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**Changing patterns of Ghanaian migration**

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# CHANGING PATTERNS OF GHANAIAN MIGRATION

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## INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

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Migration has been part of people's experience in many parts of Africa throughout history (De Bruin *et al.* 2001) and Ghana is no exception. Migration flows were typically regional due to commerce, forced labor and circulatory nomadic routes. Over the last decades however, migration patterns extended geographically with larger shares of migrants moving to Europe and North America. Even within these regions, African migrant flows have been diversifying (Grillo & Mazzucato 2008). Yet little comparative empirical data exist on migration flows between Africa and Europe and many of the characteristics and changes of these flows are still largely unknown. The objective of this chapter is to first describe international migration patterns from Ghana using the quantitative MAFE household data collected in Kumasi and Accra, Ghana, and second to focus on migration from Ghana to Europe, and back, specifically as it concerns flows between Ghana, The Netherlands and the United Kingdom. This second focus uses the MAFE biographic data collected both in Ghana and in Europe<sup>1</sup>.

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## SHORT HISTORY OF MIGRATION FROM GHANA<sup>2</sup>

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According to Anarfi *et al.* (2003) four distinct phases in the history of international migration in Ghana can be distinguished. Up until the late 1960s Ghana was relatively economically prosperous and was a country of net-immigration, particularly attracting migrants from the West African sub-region (Twum-Baah *et al.* 1995). Ghana continued to attract migrants after its independence in 1957 due to its relative economic prosperity, and the governments' promotion of pan-Africanism as part of its foreign policy (Anarfi *et al.* 2003). During this time emigration from Ghana was minimal; most emigrants were students or professionals who left to the UK or other English-speaking countries as a result of colonial ties with the UK. Some movements of Ghanaians also took place to other African countries, namely Gambia, Botswana and Sierra Leone.

In the second phase, beginning in the mid-1960s, Ghana became a country of net-emigration (Twum-Baah *et al.* 1995). Economic decline, characterized by a balance of payment deficit, rising unemployment, and political instability pushed many Ghanaians to emigrate. Likewise, this economic crisis also contributed to a decline in immigration to Ghana, as it became an increasingly unattractive place for both foreigners and nationals. At this time, the proportion of foreigners in Ghana decreased from 12.3 % in 1960 to 6.6 % in 1970 (Anarfi *et al.* 2003). The majority of these emigrants constituted professionals such as teachers, lawyers and administrators who went to other African countries including Uganda, Botswana, Nigeria and Zambia to assist in these countries' national development following

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<sup>1</sup> For more details on the MAFE project methodology, see Beauchemin (2012).

<sup>2</sup> This section draws heavily from Mazzucato (2007).

independence (Anarfi *et al.* 2003). Moreover, the formation of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in 1975 stimulated further Ghanaian emigration to other parts of the region.

Migrants who had left for the purposes of education or training following Ghanaian Independence, either returned to those other countries to work where they had received training, or they stayed on in the countries where they had studied or been trained. Anarfi *et al.* (2003) estimate that around two million Ghanaians emigrated from the southern regions of the country between the years 1974 and 1981.

A third phase in the early 1980s was marked by two shifts in migration patterns: other sectors of society, not only professionals, began to migrate *en masse* from the southern parts of Ghana and migratory flows spread to more distant destinations in Europe, North America and North Africa (especially Libya). By the 1980s the economy of Ghana was growing at a negative rate (Anarfi *et al.* 2003). To reverse the negative growth rate, the Ghanaian government implemented a Structural Adjustment Program that included the removal of subsidies for social services such as health, transport and education, which contributed to growing unemployment and social hardship and led to further emigration from Ghana. As a consequence, all labor groups (highly skilled, semi-skilled and low-skilled) began to migrate. Compounding the situation, Nigeria expelled all foreigners from its territory including 1.2 million Ghanaians in 1983 and a further 700,000 Ghanaians in 1985. Returning to Ghana was not an option for many as the economic crisis and a severe drought in 1983/4 made livelihoods there precarious. Thus many of those expelled sought greener pastures overseas.

In the fourth phase, migration from Ghana to overseas destinations continued steadily so that in the 1990s Ghanaians came to constitute one of the main groups of 'new African diasporas' (Koser 2003). The primary destinations overseas were the UK, US, Germany, Italy and The Netherlands and have remained so to date. Paths into Europe have been determined by where travel permits were easiest to come by (Peil 1995; Grillo & Mazzucato 2008) although the more highly skilled tended to go to English speaking destinations to be able to practice their professions, with a higher representation of less-skilled ending up in countries such as The Netherlands, Germany and Italy (see for example, Orozco *et al.* 2005). Accurate figures on total Ghanaian migrants in the world today do not exist due to a lack of systematic data collection on the part of the Ghanaian government and also because some migrants have undocumented status overseas. Twum-Baah (2005), using data obtained from European and North American embassies in Ghana, estimates that approximately 460,000 Ghanaians resided in Europe, Canada and the United States in 2003. He also estimates Ghanaian migrants in African countries (predominantly in ECOWAS countries) to be approximately 1 million. If one allows for migrants in the Middle East and Asia, then these figures would suggest that there are a total of 1.5 million Ghanaians overseas.

Recently, there has been a particular focus on the issue of brain drain resulting from skilled migration from Ghana, notably of doctors and other health-care workers, including some quantitative evidence in Ghana that their movement is often stimulated by a desire to obtain specialist training that is unavailable or difficult to access in Ghana (Anarfi, Quartey and Agyei 2010). Many educated young people also move in order to complete higher education, although this is increasingly a major route through which a work permit can be obtained in OECD countries (OECD 2007).

Since the mid-1990s there exists some evidence of return migration to Ghana as a result of an improving economy in comparison to neighbouring West African countries to which many Ghanaians migrated; but also due to the tightening of immigration laws and restrictions on travelling abroad, particularly to European countries that require the possession of valid travel and employment documents (Anarfi *et al.*

2003; Twum-Baah *et al.* 1995). Furthermore, Ghana regained political stability in 1992 when democratic elections were held after a decade of military dictatorship. In general though, there is relatively little data on international return migration to Ghana, both in terms of numbers and the impact on the development of the country at large (Black *et al.* 2003a).

In the case of the UK, expansion of migration from Ghana in the late 1980s and 1990s took place in the context of an expanding labour market as the country emerged from recession to a period of substantial economic growth, which continued to the most recent economic crisis of 2008. Immigration to UK during this period, and especially after around 2001, was not only from Africa but from an increasingly diverse set of countries, including central and Eastern Europe in the context of an opening of the UK labour market to these new countries on EU accession. In the case of African countries, such a liberal approach to labour market access has never applied, and indeed the 1990s saw the tightening of immigration controls for many African countries. Nonetheless, African immigration has grown, including through student and asylum migration, and the direct recruitment of doctors and nurses to the country's National Health Service since the late 1990s.

In The Netherlands, migration from Ghana also represents one element of a major diversification of immigration trends over the past 15-20 years in the context of a buoyant labour market and a strong policy emphasis on multiculturalism compared to other European countries (Koopmans *et al.* 2005). Migration from Ghana to The Netherlands is a recent phenomenon mostly concentrated in the last decades of the 20th century. Ghanaian migrants first arrived as economic and political migrants, reunifying with family members later on. In 2011 a little more than 21,000 Ghanaians were registered in The Netherlands, a 70 percent increase compared to the number of Ghanaians in the 1970s. This number includes both migrants (62 percent) and children born in The Netherlands (38 percent). The division of males and females is almost 50-50. This number does not include unregistered migrants from Ghana, a population estimated to be around the same size as the registered population (Mazzucato 2008; CBS 2012). More than half of the Ghanaian population resides in Amsterdam, more specifically in Amsterdam South-East, an area also known as the 'Bijlmer'.

Whilst quantitative studies on migrants have been conducted in both the UK and The Netherlands, in neither case do major quantitative data sources include migrants from sub-Saharan Africa, let alone specific African countries. This reflects the fact that African migrants represent a small –yet growing part of migrant sending countries – for example in The Netherlands, only Somalis feature in the top 10 'non-Western' migrant origin countries. Moreover, no data exist on undocumented migrants from Ghana<sup>3</sup>. In this chapter by using the MAFE data we try to fill some of these gaps.

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## DEPARTURES, RETURNS AND CIRCULATION

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### TRENDS IN MIGRATION FROM GHANA, 1975-2009

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The aim of this section is to better understand the dynamics of Ghanaian migration. Using the household data collected in Ghana it is possible to provide a global picture of migration trends, destinations and

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<sup>3</sup> The only estimate that exists is in Mazzucato (2008) where the undocumented population was estimated to be around 20,000 in the year 2000.

patterns. We will explore whether the probability of migration has increased over time and whether countries of destination have changed.

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## MIGRATION TRENDS FROM GHANA (HOUSEHOLD SURVEY)

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### BOX 1. RECONSTRUCTION OF TRENDS OF FIRST MIGRATION FROM RETROSPECTIVE DATA. METHODOLOGICAL BACKGROUND

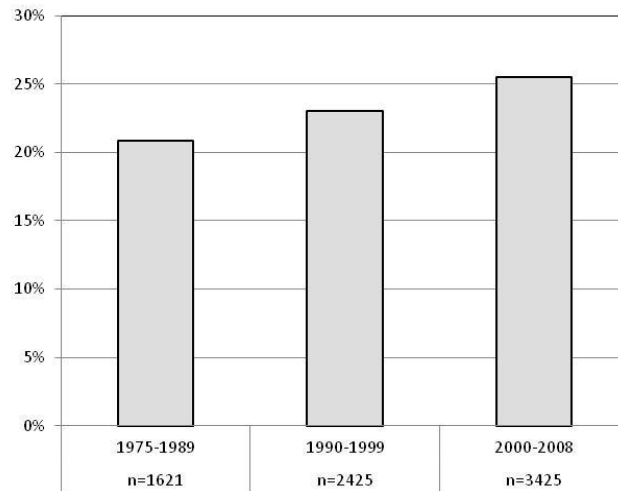
MAFE data allow reconstructing the trends in departures and returns of Ghanaian migrants by computing retrospective rates of migration. The household questionnaire of the surveys conducted in Ghana provides the dates of the first international migration (for at least 12 months) of the head of household, of his/her partner(s), and of his/her children. This information is available for migrants, regardless of their current country of residence (still living abroad or return migrants), and the date of first return is available for those who returned after their first departure. The household questionnaire also recorded the dates of birth, gender, and level of education of the head of household, the partner(s) and the children, whether they migrated or not.

