	2	6	8										6
6	2	1	1	5	4	3	1	5	4	0	8															
7	2	1	1	5	4	3	1	5	4	0	2															
8	2	1	1	5	4	3	1	5	4	0	3															
9	2	1	1	5	4	3	1	5	4	0	4															
10	2	1	1	5	4	3	1	5	4	0	5															
11		2	1	1	5	4	3	1	5	4	1	1	0				2	1	1	5	4	3	1	5	4	
12		2	1	1	5	4	3	1	5	4	1	2	0													
13		2	1	1	5	4	3	1	5	4	1	3	0													
14		2	1	1	5	4	3	1	5	4	1	4	0													
15		2	1	1	5	4	3	1	5	4	1	4	1													
16		2	1	1	5	4	3	1	5	4	1	4	1													
17		2	1	1	5	4	3	1	5	4	1	4	1													
18		2	1	1	5	4	3	1	5	4	1	4	2													
19		2	1	1	5	4	3	1	5	4	1	5	0													
20		2	1	1	5	4	3	1	5	4	1	6	0													
21		2	1	1	5	4	3	1	5	4	1	9	6													
22		2	1	1	5	4	3	1	5	4	1	9	7													
23		2	1	1	5	4	3	1	5	4	2	1	8				2	1	1	5	4	3	1	5	4	
24		2	1	1	5	4	3	1	5	4	2	2	0													
25		2	1	1	5	4	3	1	5	4	2	3	0													
26		2	1	1	5	4	3	1	5	4	2	4	0													
27		2	1	1	5	4	3	1	5	4	2	4	1													
28		2	1	1	5	4	3	1	5	4	2	4	1													
29		2	1	1	5	4	3	1	5	4	2	4	2													
30		2	1	1	5	4	3	1	5	4	2	5	0													
31		2	1	1	5	4	3	1	5	4	2	9	6													
32		2	1	1	5	4	3	1	5	4	2	9	7													
33		2	1	1	5	4	3	1	5	5	0	0					2	1	1	5	4	3	1	5	5	

In most countries the household identification code was constructed from values that uniquely define the geographical location of a household (e.g. code for region, province, district, village, etc.). More specifically:

- positions 1-19 identify the household code. This code is repeated in the first 19 positions of all logical records that belong to the same household;
- positions 20-21 constitute the person number of the household member that is eligible for an individual interview;
- positions 22-23 identify the section number in the database. Each section has a distinct identification number. Table 11.2 shows that *the length of* logical records differs, and that sections may differ with respect to *the number of* logical records. Examples of the latter, so-called multiple occurrence sections, are section 01 (Sec01, Module A-household roster) and section 41 (Sec41, Module G-migration history). The number of logical records in section 01 varies because households vary with respect to the number of household members. Similarly, the number of logical records in section 41 varies, because individual respondents differ regarding the number of places where they have ever resided. The first logical record stores values of variables that are recorded in the household questionnaire cover page. In the logical records that follow, data are stored that pertain to answers in subsequent modules of the household and individual-level questionnaires;
- the household identification code is repeated (positions 28-46) in the first of several logical records that store *household* questionnaire data (i.e. line 1), and in the first (i.e. lines 11 and 23) of several logical records that store data of a particular *individual-level* questionnaire (positions 30-48).

The second, third, fourth and fifth records store answer codes to questions A2-A22 for all four household members. These variables belong to section 01. The data in the example tell us that this household consists of a male head of household/reference person (A2, stored in positions 26-27) aged 36 (A6, stored in positions 31-32), his wife aged 25, their male (A3, stored in position 28) child aged 3 and a 68-year-old mother of the reference person. The international migration status of household members is indicated by the one-digit code in position 69, which is associated with the answer to question A22. The husband and wife are non-migrants (coded 3), as well as their child and the 68-year-old mother of the reference person. The latter two persons are coded 6 because they are not eligible to produce an individual-level questionnaire due to the IMS age-range eligibility criterion of 18-65 years. In addition to the age-range criterion, additional eligibility criteria apply. In the case of the example, the male reference person and his wife are eligible for a personal interview. Their response to questions in the non-migrant questionnaire is recorded in logical records 11-22 and 23-32, respectively. All 32 logical records that belong to this household share the same household identification code printed in the first 19 positions. The last line (33) marks the start of the first logical record of the next case/household.

