

# Leaving, Returning

Trends and Determinants of  
Senegalese and Congolese International Migrations

**Cris Beauchemin (INED)**  
**Marie-Laurence Flahaux (UCL)**  
**Bruno Schoumaker (UCL)**

# 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

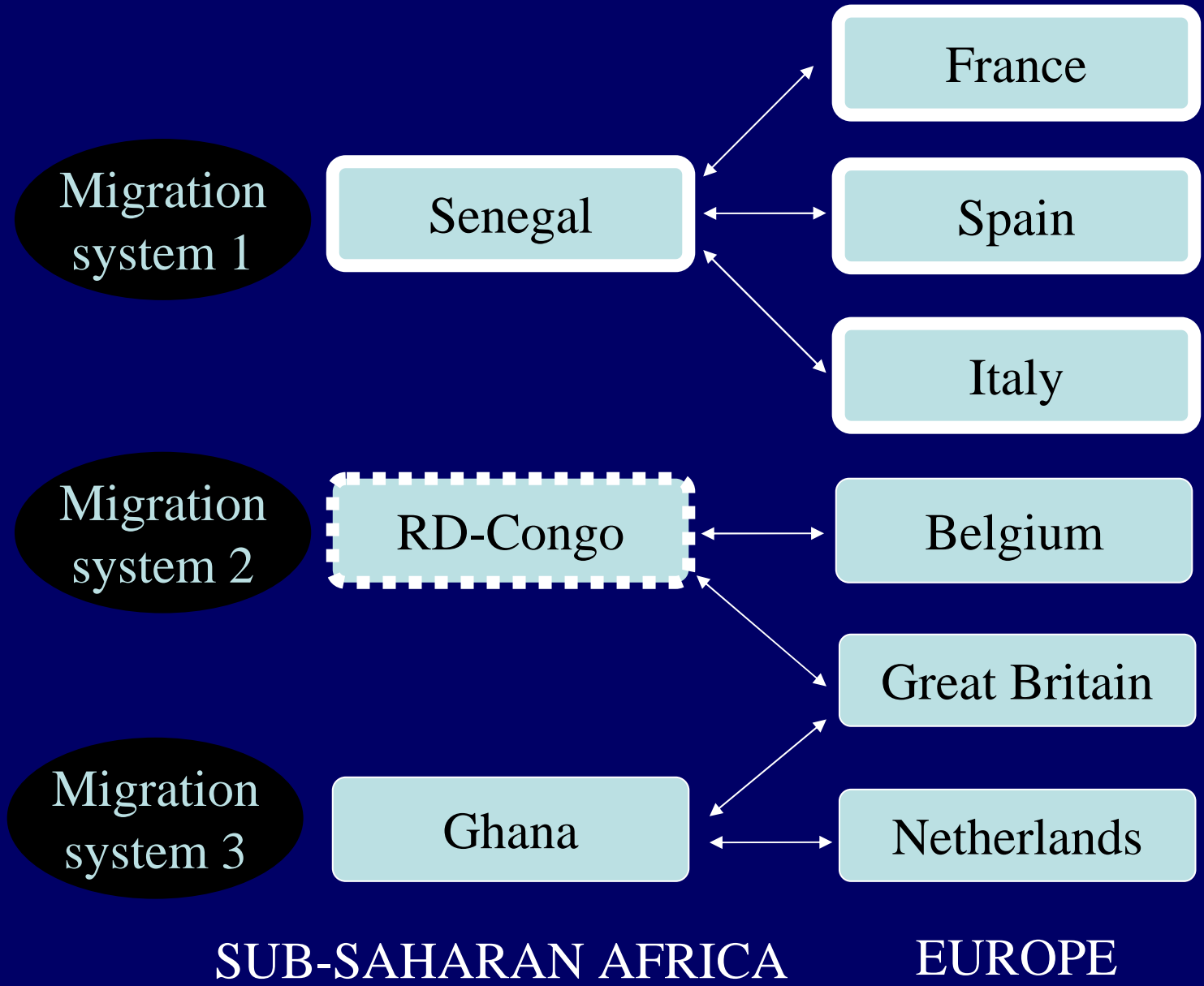
# Objectives

- 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



# 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

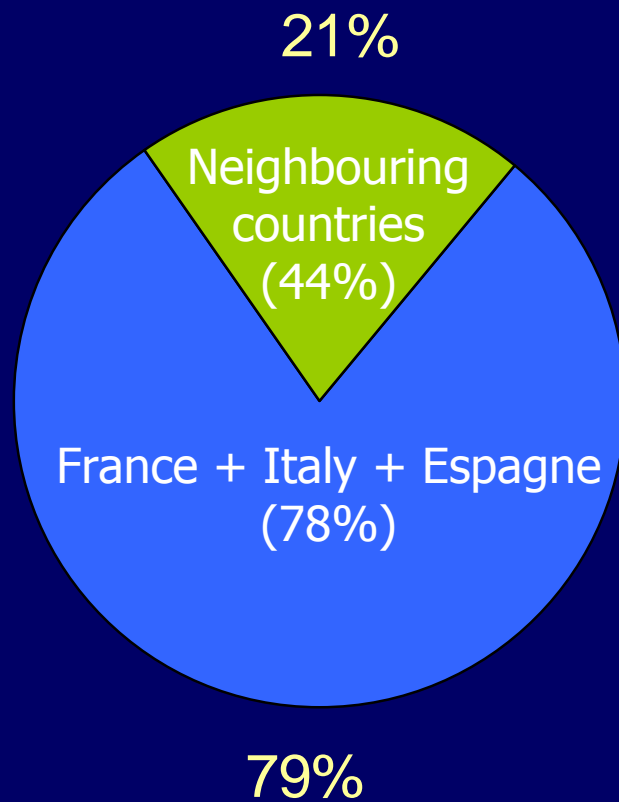
Country	Senegal	DR Congo
Year of data collection	2008	2007
Sample size (households)	1 141	943
Representative samples of...	Dakar Region	Kinshasa
Collected by...	INED & IPDSR	UCL & UNIKIN

# Method: Survival analyses

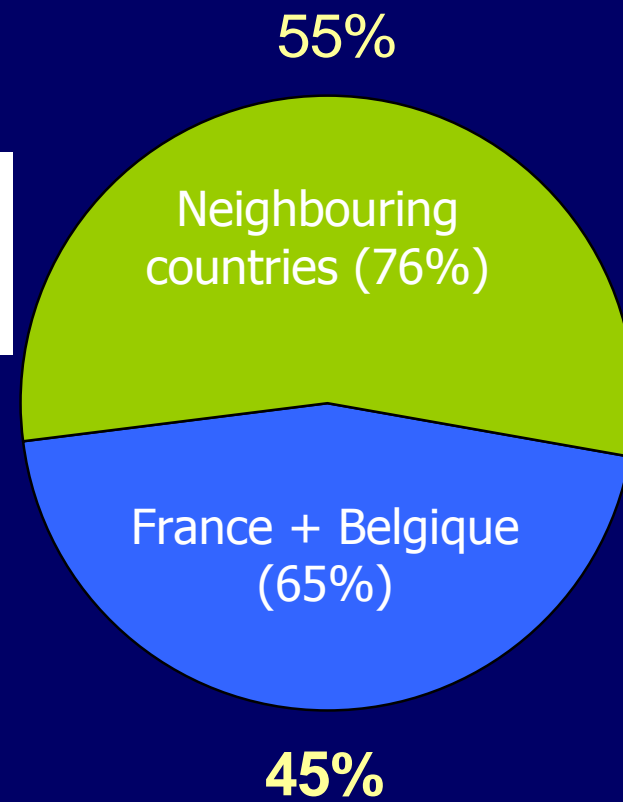
- Using information on the dates and place of migration (1st departure, 1st return)
- Kaplan-Meier estimates (survival curves)
  - To describe the timing of return
- Piecewise constant exponential models
  - To reconstruct migration trends (with splines)
  - To approach the determinants of departure 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



