

MAFE Working Paper 21

**New patterns of migration between Senegal and
Europe (France, Italy and Spain)**

SAKHO Papa (Université Cheikh Anta Diop de Dakar)

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The MAFE project is coordinated by INED (C. Beauchemin) and is formed, additionally by the Université catholique de Louvain (B. Schoumaker), Maastricht University (V. Mazzucato), the Université Cheikh Anta Diop (P. Sakho), the Université de Kinshasa (J. Mangalu), the University of Ghana (P. Quartey), the Universitat Pompeu Fabra (P. Baizan), the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas (A. González-Ferrer), the Forum Internazionale ed Europeo di Ricerche sull'Immigrazione (E. Castagnone), and the University of Sussex (R. Black). The MAFE project received funding from the European Community's Seventh Framework Programme under grant agreement 217206. The MAFE-Senegal survey was conducted with the financial support of INED, the Agence Nationale de la Recherche (France), the Région Ile de France and the FSP programme 'International Migrations, territorial reorganizations and development of the countries of the South'. For more details, see: <http://www.mafeproject.com>

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NEW PATTERNS OF MIGRATION BETWEEN SENEGAL AND EUROPE (FRANCE, ITALY AND SPAIN)

Papa Sakho¹

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¹ All data analyses have been performed by Bruno Schoumaker (UCL) and Marie-Laurence Flahaux (UCL/INED). Cris Beauchemin (INED) participated in the analysis design.

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

The purpose of this working paper is to consider the images (true or false) of Senegalese migration found in the literature, the media and public discourse in the light of the quantitative data from the 2008 MAFE household and life history surveys². Primarily, it assesses the ways in which migration from Senegal has changed since 1975 by examining the behaviour of Senegalese migrants to France, Italy and Spain and those returning from those countries. The data are taken from the Senegal household survey and from the life history survey conducted on both sides of the Mediterranean, in France, Italy, Spain and Senegal. Although for convenience the migrants will be referred to as "Senegalese", it should be born in mind that the survey in Senegal was conducted solely in the Dakar region. The Dakar agglomeration is home to nearly a quarter of the country's total population and half its urban population, but migration from there may differ in some respects from migration from other parts of the country.

Especially since the 1980s, public discourse, the empirical literature and the media have conveyed images of Senegalese migration coloured to varying degrees by untested stereotypes. Until the 1980s, the literature on Senegalese migration was based on qualitative data from historical, sociological, administrative sources etc., and fragmented quantitative data from regional surveys. Since the 1990s there have been many more survey-based quantitative studies (DEMIS, EMUS, ESAM, RGPH and REMUAO³). The analysis attempts to answer certain questions raised by contextual information drawn from the literature and existing data which provides the framework for our analysis of the MAFE project's data.

1) The first issue addressed is the impression conveyed by destination country media and public discourse, that migration is increasingly a mass phenomenon, with permanent settlement in the destination country. This is analysed in terms of territoriality and the concept of the "translocal migrant" (Bruzzone et al, 2006). It posits the idea of circulation between Senegal and the European destination countries as an alternative to return (Sinatti, 2009a). One frequently hears talk of mass out-migration by the poorest sections of society, rightly or wrongly linked to a deteriorating economic situation and worsening household living conditions in

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

³ DEMIS: *Déterminants de l'émigration internationale au Sénégal*

EMUS *Enquête sur la Migration et l'Urbanisation au Sénégal*

ESAM *Enquête Sénégalaise Auprès des Ménages* (household survey)

RGPH *Recensement Général de la Population et de l'Habitat* (general population and housing census)

REMUAO *Reseau Migrations et Urbanisation en Africa de l'Ouest*

the home country. In the host country, the impression conveyed is of a mass invasion by foreigners who have no intention of ever going back. So what are the real trends in departure, return and circulation? Do the motivations migrants describe suggest a push-and-pull phenomenon, or transnationalism?

2) The second issue is that of a changing Senegalese migrant profile. Two ideas are widespread: that an increasing proportion of Senegalese migrants are women, and that a "brain drain" is taking place. These trends are said to be connected with changes in the geographical origins of the migrants. The idea is that as out-migration has been increasingly from urban areas rather than rural, and that Senegalese society in the towns has undergone profound sociocultural change, this has been reflected in a new migrant profile. As regards women, the theory is that their migration motivations, strategies and behaviour (departure, return etc.) differ from men's. As regards a supposed brain drain, the theory is that the better educated are more likely to leave than the less educated, and differ from them in their migration behaviour.

3) The third issue is the image conveyed by the media of the connection between networks and migration routes. Networks mobilising human resources en route and at the destination are thought to be crucial to a migration project. However, the image conveyed remains one of growing illegal migration with (a) avoidance of the usual routes in favour of increasingly complex alternatives and above all (b) since the start of the 2000s the use of West African coastal pirogues, with media images of boat wrecks, drownings and repatriations. This image is underpinned by the slogan "*Barça wala barsakh*" ("Barcelona or die" in Wolof), publicised in media all over the world. Is this trend increasing? In preparing their journeys, are migrants deliberately choosing unofficial transport means? What routes and transport means are they actually using? Is the use of pirogues as widespread as would seem from the media and public discourse? Does it vary over time and by destination? Is it connected with European countries' policies of halting the flow of migrants?

PART 1 – DEPARTURES, RETURNS AND CIRCULATION

According to the literature, there have been three historical trends in Senegalese migration.

The first displays a dual territorial dimension. In the first place it relates to the culture of mobility among the Tukolor and Soninke people of north and east Senegal, a historically strategic area on the trans-Saharan trade routes from the Ghanaian and Malian empires. Secondly, it relates to a landlocked region excluded

from development under colonialism and since (Sakho, 2005; Tall & Tandian, 2011)⁴. In that situation international emigration looks like a strategy to break out of economic isolation.

The second historical setting was the colonial period. Senegalese soldiers in the French army left to fight in World War I; after them came migrants taking advantage of favourable economic conditions in France. They were answering a call for labour in Metropolitan France, where reconstruction was under way⁵, and in other French colonies in West and Central Africa where Senegalese migrants worked on railway building and in the administration, trade, the merchant marine etc. At the same time there was an increasingly strong "push" factor at home, encouraging out-migration⁶. In the 1950s and '60s, small Senegalese communities became established in various industrial areas of France (Poiret, 1996) and a number of African cities (Bredeloup, 1993; Balandier, 1985).

The third historical phase dates from the early 1980s, with economic and ecological crises affecting household living standards in Senegal. In this phase numerous attempts have been to quantify migrant flows, though the data vary according to source.

This section of our paper aims to describe and explain migration trends (departures and returns) in terms of both space and time. It uses data from the MAFE household and life history surveys to reconstruct trends since 1975. First the destinations are analysed by major world region (Africa, Europe, rest of the world including North America) before focusing on the three European countries covered by the MAFE project. To identify the motivations involved, two ideas are tested: that deteriorating living conditions in an increasingly tough economic situation was encouraging people to emigrate; and that fewer and fewer migrants were returning because people were afraid to face the problems of reintegration and afraid they would not be able to leave again if they failed to reintegrate.

All in all, without quantitative data each context suggests migration volume a degree higher than before, and destinations determined by the political, social and economic conditions of the time.

⁴ According to Tall and Tandian (2011) migration, internal at first, was reported as early as 1900 among the Soninke and from about 1910 among the Tukolor (Halpulaar).

⁵ In 1919 the French Minister for Agriculture and Supplies suggested recruiting migrant workers from the colonies (declaration of the Minister for Agriculture and Supplies, *Journal Officiel*, parliamentary debates, 29 January 1919).

⁶ According to Traoré (1994), "These 'forced' population movements {army recruitment} were replaced by free movements around 1925, when poor harvests coinciding with a rise in tax rates prompted many to leave in search of a cash income." (quoted by Tall & Tandian (2011))

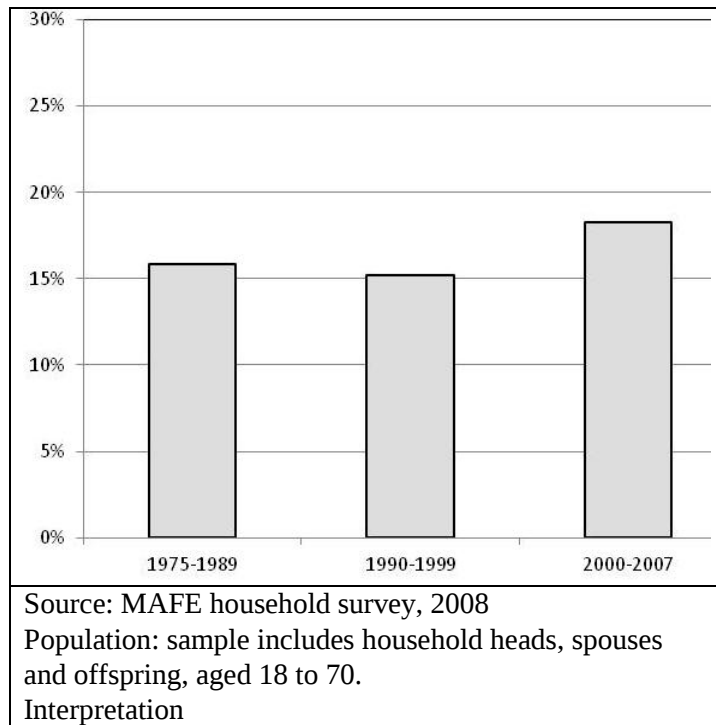
2.1. INCREASING MIGRATION FLOW TO EUROPE

The available data, though often contradictory, depict an increasing flow of migration from Senegal. The United Nations estimated the number of Senegalese living abroad in 2005 at 463,403 (DRC, 2007). The Senegalese foreign ministry's estimate is that over 2 million Senegalese are living abroad today. As regards recent out-migration, according to the 2002 census data (ANSD, 2006) the number of Senegalese migrants who had moved abroad since 1997 and were still abroad in 2002 was 170,000, for a domestic population estimated at 9.8 million. (Lessault, Beauchemin & Sakho, 2011).

2.1.1. EMIGRATION A GROWING TENDENCY IN SENEGAL

The data from the MAFE household and life history surveys confirm the trend. The probability of emigrating was stationary from 1975 to the late 1990s and rose during the decade from 2000 (Fig. 1a). In less than ten years it rose from one in ten of the Senegalese population to two in ten.

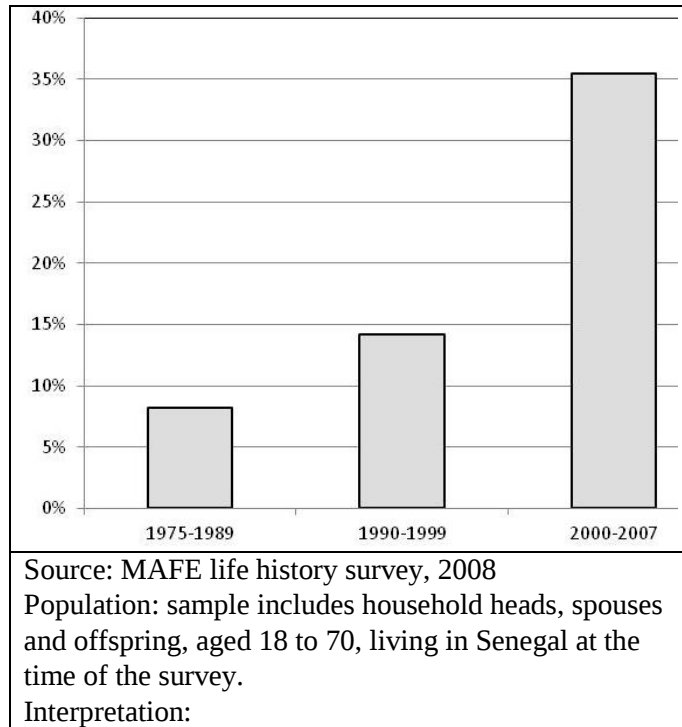
FIGURE 1: LIFETIME PROBABILITY FOR SENEGALESE AGED 18 TO 70 TO MIGRATE FROM SENEGAL, BY PERIOD (1975-2007)



Analysis of the steps taken in order to emigrate is even more revealing of Senegalese people's propensity for emigration. These steps include obtaining the

necessary travel documents (passport, visa, accommodation certificates, registration at a university, etc.), finding or mobilising the necessary financial resources (savings) and travelling to transit countries along the way. While in the 1970s and '80s only one Senegalese in ten went so far as to take such steps⁷, during the 2000s one Senegalese in three tried to fulfil the conditions to leave (Fig. 2a).

FIGURE 2: LIFETIME PROBABILITY FOR SENEGALESE AGED 18 TO 70 TO TAKES STEPS TOWARDS EMIGRATING FROM SENEGAL, BY PERIOD (1975-2007)



Does this dynamic still involve the traditional destinations? Has it been affected by changing situations in the countries of departure and destination?

2.1.2. FROM AFRICA TO EUROPE?

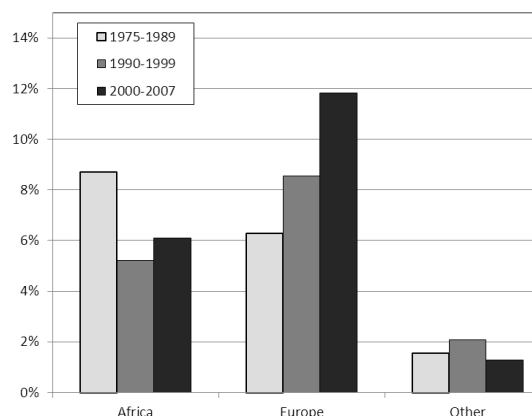
According to the MAFE data, since the late 1980s, African destinations have tended to be replaced by European ones. The data also confirm the results of surveys on recent migration (i.e. the previous five years) conducted since the early 1990s. Between 1988 and 1992, according to the results of the REMUAO survey most international migration flows had been between West African countries, and between particular pairs of countries in particular: Senegal and Mauritania, Guinea and Côte d'Ivoire (Bocquier, 2000). Ten years later, between 1997 and 2002, as the

⁷ The need to obtain a permit to leave the country was abolished only in 1981.

results of the 2002 census show, European destinations were preferred, while the place of France among these was in decline (ANSD, 2006).

These sources corroborate the shift in the probable destinations of Senegalese migrants during the 1990s, from African countries to Europe. According to the MAFE findings, one Senegalese in ten chooses a European destination and only one in 20 an African one (Fig. 3).

