SOCIAL DETERMINANTS OF FORCED AND UNFORCED MIGRATIONS BETWEEN AFRICA AND EUROPE

MAO-MEI LIU, UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA BERKELEY

ABSTRACT

What are the drivers of refugee and forced migration? On one hand, political or environmental crises have often been assumed to explain refugee and forced migration entirely. However, while crisis possibly affects nearly the entire population of an area, individuals and families will differ "in their ability to respond to those crises" (Hugo 2018: 10). On the other hand, major theories of migration barely mention refugee and forces migration, but Hugo and colleagues argue that even 'forced' movers have agency, and that these theories do have relevance. Using retrospective multi-sited data collected in DR Congo, Ghana, Senegal and Europe, this paper seeks to examine the social determinants of forced and unforced African migrations to Europe. In addition, it seeks to contrast determinants of South-South and South-North migrations and contribute new knowledge to our understanding of how gender, social status and education influence such migrations.

What are the drivers of refugee and forced migration? In their new edited volume on the demography of refugee and forced migration, Hugo, Abbasi-Shavazi, Kraly and colleagues (2018) examine the tensions in the state of the literature and the need to understand more about the determinants of refugee and forced migration. On one hand, political or environmental crises have been assumed to explain refugee and forced migration entirely. However, while crisis possibly affects nearly the entire population of a given geographical area, individuals and families will differ "in their ability to respond to those crises" (Hugo 2018: 10). On the other hand, major theories of migration barely mention refugee and forces migration, but Hugo and colleagues argue that even 'forced' movers have agency, and that these theories do have relevance. Indeed, Hugo draws a parallel to Black's 2001 argument that "environmental factors only rarely are the only driver of migration. More frequently they operate through or together with other determinants – social, economic, cultural and political. Accordingly, there is a pressing need to examine forced migration within the broader framework of demographic theories of migration and migrants" (Hugo 2018: 10 referencing Black 2001)

While scholars seek to understand the consequences and interrelationships of refugee and forced migration with mortality and morbidity (Reed et al 2018), fertility and reproductive health (Agadjanian 2018) and family dynamics (Abbasi-Shavazi et al 2018), less attention has been paid to the determinants of forced migration. As such, I focus on trying to unearth the determinants of forced migration, in concert with contemporary migrations of more economic and unforced nature. Using multi-sited retrospective data collected in the DR Congo, Ghana and Europe in the Migration between African and Europe project, we can account for a wide range of time-varying and time invariant individual,

household and network characteristics. While unable to account for certain important aspects of forced migration (Reed et al 2018) like quick vs. slow onset of displacement, escalation/descalation, we do have a rich array of other individual and household data.

This project is innovative in at least two important ways. First, II can fully examine how individual and household determinants of migration have persisted or changed over different periods of economic and social turmoil and stability – and account for how these processes have been gendered. Second, I will be able to contrast micro-drivers of South-South and South-North international migration. Very few existing studies have done so to-date. This is also important for contrasting migrations (and their determinants) across the forced to not-forced spectrum, as the bulk of forced migrants are internally displaced or displaced in a relatively reduced geographical area. Third, it uses a recent data source to study migration between sub-Saharan Africa and Europe – and between countries in Africa. The MAFE (Migration between Africa and Europe) survey has numerous advantages over other datasets that have been used to examine international migration in the past. No other survey has such detailed information regarding individual's migration decisions and life trajectories, gathered retrospectively. No other large-scale survey has successfully collected longitudinal data about migration at both origins in Africa (Democratic Republic of Congo, Ghana and Senegal) and destinations in Europe. This is the first survey to conduct near-identical interviews about three distinct systems of international migration. In a previous article, I have demonstrated the richness of using the MAFE survey to test individual-level models of international migration from Senegal to Europe, and the role of migrant networks (Liu 2013).

