

What drives onward mobility within Europe? The case of Senegalese migrations between France, Italy and Spain

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Abstract

Onward mobility – leaving the country of destination in order to move to a third country - is an under-researched phenomenon which challenges the idea that migration is a one-off event, leading to permanent settlement in the country of destination. Taking advantage of a recent multi-sited survey on migration between Senegal and France, Italy and Spain, this paper examines the drivers of secondary mobility within Europe. The biographic nature of the data enables us to adopt a life-course perspective and to analyze, in a discrete-time event-history framework, the ways in which processes of economic, legal and social integration at destination shape subsequent mobility trajectories. Findings show that, unlike re-migrants from Nordic countries, Senegalese onward migrants are not positively selected on skills. Instead, we find that the low-skilled, the self-employed and the unemployed, as well as those lacking more permanent documents (such as a residence permit) are the most likely to re-migrate. Furthermore, experiencing an upward occupational mobility and achieving legal stability, two transitions that are most likely interdependent, retains migrants in their original destination. Last, the paper shows that having ties in other European countries constitutes an important resource in triggering mobility to a third country, whereas kin and friends at destination discourage onward mobility.

Introduction

International migration is still mainly analysed as a one-time, one-way movement from an origin country A to a permanent destination B. Yet migration trajectories are often more complex, as migrants may travel through and successively settle in several countries, or engage in circular mobility. However, the factors that shape individuals' migration trajectories remain little known. In particular, despite the fact that qualitative studies suggest that multiple international moves have become a common mobility strategy (Schapendonk, 2010; Paul 2011) increasingly adopted in times of economic crisis (Sacchetto & Vianello, 2012; Cingolani & Ricucci, 2013), onward intra-European migration is still an under-researched area.

In the African migration context, for instance, qualitative research suggests there is an increasing complexity and fluidity of migration flows and routes towards and within Europe, with a subsequent fragmentation of migrants' journeys (Schapendonk 2010; Castagnone, 2011). Partly in response to border controls, *step-by-step* migration (Bredeloup and Pliez, 2005) is progressively developing as an emerging migration strategy, with transit migration having an increasing role in the trajectories undertaken by migrants. Return and circular migration patterns are also common practices (Flahaux et al., 2011; Dia, 2009). Finally, African migrants reaching Europe have also been argued to engage in further onward re-migration *within* the European space (Schapendonk, 2011; Nekby, 2006), yet the factors driving this phenomenon remain little known (Lindley and Van Hear, 2007).

This paper extends the literature by examining, in a quantitative framework, the drivers of onward mobility within Europe. In the context of this study, *onward migration* refers to migration from a European country to another¹ in a two- or multi-step process. It focuses on Senegalese migration flows, taking advantage of recently collected longitudinal data on mobility between Africa and Europe. The paper starts by reviewing the still limited theoretical and empirical approaches of onward migration, before introducing the specific context of Senegalese international migration flows. A third section presents the data and the methodology employed, while results are described and discussed in the last two sections.

1. Theoretical background

Migration as a continuous, step-wise process

Migration research has been predominantly guided by assumptions conceiving migration as a one-off move from a departure country "A" to a destination country "B", mainly directed to Europe (revealing a strong Eurocentric bias), entailing a permanent settlement at destination (Agunias, 2006: 44), and involving few or no subsequent steps once in Europe. Ways of theorizing and studying migration have been paradoxically informed by a "desire to fix" migration processes within a clear spatial and temporal framework, in order to make it knowable (Cresswell, 2006).

¹ Due to the nature of the survey design, the paper will focus on Senegalese migrations between France, Italy and Spain, as will be discussed in the data section.

Methodological nationalism, as “an ideological orientation that approaches the study of social and of historical processes as if they were contained within the borders of individual nation-states” (Glick Schiller, 2009: 4), has largely influenced this way of conceiving migration, taking national borders as the natural unit of study (Wimmer and Glick Schiller, 2002).

Furthermore, besides spatially fixing the phenomenon, studies of migration have mostly failed to really take into account its dynamic, ever-evolving character (Meeus, 2010). When studying migration and its drivers, a cross-sectional approach is still dominant, often disregarding previous trajectories and backgrounds of migrants and reducing them to dichotomous categories, such as permanent or temporary migrants (King et al., 2006). Also due to the fact that both statistical and analytical conceptual frameworks tend to privilege separate analyses of different segments of individuals’ migratory paths or process, the full complexity of migration patterns is often neglected.

In this respect, a promising tool is the life course approach, developed in social sciences as a means of examining the evolution of individuals’ life trajectories over time and across social processes. The focus of this approach lies on life events—or transitions—, their sequencing representing individuals’ life trajectories (Elder, 1975, 1985), also referred to as “life careers” or “paths” (Kou, Bailey, van Wissen, 2009: 6). Due to the interdependence of trajectories in different domains of an individual’s life, an event in one path can bring about status changes in other life domains (Dykstra and Van Wissen, 1999). The most important contribution of biography analysis to the study of migration has been to conceptualize it as an inherently dynamic phenomenon and resituate it within the broader life path of individuals. Examining migrant biographies provides insight into how individuals construct their life course in terms of geographical, but also social, economic and labour mobility (King and Ruiz-Gelices, 2003).

Applying the sociological life course approach to migration and integration research may advance our understanding of immigrant mobility patterns as well as broader migration dynamics. The life course approach allows going well beyond a simple cost-benefit analysis, providing understanding of migration processes from the much-needed micro perspective and connecting them with parallel trajectories in other domains of migrants’ lives (family, labor career, etc.). Furthermore, collecting biographic, longitudinal data introduces a diachronic perspective, allowing migration to be conceptualized as a process and individuals to shift from a status to another in a continuum of changes (Collyer, de Haas, 2012).