FIGURE 3: LIFETIME PROBABILITY OF MIGRATION FROM SENEGAL OF SENEGALESE PEOPLE AGED 18 TO 70, BY DESTINATION AND PERIOD (1975-2007)

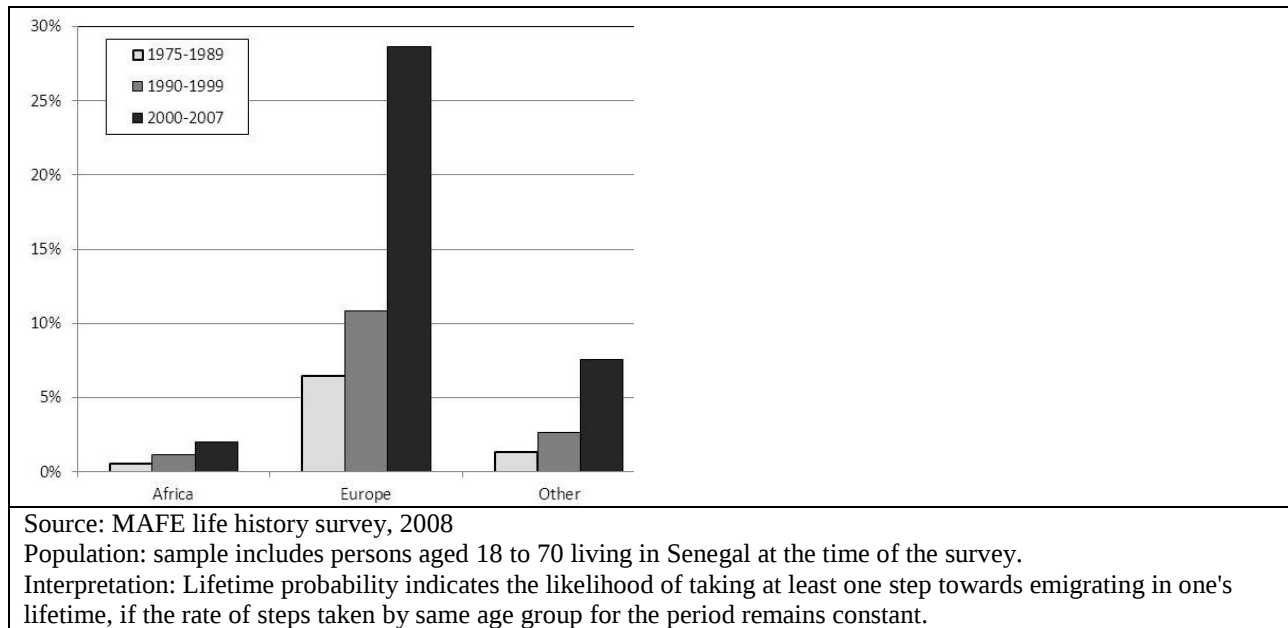


Source: MAFE household survey, 2008

Population: sample includes household heads, spouses and offspring, aged 18 to 70.

The propensity for migration to Europe is further evidenced by the number of Senegalese reporting that they have taken steps towards doing so: more than a quarter of Senegalese were aspiring candidates for migration in the 2000s (Fig. 4). Overall, the reason why potential Senegalese emigrants have been turning their back on Africa in favour of Europe has been the difference in opportunities. One such factor was certainly the devaluation of the CFA franc in 1994. That made Europe a more attractive proposition than the other French-speaking countries of West and Central Africa that used the same currency.

FIGURE 4: LIFETIME PROBABILITY OF PERSONS AGED 18 TO 70 TO TAKE STEPS TOWARDS EMIGRATING FROM SENEGAL, BY DESTINATION AND PERIOD (1975-2007)



In fact this trend by major world region masks a reconfiguration of migration destinations in both Europe and Africa, as the results of earlier MAFE studies had already indicated. According to the 2002 RGPH results, between 1997 and 2002 the five main destination countries, which between them hosted 64% of recent migrants, were Italy, France, Gambia, Mauritania and Spain in that order (ANSD). Analysis of the distribution of flows by destination and by period reveals three geographical changes (Table 1).

First, a certain decline in destinations that had been traditional until the 1980s can be seen. This is the case for France (trend delayed by the devaluation of the CFA franc in 1994?), for Cote d'Ivoire and Gabon (which ceased to be destinations) and for Mauritania (declining from 12% to 4% during the 2000s). Was this the effect of more coercive policies on conditions of entry and residence, and of political and economic crises? In any case, in Europe and in Africa the geography of migration changed. In the 2000s southern Europe – Italy and Spain – hosted 36% of Senegalese migrants. In Africa, two-thirds of migrants moved to countries sharing borders with Senegal, despite occasional crises (Senegal-Mauritania conflict of 1989) and the remaining third went to Tunisia or Morocco. A (re)discovery of new opportunities? At the same time as this renewed focus on the traditional regions, migration to other parts of the world began, though timidly as yet. The United States of America were the destination of 13% in the 1990s, and China and then Saudi Arabia emerged. Do these new destinations prefigure a future trend, breaking

out of the historical and cultural paradigms that had hitherto contained Senegalese migration?

TABLE 1: TOP TEN DESTINATIONS FROM SENEGAL, BY PERIOD (1975-2007).

1975-1989		1990-1999		2000-2007		1975-2007	
Country	% migrations	Country	% migrations	Country	% migrations	Country	% migrations
France	29%	France	39%	Italy	24%	France	29.3
Côte d'Ivoire	12%	USA	13%	France	23%	Italy	15.1
Mauritania	12%	Italy	11%	Spain	12%	Mauritania	7.7
Gabon	8%	Côte d'Ivoire	8%	Mauritania	8%	USA	6.6
Gambia	6%	Gabon	8%	Tunisia	4%	Côte d'Ivoire	6.0
Mali	5%	Mali	5%	Gambia	4%	Spain	5.9
Italy	4%	Gambia	4%	USA	4%	Gabon	4.6
USA	4%	Mauritania	3%	Morocco	3%	Gambia	4.3
Morocco	4%	Spain	1%	Guinea	3%	Mali	3.7
China	3%	Algeria	1%	Saudi Arabia	3%	Morocco	2.6
10 countries	87%	10 countries	94%	10 countries	88%	10 countries	
N	114		139		199		452
Source: MAFE household survey, 2008							
Population: sample includes migrants (household heads, spouses and offspring). All migrants left Senegal at age 18 or over in 1975 or later.							
Interpretation: percentages for each destination have been calculated from the number of persons who left for that destination during the period in question (column head).							

The change in destinations is established from the start of the migration project. In Europe, the target country changes from France, southward to Spain and Italy and eastward to Germany (Table 2). Between 1990 and 2000, the proportion taking steps to move to France declined from 26.5% to 22.7% whereas the proportion for Southern Europe rose from 37.4 to 44.1%. Beyond Africa and Europe, since the 1990s more than one prospective migrant in ten has tried for the United States.

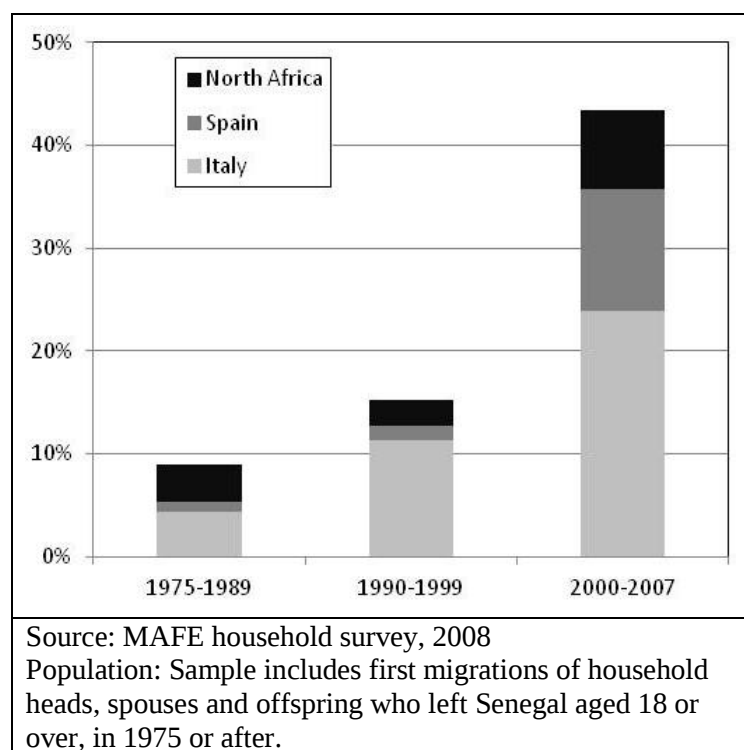
TABLE 2: TOP FIVE DESTINATIONS FOR MIGRANTS TAKING STEPS TOWARDS MIGRATING, BY PERIOD (1975-2007).

1975-1989		1990-1999		2000-2007		1975-2007	
Country	% migrations	Country	% migrations	Country	% migrations	Country	%
Italy	(33.1)	France	26.5	Spain	28.4	France	24.7
France	(33.0)	Spain	19.0	France	22.7	Spain	23.5
USA	(10.5)	Italy	18.4	Italy	15.7	Italy	18.2
Spain	(2.9)	USA	18.0	USA	10.9	USA	12.5
Germany	(2.2)	Germany	1.6	Germany	5.1	Germany	4.0
N	15		44		121		180

Source: MAFE Life history survey, 2008
Population: sample includes individuals aged 18 and over living in Senegal at the time of the survey and who had taken steps towards migrating from Senegal.
Interpretation: NB figures in brackets are not significant (too few observations).

One of the changes taking shape in the 2000s was the increasing focus on Mediterranean countries as migration destinations for Senegalese migrants. As well as Italy, the North African countries have attracted a growing proportion of migrants (Fig. 5).

FIGURE 5: PROPORTION OF SENEGALESE LEAVING FOR MÉDITERRANEAN COUNTRIES ON THEIR FIRST MIGRATION, BY PERIOD (1975-2007)



Broadly, since 1975, as the numbers of migrants leaving Senegal have increased, the geographical pattern of destinations has changed, refocusing on traditional

destinations and moving out to new ones. These trends may be a response either to the "push" of difficult local living conditions or to the "pull" of destination countries offering opportunities.

2.1.3. TO MAKE YOUR FORTUNE: CONSTRAINTS AT HOME, OPPORTUNITIES IN OTHER LANDS

The results of the 2002 census and the MAFE surveys show that more than two thirds of Senegalese mentioned work, in the broad sense, as a reason for leaving⁸. According to MAFE, since 1975 work has been the motive for seven migrants in every ten (69%) (Table 3). Is the extent of this motivation a reflection of Senegal's economic slump in the second half of the 20th century, as some argue?

TABLE 3: REASON FOR LEAVING SENEGAL OF MIGRANTS CURRENTLY LIVING ABROAD, BY PERIOD OF DEPARTURE ON MOST RECENT MIGRATION (1975-2007)

Region of residence	Motive	Period			1975-2007
		1975-1990	1990-1999	2000-2007	
All	Work	70.5	64.2	70.9	69.0
	Family	20.2	19.7	16.6	18.0
	Studies	14.8	19.5	12.1	14.6
	Other	1.3	1.5	5.6	3.8
	N	102	176	418	696
Source: MAFE life history survey, 2008 Population: sample includes Senegal-born migrants currently living abroad. All migrants left Senegal at age 18 or over in 1975 or later.					

Analysing the content of "motive" categories shows that responses classed under "work" are of two types: responses such as "looking for work", "low pay" and "economic problems" suggest that local conditions are difficult, while responses such as "business", "to find a job" and "for a better life" reflect the idea of opportunity in the destination country.

Apart from this methodological aspect, a breakdown of motives by destination country is also informative. For migrants settled in France, what is striking is the importance of motives other than work. Work accounts for 39.3% of departures, while half of all migrants cite either family reasons (29.1%) (marriage, joining the spouse or another family member, divorce etc.) or studies (20.9%) ("to study", "for a training course"). Knowing the long history of Senegalese migration to France

⁸ According to the results of RGPH 3, in the population that emigrated in 1997-2002, departures throughout are mainly connected with work and to a lesser extent with studies or family reunification. Work is given as a motive for more than 2/3 of departures (67.9%) between 1997 and 2001. Family reunification was the motive given in 13% of cases, either for marriage (around 7%) or for other family reasons (6%), while studies accounted for 10.3% of departures, particularly departures from urban areas (14%) (ANSD, 2008).

and the historical ties in terms of common language and educational cooperation, real or imagined opportunities are the reason here. Of migrants settled in southern Europe, 80% of those in Italy and nearly 70% of those in Spain give work as their reason. This could equally well be connected with opportunities in the destination country or with the socioeconomic situation in Senegal. Southern Europe presents a more favourable political environment (Schmidt di Friedberg 1993), giving "fresh hope to potential migrants"⁹. This idea is supported by the high proportion of "other" motives cited (18%), including "health" "policies" and "adventure", which might reflect strategies aimed at benefiting from subsequent regularisation (Table 4). But it is likely that the rate of departures has also been influenced by economic constraints due to the ecological crises that have hit the groundnut belt in central and western Senegal, the main region from which migrants have left for southern Europe (Fall, 2000; Tall, 2000).

TABLE 4: REASONS FOR MIGRATION OF MIGRANTS STILL LIVING IN FRANCE, ITALY AND SPAIN (1975-2007).

Motives	Country of residence			All countries
	France	Italy	Spain	
Work/living conditions	39.3	78.7	69.1	59.3
Family	29.1	6.6	12.9	17.9
Studies	20.9	1.7	0.0	8.5
Other	10.6	13.0	18.0	13.3
N	184	196	190	570
Source: MAFE Life history survey Population: Sample includes first long stay in country. All migrants left Senegal at age 18 or over in 1975 or later.				

While rates of departure have increased, an analysis of the motives given does not suggest a picture of waves of migrants fleeing dire poverty – an image often associated in public discourse with migrants from Sub-Saharan Africa invading the destination countries to settle for good. The question of return migration is therefore important.

1.2. GO HOME, STAY IN THE HOST COUNTRY OR CIRCULATE?

While even less is known about return migration, some experts in international migration argue that migrants may have in mind the possibility of returning to their home country (Ebin, 1993; De Vreyer et al., 2008). Some studies of West Africa and Senegal in particular support this idea (Daum, 1998; Robin et al., 2000). However, recent studies of Senegalese migrants refer to a myth of return,

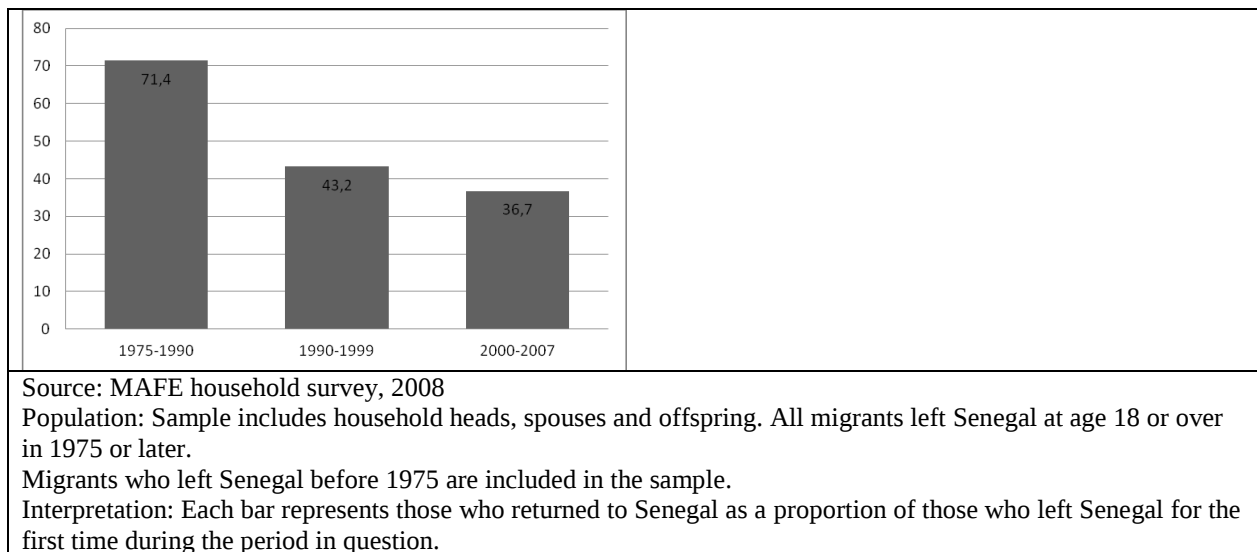
⁹ For more details see WP 7, "Understanding Afro-European trajectories: integration in the European labour market and re-integration in origin countries. Case of Senegal".

continually postponed owing to still unfulfilled hopes and a new relationship with the countries they encounter. These authors establish the notion of the "translocal migrant" (Bruzzone et al., 2006; Tall, 2007; Sinatti, 2009)¹⁰.