Age-specific migration probabilities are computed by dividing the number of migrants at a given age during a given year, by the number of people of that age who had not yet migrated by that year. These probabilities are estimated using event history models including both ages and time periods as independent variables. They are then transformed into indicators that are more easily interpreted. The indicator used here is called the lifetime probability of migration, and measures the probability that a person would do at least one international migration during his/her adult life (18-70), if the age-specific probabilities of migration observed during a given time-period (i.e. 1990-1999) were applied to a person between the ages 18-70. This is the 'synthetic cohort' principle commonly used for other types of demographic indicators (period life expectancy, period age-specific fertility rates). Trends in returns are reconstructed in a similar way. Probabilities of return are computed (among migrants) using event history models with age and time periods as independent variables. The coefficients of the models are then transformed into a synthetic indicator measuring the probability of returning within 10 years of first departure for separate periods. Because the population at risk of returning is composed of those who left, the sample size for returns are much smaller, and indicators are less reliable.

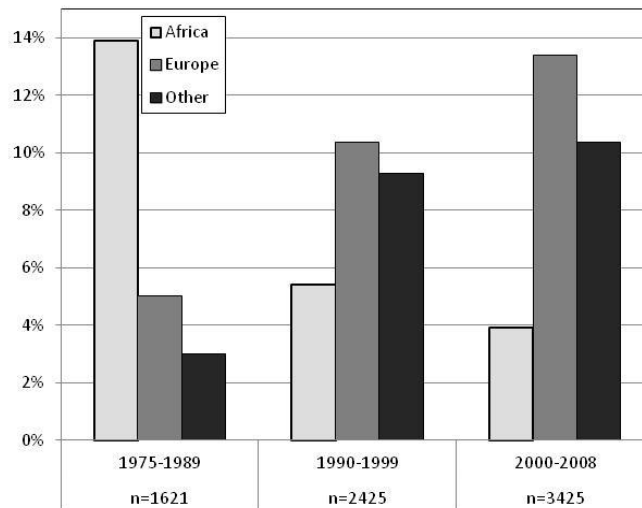
Apart from problems of small samples in some cases, these techniques of reconstructing migration trends from retrospective are not free from biases. One possible bias is due to the fact that data are collected from proxy respondents for people still living abroad. Some migrants may not be declared, and data on those who are declared may be inaccurate. Another possible bias stems from the fact that some entire households may have migrated abroad, and as a result these emigrants may not be recorded as emigrants (the head or spouse may still be mentioned by their parents, but the children would not be mentioned). On the other hand, some people may be reported twice, since they can be reported by parents and spouses. Finally, only the first migration is included in the reconstruction of trends, and this may lead to underestimating recent migration. Even though biases are inevitable, they compensate each other to some extent, are considered sufficiently small to provide acceptable estimates of departures and returns.

FIGURE 1: LIFETIME PROBABILITY OF MIGRATION (BETWEEN AGE 18 AND 70) FROM GHANA, BY DESTINATIONS  
(1975-2009) – WEIGHTED ANALYSES

(a) All destinations



(b) By destinations



Not only the probability of migration increased over time also the preferred countries of destination changed (Figures 1a and 1b). Whereas up to 1990 most migrants stayed in the African continent, Europe became the popular destination for Ghanaian migrants afterwards. Other non-African destination also increased rapidly after 1990.

## CHANGES IN MIGRATION DESTINATIONS (HOUSEHOLD SURVEY)

TABLE 1 : TOP 10 DESTINATIONS FROM GHANA (1975-2009), BY PERIODS

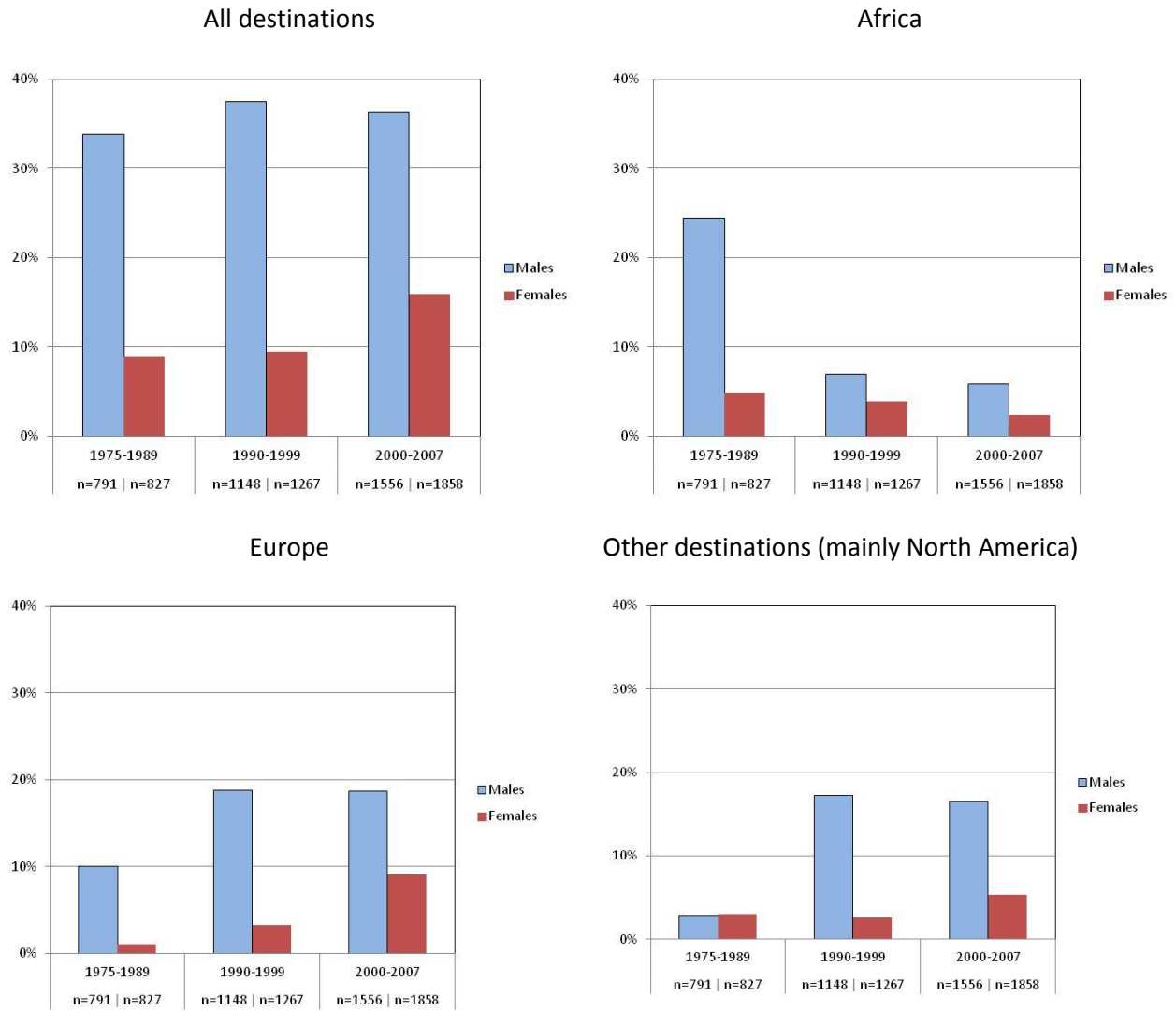
| 1975-1989                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |                 | 1990-1999      |                 | 2000-2009      |                 | 1975-2009      |       |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|----------------|-----------------|----------------|-----------------|----------------|-------|
| Country                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | % of migrations | Country        | % of migrations | Country        | % of migrations |                |       |
| Nigeria                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | 42.8%           | United Kingdom | 26.6            | United Kingdom | 27.8%           | United Kingdom | 23.3% |
| Libya                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | 8.7%            | USA            | 23.0%           | USA            | 27.2%           | USA            | 21.2% |
| United Kingdom                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            | 7.8%            | Nigeria        | 6.9%            | Italy          | 7.6%            | Nigeria        | 13.3% |
| USA                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       | 7.1%            | Japan          | 5.9%            | Nigeria        | 4.7%            | Italy          | 4.8%  |
| Germany                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | 4.9%            | Germany        | 5.4%            | South Africa   | 4.0%            | Germany        | 4.2%  |
| Gabon                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | 4.8%            | Mali           | 3.9%            | Spain          | 3.5%            | Libya          | 2.6%  |
| Lebanon                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | 3.1%            | Australia      | 3.8%            | Germany        | 3.2%            | Spain          | 2.3%  |
| Spain                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | 2.8%            | France         | 2.7%            | Norway         | 3.0%            | South Africa   | 2.1%  |
| Côte d'Ivoire                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             | 2.4%            | Italy          | 2.6%            | Canada         | 2.6%            | Canada         | 2.6%  |
| Italy                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | 1.7%            | Togo           | 2.5%            | India          | 2.5%            | Japan          | 2.0   |
| 10 countries                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |                 | 10 countries   | %               | 10 countries   | %               | 10 countries   | %     |
| N                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         | 173             |                | 165             |                | 273             |                | 611   |
| Weighted percentages.<br>Sample includes first migration of heads of households, their spouse(s) and their children, who left at age 18 or over in 1975 or later.<br>Note : Former German Democratic Republic and Federal Republic of Germany have been grouped together for all periods. |                 |                |                 |                |                 |                |       |

A closer look at the countries of destination of Ghanaian migrants and changes in preferred destinations in the last decades, we see an “Anglo-Americanisation” of migration with the UK and the USA receiving most migration from Ghana. Migration destinations are much diversified though, with Nigeria, Southern European countries and even Japan being in the top 10 main destinations. It is important to note that MAFE data comes from two urban locations in Ghana: Kumasi and Accra and therefore the top destinations are indicative of these urban households.

Traditionally, migration flows have been male dominated with women mostly migrating as dependant wives. However, migration has become increasingly feminized with more women migrating independently to fulfill their own economic needs. Studies on this issue are highlighting the way that women are moving independently of men as skilled workers, entrepreneurs and traders (Kofman 2004). Professional women, especially female nurses and doctors, now increasingly are engaged in international migration often leaving their children at home in the care of other relatives. Also in Ghana there is an increase in female migration, especially since the year 2000 (figure 2). This increase is caused by an increase of female migration to Europe and other destinations (mostly USA and Canada). Female migration within Africa decreased slightly over time.