1. Background

Sub-Saharan Africa represents a golden scientific opportunity for international migration scholarship. Like late-19th century Europe, contemporary sub-Saharan Africa has tremendous migration potential due to rapidly expanding youth cohorts, poor economic growth and increased demographic pressure on resources (Hatton and Williamson 2003).Yet, a relative and absolute lack of micro-studies of the determinants of international migration from sub-Saharan Africa persists. At the same time, the bulk of current theory and study of individual and household international migration behavior is based on the Mexico-U.S. case, but this case is also known to be exceptional in terms of the contextual conditions and socio-demographic profiles of migrants (Massey and Riosmena 2010, Massey and Sana 2003, Passel 2005, Riosmena 2010). Longitudinal cross-country comparisons are therefore imperative to gain broader, more substantive knowledge of international migration and to assess the reach of existing theoretical models. Which individuals and households are more likely to undertake international migration from sub-Saharan Africa is therefore an important research question for which prior research does not offer an adequate answer. Recent comparative micro-studies suggest that age-related resources, education and migrant networks play a strong role in migration from sub-Saharan Africa (González-Ferrer et al 2013, Schoumaker et al 2013, Toma and Vause 2014), but none of these studies have been able to make a strong link between micro and macro-levels of analysis, nor properly test the effect of economic and social turmoil on the changing selectivity of international migration. By using recent longitudinal micro-data from the MAFE (Migration between Africa and Europe) Project, I will be

able to examine the international migration decisions of individuals from the Democratic Republic of Congo (formerly Zaire), Ghana and Senegal from 1975-2007. Event history models will be used to test how the selectivity of flows changes during periods of economic and social turmoil. Multinomial logistic regression will be applied to examine the differing determinants of inter-continental (Africa-Europe) and intra-continental (Africa-Africa) migrations. Results from these models will provide the most direct evidence of the extent to which periods of turmoil influence international migration from sub-Saharan Africa.

Although theories of international migration highlight its multi-level character, the gap between micro and macro analyses remains wide: most understanding of the micro-determinants of migration is only tenuously linked to context. Most adept at connecting micro and macro levels of analysis are scholars of migration and conflict or natural disaster (Black et al 2013, Gray and Mueller 2012, Ibáñez and Vélez 2008, Williams et al 2012). In the realm of labor migration, the micro-macro link has been made most consistently by scholars of migrant networks and cumulative causation (Curran and Rivero-Fuentes 2003, Liu 2013, Massey 1990), but even they recognize how their own strategies tend to "dehistorize migration" from other contextual events and factors (Massey, Goldring and Durand 1994: 1507). Yet, scholars recognize that diminished economic opportunities at origin can put high-cost migration out of reach of some households *while* increasing their need to migrate (de Haas 2010, Massey et al 1998). As a result, while studies indicate that conflict changes the migrant-sending conditions and can alter the socio-demographic and asset profiles of migrants and migrant-sending households (Williams 2009, Williams et al 2012), far less attention has been paid to other kinds of economic and social turmoil. Yet, the latter can be greatly influential. Evidence is limited: a case study of a Mexican state reveals evidence that good economic conditions deterred migration by individuals lacking migrant networks, but not those with them (Lindstrom and Lauster 2001), while a study of Nicaraguan-U.S. migration indicates that migrant networks are more important during violent periods (Lundquist and Massey 2005). Broader inquiry is needed. Given its diverse recent histories, Sub-Saharan Africa also requires a thorough examination of changing migrant selectivity and periods of economic and social turmoil. For example, Senegal's CFA currency devaluation on January 1, 1994 led to a massive increase in poverty, born predominantly by the urban poor - particularly those employed in the informal sector (Azam 2004). As a result, I expect that individuals and households dependent on informal sector work to experience both elevated risks of staying in Senegal, as well as decreased abilities to migrate during this period. Overall, I expect that these individuals and households will be less likely to migrate internationally, with a larger dampening of high-cost inter-continental migration. The proposed study will examine how socio-demographic profiles of international migrants from three sub-Saharan countries have changed over a 30-year period, with particular attention to periods of economic and social turmoil and stability.