10.3 Micro and macro questionnaires

For each of the surveyed countries, the micro and macro questionnaires that have been used are available on request.

10.4 Concepts and definitions

The following glossary presents a list of the main concepts and definitions that have been used in this publication.

Adopted child

Officially adopted child (not a foster child or a natural child). Adopted children often have the same legal rights as natural children.

Agricultural land

Agricultural land in survey country which is used or has been used for growing crops or raising animals.

Brother

Male who has at least one parent in common with the respondent.

Cattle

Animals, including cows, bulls, oxen and calves.

Changed job

See *Job*.

Child

See *Own child*.

Community

Village or neighbourhood (in a town/city) of the respondent.

Country of origin

Country where the respondents originally came from, usually the country of birth.

Crude birth rate

The number of live births occurring per thousand population in a year.

Crude death rate

The number of deaths occurring per thousand population in a year.

Current country of destination

Country in which the (current) migrant is currently living.

Current migrant

Person who migrated from the country of origin (after at least a one-year stay there) and who is actually living abroad at the time of the interview. He or she may, however, temporarily be in the country of origin, for instance for a holiday or to visit relatives.

Developed countries

All countries of Europe and North America, and Japan, Australia and New Zealand.

Employer

Owner of a company that has at least three employees. If one or more maids or servants are working in a household (and no other employees), this household is not considered to be a company.

Family

Defined in the narrow sense, as a nuclear family (father and/or mother, and/or children). Thus, a family can be part of a larger household (containing more than one family) or form the whole household. By definition, the family can never be larger than the household. Relatives other than spouses and their children are not included in a family, but form part of another family. If a husband has more than one wife, the husband and his first wife and their children will be one family and each of the other spouses with their children form a separate family (for the purpose of this study).

Financial aid

Money received by the household as financial support from e.g. relatives or a charitable institution.

Foster child

Child (often but not necessarily of relatives) who is living with the respondent and who is taken care of daily, but who is not a natural child of the respondent nor formally adopted.

Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capita

The total output of goods and services for final use produced by residents and non-residents, regardless of the allocation to domestic or foreign claims, in relation to the size of the population.

GDP growth rate

Annual percentage change in volume.

Household

Usually a household is considered to be a unit of one or more persons living together whose members have made communal arrangements concerning subsistence and other necessities of life. Such a household may either be:

- a *one-person household*, that is, a person who provides for his/her own food or other basic needs without joining any other person to form part of a multi-person household. Examples of a one-person household are someone who is living alone and someone living in a pension where several students or men live who individually provide for their own food and basic needs (but may also be part of a household back home);
- a *multi-person household*, that is, a group of two or more persons - related or unrelated - who make common provisions for food or other basic needs. The persons in the group may, to a greater or lesser extent, pool their incomes and have a common budget. Households may occupy the whole, part of, or more than one housing unit. Households consisting of extended families that make common provisions for food, or households of potentially separate households with a common head may occupy more than one housing unit (but still form one household). An example of such a household is a household where the head has different wives (resulting from polygamous unions).

Job

Respondents are considered to have a job when they have worked for four hours or more during the past seven days. A job refers to a set of tasks performed by one individual. This can also be a job within a family company or a family farm (either paid or unpaid), or work as a street seller. Compulsory national/military service is not considered to be a job. Household tasks performed by the housewife are also not included. But household tasks performed by someone who is paid for this, are included. If the respondent was promoted, or experienced any other major change of tasks/activities within the same company, he or she is considered to have changed jobs. 'The same job' means that he/she works for the same employer and does the same type of work/activities.

Judicially separated

Legally separated but not yet officially divorced.

Labour force

The economically active population, including the armed forces and the unemployed, but excluding homemakers and other unpaid caregivers.

Last country of destination

Last country in which the return migrant has lived for a continuous period of at least one year before returning to his country of origin.