Kinshasa, 2007

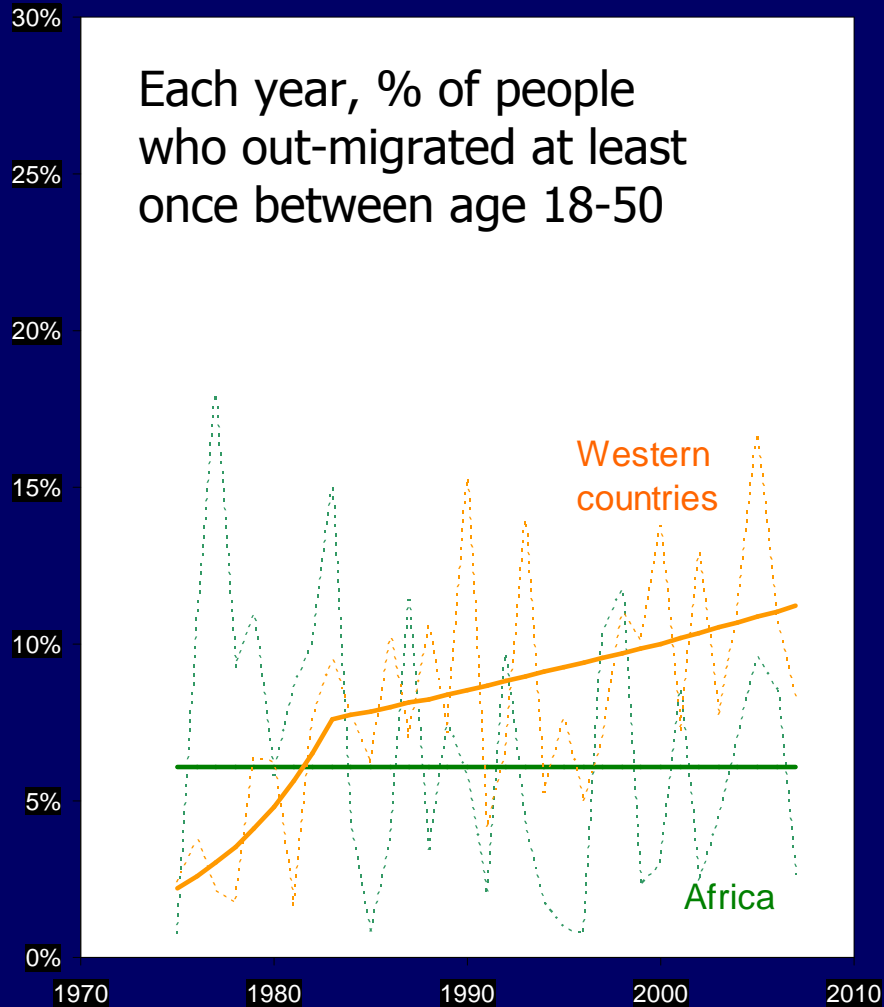


■ Africa  
■ Western c.

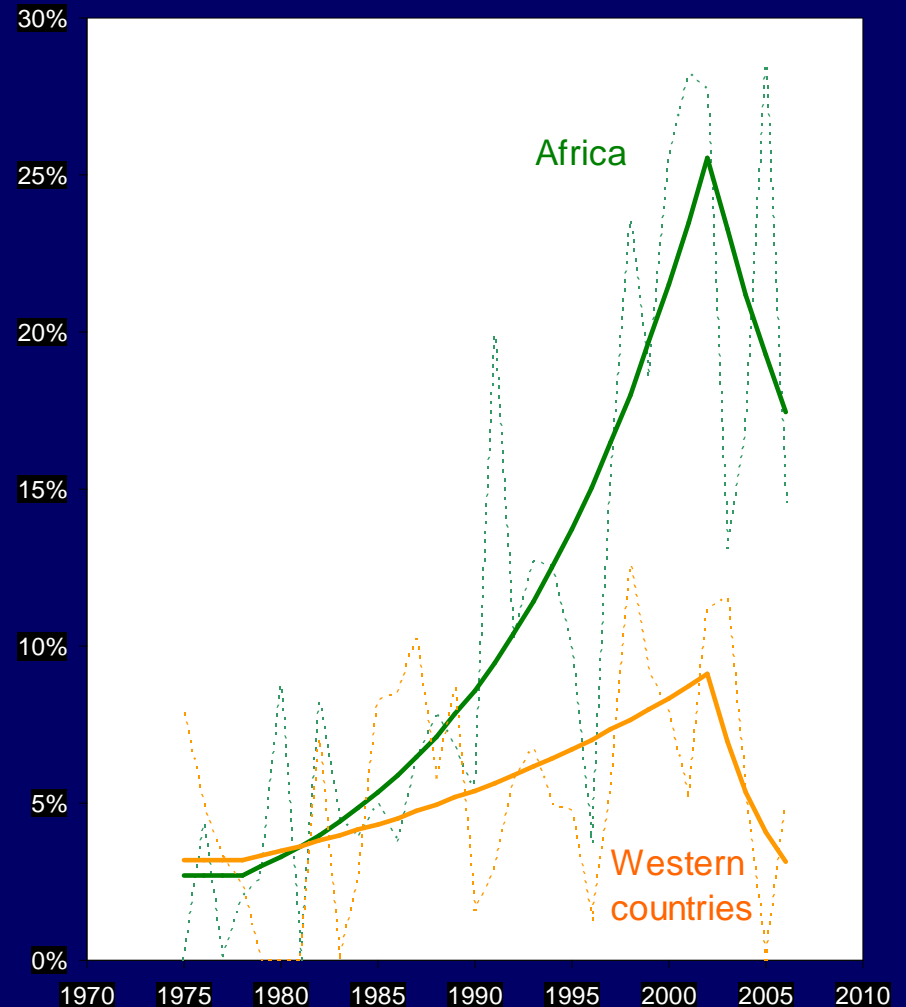
# Migration trends to Western countries and African countries