1.2.1. FEWER AND FEWER RETURNING FROM EUROPE

However, the MAFE data show that the proportion of migrants returning to Senegal falls by half over the first ten years since departure from Senegal. They show a decline from 75% in 1975 to around 40% in the first decade of the 21st century, though with a much slower decline in the last two decades (Fig. 6).

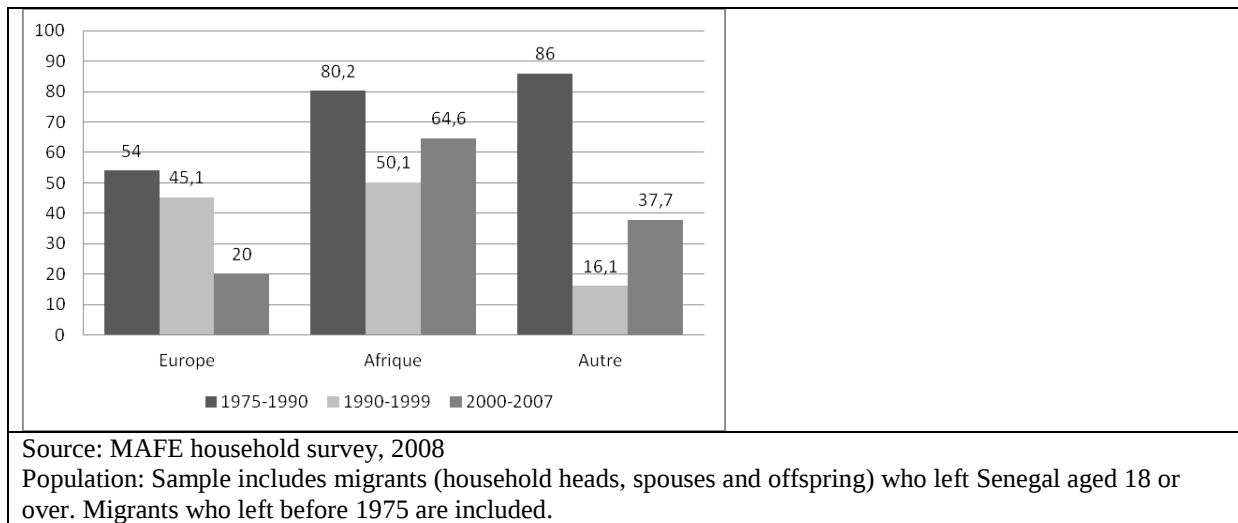
FIGURE 6: PROPORTION OF MIGRANTS (ALL DESTINATIONS) RETURNING TO SENEGAL IN THE TEN YEARS FOLLOWING THEIR FIRST DEPARTURE (KAPLAN MEIER ESTIMATES), BY PERIOD (1975-2007).



The rate of return also varies between continents. The proportion of migrants returning from Europe within ten years of their first departure declined from the mid-1970s when it stood at 54%, to 20% in 2000-2007 (only one in five of migrants to Europe) (Fig. 7). By contrast, the proportion of migrants to other African countries returning to Senegal is consistently higher, never falling below 50%, though the rate has varied: the lowest proportions were recorded for the 1990s (50.1%). This pattern is similar to that of returns from the "rest of the world" although the proportions are different. This might be due to economic and political constraints in Senegal during the 1990s and the resulting devaluation of the CFA franc in 1994 and change of regime.

¹⁰ The idea of this strategy is based on the almost routine return home of Soninké migrants from the Senegal Valley, according to C. Daum, and of women migrants from the Dakar region to other West African countries according to the 1996/97 DEMIS surveys.

FIGURE 7: PROPORTION OF MIGRANTS RETURNING TO SENEGAL WITHIN TEN YEARS OF THEIR FIRST DEPARTURE (KAPLAN MEIER ESTIMATES), BY DESTINATION AND PERIOD (1975-2007)

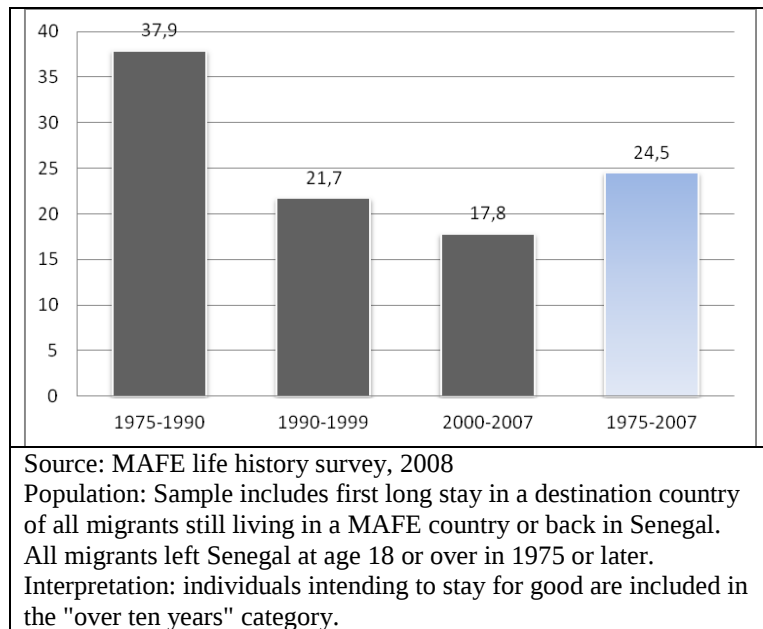


The difference in return rates between migrants to Africa and Europe may be due not only to closer geographical distance but also the fact that there are fewer restrictions on travel within Africa. Some experts on Senegalese migration explain the decline in returns from Europe by the increasingly restrictive conditions for migrants' entry to and residence in Europe (Tall & Tandian, 2010, Beauchemin & Lessault, 2009). In any case the period of tighter border control and tougher entry conditions since 2000 matches the period when fewer migrants returned to Senegal. Apart from the effects of obstacles to migration, another idea to test would be that of a change in migrants' reasoning. Are migrants thinking in terms of an increasingly long stay abroad, or even definitive settlement, to achieve their goals?

1.2.2. STAY LONGER OR SETTLE DEFINITELY?

Here we examine the life history survey data on the length of time people intended to stay when they arrived in a MAFE host country where they stayed a long time, whether or not they subsequently returned to Senegal. It emerges that over the 1975- 2008 period as a whole, a quarter (24.5%) of migrants going to France, Italy or Spain intended to go home within ten years while $\frac{3}{4}$ envisaged staying longer. However, over time the former proportion shrank by half, stabilising at around 20% over the period 1990-2000 (Fig. 7). Is this notable drop in intentions to stay less than ten years evidence that migrants leaving for Europe see the prospect of the return differently?

FIGURE 8: PROPORTION OF MIGRANTS INTENDING TO STAY LESS THAN TEN YEARS FROM THEIR FIRST ARRIVAL IN FRANCE, ITALY OR SPAIN, BY PERIOD OF FIRST ARRIVAL (1975-2007)



The MAFE findings support the idea, developed in some recent socio-anthropological studies, that there is a new attitude to the return among communities of Wolof in Italy and of Tukolor and Soninke from the Senegal Valley in France (Sinatti, 2009; Sarr, 2010; Daum, 1998; Fall et al.). These authors suggest that the return is continually postponed as conditions in the host country make it increasingly difficult to fulfil the expectation of economic success, which is a precondition for fulfilling family obligations and for a socially successful return home. They argue that to maintain their deep ties with their origins, Senegalese migrants have developed new relationships with the home country through investment and circulation.

1.2.3. CIRCULATION AN ALTERNATIVE TO THE RETURN?

To test the idea that new relationships are being forged with the home country, particularly (as far as this paper is concerned) through circulation¹¹, the frequency and duration of stays in the home country are analysed. Returns followed by a stay of at least a year in Senegal are considered "long home stays" and those followed by a stay of less than a year "short home stays or visits". The results show a very uniform pattern. Whatever part of the world the migrant is staying in, 1 in 6 (14 to 15%) (including those who left Senegal before 1975) spent a long stay in Senegal

¹¹ About migrants' investments at home, see Castagnone, Sakho *et al.*, 2013.

before their most recent departure. This behaviour is widespread from the late 1980s, but with a sharp drop as regards African countries (Table 5). Do the narrow differences over the years between Europe (10%) (with borders closing) and Africa (13.9%) reflect a new behaviour among Senegalese migrants?

TABLE 5: PROPORTION OF MIGRANTS LIVING OUTSIDE SENEGAL WHO HAD RETURNED FOR A HOME STAY OF OVER A YEAR BEFORE THEIR MOST RECENT DEPARTURE, BY PERIOD OF MOST RECENT DEPARTURE.

Current place of residence	Period of most recent departure				N
	1975-1990	1990-1999	2000-2007	1975-2007	
Europe	16.1	17.7	10.0	14.4	586
Africa (except Senegal)	32.2	10.0	13.9	15.4	118
Other	6.2	12.8	15.6	14.0	103
All	16.5	16.1	11.0	13.4	807
Source: MAFE household survey, 2008 Population: sample includes migrants living abroad (household heads, spouses and offspring) who left at age 18 or over. Includes migrants who left Senegal before 1975.					

As regards migrants living in the MAFE countries, the answer is yes. Like their compatriots in the rest of the world, since 1975 one migrant in 20 (6.1%) has made a long home stay (over a year); but nearly two-thirds of migrants (63.8%) have made at least one home visit (less than a year) since they first arrived in Europe (Table 6 A). Differences between countries may be connected with the history of Senegalese immigration in each one. The same applies, with slight variations, to returns within the first five years of first arrival (Table 6 B).

TABLE 6: PROPORTION OF THOSE LIVING IN FRANCE, ITALY OR SPAIN WHO HAVE MADE A LONG HOME STAY (OVER A YEAR) OR A VISIT (LESS THAN A YEAR) (KAPLAN MEIER ESTIMATES), BY COUNTRY OF RESIDENCE

A) ... since first arrival in Europe					B) ... within five years of first arrival				
Current place of residence	% return stays			N	Current place of residence	% return stays			N
	Long	Short	Long or short			Long	Short	Long or short	
France	7.9	73.2	74.0	186	France	2.5	51.1	52.1	186
Italy	6.3	61.3	62.7	203	Italy	3.8	48.5	51.4	203
Spain	2.9	51.9	52.6	199	Spain	2.4	59.7	61.2	199
<i>France, Italy, Spain</i>	6.1	63.8	65.8	588	<i>France, Italy, Spain</i>	2.9	51.9	53.5	588
Source: MAFE life history survey, 2008. Population: Sample includes migrants currently living in France, Italy or Spain. All migrants left Senegal at age 18 or over in 1975 or later.									

The time trends in rates of return within five years of first arrival in the host country also reflect a uniformity of behaviour. In France, a traditional destination,

as in Spain, a new destination, half of all migrants returned to Senegal for a stay at some point (Table 7).

TABLE 7: PROPORTION OF THOSE LIVING IN FRANCE, ITALY AND SPAIN HAVING MADE A HOME STAY (LONG OR SHORT) WITHIN FIVE YEARS OF THEIR FIRST ARRIVAL (KAPLAN MEIER ESTIMATES), BY PERIOD AND COUNTRY OF RESIDENCE.

Current place of residence	% returns (long or short stays)			
	1975-1990	1990-1999	2000-2007	1975-2007
France	47.3	58.8	51.1	52.1
	56	57	73	186
Italy	59.0	52.7	33.2	51.4
	33	77	93	203
Spain	(82.7)	68.8	51.0	61.2
	19	74	106	199
<i>France, Italy, Spain</i>	53.3	58.8	48.2	53.5
	108	208	272	588
Source: MAFE life history survey, 2008. Population: Sample includes migrants currently living in France, Italy or Spain. All migrants left Senegal at age 18 or over in 1975 or later. Interpretation: percentages for each country of residence (rows) have been calculated from migrants of the period (columns). Non-significant results due to small numbers are in brackets.				

All in all, while returns from Europe have increasingly declined since 1975, the majority of migrants still return to their home country for short stays. The fact that for all three countries, roughly half of all migrants (51.9%) have been back to their home country for a visit supports the views that Senegalese migrants circulate between countries. Does this reflect social changes connected with the changes in the parts of Senegal from which most migrants were leaving?¹² From the 1980s the groundnut belt was taking over from the Senegal Valley (Bocquier 2000); then in the 1990s, according to the 2002 census, urban areas like Dakar (26%) and Touba (7%) picked up and the Senegal Valley accounted for only 12% (ANSD, 2006). Does this changing rationale in migrants' relationships with their country of origin play a part in the emergence of a new Senegalese migrant profile?

¹² For example, according to RGPH3, women's age at first marriage is now 24.3 in towns and 18.6 in rural areas. Further, the proportion of lone women is 5.7% in Dakar, 3.5% in other towns and less than 1% in rural areas (ANSD, 2004). Lastly, girls living in urban areas are three to four times more likely to attend school than their rural counterparts (ANSD, 2006).

PART 2 – CHANGES IN SENEGALESE MIGRATION: WOMEN MIGRANTS AND A BRAIN DRAIN?

In this part we take a broad look at changes in the profiles of Senegalese migrants and their origins since 1975. We will test three recent ideas emerging in discussions of Senegalese migration: that more and more migrants are women, that there is a brain drain under way, and that migrants are increasingly "translocal".

2.1. A HIGHER PROPORTION OF WOMEN?

In the literature, migrants are commonly depicted as "young men from rural areas, either single or migrating without their partners" (Lalou, 1996)¹³. Because of the way society sees women, they were considered to leave Senegal only as male migrants' companions (Sarr, 2010; Ba, 1996; Dramé, 1993). More recently there has been discussion about the increasing proportion of women among migrants from West Africa (Cordell et al, 1996; Ouedraogo et al, 1996; Adepaju, 2002). Recent research in Senegal reports an increasing flow of women migrating independently (Tall & Tandian, 2010; Sakho, Diop & Sall, 2010; Dial & Ndione)¹⁴. The trend is reported to have begun in urban areas in the 1980s and spread to rural areas (Tall, 1997). It is seen as an extension into the international arena of women's growing contribution to African household incomes (Antoine & Fall, 2002). Does women's migration behaviour follow different patterns to men's? Do they leave and come back more often than men? Does their behaviour differ according to destination? Do their strategies differ from men's?