Less developed countries (LDCs)

All countries of Africa, Asia (excl. Japan), Latin America, and Oceania.

Life expectancy at birth

The number of years a newborn infant would live if prevailing patterns of mortality at the time of its birth were to stay the same throughout its life.

Literacy rate (adult)

The percentage of population aged 15 and over who can, with understanding, both read and write a short, simple statement on their everyday life.

Live in a country

To live in a country means to spend or intend to spend a period of at least three months in that country, other than for purely recreational purposes.

Main migration actor (MMA)

Potential main migration actors (PMMAs) are all the members of a household aged 18-65 who were born in the country of origin, and:

- left the country of origin (after at least a one-year stay there) to live abroad for at least one year (in one and the same country) at least once in the past ten years, and are currently living in the country of origin again, or:
- left the country of origin (after at least a one-year stay there) to live abroad ten years ago or less, and have currently been living abroad for three months or longer, and:
- were 18 years or older at the time of their last move from the country of origin (after at least a one-year stay there).

The main migration actor is the PMMA who was the first person in the household who moved to live abroad in the past ten years. If there are more PMMAs who left on that same day, other criteria such as economic reasons for migration and age were used to decide who would be the MMA among these PMMAs.

Migrant household

In principle, defined as a household in which at least one member - who is still considered a member of that household - has moved from the country of origin (after at least a one-year stay there), and:

- has since returned after living in one and the same foreign country for a continuous period of at least one year, or:
- is currently living abroad and left the country of origin at least three months ago.

For the purpose of the project, a distinction is made between recent and non-recent migrant households.

Migration

Defined as a move from one place in order to go and live in another place for a continuous period of at least one year (in one and the same country). The line has been drawn at one year in order to distinguish migration from short moves. Short-term visits like family visits, holidays, etc. are not considered to be migration.

There is one exception to this rule: if a migrant left the country of origin at least three months ago and is currently living abroad, he or she is also considered a migrant as it is still unknown whether he/she will stay there for at least a year.

Natural child

See *Own child*.

Net income

Income after taxes and other deductions.

Non-migrant

For the purpose of this project, two types of non-migrants are distinguished:

- persons who were born in the country of origin and never moved from this country to live abroad;
- persons born abroad (i.e. not in the country of origin).

According to this definition more members may be considered to be non-migrants; not only, for instance, a man who was born in Ghana and never left Ghana to live abroad, but also children born in e.g. Germany to parents who themselves were born in Ghana, or a German woman (born in Germany) married to a Ghanaian man. Also children who were born in Nigeria (to Ghanaian parents), but who are now living in Ghana are considered to be 'non-migrants'. If these same children would then have moved from Ghana to e.g. Senegal, they would still be considered 'non-migrants' as they were not born in Ghana.

Non-migrant household

A household from which no member has ever moved from the country of origin to live abroad and of which no member is currently living abroad.

Non-recent current migrant

People who are currently living abroad and whose last move (to live abroad) from the country of origin (after at least a one-year stay there) took place more than ten years ago.

Non-recent migrant household

A household in which all moves (to live abroad) of those persons who are still members of the household took place more than ten years ago.

Non-recent return migrant

People currently living in the country of origin, whose last move from that country (after at least a one-year stay there) to live abroad for a continuous period of at least one year (in one and the same country) took place more than ten years ago.

Own child

A person's natural child who is still alive. Adopted children and foster children are not considered to be own children. Children of the partner from a previous marriage are not one's own (natural) children.

Permanent work

The respondent has a contract for an unlimited period of time.

Potential main migration actor (PMMA)

See *Main migration actor (MMA)*.

Proxy person

If someone who had to be interviewed was not available for the interview him/herself, and if it was not possible to make an appointment with this person, another member of the household had to be selected to answer the questions. This person is called a proxy person. As a general rule, the spouse would be the best choice; otherwise, an adult child or a sibling (brother or sister, preferably of the same sex as the respondent whom he/she replaces).

Recent current migrant

People who are currently living abroad and whose last move (to live abroad) from their country of origin (after at least a one-year stay) took place ten years ago or less.