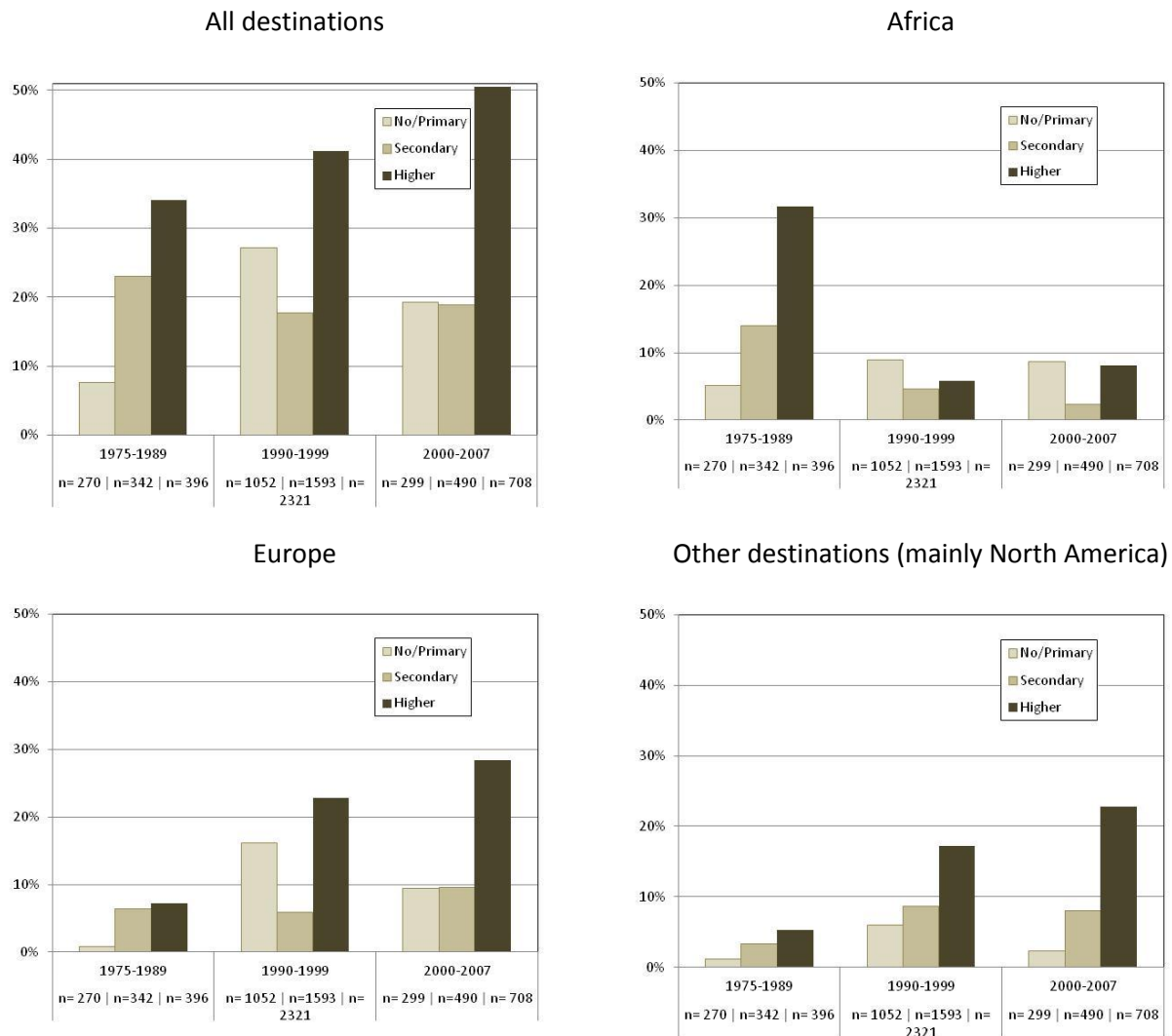
## MIGRATION TRENDS BY GENDER, BY DESTINATION

FIGURE 2: LIFETIME PROBABILITIES OF MIGRATION FROM GHANA (1975-2009), BY GENDER, DESTINATION AND PERIODS – WEIGHTED ANALYSES



## MIGRATION TRENDS BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL, BY DESTINATION

FIGURE 3: LIFETIME PROBABILITIES OF MIGRATION FROM GHANA (1975-2009), BY EDUCATION, DESTINATION AND PERIODS – WEIGHTED ANALYSES



The vast majority of migrants is higher educated and the percentage of higher educated migrants has increased over time (Figure 3). This brain drain is an important issue in Ghana, where 40% of university faculty positions, 60% of polytechnic faculty positions and 65% of elementary school positions are vacant (Manuh *et al.* 2005), while at least 25% of tertiary educated Ghanaians are overseas (Carrington and Detragiache 1998). Sixty-one percent of doctors trained in Ghana between 1985-1994 have left the country mainly to the UK and USA (Nyonator and Dovlo 2005). In general, higher educated Ghanaians are increasingly likely to migrate to Europe and the United States and less likely to remain in Africa. At the same time the percentage of lower educated migrants also increased, especially to Europe in the 1990-1999 period and the Ghanaian population in Europe is therefore very divers in terms of educational background.

## TRENDS IN RETURNS, 1975-2009

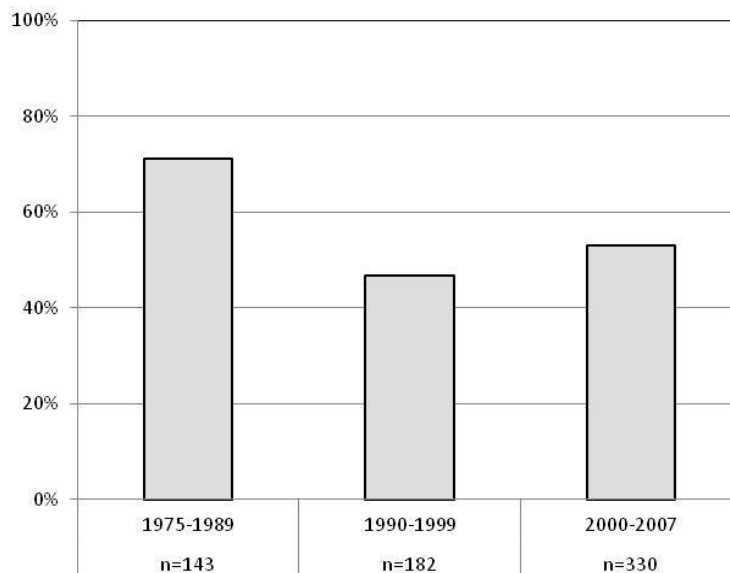
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Return migration has increasingly figured in the general debates on migration and development. It is seen as a potential benefit from migration that can lead to greater development for the countries that migrants come from and it can counter balance the negative effects of migration caused by the 'brain drain' (Mazzucato 2008). In general, there is relatively little data on international return migration to Ghana, both in terms of numbers and the impact on the development of the country at large (Black *et al.* 2003b). Using the data from the household survey we can assess the scale of return migration in Ghana.

### TRENDS IN RETURN MIGRATION 1975-2009 (HOUSEHOLD SURVEY)

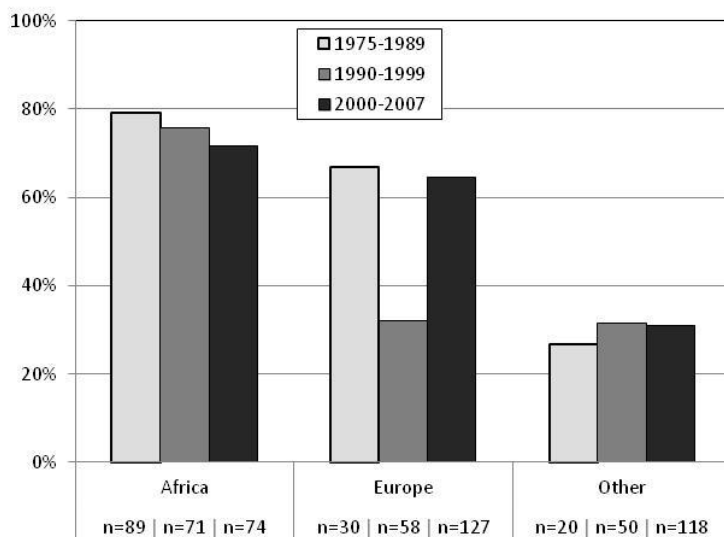
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FIGURE 4: PERCENTAGE OF MIGRANTS RETURNING WITHIN 10 YEARS OF THEIR FIRST DEPARTURE (KAPLAN MEIER ESTIMATES) FROM GHANA, BY PERIOD (1975-2009), ALL DESTINATIONS – WEIGHTED ANALYSES



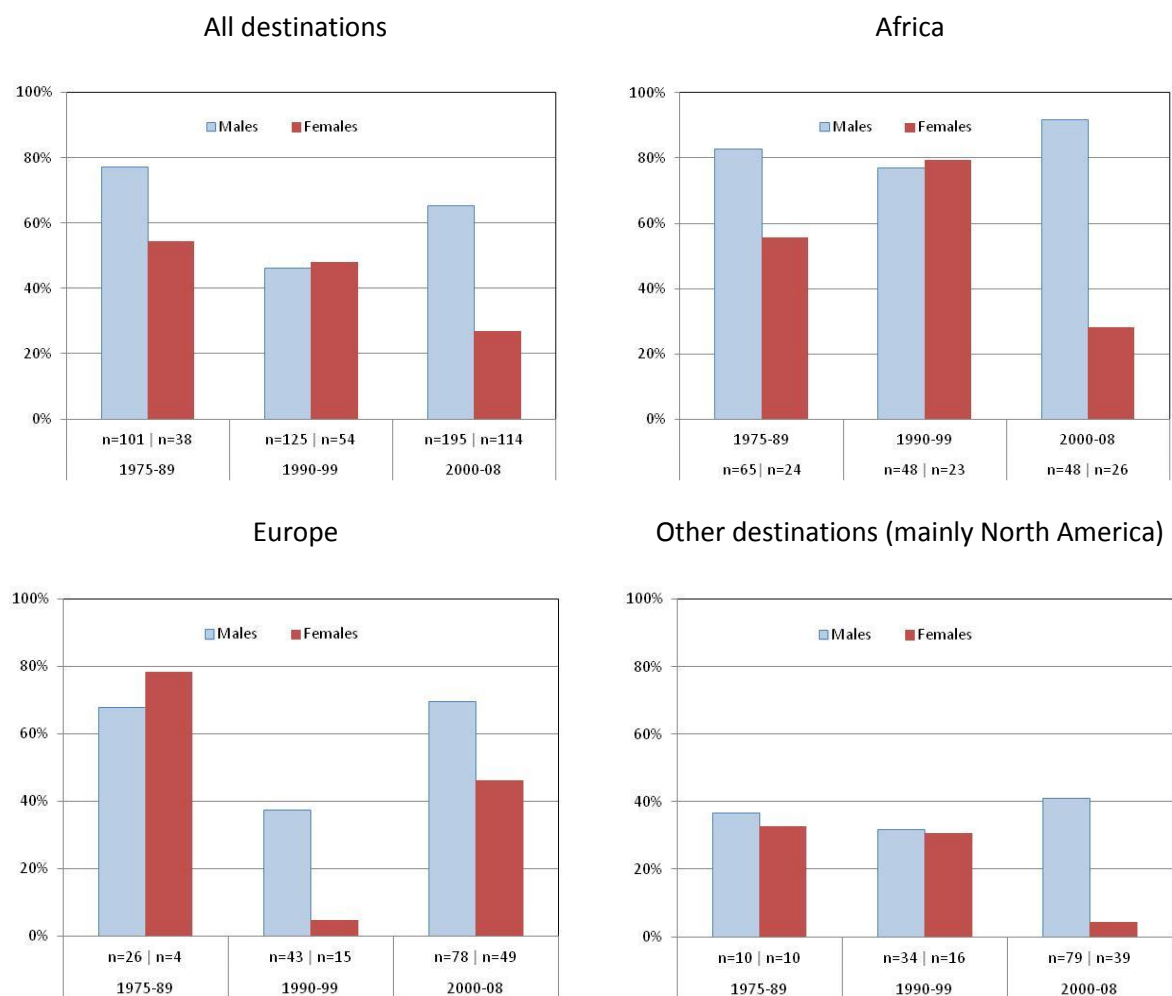
Return migration is extensive even if return migration has been decreasing (Figure 4). The percentages of migrants who return to Ghana within 10 years of their first departure ranges from 45 per cent to 70 per cent although we see clear differences by destination region. Return rates are highest for migrants within the African continent (Figure 5). Those migrating to Europe have lower return rates, but have recently incurred a large surge in return, indicating that there may be some important period effects. Whereas between 1990-1999 less than 40 per cent of migrants to Europe returned, the percentage increased to more than 60 percent in the last decade.