Finally, in large part due to Mexico-U.S. migration's dominance over the literature, the science of international migration largely fails to examine destination choice and the fact that alternative destinations may influence migration behavior (for an exception, see Bertoli and Moraga's 2013 macro study). Meanwhile, although most international migration is inside Africa, rather than to the global North, there is a great lack of work on Africa-Africa international migration (Lucas 2006), and South-South

international migration flows in general. This contrasts heavily with the rich literature on internal migration and expanding work on inter-continental moves. Previous work based on MAFE household data (Schoumaker et al 2013) finds that, over time, for Ghana and Senegal, migrations to Europe have grown while migrations to Africa have decreased, while the opposite is true for the Democratic Republic of Congo. The proposed study offers a novel opportunity to examine two major destination regions for Sub-Saharan African international migrants and contrast the micro-determinants of Africa-Africa versus Africa-Europe migrations.

2. Conceptual Model

The general theoretical framework that guides my study steeps a traditional migration determinants model with explicit emphases on how shifts in the economic and social context can influence individuals' social and economic resources and their access to international movement. Its main components are depicted in Figure 1. At the core of the framework is the conceptualization of multidimensional risks faced by individuals in the dynamic economic and social contexts of Sub-Saharan Africa. I argue that the structural hierarchies of family background, economy, and human capital inherent in all individuals' lives at origin are further compounded by gender inequalities and expectations that dampen women's ability to overcome key barriers to and access international migration. The model assumes that under these gendered disadvantages, women draw more heavily on the support of their personal networks. Yet, while personal networks can help migrant women with information, emotional support, and encouragement to reduce the risks, these networks may also create and promote inaccurate perceptions and stereotypes and may channel the women away from institutional resources that otherwise might be available to them. The second key assumption of our theoretical approach is that migrant women's inter-continental migration (Africa-Europe) should be examined and dealt with within a broader context of movement (intra-continental or Africa-Africa migration) and non-movement (staying at origin). It is therefore critical to understand how individuals mobilize their economic, human capital and social resources to access and embark on international migration.