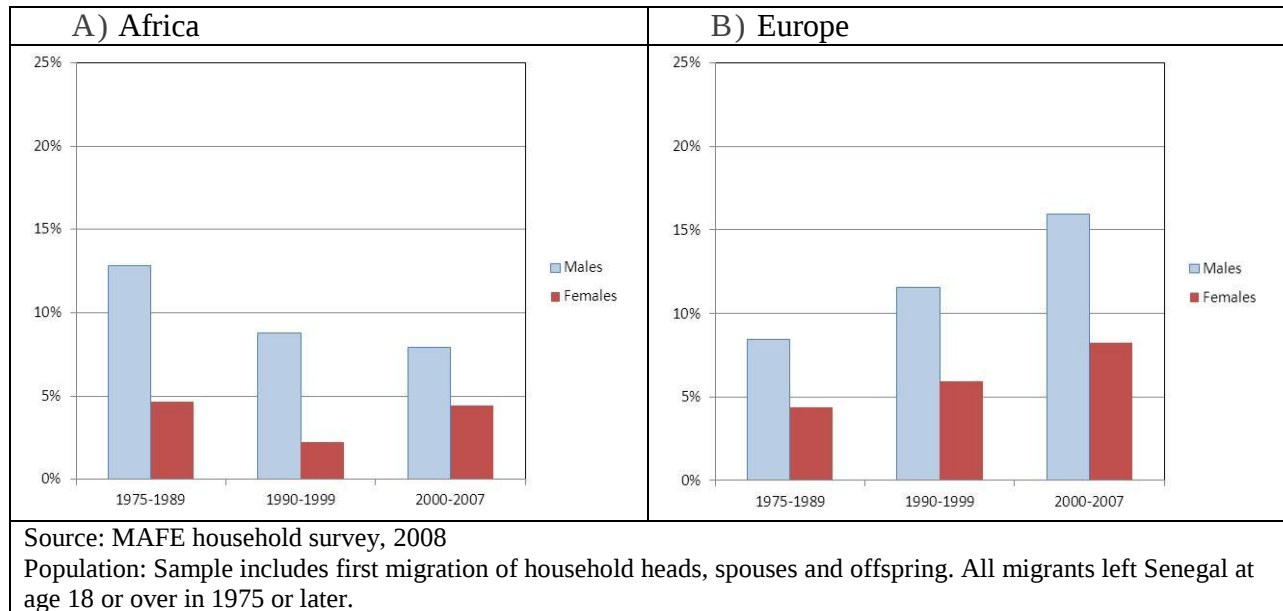
2.1.1. DEPARTURES, RETURNS, DESTINATIONS AND CIRCULATION: IS THE PATTERN OF FEMALE MIGRATION DIFFERENT?

Regardless of destination, men are still twice as likely as women to migrate, but behaviour patterns differ (Fig. 9). Firstly, the gap has been narrowing since 2000. Secondly, while the likelihood of leaving Senegal for Europe grew roughly in the same proportions for both sexes, the pattern of migration to African countries has changed: in the 1970s three times as many men as women migrated; by 2000, only twice as many.

¹³ According to ESAM data, 84.2% of migrants who left between 1997 and 2001 were men, 68% were aged 15 to 34, and 51.7% were married (ANSD, 2004).

¹⁴ According to figures for Senegalese migrants in France (Diakho, 2008), between 1968 and 1990 the Senegalese immigrant population multiplied by 5.7, and its female part by 37.7 – ten times faster than its male part (3.7) (Sakho, Dial, 2010).

FIGURE 9: PROBABILITY OF A FIRST MIGRATION FROM SENEGAL, BY GENDER, DESTINATION AND PERIOD (1975-2007),



The bar chart of trends since 1975 illustrates this well. Among migrants to Europe the sex ratio of 3 men to 2 women remains fairly constant, but among those going to African countries the ratio ranges from 7 men for every 3 women to 3 for 2 (Table 8). This might be due to the emergence of what Papa Demba Fall (2007) calls "migrants of a new type [...] going to and fro to conduct trade". As regards migration to the rest of the world, whereas men were a slight majority in the 1970s (53.9% men and 46.1% women), by the late 1990s 55% were women, including the Senegalese women traders who "after the North African, European and American markets, set out to conquer Asia, particularly China and the Emirate of Dubai" (Fall, 2007: 5).

TABLE 8: BREAKDOWN OF MIGRANTS BY GENDER, FIRST DESTINATION AND PERIOD (1975-2007)

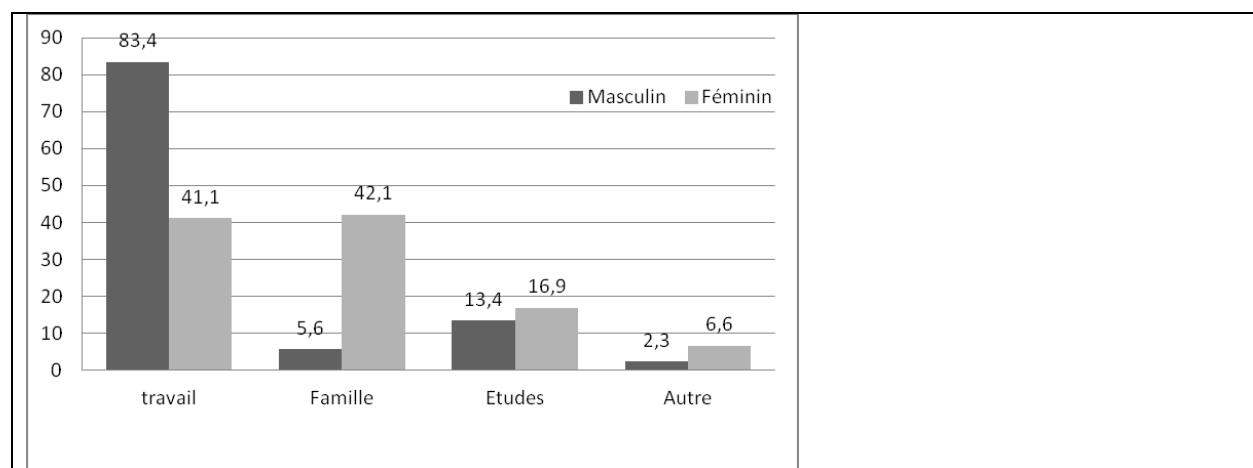
Region of residence	Sex (%)	1975-1990	1990-1999	2000-2007	1975-2007
<i>Africa</i>	Male	68.1	67.4	59.2	65.0
	Female	31.9	32.6	40.8	35.0
	N	84	53	64	201
<i>Europe</i>	Male	57.2	64.1	60.7	60.7
	Female	42.8	35.9	39.3	39.3
	N	82	79	154	315
<i>Other</i>	Male	53.9	49.9	45.4	50.3
	Female	46.1	50.1	55.6	49.7
	N	22	26	22	70
All	Male	61.1	62.9	59.0	60.8
	Female	38.9	37.1	41.0	39.2
	N	188	158	240	586

Source: MAFE household survey, 2008.

Population: Sample includes first migration of household heads, spouses and offspring. All migrants left Senegal at age 18 or over in 1975 or later.

All in all, female migration from Senegal has increased, but no more than male migration, although trends differ according to destination. Reasons for leaving support the idea that female migration, long assumed to be due to women accompanying or joining a male migrant, is increasingly an independent act. The reasons women give for leaving are divided between the classic family reasons (42.1%), mainly for family reunification, and work (41.1%). Another type of individual migration is for studies, which is the reason given by slightly more female migrants (16.9%) than male (13%) (Fig. 10).

FIGURE 10: REASON FOR LAST MIGRATION DEPARTURE FROM SENEGAL FOR MIGRANTS LIVING ABROAD, BY GENDER (1975-2007)



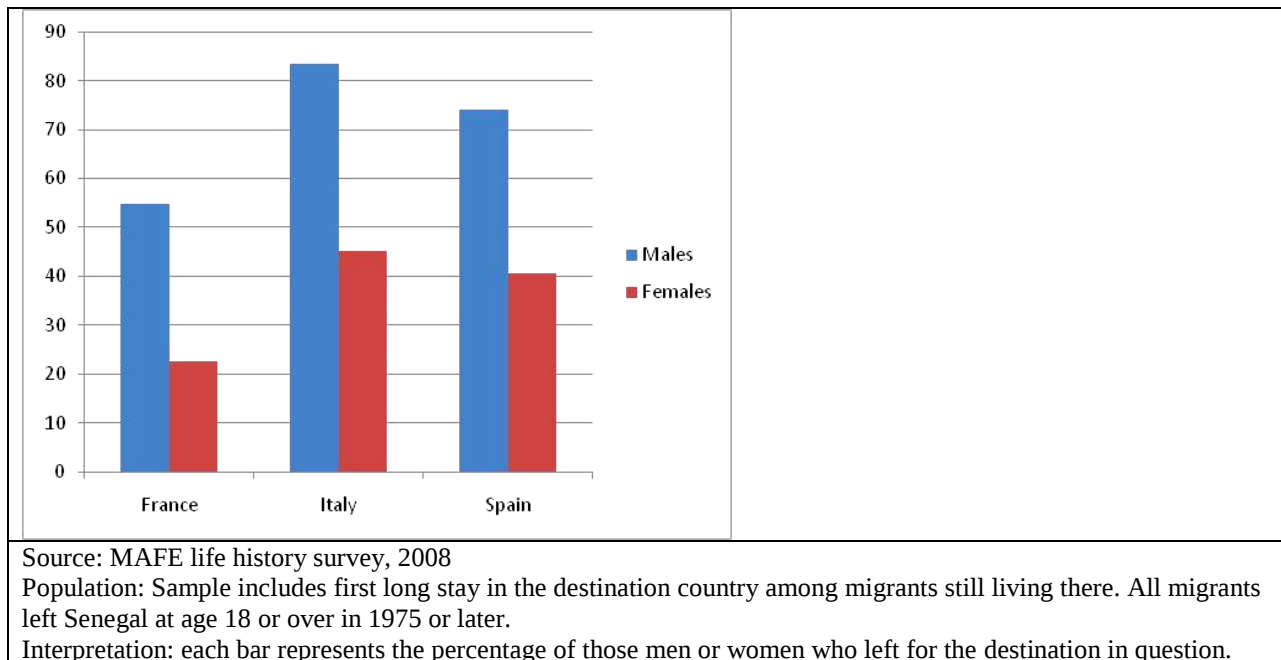
Source: MAFE household survey, 2008

Population: Sample includes Senegal-born migrants living outside Senegal at the time of the survey. All migrants left Senegal at age 18 or over in 1975 or later.

Interpretation: each bar represents the proportion of men or women in the category concerned

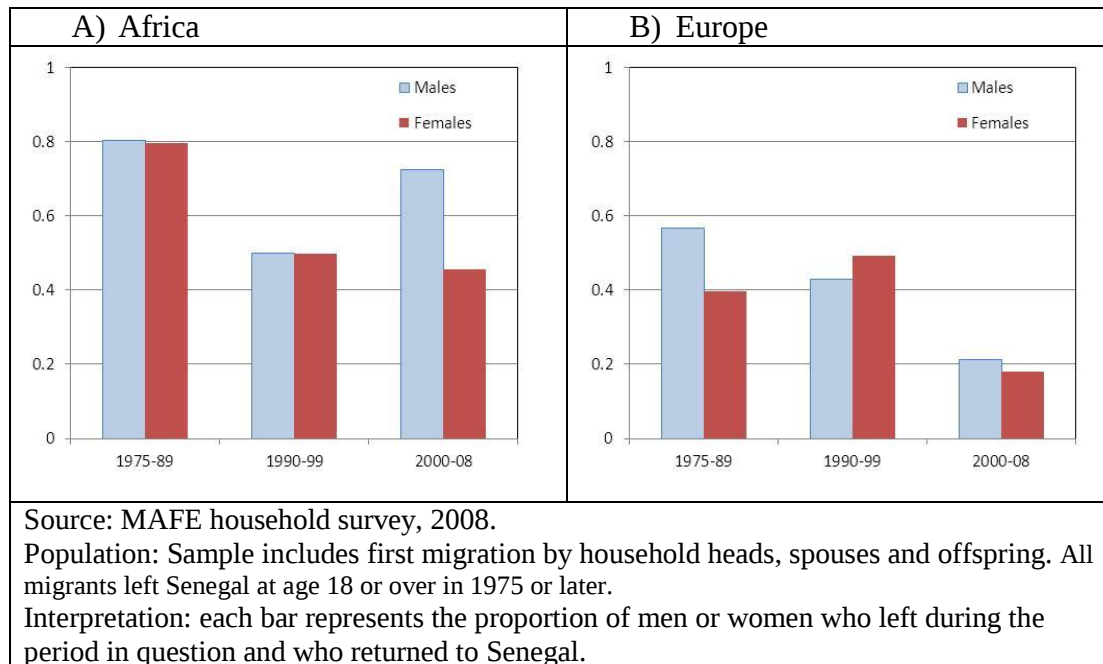
In Europe, the increase in women leaving Senegal independently of men seems mainly to concern those going to the new destinations of Italy and Spain, while female migration to France is still predominantly a matter of male strategies for family reunification in response to travel restrictions (Sarr, 2010, Tandian-Coulibaly, 2008; Tall-Tandian, 2010). The proportion of women who came for work reasons is twice as high in Italy and Spain (40%) as in France (20%) (Fig. 11).