Onward intra-European mobility, an overlooked phenomenon

In a panorama of increasing complexity, fluidity and reversibility of migration flows, onward mobility has been mainly studied in relation to transit migration, conceived as a temporary stay in one or more intermediate countries with the aim of reaching a final destination. Most studies focused on migrants’ intermediate steps *on the way to*

Europe and limited their analysis to EU neighbour countries or North African countries (van Moppes, 2006; de Haas, 2006; Nyberg Sørensen, 2006, Brachet, 2009), failing to explore onward movements once migrants have arrived in Europe.

The limited research on intra-European migration has mostly focused on the mobility of Eastern Europeans, who, following the 2004 EU enlargement, moved to countries that chose not to restrict access to their labour markets. Intra-EU mobility has also been an object of attention in relation to secondary movements of asylum-seekers who, once in Europe, pass through one or more ‘third countries’ with the aim of reaching destinations where network members are settled or where reception conditions and opportunities and welfare provisions are more generous (Koser 1997; Weine et al., 2011).

Recent studies suggest that secondary movements within and from Europe are an increasingly common mobility practice (Nekby, 2006; Takenaka, 2007). However, a surprising absence of systematic attention to the intra-European mobility of third-country nationals is registered (Benton and Petrovic, 2013; Pascouau, 2013). This gap in research is partly due to the fact that available data are scarce and limited to localized qualitative studies. Information collected by EU countries includes administrative statistics, data drawn from the national population census or population registries, and from surveys, which usually make no differentiation between non-EU citizens arriving at destination as their first step in Europe or via another first Member State (EMN, 2013). Unregistered and irregular mobility within Europe is an even more hidden and unknown phenomenon, while it plays a relevant role in migrants’ mobility strategies.

Intra-EU mobility of third country nationals is regulated by EU migration Directives, providing rights of entry and stay within the EU to certain categories of migrants—such as students, long-term residents or highly-skilled workers. Besides excluding the larger groups of low- and medium-skilled workers, the EU migration Directives leave in fact significant areas of discretion to Member States, and therefore to national laws, in shaping mobility. As a consequence, the freedom of movement and settlement within the EU faces a fragmented legal landscape and is obstructed by considerable barriers. European Commission’s reports show in fact that low numbers of people have been admitted under the schemes provided for by the directives, and consequently a low number of them have taken up the opportunity to move within the EU (Pascouau, 2013).

Given its growing importance within the EU *acquis*, with policy proposals to strengthen intra-EU mobility for some groups, and given that the mobility of labour force is a possible solution to employment imbalances within Europe, intra-EU mobility of third-country nationals is a phenomenon that needs to be explored and understood in its different forms, determinants and implications.

Stepwise migration versus continuing mobility

In her study of Filipino migrants in Hong-Kong and Singapore, Anju Paul (2011) puts forward the concept of “stepwise migration”, arguing that migrants engage in multiple migrations in order to “work their way up” a hierarchy of places and ultimately reach their desired destination. This pro-active strategy takes migrants to a succession of “stepping stone” countries where they seek to accumulate the financial and social capital needed in order to attain their final destination. A similar idea is expressed by Takenaka (2007) who argues that migrants initially move to European countries where it is easier to enter, thanks to lower legal barriers, with the objective of continuing to further destinations (Takenaka, 2007).

A different reading of onward migration is proposed by Van Nieuwenhuyze (2009) in her work on the Senegambians’ labour market experience in Europe, by Schapendonk (2012) with respect to Sub-Saharan Africans moving to Europe and by Kelly (2013) in her study of Iranians moving within the EU. Van Nieuwenhuyze (2009) uses the term “continuing mobility” within Europe, to describe a more fluid and less planned phenomenon that some migrants engage in. Inspired by adventure, Senegalese migrants do not have a preferred destination, but are constantly in search for better work and life opportunities. This type of fluid mobility within the European space applies in particular to young and single migrants, who can absorb faster and with fewer risks the costs of settlement and of residential and labour re-integration in a new country. Schapendonk also shows how destination aspiration change during the migration trajectory, through a trial-and-error process or under the influence of people met on the way.

This paper will also examine whether Senegalese migrants’ onward migration within Europe resembles a stepwise trajectory in view of attaining a final, desired destination or whether it appears more as an unplanned, continuing mobility.

Drivers of intra-European secondary mobility: the role of human capital and socio-economic integration

Most work challenging the paradigm of migration as a permanent, one-off movement has focused on return migration (Constant and Massey, 2003; Cassarino, 2004; Dustmann, 1996, 2003; Flahaux, 2013). Few quantitative studies are able to distinguish migration to a third country from movements back to the origin country (among the few exceptions see Nekby, 2006; Schroll, 2009; Larramona, 2013; Rezaei and Goli, 2011). Yet we may expect the reasons and circumstances behind onward mobility to differ from those underlying a return move (Kelly, 2012). Thus, it is important to distinguish the two phenomena, which is what this paper sets out to do. Given that the factors driving return migration are better known, we mostly focus on drivers of onward mobility.

The so far limited research on onward migration has mostly focused on the impact of human capital and occupational status in this mobility, reaching somewhat contrasting findings. A strand of quantitative work mostly focusing on re-migration from Nordic

countries, such as Denmark (Schroll, 2009; Rezaei and Goli, 2011) or Sweden (Nekby 2006), or from the US (Takenaka, 2007), find that those who engage in multiple migration are **positively selected on education and income**. Their findings show that highly-skilled immigrants and those with graduate education have a higher probability of leaving for third-country destinations than returning to countries of origin or staying at destination. According to these studies, onward mobility allows a better valorization of migrants' human capital, while also being facilitated by their skill levels (Kelly, 2012)