Figure 1. Conceptual Model

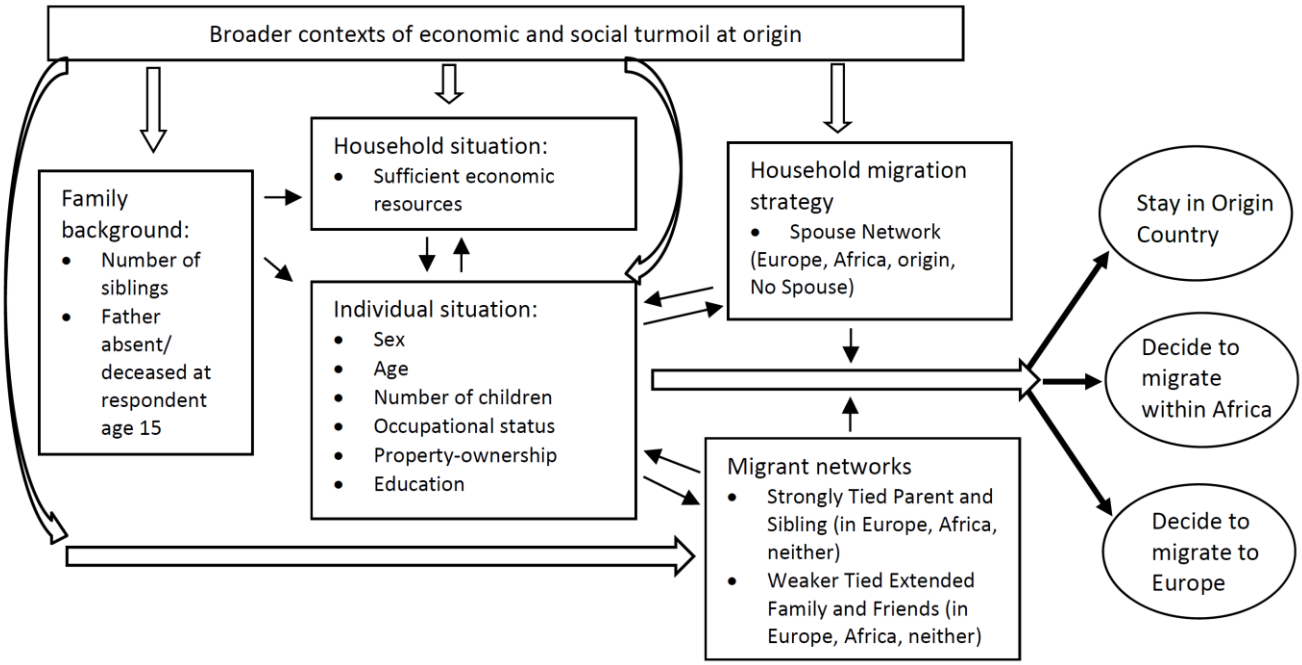


Figure 1 illustrates the place and role of personal migrant networks and spousal networks in individual decision-making about migration, and their ability to access or avoid it. Specifically, these opportunities and barriers are influenced by household and individual social position in terms of economy, education, family formation, as well their access to personal migrant networks. In addition, as the processes and relationships depicted in Figure 1 are impacted by the broader dynamics of economic and social context; the proposed three-country design will help account for variations among countries, as well as within-country differences in contexts over time.

3. Migration in context of DR Congo, Ghana and Senegal

The Democratic Republic of Congo, Ghana and Senegal provide a rich backdrop for exploring migration behavior. First, each has its own history of migration to Europe, related in part to its ex-colonial ties. Second, each has its own economic and social history since independence (1957 for Ghana, 1960 for DR Congo/Zaire and Senegal).

The Democratic Republic of Congo (formerly Zaire) has had a tumultuous history since independence from Belgium in 1960. Hesselbein (2007: 15-16) identifies different periods of state formation and collapse: state formation (1960-1964); state building (1964-1973); 'Things fall apart' (1974-1990) when there was a drastic and continual economic decline, as well as the negative effects of structural adjustment; 'The road to collapse' (1990-1997) when the situation worsened even more once international aid flows stopped and nearly 1 million refugees from Rwandan's civil war (1994) flowed in. A devastating period of armed conflict from 1996-2002 was marked by two wars (1996-1997 and 1998-2002) and further weakened the DR Congo. A peace accord signed in 2002, and elections held in 2006. The DR Congo's Human Development Index, a measure of the population's social and economic well-being, remains among the lowest in the entire world (UNDP 2013). During different parts of it recent history, the DR Congo certainly experienced what is known as a 'complex emergency' or 'a humanitarian

crisis in a country, region or society where there is total or considerable breakdown of authority resulting from internal or external conflict and which requires an international response that goes beyond the mandate or capacity of any single and/or ongoing UN country programme' (Inter-Agency Standing Committee 1994, as referenced by Reed et al 2018 in Hugo et al 2018, 91)

Before and after independence from the United Kingdom in 1957, Ghana had a prosperous and stable economy and received many migrants from neighboring countries in Africa (Anarfi *et al* 2003). The failing, then worsening economic situation from the mid 1960's was associated with a subsequent political tumult, involving several regime changes from 1978 until the December 1981 military coup d'état and enduring military dictatorship therafter (Kraev 2004). In 1983, Nigeria expelled all foreigners, including 900,000 to 1.2 million Ghanaians (Anarfi *et al* 2003), which worsened an already bleak economic situation. That same year, the Ghana government accepted a standard structural adjustment reform package from the World Bank, and with the capital inflows, high GDP growth resulted (Kraev 2004). A process of democratization resulted in national elections in 1992, 1996 and 2000. However, inflation rates remained high, and the economy stagnated in the 1990's (Kraev 2004: 26), but has stabilized since the mid-1990's. Since then, Anarfi *et al* (2003: 8) report a "diasporisation" of Ghanaians migrating to the UK, U.S., Canada and elsewhere.