Recent migrant household

A migrant household is a recent migrant household if, during the past ten years, at least one member - who is still considered a member of that household - has moved from the country of origin (after at least a one-year stay there), and:

- has since returned after living in one and the same foreign country for a continuous period of at least one year, or:
- is currently living abroad and left the country of origin at least three months ago.

Recent return migrant

People currently living in the country of origin, whose last move (after at least a one-year stay) to live abroad for a continuous period of at least one year (in one and the same country) took place ten years ago or less.

Reference person

The member of the household who answered the questions in the household questionnaire (modules A up to and including D). In principle, the reference person will be the economic head of the household, that is the person who brings in the largest amount of household income. Note that the economic head is not necessarily also the legal or titular head of the household.

Return migrant

Migrants who have moved from the country of origin to live abroad (after at least a one-year stay) during the past ten years for a continuous period of at least one year (in one and the same country), but who have returned to the country of origin, where they live at the time of the interview.

Same job

See *Job*.

Sister

Female who has at least one parent in common with the respondent.

Social security

Benefits, including medical health insurance, unemployment benefits, old-age pensions.

Standardised mortality rate

Number of deaths per thousand of the population of the country of citizenship of the deceased, standardised by age and sex

Survey country

Country in which the survey took place.

Temporary work

The respondent does not have a contract for an unlimited period of time. He/she could, however, have a contract for a limited period of time (e.g. 3 or 6 months, a year, etc.).

Unemployment

All persons aged 15 or older who are not in paid employment or self-employed, and who are available for paid employment or self-employment and have taken steps to seek paid employment or self-employment.

Urbanisation

Percentage of population living in centres defined as 'urban' according to the national census.

Work

Respondents are considered to work if they work for four hours or more per week, either paid or unpaid. See also *Job*.

10.5 Participating research teams

Co-ordination

Netherlands Interdisciplinary Demographic Institute (NIDI)

- Drs. Jeannette Schoorl - Project director
- Drs. Liesbeth Heering - Project co-ordinator
- Drs. Ingrid Esveldt - Micro survey; report for the Netherlands
- Drs. George Groenewold - Sampling; data processing
- Drs. Rob van der Erf - Macro survey
- Drs. Alinda Bosch - Sampling; data processing
- Dr. Kène Henkens - Co-ordinator; report for the Netherlands
- Drs. Helga de Valk - Researcher; report for the Netherlands
- Dr. Bart de Bruijn - Macro survey
- Ir. Hanna van Solinge - Report for the Netherlands

Egypt

- Dr. Hesham Makhlof - Project director (Cairo Demographic Center (CDC))
- Mr. Mostapha Salem Gafaar - Project director (Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics (CAPMAS))
- Dr. Ferial Abdel Kader Ahmed - Head of Executive Office (CDC)
- Mr. Shawky Hassan Hussein - Consultant (CAPMAS)

Ghana

- Prof. John S. Nabila - Project director (University of Ghana)
- Dr. John K. Anarfi - First principal investigator (Institute of Statistical, Social and Economic Research (ISSER))
- Dr. Kofi Awusabo-Asare - Co-principal investigator (University of Cape Coast)
- Dr. Nicholas N.N. Nsowah-Nuamah - Sampling (ISSER)

Italy

- Prof. Giuseppe Gesano - Project director (Institute for Population Research (IRP))
- Prof. Anna Maria Birindelli - Macro survey (University of Milan-Bicocca)
- Prof. Giancarlo Blangiardo – Researcher (University of Milan-Bicocca)
- Dr. Corrado Bonifazi - Researcher (IRP)
- Dr. Francesco Carchedi - Field work manager for central and southern Italy (IRP)
- Mr. Michele Cardone - Data processing (IRP)
- Dr. Maria G. Caruso - Data processing (IRP)
- Ms. Letizia Cesarini Sforza - Data processing (IRP)
- Prof. Daniela Cocchi - Sampling (University of Bologna)
- Dr. Patrizia Farina - Researcher (University of Milan-Bicocca)
- Dr. Francesca Grillo - Researcher (IRP)
- Dr. Samia Kouider - Field work manager for northern Italy (University of Milan-Bicocca)
- Dr. Miria Savioli - Researcher (IRP)
- Dr. Laura Terzera - Researcher (University of Milan-Bicocca)