A different reading of onward mobility is apparent in a set of qualitative studies, mostly focused on remigration from Southern Europe. These studies emphasize the **precariousness** of migration careers, both in terms of deteriorating conditions in the European labor markets and of concomitant hardening of migrants' legal status (Van Nieuwenhuyze, 2009). In this perspective, the fragmentation of the migration paths in Europe can be the result of the impact that macro-structural changes in migration policies and labour markets have on the individual socio-economic patterns of integration at destination (Larramona, 2013). Onward migration is argued to be the result of unsuccessful socio-economic integration in the first destinations in Europe and to be pursued by the more vulnerable migrants. Furthermore, recent works suggest that the economic crisis increased the engagement of long-time residents in Europe, such as the Moroccans in Italy, in secondary migration (Benton, Petrovic, 2013; Sacchetto, Vianello, 2012; Cingolani, Ricucci, 2013),

It is also important to mention the quest for a "better life" as the motive for triggering secondary migration within Europe, which is often expected to produce a lifestyle improvement, to enable better working socio-economic opportunities for migrants and their children, and to improve their long-term material and immaterial wellbeing (Castagnone, 2011). Thus, mobility cannot be considered separately from economic and legal integration processes. Yet, few studies, especially quantitative, are able to examine how the evolution of migrants' economic and legal situation at destination shapes their subsequent mobility trajectories, which is one of the contributions that this paper seeks to make.

Migrant networks, an influential factor in onward migration

Migration network theory argues that connections to migrants abroad encourage people to move by diminishing the risks and costs and increasing the benefits of moving (Boyd 1989). Empirical work has generally found that migrant networks are crucial in triggering a first international move but less important in subsequent trips (Massey 1987; Massey and Espinosa 1997). Such work argues that as migrants accumulate personal migration experience, they no longer need to rely on migrant social capital.

Yet, most of this work is based on re-migrations to the same destination, while the role of networks in onward mobility to a third-country has received less attention. Recent qualitative studies suggest that networks play a key role in shaping mobility

trajectories and re-migration within Europe. Lindley and Van Hear (2007) find that the presence of relatives and friends in the UK represent a strong incentive in the decisions of Somali migrants to relocate there from mainland Europe. In his thesis, Schapendonk (2011) also shows that migrant connections have both a facilitating and an aspiration-shaping role. Connections help migrants in their journeys, by helping them avoid exploitation or abuse, but they also form new destination aspirations, through the information they share (Bang Nielsen 2004). Schapendonk's findings also emphasize the key role of weaker ties, encounters made en route or acquaintances, in shaping migrants' paths and trajectories. Kelly (2013) similarly argues that diasporic connections enabled her Iranian respondents to pursue opportunities across space that were more difficult to reach for those lacking international connections. In this perspective, networks are seen as a resource enhancing mobility opportunities for migrants, allowing a better re-definition and re-adjustment of the migratory project once in Europe.

In contrast, the "affinity" hypothesis, as formulated by Ritchey (1976), according to which a dense local network of family and friends keeps one in place, has received less consideration. A reason for this is that most qualitative studies only interviewed onward migrants, thus excluding those who remain in their initial destination. Using data on re-migrants, returnees as well as non-migrants from Sweden, Schroll (2009) finds that living in an area with a high share of immigrants from one's home country decreases the probability of out-migration from Sweden, especially for migrants from farther-away countries.

This paper extends the literature by systematically examining the role of migrant networks in shaping (subsequent) mobility trajectories. In doing so, it disaggregates networks according to their location (whether in the same country as the migrant, in other European countries or elsewhere), the type of relationship between members and the migrant, the gender of the members and their migration experience.

2. The case of Senegalese migration

Senegalese migration to Europe has its origins in the colonial relationship with France. During the colonial period some workers were temporarily employed in French administration through blue-collar positions. As a French colony, Senegal had also representatives in the French parliament (van Nieuwenhuyze, 2009). At the same time, at the end of the 19th century, and during the Second World War, the French enrolled Senegalese *Tirailleurs* in their army. Once the war ended, some of them settled in France for good, engaging mostly in commercial activities.

In the immediate post-war reconstruction and subsequent economic growth, an active recruitment policy was specifically sustained by the French public authorities in order to attract foreign workforce - mainly male workers from colonies in Africa, among which Senegal. As a result the flows towards France intensified after the Independence (1960), responding to the needs of the rapidly-developing automobile

industry (Pison, Hill, Cohen, Foote 1997 ; Robin 1996; Robin, Lalou and Ndiaye, 2000).

Later, in response to the economic crisis of the early 1970s, France followed the example of other European countries and in 1974 stopped all recruitment programmes for foreign workers. This, however, did not decrease in immigration. In terms of numbers, family reunification has since become the most important channel for immigration. Following the halt to foreign labour recruitment programmes in 1974, external and internal controls (visas and residence permits, respectively) were furthermore introduced (Devitt, 2012). In 1985 France introduced a compulsory visa for Senegal.

Meanwhile, Senegal was facing one of the most serious periods of drought of its contemporary history, with a subsequent crisis of the traditional agricultural system. Propelled by the globalisation of the economy, by ineffective national development policies and by accelerated pauperisation, more families invested in an international migrant (Adepoju, 2004: 73). Senegalese migration to Europe considerably increased since the early 80s. At the same time, an intensification of migration flows, as well as a diversification of destination countries (with a switch from France to Southern European countries) and of migrants' profiles (in terms of area of departure from Senegal, ethnicity, level of education, religious affiliation, gender composition, etc.) can be observed.

The transition from the French to the new destination countries in South Europe took place at the end of the 1980s. Italy became the most important destination for Senegalese migrants in the 1990s, after laws legalising irregular migrants were passed in 1990 and 1994. Here the new immigrants were able to find work in the informal trade and in the industrial sector. Initially the Senegalese arrived in Italy especially through secondary migration from France, and subsequently they established direct channels and networks of migration from Senegal. Since the end of the 1990s, Spain has also become a popular destination, with its strong construction and agricultural sectors attracting Senegalese workers.

