European Population Conference 2010
1-4 September 2010, Vienna, Austria

Abstract submitted to the topic: International migration and migrant populations

Title: **Destination choices among Senegalese migrants in Europe. The role of labor market and immigration policies**

Authors:
Pau Baizán, Universitat Pompeu Fabra, Department of Political and Social Sciences. Trias Fargas, 25. E-08005 Barcelona. pau.baizan@upf.edu

Amparo González-Ferrer, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto de Economía, Geografía y Demografía, Albasanz, 26-28. E-28037 Madrid. amparo.gonzalez@cchs.csic.es

Short abstract

The main goal of this paper is to analyze the role of labor market and immigration policies in shaping migrants' destination choices, after controlling for other determinants of migration at the individual and household level. We exploit the differences between France, Italy and Spain to examine whether: 1) The availability of employment opportunities has a positive effect on migration, 2) Migration rates decrease significantly when the destination countries adopt stricter immigration laws and/or border controls, and 3) The development of migrant communities and networks increase the likelihood of international movement
We use life history data from the survey "Migrations between Africa and Europe" (MAFE-Senegal), as well as several contextual indicators for the destination countries studied. The destination choices are modeled using event history techniques (multinomial logistic regression).
The preliminary results obtained provide support to the labor demand hypothesis for migrations to Spain, and less clearly to Italy, but not to France. Regularizations are related to an increase in migration in Spain, but not in France or Italy. Finally, we find a strong support for the role of network (and partner) in destination country.

Extended abstract

Although a large amount of research has been conducted on the factors influencing the decision to leave, few studies have tackled the factors determining the destination of migration with longitudinal individual micro data. Here we focus on how individual and contextual factors at destination influence the individual's decision to migrate from Senegal to France, Italy, or Spain. The emphasis is on the destination countries' policies on labor markets, migration control, and migrant communities. The major novelty of our approach consists in the exploitation of a new dataset particularly apt to address these questions. The MAFE-Senegal dataset we use in this paper collects retrospective life-course information from Senegalese (both migrants and non-migrants), along with their households, living in Senegal and three destination countries: France, Italy and Spain.

Background
Senegalese migration flows to Europe, which were traditionally almost exclusively directed to France, have recently diversified and include now Italy or Spain as possible destinations. The structure of the labor market (with larger informal sectors), the size and characteristics of Senegalese migrants' networks (more recent and concentrated in specific segments of the labor market), and the immigration policy (generally less developed and efficient in the battle against irregular migration) differ in important ways across the three countries. In contrast with the traditional migration towards France, fuelled by the existence of wide networks of countrymen, in Spain and Italy a large number of Senegalese migrants entered the country illegally and found their first job in the informal economy, especially during periods of strong economic growth. To unveil the impact that these differences might exert on the choice of the destination country for potential Senegalese migrants is one of the purposes of this paper. Our first hypothesis focus on the characteristics of labor markets, with different degrees of flexibilization and specific regulations, as a key factor to understand migration decisions (Piore 1979; Reyneri 2003; Arango 1999; Portes 1993):

1. *The availability of employment opportunities has a positive effect on migration*

 Also, in the context of increasingly restrictive immigration policies in Europe, our three destinations (France, Italy and Spain) offer a variegated scenario concerning both their approach to manage immigration (type, efficacy and timing of their policy measures) and the structure of their labor markets. The idea that migrants go to countries where admission policies are less rigorous, expulsions are less frequent and regularizations more common is widespread but seldom tested. After collecting detailed information on the extent and frequency of regularizations, changes in family reunification policies, the annual number of expulsions, etc., we will try to find out whether differences along these dimensions provide us with a better understanding of the destination choices made by migrants. Thus our second hypothesis is as follows:

2. *Migration rates decrease significantly when the destination countries adopt stricter immigration laws and/or border controls*

Migration networks can reduce the risks and costs of migration. Therefore, this form of social capital can be crucial in selecting the country of destination. Here we focus on the individual's migration networks at the (potential) destination country. Our third hypothesis is:

3. *The development of migrant communities and networks that connect migrants, former migrants and non migrants in origin and destination areas increase the likelihood of international movement*