FIGURE 11: PROPORTION OF WORK-RELATED MIGRATIONS BY DESTINATION AND GENDER (1957-2007)



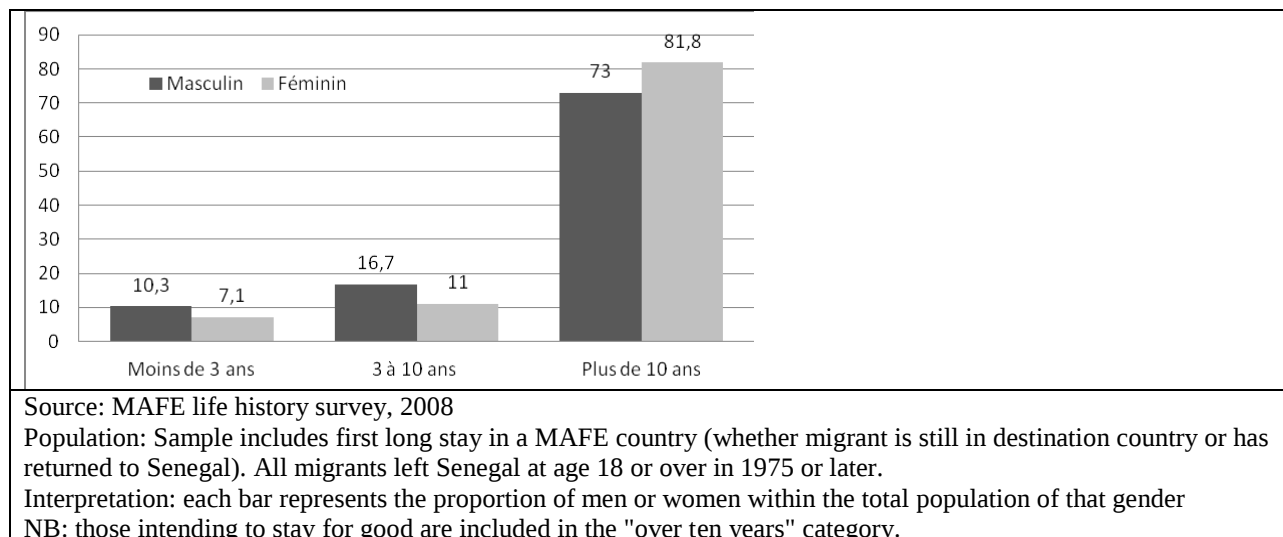
Is the same differentiation found in return migration? This question has scarcely been addressed in the literature, but the MAFE findings show that return migration differs between men and women in at least two respects. One is that the proportion of women returning to Senegal remains fairly constant regardless of the proportion of men returning. Whether from African countries or Europe, about 40 to 50% of women migrants went home within ten years of their first departure from Senegal (Fig. 12). This behaviour is perhaps the result of social pressure back home on the women who left to accompany or join their husbands. The other is the 2/3 decline in the proportion of women returning from Europe between the 1990s and 2000s, whereas the decline among men is 1/2.

FIGURE 12: PROPORTION OF MIGRANTS RETURNING WITHIN TEN YEARS OF THEIR FIRST DEPARTURE FROM SENEGAL (KAPLAN MEIER ESTIMATES), BY GENDER, DESTINATION AND PERIOD (1975-2007)



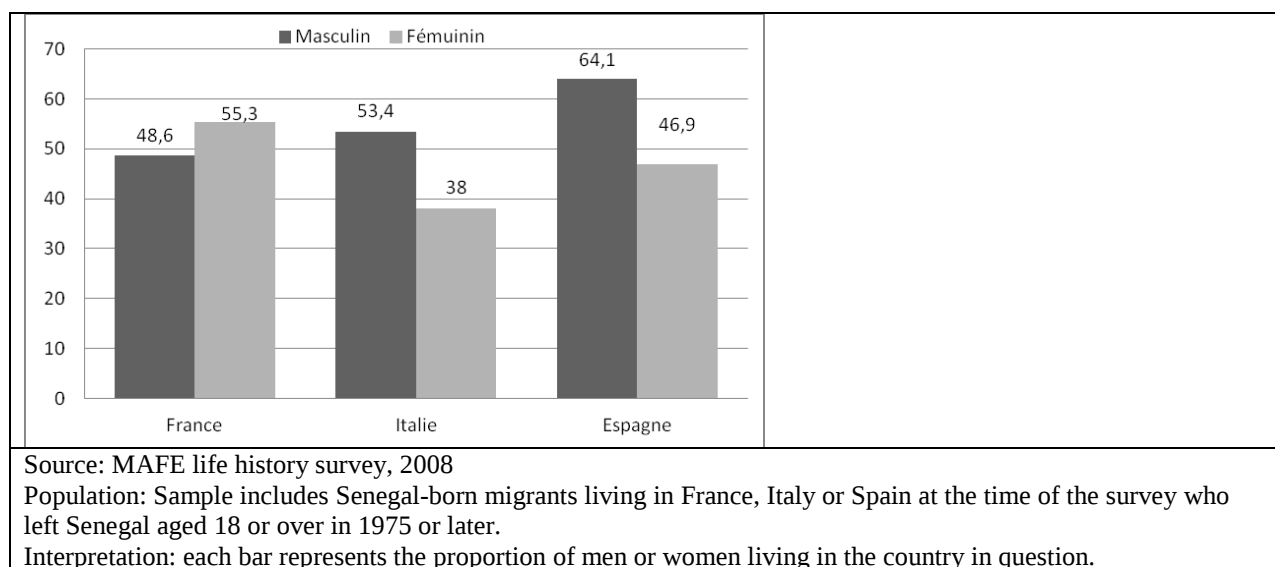
Is this trend circumstantial or is it due to independent decision making by women migrants? Analysis of intended length of stay shows that far more women than men intend to stay a long time. Of women, 81.8% intend on arrival to stay more than ten years, compared to 73% of men (Fig. 13). This might reflect a "revolt" among migrant women arriving for family reasons, as mentioned by some studies of Senegalese migration and gender in Europe (Tandian-Coulibaly, 2008; Sarr, 2010).

FIGURE 13: MIGRANTS' INTENDED LENGTH OF STAY ON FIRST ARRIVAL IN FRANCE, ITALY OR SPAIN, BY GENDER



As shown by the data on overall trends, Senegalese migrants tend not to return for good but to circulate between their countries of residence and of origin. What is the situation with women migrants, who more often than men intend to stay more than 10 years? Do they return, for long or short stays, with the same frequency as men? The data on long and short return stays within five of arrival in one of the three MAFE countries give two different answers depending on country. Women living in Italy (38%) and Spain (46,9%) seem less inclined than the men (over 50%) to go back to Senegal for at least one stay. Women living in France are slightly more likely to go back than the men (55.3% versus 48.6%) (Fig. 14).

FIGURE 14: PROPORTION OF PERSONS LIVING IN FRANCE, ITALY AND SPAIN HAVING MADE AT LEAST ONE RETURN TRIP (LONG OR SHORT STAY) WITHIN FIVE YEARS OF THEIR FIRST ARRIVAL (KAPLAN MEIER ESTIMATES), BY GENDER



All in all, while women do no migrate any more than men, an increasing proportion are leaving on their own to work (Italy and Spain), or still for family reasons (France). They also have nuanced attitudes towards returning, in their intentions and in the actual frequency of return trips once they have migrated. These MAFE results support the ideas set out in earlier studies which link the increasing independence of female migration from Senegal with the shift in the main places of departure from rural to urban areas, including Dakar, where socio-cultural change and progress in school attendance are perceptible (Tall & Tandian, 2010, Sakho, Diop & Sall, 2010).

2.2. IS THERE A BRAIN DRAIN?

For many years, Senegalese migration was identified with the *modou-modou*¹⁵. But an increasing number of studies suggest that more and more qualified Senegalese are leaving (Tall & Tandian, 2010, Carim 69). The causes of this brain drain are to be found in the appeal of the rich countries, the difficult economic and political environment in Africa (Fall, 2007) and also a certain frustration when people see the ostentation of "new rich" migrants no more deserving than themselves (Tall & Tandian, 2010 Carim 69). The demographic and economic visibility of these educated migrants in the Northern countries have made them a policy issue in the northern host countries but also in the southern home countries, with the "brain-gain" slogan. Political leaders in Africa have now made a "sixth region" of their highly qualified emigrants (African Union, 2004).

Testing this idea means looking for behaviour and attitudes that distinguish qualified emigrants from the less educated. An analysis of data from the MAFE household and life history surveys focused on a central question: what have been the specific trends in the movements and attitudes of qualified Senegalese since the 1970s? Are more of them leaving? Are they leaving for the same reasons as the less educated? Are they less likely to come back? How do they circulate?

Survey respondents were classed into three groups according to the level achieved in the Senegalese education system. The first includes those with no formal education or only elementary schooling. The second includes those who had been to secondary school (middle or high school). The third covers those who received higher education.

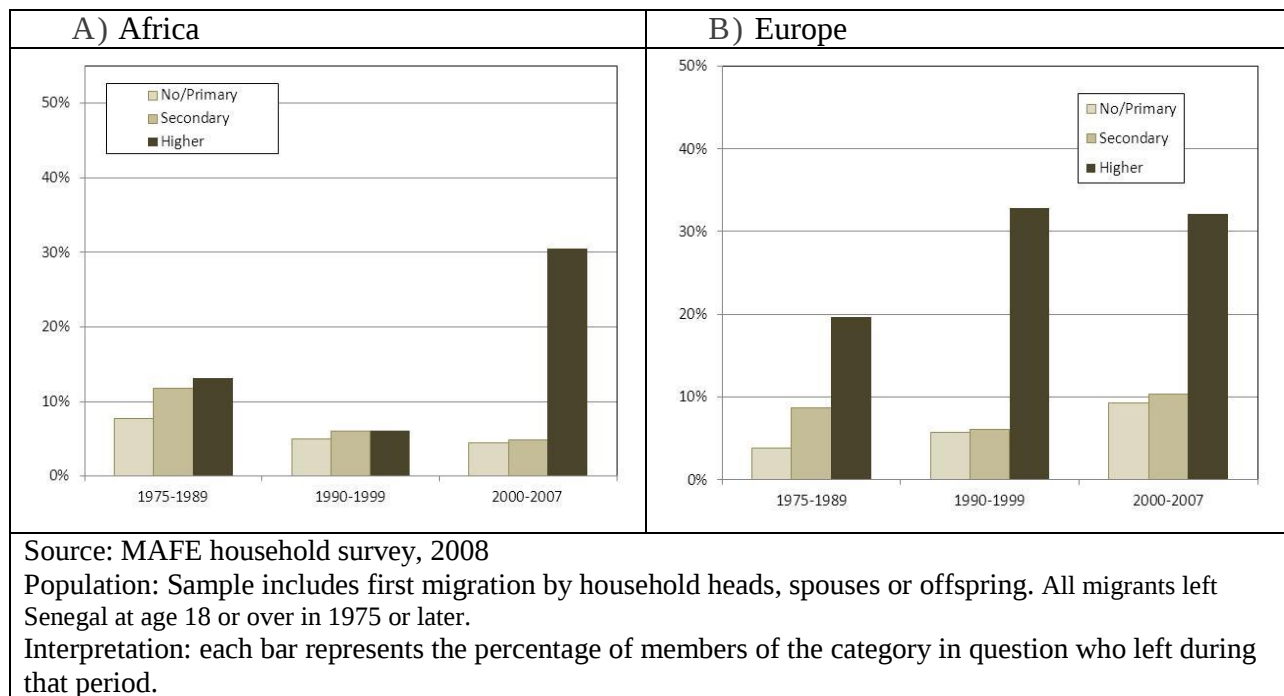
DEPARTURES, RETURNS AND CIRCULATION: ARE SENEGALES MIGRANTS FORMING A DIASPORA?

As regards departures, the data show a classic pattern. In all periods and whatever the destination, the better educated have migrated in higher proportion than the less skilled. This is evident among migrants to Europe. Further, between 1975 and 2007 the probability of migration by the most highly qualified Senegalese rose from twice the level of the less educated to three times as great (Fig. 14B). While the debate over the link between migration and development has amplified the phenomenon, the same observation can be made in the African destination countries, albeit to a lesser extent than in Europe (Fig. 14A). Contrary to a common belief (probably due to lack of statistics and empirical research), in the 1970s and 1980s qualified migrants were as likely to go to African destinations as the less

¹⁵ Uneducated rural migrants who make money abroad (translator's note)

educated, with demand (and attractive salaries) in countries such as Côte d'Ivoire, Gabon, the Comoros and the Seychelles for university graduates to provide technical assistance in teaching and for secondary school graduates (vocational training) in building and public works (Tall & Tandian, 2010)¹⁶. In the following decade, political and economic crises meant that restrictions on in-migration, insecurity and deportations certainly dissuaded all groups and turned their attentions to Europe. Also, during the 2000s, with tighter conditions for entry and residence in Europe (border closure, a narrower labour market and fewer possibilities for education), the better educated saw the opportunities offered by northern universities' relocated training courses, for example in North Africa, and by the return of the multinationals to Africa.

FIGURE 15: FIGURE 16: PROBABILITY OF A FIRST MIGRATION FROM SENEGAL, BY LEVEL OF EDUCATION, DESTINATION AND PERIOD (1975-2007).



Although a significantly higher proportion of the most highly educated migrate, they represent a small percentage of migration flows because the population's average educational level is low: two-thirds of Senegalese have no education, and 1/5 to 1/4 have only primary schooling (DPS, 1993; ANSD, 2008). Thus the increased numbers of qualified migrants answering the call for technical assistance in the 1970s and 1980s translates into 1/3 of departures, with only 6% higher education graduates. Nonetheless, the flows do show the increased interest in African destinations among the highly educated. The proportion of higher

¹⁶ The salaries offered were five times their salaries in Senegal.

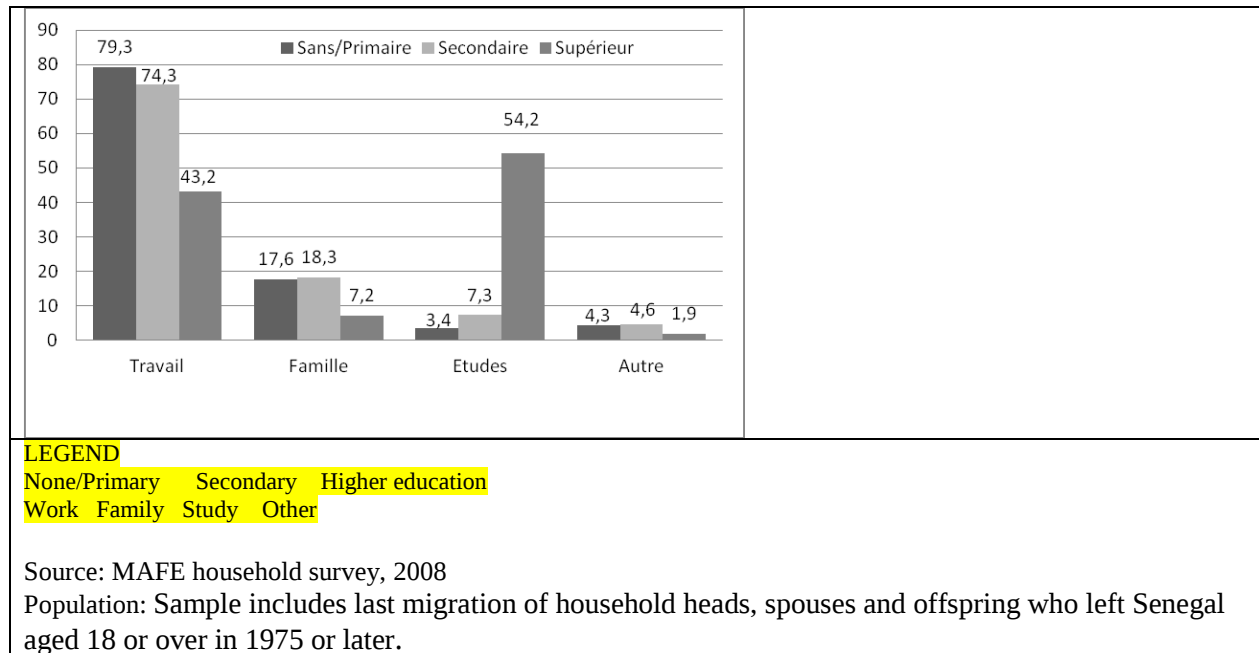
education graduates among departures to African countries has more than quadrupled, from 6% in the 1970s and '80s to 28.2% (Table 9). Looking at trends since 1975, educational level has a perceptible effect. And although this is sharper in flows to other destinations, it can also be seen in flows to African countries.