FIGURE 5: PERCENTAGE OF MIGRANTS RETURNING WITHIN 10 YEARS OF THEIR FIRST DEPARTURE (KAPLAN MEIER ESTIMATES) FROM GHANA, BY DESTINATION AND PERIOD (1975-2009)



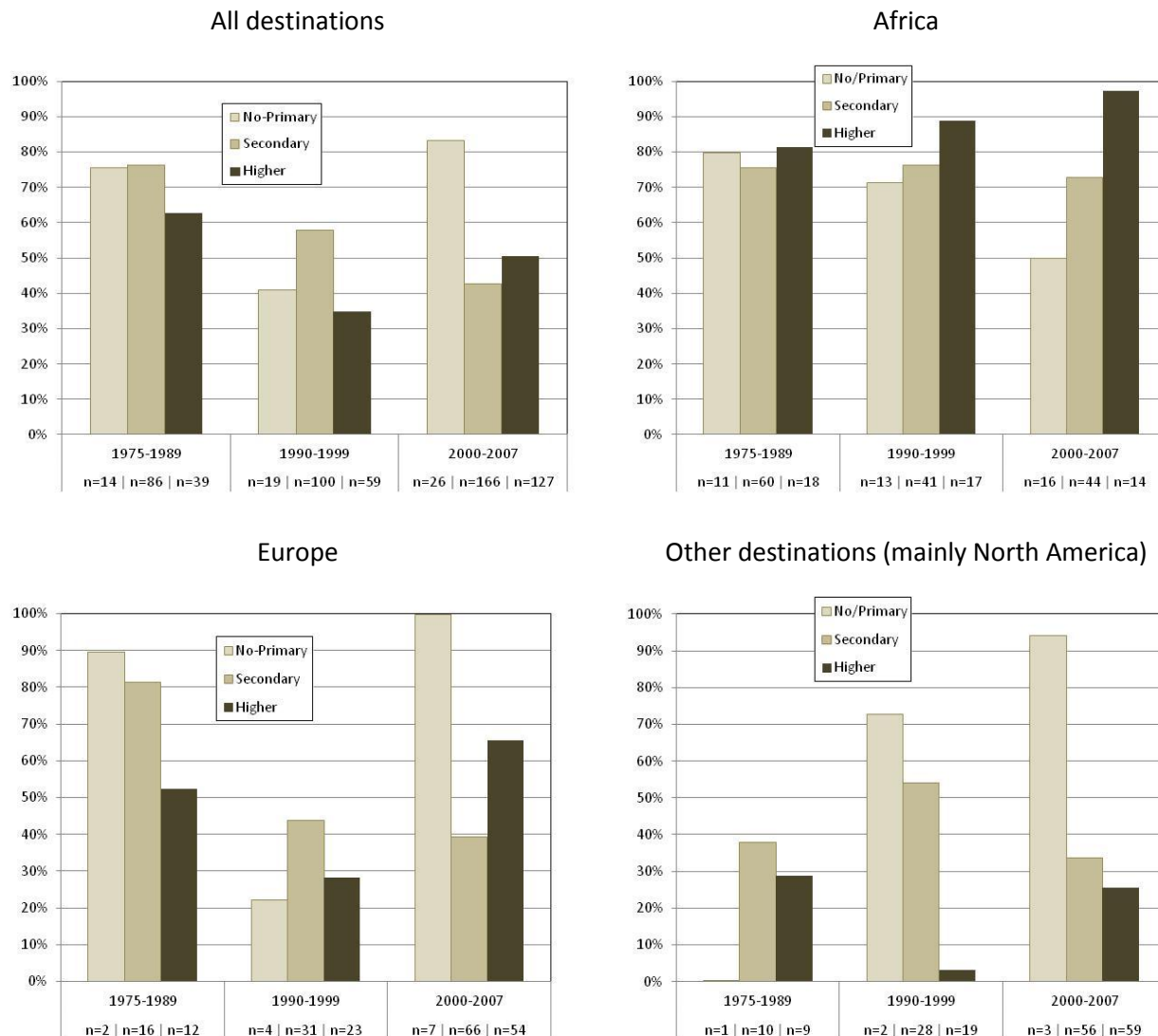
No literature exists on the gender dimension of return in Ghana. Given the feminization of migration this is nevertheless an important topic of interest. The household data show high percentages of women returning to Ghana within 10 years of their first departure (Figure 6). This differs though by destination and period. In general over time there is a decrease among return for females, especially from North-America. In Europe, return was very unlikely between 1990-1999 but high percentages of women returned between 2000-2008. Anarfi and Jagare (2005) argue that only recently has return migration been considered feasible in West African countries due to regained political stability and social and economic opportunities. However, this does not explain why return from Europe is high whereas it is low from North America.

FIGURE 6: PERCENTAGE OF MIGRANTS RETURNING WITHIN 10 YEARS OF THEIR FIRST DEPARTURE (KAPLAN MEIER ESTIMATES) FROM GHANA, BY GENDER, DESTINATION AND PERIOD (1975-2009) – WEIGHTED ANALYSES



The 'brain drain' is of policy concern in Ghana with many highly qualified migrants such as doctors, nurses and teachers having left the country (Anarfi et al. 2010). However, our data on returns nuances this argument. Indeed overall the largest numbers of returns are from low educated migrants (Figure 7) however we see a) a general rise in returns of highly educated migrants since 2000, b) highly educated migrants are the most likely to return when they migrate to other African destinations, and c) more highly educated return from Europe than the US. However, it needs to be kept in mind the number of returnees in our sample is small.

FIGURE 7: PERCENTAGE OF MIGRANTS RETURNING WITHIN 10 YEARS OF THEIR FIRST DEPARTURE (KAPLAN MEIER ESTIMATES) FROM GHANA, BY EDUCATION, DESTINATION AND PERIOD (1975-2009)



## TRENDS IN CIRCULATION (1975-2009)

### RETURNS AND NEW DEPARTURES (HOUSEHOLD SURVEY)

Whereas most studies focus on migration and return, it is important to also look at circulation with people moving back and forth between two countries. Some qualitative studies describe the phenomenon of circulation yet it is poorly documented quantitatively. Table 2 indicates the percentage of migrants currently living abroad who had done a previous migration and return before their last departure. The previous migration was not necessarily in the same region. For instance, among migrants currently in Europe, some may have migrated first to another African country. We see that in all cases

circulation, in the form of a previous migration and return to Ghana, has increased over time for all current places of residence.

TABLE 2: PROPORTION OF PEOPLE LIVING OUTSIDE GHANA WHO HAD DONE AT LEAST ONE PREVIOUS MIGRATION AND RETURN (>=1 YEAR) BEFORE THEIR LAST DEPARTURE, BY PERIOD OF LAST DEPARTURE

| Current place of residence                                                                                                                                                                    | Period of last departure |           |           |           | N    |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|------|
|                                                                                                                                                                                               | 1975-1990                | 1990-1999 | 2000-2009 | 1975-2009 |      |
| Europe                                                                                                                                                                                        | 1.4                      | 4.7       | 8.9       | 6.8       | 521  |
| Africa (not Ghana)                                                                                                                                                                            | 0.0                      | 2.0       | 15.9      | 10.7      | 96   |
| Other                                                                                                                                                                                         | 1.4                      | 3.4       | 11.3      | 8.1       | 457  |
| All                                                                                                                                                                                           | 1.2                      | 3.9       | 10.7      | 7.2       | 1074 |
| Sample includes all migrants currently living abroad (not only spouses, heads and children). Migrants who left Ghana before 1975 are not included in the sample.<br>Percentages are weighted. |                          |           |           |           |      |

Short visits, may act as a substitute to definitive return – and become part of a transnational way of living. Table 3 shows the percentage of Ghanaian migrants currently living in the UK or The Netherlands who had returned to Ghana for a short or long stay since their first arrival in Europe (not necessarily their current country of residence). Migrants in the UK show higher percentages of both long and short returns (visits) compared to migrants in The Netherlands. Yet it is worthy to note that in both cases well over half of Ghanaians living in these two countries had returned to Ghana, again attesting to great circulation rates.

TABLE 3: PROPORTION OF PEOPLE LIVING IN UNITED KINGDOM AND THE NETHERLANDS WHO HAVE DONE AT LEAST ONE LONG RETURN MIGRATION OR A SHORT VISIT SINCE THEIR FIRST ARRIVAL IN EUROPE, BY COUNTRY OF RESIDENCE

| Current place of residence                                                                                                                                 | Long return | Visit (short return) | Short or long | N          |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|----------------------|---------------|------------|
| United Kingdom                                                                                                                                             | 10.4        | 64.4                 | 66.8          | 136        |
| Netherlands                                                                                                                                                | 5.5         | 57.2                 | 58.9          | 271        |
| <i>United Kingdom, Netherlands</i>                                                                                                                         | <i>9.7</i>  | <i>63.3</i>          | <i>65.6</i>   | <i>407</i> |
| Sample includes migrants who left Ghana at age 18 or over after 1975, currently living in United Kingdom and The Netherlands.<br>Percentages are weighted. |             |                      |               |            |

The percentages of people returning to Ghana from the UK for long or short visits increased especially in the 2000-2009 period whereas this increase was not found in The Netherlands where the percentage of migrants visiting remained the same (Table 4).