Senegal has been relatively stable politically and economically since its independence from France in 1960. The first Senegalese migrants to Europe were French army members who stayed to work in the port of Marseilles (Gerdes 2007) in the early 20th century and recruits of the French automobile industry in the 1960's (Jabardo Velasco 2006). With the oil crisis in 1973 and the recessions prior, France essentially closed its borders to further labor migration. In the 1970's and early 1980's, the groundnut crisis, faltering prospects in Senegal and growth in labor-intensive agriculture in Italy and Spain sparked new Senegalese migration to Europe (Jabardo Velasco 2006; Lacomba and Moncusi 2006). Senegal's economic crisis deepened in the 1980's with the structural adjustment programs (SAP), which affected Senegal society adversely (Fall 1999, Lopez and Hathie 1998, Weissman 1990), and then again with the crippling SAP II from 1990-1994 and the CFA currency devaluation on January 1st, 1994. Despite macro-economic growth since, the currency devaluation signaled a massive increase in poverty, especially for the urban poor (Azam 2006). Increased public expenditure from 1997 on reduced poverty and provoked recovery through the early 2000's at least (Azam et al 2007), although it was still largely perceived as economic stagnation.

The major time periods for the three countries are illustrated in Figure 2.

Figure 2. Summary of Economic and Social History of DR Congo, Ghana and Senegal, 1960-2008

YEARS	DR CONGO		GHANA		SENEGAL	
1960-1973	State forming or state building		Economic situation failing		Free migration to France	
1974-1982	Increasing Tumult (1974-1995)	'Things fall apart', Structural adjustment programs	Tumultuous (1974-1995)	Economic and political turmoil	Increasing Tumult (1974-1995)	Groundnut crisis and failing economic prospects
1983-1989		'The road to collapse' politically, socially and economically		Structural adjustment program, In-flow of a million returnees from Nigeria, economic woes		First structural adjustment programs (SAP), economic woes
1990-1995				Democratization, stagnating economy		1990 -1994. SAP II
1996-2002	Conflict (1996-2002)	Armed conflict	Stability and Growth (1996-2007)	Democratization and diasporisation, some economic growth	Tumult (1994-1996)	1994 - CFA devaluation 1994 -1996 Increased poverty
2003-2007	'Recovery' (2003-2007)	Post-conflict period		Steady economic growth	Recovery (1997-2007)	1997- Economic recovery, but perceived as stagnation and increasing social stratification

For analyzing the 1974-2007 study period, I define a few major periods of economic and social stability and turmoil for each country. In the case of DR Congo, I distinguish three periods: the increasingly tumultuous period before the armed conflict (1974-1995); the extremely tumultuous period of armed conflict (1996-2002); and a post-conflict period filled with on-going tensions, particularly in the east of the country (2003-2007). In the case of Ghana, I distinguish a period of economic and politically tumult (1974-1995) from one of steady economic growth and political stability (1996-2007). Finally, in the case of Senegal, I distinguish a period of growing economic tumult (1974-1993); the CFA devaluation and its devastating aftermath (1994-1996); and a period of economic recovery (1997-2007).

4. Data and Methods

Data: To address my research aims, I will use the full set of publicly available data from the Migration between African and Europe (MAFE) individual biographical questionnaires. The MAFE is designed to allow for comparative analyses among distinct migration systems (http://mafeproject.site.ined.fr/en/). In Africa, representative samples of about 1500 individuals (non-migrants and return migrants) were randomly drawn from selected regions (Dakar in Senegal; Kinshasa in DR Congo; Accra and Kumasi in Ghana). In Europe, about 150 migrants from each origin country were selected (approximately 450 Senegalese migrants in France, Italy and Spain; 300 Congolese migrants in Belgium and the UK; and 300 Ghanaian migrants in the UK and the Netherlands). With the exception of Spain where the Padrón (Municipal Register) served as a sampling frame for migrants, quota-sampling (at least age and sex) was used in Europe (Beauchemin 2012).