Data and Method
The main data source for the empirical analyses in this paper is the survey «Migrations between Africa and Europe» [1] (MAFE-Sénégal: http://mafeproject.site.ined.fr/), which

---

[1] The Migration between Africa and Europe (MAFE-Senegal) survey is a project coordinated by INED (France), in association with the Institut de Population, Développement et Santé de la Reproduction of the University of Dakar (IPDSR, Senegal). It also involves the Universitat Pompeu Fabra (UPF, Spain) and the Forum Internazionale ed Europero di Ricerche sull' imigrazione (FIERI, Italy). The survey was conducted with the support of the Agence nationale de la rercherche (ANR, France), the Ile de France Region, the Institut de recherche pour le développement (IRD, France), the Centre population et

includes 1,200 individuals surveyed in Senegal and 600 individuals born in Senegal and residing in Spain, Italy or France (about 200 in each country) at the time of the survey (2008). The questionnaire collects systematic information on the individuals' migration, family and work trajectories since the age of 6. Besides, it includes information on the financial situation of the migrant's household at origin, the size and composition of the migrant's network abroad and the legal status of migrants and their changes over time.

The contextual data used on employment and economic growth comes from the Labor Force Surveys (Eurostat) and OECD; the information on migration policies (e.g. regularizations, repatriations, immigrant communities) comes from several national sources from each country.

We use discrete-time event history techniques to assess the differential role that individual and contextual factors play in explaining the Senegalese potential migrants to depart to France, Italy and Spain. Destination choice is modeled using multinomial regression, where the time-changing characteristics of each the three destination countries studied are taken into account (migration to other destinations are censored). The data are organized in a period-person data file in which each line represents a year period, and the dependent variable indicates whether the migration occurred during the year. The reference category is staying in Senegal. Individual and contextual characteristics are backdated one year. The life history of each person is copied 2 times to include the characteristics of the non chosen destination countries; obviously, for these non-chosen destinations the dependent outcome is 0 (i.e. no migration).

Results

Tables 1 to 8 below present some preliminary results. In Table 1 we examine the effect employment growth in four economic sectors that concentrate a large proportion of migrant labor (construction, industry, agriculture, retail trade). The effects are significant and positive in Spain for the four sectors, while for Italy only industry seems to be of relevance; in France the effects found are of a very small magnitude. Again, the growth of foreign population and of foreign inflows are of particular relevance for migration to Spain, but much less clearly to France and Italy. Overall, we interpret these results as providing support to the labor demand hypothesis for migrations to Spain, and less clearly to Italy; but not to France.

In Table 4 we show results on whether there is an increase in the probability of migration around the year of a particular regularization, and we found that regularizations are related to an increase in migration in Spain, but not in France or Italy. This results points to a different meaning of regularization in each of the countries. Further analyses will be conducted to examine the role of the aggregate number of expulsions and the individual migration attempts.

We found a strong support for the role of network (and partner) in destination country. The presence of family members at the destination country seems of particular relevance in France (Table 5).

Interestingly enough, individual and household characteristics affect differently the probability to migrate to each of our three possible destinations (Tables 6 to 8).

Table 1. Estimates of the probability to migrate (first trip) out of Senegal
Multinomial regression (Odds Ratios). Change in employment in four economic sectors
with high concentration of immigrant population

Change in employment	F, I, E	France	Italy	Spain
construction	10.35*	0.00***	0.80	9.0e+05***
industry	84.81*	0.00***	404.86*	5.9e+12***
agriculture	3.75	3.47	0.27	87.84*
Retail trade	1550.01***	0.00***	0.03	1.3e+17***
4 sectors	515.08**	0.00***	0.03	2.1e+15***

Controls: age, age2,sex, education, partnership, no. children, employment, subjective poverty, properties own, network

Table 2. Estimates of the probability to migrate (first trip) out of Senegal
Multinomial regression (Odds Ratios). Migration inflows

	F, I, E	France	Italy	Spain
Growth in foreign population	4.00**	0.00***	2.25	1598.35***
Migration inflow	1.47***	0.05***	0.92	3.59***