# Lifetime risks of international migration (18-50) from Dakar and Kinshasa, 1975-2007

## SENEGAL

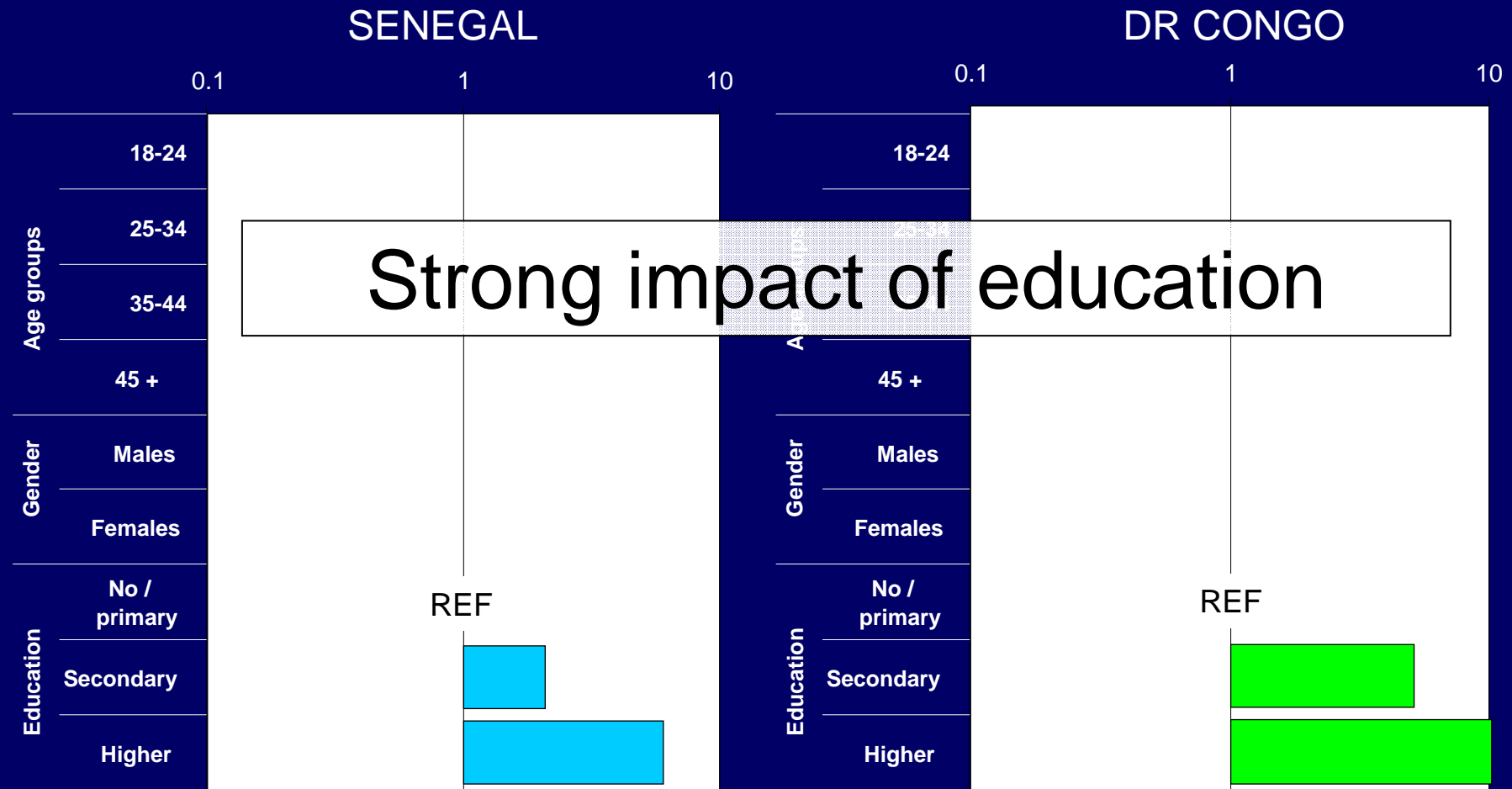


## DR CONGO



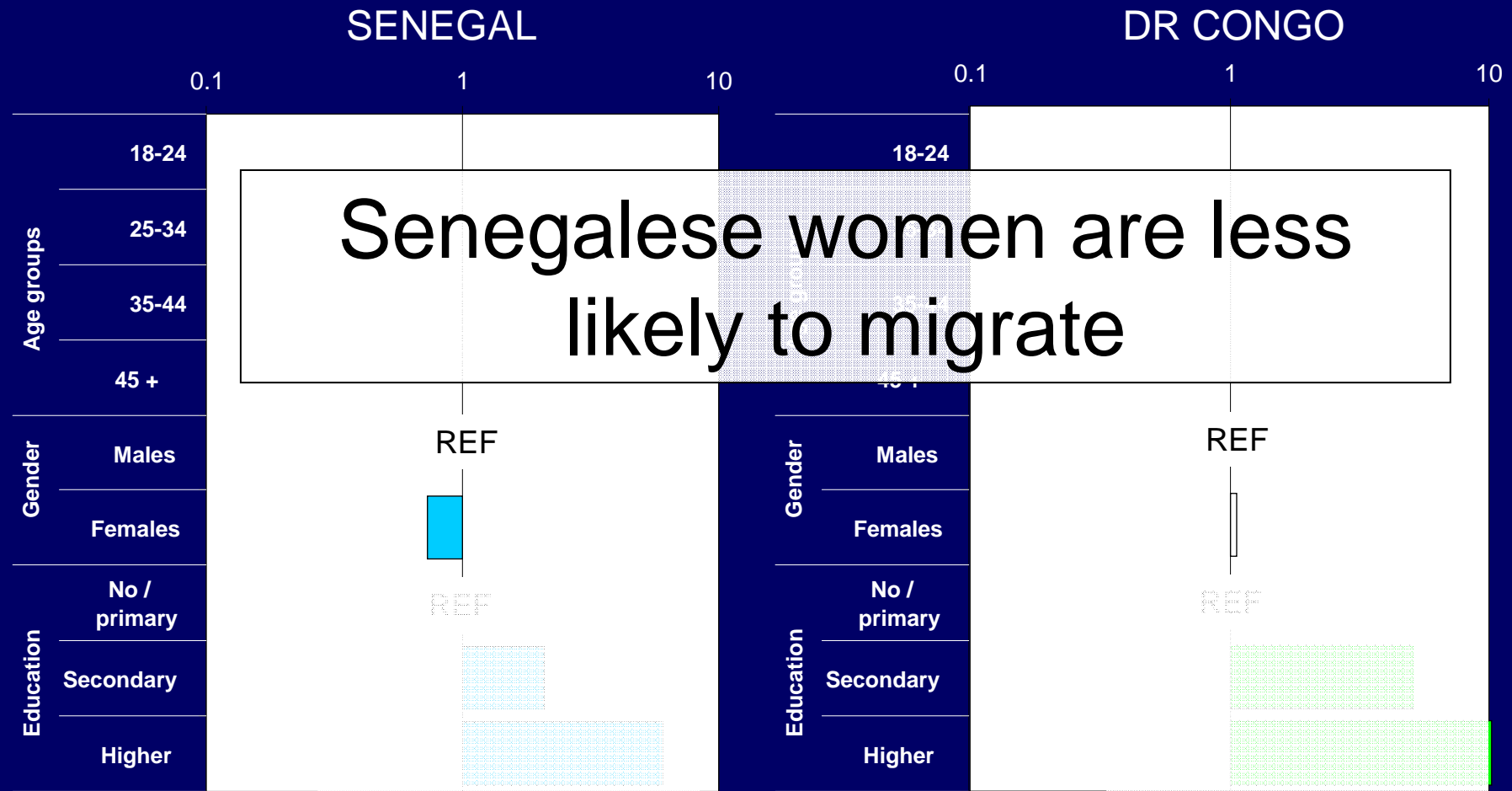
# Determinants of departure

# Migrations to Western countries



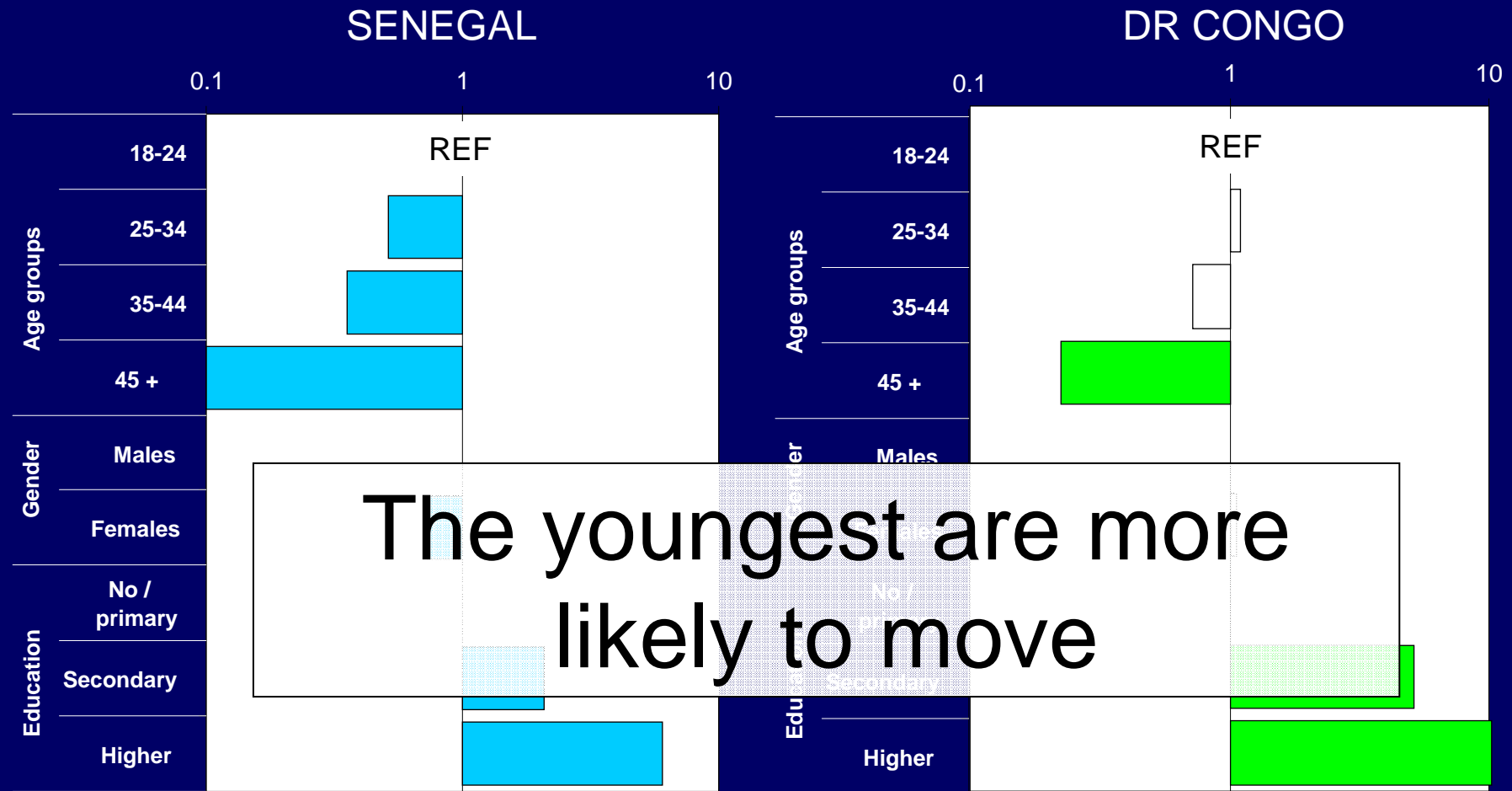
White bars: non-significant results  
Other control variable: period

