

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

Authors:

Amparo González-Ferrer,  
Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas  
Instituto de Economía, Geografía y Demografía  
Albasanz, 26-28. 28037 Madrid  
[amparo.gonzalez@cchs.csic.es](mailto:amparo.gonzalez@cchs.csic.es)

Pau Baizán  
Universitat Pompeu Fabra  
Department de Ciències Polítiques i Socials  
Trias Fargas, 25. 08005 Barcelona  
[pau.baizan@upf.edu](mailto:pau.baizan@upf.edu)

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.

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 black 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.

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.

### *Data and Method*

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

We use 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.

### *Expected results*

Table 1 presents some preliminary results. Interestingly enough, individual and household characteristics affect differently the probability to migrate to each of our three possible destinations. In further analyses we intend to examine whether contextual variables measuring different aspects of the economic and migration contexts that migrants encounter in each destination (economic growth, wage differential, number of Senegalese workers, regularisations, expulsions, etc.) can account for these differences.

Table 1. Estimates of the probability to migrate (first trip) out of Senegal  
Multinomial regression (Odds Ratios)

	<b>SPAIN</b>	<b>FRANCE</b>	<b>ITALY</b>
Age	1.38***	1.31**	1.45***
age2 (ref. male)	1.00***	1.00***	0.99***
Female	0.84	0.65*	0.55**
Missing (ref. Father self-employed )	0	0	0
Employer	1.01	1.82**	0.62
Skilled worker	0.22***	0.73	0.44**
Unskilled workers	0.74	1.01	2.11***
Did not work	0.44*	0.76	0.18***
Father died	0.52	0.8	0.77
Don't know (ref. Lower secondary)	1.32	1.25	0.92
No schooling	0.84	0.60*	0.21***

Primary	0.95	0.60*	0.49***
Upper Secondary	1.47	1.33	0.68
University	0.54	2.16**	0.72
(ref. employed)			
In education	0.57	1.53	0.75
Unemployed	0.22*	1.35	4.78***
Other inactive	0.76	1.12	0.73
Missing	0		0
(ref.			
class3==1	0	0.93	0.28
class3==2	1.17	1.19	0.99
class3==3	0.65	0.92	2.02**
class3==9	2.56	0	0
(ref. Has enough to live)			
Does not have enough	6.25***	0.43*	0.73
Uncertain	7.16***	1.06	1.03
Poverty~7777	0	0	0
Poverty~8888	0	0	6.58**
Poverty~9999	41.45***	0	0
(ref. not in union)			
In union	1.04	1.03	1.44
Number of children	0.74***		0.81**
Own a Plot (ref. no)	1.82	1.14	0.42
Own a land (ref. no)	0.29	1.69	1.08
Own a house (ref. no)	2.62**		3.27***
Own a business (ref. no)	0.55	1.64	0.32
Migrant partner (ref. no)	5.20***	3.88***	4.62***
Other migrant relatives (ref.no)	2.09***	1.71***	1.2
Migrant friends (ref. no)	1.38	2.05***	3.36***
(ref. Cohort of arrival: <1980)			
1980-1995	5.42*	0.81	9.8e+07***
1995-2007	7.98**	0.61*	1.9e+08***
Constant	0.00***	0.00***	0

Log Likeli~d -2752.86

LR Chi Squ~e 1189.02

N. of cases 26165.00