Contrarily to the most recent trends in France, the economic migration channel dominated entry and residence policies in the Italian and Spanish migration regimes. This is due both to the fact that they are more labour-intensive than the north-western countries and to the greater weight in their economies of sectors more likely to rely on immigrant unskilled or low-skilled labour (Arango, 2012). The underground economy has also played a crucial role in shaping the migration patterns (with a strong attraction effect), representing one of the main structural differences with France (Reyneri and Fullin, 2010).

As for the socio-demographic composition of the Senegalese coming to Europe, while up to the 1980s, most of the international migrants were coming from the rural areas of the Senegal River Valley, the later period saw a diversification of departure regions, with cities in general, and the capital in particular, assuming an increasingly

key role. The first migrants were Toucouleur and Soninke from the Senegal River Valley, little or not at all educated, primarily employed in French manufacturing and construction industries. They were mainly men relying on existing social cohesive networks abroad. Since the 1970s, migrants with higher level of education started migrating, some of them with the objective of completing their studies abroad, especially in France. In addition, women began to join their husbands and to establish new families abroad, mainly in France, while in Italy and Spain, this phenomenon is still underrepresented. However, an increasing number of women began to move independently to fulfil their own economic needs, especially directed to countries of recent migration, such as Spain and Italy.

3. Data and Methods

Data

This paper uses a new set of biographic survey data collected between 2008 and 2010 in the framework of the MAFE Senegal project (Migration between Africa and Europe). The survey design rests on two principles:

(1) Longitudinal data, which is obtained through the collection of retrospective life histories covering the life of the respondents from their birth till the time of the survey. Life spheres covered include, for instance, employment, family formation and housing histories, as well as the migrations of members of the respondent's social network. The survey allows thus to identify and date all labour market transitions as well as all migration spells of the individual and of all other family members and close friends with migration experience.

(2) A transnational sample, collecting information on non-migrants and return migrants at origin, as well as on current migrants at destination. In a first stage, a household-level survey was carried out with approximately 1,200 households representative of the region of Dakar. Subsequently, life histories were collected in the biographic survey with 1,067 individuals, who were sampled within the households. In addition, 600 migrants were interviewed in the three main Senegalese destinations in Europe (Spain, Italy, and France).

Methods

Both descriptive and multivariate methods are used in the analysis. As a first step, sequence analysis is used to visualize migration trajectories that involve at least one onward intra-European mobility, from the first migration until the survey date. The different chronological sequencing of migration events according to their geographical location (countries where they occurred), and nature (out-migrations; further migrations; returns; re-departures; etc.) shape the mobility trajectories of each interviewee.

Next, our analysis turns to the determinants of the decision to leave the country of destination, either in order to move elsewhere in Europe or in order to return to the origin country. Given that the data is longitudinal, the best way to do this is to employ

discrete-time event history analysis. This technique allows measuring the “risk” that an event occurs (i.e. migration) and following the evolution of this risk in time, while taking into account the variables that may interact with it. In other words, the method estimates not only whether the event occurs but also when it occurs (Le Goff 2003).

As discussed by Allison (1982) and Yamaguchi (1991), this method divides the time into discrete intervals (calendar years) and estimates the probability of observing the event within each interval, given that it has not occurred up to that point. It is more adapted to data where the information is collected in larger time units (such as years), which is why it has been preferred to continuous-time duration models, such as the Cox model. Migration events are only recorded once a year so there may be many so-called ties, i.e. observations with the same spell length. This may bias coefficients and standard errors in a Cox model but is not a problem in discrete-time duration models⁸.

The equation for the models employed in this chapter is given by Allison (1982). The odds of experiencing the event are not only a function of individual characteristics, but also of time:

$$\log\left(\frac{p_{it}}{1-p_{it}}\right) = \alpha + \beta_1 X_1 + \beta_2 Z_{it} + \varepsilon_i$$

where p is the probability to migrate, i identifies an individual, t the year, X_i is a matrix of covariates constant over time; $Z_i(t)$ is a matrix of time-varying covariates and the β s are the respective vectors of coefficients; ε is the residual. The great advantage of this method is that, unlike cross-sectional regression analysis, it allows examining the influence of characteristics that vary with time.

Using the respondents’ detailed migration histories, a categorical measure is constructed, indicating whether the individual is still in the country of destination (0), whether he or she has re-migrated to another European country (1) or returned to Senegal (2). The 4 cases of re-migration to other destinations are excluded from the analysis. We distinguish the case of return since we expect it to be associated to different factors than remaining at destination or re-migrating. However, our focus is on remigration and we will mostly discuss its drivers. The individuals enter the risk set at the beginning of their European migration spell and are followed until either the time of the survey (if still at destination) or until their departure for another destination (Senegal or another European country).

Our population of study consists of all respondents having carried out at least one migration within Europe and who may or may not be at destination at the time of the survey. The unit of analysis is any European migration spell. Our sample consists of 806 migration spells belonging to 668 individuals. We only consider the migration spells that took place in France, Italy or Spain, the countries where the survey was conducted (besides Senegal).

Co-variates

Most of the independent variables are time-varying. The respondents' *level of education* is introduced through a categorical variable distinguishing between those with no degree (1), primary education (2), secondary education (3) and tertiary education (4). Another categorical variable measures *occupational status*, and distinguishes between those not working (1), the semi- or skilled wage-earners (2), the unskilled wage-earners (3), the self-employed (4) and the students (5). An important share of Senegalese migrants engages in small trade activities on a self-employed basis, as also discussed in section 2. These activities are highly precarious and those who undertake them run the risk of being deported while also diminishing their chances of being regularized. It is thus important to distinguish this status from other forms of unskilled work undertaken with some form of contract.

Legal status is also a categorical, time-varying variable with three categories: visa or no formal documents (1), residence permit or permit not required² (2), work permit only (3). Furthermore, two variables measure legal and occupational transitions along the migrations spell. The legal transition variable distinguishes between those who did not obtain a residence permit during the migration spell (1), those who had one from the beginning of the spell (2), and those who obtained a residence permit (3). *Occupational mobility* is introduced as a continuous variable, measured as the difference between the ISEI of the migrants' last (current) job at destination and the ISEI of their first job upon arrival.