TABLE 4: PROPORTION OF PEOPLE LIVING IN THE UNITED KINGDOM AND THE NETHERLANDS WHO HAVE DONE AT LEAST ONE (LONG) RETURN MIGRATION OR A VISIT (SHORT RETURN) WITHIN 5 YEARS OF THE FIRST ARRIVAL (KAPLAN MEIER ESTIMATES), BY PERIOD OF FIRST ARRIVAL AND COUNTRY RESIDENCE

|                                                                                                                                               | Long or short visits |             |             |             |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| Current place of residence                                                                                                                    | 1975-1990            | 1990-1999   | 2000-2009   | 1975-2009   |
| United Kingdom                                                                                                                                | 27.7                 | 28.0        | 56.3        | 39.1        |
| N                                                                                                                                             | 29                   | 33          | 74          | 136         |
| Netherlands                                                                                                                                   | 23.1                 | 32.8        | 32.5        | 30.5        |
| N                                                                                                                                             | 53                   | 76          | 142         | 271         |
| <i>United Kingdom, Netherlands,</i>                                                                                                           | <i>27.1</i>          | <i>28.9</i> | <i>52.6</i> | <i>37.7</i> |
| <i>N</i>                                                                                                                                      | <i>82</i>            | <i>109</i>  | <i>216</i>  | <i>407</i>  |
| Sample includes migrants who left at age 18 or over after 1975, currently living in United Kingdom, Netherlands.<br>Percentages are weighted. |                      |             |             |             |

## CIRCULATION BY GENDER & EDUCATION (BIOGRAPHIC SURVEY)

When we look at the composition of the group of migrants who did return for a period of time and came back to the UK or The Netherlands it becomes clear that females circulate more than males (Table 5). In the UK, circulation is more common among the higher educated whereas in The Netherlands also lower and especially those with secondary education circulate.

TABLE 5: PROPORTION OF PEOPLE LIVING IN THE UNITED KINGDOM AND THE NETHERLANDS WHO HAVE DONE AT LEAST ONE (LONG) RETURN MIGRATION OR A VISIT (SHORT RETURN) WITHIN 5 YEARS OF THE FIRST ARRIVAL IN THE COUNTRY (KAPLAN MEIER ESTIMATES), BY GENDER AND EDUCATION

|                                                                                                                                                   | Gender      |             | Education   |             |             | All         |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| Current place of residence                                                                                                                        | Males       | Females     | No-Primary  | Secondary   | Higher      | 1975-2009   |
| United Kingdom                                                                                                                                    | 36.5        | 42.5        | -           | 28.4        | 46.7        | 39.1        |
| N                                                                                                                                                 | 71          | 35          | 7           | 46          | 83          | 136         |
| Netherlands                                                                                                                                       | 24.3        | 37.0        | 16.4        | 35.2        | 20.9        | 30.5        |
| N                                                                                                                                                 | 145         | 126         | 17          | 159         | 95          | 271         |
| <i>United Kingdom, Netherlands,</i>                                                                                                               | <i>34.7</i> | <i>41.5</i> | <i>25.4</i> | <i>30.1</i> | <i>44.5</i> | <i>37.7</i> |
| <i>N</i>                                                                                                                                          | <i>216</i>  | <i>191</i>  | <i>24</i>   | <i>205</i>  | <i>178</i>  | <i>407</i>  |
| Sample includes migrants currently living abroad who were born in Ghana and left at age 18 or over in 1975 or later.<br>Percentages are weighted. |             |             |             |             |             |             |

## WHY DO PEOPLE MIGRATE?

### MIGRATION MOTIVES (1975-2009) – HOUSEHOLD AND BIOGRAPHIC SURVEYS

The objective of this section is to provide information on motives of migration and choice of destination. It uses both household and biographic data. Work is the main motivation for migration across periods as well as destinations (Table 6). Studies and family are the other important motivations for migration.

“Studies” is especially a motivation for Europe and other destinations (most likely USA) whereas it is almost absent as a motivation for migration within Africa. Family has increased as a motivation for migration to Europe and other destinations but it is still by far the least important motivation as compared with work and studies. Even though from a European policy perspective it is often said that family migration is now the main driver of migration from non-EU countries.

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#### MIGRATION MOTIVES – HOUSEHOLD SURVEY

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TABLE 6: MOTIVES OF DEPARTURE FROM GHANA, BY PERIOD OF DEPARTURE OF LAST MIGRATION (1975-2009)  
AMONG MIGRANTS CURRENTLY LIVING ABROAD

| Region of residence                                                                                                                               | Motives | Period    |           |           | 1975-2007 |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
|                                                                                                                                                   |         | 1975-1990 | 1990-1999 | 2000-2007 |           |
| <b>Africa</b>                                                                                                                                     | Work    | 93.8      | 66.3      | 87.1      | 84.0      |
|                                                                                                                                                   | Family  | 6.1       | 34.0      | 9.2       | 14.0      |
|                                                                                                                                                   | Studies | 1.0       | 0.6       | 2.2       | 1.6       |
|                                                                                                                                                   | Other   | 0.0       | 0.0       | 2.0       | 1.1       |
|                                                                                                                                                   | N       | 24        | 21        | 49        | 93        |
| <b>Europe</b>                                                                                                                                     | Work    | 92.0      | 84.8      | 85.1      | 85.6      |
|                                                                                                                                                   | Family  | 3.5       | 9.0       | 7.4       | 7.6       |
|                                                                                                                                                   | Studies | 21.1      | 13.1      | 22.3      | 19.0      |
|                                                                                                                                                   | Other   | 0.0       | 0.6       | 0.2       | 0.3       |
|                                                                                                                                                   | N       | 58        | 151       | 288       | 497       |
| <b>Other</b>                                                                                                                                      | Work    | 63.5      | 86.0      | 74.0      | 77.4      |
|                                                                                                                                                   | Family  | 3.7       | 4.3       | 15.0      | 9.3       |
|                                                                                                                                                   | Studies | 43.9      | 16.4      | 24.5      | 23.7      |
|                                                                                                                                                   | Other   | 0.0       | 0.3       | 2.1       | 1.1       |
|                                                                                                                                                   | N       | 55        | 137       | 247       | 439       |
| <b>All</b>                                                                                                                                        | Work    | 79.0      | 84.5      | 80.2      | 81.6      |
|                                                                                                                                                   | Family  | 4.0       | 8.2       | 10.6      | 9.0       |
|                                                                                                                                                   | Studies | 29.1      | 14.0      | 22.1      | 20.0      |
|                                                                                                                                                   | Other   | 0.0       | 0.4       | 1.1       | 0.8       |
|                                                                                                                                                   | N       | 137       | 309       | 584       | 1030      |
| Sample includes migrants currently living abroad who were born in Ghana and left at age 18 or over in 1975 or later.<br>Percentages are weighted. |         |           |           |           |           |

Women more often report family reasons as a motivation for migration than men although work is also mentioned as an important motivation (Table 7). It might not be so easy to disentangle the two since both reasons might be a motivating factor at the same time. Obviously, studies is more often mentioned by higher educated than lower educated people, yet also among the higher educated work remains the most frequent motive to migrate.

TABLE 7: MOTIVES OF LAST DEPARTURE FROM GHANA, BY GENDER AND LEVEL OF EDUCATION (1975-2009)  
AMONG MIGRANTS CURRENTLY LIVING ABROAD

| Region of residence                                                                                                                               | Motives | Gender |         | Education |        | All       |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|--------|---------|-----------|--------|-----------|
|                                                                                                                                                   |         | Males  | Females | No/low    | Higher | 1975-2007 |
| <b>Africa</b>                                                                                                                                     | Work    | 96.8   | 56.8    | 83.8      | (84.7) | 84.0      |
|                                                                                                                                                   | Family  | 1.9    | 37.8    | 15.2      | (8.6)  | 14.0      |
|                                                                                                                                                   | Studies | 1.8    | 1.2     | 0.3       | (7.9)  | 1.6       |
|                                                                                                                                                   | Other   | 0.0    | 3.2     | 1.3       | (0.0)  | 1.1       |
|                                                                                                                                                   | N       | 62     | 32      | 70        | 24     | 94        |
| <b>Europe</b>                                                                                                                                     | Work    | 86.1   | 84.2    | 90.7      | 78.5   | 85.6      |
|                                                                                                                                                   | Family  | 0.3    | 23.1    | 10.3      | 4.0    | 7.6       |
|                                                                                                                                                   | Studies | 20.0   | 16.3    | 9.8       | 32.0   | 19.0      |
|                                                                                                                                                   | Other   | 331    | 164     | 0.3       | 0.5    | 0.3       |
|                                                                                                                                                   | N       | 331    | 164     | 274       | 223    | 497       |
| <b>Other</b>                                                                                                                                      | Work    | 79.5   | 73.7    | 81.7      | 73.4   | 77.4      |
|                                                                                                                                                   | Family  | 1.0    | 24.2    | 10.2      | 8.5    | 9.3       |
|                                                                                                                                                   | Studies | 24.8   | 21.6    | 14.6      | 32.2   | 23.7      |
|                                                                                                                                                   | Other   | 288    | 151     | 1.4       | 0.9    | 1.1       |
|                                                                                                                                                   | N       | 288    | 151     | 201       | 238    | 439       |
| <b>All</b>                                                                                                                                        | Work    | 83.9   | 77.2    | 86.6      | 75.6   | 81.6      |
|                                                                                                                                                   | Family  | 0.7    | 24.5    | 10.9      | 6.6    | 9.0       |
|                                                                                                                                                   | Studies | 20.9   | 18.0    | 10.4      | 32.0   | 20.0      |
|                                                                                                                                                   | Other   | 0.5    | 1.2     | 0.8       | 0.6    | 0.8       |
|                                                                                                                                                   | N       | 687    | 354     | 549       | 494    | 1043      |
| Sample includes migrants currently living abroad who were born in Ghana and left at age 18 or over in 1975 or later.<br>Percentages are weighted. |         |        |         |           |        |           |

## MIGRATION MOTIVES – BIOGRAPHIC SURVEY

When we compare the motivation for migration among migrants currently living in The Netherlands and the United Kingdom some differences become noticeable. The percentage of migrants that states studies as a motive for migration is much higher in the UK (23 per cent) compared to The Netherlands (9 percent) (Table 8). In The Netherlands on the other hand the percentage of people who mention work/living conditions is higher than in the UK.