# Migrations to Western countries



White bars: non-significant results  
 Other control variable: period

# Migrations to Western countries



The youngest are more likely to move

White bars: non-significant results  
Other control variable: period

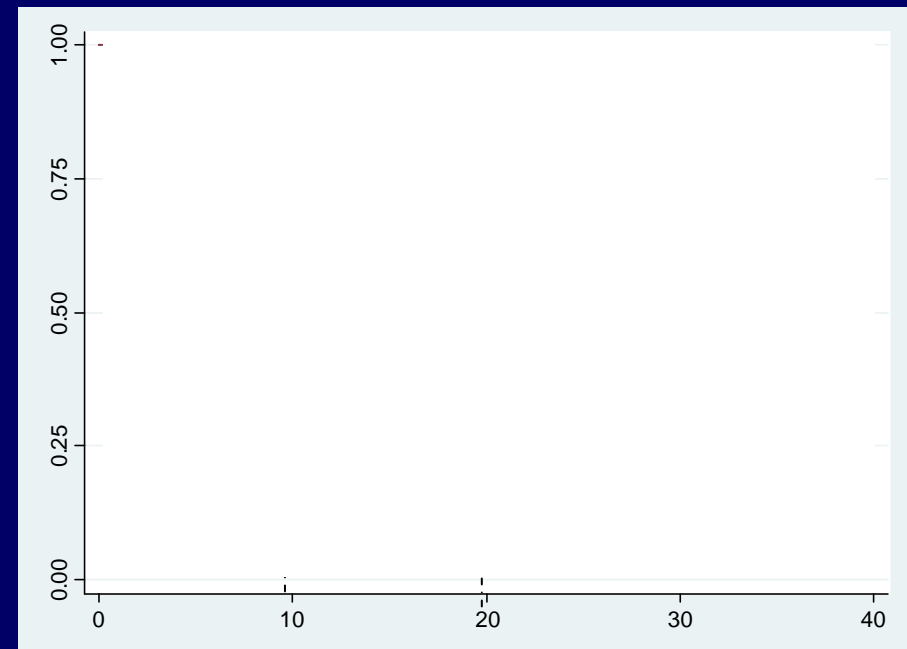
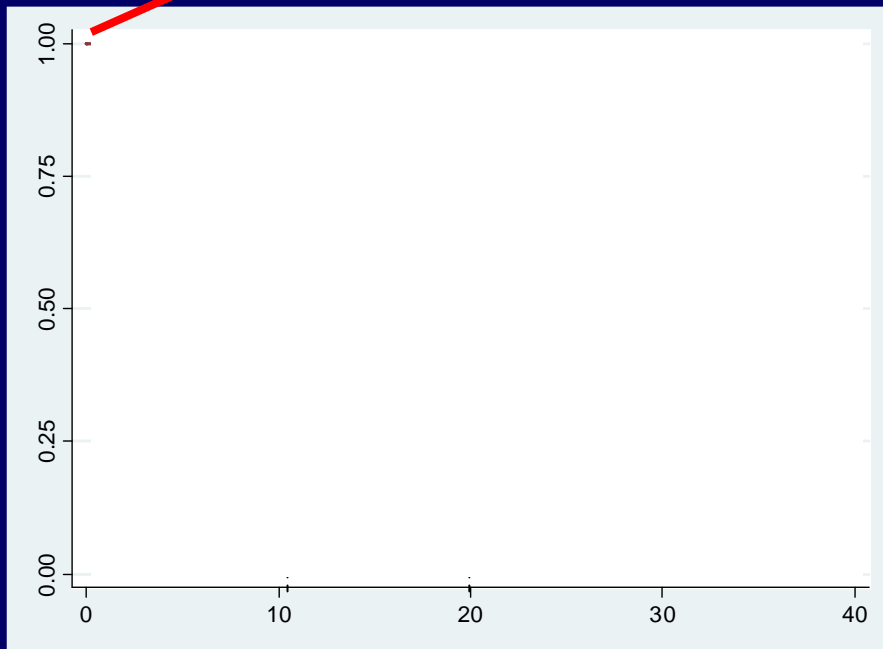
# Do migrants return?