Access to migrant networks in Europe. One of the innovative features of the MAFE survey is the longitudinal information it collects on the respondents' migrant network. Interviewees are asked whether any of their parents, siblings, children, partners or other kin or friends have a migration experience (either a past experience or still currently abroad). The relationship to ego, the gender, the year of acquaintance (if spouse or friend) for each member are also recorded. Based on this information, four variables are constructed, capturing ties located in the country of settlement (*networks at destination*), in other countries in Europe (*networks same region*), *networks elsewhere* (mostly Africa) and *returnees* (network members who returned to Senegal after at least one year abroad). We construct dummy variables, taking the value 1 if the respondent has at least one such tie. Furthermore, three aspects of the composition of networks located in other countries in Europe are taken into account: the type of relationships (close family ties vs. extended kin and friends), the gender of the tie and the level of migration experience (recent, experienced and long-term migrants³).

Furthermore, the family status and the location of the partner and children are taken into account with two separate variables. The partnership status distinguishes between those who are single (1), those whose partner(s) is/are in the same country (2), and

² In most cases, permit is not required because the migrant has or obtained the nationality of the destination country

³ Recent migrants have migrated for under 3 years, experienced migrants between 4 and 10 years, long term migrants have been abroad for at least 11 years.

those whose partner(s) is/are located elsewhere (3). A very similar variable is constructed with respect to children.

The models also *control* for several time-varying contextual and individual characteristics which have been shown to shape mobility, such as the *period*, the *country of settlement*, the *gender*⁴ of the migrant. We also take into account the *time spent at destination* (and its squared term), as we expect a negative and slightly curvilinear relationship with the probability of remigration. The *age* of the respondent is also included in a continuous manner, together with its squared term. Whether the current country of residence was considered the final destination or whether the migrant was unsure about his or her final destination is also included in the models as a categorical variable.

4. Drivers of intra-European stepwise mobility

Descriptive findings

A first set of descriptive statistics examines the geographic patterns of intra-European mobility, its timing within the migration spell and the extent to which it is part of a pre-defined mobility trajectory.

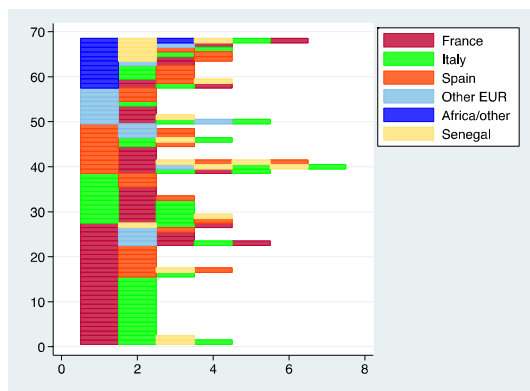
First, sequence analysis allows us to see in which of the survey countries migrants are more likely to initially settle, and where they move on from there. It first reveals that intra-European re-migrations may also be interspersed by returns to Senegal - before migrants re-orient themselves to a different⁵ European destination - though this only concerns a small minority of cases (Figure 2). Given the few occurrences of this pattern, the rest of the analysis will only focus on direct intra-European re-migrations, where migrants subsequently move from one European country to the next.

Among migrants undertaking at least one direct stepwise re-migration, the largest share of trajectories (40%) involves a first move to France, followed by a subsequent migration to Italy or Spain (Fig.1). This is probably due to the earlier onset of Senegalese flows to France, and confirms thus prior findings. However, the opposite trend is also visible as another quarter of migrations involve moving from Italy or Spain to France. Around 10% of trajectories commence with a migration in another African country before reaching Italy and moving further within Europe.

⁴ Unfortunately, the few number of cases of remigrations by women do not allow us to analyse men and women separately.

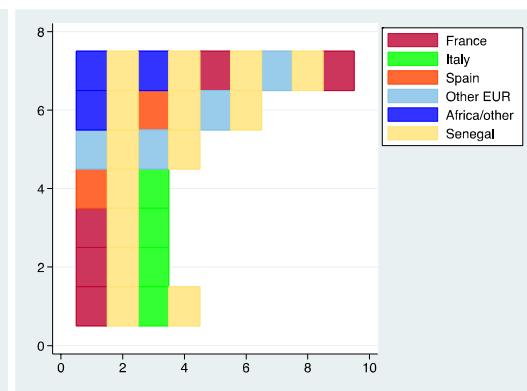
⁵ Different than the European country of previous residence.

Figure 1 Direct intra-European stepwise trajectories



(N=68 respondents)

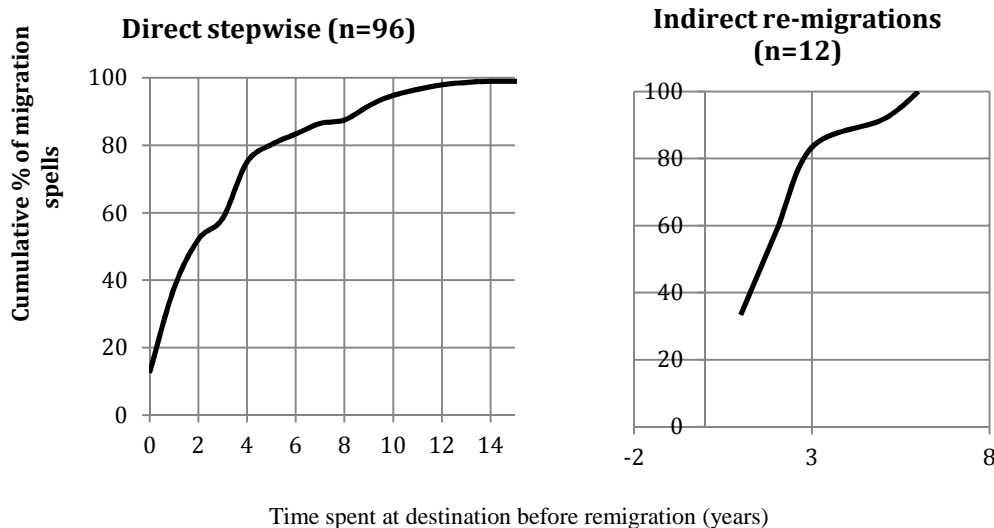
Figure 2 Indirect intra-Eur stepwise trajectory