TABLE 8: MOTIVES OF MIGRATION TO UNITED KINGDOM AND THE NETHERLANDS (1975-2009) AMONG MIGRANTS CURRENTLY LIVING IN THESE COUNTRIES

| Motives                                                                                                                                             | Country        |             | All destinations |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------|-------------|------------------|
|                                                                                                                                                     | United Kingdom | Netherlands |                  |
| Work/living conditions                                                                                                                              | 36.3           | 45.2        | 37.6             |
| Family                                                                                                                                              | 30.8           | 31.1        | 30.8             |
| Studies                                                                                                                                             | 23.0           | 9.0         | 21.0             |
| Other                                                                                                                                               | 9.9            | 14.6        | 10.6             |
| N                                                                                                                                                   | 135            | 261         | 396              |
| Sample includes first long stay in country, at age 18 or over (after 1975) among migrants still living in the country.<br>Percentages are weighted. |                |             |                  |

Work has remained the main motivation for migration across periods whereas family remained about the same over time (Table 9). Studies become a more important motive for migration after 2000. This might be due to the fact work permits and family reunification became increasingly difficult to obtain.

An important difference when looking at migration motives of Ghanaian migrants in the UK and The Netherlands (Tables 8 and 9) compared with the motives reported by households in Ghana of migrants overseas (Table 7) is that the family motive is more frequently reported by migrants (30.8%) than the households (7.6%). There are three possible explanations: first, the motivations of migrants going to all European destinations are reported in Table 7. It could be that the U.K. and The Netherlands have a larger share of migrants who come for family reasons. This is plausible, as migration to these countries has been happening on a large scale since the 1980s giving families the time to form and reunify in these countries. Second, the respondents in the two surveys are different: in Table 7 household heads report the reason for the migrant to leave, whereas in Tables 8 and 9 migrants themselves give their motives. Third, in the household survey responses were close-ended questions with fixed response options whereas in the migrant biographical survey these were open-ended questions, allowing migrants to express more completely what their motivations were. These differences indicate that there are important effects depending on the method used to collect data and should form an important consideration for migration researchers.

TABLE 9: MOTIVES OF MIGRATION TO THE UNITED KINGDOM AND THE NETHERLANDS (1975-2009) AMONG MIGRANTS CURRENTLY LIVING IN THESE COUNTRIES, BY PERIOD OF FIRST ARRIVAL (PERCENT).

| Country of residence                                                                                                                                                              | Motives | Period    |           |           | 1975-2009 |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
|                                                                                                                                                                                   |         | 1975-1990 | 1990-1999 | 2000-2009 |           |
| United Kingdom, Netherlands                                                                                                                                                       | Work    | 28.7      | 48.7      | 34.8      | 37.6      |
|                                                                                                                                                                                   | Family  | 29.5      | 34.2      | 29.4      | 30.8      |
|                                                                                                                                                                                   | Studies | 16.8      | 11.8      | 28.4      | 21.0      |
|                                                                                                                                                                                   | Other   | 25.1      | 5.3       | 7.4       | 10.6      |
|                                                                                                                                                                                   | N       | 64        | 114       | 218       | 396       |
| Sample includes migrants currently living in United Kingdom and The Netherlands, who were born in Ghana and left at age 18 or over in 1975 or later.<br>Percentages are weighted. |         |           |           |           |           |

Very few Ghanaian migrants asked for asylum in The Netherlands and the UK (6 per cent, see annex Table 4A ) and only in the 1975-1990 period.

## LEGAL STATUS AND MIGRATION ROUTES (1975-2009) – BIOGRAPHIC SURVEY

### LEGAL STATUS AT ARRIVAL

Irregular migration is a high priority for policy makers. Despite the political relevance of the phenomenon, assessments of the size of the irregular population are rare. The percentage of Ghanaian migrants without a residence permit is higher in our sample in The Netherlands than in that of the UK

(around 20 per cent compared to 5 per cent, Table 10) even though the percentage of people without a residence permit has been increasing in the UK over time (from 0 to almost 7 per cent).

TABLE 10: PERCENTAGE OF MIGRANTS BY TYPE OF LEGAL STATUS AT FIRST ARRIVAL IN THE UNITED KINGDOM AND THE NETHERLANDS (1975-2009) AMONG MIGRANTS CURRENTLY LIVING IN THESE COUNTRIES, BY PERIOD

| Current residence                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | Previous country           | Period of arrival |           |           | 1975-2009 |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |                            | 1975-1989         | 1990-1999 | 2000-2009 |           |
| United Kingdom                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | Residence permit           | 85.8              | 86.7      | 87.9      | 87.1      |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    | No residence permit        | 0.0               | 5.6       | 6.9       | 5.0       |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    | No residence permit needed | 14.2              | 7.6       | 3.4       | 7.0       |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    | unknown                    | 0.0               | 0.0       | 1.8       | 0.9       |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    | N                          | 27                | 35        | 74        | 136       |
| Netherlands                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        | Residence permit           | 77.2              | 77.8      | 72.9      | 75.3      |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    | No residence permit        | 22.7              | 20.7      | 17.0      | 19.2      |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    | No residence permit needed | 0.0               | 0.0       | 6.4       | 3.1       |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    | unknown                    | 0.0               | 1.4       | 3.8       | 2.3       |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    | N                          | 40                | 81        | 148       | 269       |
| Two countries                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      | Residence permit           | 84.8              | 85.2      | 85.7      | 85.4      |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    | No residence permit        | 2.7               | 8.2       | 8.3       | 7.1       |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    | No residence permit needed | 12.5              | .3        | 3.8       | 6.4       |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    | unknown                    | 0.0               | 0.2       | 2.1       | 1.1       |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    | N                          | 67                | 116       | 222       | 405       |
| <p>Legal status is defined by the type of residence permit during the first year. No residence permit means that, during the first year, the person declared he/she did not have a residence permit at some point. A person may have had a visa that expired, and be classified in "no residence permit". No residence permit at arrival is not synonymous for illegal entry.</p> <p>Percentages are weighted.</p> |                            |                   |           |           |           |

Men more often than women do not have a residence permit (Table 11) yet this difference is less visible in The Netherlands where 17 per cent of women does not have a residence permit compared to 21 per cent of men. Higher educated are less likely to not have a residence permit. Yet notable difference with The Netherlands where highly educated more often do not have residence permits (13%) compared to UK (1%).

TABLE 11 PERCENTAGE OF MIGRANTS BY TYPE OF LEGAL STATUS AT FIRST ARRIVAL IN THE UNITED KINGDOM AND THE NETHERLANDS (1975-2009) AMONG MIGRANTS CURRENTLY LIVING IN THESE COUNTRIES, BY GENDER AND EDUCATION.

| Current residence | Trajectory<br>From Ghana   | Gender |         | Education  |           |        | All<br>1975-2009 |
|-------------------|----------------------------|--------|---------|------------|-----------|--------|------------------|
|                   |                            | Males  | Females | No-Primary | Secondary | Higher |                  |
| United Kingdom    | Residence permit           | 84.0   | 90.7    | -          | 77.0      | 92.3   | 87.1             |
|                   | No residence permit        | 8.0    | 1.5     | -          | 11.7      | 0.8    | 5.0              |
|                   | No residence permit needed | 6.3    | 7.8     | -          | 9.2       | 6.3    | 7.0              |
|                   | Unknown                    | 1.7    | 0.0     | -          | 1.3       | 0.0    | 0.9              |
|                   | N                          | 71     | 65      | 7          | 46        | 83     | 136              |
| Netherlands       | Residence permit           | 74.4   | 76.2    | (45.8)     | 73.1      | 84.4   | 75.3             |
|                   | No residence permit        | 21.3   | 17.3    | (33.2)     | 21.5      | 12.7   | 19.2             |
|                   | No residence permit needed | 2.0    | 4.2     | (10.5)     | 3.2       | 1.7    | 3.1              |
|                   | Unknown                    | 2.3    | 2.3     | (10.5)     | 2.2       | 1.9    | 2.3              |
|                   | N                          | 141    | 128     | 17         | 159       | 93     | 269              |
| Two countries     | Residence permit           | 82.7   | 88.3    | (75.3)     | 76.6      | 92.2   | 85.4             |
|                   | No residence permit        | 9.7    | 4.1     | (13.4)     | 14.0      | 1.8    | 7.1              |
|                   | No residence permit needed | 5.7    | 7.2     | (1.8)      | 7.8       | 5.9    | 6.4              |
|                   | Unknown                    | 1.8    | 0.4     | (9.5)      | 1.5       | 0.1    | 1.1              |
|                   | N                          | 212    | 193     | 24         | 205       | 176    | 405              |

Sample includes short and long stays outside Ghana (for installation or transit) before the first long stay in country, at age 18 or over (after 1975) among migrants still living in the country.

Five most frequent categories are represented. Only the five most frequent categories for the all period are represented.

Percentages are weighted.

## MOST FREQUENT MIGRATION ROUTES

Recent studies have indicated a diversification of migration routes between Africa and Europe (Grillo & Mazzucato 2008; see also Schoumaker, Flauhaux, 2013). A migration route is considered in this work as the series of countries in which people stayed for a short or long period before settling in the current country of residence. The majority of migrants from Ghana to the UK and The Netherlands still arrive directly from Ghana (Table 12) although this is more the case for the UK (76 per cent) than for The Netherlands (65 per cent). Other migrants either come through a different African country or from within Europe.