TABLE 9: BREAKDOWN OF MIGRANTS BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL, FIRST DESTINATION AND PERIOD (1975-2007)

Region of residence	Level of education	1975-1990	1990-1999	2000-2009	1975-2009
<i>Africa</i>	None/primary	66.3	69.2	54.3	64.1
	Secondary	27.7	24.7	17.4	21.5
	Higher	6.0	6.2	28.2	14.4
	N	84	53	64	201
<i>Europe</i>	None/primary	39.2	33.2	41.5	38.8
	Secondary	33.1	26.6	34.4	29.9
	Higher	27.7	40.1	24.1	31.3
	N	82	79	154	315
<i>Other</i>	None/primary	52.6	24.7	26.0	38.0
	Secondary	43.5	32.0	38.1	37.8
	Higher	3.8	43.2	35.9	24.2
	N	22	26	22	70
<i>All destinations</i>	None/primary	53.8	44.8	45.5	48.8
	Secondary	32.1	26.7	29.1	27.4
	Higher	14.0	28.5	26.3	23.8
	N	188	158	240	586
Source: MAFE household survey, 2008					
Population: Sample includes first migration of household heads, spouses and offspring who left Senegal aged 18 or over in 1975 or later.					

In Senegal as elsewhere, work is a preoccupation for all migrants leaving to find better conditions in another country. In the data, educational level makes a difference in two respects. Firstly, logically enough, higher education graduates, being in a better position to find well-paid work locally, are only half as likely (43.2%) as the less educated (75%) to mention work as the reason for leaving. Secondly, over half of them (54.2%) mention studies as their reason (Fig. 17). For them, acquiring further skills to increase their chances of finding work in the future, in the destination country or home country, is doubtless a way to improve their socio-economic situation. The many crises in higher education in the 1990s could also be an explanatory factor.

FIGURE 17: REASONS FOR LAST DEPARTURE FROM SENEGAL OF MIGRANTS LIVING ABROAD, BY LEVEL OF EDUCATION (1975-2007).



The MAFE data show an increasing tendency for the highly educated to leave for work or study reasons to a greater extent than the less educated since the mid 1970s. In discussion of international migration in the 1960s and '70s this was seen as an economic loss for the home country. More recently, discussion has focused more on the issue of return since the statistics of the northern countries and various organisations have revealed the stock of migrants in destination countries of the North.

TO STAY, RETURN OR CIRCULATE

In the prevailing "brain drain" discourse, how do qualified Senegalese behave? Do they return sooner or more often than the rest? Do they intend to stay away longer once they have arrived in their destination country? How often, and for how long, do they go home?

Some empirical studies of Senegalese migration show that qualified migrants are less likely to return than the less educated (Tall & Tandian, 2010). According to the MAFE data, they amount to about a quarter of the migrants who have returned since the 1970s. A decline over time in graduates returning is clearly visible among those returning from Europe: the proportion has shrunk by half since the 1970-1990 period. The economic situation since then has certainly contributed to that, with the end of guaranteed employment, the freeze on recruitment to the civil service, and a shrinking job market, as Tall & Tandian (2010) point out.

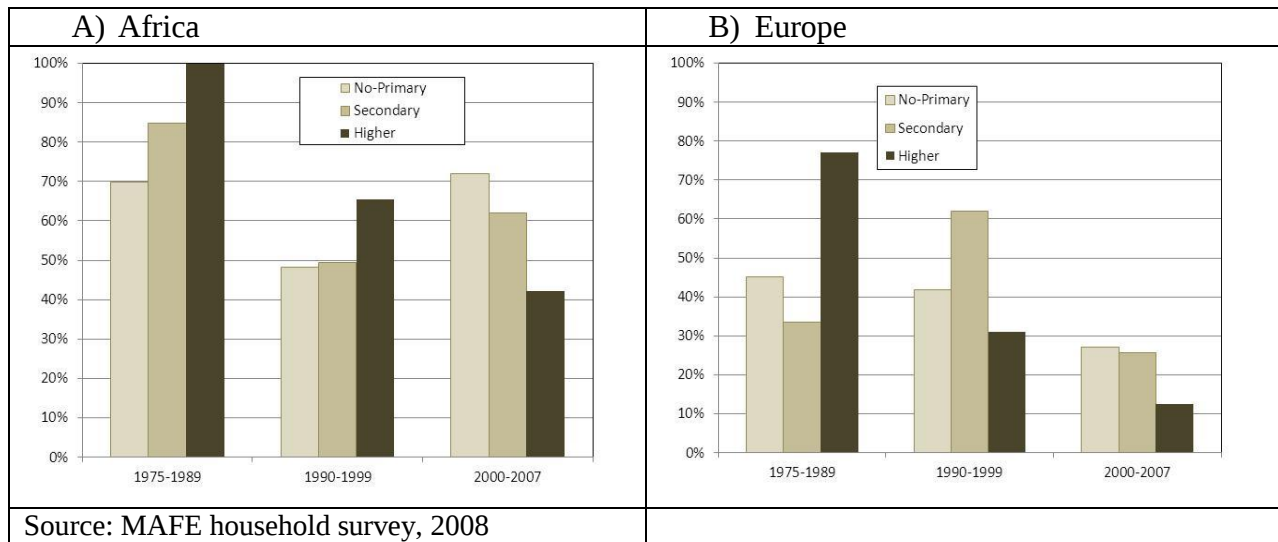
TABLE 10: BREAKDOWN OF RETURNEES BY LEVEL OF EDUCATION, PERIOD AND DESTINATION (1975-2007)

Region of residence	Level of education	1975-1990	1990-1999	2000-2007	1975-2007
<i>Africa</i>	Low*	83.1	91.5	88.7	76.1
	High**	16.9	8.5	11.3	23.9
	N	32	15	33	80
<i>Europe</i>	Low	54.1	77.7	76.6	72.5
	High	45.9	22.3	23.4	27.5
	N	19	16	19	54
<i>Other</i>	Low	95.8	100.0	38.2	36.5
	High	4.2	0.0	61.8	63.5
	N	4	3	8	15
<i>All parts of the world</i>	Low	76.1	84.5	81.1	73.5
	High	23.9	15.5	18.9	26.5
	N	55	34	60	149
Source: MAFE household survey, 2008 Population: Interpretation: * no schooling/primary; ** secondary/higher					

Qualified migrants return less than the less educated and also stay longer in the destination country. While the pattern of returns has fluctuated over time for the less educated, the trend for migrants with higher education shows a steady decline in returns within ten years of departure since 1975, whether from African countries or Europe (Fig. 18). In the 1970s and '80s, the period of the welfare state in Africa, the many skilled Senegalese returning home found a favourable situation: under inter-State cooperation agreements and manager training policies, managers returning from cooperation missions elsewhere in Africa or from training in Europe were guaranteed jobs in the civil service. Then structural adjustment policies from the mid-1980s and the economic crisis of the 1990s made the return a less attractive proposition: recruitment to the civil service was frozen and many private companies went bankrupt. Though graduates were still more likely than the less educated to return from African countries, from Europe the reverse was the case. From the late 1990s, whether from African countries or Europe, they not only continued to return less, but now less than the poorly educated. The difference lies perhaps in quality of life expectations and reintegration conditions. The less educated may have lower expectations, reintegrating essentially in the informal sector¹⁷.

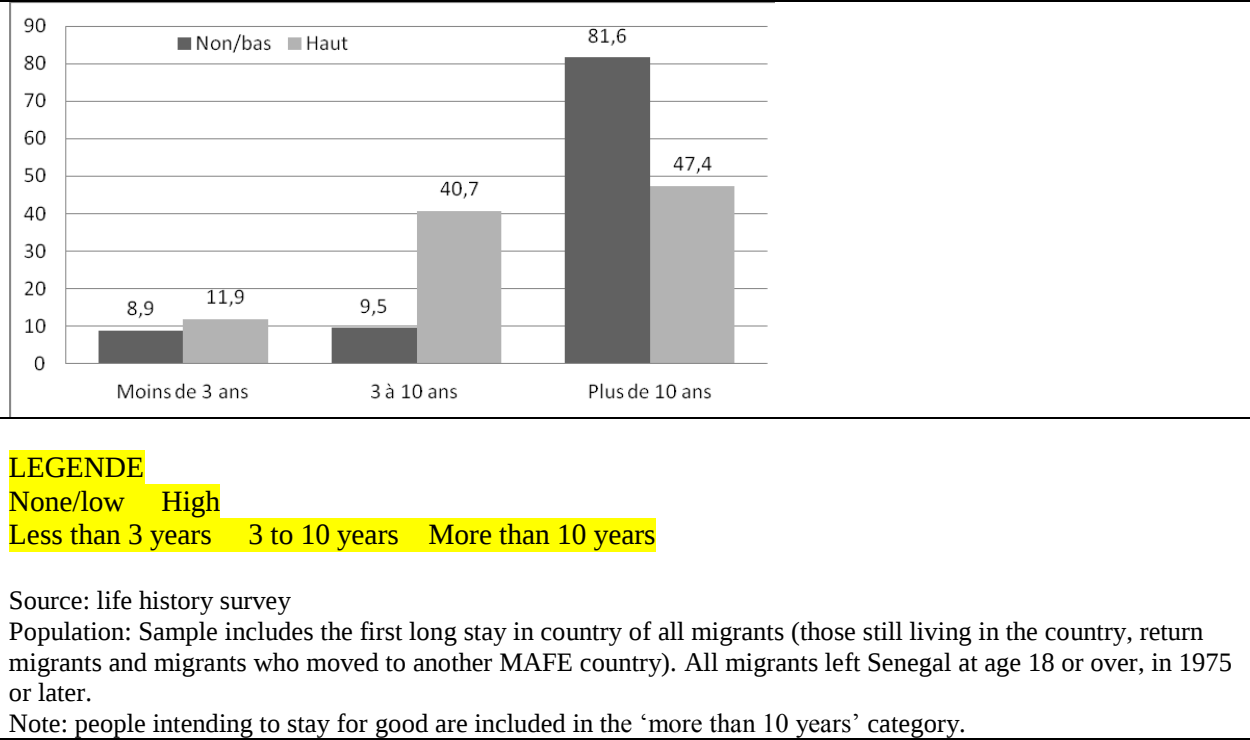
¹⁷ For reintegration of returning Senegalese migrants, see Castagnone, Sakho *et al.*, 2013.

FIGURE 18: PROPORTION OF MIGRANTS RETURNING WITHIN TEN YEARS OF FIRST DEPARTURE FROM SENEGAL (KAPLAN MEIER ESTIMATES), BY LEVEL OF EDUCATION, DESTINATION AND PERIOD (1975-2007)



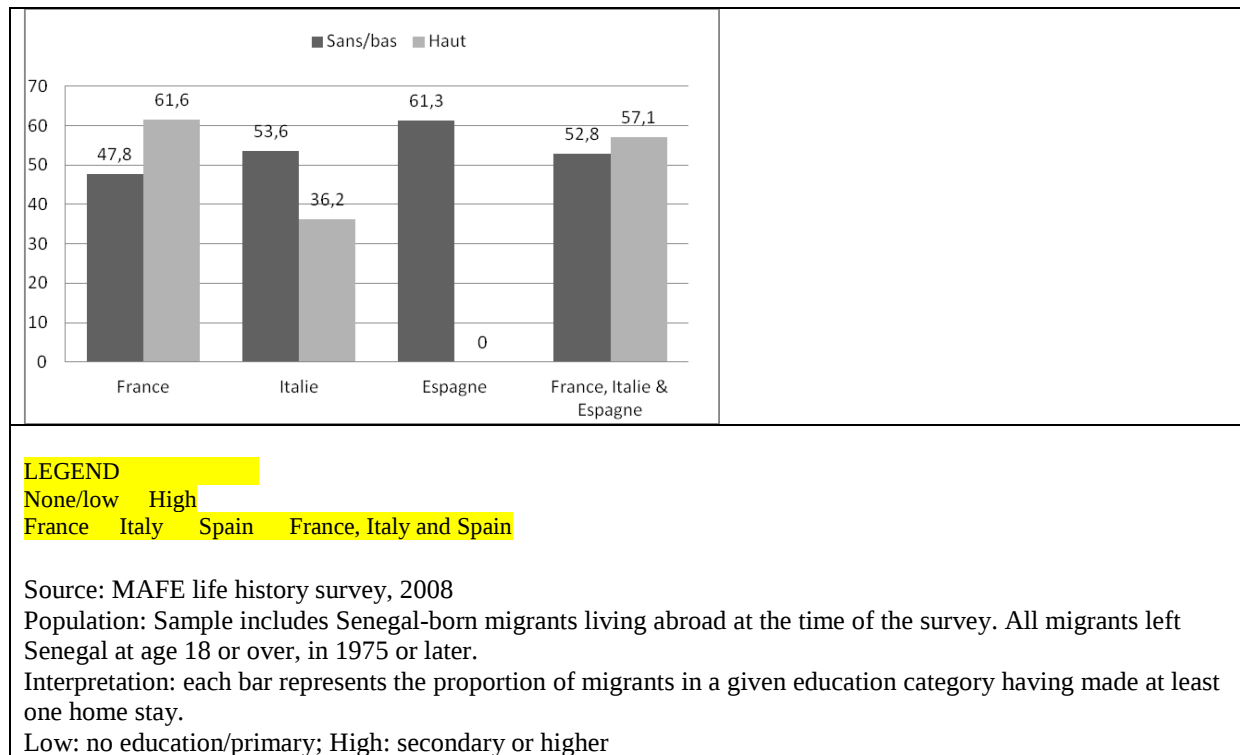
Alternatively, it may be due to a change in migrants' reasoning once they have arrived in the destination country. According to Sinatti (2011) in her work on Senegalese migrants in Italy, the return is continually postponed because it proves difficult to achieve the aims of the migration project; going home becomes a myth among migrants, although they still feel a deep connection with their home country. According to the data, on first arrival in their destination in the three MAFE countries 4/5 of less educated migrants intend to stay more than ten years or definitively, while half of qualified migrants intend to stay between three and ten years (Fig. 19). In fact when they arrive, most qualified migrants have a fairly precise deadline in view, defined by their migration objective (duration of training course, internship, study grant or work contract etc.).

FIGURE 19: INTENDED LENGTH OF STAY ON FIRST ARRIVAL IN A MAFE COUNTRY, BY LEVEL OF EDUCATION.



The data on the proportion of migrants living in France, Italy or Spain and who have spent a long stay (over a year) or visit (less than a year) in the home country within five years of their first arrival tend to corroborate Sinatti's assertion. Migrants in all three countries display similar behaviour: regardless of category, more than half of all migrants go home at least once in the first five years (52.8% of the less educated, 57.1% of the qualified (Fig. 20).