Africa-Europe (Intercontinental) and Africa-Africa (Intracontinental) migration will be treated as competing risks in multinomial logit models. Since MAFE includes full retrospective residence trajectories, we focus on the 1st out-migration from the origin country. We focus on first-time migration, since it has higher costs (Deléchat 2001) and apparently different mechanisms than subsequent migration (*e.g*. Donato *et al* 2008, Massey and Espinosa 1997, Parrado and Cerrutti 2003). Moves from the origin country to other continents are censored at the year of migration. Because I am interested in examining the determinants of adult migration, individuals enter the risk population at age 17.

Measures:

Periods of conflict, turmoil at origin – Preliminary analysis included below explores three periods in all three countries: before 1990 as the reference category, 1990-1999, 2000 and after.

Individual Characteristics – All regression models will control for key social and demographic characteristics. Changes in migration selectivity during periods of conflict, political or economic turmoil will be measured by comparing corresponding coefficients for all these variables before and during these periods. I include a multitude of time-varying control variables. These include respondent's age, number of children. In any given year, a respondent's occupational status is employed (reference), study or not working. A separate indicator captures whether a respondent engaged in income-generating petty work in a given year. A respondent's property ownership identifies whether, in any given year, a respondent owned land, housing or a business. The models also include the respondent's highest level of education (primary or less, secondary, tertiary or higher). Models also include gender of respondent. All time-varying indicators are lagged by one year.

Family of Origin Characteristics – Information about a respondent's family and household are also included. The models include a respondent's number of siblings. In order to capture the well-being of the origin household, a variable of whether the respondent's father was deceased or unknown when the respondent was aged 15 is included. A time-varying measure of *household economic well-being* is also included: 1 indicating sufficient economic resources and 0 indicating insufficient economic resources. For the preliminary analysis, father's highest level of education is used to proxy for respondents' family socio-economic background. As educational distributions vary quite substantially across the three countries (with DRC the most educated and Senegal the least), relative measures of education - low, medium and high educated – are constructed. These differ between Senegal, on the one hand, and Ghana and DRC, where individuals are more educated, on the other[1]. We include Ego's own highest level of education as a measure of achieved status.

Migrant networks – A large research literature on international migration has highlighted that having personal migrant networks boosts the odds of migration (Curran and Rivero-Fuentes 2003,

[1] The low-educated fathers are those with no formal education in Senegal and fathers with primary education or below in Ghana and the Democratic Republic of Congo; the medium-educated fathers include those attaining primary education in Senegal and secondary or vocational education in RDC and Ghana; the high-educated fathers are those who reach secondary education or above in Senegal, and tertiary (university) education or above in Ghana or DRC.

Palloni et al 2001, Liu 2013, Massey and Espinosa 1997). Following Liu (2013), I distinguish migrant networks from household migration strategies, but this proposal introduces an additional nuance – destination. *Migrant network* is coded 1 for all years a respondent reports having a migrant network member in Europe; 2 for all years when a respondent reports having a migrant network in Africa and 0 otherwise. I use my previous theoretically and empirically-motivated definitions of tie strength (Liu 2013): *strong ties* (parents and siblings); *weak ties* (extended family and friends). Household migration strategies are measured through a destination-specific measure of migrant spouse. Following previous convention (Liu 2013, Toma and Vause 2014), I consider *spouse network* to be a proxy for family reunification. For example, the European Union (and most developed countries) has special provisions to facilitate the legal reunification of close family (e.g. Gil Araujo 2010, Bonizzoni et al 2009, Kofman et al 2010). Given this proposal's interest in migration to various destinations, we account for four categories of partnership status: 1. Single (reference) 2. Migrant spouse outside Europe 3. Migrant spouse in Europe.

Feasibility of the proposed research has been explored and demonstrated in preliminary comparative work done by the principal investigator (Liu and Toma 2014). For example, Table 1 compares characteristics of inter-continental migrant and non-migrant groups in each country: there are significant differences between migrants and non-migrants, as well as variation among the countries. Subsequent analysis will include intra-continental migrants, and longitudinal analyses.