Controls: age, age2,sex, education, partnership, no. children, employment, subjective poverty, properties own, network

Table 3. Estimates of the probability to migrate (first trip) out of Senegal
Multinomial regression (Odds Ratios). Economic growth

	F, I, E	France	Italy	Spain
GDP per capita	1.00	1.00***	1.00***	1.00***
change of GDP per capita	1.01	1.00	0.89**	1.15**

Controls: age, age2,sex, education, partnership, no. children, employment, subjective poverty, properties own, network

Table 4. Estimates of the probability to migrate (first trip) out of Senegal
Multinomial regression (Odds Ratios). Regularizations

	F, I, E	France	Italy	Spain
Year of regularization + - 1 year	1.06	0.55***	1.09	2.18***

Controls: age, age2,sex, education, partnership, no. children, employment, subjective poverty, properties own, network

Table 5.   Estimates of the probability to migrate (first trip) out of Senegal
Multinomial regression (Odds Ratios). Network / social capital in destination country

	F,I,E	France	Italy	Spain
Partner	15.66***	12.76***	16.84***	18.97***
Other family members	3.82***	5.37***	2.91***	3.60***
Friends or acquaintances	6.48***	6.60***	10.01***	3.35***

Controls: age, age2,sex, education, partnership, no. children, employment, subjective poverty, properties own

Table 6. Estimates of the probability to migrate (first trip) out of Senegal
Multinomial regression (Odds Ratios). Individual level variables

Activity:	F,I,E	France	Italy	Spain
Student	1.04	1.66	0.66	0.50
Unemployed	1.76**	1.33	4.72***	0.30*
Inactive	0.77	0.93	0.77	0.68
Employer, higher professions	0.39*	0.95	0.22	0.00***
Employee, skilled worker	0.91	1.25	0.87	0.83
Unskilled worker	0.99	0.73	1.80*	0.67
Self-employed	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.

Controls: age, age2,sex, education, partnership, no. children, employment, subjective poverty, properties own, network

Table 7. Estimates of the probability to migrate (first trip) out of Senegal
Multinomial regression (Odds Ratios). Individual level variables

Economic situation of household:	F,I,E	France	Italy	Spain
More than enough	0.31***	0.34**	0.33	0.23**
Enough	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.
Less than enough	1.35*	1.29	0.97	1.84**
Not enough	1.18	1.16	0.97	1.87*

Controls: age, age2,sex, education, partnership, no. children, employment, subjective poverty, properties own, network

Table 8. Estimates of the probability to migrate (first trip) out of Senegal
Multinomial regression (Odds Ratios). Individual level variables

	F,I,E	France	Italy	Spain
Owns plot	0.97	1.05	0.37	1.96
Owns land	0.89	1.71	1.01	0.38*
Owns house	2.54***	1.34	3.14***	2.92***
Owns business	0.74	1.63	0.48	0.50

Controls: age, age2,sex, education, partnership, no. children, employment, subjective poverty, properties own, network

References

Baldwin-Edwards, M. and Arango, J. ,1999, *Immigrants and the Informal Economy in Southern Europe*, London, Frank Cass.

Piore, M. 1979, *Birds of Passage: Migrant Labor in Industrial Societies*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Portes, A. and Manning, R. D., 1986, "The immigrant enclave: Theory and empirical examples", in J. NAGEL & S. OLZAK(eds.), *Comparative Ethnic Relations*, New York, Academic Press, pp. 47-68.

Reyneri, E. 2003 'Immigration and the underground economy in new receiving South European countries: manifold negative effects, manifold deep-rooted causes', *International Review of Sociology* 13(1): 117-43.

Sana, M. & Massey, D. S., 2000, Seeking Social Security: An Alternative Motivation for Mexico-U.S. Migration, *International Migration* 38: 3-24

Stark, O. 1991 *The Migration of Labour*, Oxford: Blackwells.

Wilson, Kenneth L. and Alejandro Portes. 1980. "Immigrant Enclaves: An Analysis of the labor Market Experiences of Cubans in Miami." American Journal of Sociology 86 (September): 295-319