FIGURE 20: PROPORTION OF MIGRANTS LIVING IN FRANCE, ITALY OR SPAIN HAVING SPENT A LONG STAY (OVER YEAR) OR VISIT (LESS THAN A YEAR) IN THEIR HOME COUNTRY WITHIN FIVE YEARS OF FIRST ARRIVAL (KAPLAN MEIER ESTIMATES), BY LEVEL OF EDUCATION



Qualified migrants are increasingly leaving Senegal either to study or to work, are decreasingly likely to return, and now return less than the poorly educated (no education or only primary schooling) but maintain links with the home country as much as the less educated.

In sum, migrant profiles are undeniably changing. Women migrants are acting more independently; the highly educated are an increasingly visible presence in migration flows, and these migrants' attitudes, depending on time and place, diverge from or converge with those of less educated migrants. These latter are still the most visible owing to their numerical strength.

PART 3—MIGRATION STRATEGIES: NETWORKS, STATUS AND ROUTES

Analysis of the changing profile of the Senegalese migrant shows a new pattern of relationships with countries in the migration space, based less on settling for good than on circulating. However, in face of governments, international

institutions, intermediaries and communities in the various countries within that space, the migrant's reasoning can only prevail if they have a strategy capable of addressing the many challenges involved. How do today's Senegalese migrants manage to realise their projects? What resources do they use? Do these change over time and according to place? To address these questions, our analysis will draw in part on the theory of migration networks and in part on recent events in the news, with the media focus on illegal migration as a strategy for bypassing border restrictions.

3.1. LINKS BETWEEN DESTINATIONS AND NETWORKS

According to the network theory, the migrant's actions and procedures are integrally tied to social networks, i.e. all the migrant's interpersonal links with non-migrants who provide the human, material and financial support necessary for their project (Granovetter, 1990; Zlotnik, 2003). Our analysis will take into account only the human dimension, examining the links between the human capital the migrant can mobilise in the destination country and on the journey. The questions here are (a) for each destination country, whether those with contacts in the country were more numerous than those with other reasons for choosing that country, and (b) whether the migrant travelled alone or in company. We will also examine time trends to see if there have been changes in behaviour.

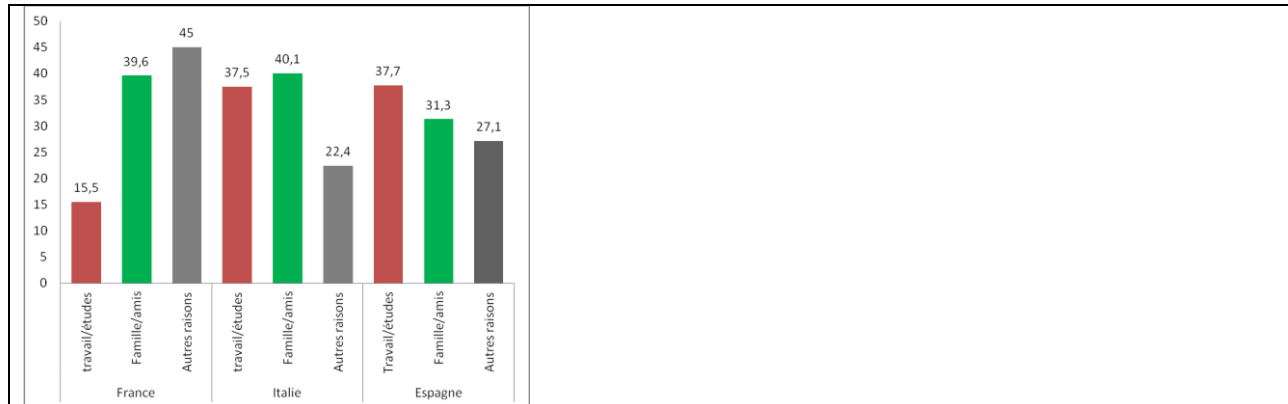
3.1.1. IS CHOICE OF DESTINATION DETERMINED BY THE PRESENCE OF CONTACTS ON ARRIVAL?

The reasons given by migrants living in the three MAFE countries for choosing that destination show that having human capital (family/friends) to call on in the destination country was of key importance in choosing to migrate there. Regardless of country, the presence of family members such as spouse, brothers or sisters, or friends, accounted for 30-40% of the reasons given (Fig 21). This is directly linked to finding a supportive reception on arrival. Other reasons given – ease of access and residence (transit, ease of obtaining papers, characteristics of the country, reasons connected with health, politics etc.) – are not directly connected with the chance of finding a supportive reception on arrival. But this factor is involved, since information about the opportunities a country offers is circulated to guide chosen friends or family members.

The importance of the role of networks for Senegalese migrants who have successfully reached their destination since 1975 differs between destination countries. In France, which has long been a destination for Senegalese migrants, there is a wealth of human capital, as shown by studies of the *noria* system in the

Senegal valley and the Wolof networks in the Senegal groundnut belt (Daum, 1998, Mboup, 2007). In Spain and Italy, it is a matter of building up networks in these new destinations (Tall, Bava). In all countries, the presence of family members or friends is a motivation for most women and many poorly educated male migrants.

FIGURE 21: REASONS FOR CHOICE OF DESTINATION AMONG MIGRANTS LIVING IN FRANCE, ITALY AND SPAIN



Source: MAFE life history survey, 2008

Population: Sample includes first long stay in country among migrants still living in the country. All migrants left Senegal at age 18 or over, in 1975 or later.

Moreover, since the end of the 1980s the presence of family members or friends in European destination countries has increasingly been the reason given by Senegalese who have come to those countries: it has almost doubled, from 25.7% to 47.2% of reasons given (Table 11).

TABLE 11: REASONS FOR CHOICE OF DESTINATION AMONG MIGRANTS LIVING IN FRANCE, ITALY AND SPAIN, BY PERIOD (1975-2007)

Country of residence	Reasons	Period			1975-2007
		1975-1990	1990-1999	2000-2007	
France, Italy, Spain	Work	17.8	23.5	22.9	22.2
	Family/friends	25.7	41.8	47.2	41.6
	Studies	3.0	2.0	2.6	2.5
	Transit	1.0	0.5	0.4	0.5
	Facility / papers	13.9	7.6	7.7	8.8
	Language	11.9	4.6	4.4	5.8
	Qualities of country	15.8	11.2	8.5	10.7
	Others	10.9	8.7	6.3	7.9
	N	101	196	271	568

Source: MAFE life history survey, 2008

Sample: Sample includes Senegal-born migrants currently living in France, Italy and Spain. All migrants left Senegal at age 18 or over in 1975 or later.

3.1.2. TWO-THIRDS HAVE CONTACTS THEY CAN USE IN THE DESTINATION COUNTRY

The role of human capital available to help realise the migration project is also confirmed by the proportion of migrants who knew at least one contact before leaving Senegal. According to the data, nearly 2/3 of Senegalese migrants living in the three MAFE countries had at least one contact in their destination country before they first arrived (Table 12).

In theory, the migration network can be made up of family members, friends or people from the same community of origin (Massey & Arango, 1993). With Senegalese migrants, a number of studies, particularly in France, show that networks are based on family ties and village communities (Daum, 1998, Fall). However, since the 1990s the literature shows an increasing role of religious networks, particularly the Murid networks formed by Wolof migrants from the groundnut belt. (Friedberg, 1994; Bava 2003; Tall, 2007; Riccio, 2008). The data do not provide a basis for assessing the degree of importance of religious ties, but show that family and friendship links predominate. For 61.7%, the people they knew in the country were family members. The importance of family and friends (85.8%) in France can be explained by the much longer history of migration. In Italy, 27.9% of contacts are the migrant's friends and 20.9% siblings. In Spain, they consist of siblings, other family members and friends (Table 12). In Italy and Spain, the wider circles of acquaintance probably include new links such as trader networks and religious brotherhoods, whose vigour has been noted by some researchers (Riccio, 2008; Gabrielli, 2011). The changes in the nature of the ties with France on the one hand and Italy and Spain on the other suggest changes in the networks involved. In France contact circles are increasingly limited to family members while migrants in Italy and Spain have links with a far broader solidarity base.

TABLE 12: PROPORTION OF MIGRANTS IN FRANCE, ITALY AND SPAIN WHO KNEW SOMEONE IN THEIR DESTINATION COUNTRY ONE YEAR BEFORE THEY ARRIVED (FIRST MIGRATION), BY PERIOD (1975-2007)

Country of residence	Contact in destination country	Period			1975-2007
		1975-1990	1990-1999	2000-2007	
France	No one	34	29.8	16.8	26.7
	household	25.1	33.7	36.8	31.7
	family	45.9	51	64.9	54.1
	friends	11.5	12.4	20.7	15.0
	other	4.3	1.5	1.4	2.5
	N	55	56	74	185
Italy	No one	54.7	46.9	27.3	39.5
	household	5.4	8.5	10	8.6
	family	18.9	31.4	41.4	35.9
	friends	23.3	21.5	35.1	27.9
	other	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
	N	28	78	93	199
Spain	No one	81.0	45.7	49.8	50.9
	household	2.9	8.8	7.6	7.5
	family	8.1	31.3	39.8	35.8
	friends	8.1	20.7	7.6	10.5
	other	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
	N	19	68	112	199
France, Italy, Spain	No one	42.6	39.7	32.9	37.1
	household	18.6	18.9	17.6	18.1
	family	39.5	39.4	48.2	43.6
	friends	14.0	17.6	19.7	17.8
	other	2.9	0.6	0.4	1.1
	N	102	202	279	583
Source: MAFE life history survey, 2008. Population: sample includes Senegal-born migrants living in France, Italy or Spain at the time of the survey. All migrants left Senegal at age 18 or over in 1975 or later.					

Beyond the different types of support networks mobilised in order to migrate, we can examine the link between type of contact and migrant's status on arrival. According to the data, those migrants who had family members as contacts were among those who had regular legal status on first arrival. Those with no contacts or in touch with a friend arrived far more often with irregular status. This distinction is very sharp in France and Italy but less so in Spain.

Having a family contact may allow migrants to obtain papers (for family reunification or by invitation), enter France legally on their own and travel once there. Otherwise a network of more distant relations and friends, as in Spain and Italy, is perhaps a strategy for bypassing the more restrictive barriers to entry to these countries. The data on co-travellers on the journey suggests that this is so.

Regardless of destination country, at least around $\frac{3}{4}$ of migrants who travelled alone had a residence permit. Conversely, most migrants travelling with co-traveller(s) had no residence permit (except for France). In Italy and even more so in Spain, the co-traveller was usually a friend.

Of migrants to France or Italy who travelled in company at some point during the journey, their co-travellers were family members or friends (22.7%) including children (10.3%) for France, and friends (16.9%) for Italy. Thus the network stays within the close circle of family and friends, as in the destination country. However, there has been an increase in people migrating in the company of friends and also 10.6% of migrants living in the destination country have travelled at some point with a smuggler (see Table 13).

TABLE 13: PERCENTAGE OF MIGRANTS BY TYPE OF CO-TRAVELLERS ON THE JOURNEY TO A MAFE COUNTRY (FIRST ARRIVAL), AMONG MIGRANTS CURRENTLY LIVING IN THESE COUNTRIES, BY PERIOD OF FIRST ARRIVAL

Country of residence	Co-traveller at some point during the journey	Period			1975-2007
		1975-1990	1990-1999	2000-2007	
France	No one	71.2	77.9	67.8	71.9
	household	15.7	8.6	15.7	13.6
	family	4.3	6.2	6.4	5.6
	friends	7.5	0.0	2.4	3.5
	other	3.2	11.5	19.5	11.5
	N	55	56	74	185
Italy	No one	78.5	78.3	68.6	74.2
	household	0	2.3	6	3.6
	family	7.5	2.1	7.7	5.5
	friends	13.9	16.4	18.5	16.9
	other	0	1.7	1.9	1.5
	N	28	78	93	199
Spain	No one	81.2	73.7	61.4	65.2
	household	1.4	4	2.5	2.8
	family	3.9	0.8	9.6	7.3
	friends	12.9	14.4	27.6	23.8
	other	0	18.8	13.4	13.8
	N	19	68	112	199
Co-travellers include all types of persons cited at least once as co-travellers during the journey from Senegal to the current country of residence (first arrival). People cited during the journey to an intermediate country (for short or long stays) are also included. Sample includes short and long stays outside Senegal (for settlement or transit) before the first long stay in MAFE country, among Senegal-born migrants still living in the MAFE country. Sample includes migrants currently living in France, Italy and Spain. All migrants left Senegal at age 18 or over in 1975 or later.					

The importance of the human capital mobilised in the destination country and on the journey quite clearly places recent Senegalese migration within the scope of the theory of migration networks. It also shows differences between networks involving close relationships and broader ones in which we find more migrants

arriving without papers; this matches the public discourse and images of illegal migration.

3.2. IRREGULAR MIGRATION OR THWARTED MIGRATION PROJECT

Recent media coverage and political discourse on "new", "growing", "mass" migration or an "exodus" of desperate Africans to the El Dorado of Europe, have prompted experts to investigate illegal migration and the routes adopted (see Pastore et al., 2006; De Haas, 2008; Ba & Choplin, 2005; Ba & Ndiaye, 2008). These studies show that routes have shifted, diversified and become more complex, and have also shown the role of clandestine networks. To see what the MAFE data add to knowledge of this phenomenon we ask three questions: Do aspiring migrants preparing for departure show a concern to enter the destination country legally? What means and what routes do they use to reach their destination country? Have these means and routes remained viable over time?

3.2.1. STEPS TAKEN IN HOME COUNTRY AND LEGAL STATUS IN DESTINATION COUNTRY

First, it emerges that Senegalese migrants living in France, Italy and Spain took steps to obtain the necessary papers to enter their destination country legally, though this applies far more to those living in France (70.7%) than in Italy (57. 1%) or Spain (Table 14).

TABLE 14: STEPS TAKEN FOR EMIGRATION BY MIGRANTS NOW LIVING IN FRANCE, ITALY OR SPAIN, BY DESTINATION COUNTRY(1975-2007

Category	France	Italy	Spain	All
University registration / scholarship (asked for and/or obtained)	22.3	3.2	0.2	10.4
Guarantee of care and provision (asked for and/or obtained)	15.4	7.7	0.7	9.4
Documents (asked for and/or obtained)	70.7	57.1	50.9	61.1
Saved money	2.6	1.4	0.0	1.5
Green card	0.0	0.6	0.0	0.2
Other	7.1	0.0	7.7	5.2
N	185	199	199	583
Sample includes Senegal-born migrants currently living in France, Italy or Spain. Steps are described for the first migration to the current country of residence. All migrants left Senegal at age 18 or over in 1975 or later. The sum of percentages may be greater or less than 100%: several steps may be mentioned and in some case no steps. The steps mentioned here refer to the last portion of the journey.				

Over time, note the peak in steps taken in the 1990s (71.4%), when there was a wave of regularisations, especially in the new Southern European destination countries. The peak appears in all three countries, but much more in France (94.