Table 1: Selected descriptive statistics of Stayers and Migrants to Europe

	DR Congo		Ghana		Senegal	
	Stayers (N=1739)	Migrants (N=327)	Stayers (N=1293)	Migrants (N=372)	Stayers (N=1083)	Migrants (N=585)
Male	0.40	0.47	0.35	0.52	0.46	0.69
Father Unknown/Decea.	0.08	0.04	0.07	0.08	0.09	0.07
Secondary Edu. & above	0.83	0.98	0.76	0.77	0.63	0.29
Have a child	0.79	0.52	0.77	0.49	0.74	0.37
Employed	0.58	0.20	0.71	0.54	0.63	0.54
Having migrant network	0.17	0.47	0.12	0.32	0.29	0.36
Migrant spouse	0.00	0.18	0.02	0.09	0.02	0.09

Source: MAFE Individual surveys, 2008-2009

5. Analytical Strategy

Aim 1. Examine the individual socio-demographic and household determinants of international migration between Sub-Saharan Africa (Democratic Republic of Congo, Ghana and Senegal) and Europe, as well as international migration to other countries in Africa.

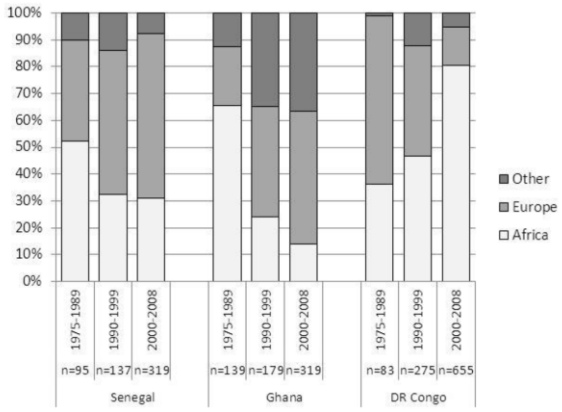
Analyses of the determinants of individuals' inter-continental (Africa-Europe) and intra-continental (Africa-Africa) migration will proceed in two stages. The methodologies chosen will permit me to test two primary hypotheses: 1) *inter-continental (Africa-Europe) migration is more highly selective in terms of human capital, social capital and economic capital than intra-continental (Africa-Africa) migration*; and 2) *women's inter-continental (Africa-Europe) migration is more highly selective in terms of gendered resources than men's inter-continental (Africa-Europe) migration.* Given my interest in adult migration, I

will limit the samples to adults, with first possible migration at age 18. The unit of interest is person year. Preliminary analysis of the data reveals sample size of approximately 40,271 person years (327 events) for the Democratic Republic of Congo; 31,793 person years (372 inter-continental migration events) for Ghana; and 28,877 person years (585 events) for Senegal.

To test the first hypothesis (greater selectivity for inter-continental than intra-continental migrations), I estimate multinomial logit models to distinguish inter-continental (Africa-Europe) migration and intra-continental (Africa-Africa) migrations. Given prominent gender differences in the influence of key indicators, separate models will be estimated for men and women. I examine the role of family and household factors; individual factors; and finally migrant networks and spousal networks. These three categories of information will be added sequentially in nested models.

If the proposed research confirms the hypotheses, results will reveal greater resource needs and higher thresholds for African-Europe migration, than for Africa-Africa migration. Previous analysis on the MAFE household data shows changing distributions of destinations through time for each of the three countries, and the individual biographical data used in the proposed research is expected to reveal similar destination heterogeneity. Figure 3 (from Schoumaker et al 2013) shows migration trends by destination. The relative proportion of Africa-Europe migrations grow over time for Senegal and Ghana, with Africa-Africa migrations decreasing. The opposite is true for the DR Congo.