(N= 7 respondents)

Figures 1 and 2 give an idea of the sequencing of events, but do not give any indication of their duration. Figure 3 shows the (cumulative) distribution of re-migrations episodes according to the time spent by migrants at their previous European destination (that is before return for indirect re-migrations). Re-migrations appear to occur relatively early in the migration trajectory. Half of direct onward migrations intervene within 2 years or less, and 80% within 5 years. Migrants that move to a different European country following a return to Senegal spend even less time at their previous destination (60% return to Senegal within 2 years, and all within 6 years).

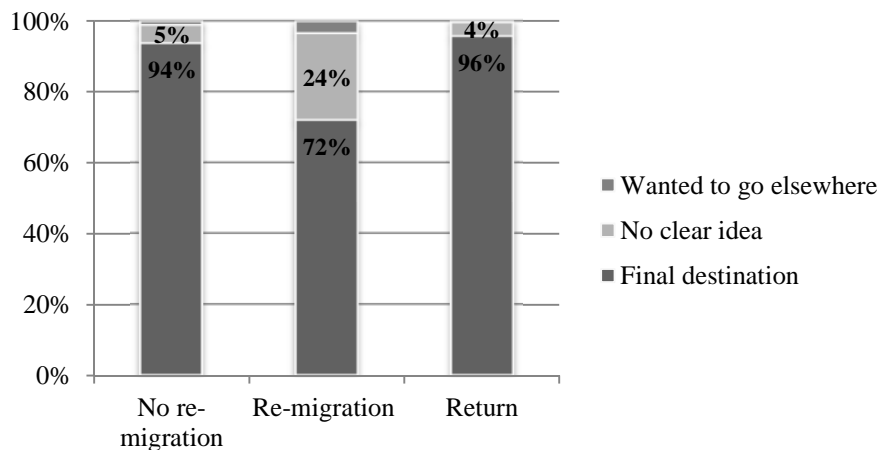
Figure 3 Distribution of spells by time spent at destination before re-migration, direct and indirect onward migrations within Europe



As discussed in the literature section, some studies argue that multiple migrations are part of a stepwise mobility trajectory where migrants strive to achieve a desired and hard-to-reach destination (Paul 2012). The MAFE questionnaire allows examining this aspect through a survey question that asks respondents whether, at the time of their migration, they considered the respective country as their final destination (1),

whether they had no clear idea about where they wanted to go (2) or whether they intended to go elsewhere (3). Very few respondents choose the latter case. A quarter of those who eventually move to a different country were unsure about where they wanted to go in the first place; they represent a higher share than among those who stayed at their initial destination or who eventually returned to Senegal. Yet, in a large majority of cases, migrants considered their initial destination to also be the final one. Thus, unlike the Filipino migration studied by Paul (2012), we cannot really talk about a planned stepwise mobility trajectory, where migrants make their way up in their pre-defined hierarchy of places, with respect to Senegalese intra-European mobility.

Figure 4 The intended destination of the migration episode, depending on whether it was followed by a re-migration or a return or neither



Determinants of onward mobility and return: results from the multi-variate analysis

We perform a series of multinomial logistic analyses, taking the case of *no migration* as our reference category. Coefficients are presented as Odds Ratios and should be interpreted in relation to remaining in the country of destination. Sampling weights are used in all models.

Table 1 presents the results from the first two models. Confirming descriptive findings, both returns and remigrations are less likely to occur as time spent at destination increases. There is evidence of a slightly curvilinear relationship - the negative correlation decreases from a certain threshold - however this is not consistently significant. Furthermore, we see that both remigrations and returns are more likely to take place from France than from Italy and Spain, probably reflecting the earlier onset of Senegalese flows to France.

Men are significantly more likely to re-migrate than women, a fact that has also been documented in other studies (Nekby 2006; Schroll 2009). While initially this is also the case with respect to return, gender is no longer an influential factor once accounting for socio-economic differences between respondents.

Retrospective data is quite limited when assessing historical trends, but findings seem to confirm previous research on the evolution of Senegalese migration flows. Remigrations appear to have increased in the 1990s and to have peaked in the first half of the 2000s, while decreasing afterwards. Return migration from Europe illustrates a completely opposite trend: it significantly decreased in recent periods, as also found in other work (Flahaux et al. 2013). This may reflect the paradoxical effect of the increasingly restrictive migration policies adopted by European governments that encourage permanent migration and thus increase overall stocks of immigrants (de Haas and Czaika 2013).

Confirming the descriptive statistics, those unsure whether the country of settlement was their final destination were substantially more likely to re-migrate. Interestingly, this is not the case with respect to return migration: the undecided were less likely to return than to stay at destination.

Re-migration: a way to achieve social mobility?

Previous research reached contrasting findings with respect to the educational and economic profile of onward migrants. Interestingly, we do not find education to significantly influence remigration chances: thus, it appears that individuals of all levels of education engage in subsequent mobility. In contrast, the occupational status has a substantial impact. Migrants having obtained a skilled or semi-skilled employment at destination are significantly less likely to re-migrate than those less attached to the (primary) labour market, such as the self-employed but also the unemployed or the unskilled wage workers.