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

SENEGAL

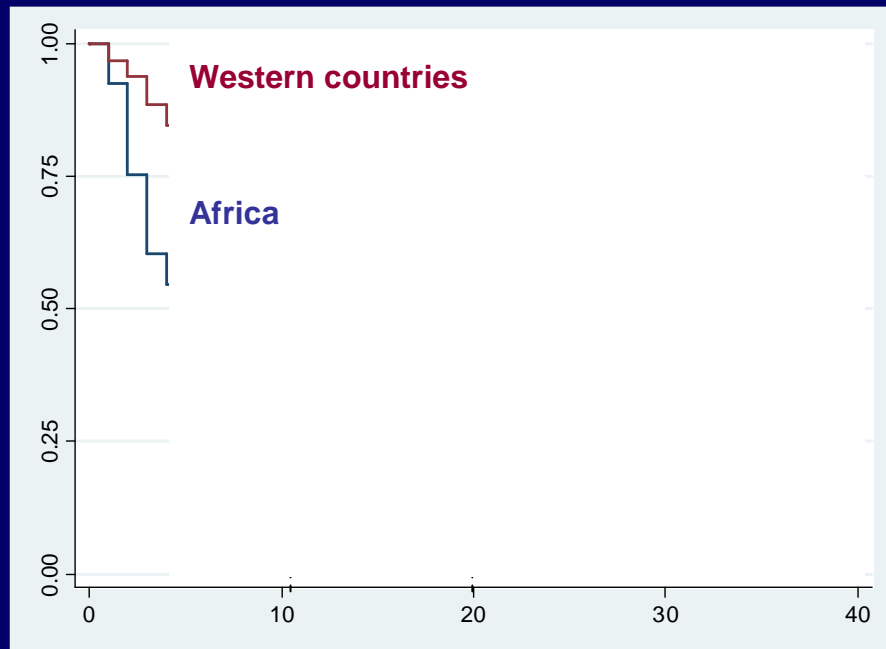
DR CONGO

100 % still abroad

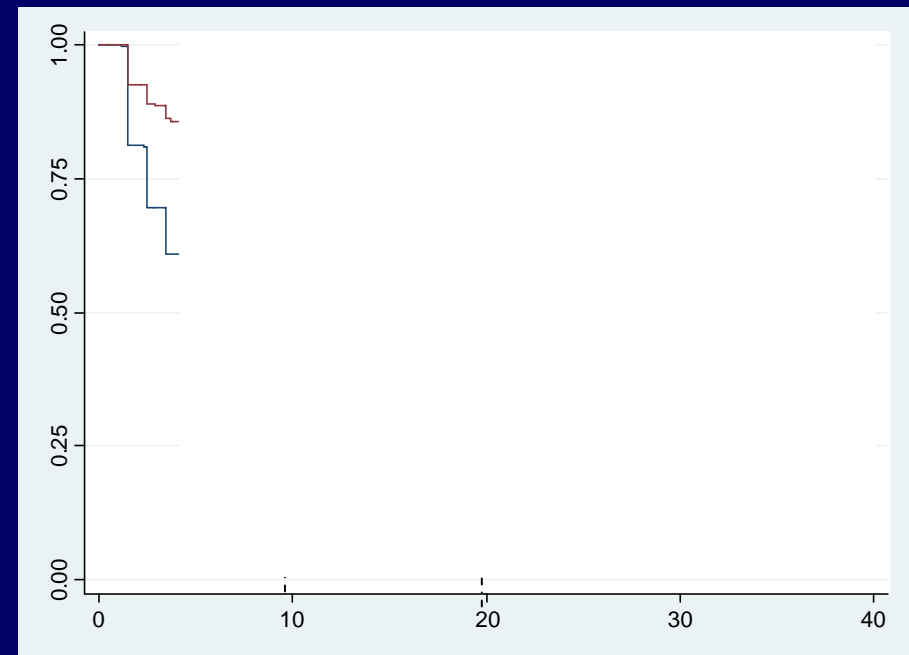


# Percentage of migrants still abroad, by duration since first departure (Kaplan Meier estimates)

SENEGAL

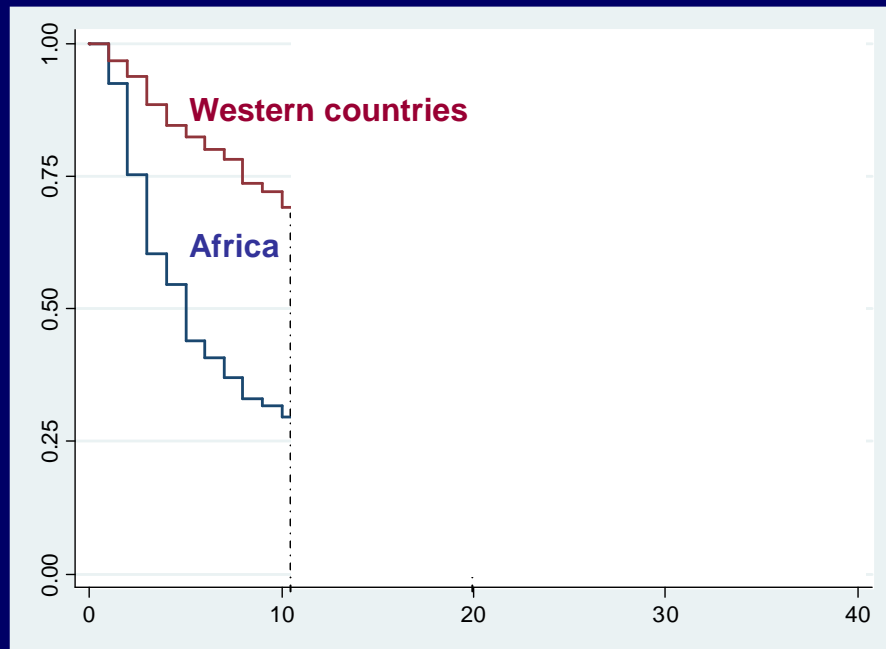


DR CONGO

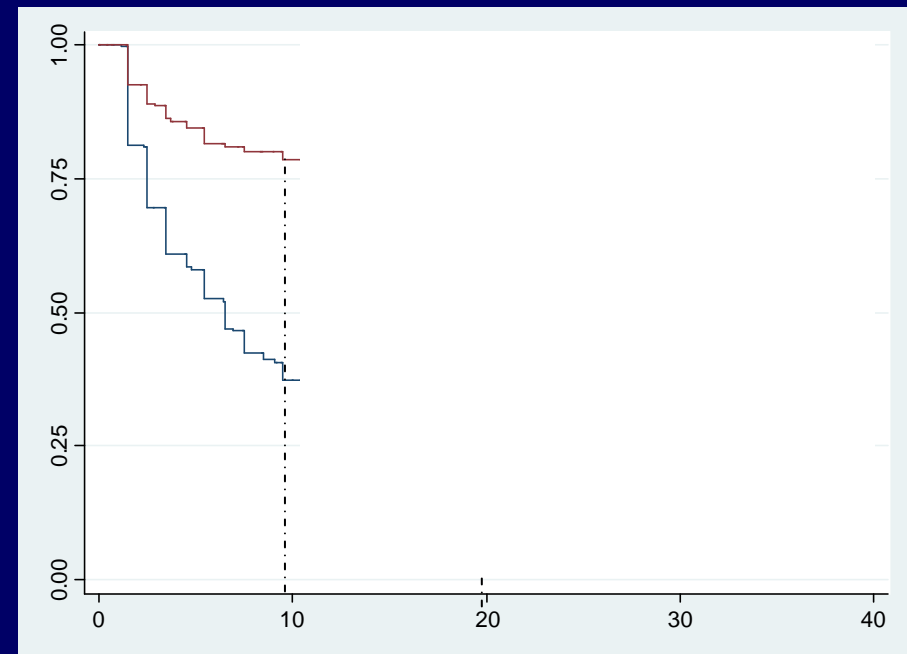


