Leaving, Returning

Trends and Determinants of Senegalese and Congolese International Migrations

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Background

- Sub-Saharan migration often perceived as...
  - ‘Massive’ and ‘Exploding’
  - Mainly directed to Western countries
  - One-way move... with no return
  - By people fleeing misery

- Little reliable data to describe and understand African flows
  - No series on the number of departures from African countries
    - difficult to assess the supposed « explosion » of African migration
  - International out-migration measured essentially from the Western countries point of view (OECD database)
    - difficult to assess the share of Western countries among other destinations
  - Almost no measure of return migration (either at destination or at origin)
    - difficult to assess whether African migration is definitive or not
Objectives

- Levels, trends & determinants of African migration
  - How have out-migration trends evolved since the 1970s?
  - In what extent do migrants return to their home country?
  - Which characteristics influence departure and return?

- Beyond patchy evidence
  - Historically: a continuous measure of migration, instead of punctual measures
  - Geographically: a comparative perspective (still limited the capital regions & to be extended)
Data sources & Method

The MAFE surveys
MAFE case studies

- Migration system 1
  - Senegal
  - Spain
  - Italy

- Migration system 2
  - RD-Congo
  - Belgium
  - Great Britain

- Migration system 3
  - Ghana
  - Netherlands

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA  EUROPE
MAFE Questionnaires

- Household questionnaire (in departure countries)
  - HH members, but also all HH children and migrants abroad
  - Individual characteristics (age, gender, education...)
  - HH assets, received remittances
  - Migration
    - First migration: date and country
    - Return: date

- Biographic questionnaires (in origin and destination countries)
  - Migration histories, family histories, employment histories, asylum applications, work permits, investments, etc.

- Identical questionnaires in all countries
  - with few exceptions
## The MAFE Surveys in Senegal and DRC

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Senegal</th>
<th>DR Congo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Year of data collection</td>
<td>2008</td>
<td>2007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sample size (households)</td>
<td>1,141</td>
<td>943</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Representative samples of...</td>
<td>Dakar Region</td>
<td>Kinshasa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collected by...</td>
<td>INED &amp; IPDSR</td>
<td>UCL &amp; UNIKIN</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Method: Survival analyses

- Using information on the dates and place of migration (1st departure, 1st return)

- Kaplan-Meier estimates (survival curves)
  - To describe the timing of return

- Piecewise constant exponential models
  - To reconstruct migration trends (with splines)
  - To approach the determinants of departure and return
  - Principle: at any time (person-year files)
    - Instantaneous probability of migrating
    - Taking into account the fact that migration did not occur before
    - Controlling for age, period (year), gender, education

- A systematic comparison
  - of origin countries: Senegal vs. RD Congo
  - of destination regions: African vs. Western countries
Where do migrants from Dakar and Kinshasa live at the time of the surveys?

Dakar, 2008

21%
- Neighbouring countries (44%)
  - France + Italy + Espagne (78%)
  - 79%

Kinshasa, 2007

55%
- Neighbouring countries (76%)
  - France + Belgique (65%)
  - 45%
Migration trends to Western countries and African countries
Lifetime risks of international migration (18-50) from Dakar and Kinshasa, 1975-2007

Each year, % of people who out-migrated at least once between age 18-50

Linear splines (p-values<0.1)
Determinants of departure
Migrations to Western countries

Strong impact of education

White bars: non-significant results
Other control variable: period
Senegalese women are less likely to migrate
The youngest are more likely to move
Do migrants return?
Percentage of migrants still abroad, by duration since first departure (Kaplan Meier estimates)

SENEGAL

100 % still abroad

DR CONGO
Percentage of migrants still abroad, by duration since first departure (Kaplan Meier estimates)

SENEGAL

DR CONGO

Western countries

Africa
Percentage of migrants still abroad, by duration since first departure (Kaplan Meier estimates)

SENEGAL

Western countries
Africa

DR CONGO
Percentage of migrants still abroad, by duration since first departure (Kaplan Meier estimates)

SENEGAL

DR CONGO

Western countries

Africa
Percentage of migrants still abroad, by duration since first departure (Kaplan Meier estimates)

SENEGAL

DR CONGO

Western countries

Africa

Western countries

Africa
Propensity of return by period of departure

**SENEGAL**

- > 2002
- 1992-2001
- 1982-1991
- < 1982

**DR CONGO**

- > 2002
- 1992-2001
- 1982-1991
- < 1982

Western countries

Africa
Returns from Western countries

The harder it is to leave, the less people return

White bars: non-significant results
The more qualified are neither more nor less likely to return
Senegalese women are more likely to return, Congolese women are less likely
Conclusion

- No unique model of migration
  - Significant differences in migration trends, with varied destinations
    - Congolese specificity due to political troubles (?)
    - Need for further comparison (Ghana forthcoming)
  - Gender effect varies across countries
    - Senegalese F. leave less, return more than M.
    - Congolese F. leave as much as M., return less
    - Need for further investigation on gender relations and migration
Conclusion

- But convergences
  - Strong selectivity by level of education at departure
    - But not upon return
  - Significant returns
    - Even from Western countries (1/3 after 10 years)
    - But a decreasing propensity of return from Western countries
    - Strong differences between African and Western countries
    - Border control as a counter-productive policy regarding return (?)... What future for return migration from Africa?