Morocco

- Prof. Dr. Abdellatif Fadlollah - Project leader (University med V Rabat)
- Prof. Dr. Abdallah Berrada - Project leader (University med V Rabat)

Senegal

- Dr. Nelly Robin - Project director (Institute for Development Studies (IRD))
- Dr. Richard Lalou - Researcher (IRD)
- Dr. Aliou Gaye - Researcher (Directorate of Projections and Statistics (DPS))
- Dr. Mamadou Ndiaye - Researcher (DPS)
- Mr. Babacar Ndione - Researcher (IRD)

Spain

- Prof. Pilar del Castillo - CIS President (Center for Sociological Research (CIS))
- Prof. Joaquín Arango - Project director/ scientific co-ordinator (Complutense University/ University Institute Ortega y Gasset)
- Ms. Natalia García-Pardo - Project co-ordinator (CIS)
- Mr. Jesús María Laseca Arellano - Data processing (CIS)
- Mr. Valentín Martínez - Sampling (CIS)
- Ms. Mercedes Gabarro - Data processing (CIS)

Turkey

- Prof. Dr. Aykut Toros - Project director (Hacettepe Institute of Population Studies (HIPS))
- Dr. Ahmet İçduygu - Scientific co-ordinator (Bilkent University)
- Dr. Turgay Ünalın - Technical director (HIPS)
- Dr. Sunday Üner - Researcher (HIPS)
- Dr. Öztaş Ayhan - Consultant (Middle East Technical University)
- Dr. Banu Akadlı-Ergöçmen - Micro survey (HIPS)
- Dr. Attila Hancıoğlu - Sampling (HIPS)
- Dr. İsmet Koç - Data processing (HIPS)
- Mr. Sinan Türkyılmaz - Sampling, researcher (HIPS)
- Ms. Elif Kurtuluş - Researcher (HIPS)
- Mr. İbrahim Sirkeci - Macro survey (Bilkent University)

10.6 List of country reports²⁴

Anarfi, J.K., K. Awusabo-Asare and N.N.N. Nsowah-Nuamah, *Push and pull factors of international migration: country report for Ghana.*

Arango, J., N. García-Pardo, J.M. Laseca and V. Martinez, *Push and pull factors of international migration: country report for Spain.*

Birindelli, A.M., G. Blangiardo, C. Bonifazi, M.G. Caruso, L. Cesarini Sforza, P. Farina, G. Gesano, F. Grillo, S. Kouider, M. Savioli and L. Terzera, *Push and pull factors of international migration: country report for Italy.*

Esveldt, I., H. de Valk, C.J.I.M. Henkens, H. van Solinge and M. Idema, *Push and pull factors of international migration: country report for the Netherlands.*

Fadloulah, A. and A. Berrada, with the cooperation of M. Khachani, *Facteurs d'attraction et de répulsion à l'origine des flux migratoires internationaux: rapport Maroc.*

Makhlouf, H.H., M.S. Gaafar, F. A. Ahmed, S.H. Hussein, F.M. El-Ashry, A.F. Mohamed, E.M. Mostafa, G.M. Abd Alla, A. Imam, M. A. Soliman, S. El-Dawy and M. Hamdy, *Push and pull factors of international migration: country report for Egypt.*

Ayhan, H.Ö, B. Akadlı Ergöçmen, A. Hancıoğlu, A. İçduygu, İ. Koç, A. Toros, A. S. Türkyılmaz, T. Ünalın, S. Üner and E. Kurtuluş Yiğit, *Push and pull factors of international migration: country report for Turkey.*

Robin, N., R. Lalou and M. Ndiaye, *Facteurs d'attraction et de répulsion à l'origine des flux migratoires internationaux: rapport Senegal.*

²⁴ Country reports will be published in 2000, by Eurostat, Luxembourg.