# Percentage of migrants still abroad, by duration since first departure (Kaplan Meier estimates)

## SENEGAL

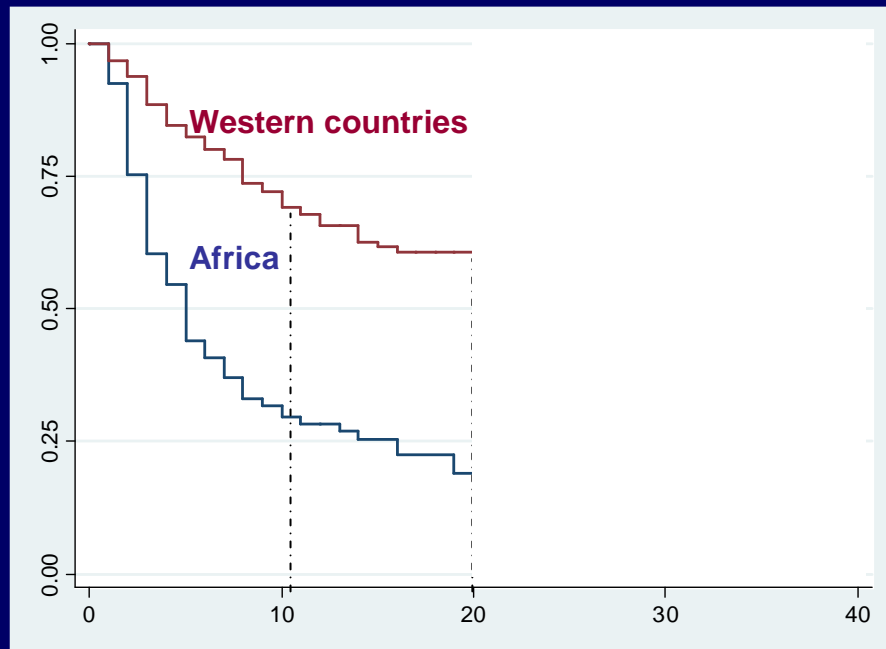


## DR CONGO

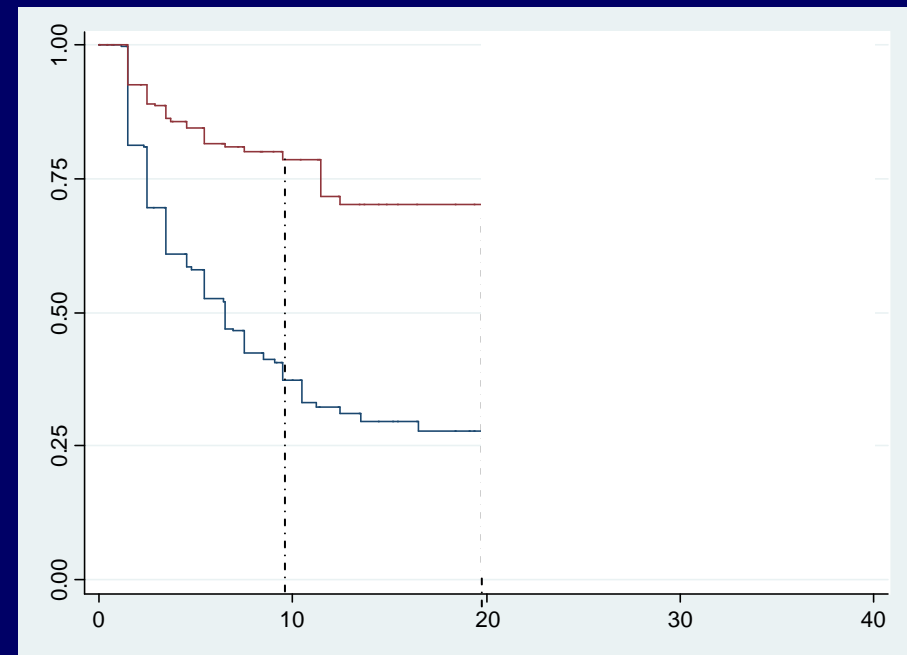


# Percentage of migrants still abroad, by duration since first departure (Kaplan Meier estimates)

## SENEGAL

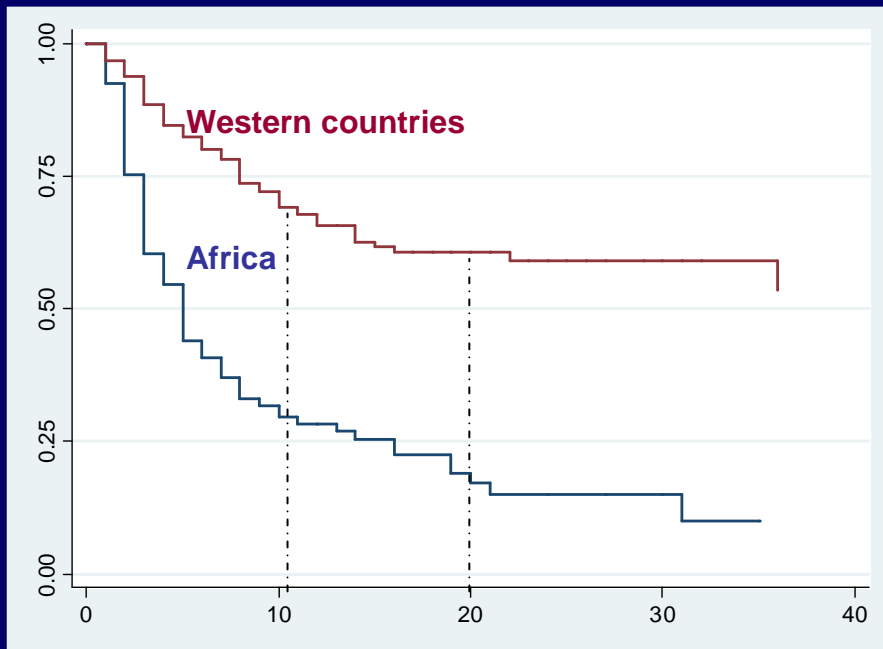


## DR CONGO

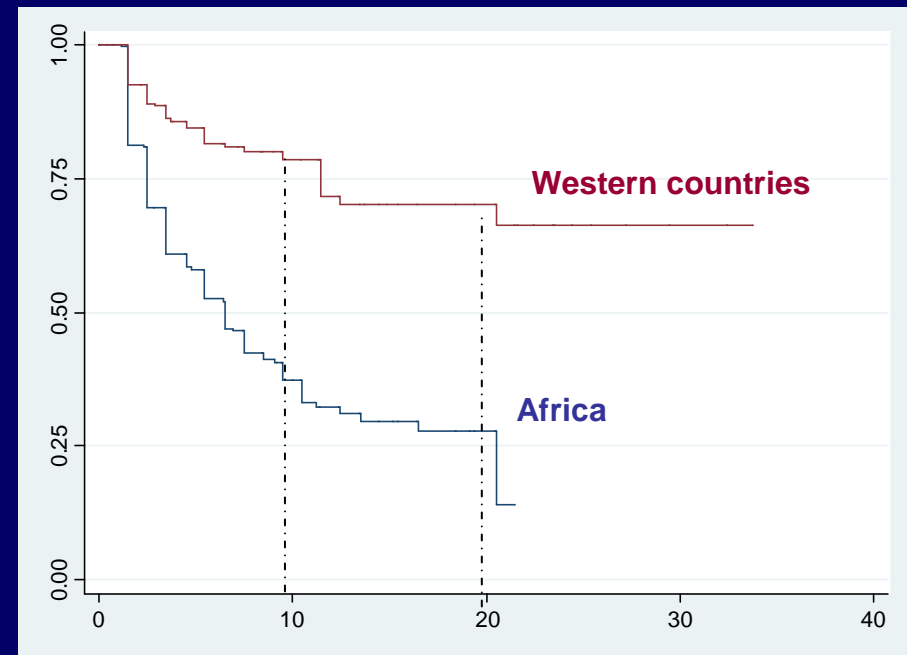