Those currently enrolled in education are also less likely to re-migrate, which suggests that having invested in the accumulation of human capital in a particular country discourages from seeking a job elsewhere in Europe. Previous work (Toma 2012) showed that having studied at destination increases chances to attain skilled employment. Thus, Senegalese students are probably having higher chances of achieving social mobility by staying at destination. Occupational status has similar effects on the probability to return, suggesting that both phenomena are discouraged by the attainment of a higher position at destination.

Findings do not therefore show a positive selection on education or occupational achievement into onward migration; instead, it seems that it is the less skilled who move on. Remigration may be a strategy for those whose ambitions of social mobility are frustrated. We examined this issue in a further model (Model 3, Table 2) by taking into account the extent of occupational mobility experienced, focusing only on those who worked upon arrival and in the last (current) year of their migration spell. Findings show that the higher their current (last) occupational status in comparison with their first status upon arrival, the lower the likelihood to leave the destination country. In other words, those who do not achieve upward social mobility, or lower levels of it, are more likely to re-migrate or return to their origin country.

Furthermore, it is not only migrants' economic evolution at destination that shapes their subsequent mobility trajectories, but also their legal status transitions. Model 1 shows that a weaker legal attachment to the destination country increases the likelihood to move on: those who have no documents or only a visa are more likely to re-migrate, but also to return to Senegal, than those with a residence permit or who do not need one. Moreover, Model 2 shows that it is especially those who *obtained* a residence permit during their migration spell that are the most likely to stay on, significantly more so than those who had a residence permit from the beginning of the period. Thus, those achieving legal "stability" at destination are the least likely to re-migrate. Of course, legal and mobility strategies are inter-dependent and our findings show an association rather than any directional causality.

Table 1: Multinomial logistic regression of the likelihood of intra-European remigration and return (ref: remain in country of settlement). Odds ratios

Variables	M1	M2	M1	M2
	No migration (=Ref)	Remigration	Return	
Duration since migration	0.81*	0.87*	0.93	0.95
Duration squared	1.01*	1.00*	1	1
Age	1.16	1.08	0.97	0.95
Age squared	1	1	1	1
Male	3.32**	3.46**	0.85	0.84
Period (ref=bef. 1990)				
1990s	1.44	1.11	0.85	0.78
2000-2004	2.35*	1.6	0.40*	0.32**
2005 or after	1.01	0.41	0.23**	0.12***
Country of destination (ref=France)				
Italy	0.23***	0.36**	0.28**	0.44*
Spain	0.15***	0.30**	0.41*	0.62
Intended destination (Ref: Final destination)				
Unsure about destination	4.33***	3.12***	0.42	0.30*
Missing on destination intention	1.54	1.42	0.72	0.57
Education level (ref: no degree)				
Primary level	1.66	2.18	1.57	2.64*
Secondary level	1.97	2.1	2.14*	2.62**
Tertiary level	1.17	1.92	2.13	4.07**
Occupational status (ref: Self Employed)				
Jobless	0.54	0.85	0.93	0.94
Semi/Skilled worker	0.23***	0.35*	0.26**	0.27**
Unskilled worker	0.65	0.71	0.20***	0.21***
Student	0.26**	0.6	0.45	0.37*
Legal status (ref: Residence permit/Permit not required)				
Visa or no docs	2.03***		3.08***	
Working permit	0.9		1.21	
Partner location (Ref: Partner(s) same country)				
Single	4.84***	3.55**	1.88	1.41
Partner Senegal/elsewhere	3.50**	2.86**	2.34*	1.51
Children location (Ref: Child(ren) same country)				

	No children		3.07	2.28	1.83	1.88
	Children Senegal/ elsewhere		3.76	3.67	2.27	2.95*
	Has network same country		0.62*	0.68*	0.73	0.66
	Has network same region		2.01**	2.02**	0.9	0.9
	Has network elsewhere		0.75	0.68	1.88	2.02
	Has returnees		1.36	1.33	1.11	0.98
	Legal transition (Ref: Always residence permit/PNR)					
	Never obtained RP			3.74***		3.66***
	Obtained RP			0.28**		0.23**
	Missing			1.57		4.94***
Person years		8136	8136	8136	8136	8136
Events		608	96	96	102	102

p < 0.10, ** p < 0.05, *** p < 0.01 ; All network variables exclude the partner/children

Table 2: The influence of occupational mobility on onward mobility. Multinomial regression (coefficients are displayed as odds ratios)

Variables	Model 3	
	Remigration	Return
Education level (ref: no degree)		
Primary level	2.25	0.89
Secondary level	2	0.89
Tertiary level	0.27	0.62
Occupational status (ref: Self-Employed)		
Semi/Skilled worker	0.4	0.37
Unskilled worker	0.85	0.29**
Legal status		
Visa or no docs	4.34***	3.32***
Working permit	1.45	1.09
Occupational mobility	0.96**	0.97**
Person-years	4618	4618
N events	75	58

p < 0.10, ** p < 0.05, *** p < 0.01 The model also controls for all factors included in Model 1 (duration, age, gender, period, country, intended destination, family and migrant networks)

European networks, highly influential in secondary mobility

Findings further show that migrant and family networks are an important factor in intra-European remigrations, both constraining and encouraging further moves. First, having one's partner at destination has a strong and significant negative impact on remigration rates compared to being single or having a partner located elsewhere. Coefficients are similar with respect to children, but only significant in the case of return: having at least one child in Senegal or elsewhere increases the likelihood to return compared to having children at destination. Furthermore, the discouraging effect of local ties on re-migration also extends to other ties, beyond the nuclear family, though their negative effect is not consistently significant across models.

On the other hand, having ties located in other countries in Europe increases substantially and significantly the chances of subsequent moves on the continent. No such effect can be observed on return probabilities. We also examined the influence of ties located elsewhere (mostly in Africa) or of former international migrants who returned to Senegal, yet these ties do not appear to matter in the decision to leave the destination country. Only returnees seem to have a positive impact on the likelihood of return, but the coefficient is not significant.