TABLE 12: TOP 5 ROUTES OF MIGRATION FROM GHANA TO UNITED KINGDOM AND THE NETHERLANDS (1975-2009), BY PERIODS

| UNITED KINGDOM                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |               |                        |               |                         |               |                        |               |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------|------------------------|---------------|-------------------------|---------------|------------------------|---------------|
| 1975-1989                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |               | 1990-1999              |               | 2000-2009               |               | 1975-2009              |               |
| Trajectory From Ghana                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          | % of migrants | Trajectory From Ghana  | % of migrants | Trajectory From Ghana   | % of migrants | Trajectory From Ghana  | % of migrants |
| ...-United Kingdom                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             | (83.7)        | ...-United Kingdom     | 67.9          | ...-United Kingdom      | 76.8          | ...-United Kingdom     | 75.8          |
| ...- Nigeria-UK                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                | (6.7)         | ...- Netherlands-UK    | 8.0           | ...- Germany-UK         | 4.8           | ...- Nigeria-UK        | 3.9           |
| ...-Denmark-UK                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 | (3.8)         | ...-Bulgaria-UK        | 4.0           | ...-Nigeria-UK          | 3.5           | ...-Germany-UK         | 3.0           |
| ...-Norway-UK                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | (2.9)         | ...-UAE-UK             | 4.0           | ...-Togo-UK             | 2.3           | ...-Netherlands-UK     | 2.9           |
| ...-Netherlands-UK                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             | (2.9)         | ...-South Africa-UK    | 4.0           | ...-Switzerland-UK      | 2.3           | ...-Togo-UK            | 1.1           |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                | 27            |                        | 35            |                         | 74            |                        | 136           |
| NETHERLANDS                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |               |                        |               |                         |               |                        |               |
| 1975-1989                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |               | 1990-1999              |               | 2000-2009               |               | 1975-2009              |               |
| Trajectory From Ghana                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          | % of migrants | Trajectory From Ghana  | % of migrants | Trajectory From Ghana   | % of migrants | Trajectory From Ghana  | % of migrants |
| ...-Netherlands                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                | 66.3          | ...-Netherlands        | 64.4          | ...-Netherlands         | 64.9          | ...-Netherlands        | 65.0          |
| ...- Germany-NTL                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | 13.4          | ...- Germany-NTL       | 7.5           | ...- Italy-NTL          | 7.6           | ...- Germany-NTL       | 6.4           |
| ...-Belgium- NTL                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | 5.5           | ...-Cote d'Ivoire- NTL | 3.6           | ...-United Kingdom- NTL | 5.1           | ...-Italy- NTL         | 5.2           |
| ...-Italy-NTL                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | 4.6           | ...-Libya-NTL          | 2.4           | ...-Germany-NTL         | 2.9           | ...-United Kingdom-NTL | 3.7           |
| ...-Nigeria-NTL                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                | 3.4           | ...-France-NTL         | 2.4           | ...-Nigeria-NTL         | 2.7           | ...-Nigeria-NTL        | 2.5           |
| N                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              | 40            |                        | 81            |                         | 147           |                        | 268           |
| Sample includes short and long stays outside Ghana (for installation or transit) after the last departure from Ghana and before the first long stay in country of destination (current residence), at age 18 or over (after 1975) among migrants still living in the country.<br>Five most frequent trajectories are represented.<br>Percentages are weighted. |               |                        |               |                         |               |                        |               |

Most migrants come by plane (more than 90 per cent, see annex Table 1A) and those who come indirectly mainly use train or bus or car or boat for the last part of their journey.

## ALONE OR ACCOMPANIED? – BIOGRAPHIC SURVEY

Migrants also often arrive in a context where they know someone who can facilitate migration and/or host them. For Ghanaian migrants in the UK and The Netherlands the majority of migrants travelled alone though (Table 13). In the UK none of the interviewees mentioned using a smuggler to enter the country yet in The Netherlands 5 per cent of the interviewed admitted to this. The percentage decreased though from 10 percent between 1975-1990 to 3.2 per cent in 2000-2009.

Additional analyses (see annex Table 2A) indicate women are less likely to travel alone. Of those without a residence permit, 25 per cent travelled with a smuggler (See Annex Table 3A).

In terms of social network, the percentage of migrants whom did not know anybody in their country of destination is high, especially in The Netherlands (Table 14). This may be due to the fact that migration

to The Netherlands is a bit more recent. Also the amount of other people known in UK is higher pointing to a more established migrant community.

TABLE 2: PERCENTAGE OF MIGRANTS BY TYPE OF CO-TRAVELERS IN THE JOURNEY (FIRST ARRIVAL) TO THE MAFE COUNTRIES, AMONG MIGRANTS CURRENTLY LIVING IN THESE COUNTRIES, BY PERIOD OF FIRST ARRIVAL

| Country of residence | Co-traveler at some point during the journey | Period    |           |           | 1975-2009 |
|----------------------|----------------------------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
|                      |                                              | 1975-1990 | 1990-1999 | 2000-2009 |           |
| United Kingdom       | Alone                                        | 75.3      | 73.8      | 81.4      | 77.9      |
|                      | Spouse                                       | 8.0       | 14.8      | 4.3       | 8.1       |
|                      | Children                                     | 2.9       | 7.2       | 6.0       | 5.7       |
|                      | Other parents                                | 9.8       | 2.4       | 6.4       | 6.1       |
|                      | Friend                                       | 6.9       | 0.0       | 1.8       | 2.4       |
|                      | Group (official, sport, music)               | 0.0       | 6.5       | 0.9       | 2.3       |
|                      | Smuggler                                     | 0.0       | 0.0       | 0.0       | 0.0       |
|                      | Other people                                 | 0.0       | 2.4       | 3.2       | 2.3       |
|                      | N                                            | 27        | 35        | 74        | 136       |
| Netherlands          | Alone                                        | 74.7      | 69.3      | 75.8      | 73.4      |
|                      | Spouse                                       | 1.8       | 5.1       | 8.6       | 6.2       |
|                      | Children                                     | 1.8       | 7.5       | 5.4       | 5.5       |
|                      | Other parents                                | 2.3       | 10.5      | 5.2       | 6.5       |
|                      | Friend                                       | 0.0       | 4.2       | 2.0       | 2.4       |
|                      | Group (official, sport, music)               | 3.2       | 0.0       | 0.5       | 0.8       |
|                      | Smuggler                                     | 10.0      | 6.0       | 3.2       | 5.3       |
|                      | Other people                                 | 6.4       | 4.9       | 3.6       | 4.5       |
|                      | N                                            | 40        | 81        | 148       | 269       |

Co-travelers include all types of persons cited at least once as co-travelers during the journey from Ghana to the current country of residence (first arrival). People cited during journeys to intermediate countries (for short or long stays) are also included.

Sample includes short and long stays outside Ghana (for installation or transit) before the first long stay in country, at age 18 or over (after 1975) among migrants still living in the country.

Sample includes migrants currently living in United Kingdom and The Netherlands, who were born in Ghana and left at age 18 or over in 1975 or later.

Percentages are weighted.

TABLE 14: PERCENTAGE OF MIGRANTS KNOWING SOMEONE IN DESTINATION COUNTRY BEFORE THEIR FIRST ARRIVAL, MIGRATIONS TO UNITED KINGDOM AND THE NETHERLANDS (1975-2009) AMONG MIGRANTS CURRENTLY LIVING IN THESE COUNTRIES, BY PERIODS

| Country of residence                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              | Contact in destination country | Period    |           |           | 1975-2009 |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |                                | 1975-1990 | 1990-1999 | 2000-2009 |           |
| United Kingdom                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    | Nobody                         | 17.8      | 31.5      | 20.7      | 22.9      |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | Spouse/partner                 | 28.7      | 30.8      | 25.3      | 27.6      |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | Children                       | 2.9       | 2.5       | 1.8       | 2.2       |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | Mother/father                  | 14.0      | 0.0       | 5.2       | 5.8       |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | Brother/sister                 | 39.0      | 27.3      | 27.8      | 30.2      |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | Other parents                  | 12.9      | 24.8      | 26.5      | 22.9      |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | Friend                         | 7.5       | 15.1      | 20.7      | 18.1      |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | Other people                   | 0.0       | 0.0       | 0.0       | 0.0       |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | N                              | 27        | 35        | 74        | 136       |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |                                |           |           |           |           |
| Netherlands                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       | Nobody                         | 59.5      | 42.2      | 40.3      | 44.5      |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | Spouse/partner                 | 16.3      | 26.4      | 28.1      | 25.3      |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | Children                       | 5.6       | 4.0       | 7.0       | 5.7       |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | Mother/father                  | 0.9       | 6.4       | 9.4       | 6.8       |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | Brother/sister                 | 20.9      | 20.8      | 19.7      | 20.3      |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | Other parents                  | 3.4       | 9.0       | 13.3      | 10.0      |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | Friend                         | 3.2       | 2.1       | 3.3       | 2.9       |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | Other people                   | 0.0       | 0.0       | 0.0       | 0.0       |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | N                              | 40        | 81        | 148       | 269       |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |                                |           |           |           |           |
| Two countries                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | Nobody                         | 22.8      | 33.7      | 22.9      | 26.0      |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | Spouse/partner                 | 27.2      | 30.0      | 25.7      | 27.3      |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | Children                       | 3.2       | 2.8       | 2.5       | 2.7       |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | Mother/father                  | 12.4      | 1.1       | 5.8       | 5.9       |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | Brother/sister                 | 36.8      | 26.1      | 26.6      | 28.8      |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | Other parents                  | 11.8      | 22.0      | 24.7      | 21.0      |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | Friend                         | 7.0       | 12.8      | 18.3      | 14.2      |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | Other people                   | 0.0       | 0.0       | 0.0       | 0.0       |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | N                              | 67        | 116       | 222       | 405       |
| <p>Sample includes migrants currently living in United Kingdom and The Netherlands who were born in Ghana and left at age 18 or over in 1975 or later.</p> <p>People knowing someone in destination country is done by comparing the presence of someone in the destination country the year before arriving in the country.</p> <p>Percentages are weighted.</p> |                                |           |           |           |           |

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## CONCLUSIONS

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Although the field of migration studies vastly expanded in the last decade, little quantitative evidence exists on the characteristics of migration between Africa and Europe. In this report, using the longitudinal MAFE data, we describe trends in migration from Ghana between 1975-2008 and focus more in-depth on two destination countries in Europe; The United Kingdom and The Netherlands.

The main conclusion we can draw based on our data is that migrant realities are complex, change over time and involve back and forth movements between countries. Migration from Ghana diversified from being Africa oriented to include various destinations in Europe, the United States and Canada and even Japan. Migration to these new destinations was traditionally male dominated but, as many other countries, Ghana experienced a feminization of migration, not only through wives following their husbands abroad but also through independent female migration, as indicated by the high percentage of female migrants who migrated without knowing anyone in the destination country.

Migrants are found to frequently return to Ghana, be it for visits or for longer periods, indicating evidence of transnational lifestyles (see Mazzucato, Schans *et al.*, 2013) which consist of circulation to and from Ghana. Interestingly a greater proportion of women circulate than men. Studies suggest that facilitating the mobility of (former) migrants enabling them to maintain and use their transnational social networks, has various advantages for migrants as well as their ability to contribute to their home country's development (Mazzucato 2008). Furthermore, a striking finding is that Ghanaian return migration has experienced an increase since 2000. This could be an indication that Ghana's stable political and economic climate of the last decade is an incentive to return although evidence of the effect of Ghanaian GDP on returns was not found (see Gonzalez-Ferrer, Black *et al.*, 2013). Another likely explanation could be that the first large cohort of migrants leaving Ghana in the 1980s is now returning home to spend their old age. Men tend to return more than women.

Nevertheless, the opportunity to return is not equal for all migrants and depends on financial circumstances but also on the possibility to re-enter the country of settlement. Our findings indicate that Ghanaian migrants in the United Kingdom are more likely to return than those in The Netherlands. These are important findings because they help to nuance the debate on 'brain drain' in Ghana. Indeed, low educated are more likely to return than more educated migrants, yet since 2000 the return of highly educated migrants has increased, especially those coming from Europe.