# Percentage of migrants still abroad, by duration since first departure (Kaplan Meier estimates)

## SENEGAL

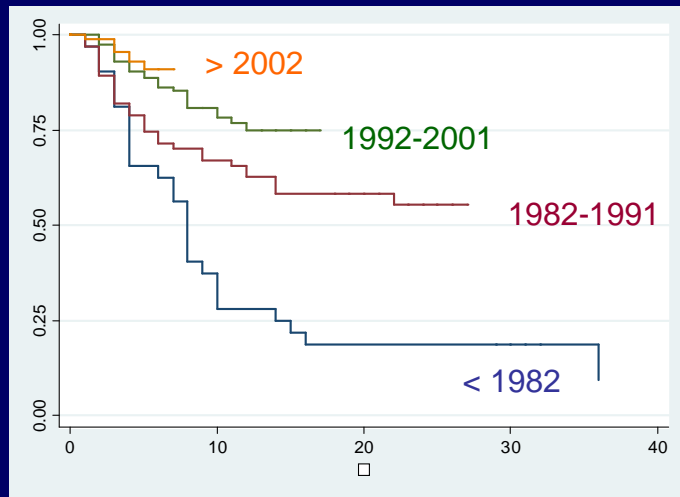


## DR CONGO

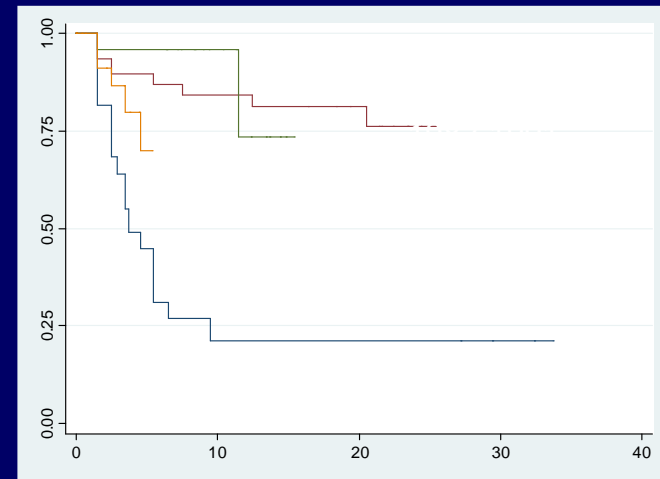


# Propensity of return by period of departure

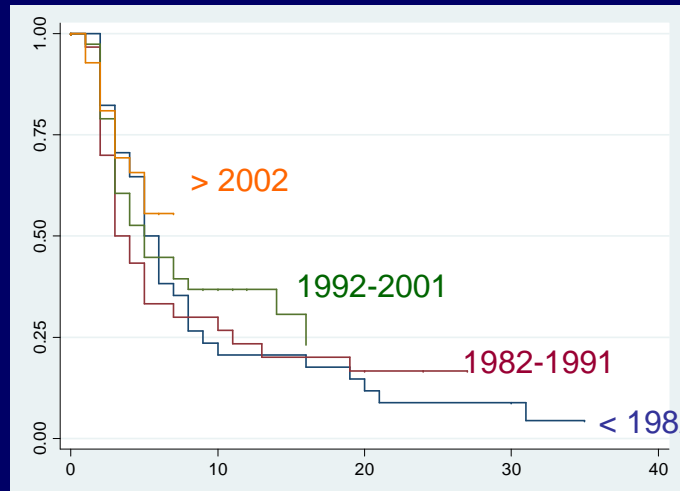
## SENEGAL



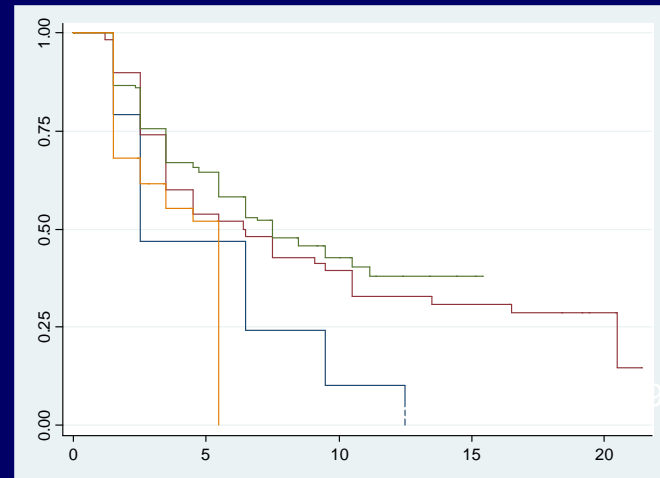
## DR CONGO



*Western countries*



*Africa*