Findings thus far suggest that having a network in other countries in Europe increases chances of subsequent mobility within the continent, a result that is robust to controlling for other factors. Table 3 further investigates whether the role of these networks depends on their composition or, in other words, whereas different ties have different influences. Models 3 to 5 include different specifications of the network variables, while controlling for the same set of factors as Model 2.

We find that it's only the weaker ties – friends or extended kin – that significantly increase the likelihood to re-migrate (Model 4), while close kin - siblings or parents – have less of an effect. The gender of the tie also appears to matter, as only male connections in Europe encourage re-migration (Model 5). This is probably due to the fact that men are more likely to re-migrate, and, as previous work has shown, migrant social capital works best along gender lines (Curran and Rivero-Fuentes 2003; Garip 2008; Toma and Vause 2011). Lastly, and somewhat surprisingly, it's only network members that have recently migrated – for less than 3 years – that affect chances of intra-European mobility (Model 6). None of these ties has any effect on the probability of return.

Table 3. Network effects on the likelihood of intra-European remigration or return (reference: remain in country of settlement)

	Remigration	Return
Model 4: Type of relationship		
Has close kin same region	1.70	0.8
Has friends/extended kin same region	2.34***	0.91
Model 5: Gender		
Has men same region	2.06***	0.73
Has women same region	1.6	1.48
Model 6: Migration experience		
Has recent migrants same region	2.29*	0.94
Has experienced migrants same region	1.11	0.63
Has long term migrants same region	1.03	1.49
Person years	8136	8136
N events	96	102

p < 0.10, ** p < 0.05, *** p < 0.01; All network variables exclude the partner/children

5. Conclusion

Onward mobility is a relatively under-researched phenomenon which challenges the idea that migration is a one-off event, leading to permanent settlement in the country of destination. So far, studies tended to focus on return migration, while the drivers of re-migrations to a third country remain little known. Partly responsible for this is the nature of most migration data, recording information either at origin or at (one) destination and thus preventing the study of more complex mobility trajectories that involve several destination countries.

Taking advantage of a recent multi-sited survey on migration between Senegal and France, Italy and Spain, this paper examines the drivers of onward mobility within Europe. The biographic nature of the data enables us to adopt a life-course perspective and to analyze, in a discrete-time event-history framework, the ways in which processes of economic, legal and social integration at destination shape subsequent mobility trajectories. In doing so, this paper brings together two disconnected strands of literature, one focusing on mobility and the other on migrants' integration at destination.

Findings show that, unlike re-migration from Nordic countries, Senegalese onward migrants are not positively selected on skills. Those who are more likely to move within Europe do not fall in the categories that have the formal right to do so – students, highly-skilled workers, long-term residents. Onward mobility occurs early in the migration spell and especially concerns the low-skilled and the unemployed, as well as those lacking more permanent documents (such as a residence permit).

Furthermore, adopting a dynamic approach to migrants' trajectories, the paper shows that the types of occupational and legal trajectories are particularly linked to re-migration decisions. Experiencing an upward occupational mobility and achieving legal stability, two transitions that are most likely interdependent, retains migrants in their original destination. However, we do not argue that economic and legal transitions *lead* to specific mobility decisions, but that these different trajectories influence one another.

This also explains why onward migration within Europe is not, in the Senegalese case, a planned step-wise mobility where migrants seek to attain a final, desired destination. Instead, most onward migrants considered their initial European country of settlement to be their final destination or were unsure about their plans. Thus, onward mobility appears to be the product of a constant re-evaluation of their opportunities and less of a carefully planned trajectory.

Whereas frustrated social mobility and lack of stable legal status appear to constitute important incentives to move on within Europe, our findings also suggest that having ties in other European countries is an important resource in triggering this form of mobility, confirming previous qualitative findings. Not all ties have the same influence though: weaker links to male migrants who have recently migrated in Europe appear to be the most influential. The fact that men have a higher chance of

engaging in subsequent mobility may explain the gender finding, since previous work has shown that connections to migrants of the same gender are more influential in the migration process. The larger role of weaker ties to extended kin or friends than of closer family bonds evokes Schapendonk's (2011) findings, emphasizing the importance of "bridging social capital" in shaping African migrants' mobility routes. Furthermore, the fact that recent migrants (who moved to Europe less than three years beforehand) represent more influential connections, may reflect the shifting nature of destination aspirations and the spontaneous quality of mobility trajectories. Information provided by a friend who recently migrated to a different European country may shape new aspirations and encourage the migrant to try out his luck.

In contrast, the presence of nuclear family members and other networks at destination has a retaining effect on Senegalese migrants. Having one's spouse(s) at destination strongly discourages both onward and return migration. Again, family formation and mobility decisions are highly interdependent, and the decision to bring one's partner from Senegal (mostly concerning men) or to join one's partner in Europe (almost exclusively the case of women, in the Senegalese context) is arguably concomitant with the decision to remain at destination. Yet, the case of families or couples engaging in onward mobility is not so rare, as Kelly's (2013) research on Iranians moving from Sweden to the UK shows. Furthermore, other ties at destination have a similar, though less strong, discouraging effect on moving to another European country. This may suggest that maintaining co-ethnic networks leads to positive the attachment to the destination country and the experience of integration. More research is needed on the mechanisms accounting for the role of local networks in discouraging onward mobility.

In sum, this paper attempts to contribute to the literature by examining the drivers of third country nationals' onward mobility within Europe, a phenomenon thus far largely overlooked by academic scholarship. Focusing on the case of Senegalese mobility between France, Italy and Spain, findings reveal the interdependence of socio-economic, legal and mobility trajectories. Onward mobility appears to be a strategy to achieve social mobility and legal integration, for those who fail to attain these at their first destination, while connections to migrants in other European countries are a key resource facilitating this strategy.

6. References

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