Figure 3: Distribution of first migrations by destination, period (MAFE Household data)



Source: Schoumaker et al 2013

To test the second hypothesis (gendered selectivity of inter-continental migration), I estimate logistic regression models to analyze the odds of first inter-continental (Africa-Europe) migration. The strongly gendered nature of women's international migration behavior and negotiation has been explored in several contexts and has highlighted the key roles of migrant networks, labor force participation, family formation and household resources (Curran and Rivero-Fuentes 2003, Kanaiaupuni 2000, Paul 2015), but far less is known about the differential use of gendered resources in international migration by Sub-Saharan African women and men. Previous study has focused primarily on migrant networks (Liu 2013, Toma and Vause 2014) and education (Toma and Vause 2013). In the proposed research, I test the effects of household resources, individual factors and networks on women and men's inter-continental international migration in sequential manner, through sex interactions. Given the greater social and economic barriers to female migration, I expect that female migration requires higher levels of resources. Female migrants will be more likely to be sent from households with sufficient resources; if the woman is considered more mobile in terms of family formation (unmarried, having no or fewer children); if she possesses human capital resources in terms of education or labor market participation (either employed, or involved in petty work); and if she has access to migrant network resources or – in particular – if her

spouse resides at destination. Alternatively, in the case of intercontinental migration (Africa-Europe) from Senegal, I expect that belonging to the Mouride brotherhood will fast track migration by both women and men (Liu 2015a, 2015b).

Aim 2. Assess whether selectivity of inter-continental (Africa-Europe) and intra-continental (Africa-Africa) migrations changes during periods of economic and social turmoil.

Changes in the selectivity of migrants will be tested in two ways. First, separate models of the form described in the previous section (multinomial logit) will be tested using data, separating the years taken for the three different periods identified for DR Congo and Senegal, and the two periods for Ghana. Using the first period as a baseline for each country analysis, differences in the size of the coefficients for each demographic variable will be examined to test how the ensuing period/s affected the odds of migration. Separate models will be tested for men and women. Second, the effect of periods of economic and social turmoil on the educational and social selectivity of migrants will be examined by introducing interactions between periods and individual's education, as well as periods and migrant networks. In light of previous study, I expect greater educational and social selectivity for migrants during times of economic or social turmoil and less selectivity during times of economic or social stability.

Preliminary Results

Table 2: Logistic estimation of first migration to Europe in a year, by Country of Origin

Variable	DR Congo	Ghana	Senegal
Periods (ref: before 1990)			
1990s	0.82	0.77*	1.13
2000s	0.76*	1.15	1.51***
Family background			
Number of Siblings	0.97*	0.98	0.95***
Firstborn	1.02	1.11	1.14
Father education (ref: low)			
Medium	1.01	1.29**	1.24*
High	1.65***	2.04***	1.13
Individual characteristics			
Female	0.84	0.52***	0.54***
Age	1.01	1.30***	1.52***
Age squared	1.00	1.00***	0.99***
Own education (ref: low)			
Medium	1.73**	1.38*	1.60***
High	5.97***	2.78***	2.02***
Partner status (ref: Single)			
Partner outside Europe		0.60***	0.76**
Partner in Europe		5.39***	4.62***
Occupational status (ref: working)			
Studying		0.53***	1.11
Not working		1.39*	0.93
Migrant network	3.05***	4.84***	2.98***
Constant	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***
N (person years)	37808	28982	21523

Source: MAFE Individual surveys, 2008-2009
Notes: Odds ratios reported. ***p<0.001, **p<0.01, *p<0.05

Next steps

- Better operationalization periods of armed conflict or internal strife that the population of the DR Congo (and perhaps Ghana, Senegal) has experienced. More examination of whether, how determinants shift during these periods and of possible interaction effects between periods and variables that are theorized to lessen or strengthen influence during these times of conflict.
- Account or predict the reason for migration. MAFE asked respondents their motivation to migrate. The responses were grouped into political, family, economic and study. Simple descriptive statistics in terms of what motivations individuals gave and how the distribution may have changed over time in DR Congo vs Ghana or Senegal could be illustrative. Also, we should explore multinomial logit discrete-time event history estimation of migration motivation.
- Include ethnicity as covariate
- Carry through Aims 1 and 2 above

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