41%) than in Italy (60.1%) or Spain (49.4%). It should be stressed that not having a residence permit on arrival does not necessarily mean entering the country illegally. Also noteworthy is the drop in registration for higher education. It may be that France, the main destination for students, is now in competition with North America and North African countries.

The number of migrants living in the MAFE countries with no residence permit includes not only those who entered illegally but also a high proportion of overstayers who came with a tourist visa and did not leave when it ran out.

TABLE 15: MIGRANTS NOW LIVING IN FRANCE, ITALY OR SPAIN, BY STATUS ON ARRIVAL AND BY COUNTRY (1975-2007)

Current residence	Legal status	Period of arrival			1975-2007
		1975-1989	1990-1999	2000-2007	
France	Residence permit	69.3	92.7	88.2	82.7
	No residence permit	13.7	1.6	10.5	9.1
	No residence permit needed	13.7	5.7	1.3	7.0
	Unknown	3.3	0.0	0.0	1.2
	N	55	56	74	185
Italy	Residence permit	38.8	60.0	56.0	54.8
	No residence permit	40.3	32.2	41.8	37.9
	No residence permit needed	20.9	4.3	0.0	5.3
	Unknown	0.0	3.3	1.7	2.0
	N	28	78	93	199
Spain	Residence permit	57.5	66.0	42.5	48.7
	No residence permit	33.7	28.6	56.6	48.9
	No residence permit needed	3.9	1.5	0.1	0.7
	Unknown	4.9	3.9	0.7	1.2
	N	19	68	112	199
Three countries	Residence permit	61.1	74.6	61.0	65.1
	No residence permit	21.6	19.0	37.8	28.5
	No residence permit needed	14.7	4.3	0.5	4.8
	Unknown	2.6	2.1	0.8	1.6
	N	102	202	279	583
Legal status is defined by the type of residence permit during the first year. No residence permit means that the person declared he/she did not have a residence permit at some point , during the first year. A person may have had a visa that expired, and be classified in “no residence permit”. No residence permit on arrival is not synonymous with illegal entry.					

The figures show that, contrary to the image portrayed by the media and public discourse, migrants clearly try to comply with the destination country's rules. But as the analysis of networks showed, on the fringe of the strategies for legal entry other channels have developed since the end of the 1990s, conditions for entry having been tightened with the European migration control policy.

3.2.2. FROM DIRECT ARRIVAL BY AIR TO INCREASINGLY COMPLEX ROUTES

Illegal immigration from Sub-Saharan Africa is usually associated with complex migration routes involving a number of detours (De Haas, 2008; Ba & Choplin, 2005; Ba & Ndiaye, 2008). While the data do not entirely contradict this analysis, it appears that overall, most migrants arrive directly, especially to France and Italy. Since 1975, 70 to 80% of migrants arrived from Senegal directly, though over time there has been a trend towards breaking the journey into at least two stages. For Spain however, the decline in direct journeys and the rise in multi-stage journeys (21 to 38.7%) is in keeping with recent news stories and scientific studies of the subject.

But transits via France to reach Italy (17.9%) and, to a lesser extent, Spain, show that Southern European countries are not the only gateways into the Schengen area (Table 16).

TABLE 16: TOP FIVE MIGRATION ROUTES FROM SENEGAL TO FRANCE, ITALY AND SPAIN (1975-2007)

Current residence	Route from Senegal	All 1975-2007
France	...-France	79.2
	...-Spain-France	3.6
	...-Morocco-France	2.9
	...-Maurit.-France	1.6
	...-Mali-France	0.9
	N	185
Italy	...-Italy	68.9
	...- France-Italy	14.7
	...-Spain-Italy	3.8
	...-Spain-France-Italy	2.9
	...- Belgium-Italy	1.5
	N	199
Spain	...-Spain	63.8
	...-Morocco-Spain	8.8
	...-Italy-Spain	4.3
	...-France-Spain	3.4
	...-Italy-France-Spain	2.8
	N	199
Sample includes short and long stays outside Senegal (for settlement or transit) before first long stay in country of residence, of migrants still living in a MAFE country. All migrants left Senegal at age 18 or over in 1975 or later. Only the five most frequent categories for the period as a whole are shown.		

While the data do not validate the media fuss, they do show that routes to Southern Europe are becoming increasingly complex. This is doubtless connected with Europe's protectionism, which since 2000 has been shifted from Europe's borders to those of the countries of North Africa and the Atlantic coast of West Africa (Frontex and European agreements with countries of emigration and transit for joint migration control). The link is all the more plausible in that migrants using the new routes are also diversifying their means of transport.

4.2.2. THE PIROGUE: A RESPONSE TO INCREASED BORDER CONTROL MEASURES?

Migrants to Italy variously go by plane (on the increase), bus or train (27,5%), or boat. Pirogues/pateras have been used by 24.3% of all migrants to Spain since 1975, matching the image frequently portrayed by the media (Table 17). In fact this method was virtually unknown until the 1990s but since 2000 has been used by one-third of migrants arriving in Spain. With stricter border controls under Europe's migration control agreements with North Africa, routes have shifted from the cross-Sahara trails and the Mediterranean to the Atlantic, reaching Spain directly via the Canaries. As a result the number of migrants arriving in Italy by boat has halved.

The media image of migrants setting out for Spain by pirogue from the Atlantic coast of West Africa is reflected in the data. Half of migrants with no Spanish residence permit (49.7%) arrived by pirogue (Table 18). But apart from those who manage to reach their destination, in Senegal this image is used more as a way to raise awareness.

All in all, the data confirm the existence of networks operating through social solidarity, but illegally, in order to bypass border restrictions. They have changed since 1975 in response to changing opportunities for and obstacles to migration. The unpublished MAFE data confirm the fragmentary information from qualitative research into illegal migration and other statistical data, often reflected in press reports of tragedies. Networks and migration routes seem to reflect migrants' responses as one set of players among others in the migration space, subject to changing challenges.

TABLE 17: MEANS OF TRANSPORT USED AT LEAST ONCE ON THE JOURNEY TO THE CURRENT MAFE COUNTRY OF RESIDENCE (FIRST ARRIVAL), AMONG THOSE STILL IN THE COUNTRY, BY PERIOD OF ARRIVAL

Current residence	Means of transport used at least once during the journey	Period of first arrival in country			All
		1975-1989	1990-1999	2000-2007	1975-2007
France	Plane	95.7	97.0	97.5	96.2
	Bus/train	5.0	12.3	8.9	7.4
	Car	8.6	5.7	9.1	7.9
	Boat	4.3	3.9	0.0	2.7
	Pirogue/Pateras	0.0	1.6	2.5	1.4
	N	55	56	74	185
Italy	Plane	63.9	82.0	79.1	77.6
	Bus/train	27.5	29.8	25.6	27.5
	Car	3.7	10.6	6.9	7.8
	Boat	22.1	11.6	11.1	13.2
	Pirogue/Pateras	4.9	2.2	3.3	3.1
	N	28	78	93	199
Spain	Plane	100	85.7	69.6	75.2
	Bus/train	21.0	17.2	16.9	17.2
	Car	8.1	12.6	0.3	3.5
	Boat	0.0	13.1	4.8	6.3
	Pirogue/Pateras	0.0	3.9	32.9	24.3
	N	19	68	112	199
Means of transport include all means cited for at least part of the journey from Senegal to the current country of residence (first arrival). Means of transport used to reach intermediate countries (for short or long stays) are included. Sample refers to first long stay in destination country among migrants still living in the country. All migrants left Senegal aged 18 or over, in 1975 or later. Total over 100% because several replies are possible.					

TABLE 18: MEANS OF TRANSPORT USED AT LEAST ONCE ON THE JOURNEY TO THE CURRENT MAFE COUNTRY OF RESIDENCE (FIRST ARRIVAL), AMONG THOSE STILL IN THE COUNTRY, BY LEGAL STATUS ON ARRIVAL

Current residence	Means of transport used at least once during the journey	Legal status		All
		Residence permit or no permit needed	No residence permit	1975-2007
France	Plane	99.6	68.1	96.2
	Bus/train	7.2	10.2	7.4
	Car	5.9	29.4	7.9
	Boat	1.3	16.9	2.7
	Pirogue/Pateras	0.0	15.0	1.4
	N	166	17	185
Italy	Plane	83.2	69.1	77.6
	Bus/train	21.1	39.1	27.5
	Car	4.8	12.9	7.8
	Boat	10.6	16.2	13.2
	Pirogue/Pateras	0.0	8.3	3.1
	N	123	63	199
Spain	Plane	96.6	52.7	75.2
	Bus/train	11.8	20.5	17.2
	Car	5.0	1.1	3.5
	Boat	4.8	8.1	6.3
	Pirogue/Pateras	0.0	49.7	24.3
	N	120	73	199

Means of transport include all means used at least once during the journey from Senegal to the current country of residence (first arrival). Means of transport used to reach intermediate countries (for short or long stays) are included. Sample refers to first long stay in the country, among migrants still living in the country. Total N for all differs from the sum by legal status owing to missing values for legal status on arrival.

CONCLUSION

The MAFE quantitative data certainly shed additional light on current questions about Senegalese international migration, which had hitherto been addressed only ad-hoc or sectorally to fulfil scientific or policy-oriented commissions.

As regards movements, the data show that contrary to current clichés of invasion and of immigrants settling permanently that so often colour approaches to the issue, Senegalese international migration has now joined the transnational migration system, where the relationship with geographical space is no longer seen in terms of settlement in fixed destinations. Thus for example, Senegalese migration flows might yet be redirected towards other African countries even though they have focused on Europe since the 1990s. Also, this new situation should encourage more reflection about migration control policies based on return migration.

As regards issue of a new Senegalese migrant profile, the data confirm earlier studies in showing that an increasing proportion of migrants are women. This trend is still tentative, however, though it is increasing as work-related migration to

Southern European. The data provide useful information on the migration behaviour of qualified Senegalese, divided between the appeal of better working and living conditions in the destination countries and their ties with their home community. Promoting return migration may not have the results hoped for in the home country, where economic constraints are still severe and progress in education is making the labour market even more competitive.

As regards the links between networks and illegal migration, the data show that Senegalese migration operates as a reticulated system based on family and community membership, as emphasised in earlier studies. It is only alongside these solidarity networks that more extensive, more strategic, profit-based networks have developed, often allowing irregular migration channels to operate, as suggested in the media and current discourse. But it appears that network links, routes and transport means develop concomitantly with the situations imposed by other players, particularly institutional players, in the home country and destination countries.

Although this overview based on the MAFE data may give a general idea of Senegalese migration, the Senegalese data were collected in the country's largest urban agglomeration and could usefully be compared with data from rural areas.

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ANNEXES

TABLE 1: ILLUSTRATION OF MAIN REASONS FOR EMIGRATING, BY CATEGORY

Work/living conditions	To look for work, find a job, business, pay too low, to look for a better life, economic problems, etc.
Family	Marriage, to join spouse, join another family member, divorce, etc.
Studies	To study, to take a training course
Other	Heath reasons, political reasons, adventure
Source: MAFE life history survey, 2008	

TABLE 2: LENGTH OF STAY INTENDED ON FIRST ARRIVAL IN THE MAFE COUNTRIES, BY PERIOD.

Origin and destination	Intended length of stay	Period of first arrival in country			1975-2007
		1975-1990	1990-1999	2000-2007	
France, Italy, Spain	Less than 3 years	14.0	10.3	5.7	9.4
	3 to 10 years	23.9	11.4	12.1	15.1
	More than 10 years	62.2	78.4	82.2	75.4
	N	162	244	297	703
Sample includes first long stay in destination country, among all migrants in the life history survey (migrants still living in the country, return migrants and migrants who moved to another MAFE country). All migrants left Senegal at age 18 or over in 1975 or later. Note: people intending to stay for good are included in the 'more than 10 years' category.					

TABLE 3: DISTRIBUTION OF RETURNEES BY GENDER, PERIOD OF RETURN AND DESTINATION (1975-2007)

Region of residence	Gender	1975-1990	1990-1999	2000-2007	1975-2007
<i>Africa</i>	Males	78.5	76.1	74.0	76.1
	Females	21.5	23.9	26.0	23.9
	N	32	15	33	80
<i>Europe</i>	Males	87.8	61.1	70.8	72.5
	Females	12.2	38.9	29.2	27.5
	N	19	16	19	54
<i>Other</i>	Males	21.9	73.9	36.2	36.5
	Females	78.1	16.1	63.8	63.5
	N	4	3	8	15
<i>All destinations</i>	Males	76.9	68.3	69.6	73.5
	Females	23.1	31.7	30.4	26.5
	N	55	34	60	149
Source: MAFE household survey, 2008. Population:					

TABLE 4: REASONS FOR LAST DEPARTURE FROM SENEGAL, BY GENDER AND LEVEL OF EDUCATION (1975-2007), AMONG MIGRANTS CURRENTLY LIVING ABROAD

Region of residence	Motives	Gender		Education		All 1975-2007
		Males	Females	No/low	High	
All	Work	83.4	41.1	75.8	41.5	69.0
	Family	5.6	42.1	20.7	7.1	18.0
	Studies	13.4	16.9	4.6	55.3	14.6
	Other	2.3	6.6	4.5	0.7	3.8
	N	480	216	555	141	696
Source: MAFE household survey, 2008 Population: Sample includes migrants currently living abroad who were born in Senegal and left at age 18 or over in 1975 or later.						

TABLE 5: PROPORTION OF PEOPLE LIVING IN FRANCE, ITALY OR SPAIN WHO MADE AT LEAST ONE (LONG) RETURN MIGRATION OR VISIT (SHORT RETURN) WITHIN FIVE YEARS OF FIRST ARRIVAL (KAPLAN MEIER ESTIMATES), BY GENDER AND EDUCATION

Current place of residence	Gender		Education		All 1975-2007
	Males	Females	No/low	High	
France	48.6	55.3	47.8	61.6	52.2
N	100	86	120	66	186
Italy	53.4	38.0	53.6	36.2	51.4
N	124	79	181	22	203
Spain	64.1	46.9	61.3	-	61.1
N	98	101	193	6	199
<i>France, Italy, Spain</i>	55.3	49.5	52.8	57.1	53.5
N	322	266	494	94	588
Source: MAFE life history survey, 2008 Population: Sample includes migrants currently living abroad who were born in Senegal and left at age 18 or over in 1975 or later.					

TABLE 6: LENGTH OF STAY INTENDED ON FIRST ARRIVAL IN THE MAFE COUNTRIES, BY GENDER AND EDUCATION

Country of residence		Gender		Level of education		All 1975-2007
		Male	Female	No/low	High	
France, Italy, Spain	Less than 3 years	10.3	7.1	8.9	11.9	9.4
	3 to 10 years	16.7	11.0	9.5	40.7	15.1
	More than 10 years	73.0	81.8	81.6	47.4	75.4
	N	409	294	588	115	703
Source: life history survey Population: Sample includes first long stay in country, at among all migrants (migrants still living in the country, return migrants and migrants who moved to another MAFE country). All migrants left Senegal at age 18 or over in 1975 or later. Note: people intending to stay for good are included in the 'more than 10 years' category.						