# Returns from Western countries

## SENEGAL

## RD CONGO

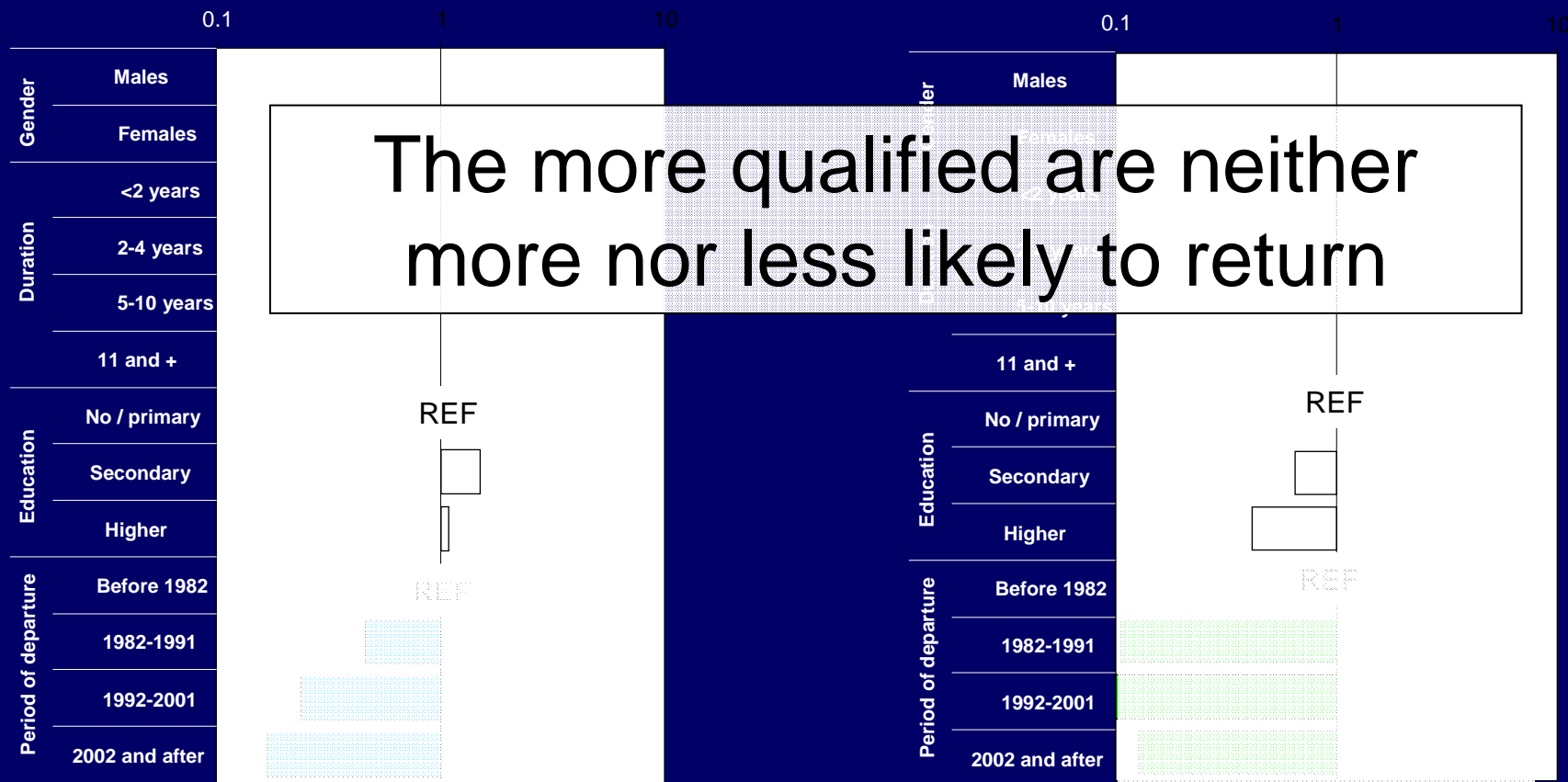


The harder it is to leave, the less people return

# Returns from Western countries

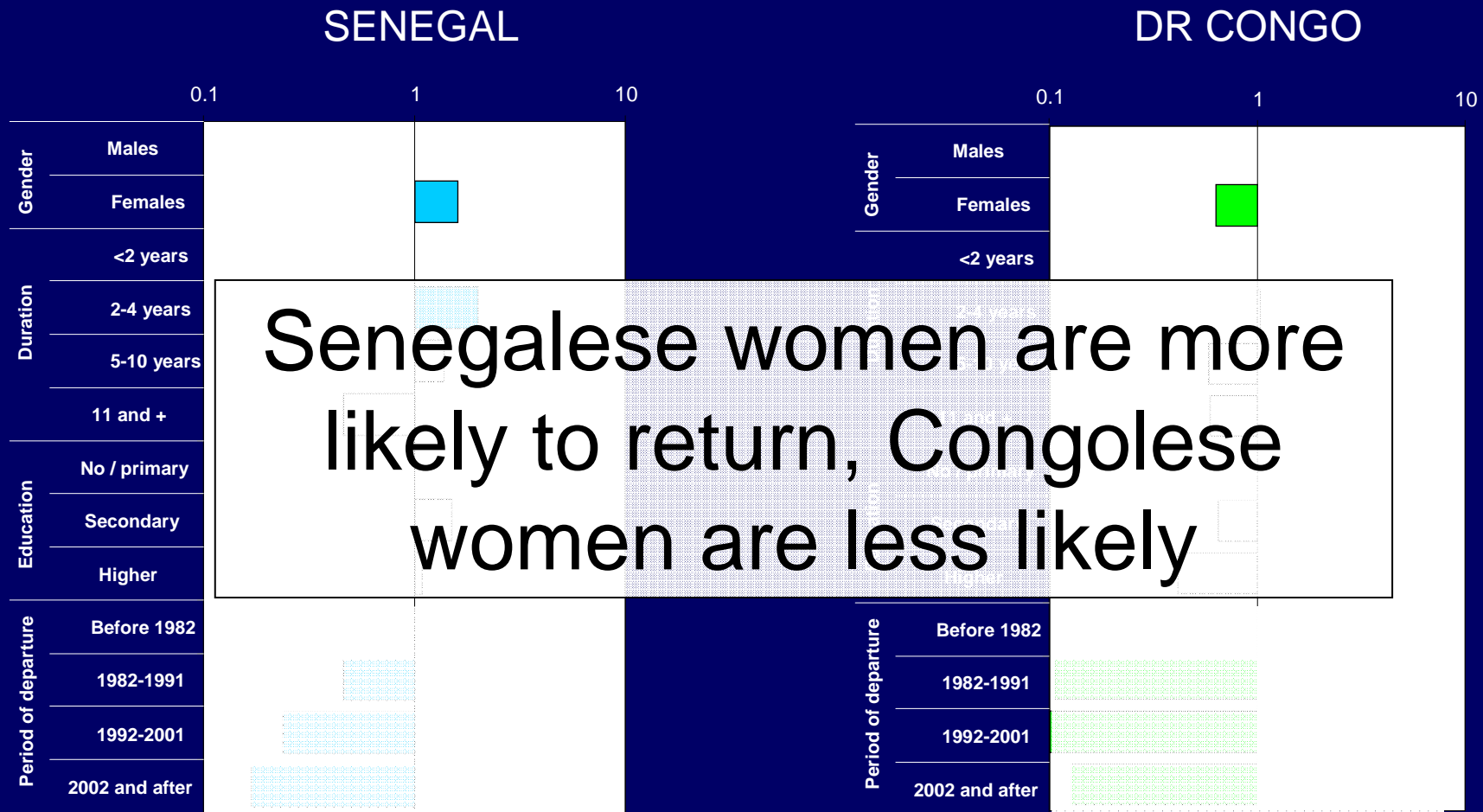
SENEGAL

DR CONGO



The more qualified are neither more nor less likely to return

# Returns from Western countries



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?