While policy concern is also directed towards irregular migration and the smuggling of migrants, our data show that this is not a widespread phenomenon for Ghanaian migrants in our sample. Most Ghanaian migrants arrive directly by plane both in The Netherlands and the United Kingdom and especially in the UK very few are undocumented.

The most frequent motives for migration amongst Ghanaian migrants are work, study and family. Traditionally, Ghanaian students have found their way to the United Kingdom, due to historical ties and knowledge of the English language whereas in The Netherlands Ghanaian students have arrived only more recently since more university programs are offered in English. The characteristics of the Ghanaian population in both countries therefore differ with migrants in The Netherlands being lower educated.

## ANNEX TABLES

TABLE 1A: MEANS OF TRANSPORTATION USED AT LEAST ONCE IN THE JOURNEY TO THE CURRENT COUNTRY OF RESIDENCE (FIRST ARRIVAL) IN THE MAFE COUNTRIES, AMONG THOSE STILL IN THE COUNTRY, BY PERIOD OF ARRIVAL.

| Current residence                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                | Means of transportation used at least once during the journey | Period of first arrival in country |           |           | All       |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |                                                               | 1975-1989                          | 1990-1999 | 2000-2009 | 1975-2009 |
| United Kingdom                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | Plane                                                         | 100.0                              | 100.0     | 96.6      | 98.3      |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | Bus/train                                                     | 0.0                                | 7.3       | 1.4       |           |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | Car                                                           | 9.8                                | 4.0       | 5.1       |           |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | Boat                                                          | 3.8                                | 0.0       | 0.0       |           |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | Pirogue/Pateras                                               | 0.0                                | 0.0       | 0.0       |           |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | N                                                             | 27                                 | 35        | 74        | 136       |
| Netherlands                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      | Plane                                                         | 91.1                               | 96.5      | 91.5      | 94.6      |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | Bus/train                                                     | 24.6                               | 16.7      | 17.1      | 18.3      |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | Car                                                           | 5.5                                | 7.6       | 4.1       | 5.5       |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | Boat                                                          | 5.6                                | 1.9       | 2.5       | 2.8       |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | Pirogue/Pateras                                               | 0.0                                | 0.0       | 1.0       | 0.5       |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | N                                                             | 40                                 | 81        | 147       | 268       |
| <p>Means of transportation include all means cited at least once during the journey from Ghana to the current country of residence (first arrival). Means of transportation used to reach intermediate countries (for short or long stays) are also included.</p> <p>Sample refers to the first long stay in country, at age 18 or over (after 1975) among migrants still living in the country.</p> <p>The sum may be different from 100, because several means of transportation can be used. Missing values and other means of transportation not shown.</p> <p>Percentages are weighted.</p> |                                                               |                                    |           |           |           |

TABLE 2A: PERCENTAGE OF MIGRANTS BY TYPE OF CO-TRAVELERS IN THE JOURNEY (FIRST ARRIVAL) TO THE MAFE COUNTRIES, AMONG MIGRANTS CURRENTLY LIVING IN THESE COUNTRIES, BY GENDER AND EDUCATION

| Current residence                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           | Co-traveler at some point during the journey | Gender |         | Education  |           |        | All       |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|--------|---------|------------|-----------|--------|-----------|
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |                                              | Males  | Females | No-Primary | Secondary | Higher | 1975-2009 |
| United Kingdom                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              | Alone                                        | 82.3   | 72.6    | -          | 81.3      | 76.0   | 77.9      |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             | Spouse                                       | 2.1    | 15.2    | -          | 10.9      | 7.1    | 8.1       |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             | Children                                     | 1.5    | 10.5    | -          | 8.1       | 4.7    | 5.7       |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             | Other parents                                | 6.2    | 5.9     | -          | 5.2       | 7.1    | 6.1       |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             | Friend                                       | 3.2    | 1.5     | -          | 0.0       | 4.0    | 2.4       |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             | Group (official, sport, music)               | 2.9    | 1.5     | -          | 0.0       | 3.0    | 2.3       |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             | Smuggler                                     | 0.0    | 0.0     | -          | 0.0       | 0.0    | 0.0       |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             | Other people                                 | 1.5    | 3.2     | -          | 0.0       | 2.7    | 2.3       |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             | N                                            | 70     | 65      | 7          | 45        | 83     | 135       |
| Netherlands                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 | Alone                                        | 79.9   | 67.4    | 67.4       | 70.2      | 80.5   | 73.4      |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             | Spouse                                       | 4.4    | 7.9     | 2.7        | 5.4       | 8.3    | 6.2       |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             | Children                                     | 1.7    | 9.0     | 0.0        | 6.4       | 4.7    | 5.5       |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             | Other parents                                | 5.8    | 7.1     | 15.2       | 7.3       | 3.5    | 6.5       |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             | Friend                                       | 3.8    | 1.1     | 4.1        | 3.5       | 0.0    | 2.4       |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             | Group (official, sport, music)               | 0.5    | 1.1     | 0.0        | 1.3       | 0.0    | 0.8       |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             | Smuggler                                     | 6.4    | 4.3     | 14.6       | 5.9       | 2.5    | 5.3       |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             | Other people                                 | 2.7    | 6.3     | 10.5       | 4.7       | 3.2    | 4.5       |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             | N                                            | 140    | 128     | 17         | 159       | 92     | 268       |
| Three countries                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             | Alone                                        |        |         |            |           |        |           |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             | Spouse                                       |        |         |            |           |        |           |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             | Children                                     |        |         |            |           |        |           |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             | Other parents                                |        |         |            |           |        |           |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             | Friend                                       |        |         |            |           |        |           |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             | Group (official, sport, music)               |        |         |            |           |        |           |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             | Smuggler                                     |        |         |            |           |        |           |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             | Other people                                 |        |         |            |           |        |           |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             | N                                            |        |         |            |           |        |           |
| <p>Co-travelers include all types of persons cited at least once as co-travelers during the journey from Ghana to the current country of residence (first arrival). People cited during journeys to intermediate countries (for short or long stays) are also included. Sample includes short and long stays outside Ghana (for installation or transit) before the first long stay in country, at age 18 or over (after 1975) among migrants still living in the country. Sample includes migrants currently living in United Kingdom, Netherlands and , who were born in Ghana and left at age 18 or over in 1975 or later. Percentages are weighted.</p> |                                              |        |         |            |           |        |           |

TABLE 3A:PERCENTAGE OF MIGRANTS BY TYPE OF CO-TRAVELERS, MIGRATIONS TO THE UNITED KINGDOM AND THE NETHERLANDS (1975-2009) AMONG MIGRANTS CURRENTLY LIVING IN THESE COUNTRIES, BY GENDER AND EDUCATION, BY LEGAL STATUS AT ARRIVAL

| Current residence | Co-traveler at some point during the journey | Legal status                         |                     | All       |
|-------------------|----------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---------------------|-----------|
|                   |                                              | Residence permit or no permit needed | No residence permit | 1975-2009 |
| United Kingdom    | Alone                                        | 78.2                                 | -                   | 77.9      |
|                   | Spouse                                       | 7.9                                  | -                   | 8.1       |
|                   | Children                                     | 5.3                                  | -                   | 5.7       |
|                   | Other parents                                | 5.9                                  | -                   | 6.1       |
|                   | Friend                                       | 2.6                                  | -                   | 2.4       |
|                   | Group (official, sport, music)               | 1.9                                  | -                   | 2.3       |
|                   | Smuggler                                     | 0.0                                  | -                   | 0.0       |
|                   | Other people                                 | 2.4                                  | -                   | 2.3       |
|                   | N                                            | 127                                  | 6                   | 135       |
|                   |                                              |                                      |                     |           |
| Netherlands       | Alone                                        | 80.3                                 | 47.1                | 73.4      |
|                   | Spouse                                       | 8.0                                  | 0.0                 | 6.2       |
|                   | Children                                     | 6.3                                  | 2.4                 | 5.5       |
|                   | Other parents                                | 4.3                                  | 14.8                | 6.5       |
|                   | Friend                                       | 0.3                                  | 9.9                 | 2.4       |
|                   | Group (official, sport, music)               | 0.7                                  | 1.2                 | 0.8       |
|                   | Smuggler                                     | 0.5                                  | 25.4                | 5.3       |
|                   | Other people                                 | 2.6                                  | 9.8                 | 4.5       |
|                   | N                                            | 211                                  | 52                  | 263       |
|                   |                                              |                                      |                     |           |
| Two countries     | Alone                                        |                                      |                     |           |
|                   | Spouse                                       |                                      |                     |           |
|                   | Children                                     |                                      |                     |           |
|                   | Other parents                                |                                      |                     |           |
|                   | Friend                                       |                                      |                     |           |
|                   | Group (official, sport, music)               |                                      |                     |           |
|                   | Smuggler                                     |                                      |                     |           |
|                   | Other people                                 |                                      |                     |           |
|                   | N                                            |                                      |                     |           |
|                   |                                              |                                      |                     |           |

Co-travelers include all types of persons cited at least once as co-travelers during the journey from Ghana to the current country of residence (first arrival). People cited during journeys to intermediate countries (for short or long stays) are also included.

Sample includes short and long stays outside Ghana (for installation or transit) before the first long stay in country, at age 18 or over (after 1975) among migrants still living in the country.

Sample includes migrants currently living in United Kingdom, Netherlands and, who were born in Ghana and left at age 18 or over in 1975 or later.

Total N for all is different of the sum by legal status because of missing values of legal status at arrival.

Percentages are weighted.

TABLE 4A: PERCENTAGE OF MIGRANTS WHO INTRODUCED AN ASYLUM REQUEST DURING THE FIRST YEAR OF THEIR STAY IN THE UNITED KINGDOM AND THE NETHERLANDS (1975-2009) AMONG MIGRANTS CURRENTLY LIVING IN THESE COUNTRIES, BY PERIOD

| Current residence         | Asylum request in first year | Period of arrival |           |           | 1975-2009 |
|---------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
|                           |                              | 1975-1989         | 1990-1999 | 2000-2009 |           |
| United Kingdom            | Yes                          | (6.9)             | 0.0       | 0.0       | 1.5       |
|                           | N                            | 27                | 35        | 74        | 136       |
| Netherlands               | Yes                          | 0.0               | 1.7       | 0.0       | 0.6       |
|                           | N                            | 40                | 81        | 148       | 269       |
| Two countries             | Yes                          | 6.1               | 0.3       | 0.0       | 1.4       |
|                           | N                            | 67                | 116       | 222       | 405       |
| Percentages are weighted. |                              |                   |           |           |           |

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